

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS REPORT ON THE FOURTH UNIVERSAL PERIODIC REVIEW (UPR) OF THE MEXICAN STATE

TORTURE AND OTHER CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT



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I. Overview of the situation of torture in Mexico

- Torture in Mexico is a widespread practice.** In the last few years (2019-2022) human rights organizations in the country have received more than 9,500 complaints of cases of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment (CIDT)ⁱ. In 2022, the main authorities denounced were police officers from municipal governments and state security secretariats and investigative agents working for Prosecutor's Offices (ministerial police).
- It has also been found that **torture is a common practice in the early stages of detention** that often involves fabrication of evidence. According to the ENPOL 2021ⁱⁱ survey, a significant number of acts of torture perpetrated by security forces occur during the process of handing over detainees to jurisdictional authorities. The following are the most prevalent physical torture practices identified in Mexico:

Torture in the early stages of detention ⁱⁱⁱ			
Physical torture	Victims (approx.)	Psychological torture	Victims (approx.)
Punches and kicks	71,000	Incommunication or isolation	101,000
Being hit with a pistol or other objects	39,000	Threats of physical harm	79,000
Crushing of limbs and other body	40,000	Death threats	58,000

parts			
Other forms of physical torture (asphyxia)	71,000	Threats to harm family members	48,000
Electric shocks	22,000	Harming family members	12,000

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- Another aspect of particular concern is the prevalence of **acts of abuse with a strong sexual connotation**.

Torture and sexual assault during detention	Victims (approx.)
Forced nudity	64,000
Violence involving genitals (punches, electric shocks, crushing of body parts, cuts and introducing objects).	24,000
Sexual harassment, groping, exhibitionism or attempted rape	9,000
Rape	5,000

ENPOL 2021 Survey

- Along the same lines, the National Assessment of Sexual Torture Perpetrated against Women Deprived of Liberty in Mexico points to the persistence of sexual torture of women at the hands of both state and federal law enforcement officers. For example, 79.3 of female prison inmates interviewed affirmed they were victims of torture or ill-treatment during their arrest, transfer to, or stay in Public Prosecutor's Offices or prisons.^{iv} For this reason, the above-mentioned assessment urges authorities to be proactive and implement safeguards in response to complaints filed by women, in addition to fulfilling their health needs and allocating resources to bodies such as the Mechanism for Follow-up on Cases of Sexual Torture.
- In the particular case of indigenous people, 66% of men and 64% of women reported having been victims of violence during their detention. Psychological abuse is the most common form of violence (61.8%), followed by physical torture (47.3%) and sexual violence (33.5%).^v
- As regards the purpose of torture, this is commonly **used to obtain confessions that can be later used in court**.^{vi} The ENPOL 2021 survey points to a common evidence fabrication pattern: 42% of prison inmates interviewed referred they were beaten or ill-treated at public prosecutor's offices to force them to self-incriminate or make false confessions, and 22% to incriminate somebody else. Also, 20% of the respondents stated they had pleaded guilty as a result of physical assaults.

7. These figures show a clear pattern of arbitrary detentions that rely on false accusations of flagrant crimes. In these cases, individuals detained are usually tortured, and false evidence is often fabricated to start new investigations or prolong detention. Detainees are then brought before a judge and accused of a second crime, typically gun possession, drug-related crimes, being part of organized crime or conspiracy.
8. While the General Law on Torture prohibits the consideration of evidence obtained under torture, barriers in that regard still exist. One of the main ones is the fact that judges typically admit such confessions under the argument that the victim failed to prove the act of torture.^{vii}
9. Another of the purposes of torture is to **prevent individuals under trial from defending themselves**. Torture is usually committed shortly before individuals are brought before the judge and, therefore, during the discussion as to whether they should be bound to trial or not, defendants are in a psychological or physical state that prevents them from defending themselves. Some persons have even stated they were threatened by prosecutors to force them to adopt a passive attitude in front of the judge.
10. Another reason for concern is that the jurisprudence of the Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation (SCJN) -which is mandatory for the entire judicial branch– establishes that criminal proceedings can proceed even if torture was committed, unless it was committed for purposes of self-incrimination. In this regard, the SCJN has stated that:

"In those cases where there is no confession or any other act that involves self-incrimination as a consequence of the alleged acts of torture, ordering a new proceeding shall not be in order".^{viii}
11. Thus, despite the transformation of the criminal justice system in Mexico and the expectation of an evolution towards a system that protects human rights, torture still exists as an investigation practice justified by a populist and punitive policy on crime, amid a scenario of increasing violence denied by the official discourse.^{ix}

II. Legal framework on torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment

1. General Law for the Prevention, Investigation and Punishment of Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

12. Seven years after the passing of the General Law for the Prevention, Investigation and Punishment of Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (LGPIST),^x its implementation is still lagging behind, as stated in the 2018 report, mainly because: 1) Specialized Prosecutor's Offices lack the capacities, resources and autonomy necessary for the effective investigation of cases of torture; 2) the National Programme against Torture, which was supposed to guide national actions against torture, has not been published yet; and 3) the Technical Committee of the National Preventive Mechanism against Torture is not in operation, which prevents the National Mechanism from performing its tasks effectively.

a. Structural gaps in Specialized Prosecutor's Offices for Cases of Torture

13. The LGPIST establishes the obligation for states and the Federation to create specialized prosecutor's offices for the investigation of crimes of torture and ill-treatment. It also states that, in case they do not have sufficient resources, they should create administrative units to that end. As of January 2023, 17 Mexican states already had a specialized prosecutor's office.

Specialized Prosecutor's Offices for the Investigation of Cases of Torture	17
Administrative units	12
None	4

Observatory against Torture, 2022

14. As far as financial resources are concerned, only 8 prosecutor's offices had a budget for the investigation of cases of torture, **a situation that limits their autonomy of operation**. The Prosecutor General's Office (FGR) has prioritized the fight against organized crime over the protection of human rights. This can be clearly seen in the budget of the Assistant Attorney General's Office Specialized in the Investigation of Organized Crime (SEIDO), which is significantly larger than those of other Assistant Attorney General's Offices or Prosecutor's Offices in charge of investigating human rights violations.
15. Since the Special Prosecutor's Office for the Investigation of the Crime of Torture was created in 2018, its annual **operation budget** has remained the same (\$750,000 MXN), compared to SEIDO's \$100,941,294 MXN operation budget for 2022, which 134 times higher than the former.
16. **Human resources for the investigation of cases of torture are not enough**. There are approximately 200^{xi} public prosecutors in the country responsible for investigating crimes of torture; however, they are usually also in charge of investigating many other crimes, because they are part of non-specialized units. In addition to the above, at least one half of Mexican states only have 3 or fewer public prosecutors in charge of investigating cases of torture.

b. Failure to approve the National Programme against Torture

17. To date, Mexico has not launched a national programme for the implementation of a public policy on torture (National Programme against Torture), even though, according to the LGPIST, it should have been approved back in December 2017.^{xii} This programme is essential for the definition of objectives and strategies for the prevention, prosecution, punishment and eradication of torture. Between 2019 and 2020, a broad group of civil society organizations and OHCHR participated in at least 15 work sessions that resulted in a draft National Programme against Torture. However, that draft remains blocked.

c. Lack of a governing body of the National Preventive Mechanism against Torture

18. The National Preventive Mechanism against Torture (MNPT) is a body of the National Human Rights Commission in charge of the permanent and systematic oversight of prisons in the country. It is led by a “Technical Committee”^{xiii} made up of four persons with broad experience in the field of human rights, torture prevention or similar matters.
19. The term for the only two members left in the Technical Committee ended in February 2022. To date, no call for participation or parliamentary initiatives for the appointment of new members have been made public. This means that all the seats in the MNPT’s governing body have remained vacant for more than one year and it is not in operation.
20. The CAT, on the other hand, made the recommendation to foster cooperation between the MNPT and civil society organizations, which means activities to that end must be reinforced.

d. National Registry of the Crime of Torture

21. The LGPIST ordered the creation of the National Registry of the Crime of Torture (RENADET) as a tool for investigation and statistical information on cases of torture. The RENADET should be integrated by the databases of various federal and state public institutions. However, the guidelines for the operation of RENADET were published with a delay of more than four years and due to a court order; but since they are very general, there is no clarity about how it will work and the expected effects to investigate and punish torture.

2. National Law on the Registry of Detentions

22. Civil society organizations have documented cases of detention of migrants at temporary migrant detention centers that have not been registered with the National Registry of Detentions (NRD). The National Migration Institute, on the other hand, does not provide information to family members or civil society organizations on the detention of migrants, under the argument that criminal organizations engaged in human smuggling may use that information. The lack of evidence of the RND’s efficacy or public assessments of its operation is concerning.

III. Torture environments

23. In Mexico several population groups face living conditions that are incompatible with a dignified life. Migrants, persons institutionalized for mental health reasons and prison inmates in particular live in settings expressly created to cause pain and suffering.

1. Migrants

24. Mexico's immigration policy continues to follow a national security approach as opposed to one focusing on the protection of human rights. The militarization of this policy is reflected in the appointment of members of the military to lead the National Migration Institute (INM) and their offices in Mexican states, as well as in the powers given to the National Guard to perform inspection and immigration tasks since 2019.
25. Based on the observation of activities carried out to contain migrants and asylum seekers along Mexico's southern border by the INM, in collaboration with the National Guard, from May to November 2021, the group *Colectivo de Monitoreo Frontera Sur* ("Southern Border Monitoring Collective") has documented a disproportionate use of public force to limit their movement and also for purposes of deterrence, restraining, immobilization and use of weapons that may cause injuries.^{xiv} These forms of violence, which are occurring in a context of misinformation and discretionary practices by immigration authorities, create conditions that only foster the inhuman and degrading treatment of migrants.
26. From January 2006 to November 2021, human rights commissions in the country (the CNDH and State Human Rights Commissions) received a total of 39,268 complaints of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, at least 117 of which correspond to migrant victims.^{xv}
27. In the concluding observations of its 2018 Review of Mexico, the Committee against Torture expressed its concern over the use of migratory detention as a widespread practice and not as an exception, as well as the overcrowding and poor material conditions of migrant detention centers.^{xvi}
28. Based on the systematic monitoring of migrant detention facilities, several organizations, including ours, have found that migrants are often the victims of prolonged and indefinite periods of detention and incommunication. They also lack access to health services and water, are served bad quality food and do not receive legal advice or information about their migratory status. They are also victims of extortion, corruption and violence^{xvii} at the hands of the staff working in those centers.^{xviii} All of the above, combined with the excessive use of force, prolonged isolation, sleep deprivation, exposure to extreme weather conditions and other subjugation methods, is what turns these facilities into torture settings.^{xix}
29. The migrant detention system we have described, which relies on the complete control of persons deprived of liberty through the loss of their autonomy and identity, has had its worst consequences in tragedies such as the fire at the Ciudad Juárez Migrant Detention Center on March 27 2023, which resulted in the death of 40 migrants after a series of arbitrary detentions by municipal police officers and the negligence of agents from the National Migration Institute, who prioritized the detention of migrants over their safety.

2. Mental health-care settings

30. The issue of violence in mental health settings is compounded by institutional neglect, permissiveness of rights violations and the lack of adequate supervision of detention centers. Even though the General Health Law (GHL) prohibits institutionalization and

forced treatment, a significant number of health clinics, psychiatric hospitals and unregulated drug treatment centers that rely on ill-treatment as a method still exists. In practice, involuntary and forced commitments, despite being illegal, still occur. The General Health Law also states that, by November 2022, the Executive had the obligation to amend and harmonize a series of standards and regulations to guarantee the rights of mental health service users in all health facilities. However, these amendments have not been made, and an endless number of abuses and irregularities continue to occur.

31. In 2020, for example, the MNPT made inspection visits to more than 50 addiction treatment facilities and found that, in the case of unregulated facilities, 34.21% of users had been victims of humiliation; 32.72% had been isolated; 27.68% had received death threats; 20.49% were victims of restraining; 19.93% had been beaten, 15.18% had been deprived of food or water, and 7.81% had been victims of sexual violence. In Mexico, approximately 90% of addiction treatment clinics lack the legal certifications required to protect the rights of patients.
32. In 2018, the MNPT found that 43.6% of psychiatric hospitals visited resort to isolation measures and the conditions of 66.7% of them are poor. Currently, more than 2,500 persons are in a situation of abandonment and lack of protection at these psychiatric facilities. Despite this scenario, we have not found a single ruling in connection with acts of torture against users of these services.

3. Life in prison

33. Mexican prisons are extremely hostile environments for persons deprived of liberty. More than one third of inmates in Mexican prisons stated they had been victims of a crime.

Crimes against prison inmates	Total no. of victims	Percentage
Theft of personal belongings	65,921	29.9
Extortion	13,833	6.3
Threats	13,094	5.9
Physical injuries	19,303	8.8
Sexual harassment	3,482	1.6
Rape	922	0.4

ENPOL 2021 Survey

34. The Mexican prison system has prioritized a security policy over one of respect for human rights and social rehabilitation. Proof of that is that more than 51,000 persons (23.3% of the total number of prison inmates) live in permanent isolation.^{xx} This model, which is extremely violent, has resulted in raids, led together with the National Guard, of

prisons such as CEFERESO 14^{xxi} in 2021 or CEFERESO 17^{xxii} in 2022, where intense episodes of violence and torture at the hands of authorities occurred.

IV. Lack of investigation and punishment of cases of torture.

35. Mexico lacks an effective policy for the criminal prosecution of torture. In addition, there is a climate of absolute impunity, considering that only 0.12% of investigations lead to a conviction. There is a widespread culture of passiveness in investigations, which are highly deficient and seldom (only in 1% of the cases) make it to the trial stage. There is also a widespread practice of concealing evidence by expert investigators.

1. Impunity

36. **Torture in Mexico is an unpunished crime.** In 2022, 4,694 investigations involving cases of alleged torture or ill-treatment were initiated at the state level, but only 47 of them were brought to court and only 10, **that is, 0.12% of those investigations, led to a conviction**.^{xxiii} At the federal level, only 4 sentences were handed over.

2022				
Investigations initiated			Brought to court	Sentences
Torture	Ill-treatment	Not specified	47	6
4,014	122	558	1%	0.12%

Data at state level. Observatory against Torture 2022

37. The **passive attitude** of prosecutors towards the investigation of cases of torture is clearly shown by the fact that 8 out of 10 torture investigations are opened because judges instruct prosecutors to do so.^{xxiv} The following are the main reasons for opening investigations.

Reasons for opening criminal investigations of cases of torture and ill-treatment		
Complaint	Court hearing	Ex officio
265	1,145	46
18..2%	78.6%	3.2%

Observatory against Torture, 2021

2. Obstacles to proving torture and concealment

38. Health professionals have a major responsibility as experts in the investigation of cases of torture. Cases of torture in Mexico are covered up due to the poor implementation of medical-psychological expert reports in accordance with the Istanbul Protocol. One of these bad practices^{xxv} is the attempt to discredit the testimonies of victims under the argument of alleged lack of evidence, ignoring complaints of physical and psychological torture, attacking the credibility of victims based on biases, etc. Only one third of prosecutor's offices (8 out of 23) reported at least one positive result in 2022, with a percentage of positives of 16% (62 matches vs. 377 non-matches).
39. This pattern of errors, which has been going on for years, points to the existence of an institutionalized policy to cover up and conceal torture that typically results in the closure of investigations. The reason for this is that authorities continue to deem, wrongly so, that this type of expert investigations or reports are the only evidence required to determine the occurrence of torture. In other words, they continue to require complainants to prove they were victims of torture by means of a "positive" expert opinion.^{xxvi} In case that opinion is "negative", as it is wrongly referred to,^{xxvii} the likelihood of prosecuting those cases is minimum.
40. This poses two additional problems: the lack of availability and the lack of impartiality of expert opinions.
- a. Lack of expert investigators.* As of 2022, 11 Prosecutor's Offices in the country did not have specialized expert investigators. In addition, only 18% of prosecutor's offices led more than 50 expert investigations that year, a very small fraction of the total number of cases under investigation.
- b. Lack of impartiality in expert investigations.* Only one third of prosecutor's offices (8 out of 23) reported at least one positive result in 2022, with a percentage of positive results of 16% (62 matches vs. 377 non-matches).
41. This means the likelihood for victims of torture to prove they were victims of torture is extraordinarily low.

V. General recommendations

42. Create a National Programme for the implementation of public policies against torture, without further delay, that includes the participation of civil society organizations and victims in its creation, follow-up and evaluation of its implementation.
43. Create a forensic evaluation mechanism independent from the Prosecutor General's Office tasked with analyzing, with objective criteria, the independence, impartiality, competence and professional quality of expert opinions in line with the Istanbul Protocol guidelines. The purpose of this mechanism would be to ensure the correct implementation of medical-psychological expert investigations of torture, in addition to non-revictimization, and ensuring that judicial authorities recognize the validity and probative value of external independent expert investigations. It is also important to ensure that investigations are not conditioned to the application of expert opinions based on the Istanbul Protocol, with investigation strategies based on other means of

proof.

44. Form the Technical Committee of the National Preventive Mechanism against Torture, ensuring the participation and independence of its members, provide it with financial and human resources, and ensure its permanent collaboration with civil society organizations.
45. Ensure that Specialized Prosecutor's Offices and Administrative Units investigating cases of torture have complete organic and operational autonomy, and provide them with sufficient human and financial resources to conduct investigations of acts of torture in an efficient and thorough manner. It is also important to ensure that the judicial, federal and state powers investigate acts of torture as a violation of due process in criminal cases, identifying their evidentiary implications and limitations to the capacity of survivors to defend themselves.
46. Create the supervision mechanism provided for in article 73, section VII, of the General Health Law, with the participation of external observers, to ensure respect for the human rights of mental health service users in all public or private health facilities.
47. Strengthen the National Registry of the Crime of Torture so that it functions effectively as a tool for investigation and analysis of the context, as well as to generate statistical information to be used as a tool to identify causes and patterns of torture and, eventually, to help prevent and eradicate it.

ⁱ Information obtained via public information requests.

ⁱⁱ INEGI (2021). [National Survey of Imprisoned Population \(ENPOL\) 2021](#)

ⁱⁱⁱ Figures extracted from records of persons detained by an authority from 2006 to July 2021.

^{iv} SEGOB (2022). Diagnóstico Nacional sobre Tortura Sexual Cometida Contra Mujeres Privadas de la Libertad en México.

^v ENPOL 2021 Survey.

^{vi} CAT/C/MEX/CO/7.

^{vii} Report of the Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment: Mission to Mexico, A/HRC/28/68/Add.3, December 29 2014, paragraphs 55-56.

^{viii} Suprema Corte de Justicia de la Nación. Tesis 2015603: Tortura. Es innecesario reponer el procedimiento cuando no exista confesión de los hechos imputados o cualquier acto que conlleve autoincriminación del inculpado. November (2017). Available at: <https://sjf2.scjn.gob.mx/detalle/tesis/2015603>

^{ix} See, for example, Expansión "[AMLO revira a EU: el informe de derechos humanos es un "bodrio"](#)" ("AMLO talks back to the US: the report on human rights is garbage"), news article, March 22 2023.

^x Congreso de la Unión (2016). [Ley general para prevenir, investigar y sancionar la tortura y otros tratos o penas crueles, inhumanos o degradantes](#).

^{xi} Five states did not provide information: Observatory against Torture (2022)

^{xii} In its 2019 Concluding Observations, the CAT urged the Mexican State to finalize the development of the programme and to do it in a collaborative manner. In December 2020, at a public hearing with the Inter-American Human Rights Commission, representatives of the Mexican State affirmed that "*The full assessment and gathering of information of the National Programme were finalized on October 15 2019*", that the process had taken into account "*the recommendations the CAT made to the State in the context of the preparation of its seventh periodic report in 2019*", and that civil society organizations had participated in it. Hearing "[The Fight against Torture in Mexico](#)". 178th Period of Sessions.

^{xiii} LGPIST (2016), articles 73 and 76.

^{xiv} *Amicus Curiae sobre los riesgos de militarizar la política migratoria* ("Amicus Curiae on the risks of militarization of migration policy"). (June 2022). Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez, Colectivo de Monitoreo Frontera Sur, Programa de Asuntos Migratorios Ibero. pages 16-17. Available at: <https://centroprodh.org.mx/2022/06/14/a-tres-anos-del-despliegue-de-la-guardia-nacional-en-las-fronteras-organizaciones-presentan-ante-la-scn-amicus-curiae-sobre-los-riesgos-de-militarizar-la-politica-migratoria/>

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- xv La Guerra Interiorizada. De los crímenes internacionales a la vida pública de México. 2006-2021. (January 2023). Comisión Mexicana de Defensa y Promoción de los Derechos Humanos. Primera edición. p. 20. Available at: <https://cmdpdh.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Informe-Guerra-Interiorizada.pdf>
- xvi CAT (2019). [Concluding observations on the seventh periodic report of Mexico](#). CAT/C/MEX/CO/7 48
- xvii *Vidas en contención: privación de la libertad y violaciones a derechos humanos en estaciones migratorias de Puebla y Tlaxcala, 2020-2021* (2022). Departamento de Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad Iberoamericana de Puebla; Instituto de Derechos Humanos Ignacio Ellacuría, S.J. pp. 25-31. Available at: https://www.redjesuitaconmigranteslac.org/files/ugd/526227_0dee71e9c2b24f75b65c5401635b8d5b.pdf
- xviii See CNDH's recommendation 122/2022 on the case of a migrant detained at the Mexico City Migrant Detention Center who was tortured by agents of the National Migration Institute and police officers inside the center. Available at: https://www.cndh.org.mx/sites/default/files/documentos/2022-07/REC_2022_122.pdf
- xix Solijinov A. (2022). *Denuncian presuntos actos de tortura en la estación migratoria Siglo XXI*. ("Claims of acts of torture at the Siglo XXI migrant detention center"), *Diario del Sur*. <https://www.diariodelsur.com.mx/local/denuncian-presuntos-actos-de-tortura-en-la-estacion-migratoria-siglo-xxi-8414315.html>
- Mariscal Á. (2021). *Población migrante y refugiada fue torturada en la Estación migratoria Siglo XXI*. ("Migrants and refugees tortured at the Siglo XXI migrant detention center"). *Chiapas Paralelo*. <https://www.chiapasparalelo.com/noticias/chiapas/2021/06/poblacion-migrante-y-refugiada-fue-torturada-en-la-estacion-migratoria-siglo-xxi/>
- González C. (2021). *Revelan tortura en estación migratoria "Siglo XXI", en Chiapas; INM calla*. ("Acts of torture at the Siglo XXI migrant detention center revealed; INM remains silent") <https://lasillarota.com/estados/2021/6/28/revelan-tortura-en-estacion-migratoria-siglo-xxi-en-chiapas-inm-calla-286070.html>
- xx INEGI (2021). Encuesta Nacional de Población Privada de Libertad. https://www.inegi.org.mx/contenidos/programas/enpol/2021/doc/enpol2021_presentacion_nacional.pdf
- xxi Documenta (2021). Exigimos el respeto a los derechos humanos de las personas privadas de la libertad dentro del Cefereso 14 de Gómez Palacio en el estado de Durango. [https://mailchi.mp/8b9b460eb493/cefereso14_gp?e=\[UNIQID\]](https://mailchi.mp/8b9b460eb493/cefereso14_gp?e=[UNIQID])
- xxii Documenta (2022). Comunicado urgente sobre los hechos de tortura acontecidos en CEFERESO CPS No. 17. <https://www.documenta.org.mx/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Comunicado-Cefereso-17.pdf>
- xxiii Observatorio contra la Tortura. Available at: <https://sintortura.org/>
- xxiv These data correspond to 12 out of the 32 Mexican states that provided information in 2021.
- xxv Grupo Independientes. *Encubriendo la Tortura: Complicidad de los forenses de la Procuraduría General de la República. Análisis de 54 casos*. 2020. Madrid: Irredentos Libros. Available at: <https://drive.google.com/drive/search?q=encubriendo>
- xxvi For the Mexican authorities, an expert opinion is considered "positive" if it has a false high level of correlation between the facts reported and the physical and psychological impacts experienced; these are results based on expert opinions pointing to the concealment of torture, as already explained.
- xxvii Medical and psychological expert opinions in line with the Istanbul Protocol do not yield "positive" or "negative" results. These expert opinions establish a correlation and a level of coincidence between the history of physical and psychological signs observed and documented and acts of torture described.