ARTICLE 19 is an international think–do organisation that propels the freedom of expression movement locally and globally to ensure all people realise the power of their voices.

Together with our partners, we develop cutting-edge research and legal and policy analysis to drive change worldwide, lead work on the frontlines of expression through our nine regional hubs across the globe, and propel change by sparking innovation in the global freedom of expression movement. We do this by working on five key themes: promoting media independence, increasing access to information, protecting journalists, expanding civic space, and placing human rights at the heart of developing digital spaces.

Front cover photos
Olga and her boyfriend Vlodymyr say goodbye at the train station in Lviv, Ukraine, prior to Vlodymyr’s deployment closer to the frontline, 9 March 2022. (Photo: Reuters/Kai Pfaffenbach)

Nearly 3,000 people march in Brussels on 1 October 2022 to protest the death of Jhina Amini while in the custody of Iranian authorities. (Photo: Viktoria Bykanova/Shutterstock)

Activists in Los Angeles protest on 14 May 2022 against the leaked Supreme Court opinion that would overturn Roe v Wade. (Photo: Matt Gush/Shutterstock)

Back cover photo
Anti-government protesters at the Democracy Monument in Bangkok, Thailand, on 16 August 2020. (Photo: Goldenhearty/Shutterstock)

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Abbreviations

AMLO
Andrés Manuel López Obrador

CSO
Civil society organisation

DMA
Digital Markets Act

ENOGEAI
National Evaluation of the Right to Information Guarantor Institutions

KNBS
Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

LGBTQI+
Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersex

MENA
Middle East and North Africa

NGO
Non-governmental organisation

OGP
Open Government Partnership

SDG
Sustainable Development Goal

SLAPP
Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation

UNESCO
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNHRC
UN Human Rights Council
Time to raise our voices together

Of all the alarming revelations in our Global Expression Report 2022, one statistic in particular stood out to me:

80% of people worldwide now live with less freedom of expression than they had a decade ago.

Everywhere we turned in 2022, we saw a new crisis. Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine. The pillars of democracy cracking in Tunisia. An attack against the press every 13 hours – and attacks against ARTICLE 19 itself – in Mexico. The US Supreme Court overturning Roe v. Wade, with profound implications for speech, privacy, and right to information protections. The murders of British journalist Dom Phillips and Brazilian Indigenous expert Bruno Pereira in the Amazon. Elon Musk’s acquisition of Twitter, which showed the dangerous consequences of concentrating so much power in so few hands.

But despite the grim news, hope remains – as the inspirational stories of impact in this report show.

In Iran, when protests erupted after the death of 22-year-old Jhina (Mahsa) Amini at the hands of the 'morality police', authorities responded with unlawful lethal use of force and throttling access to the internet – again. But by working with civil society, tech companies, and governments, ARTICLE 19 was able to ensure people could get online to access accurate information and stay in touch with loved ones, and we provided emergency assistance to over 500 arrestees.

In Brazil, President Bolsonaro spread disinformation about voting technology in a desperate attempt to cling onto power. But ARTICLE 19 helped to maintain voters’ confidence in the technology, and more people registered to vote than in any other election in the country’s history, resulting in Bolsonaro being ousted. In Kenya, too, our work to help young people identify electoral disinformation has been so successful that TikTok is adopting it globally.

In Europe, our years of advocacy contributed to a new Digital Markets Act that will help rebalance power in digital markets and end many of Big Tech’s harmful practices, as well as a new initiative to address the increasing prevalence of legal harassment against journalists (SLAPPs).

In 2022, ARTICLE 19 launched our new strategy, The Power of Our Voices, which sets out how we will defend and create spaces for each and every voice to be heard, online and offline, over the next four years. It focuses our efforts into three goals, which form...
the structure of this report. To meet these global ambitions and serve the freedom of expression movement globally, especially at this time of increased need, we are focused on ensuring ARTICLE 19 is an organisation that is connected, agile, resilient, and sustainable.

To propel change in 2023 and beyond, ARTICLE 19 will continue to build our global movement and defend expression for all. We must grow in both numbers and strength, and we must find unity within our movement’s rich diversity – for, as Audre Lorde said: ‘It is not our differences that divide us. It is our inability to recognize, accept, and celebrate those differences.’

It is only with your continued support that we can harness the experience, knowledge, passion, and tenacity of the free expression movement to build a world where everyone, everywhere, can realise the power of their voices.

We remain steadfast and united behind this vision, so that every person, every community, and every society can continue to ask for the most fundamental things they need: from water to clean air, healthcare to education, decent work to fair wages.

And so that everyone, everywhere, can share in the freedoms that make our lives vibrant, precious, and worth living: the freedom to practise the faith of our choice – or none; to love and marry whomever we want; and for a world where our differences and our diversity are valued and celebrated.

You – our partners, allies, and donors – are vital to realising this vision.

Freedom of expression and democracy are under attack as never before. But the stories in this report share the resilience, creativity, and tenacity of those pushing back, speaking up, and stepping up to lead. We can tip the balance in the right direction with increased financial and human investment in the freedom of expression movement.

Join us to build this movement.

Audre Lorde

It is not our differences that divide us. It is our inability to recognize, accept, and celebrate those differences.
Maintaining our freedoms requires constant vigilance

In December 2022, Bob Latham, an experienced media and intellectual property lawyer, was appointed the new Chair of the Board of ARTICLE 19. Bob tells us about his passion for free expression and discusses the challenges and opportunities we face over the next four years.

You have had an impressive legal career spanning nearly four decades. How has this informed your passion for free expression?
In my years of defending the media in court, I’ve found that it’s impossible to truly understand free speech until it’s tested – until someone says: ‘You can’t say that.’

Everyone believes in free speech until it’s something they disagree with, so you have to reinforce its importance as a universal right, even if you disagree with a specific viewpoint – and my partners and I have represented clients from ABC, NBC, and CNN to Fox News. Whatever the views of the journalist or outlet, there’s a much greater purpose at stake here, and that greater purpose – freedom of expression – is what I’m passionate about.

You have served on ARTICLE 19’s Board since 2018. What motivated you to step up as Chair in 2022?
I was lucky to serve on the Board with Paddy Coulter as Chair for four years before succeeding him. Paddy will be deeply missed, but I intend to follow his example by continuing to enable and support the tremendously committed folks on the ground in our offices around the world.

Indeed, one of the reasons I stepped up was because I was so inspired by our regional offices. Seeing the work people are doing and how everyone supports each other is truly special. My succession to the role of Chair occurred at our Board meeting in Mexico, where ARTICLE 19’s regional office is regularly attacked – yet they continue to raise their voices. When you see that sheer dedication, you want to do whatever you can to support it.

Everyone believes in free speech until it’s something they disagree with, so you have to reinforce its importance as a universal right.
Your appointment coincides with the launch of our new four-year strategy, *The Power of Our Voices*. What do you see as the biggest challenges facing ARTICLE 19 – and the biggest opportunities – over the next four years?
The battle between authoritarianism and democracy is raging. Authoritarianism has become a threat everywhere, even in countries with a tradition of democracy. That omnipresent threat, coupled with the backsliding we’ve seen in places like Tunisia, shows that we have to stand up to authoritarianism at all times; we can never think our work is finished.

As for opportunities: the digital space presents many. The internet gave voice to the voiceless and has been instrumental in movements like the Arab Spring – but, of course, it comes with a new set of problems. How do we keep the democratic benefits of the internet while also respecting free expression and other human rights?

ARTICLE 19’s tremendous expertise makes us a key player in these debates. This is one of the reasons we’re opening a new regional office in North America in 2023: the US is at the epicentre of digital media debates. We’re also about to open a new regional office in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, because having a physical presence in the EU is essential for multilateral diplomacy.

Finally, to truly grasp these opportunities, we need to unite the free expression movement to maximise our ability to speak truth to power. The name of our strategy, *The Power of Our Voices*, reflects this. I look forward to working with ARTICLE 19 to propel this vital movement over the next four years.

*We have to stand up to authoritarianism at all times.*

*We need to unite the free expression movement to maximise our ability to speak truth to power.*
Expression at a glance in 2022

“Our societies need freedom of expression to protect us from the worst atrocities that governments can visit on their citizens.”

Ben Okri
Nigerian writer

War in Europe: From unthinkable to reality

Close relatives of Ukrainian serviceman Anton Savytskyi, 43, who was killed by Russian forces in Bakhmut (Donetsk region), cry at his funeral in Bucha on 13 August 2022.

(Water: Alexey Furman/Getty Images)

War in Europe in the 21st century. Before 24 February 2022, many would have found the proposition shocking – even unthinkable.

By the end of the year, Russia’s attack against Ukraine had resulted in nearly 18,000 civilian casualties.

Yet long before Russian forces invaded Ukraine, the Russian Government was dismantling free expression within its own borders: cracking down on independent media, conducting large-scale propaganda and disinformation campaigns, and intimidating civil society.
This war was made possible, in part, because so many of the voices who could have challenged it had been silenced.

Throughout 2022, ARTICLE 19 worked with partners (including Global Forum for Media Development, Justice for Journalists Foundation, and Media Freedom Rapid Response) to condemn Russia’s war of aggression and stand in solidarity with Ukraine.

We supported the work of Digital Security Lab Ukraine in combating Russian digital aggression and disinformation, including by publishing policy briefs, commentaries, and analysis, as well as providing training and digital security support to non-governmental organisations (NGOs), activists, and media workers.

Olga and her boyfriend Vlodomyr say goodbye at the train station in Lviv, Ukraine, prior to Vlodomyr’s deployment closer to the frontline, 9 March 2022. (Photo: Reuters/Kai Pfaffenbach)

“The war is not only waged on the battlefield with tanks and missiles and air defence systems. It’s also waged in the media space. Russia has been waging this war against Ukraine at least since 2014, when it understood that Ukraine is slipping away.”

Olga Tokariuk
Ukrainian journalist speaking to ARTICLE 19 from a Ukrainian bomb shelter in April 2022
We urged the UN to set up a Commission of Inquiry to collect evidence of Russia’s human rights violations in Ukraine with a view to holding perpetrators accountable, and we welcomed the establishment of such a Commission in March 2022.

We took local partners to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Warsaw Human Dimension Conference, where we co-hosted, contributed to, or moderated three side events on Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, freedom of expression, women human rights defenders, and the crucial role of journalists.

And we will continue to work to ensure the narrative cannot be twisted and the truth cannot be buried.

We’re so privileged to work with our partners, who have managed to continue their vital work even in exile. We are inspired by them, led by them, and remain hopeful because of them.

Sarah Clarke
Regional Director, ARTICLE 19 Europe

Find out more

Listen to Ukrainian journalist Olga Tokariuk on the threats facing reporters who cover the crisis.

Watch our Executive Director, Quinn McKew, giving a statement during the Urgent Debate on Ukraine at the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC).

Read our call for justice for Ukrainian journalists, also delivered at the UNHRC.
During wartime, freedom of expression and the free flow of information should be vigorously defended: both are vital to ensure accurate reporting, address human rights abuses, and promote peace.

Disinformation and state propaganda can vilify certain groups and distort the information that civilians desperately need. While this is nothing new, social media's targeted advertising, amplification of extremist content, and inadequate content moderation add an extra layer of complexity to contemporary conflicts.

In July, we submitted a response to the UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression addressing these issues.

The Special Rapporteur’s final report, delivered to the UN General Assembly in August, reflected many of our concerns.

We look forward to continuing our policy and advocacy work to ensure that people’s right to free expression does not become yet another casualty of war.

Learning from the past to build a better future

ARTICLE 19 has worked at the complex intersections of free expression, propaganda, and conflict, and how they affect people during wartime, since the Rwanda Genocide in 1994.
Global Expression Report 2022: The intensifying battle for narrative control

ARTICLE 19’s Global Expression Report measures how free each and every person is to express themselves, communicate, and participate in society: whether posting online, taking to the streets, or investigating the information needed to keep leaders accountable.

Our 2022 report revealed a bleak picture:

• Only 15% of the world’s population – 1 in 7 people – live in countries where they can seek, receive, or share information freely and safely.

• The level of democracy enjoyed by the rest of us is back to where it was in 1989.

• 80% of people worldwide live with less freedom of expression than they had a decade ago.

80% of people worldwide live with less freedom of expression than they had a decade ago.

“Control the information space. Build your own truth. Use it to consolidate power. This is the playbook we see repeated over and over again across the world.”

ARTICLE 19 Global Expression Report 2022
Authoritarian rulers tightened their control over what we see, hear, and say throughout 2022. Yet many of the dramatic declines took place under democratically elected populist leaders who are increasingly borrowing from the dictators’ playbook: controlling the media, arresting critics, and weaponising the law to control the public narrative around their actions.

In this alarming context, the Global Expression Report 2022 sends a clear message:

**Freedom of expression is under attack, and we can no longer afford to look the other way.**

World leaders continue to turn a blind eye to the decline of democracy, whether for reasons of trade, short-sighted diplomacy, or the misplaced notion that ‘that kind of thing would never happen here’.

**It is already happening.**

The international community needs to take concrete and decisive action to protect free expression, whether the violations happen thousands of miles away or in our own backyard.

**Because when the lights go out in one country, the world dims for all of us.**
In the decade following the Arab Spring, Tunisia rocketed from 145th place to 52nd place in our Global Expression Report rankings – the largest increase of all 161 countries we monitored.

Yet following the coup of Kais Saied, the President of the Republic, on 25 July 2021, the country fell more than ten places in our 2022 global rankings.

Throughout the year, Saied continued to consolidate his control and destroy every pillar of freedom of expression that Tunisians had painstakingly built – from replacing the democratic constitution with one that would give him unlimited power to banning protest, prosecuting dissenters, and overseeing a sharp rise in attacks against journalists and media freedom.

In short, he blew up the architecture of democracy, leaving Tunisians in the rubble of dictatorship.
Despite this harrowing reality, ARTICLE 19's Middle East and North Africa (MENA) regional office – which is based in Tunisia – continued its valuable work throughout 2022.

At the international level, we worked with other civil society organisations (CSOs) on two submissions to Tunisia’s Universal Periodic Review at the UN, keeping the spotlight on the regime on the global stage.

At the national level, our regional office rolled out popular training programmes on freedom of expression in the context of new legislation to lawyers so they can provide effective assistance to journalists and human rights defenders who are prosecuted for speaking out.

Despite the devastation Saied has wreaked, Tunisia’s recent history shows that radical change is possible. ARTICLE 19 MENA continues to balance realism about the present with hope for the future while continuing its vital work to defend expression in Tunisia and the wider region.

"I found [ARTICLE 19's] training very helpful as it helped me strengthen my legal skills related to defending victims … [It] responded to an urgent need since Tunisia faces a new imminent threat to freedom of expression."

**Ines Jaibi**
Lawyer and civil society activist, Tunisia

We are waiting for something like a miracle. But we’ve had an impact over a number of years, and that gives us hope. Resilience is part of our mission. This is our country, this is where our children live, and we have a responsibility to our future – and to the futures of our children.

**Saloua Ghazouani**
Regional Director, ARTICLE 19 MENA
ARTICLE 19’s research advances free expression for all by influencing decision-makers and power-holders worldwide.

In 2022, ARTICLE 19 Eastern Africa collaborated with the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) to include data from ARTICLE 19’s Global Expression Report into Kenya’s reporting on progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), specifically SDG 16 (Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels).

KNBS has been working to address evidence gaps on in the planning, monitoring and reporting development initiatives like the SDGs by utilising citizen-generated data (evidence produced by non-governmental experts). They have worked with civil society to develop quality criteria to validate such data, and have developed a set of quality dimensions and a scoring method to determine which datasets meet the quality thresholds for official reporting.

The KNBS assessed 16 data producers across various development sectors and found the methodology of the GxR to be exemplary, showcasing it as an example of best practice. The report was also found to provide crucial data on freedom of expression and information. The data was well received for its integration of development methodology with a human rights approach, demonstrating both the country’s progress across areas, while also highlighting the areas that need work.

The growing partnership with KNBS has also provided valuable feedback to ARTICLE 19 on improving the accessibility of the data, and we have begun addressing this for our next edition, to be published in 2023. We will continue collaborating with KNBS to validate and operationalise these datasets to qualify for official reporting on Kenya’s implementation of its SDG commitments and to develop evidence-based policies.

The recognition of the quality of ARTICLE 19’s analysis by KNBS is helpful for marking Kenya’s progress, as well as the organisation’s broader advocacy with governments worldwide.
Defining a new digital era for all
Woman, life, (internet) freedom: Digital rights and the Iran protests

The **death in custody of 22-year-old Jhina (Mahsa) Amini** at the hands of Iran’s ‘morality police’, following credible reports of torture in September 2022 after she was detained for wearing ‘improper hijab’, was a shocking manifestation of an entire state machinery designed to discriminate against women and violate the rights of all with impunity.

Jhina’s death, coupled with the regime’s predictable **denial of responsibility**, catalysed protests in at least 140 cities across Iran, to which the authorities responded with unlawful lethal use of force and internet shutdowns – again.

ARTICLE 19’s leading expert on freedom of expression in Iran, **Mahsa Alimardani**, and MENA senior researcher, **Afsaneh Rigot**, tell us more.

A woman from the Iranian diaspora writes ‘#no to death penalty’ on her neck at a protest in support of Iranian women after the death of Jhina Amini in Istanbul, Turkey, 19 November 2022.

(Photo: Reuters/Umit Bektas)

Jhina Amini – who is now known to the world by her Persian name, Mahsa Amini – will be referred to throughout this report as Jhina. Like many Kurds, she used a Persian name in an attempt to avoid the systemic discrimination against Kurds and the Kurdish language in Iran; but Jhina was the name she identified with, the name her family addressed her with, and the name now on her tombstone in Saqqez, Kurdistan. We therefore honour her name as Jhina.
‘It wasn’t the first time, but it was the last straw’

Jhina wasn’t the first to die in custody in Iran – nor even the first woman arrested and assaulted for ‘improper hijab’ in 2022. What was it about her death that sparked such outrage?

Mahsa: Every woman in Iran has had an experience with the morality police, and every gender has a relative who’s dealt with them, so this crime was a universal spark: everyone could relate. But the foundations of discontent with the regime had been there for a long time.

Afsaneh: The images of her in hospital with blood coming out of her ear were reminiscent of the movement-triggering video capturing the horrific murder of George Floyd – it certainly wasn’t the first time, but it was the last straw, and that visual moved the world.

Was there anything different about these protests compared to earlier uprisings in Iran?

Afsaneh: Jhina was a young, working class, Kurdish woman – and the Kurdish identity in Iran itself symbolises historical resistance in a really powerful way.

Mahsa: Absolutely. The fact that she was Kurdish strongly characterised the protests’ language, including the slogan ‘Woman, Life, Freedom’ (Jin, Jiyan, Azadi). The feminist movement of the Kurdish tradition gave this movement the language to resonate internationally.

Afsaneh: Also, for the first time in Iran, these protests were led by marginalised groups – women, youth, ethnic minorities, queer folks – who have experienced oppression for a long time.

Mahsa: And we saw rich and powerful members of society standing together with minorities and the working class. That unity is very unique.

Why is the internet so important to this movement?

Mahsa: Iran has no independent media, so we rely on citizen journalists and activists. The internet is the only reason we have documentation of what’s happening.

Afsaneh: The internet is vital to communicate the violations occurring. In the same vein, digital security is vital for Iranian protesters too because the authorities use content from their phones to prosecute them – even to sentence protesters to death.

For the first time in Iran, these protests were led by marginalised groups – women, youth, ethnic minorities, queer folks – who have experienced oppression for a long time.

Afsaneh Rigot
Senior Programme Officer, ARTICLE 19
Finally, how do you maintain hope in the face of such brutality?

**Afsaneh:** In 2022, the personal and professional lives of many of us at ARTICLE 19 collided. This isn’t just a job for us: these are our families, our communities, our homeland. But the people on the ground are awe-inspiring. They are out there risking their lives. We have to support them.

**Mahsa:** The fact that we’ve been able to help even a fraction of Iranians to stay secure online means so much. That’s what keeps me going: it’s not just a job when you see the lives of people in your community on the line.

We saw rich and powerful members of society standing together with minorities and the working class. That unity is very unique.

Mahsa Alimardani
Internet Researcher, ARTICLE 19
Only connect
Securing internet access for people in Iran

User Protection Bill sidelined following ARTICLE 19-led campaign

For two years, the Islamic Republic of Iran has attempted to pass a draconian ‘User Protection Bill’ to further throttle people’s access to the internet across the country. ARTICLE 19 led a coalition of over 50 human rights organisations in a high-profile campaign against the bill, which attracted widespread media attention – even in state-affiliated Iranian media – and millions of viewers.

In 2022, our campaigning contributed to the bill being sidelined in parliament.

Working with WhatsApp and Instagram to connect people in Iran

One of the Islamic Republic of Iran’s new tactics of digital repression has been preventing people in Iran from accessing foreign platforms. We worked with Meta throughout 2022 on solutions that would enable access to Instagram and WhatsApp: the country’s most popular platforms.

Based on our recommendations and advocacy:

• Instagram Lite – a new, smaller version of Instagram that requires less bandwidth and evades the

A collective of Iranian graffiti artists took a stand against the aggressive internet censorship policies being implemented by the Islamic Republic. (Photo: Khiabban Tribune)

“Disruptions like we’ve seen in Iran for months on end deny people’s human rights and cut people off from receiving urgent help … we hope this solution helps people wherever there is a need for secure and reliable communication.”

WhatsApp
regime’s censorship – was launched in February 2022 and remained in the Top 10 downloads in the Android app store in Iran for 10 weeks.

- **WhatsApp** announced it would enable access to its platform via proxy servers so that people in Iran can bypass shutdowns. Launched in January 2023 to widespread media coverage (including in the BBC, The Washington Post, and Wired), ARTICLE 19’s advocacy throughout 2022 was instrumental to this decision.

**US lifts tech sanctions impacting internet access following ARTICLE 19 advocacy**

ARTICLE 19 has long warned that US tech sanctions against the Islamic Republic of Iran must not adversely impact on people in the country by preventing them from getting online. Our advocacy continued throughout 2022, including with the US State Treasury and the Internet Engineering Task Force, attracting coverage by CNN and The New York Times.

In September 2022, the US Treasury announced they had reformulated their internet licence to make many more services available in Iran.

This significant win – the result of many years of ARTICLE 19’s research, advocacy, and campaigning – means people in Iran can now connect to more US-based platforms, from cloud services to GitHub to Grindr (the latter a direct result of our advocacy).

Challenging online censorship in the context of protests

Back in 2021, ARTICLE 19 published research exposing the growing problem of platforms removing content relating to protests in Iran. We found hundreds of instances of Meta censoring the phrase ‘marg bar Khamenei’ (‘death to Khamenei’, Iran’s Supreme Leader), including removing videos of protesters shouting the slogan – videos that provided crucial documentation of gross human rights violations. We argued that, given the context, the
phrase should not be considered incitement to violence but rather protected as free expression.

Following our recommendations, Meta temporarily allowed the use of the phrase on its platforms. But when protests erupted again in 2022, so did their censorship. ARTICLE 19 therefore set up and led a coalition of organisations to push for Meta’s Oversight Board to take up a case relating to the phrase.

As a result of ARTICLE 19’s work, the Oversight Board took up a ‘marg bar Khamenei’ case and overturned Meta’s earlier ruling, allowing users to post content featuring the phrase.

This was a significant win in our efforts to ensure content moderation is tailored to local contexts, which also included hosting a RightsCon session with Meta about Instagram’s Persian-language content-moderation problems.

—in the context of the post, and the broader social, political and linguistic situation in Iran, ‘marg bar Khamenei’ should be understood as ‘down with’. It is a rhetorical, political slogan, not a credible threat.

Facebook Oversight Board
Swift action to protect detainees' privacy

Oh my God, oh my God, I can't believe it, you saved my brother! My mum's crying non-stop, I don't know what to say. My mum will pray for you for the rest of your life.

Sister of an Iranian protester
assisted by ARTICLE 19

When a message says: 'I just got arrested half an hour ago, please help', you know it's life or death. Even if you receive that message at 2 am, you can't wait until tomorrow morning. Tomorrow is too late.

Mo Hoseini
Senior Security and Resilience Officer, ARTICLE 19

When the protests broke out, ARTICLE 19 immediately acted to ensure that those arrested in Iran could contact us and ask for assistance. We worked with Twitter, Meta, AccessNow, and other partners to assist those on the frontlines of repression in Iran.

Using our networks, developed over years of work on Iran and a circulated emergency hotline number over Signal, WhatsApp and Telegram, ARTICLE 19 provided emergency assistance to over 500 people in just the first few months of the protests.
UN establishes a fact-finding mission on Iran

ARTICLE 19 was also heavily involved in international advocacy on Iran in 2022, calling, along with other human rights organisations, for the establishment of an international investigative and accountability mechanism to address the crisis of impunity in Iran. Following weeks of intense advocacy work, we delivered a joint oral statement with Impact Iran during a special session of the UNHRC.

In a landmark resolution on 24 November, the UNHRC established an independent fact-finding mission to investigate human rights violations relating to Iran's protests.

ARTICLE 19 was encouraged that the international community heard the demands for justice and accountability from the people of Iran and civil society, and that the mission's mandate includes gathering and preserving evidence with a view to facilitating criminal proceedings against perpetrators in the future.

"The people of Iran, with women and youth at the forefront, are bravely risking their lives and liberty to demand freedom, justice and dignity. They expect the international community to defend their human rights and not to look away.

Joint Oral Statement to the UNHRC by ARTICLE 19 and Impact Iran
Delivered by Bahar Saba (ARTICLE 19 MENA Programme Officer)
24 November 2022
Exposing digital surveillance

MENA

The rise of ‘digital stop and search’ to harass and prosecute LGBTQI+ people

In March 2022, a new report by Afsaneh Rigot, supported by ARTICLE 19, the Harvard Berkman Klein Center, and the Cyberlaw Clinic, showed how evidence illegally scraped from digital devices enables law enforcement in Egypt, Lebanon, and Tunisia to identify, harass, and prosecute lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersex (LGBTQI+) people – especially refugees, sex workers, and other multiply marginalised people.

Drawing on years of in-depth research, the report exposes how law enforcement uses a mosaic of selfies, texts, phone calls, dating apps, and other common forms of communication – a source of joy, community, and support – as evidence of LGBTQI+ people’s so-called ‘deviant’ behaviour.

“When he looks like for example LGBT, they [the police] will start asking him ‘You are gay?’ If he said ‘No’, they will call his friends and everything and they will collect information about him, they will take his conversations from WhatsApp, his Facebook, and everything. And they will tell him, ‘You should tell us you are homosexual. Just say [that] you will go to the doctor later to get your treatment’.

Lebanese lawyer

Digital Crime Scenes
The report also shows that companies can protect queer users by upholding their international human rights duties and employing the 'Design from the Margins' methodology: building from the essential needs of those most criminalised and impacted to create better tech for all.

As a result, WhatsApp – which 100% of research participants reported law enforcement using as a source of evidence – introduced new safety features to protect LGBTQI+ people.

We also worked with other major tech companies throughout 2022, including Grindr, Google, Meta, and Microsoft, to encourage broader adoption of harm-reduction measures. We look forward to continuing this work in 2023.

ARTICLE 19 used the report (which was covered in Wired, Reuters, Daily Dot, the BBC, and many other outlets) in our advocacy throughout 2022.

Raymundo Ramos Vázquez has documented serious human rights violations perpetrated by the Armed Forces in Tamaulipas, Mexico, for more than 20 years. In 2020, after denouncing the army’s murder of three civilians, he was spied on with Pegasus malware.

This is just one of the revelations in #EjercitoEspía (The Army Spies), a new report published in October 2022 by ARTICLE 19 and our partners Red en Defensa de los Derechos Digitales (R3D) and Social Tic, which reveals that the Mexican army is illegally using Pegasus – acquired by the Secretary of National Defense – to spy on journalists and human rights defenders who have exposed their violations.

When questioned about the content of the report, President Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO) said: ‘it is not true that there is spying’ and legitimised the ‘intelligence’ work of the army, despite the army lacking the legal authority to perform such tasks.

ARTICLE 19 and our partners have launched a campaign to demand the establishment of an independent, international mechanism to investigate illegal espionage by current and previous Mexican governments.

We publish this collaborative work with the hope that it will contribute to dismantle – once and for all – the arbitrariness of intelligence apparatuses that operate without accountability, promote human rights violations, and deny society access to truth and justice.

#EjercitoEspía campaign
CCTV cameras are rapidly being installed across Myanmar with very little transparency around who buys them or how they are used. Against the backdrop of the 2021 military coup, there is growing concern that the military are using these cameras to monitor and arrest anyone who opposes them.

In August 2022, ARTICLE 19 and Digital Rights Collective published a new report, *Who buys and controls the CCTV? Myanmar’s slippery slope to mass surveillance*, looking at how CCTV cameras are procured and deployed across Myanmar. We found that decisions have been made in secret, with no opportunity for civil society to challenge their use, increasing the risk for CCTV cameras to be used for mass surveillance.

ARTICLE 19 is calling on the private sector to ensure CCTV technologies do not violate people’s rights, and on the UNHRC to ban the export of surveillance technology to Myanmar.
South Korea
Court rules data sharing without notifying subjects unconstitutional

Back in 2016, ARTICLE 19 partner the Open Net Association revealed that telecommunications companies in South Korea were undertaking mass surveillance and began legal proceedings to challenge it.

ARTICLE 19 submitted an amicus brief in the case, criticising the failure of the Telecommunications Business Act to protect the freedom of expression and privacy of people in South Korea.

On 21 July 2022, South Korea’s Constitutional Court ruled, in line with our recommendations, that the law must be amended to make user notification mandatory before the end of 2023.

Brazil
Civil society blocks facial-recognition technology on São Paulo metro – for a while

In May 2022, a judge in São Paulo, Brazil, ruled that the city’s metro – which over 4 million people use every day – must stop using facial-recognition technology.

This ruling was a victory for ARTICLE 19; we had launched a lawsuit and coordinated a civil society campaign against the use of the technology.

But in November 2022, following an organised resistance to the judgment by Bolsonaro supporters, Governor Rodrigo Garcia inaugurated a facial-recognition system on the metro anyway, with the intention of creating a surveillance network of over 5,000 cameras.

While human rights gains are never easily won, they are even more difficult to sustain. But difficult is not the same as impossible.

ARTICLE 19 will continue to challenge biometric surveillance worldwide.
Taming Big Tech: Protecting expression for all

Elon Musk’s acquisition of Twitter in October 2022, his chaotic leadership since, and its profound implications for free expression only proved the points made in our innovative policies.

The concentration of power in the hands of so few companies – or even one individual, as in the case of Twitter – is dangerous: for users, society, and democracy. We must decentralise this power so the system doesn’t depend on a few gatekeepers or a single actor.

ARTICLE 19’s efforts to ensure that, in their rush to regulate social media platforms, governments do not restrict the rights of people who use those platforms continued apace in 2022 – as did our calls for regulators to tame the excessive power of the few huge companies that own the platforms.

Our Law & Policy team advanced our policy positions in its advocacy and analysis, including in response to legislative or regulatory proposals from Australia, the UK, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). We worked with stakeholders – from content providers to economics experts to the Internet Governance Forum – to share our ideas throughout the year.

And there are promising signs that the seeds we have sown are taking root.

(Illustration: Mariana Coan)
Embrace competition law to rein in Big Tech

The European Parliament adopted the Digital Markets Act (DMA) and Digital Services Act in 2022: two landmark laws that – if properly enforced – will help to rebalance power in digital markets, increase consumer protection and choice, and end many of Big Tech’s harmful practices. ARTICLE 19 welcomed the EU’s determination to set a high standard for platform regulation with these laws, to which we made significant contributions throughout the year.

Because of ARTICLE 19’s deep expertise in competition law and policy – and because, despite the potential of competition tools to tackle corporate power, they are rarely found in the toolboxes of human rights defenders – we played a leading role in advocacy around the DMA in particular.

To build the capacity of civil society in this complex area of law and policy and ensure their voices were heard in the DMA debates, we delivered two-day training in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, in September 2022, focusing on enabling CSOs to voice their interests to regulatory authorities, governments, national parliaments, and international organisations.

We are now focused on ensuring this promising new DMA is effectively enforced in the EU – as well as on platform-regulation measures in other regions, such as Latin America.

Also in September 2022, the European Commission issued a proposal for a Media Freedom Act: another significant step towards addressing growing threats to media freedom and pluralism. ARTICLE 19 played a leading role in these debates and welcomed proposals to assess the impact of media mergers on plurality and independence, for which we have long advocated.

Whoever rules our digital markets rules our digital rights.

Maria Luisa Stasi
Head of Law & Policy: Digital Markets, ARTICLE 19

Illustration: Mariana Coan
In 2022, as part of #SocialMedia4Peace (a project run by UNESCO and funded by the EU), ARTICLE 19 launched new research investigating how people's content is moderated on major platforms in three post-conflict countries: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Indonesia, and Kenya.

Our research found that social media companies do not listen to local communities and fail to consider context – cultural, social, historical, economic, political – when moderating people's content (as we also saw in the marg bar Khamenei case in Iran). This can increase polarisation and the risk of violence – as when Facebook played a critical role in allowing the incitement to violence and genocide against Rohingya in Myanmar.

ARTICLE 19 proposed a solution that would help bridge the gap between global tech giants and local communities: local coalitions on freedom of expression and content moderation. We are now working to establish these coalitions on the ground.

“[Facebook] do not even have an office in the country, and yet they get to earn money and make decisions about the visibility of our content”

#SocialMedia4Peace research participant
Bosnia and Herzegovina

Catherine Muya
Digital Programme Officer, ARTICLE 19
Eastern Africa
Seeing through the digital smokescreen

Throughout 2022, ARTICLE 19 spoke out against governments using the well-worn smokescreens of national security, cybercrime, and counterterrorism to crack down on free expression online, especially against people who are critical of those in power.

New UN Cybercrime Convention risks undermining free speech

While there is a need for more effective cooperation between law-enforcement authorities to address cyber-enabled crimes, new proposals for a new UN convention on cybercrime raise serious human rights concerns.

First spearheaded by Russia and supported by China, Cambodia, Belarus, Iran, and Venezuela – hardly champions of human rights – some states are using the process to try to expand their powers to control people’s online speech. ARTICLE 19 has therefore been deeply sceptical about the need for a new global treaty, which would impact on people worldwide – not only those in the authoritarian countries spearheading the convention.

Nonetheless, we offered recommendations for what the convention should include, sounded the alarm about Russia’s priorities, and highlighted existing problems that any new treaty must avoid. We will continue to engage in negotiations throughout 2023 to ensure the convention respects people’s fundamental rights, including freedom of expression and privacy.
Progress on internet freedom in Southeast Asia

Digital authoritarianism continues apace in Southeast Asia, where laws and regulations imposing restrictive ‘notice and takedown’ regimes, internet shutdowns, data localisation, and user-identity verification requirements or other surveillance measures – among others – have restricted the right to freedom of expression and privacy online. Across the region, countries are using cybercrime and cybersecurity laws to crack down on people’s online freedoms.

Laws or draft laws in Cambodia, Hong Kong, Myanmar, and Thailand have imposed overly broad restrictions and disproportionate penalties and are (or would be) disproportionally used to target civil society, including protesters, independent journalists, and other human rights defenders.

In 2022, ARTICLE 19’s work with our partners contributed to the successful delay, postponement, or repeal of some of these damaging laws:

• In Cambodia, implementation of the National Internet Gateway has been delayed;

• In Myanmar, the draft cybersecurity bill was not enacted; and

• In The Philippines, the executive office did not sign the real-name SIM card registration bill into law.

Furthermore, the UN Human Rights Committee recommended that Hong Kong repeal its National Security Law in its entirety – a recommendation we strongly pushed for, arguing that the law is so damaging that it cannot merely be amended. This recommendation followed intensive joint advocacy between ARTICLE 19 and Hong Kong Watch, a British organisation ordered by the Hong Kong authorities to shut down its website for allegedly violating Article 29 of the National Security Law, which criminalises collusion with foreign forces.

ARTICLE 19’s Internet Freedom Initiative coalition in Asia-Pacific and South Asia also went from strength to strength in 2022, producing over 30 publications and facilitating workshops, webinars, and panels for around 1,100 participants – digital activists, policymakers, legislators, journalists, CSOs, and young people – to raise awareness of digital rights.
Tunisia

Cybercrime law changing people’s minds about regime

Due to the impossibility of influencing Tunisian legislation in 2022, ARTICLE 19 MENA pivoted to challenging the narrative – propagated by not only President Kais Saied but also other regimes in the region – which insists democracy is an expensive, doomed-to-fail experiment.

In September 2022, a new cybercrime law was introduced, under which scores of people have been prosecuted. Many sectors of Tunisian society – even those who previously would have supported such a law – have demanded its withdrawal because they can see, in practice, that it is only used against those who criticise the regime.

There are positive signs that Tunisians aren’t accepting the regime’s lies.

“People are speaking with one voice much more – there is a kind of consistency and harmony among people. Obviously there are exceptions, but in general, people are seeing the political situation getting worse and are fighting for democracy and the protection of human rights.”

Saloua Ghazouani
Regional Director, ARTICLE 19 MENA

UN

Counterterrorism measures must respect human rights

In March 2022, ARTICLE 19 was one of very few CSOs invited to a meeting with the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights while countering terrorism. At the meeting, we delivered a statement reporting that counterterrorism is being used as an excuse to crack down on civic space and wipe out legal dissent.

Our UN team worked with a coalition of CSOs throughout the year to keep human rights on the counterterrorism agenda – despite opposition based on the smokescreen that, in situations of national security, people’s right to freedom of expression can be bypassed.
Bangladesh

Committee to review abuse of Digital Security Act

In early 2022, immediately after ARTICLE 19 submitted a legal analysis of the Digital Security Act to the UN representative in Bangladesh, a government minister publicly recognised that the Act was being abused and announced that a committee would be formed to investigate it.

ARTICLE 19 has spoken out against the Act, which has been widely misused to restrict press freedom and harass journalists – and even schoolchildren – since its introduction in 2018, as well as providing direct support to journalists affected by it.

Like photojournalist Shafiqul Islam Kajaol, who was forcibly disappeared in March 2020 and imprisoned for 53 days after publishing a story that embarrassed Bangladesh's ruling party. ARTICLE 19 provided Shafiqul – who had three cases filed against him under the Act – with legal and financial support, including securing a livelihood grant from Free Press Unlimited in 2022.

“ARTICLE 19 has been by my side always … providing financial support to continue [with] the court [case] and … arranging financial support from other organization[s] as well for my livelihood.”

Shafiqul Islam Kajaol
Bangladeshi photojournalist

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Bangladeshi photojournalist Shafiqul Islam Kajaol. (Photo: Julia Ferdouse)
‘Local to global — and back’: Connecting the unconnected

Complementary access solutions (local networks, community operators, and alternative service providers) are essential to enable people in rural and remote areas to get online, express themselves, and access vital information.

In 2022, we secured resolutions on connectivity at the International Telecommunications Union that acknowledged — for the first time — the importance of these solutions for rural and remote communities.

ARTICLE 19 also worked with community implementers to establish their needs and priorities, and how we can best support them — locally, regionally, and internationally. The result of this process was a new approach, Local to Global — and Back, which will guide our Digital team’s work over the next four years.

As part of this work, ARTICLE 19 held workshops in Mexico, Brazil, Eastern Africa, and Asia-Pacific for local CSOs, building their capacity to engage with infrastructure providers.

This led to ARTICLE 19 being the first CSO to participate in a meeting of the Africa Top Level Domains Organization, where we secured a commitment from the Kenya NIC — the internet registry for the .ke and .africa domains — to conduct human rights impact assessments of their operations and policies.

This was a crucial first step towards normalising the consideration of human rights among not only global but also regional and local internet infrastructure providers — and, ultimately, towards connecting the unconnected.
Supporting the Global Digital Compact

The UN Secretary-General’s Our Common Agenda (2021) set out an ambitious vision for the world, including a Global Digital Compact, which will ‘outline shared principles for an open, free and secure digital future for all’.

Throughout 2022, ARTICLE 19 undertook advocacy with officials and member states to ensure civil society were able to feed into the Compact – including taking part in consultations with the new UN Envoy on Technology, whom we look forward to working with further.

UN Envoy on Technology
Amandeep Singh Gill.
(Photo: United Nations)
Safer communities, stronger voices
Regional spotlight: ARTICLE 19 Mexico and Central America

In **Mexico**, deep-rooted corruption and symbiosis between organised crime and government continue to strangle hopes for transparency, justice, and accountability for human rights violations – often perpetrated by the military, to whom AMLO gave even more power in 2022.

Journalists’ unflinching dedication to exposing corruption and human rights violations – coupled with AMLO’s persistent stigmatising discourse against them – make them a prime target for violence in Mexico, where the number of journalists killed is akin to conflict zones.

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**Pedro Vaco**
Special Rapporteur for freedom of expression, Inter-American Commission of Human Rights

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**Without journalism there is no democracy, and vice versa.**

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**In figures: Violence against journalists in Mexico**

85% Increase in violence against journalists since AMLO took office in December 2018.

37 Number of journalists killed during AMLO’s presidency as of December 2022.

12 Murders of journalists in Mexico recorded by ARTICLE 19 in 2022; there was an attack every 13 hours.

97.9% Impunity rate for crimes against the press.
Since opening an office in Mexico 15 years ago, ARTICLE 19 has documented and denounced these attacks, developed mechanisms to make the government more transparent, and supported countless journalists who have been victims of violence.

Our work has captured the attention of those who perpetrate or benefit from the violence – and not always in a good way. Our Mexico office was attacked on at least 18 occasions in 2022, from death threats and a staff member’s car being set on fire to judicial harassment, smear campaigns, and phishing.

ARTICLE 19 denounced these attempts to intimidate us into silence in 2022 – but we have denounced them before, and the authorities fail to even investigate, let alone identify the perpetrators or end the harassment.

But we will not be defeated. We are part of a courageous community of journalists and activists who shed light on acts of corruption and serious human rights violations.

ARTICLE 19 stands in solidarity with journalists and human rights defenders, and demands guarantees for their – and our – lives and integrity.

“This is a strategy we’re increasingly seeing in the region: Attack human rights organisations so they need to focus their resources on self-defence. Make them tired. Make them scared.

Many NGOs step back after experiencing attacks. They say: No, we don’t want to fight; we don’t want to say anything about the President, we know he’s wrong but we want to avoid confrontation.’ They look to ARTICLE 19 for support. They trust us.

Paula Saucedo
Protection and Defence Officer
ARTICLE 19 Mexico and Central America
Incidents and aggressions against ARTICLE 19

Unknown individuals stood at the door of the room where a staff member of ARTICLE 19 was staying for several minutes during a documentation trip in Baja California.

The Director of the regional office received a death threat on the same day as the presentation of the annual report.

A malware on the Archives of the Repression website deleted more than 1,600 files on serious human rights violations.

Unknown individuals took photographs outside the home of a member of staff and hassled his partner.

Three days later, as he left his home he noticed that one of the security locks had been damaged.

An unknown individual waited outside the house where members of ARTICLE 19 were interviewing a journalist on a documentation trip in Veracruz.

State police took photographs of ARTICLE 19 staff and consultants without consent while they were recording videos during a documentation trip in Veracruz.

Morena representatives restricted government support to members of a community in Palenque, Chiapas, due to their participation in workshops on the right to information given by ARTICLE 19.

A Secretariat of the Navy vehicle was parked outside the gate of ARTICLE 19’s Mexico City office around the time staff arrived.

An unknown person arrived at the home of a staff member of ARTICLE 19 and asked neighbors about her identity.

Tax Administration Service (SAT) requests for information, dated the same date as the launch of the annual report.

Multiple unauthorized access attempts to accounts that manage the Archives of the Repression website.

A Morena senator posted misleading information on Twitter about ARTICLE 19’s role following an aggression against a journalist, omitting the State’s obligations and assuming that the organization would not support the journalist.

ARTICLE 19 received multiple attacks and intimidating messages on social networks after supporting and condemning the stigmatization of journalist Reyna Haydee.

On two separate occasions on the same day, unknown individuals approached an ARTICLE 19 consultant and asked for his phone number while he was recording videos and taking photos on the documentation trip in Veracruz.

Attempts were made to access the email accounts of a Consultant, where she has information about her work with the organization.

A staff member’s vehicle was partially set on fire while parked in the Roma neighborhood of Mexico City. At the time, he was responding to a summons from a ministerial authority.

The President attacked ARTICLE 19 during his morning conference following the publication of the #EjércitoEspía investigation on espionage against journalists and human rights defenders.
International Board meets in Mexico to show solidarity

In December 2022, ARTICLE 19’s International Board held its biannual meeting in Mexico: an act of solidarity with our regional staff and their courageous work.

We also held a press conference to discuss the attacks against ARTICLE 19 in the context of shrinking civic space and widespread threats against human rights organisations in Mexico. We were encouraged by the warm support we received – both within and beyond the region.
Holistic, intersectional, macro-criminal

ARTICLE 19 Mexico's approach to protecting journalists

Mexico is a unique context for journalists – and a unique context requires a unique approach. ARTICLE 19 Mexico and Central America's Paula Saucedo (Protection and Defence Officer) and María De Vecchi Gerli (Truth and Memory Officer) tell us more.

Paula Saucedo
Protection and Defence Officer, ARTICLE 19

Holistic

We are the only organisation to document all attacks against journalists in Mexico. Others may not have the infrastructure, or they may only document attacks against cis² women. We registered 696 attacks against the press in 2022; this means that, in Mexico, every 13 hours a journalist or media outlet is attacked.

We are also very well-known for our training: we have a holistic methodology that includes physical, digital, legal, and psychological security and can be applied to different contexts. We trained 374 journalists in 2022.

Intersectional

Since 2021, we’ve applied an intersectional approach to documenting attacks against journalists to make sure we don’t overlook structural factors that might increase their vulnerability, like gender, sexuality, and ethnicity, as well as to avoid reproducing oppression dynamics with the journalists we accompanied. That way, we can provide tailored support.

'Cis' is an abbreviation of 'cisgender', a term used to describe people whose gender identity matches the sex they were assigned at birth (i.e. people who are not transgender).
Macro-criminal

We work in a very complex context – there is often a relationship between the public sector, the private sector, and organised crime – so we’ve also been developing a macro-criminal methodology to analyse human rights violations and attacks on freedom of expression.

What we’re trying to understand is why impunity is so high in Mexico. We’re asking:

• Which actors are involved in the killings and disappearances of journalists, what are the links between them, and what happens when a journalist is killed or disappeared – which official narratives are put out, when, and by whom?

• What was the journalist working on at the time?

• How do the authorities act, or if they’re not acting – if the police don’t come when you call – why is that? Which authorities were the first to arrive at the crime scene? And so on.

In 2022, we piloted this methodology in Veracruz, where 17 journalists were killed and 3 disappeared between 2010 and 2016. Now we’re analysing all that information with a view to rolling this out more widely.
Working together to protect environmental defenders in Latin America

While the safety of journalists is, necessarily, the key focus of ARTICLE 19 Mexico and Central America's work, it is certainly not their only focus.

In 2022, our Mexico office worked with national and local partner organisations to organise a hybrid workshop raising awareness of the Escazú Agreement, which came into force in 2021 to protect environmental human rights defenders in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The workshop – which welcomed both in-person and remote participants – was based on a methodology developed by ARTICLE 19 Brazil and South America, with whom ARTICLE 19 Mexico and Central America is working closely to oversee Escazú.

Researching rights across Central America

ARTICLE 19's vital work in the region is not restricted to Mexico, and throughout 2022, our work across Central America expanded. For example:

• We launched the report Paper Democracy, which examined laws used to fine or detain journalists in Cuba and exposed an increase in attacks against journalists, artists, and activists in the country during 2020 and 2021.
• We published the first quarterly barometer to measure freedom of expression across Central America and the Caribbean, and engaged with journalists in countries where we do not directly work.
• In recognition of our expertise, we were invited to join the Observatory of Freedom of Expression for Nicaragua.
‘They want to destroy me and my family’: Fighting back against the legal harassment of journalists (SLAPPs)

Investigative journalists work to expose corruption and abuses of power, keeping governments and corporations accountable to us all.

Yet powerful politicians and wealthy businesspeople are weaponising the law to harass or silence journalists who expose their wrongdoings. Known as Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation (SLAPPs), these lawsuits help those in power to evade public scrutiny.

The people who file these lawsuits do not even seek to win their cases. Their aim is to bully, silence, and bankrupt journalists. The expense of bringing a lawsuit is negligible for claimants, given their wealth and influence, but for

Campaigners present a petition for an EU Anti-SLAPPs law to EU Commission Vice President Věra Jourová. (Photo: Thomas Cytrynowicz)

Threatening to sue me and my colleagues for an astronomical amount of money over an article was an attempt to silence us.

Ewa Evanova
Gazeta Wyborcza, Poland
defendants – independent journalists, activists, and small media outlets – the cost of hiring lawyers can be crippling.

The financial and psychological strain of these lawsuits takes its toll, making it harder for journalists to focus on their reporting. This silences critical voices, decreases press freedom, prevents us from demanding accountability from our leaders, deprives our societies of information – and, ultimately, threatens democracy.

ARTICLE 19 is a leading voice on SLAPPs – and our years of work bore significant fruit in 2022 at the international, regional, and national levels.

We are going to fight this publicly and report about each hearing … We will not go silent about this.

Jelena Vasic
KRIK, Serbia

International
New UN resolution recognises SLAPPs for first time

In October 2022, the UNHRC adopted a strong new resolution on the safety of journalists, led by Austria, with whom ARTICLE 19 worked closely to draft the resolution.

The resolution was passed by consensus rather than by vote, signalling strong international commitment to enhance the safety of journalists.

And crucially, for the first time in any UN resolution – and reflecting ARTICLE 19’s advocacy – it addressed SLAPPs.

From global to local: Tackling the implementation gap

International standards can be priceless tools for national CSOs to remind governments of their obligations. But small CSOs rarely have the time, money, or staff to dedicate to UN developments, and the information they need is often couched in jargon, buried in lengthy documents, and/or impossible to find.

As part of our work to tackle this implementation gap, ARTICLE 19 launched two new resources in 2022 to help smaller CSOs in their advocacy to improve journalists’ safety:

- #JournoSafe Hub: A one-stop shop where CSOs working on the safety of journalists can quickly and easily access international standards and other resources.

- #JournoSafe AdvoSheets: A series of at-a-glance advocacy sheets that demystify international standards on journalists’ safety and explain states’ obligations.
New Europe-wide anti-SLAPPs initiative

In March 2022, ARTICLE 19 published research investigating the problem of SLAPPs across Europe and the urgent reforms needed to fix this. In partnership with the Coalition Against SLAPPs in Europe (with whom we drew up a model SLAPPs law) and the EU Group of Experts on SLAPPs, we used this research to advocate for an EU-wide directive.

And we were successful: in April, the European Commission introduced an anti-SLAPP initiative, which included the core recommendations we had advocated for.

We are now working to ensure the proposed directive is not watered down, that member states support it, and that it is passed into European law in 2023.

Eurovision-style contest exposes Europe’s worst offenders

ARTICLE 19 and partners organised a Eurovision-style contest at the European Anti-SLAPP Conference in October, where we named, shamed, and voted for Europe’s worst offenders. Winners (or losers) included:

• Bully of the year: Roman Abramovich (Russian oligarch)

• SLAPP country of the year: Poland

• Oppressive oligarch of the year: Yevgeny Prigozhi (Russian oligarch and owner of Wagner mercenary group)

As intended, the contest attracted media attention in nominees’ home countries, showing the power of parody to expose abuses of power. We will continue to use all the tools at our disposal to ensure a strong EU-wide law on SLAPPs is passed.

Watch citizen journalist Eliot Higgins – sued by Russian oligarch Yevgeny Prigozhi over tweets linking Prigozhi to the paramilitary Wagner Group (which he later admitted to founding) – accepting Prigozhi’s award for Oppressive Oligarch of the Year.
In 2022, ARTICLE 19 published national reports on SLAPPs in Italy, Serbia, Spain, and attended fact-finding missions to Italy and Kosovo. We also welcomed progress towards a new law in the UK and – finally – two convictions for the murder of Daphne Caruana Galizia in Malta.

UK: New law in the pipeline
In July 2022, the Ministry of Justice announced its intention to legislate against SLAPPs in the UK, which ARTICLE 19 welcomed. As part of our advocacy with the UK Anti-SLAPP Coalition, we published a model UK law in October.

Malta: Two brothers convicted for murder of Daphne Caruana Galizia
On 14 October 2022 – five years after her murder – Malta’s Criminal Court sentenced brothers Alfred and George Degiorgio to 40 years each for their role as hitmen in the assassination of Malta’s leading investigative journalist, Daphne Caruana Galizia.

ARTICLE 19 attended court in Valletta to monitor proceedings. We continue to call out the unacceptable lack of implementation of the recommendations made by the Memorial for Daphne Caruana Galizia in Valletta, Malta. (Photo: Matthew Mirabelli)
Listen to journalist Matthew Caruana Galizia – Daphne’s son – telling ARTICLE 19 about the day his mother was murdered, his fight for justice, and his determination to continue her vital work.

Part of our series Silenced, which was highly commended in the Society of Editors Podcast of the Year Awards 2022, and the only NGO podcast to be nominated.

I heard the explosion... I just jumped out of my chair, because it couldn't have been a firework. It was too loud to be a firework... I immediately had the sense that this is something bad.

Matthew Caruana Galizi
Protecting journalists and human rights defenders is a global priority for safeguarding freedom of expression – and, as such, has always been a cornerstone of ARTICLE 19’s work. Here are just a few examples from 2022.

**Central Asia: Watching our partners' backs**

With ARTICLE 19’s help, our local partners supported more than 200 individuals persecuted or prosecuted by their governments in Central Asia in 2022. Together with partners, we also monitored and documented digital rights violations against activists, journalists, religious minorities, and others, and issued statements or appeals in their defence in at least 100 cases.

“Thanks to ARTICLE 19 we survived this year as an organisation and a team.”

Head of partner organisation, Central Asia

“We are there and we invisibly watch the backs of our partners and help create an environment in which they can work safely, knowing that they are not alone there against the repressive regimes.”

Nedim Useinow
Programme Officer, ARTICLE 19 Europe
Thailand: Supporting grassroots protest groups to become sustainable

In 2022, our Asia-Pacific team launched Engage Thailand, a new campaign to support small groups that had formed following the protest movements of 2020 and 2021. We met with around 50 local groups, working on issues ranging from gender to arrestee support to Indigenous land rights, to establish how ARTICLE 19 could best help them become sustainable NGOs. We are now supporting some of these groups with funding, digital security training, and international advocacy advice.

Stronger together

ARTICLE 19 works in coalition with our partners to protect, defend, and amplify the voices of marginalised groups worldwide. We believe – and our successes show – that we are stronger together. Here are just a few regional examples from 2022:

- **Bangladesh Civic Space Network**: Established by our regional office in 2022, and consisting of 23 grassroots organisations from 18 districts, this coalition campaigns for the rights of women, youth, and trans people.

- **#CubaDengarDulu (Try to Listen First)**: In partnership with Projek Dialog, this youth-led campaign amplifies the voices of marginalised youth in Malaysia, online and off. In September 2022, we organised a concert to platform a diverse range of performers – from drag queens to a Sarawakian folk singer.

- **PROTECT**: As part of our PROTECT project in Kenya, ARTICLE 19 and partners have created networks of women journalists and human rights defenders in Kisumu and Mombasa that worked with media organisations to develop and roll out a Model Anti-Sexual Harassment Policy in 2022. So far, five media houses have adopted the policy.

“[People have said:] “She’s not a real rapper…”, “You’re insulting the traditional wear if you perform rap on stage…”. Regardless of what you wear, even if you’re covered from head to toe, some people would still find fault in you … Hijab is like a crown to me.”

**Bunga** (rapper, Malaysia)

#CubaDengarDulu campaign
On 10 January 2023, Pape was finally released – along with two other human rights defenders, Abdou Karim Gueye and Cheikh Oumar Diagne, who were also detained for ‘broadcasting false news’.

However, Pape remains under strict judicial control. ARTICLE 19 Senegal and West Africa continues to advocate for him – and for all journalists and activists arrested under ‘false information’ provisions.

Ibrahima Lissa Faye
Association des Professionnels de la presse en Ligne (Association of Online Press Professionals), Senegal
Mexico: Indigenous journalist tortured by police wins public apology

On 1 January 2014, Mayan journalist Edwin Canché went out to report on a car crash that damaged the home of a resident of Seyé. The person responsible was related to then-mayor Ermilo Dzul Huchim, who ordered his police officers to detain and torture Canché.

For eight years, Canché was the target of many other attacks, and ARTICLE 19 Mexico and Central America has represented him every step of the way.

In 2019 – five years after the crime – Ermilo Dzul Huchim and five police officers were finally convicted.

In 2022, they were ordered to publicly apologise – the first time a court has ordered public servants to apologise for violence against the press in Yucatán.

The public apology took place on 22 June 2022 in the municipal palace of Seyé, Yucatán, where Canché was originally arrested and beaten.

"The mayor recriminated me and said: 'I'm tired of the press, of journalists publicising my “bad administration”, so they will learn not to mess with me.' … [The] police officers got to it, one held me, another pulled at me and beat me. I couldn't see what was going on, I just felt the blows and tried to resist, to protect myself … From that time on, my life changed drastically."

Edwin Canché
Journalist, Yucatán

"This public apology from the perpetrators was very important because both Edwin and the perpetrators are Indigenous, and within Indigenous culture, an apology from someone within your community is much more meaningful than putting someone in jail."

Paula Saucedo
ARTICLE 19 Mexico and Central America
Psychosocial support

Kenya: Psychosocial support for grassroots journalists

Investigative journalists shine a light into the darkest corners of society. While their work is vital, it can take a psychological toll on them. In 2022, ARTICLE 19 therefore provided group psychosocial debrief sessions and one-to-one counselling for around 100 grassroots journalists in Kenya, who reported positive impacts on their mental health.

“Most organisations don’t consider the aftermath to journalists after covering a story. This knowledge has really helped me.”

Freelance journalist, Kenya

“...one-on-one counselling for around 100 grassroots journalists in Kenya, who reported positive impacts on their mental health.

“I express my sincere gratitude for availing the one-on-one counselling session. They have been tremendously helpful, and I appreciate you for providing the platform.”

Freelance journalist, Kenya

No one left behind

Belarus: Former ARTICLE 19 staff member and his partner still behind bars

Much-loved former ARTICLE 19 staff member Andrei Aliaksandrau and his partner Irina Zlobina remain behind bars in Belarus, incommunicado, a year after their arrest as part of a widespread crackdown following the highly disputed 2020 presidential election.

On 12 January 2022 – the one-year anniversary of their arrest – ARTICLE 19 and Index on Censorship launched a campaign calling for their immediate and unconditional release.

Support the campaign
Bangladesh: UN Special Rapporteurs speak out on anniversary of journalists’ murder

On 11 February 2012, leading journalists Sagar Sarowar and Meherun Runi were stabbed to death in front of their five-year-old son at their home in Dhaka, Bangladesh. A decade later, despite at least eight arrests, no formal charges have been made.

ARTICLE 19 has kept a spotlight on this case for the past decade, including submitting it to the UN Special Procedures as emblematic of impunity for attacks against journalists in Bangladesh.

As a result, in 2022, five UN Special Rapporteurs released a statement demanding immediate investigation, justice, accountability, and an end to impunity.

This attracted significant media coverage in Bangladesh, helping to keep the issue in the public eye – where ARTICLE 19 will ensure it remains until justice is done.

“"We, from the family, appreciate the effort ARTICLE 19 has given to progress the investigation of the case and we hope to get justice in the end."

Relative of Sagar Sarowar and Meherun Runi

From Global to Local: How civil society can engage with UN Special Procedures

Engaging with the UN Special Procedures can be a powerful tactic to draw attention to rights violations – as our Bangladesh office found – yet it remains under-used by civil society.

In May 2022, with UNESCO’s support, ARTICLE 19 therefore launched new practical guidelines on how journalists, rights defenders, and CSOs can engage with these experts in their advocacy.
Addressing organisational health in the digital rights community

Last year, we reported on the shocking findings of research by our Team CommUNITY project: digital rights defenders – especially the most marginalised – were experiencing a mental health crisis, leading to burnout, team conflict, and loss of crucial talent in the sector.

In 2022, Team CommUNITY launched a new project, Digital Justice House, which explores the structural and organisational factors driving this crisis, and a new toolkit, Digital Justice Every Day, which offers practical recommendations to help organisational leaders improve the health of their teams, organisations, and communities – including three tried-and-tested policies:

- A four-day work week
- A right to disconnect
- Unlimited vacations

Team CommUNITY is now working with digital rights organisations to implement these policies and offering monthly meetups to support managers.

In 2023, the team will also relaunch the much-loved global gathering previously known as the Internet Freedom Festival. Known as one of the most diverse and pioneering events in the digital rights world, the gathering is an opportunity for activists to collaborate, recharge, and build community – all essential components of mental health.

"We’ve tested these policies out on our team, which is why we can recommend them. We saw a positive impact almost immediately. ... As NGOs, we need to walk the walk and live our values."

Sandy Ordóñez
Head of Team CommUNITY
#FreeToProtest: New global campaign to make protest safe for all

Across time and history, in every country and society, protest movements have been central to social change. From #MeToo to Occupy, Black Lives Matter to the Arab Spring, when people unite to demand justice, the power of our voices can change the hearts and minds of millions.

Yet many governments are attacking and silencing people who march and using weak laws to prevent us from coming together. Alarmingly, authorities and the media have begun to demonise people who march in an attempt to stigmatise the very act of protest. Worst of all, this repression is growing more violent, with police brutality and arrests of protesters on the rise.

These trends negatively affect all those who protest, but especially groups who are ignored or silenced in society – women, Indigenous people, the LGBTQI+ community, and racial, ethnic, or religious minorities – for whom collective action can be the only way to make themselves heard.

That is why, in 2022, ARTICLE 19 launched #FreeToProtest: a four-year global campaign to ensure all people, especially those who face discrimination, feel empowered to use their right to protest.

In 2022, we produced a rich variety of campaign materials, including research, briefings, audiovisual stories, and podcasts.

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#FreeToProtest campaign goals

1. End police brutality at protests.
2. Humanise protesters in the media.
3. Reform laws to make protest safer for all.

From #MeToo to Occupy, Black Lives Matter to the Arab Spring, when people unite to demand justice, the power of our voices can change the hearts and minds of millions.
It’s very early days, but we are already seeing results.

In Kenya, for example, ARTICLE 19 launched the #FreeToProtest campaign in November 2022, giving protesters a platform to tell their own stories. This was particularly vital after an election period in August was marred by the authorities using brutal force against peaceful protesters. ARTICLE 19 Eastern Africa is now working with the Human Rights Commission and is heavily involved in amending the Public Order Bill.

We look forward to reporting on further impacts from the campaign in 2023.
The Amazon is a crucial defence against global climate catastrophe. But most of it lies in Brazil, where – enabled by former President Jair Bolsonaro – greedy corporations have destroyed vast swathes of forest and lined their pockets.

In Spring 2022, more than 15,000 people marched against a ‘death package’ of bills that would have decimated the Amazon – the biggest environmental protest Brasilia had ever seen, and a journey of thousands of kilometres for Indigenous Amazonians, who have faced attacks by police at such protests.

Since President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (‘Lula’) took the reins in 2022, he has appointed Indigenous activists Sonia Guajajara and Marina Silva as ministers and visited Indigenous territories to see the destruction for himself.

But change won’t be easy. Bolsonaro destroyed infrastructure and blocked investigations into wrongdoings (including the murders of British journalist Dom Phillips and Brazilian activist Bruno Pereira in 2022), allowing armed militias to thrive. The violence may well get worse before it gets better – and Indigenous Amazonians may need to return to the streets.

Because when our elected leaders fail us, it is through the power of protest that we hear the voices of those who have been silenced.

Like the people who keep the forest green and the planet’s lungs clean – for all of us.

The bombs hurt me a lot. They threw some tear gas there. … It left deep marks, mainly on the psychological level. … We didn’t lower our heads [then] and we won’t lower them anytime soon.

Alcebias Mota
Indigenous Sapará man attacked by military police at protest

Experience an immersive version of this story on our new audiovisual platform.
The struggle of Indigenous peoples is a struggle for the future of humanity.

Sonia Guajajara
Minister of Indigenous Peoples, Brazil

In Europe, June 2022 saw the creation of the first ever Special Rapporteur on environmental human rights defenders – a mandate that ARTICLE 19 strongly advocated for.

We warmly welcome the new Special Rapporteur, Michael Forst, under the Aarhus Convention, which includes 46 countries in Europe.
On 4 January 2022, the Thai Cabinet approved in principle a new law that would have enabled authorities to shut down any non-profit organisation if they affected ‘the happy, normal existence of other persons’, infringed on ‘public order’ or ‘people’s good morals’, or ‘cause[d] divisions within society’.

ARTICLE 19 played a key role in advocacy against the bill – which, in 2022, was finally dropped.

But this was just one of a raft of attempts to crush civil society – not least protesters. That is why we launched #FreeToProtest in Thailand in 2022.

They thought that detaining a youth can make that youth disappear from the struggle. But it is not so. Instead, it creates another fighter.

Panadda
22-year-old pro-democracy protester (jailed for 19 days)

Panadda, a Thai student and pro-democracy activist. Her sign reads: ‘Threat to national security’. (Photo: ARTICLE 19)
On 8 July 2022, the UNHRC passed a strong new resolution on peaceful protest that addresses new risks to protesters worldwide, including biometric surveillance.

ARTICLE 19 played a crucial advocacy role in the negotiations, and the final resolution reflected many of our recommendations. We now urge all States to fully implement it.

A forensics police officer collects surveillance video of anti-fascist protesters at a demonstration in Portland, Oregon, US. (Photo: Tony Prato/Shutterstock)
ARTICLE 19 has found that women journalists face uniquely gendered risks – from workplace harassment to online rape threats and physical attacks. A gendered lens is vital to understand and mitigate these risks.

But women journalists are not a monolithic group. The risks and abuse they face differ depending on their race, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, and other characteristics. Those who already face oppression typically face greater risks and harsher abuse.

An intersectional feminist approach – one that accounts for intersecting forms of oppression – is needed to enhance the safety of all women journalists, everywhere.

That is why ARTICLE 19 has launched a new project, Equally Safe: Towards a Feminist Approach to the Safety of Journalists.

“A feminist approach would tackle deep-rooted structural issues rather than just putting a band-aid on the problem.”

Silvia Chocarro
Head of Protection, ARTICLE 19
In 2022, we published resources to help civil society, journalists, researchers, and policymakers adopt an intersectional feminist approach in their work:

- **Global research**: New research exploring what a feminist approach to the safety of journalists might look like, with examples worldwide.

- **Case studies**: Six case studies from Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka showcasing creative solutions designed by and for women journalists.

- **Guidelines**: Three practical guidelines to help CSOs take an intersectional gender approach to their work.

- **Advocacy tools**: A quick reference guide on states’ international obligations to protect women journalists.

We have already achieved some early high-level impacts: a European Parliament report recommended that EU institutions implement our approach, and our findings were reflected in a document that will inform implementation of the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists.

**And this is just the beginning.**

We are now focusing on applying our learnings to transform practice for – and, crucially, with – women journalists worldwide.

“Women should not be negotiating for their space within their place of work. The time for responses designed by men, for men is over; it is time women took the lead.”

**Dilrukshi Handunetti**
South Asian Women in Media, Sri Lanka

“Promote the adopt a gender-sensitive and intersectional approach to countering attacks against journalists including, for instance, recommendations made by ARTICLE 19.”

**European Parliament**

“Women should not be negotiating for their space within their place of work. The time for responses designed by men, for men is over; it is time women took the lead.”

**Dilrukshi Handunetti**
South Asian Women in Media, Sri Lanka

“In a country where women are on the sidelines of leadership in the media industry, we are] founded and self-managed by peripheral and black women.”

**Jessica Moreira**
Nós, Mulheres da Periferia (We, Women from the Periphery), Brazil
Information is power
Disarming disinformation to defend democracy

Free and fair elections – a cornerstone of democracy – rely on accurate information, an informed population, and transparent institutions.

But social media has drastically increased the volume and reach of disinformation during election periods, leading to voter confusion, low turnout, reduced trust in democracy, and even offline violence.

Here are just a few examples of how ARTICLE 19 challenged electoral disinformation in 2022.

In October 2022, Brazil voted authoritarian populist Bolsonaro out of office. But his statements throughout the year (‘Only God can take me from presidency’) made it abundantly clear that he wouldn’t leave without a fight, and predictions of a Trump-style insurrection came true on 8 January 2023.

The stakes of these elections were so high that ARTICLE 19 Brazil and South America focused nearly exclusively on the elections in 2022 – which, predictably, were plagued by a hurricane of lies from the then-President and his supporters.

Rally in support of free elections in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, September 2022. (Photo: Cesar Lima/Shutterstock)

In peripheral communities disinformation kills. Black people crowded public transport because disinformation said that only rich people caught Covid-19 and black people had to work.

Preta Perrera
Artist, activist, and human rights defender at an ARTICLE 19 event in São Paulo, 10 August 2022.
We began by campaigning for young people (aged 16–18) to register and vote. And more people registered to vote in these elections than in any other in Brazil’s history.

In March 2022, we launched the campaign #CompartilheInformação #CompartilheDemocracia (#TogetherForInformation #TogetherForDemocracy) for which we supported a coalition of communicators to disseminate reliable electoral information. The coalition has around 100 members – including three in the deepest Amazon – and still works to tackle disinformation locally.

But just as much work was needed at the national level. To challenge Bolsonaro’s false claims that voting technologies are unreliable, we worked with the highest courts in Brazil, and took CSOs to the electoral technology room to show them the technology was trustworthy.

As a result, we were able to maintain voters’ confidence in voting technology. Having amassed this expertise, we are now analysing voting technology in other countries in the region where elections are looming, including Argentina, Ecuador, and Paraguay.

ARTICLE 19 also joined a delegation to the US Congress to highlight Bolsonaro’s threats to the electoral process, worked with artists to expose his censorship, and shared daily videos correcting his disinformation.

We welcomed the election results with open arms – but Bolsonaro’s defeat was nowhere near as decisive as we would have liked, and we must all learn from Brazil’s experience.

Denise Dora
Regional Director, ARTICLE 19 Brazil and South America
Kenya also went to the polls in August 2022. ARTICLE 19 Eastern Africa worked with TikTok on a new project, #TikTok4Peace, to help young people identify the misinformation and disinformation that proliferated online during the election period.

As part of the project, which was featured in TikTok’s general election guide, we organised three events (all live-streamed on our TikTok page) in which speakers discussed disinformation and responsible election choices. The videos were viewed by 23,000 people.

Due to its success, TikTok is now developing ARTICLE 19’s project as one of its flagship programmes and has committed to implementing it globally.

Kenya’s Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission also highlighted ARTICLE 19’s contributions to improving access to information during the elections.

“The TikTok for Peace live streams broadened my understanding of how political discourse should be done. ... As a young person who is active on social media, the conversations helped shed light on the steps I should take to detect and avoid perpetuating misinformation and disinformation online.”

#TikTok4Peace live-stream attendee
Over the last couple of years, a number of initiatives on disinformation have sprung up across the UN, from a joint declaration to a UN General Assembly resolution and the announcement of a forthcoming UN Secretary-General report. ARTICLE 19 has been heavily involved in ensuring all such initiatives are streamlined, complementary, and embrace freedom of expression.

In April 2022, the UNHRC consensually adopted a strong new resolution on disinformation. ARTICLE 19 led in advocacy efforts, resulting in a resolution that rejects censorship and instead reaffirms the ‘essential role’ of freedom of expression in countering disinformation.

Freedom of expression meets media information literacy

Find out more about ARTICLE 19’s work on disinformation and media information literacy on our new hub, featuring animation, infographics, and recommendations.
Mexico: Truth, memory, justice

Archives of the Resistance
Reclaiming stolen histories

ARTICLE 19’s Archivos de la Resistencia (Archives of the Resistance) document and preserve the stories of people who were arrested, tortured, disappeared, and/or killed by the Mexican State between 1960 and 1980. The online repository hosts over 5,000 digitised documents, such as newspapers deemed ‘subversive’, the discovery of which could be life-threatening.

Compiling, restoring, and preserving these materials is part of our Mexico office’s broader project to reclaim stolen histories, seek justice for victims and their families, and uncover the truth.

What is ‘enforced disappearance’?

“[E]nforced disappearance” is considered to be the arrest, detention, abduction or any other form of deprivation of liberty by agents of the State or by persons or groups of persons acting with the authorization, support or acquiescence of the State, followed by a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of liberty or by concealment of the fate or whereabouts of the disappeared person, which place such a person outside the protection of the law.’

International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance

“Memory is a kind of justice that allows us not to forget.”

Gerardo Pérez
Las Abejas (CSO), Mexico

Without truth, there can be no accountability.

Throughout 2022, ARTICLE 19 also worked closely with the recently established Commission for Access to Truth, Historical Clarification, and the Promotion of Justice for Serious Human Rights Violations Committed from 1965 to 1990, sharing historical data, providing technical advice, and offering recommendations for human rights-informed archive practices.
Cooking as an act of remembrance – and resistance

Let’s allow the act of cooking to become an excuse to speak the unspeakable; to bring back those who have been taken away from us. Let’s allow cooking to become a survival mechanism to face their absence.

Zahara Gómez Lucini
Photographer and artist, *Recetario para la Memoria*

Enforced disappearances and mass murders have long been a problem in Guanajuato, but over the last few years they have attracted greater attention, largely thanks to the efforts of family members. From 2012–22 at least 200 unmarked graves were discovered in the state, and 15 new search collectives have formed since 2019.

But these collectives face serious risks to their own safety: more aggression and murders are committed against families searching for their loved ones in Guanajuato than in any other Mexican state.

ARTICLE 19 Mexico joined forces with the Universidad Iberoamericana de León and photographer and artist Zahara Gómez Lucini in 2022 to create a book, *Recetario para la Memoria (Recipes for Memory)*, which uses the universal language of food to honour...
the bravery, resilience, and love of the women searching for their family members. The book and accompanying website feature the favourite meals of the disappeared, which the women searching for them continue to cook as an act of both remembrance and resistance.

Ten search collectives – a total of 72 families – from across Guanajuato participated in creating the book. The project provided a space for them to get together and share experiences, stories, memories, search strategies – and, of course, food.

Cooking and sharing their missing relatives’ favourite dishes together, they told us, was a way of expressing their love and dignifying their memory.

Graciela Castro was a police officer until her son, Cristian Alexis Escobar Castro, was disappeared on 6 March 2019 in León, Guanajuato. When seeking help from the authorities, she experienced mistreatment and obfuscation, leading to a daunting realisation: if she wanted to find her son, she would have to do it herself.

So Graciela quit her job and joined the Buscadoras Guanajuato search collective. She now devotes nearly all of her time to searching for her son.

When we asked Graciela what it meant to cook for Cristian again, she told us it brought her a rare sense of peace. Cooking his favourite dish is a way for her to remember him, to love him, and to keep him close.
Roe overturned: US strikes blow to rights to choose, speak, and know

ARTICLE 19 has long argued that access to information about reproductive health is critical to the right to freedom of expression.

Back in 1991, we intervened in a case at the European Court of Human Rights to challenge the Irish Government’s ban on giving women information about abortion clinics in the UK – and won.

And our groundbreaking 1995 book The Right to Know, which exposed how governments withheld life-saving information on abortion, became a reference for campaigners worldwide.

Little did we know that, 30 years later, we would be fighting the same battle.

Yet on 24 June 2022, the US Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade, the landmark decision that made access to abortion a federal right half a century ago. Since then, nearly half of US states have either already banned abortion or are likely to do so, affecting millions of women.
Immediately following the reversal of *Roe v. Wade*, countless people were forced to grapple with life-or-death situations. With the reversal came a tidal wave that seeks to erode the rights to freedom of expression and privacy across the US and globally.

Some abortion bans across the US restrict even providing information, like the South Carolina bill that sought to ban websites that discuss abortion. This has a chilling effect on the ability to speak about sexual health and reproductive rights – and therefore on freedom of expression. In such a context, producing and sharing accurate information about abortion is now, frankly, life-saving.

Disinformation – one of the biggest roadblocks to achieving gender equality – thrived on social media following the ruling. The anti-abortion movement instills confusion and fear to stop people making informed decisions about their own lives. We saw this in the aftermath of the US Supreme Court ruling, when confusion mounted as doctors, lawyers, and the broader public attempted to make sense of how differing state-level abortion laws are meant to work in practice. This was not a by-product of *Roe's* reversal but a deliberate tactic.

Within this disinformation ecosystem, online harassment and abuse also thrived. Online threats against journalists reporting on abortion rights – especially women – increased following *Roe's* reversal, forcing some newsrooms to resort to special measures to safeguard their staff.

The reversal of *Roe* also threatens privacy rights. The sensitive data held by menstruation or fertility apps, once helpful in managing sexual health, can be used to single out people who have had miscarriages or abortions. Texas’s abortion ban even includes a bounty-hunter scheme to encourage people to spy on one another and sue anyone suspected of violating the ban.

This isn't just a US problem. It follows years of the US revoking abortion services around the world as a condition for foreign aid and international engagement. In July 2022, the UK held an international ministerial conference on freedom of religion and belief. Controversy arose after the UK later edited the conference's joint statement on gender equality to remove commitments on sexual health and reproductive rights, despite already having signatories from more than 20 countries.
It later emerged that prominent figures from the US anti-abortion movement not only attended but were celebrated at the conference.

**Governments that support reproductive rights must publicly decry these backslides.** Doing so will require them to push back against the ‘traditional values’ narrative that, in common with other authoritarian movements worldwide, the US anti-abortion movement deploys to erode women’s rights.

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It’s time to expose this rhetoric for what it truly is: not a ‘value’ but a political vehicle for human rights abuses.

This is a shortened version of a piece Judy published in *Ms. Magazine* in October 2022.

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**Listen to the podcast**

ARTICLE 19 released a two-part special on the reversal of *Roe v. Wade* on our podcast strand *Boundaries of Expression*, featuring guests from the Center for Democracy and Technology, the Women’s Rights Foundation in Malta, and Women on Web.

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3 The ‘traditional values’ narrative uses arguments such as protecting children, defending public morality, or supporting particular religious traditions or denominations to justify discrimination (often against women and minorities) and restrictions on expression. See ARTICLE 19’s 2013 policy paper, *Traditional values? Attempts to silence homosexuality*, for examples of how some governments have enshrined (or attempted to enshrine) this narrative into law.
Transparency in practice: A tool to transform governments

Senegal
Open Government Partnership work continues apace

The Open Government Partnership (OGP) seeks to transform governments by promoting transparency, ending corruption, and involving civil society in decision-making.

Senegal joined the OGP back in 2018, but the government has dragged its feet on fulfilling its commitments. Despite the challenges, ARTICLE 19 Senegal and West Africa kept transparency high on the agenda in 2022, organising a series of participatory workshops with the media and civil society to raise awareness of Senegal’s commitments, which attracted coverage in radio, TV, and print media.

The most important OGP action that Senegal committed to is implementing an Access to Information law. Our regional office advocated for this law throughout 2022, and is prioritising its adoption in 2023.

“
We must now strive for the adoption of this law, the process of which has taken more than 10 years.

Abdoulaye Ndiaye
Programme Officer, ARTICLE 19 Senegal and West Africa
Mexico:
Protecting and promoting the right to information

In July, ARTICLE 19 published the second edition of its National Evaluation of the Right to Information Guarantor Institutions (ENOGDAI), which analysed the performance of 33 bodies whose remit is to guarantee the right to information. Some of the recommendations in our report have already been adopted. For example, the Plenary of Zacatecas state accepted our recommendation to discard its ban on anonymous information requests.

We also signed collaboration agreements with transparency guarantor bodies in all three states in which our Proactive Transparency programme operates – Yucatán, Chiapas, and Oaxaca – where we have worked with marginalised communities for years. To mark this achievement, we held workshops in these states with over 300 community members on the right to information about public services. Following our workshops, 138 information requests were made.

International:
Progress on access to information at the UN

In March 2022, following our continuous calls for stronger UN standards to improve access to information held by public bodies, ARTICLE 19 welcomed an important new report by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights that incorporated many of our principles for right-to-information legislation, such as maximum disclosure and independent oversight mechanisms. We also published a guide on how the UN Convention against Corruption can be used to improve access to information worldwide. We are now working with UNESCO to translate the report into five languages, and will launch it at the annual meeting of the Information Commissioners in June 2023.
Defeating the censors: **Legal wins on LGBTQI+ books**

ARTICLE 19 accomplished two legal wins against the censorship of LGBTQI+ children’s books in two very different contexts in 2022: Lithuania and Malaysia.


The European Court of Human Rights – which cited our amicus brief extensively in its judgment – found that placing a ‘warning label’ on the book stating the content was ‘harmful’ to children violated both the author’s freedom of expression and children’s access to information.

This verdict was an important win for the LGBTQI+ community in Europe and beyond.

"Attempts to silence a whole segment of the population cannot be framed as an issue of morality or the protection of children, but must be called out for what they are: a violation of human rights."

**Barbora Bukovská**
Senior Director for Law & Policy, ARTICLE 19
In **Malaysia**, the Kuala Lumpur High Court **quashed** a government-imposed ban on *Gay is OK! A Christian Perspective* by Ngeo Boon Lin. The book analyses biblical verses that have been used to condemn LGBTQI+ people, whom it argues the Church should embrace. ARTICLE 19 has repeatedly **called** for reform of the **Act** under which the ban was imposed.

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**Attack on Salman Rushdie was an attack on freedom of expression**


For decades, the enemies of free expression targeted Salman for his words, driving him into years of hiding. The fatwa issued against him in 1989 by Iran’s former Supreme Leader Ruhollah Khomeini caused Salman and those associated with him an immeasurable amount of suffering – but it could not succeed in silencing him.

"**What is freedom of expression?**
Without the freedom to offend, it ceases to exist.

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**Salman Rushdie**

Despite the grave danger, Salman has always believed in the power of words. 'What one writer can make in the solitude of one room is something no power can easily destroy,' he said at a **press conference** organised by ARTICLE 19 in 1998, where he officially came out of hiding.

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Salman Rushdie’s case was one of the first ARTICLE 19 was founded to defend, forming the International Committee for the Defence of Salman Rushdie in 1989 to campaign for the author’s protection – and laying the foundation for our mission today.

Our hearts broke that, in 2022, Salman's right to free speech required as much protection as it did in the 1980s. But despite six weeks in hospital, losing sight in one eye, and nerve damage to his hand, he survived – and, in February 2023, published his 21st book.

The universal truth remains as clear now as it was 30 years ago: fanaticism and violence must not be allowed to win.

“
I’m thinking about little step by little step.
I just think, Bop till you drop.

Salman Rushdie
The New Yorker, 6 February 2023
Mightier than the sword: Changing media narratives around migration

From West Africa to South Asia, media narratives about migration and migrants are too often full of inaccurate and misleading information, leading to an ill-informed public and stigmatisation of already deeply vulnerable people.

**ARTICLE 19 worked with journalists to set the story straight throughout 2022.**

In **Senegal**, in partnership with UNESCO, we delivered an eight-month project called Empowering Young People in Africa through Media and Communication. We organised forums to enable migrants to share their experiences with journalists and supported eight media outlets to produce over 100 pieces of high-quality editorial content, which were disseminated widely in radio, TV, print, and online media. We are continuing to work with some of these outlets to shape a new national narrative on migration.

In **South Asia**, ARTICLE 19 trained journalists and communicators from seven countries to build their capacity on reporting around forced displacement.

“You have to understand, that no one puts their children in a boat unless the water is safer than the land.”

*‘Home’*
Warsan Shire (British Somali poet)
And in Bangladesh, with DW Akademie, we published new research revealing discouraging changes in media narratives about Rohingya refugees, who were welcomed into Bangladesh in 2017 but have experienced increasingly anti-refugee sentiment. The report – which has become a reference across the region – offered recommendations for the media, and we used it for advocacy throughout 2022.

Newly arrived Rohingya refugees make their way to a camp in Bangladesh after fleeing Myanmar, September 2017. (Photo: Patrick Brown/Panos)

“[This project] allowed me to discover even more atrocities committed on the axis of evil with the testimonies of migrants ... Faced with this situation, we have made a commitment to continue communication beyond the partnership with ARTICLE 19.”

Issa Dior Sall
Director, Radio MBour FM, Senegal
# Our partners and donors

## Governmental

- Austria MFA
- Czech Embassy in Tunisia
- Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) – German Development Agency
- IrishAid
- National Endowment for Democracy (NED)
- Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Norway Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Swedish Art Council
- Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)
- UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO)
- US Department of State – Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour
- US Department of State – Bureau of Near East Affairs

## Multi-governmental institutions

- European Commission – Creative Europe Programme
- European Commission – European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR)
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

## Private

- Deutsch-Russischer Austausch e.V. (DRA e.V)
- DuckDuckGo
- DW Akademie
- Ford Foundation
- Friedrich Naumann Foundation
- Fritt Ord
- Fund for Global Human Rights
- Hispanics in Philanthropy
- Hivos
- International Center for Non-Profit Law (ICNL)
- International Republican Institute
- National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)
- Open Society Foundations
- Pan-American Development Foundation
- Samambaia Filantropias
LISTEN TO THE PEOPLE