

Political clientelism and print media
in Mexico: budget reduction in
government advertising as a catalyst
in the change of editorial line in the
country's main newspapers

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— Abstract—

From the 50 percent reduction of the government budget in terms of official advertising, different newspapers in Mexico that used to have an editorial stance loyal to the government in turn, decided to take another direction, beginning to carry out critical journalistic work and denounce both towards the presidential figure as well as characters of the newly established political party in power, Morena. The historical clientelistic practices, accompanied by the understanding of how the print media have been related to power in Mexico, function as a linchpin to argue how their cancellation or mutation has made newspapers like *El Universal*, *Excelsior*, or *Reforma*, now they are assumed as counterweights to political power. Meanwhile, this essay serves as a contextual and theoretical approach to how the phenomenon could be approached empirically.

Keywords:

Political clientelism; Press; Journalism.

Traditionally in Mexico, since the middle of the last century to the present, there has been a close union between the media and political power. Despite the socio-historical changes that have occurred during this period, the media have been adapting to the situation that arises to subsist and enjoy economic or symbolic privileges provided by the governmental leadership. This essay focuses on analyzing the connections that have been given between the two actors, limiting the analysis specifically to the relationship built between the government in turn and the printed media to, in this way, understand what has led the main newspapers of the country, regardless of the platform, to distance themselves from the current administration.

Below, a series of arguments are presented to demonstrate why the most important print media, since the arrival of the new government, have begun to transform their editorial lines from being daily newspapers with a servile tendency to practice a style of critical and tenacious journalism against the government led by Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO). In that sense, different studies within the academic literature demonstrate how the newspapers, since their origin, have served as a propaganda arm of both the government in turn and opposition political factions, offering their editorial line as a bargaining chip, either to consecrate the positive image of certain administrations or discredit opposing groups.

One of the most recurrent practices that political power has used to control the editorial line of different printed media is political clientelism. Through large budget allocations in government propaganda¹, newspapers of national circulation have managed to survive in the face of changes in the global media configuration, which continues with a growing trend towards the consumption of information through the network (Benaissa 2019), and, in that sense, Mexico has not been the exception.

Meanwhile, within the framework of the Republican austerity strategy that the National Regeneration Movement (MORENA) outlined for its period in power, so far, the government budget in advertising matters, compared to past administrations, has been reduced by 75 percent², an action that has not been well received by newspapers of historical tradition such as *El Universal*, *Excelsior*, or *Reforma*, among others. In this way, the trial will try to show evidence that confirms the change of route that these media have taken in the absence of resources from the State, currently exercising a "watchdog" role towards the government in turn.

1 <https://www.nytimes.com/es/2017/12/25/espanol/con-su-enorme-presupuesto-de-publicidad-el-gobierno-mexicano-controla-los-medios-de-comunicacion-pri-pena-nieto.html>

2 <https://www.animalpolitico.com/2022/08/gobierno-amlo-gasta-menos-publicidad-oficial-malas-practicas/>

Although newspaper reading habits have changed since the technological development and the emergence of social-digital networks, historically Mexican newspapers have remained in a constant battle against electronic media, as consumption levels differ by millions between viewers and press readers. Given this scenario, Mexican newspapers have had to adopt different business models such as belonging to larger media conglomerates, government propaganda (at the local or state level), or the turn to sensationalism as a hook to attract consumers (Lago, 2019), among others.

PRINTED MEDIA AND POLITICAL POWER IN MEXICO

To explain the collusion between the mass media and the government apparatus, it is necessary to go back to the emergence of the first commercial newspaper that appeared in Mexico City, *El Imparcial*. This newspaper, with roots in the porfiriato of the late nineteenth century, began with the model of subordination to political power that would characterize the history of the hegemonic media of twentieth-century Mexico (Sánchez, 2005).

The prevailing trend in Mexico, governed by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), was that of a consistent pairing between the government in turn and the media in exchange for the granting of radio frequencies for electronic media or the ease of acquiring paper through the government subsidiary, Productora e Importadora de Papel Sociedad Anónima (PIPSA), offered their editorial line as an irrefutable propaganda arm and magnifier of the policies implemented by the government.

In this way, although it has not been possible to verify empirically, the PRI governments for decades marked the pattern between what could be published and what could not in the printed media since "State intervention in this matter was requested by the printed media industrialists themselves, to ensure a stable level in paper prices, guaranteed by state arbitration in the administration of the circulation of this input in the country" (Zacarías, 1996).

It should be mentioned that after the inauguration of the new PIPSA plant in 1954, the loyalty of Mexican newspapers to the government was confirmed, specifically with the presidential image. Adolfo Ruíz Cortines, who led the opening of the plant, made clear to media companies the relationship that would be maintained over the next three decades, expressing that the Mexican government would respect freedom of speech as long as journalists served with respect and responsibility to the homeland (Fuentes Berain, 2001), a speech that could be interpreted as a message of subordination to the national project that the PRI intended to implement in media matters.

Print media, specifically newspapers, had a different development than radio and television. Through the consolidation of Televisa, after Mexico's Independent Television and Mexican Telesystem merged in 1973, the presi-

dential state advocated for the monopolization of Mexican television, with Televisa being the only relevant actor within broadcasting. On the other hand, at the press level, different businessmen had the opportunity to put their newspapers on the market, who, for the most part, except for publications such as *Unomasuno* or *Proceso*, among others, remained with an editorial line loyal to the presidential state (Fuentes Berain, 2001).

As time went by and with the establishment of the neoliberal economic model worldwide, the role of the State was reduced, a situation that resulted in the privatization of different state companies, within which some broadcasting companies were also located. Unlike the electronic media, in the early nineties, the written press began to have certain tints of autonomy and, accompanied by the relative democratization of public life in Mexico, the professionalization of communicators led Mexican journalism to gradually free itself from the PRI government trap (Hughes, 2009).

This transition did not ensure that the old practices of mutual benefit ended, however, new actors such as *La Jornada*, *Grupo Reforma*, or *Milenio* bet on these financing models (Hernández, 2010). Although they did not achieve absolute financial independence, they began to set the tone for what would be the leap from a press dependent on government propaganda to media companies with relative economic autonomy, which would be subject to the investment of private advertisers and the consolidation of both synergies and journalistic franchises.

When analyzing the contemporary situation of newspapers in the country, with the main obstacle being the low consumption of written press, they could not afford to dispense with official propaganda.

The most aberrant form of subsidy has been the unregulated supply of official advertising, which has become the guarantee of subsistence for many print media, even for those who have no readers and whose circulation does not go beyond the press offices. This economic dependence on official advertising has been difficult to avoid for most newspapers due to the low revenues from the sale of copies and private advertising that characterize the industry (Hernández, 2010).

With the arrival of the political alternation in 2000, when the candidate of the National Action Party (PAN), Vicente Fox, was elected, the incipient emergence of a critical and active civil society in the political field was confirmed. Certainly, this social effervescence permeated the journalistic field in the same way, which began to exercise, at the direct request of the population, Watchdog journalism (Mellado, 2014). This information model is characterized by the active participation of communicators,

appealing to the practice of a critical journalistic exercise and in constant questioning of the established powers.

On the other hand, Hallin and Mancini (2009) propose that there are three media models in the Western world, the Polarized Pluralist, developed in the southern European countries, the Corporate Democratic, belonging to the northern countries and the Liberal, coined by the Anglo-Saxon States and the United States. Due to the cultural and historical closeness that Mexico keeps with Spain, we could deduce that the media model that has prevailed in Mexico is the Polarized Pluralist.

This is characterized by the closeness between the media and political power, a relationship that has endured due to the late transition to democracy in Mediterranean Europe. Likewise, the historical absolutist system that ruled in that region built a dynamic of complicity on the part of society before power, so the press has positioned itself as a window of the political class.

However, in recent years, the country has entered a process of hybridization since, with the entry into force of free trade, liberal practices such as the State's withdrawal in the operation of radio frequencies or the supposed free competition in the field of media, could indicate that the Liberal model operates in Mexico. However, according to Márquez and Guerrero (2015), in Mexico and Latin America the *Captured Liberal Model* has been developed, a media system that legally aims to be liberal and attached to the free market of content for this dynamic to reinforce journalistic quality, however, different regional conditions such as violence, high business concentration, and political interference in the media, among others, has captured the autonomy of both communication companies and journalists at all hierarchical levels.

Once we have reviewed the financial and political situation in which the written press is located in Mexico, we can conclude that, due to the socio-cultural conditions of the country, the printed media need to exchange editorial autonomy for methods of economic subsistence such as government propaganda or advertising investments of private entities who, in cases such as Reforma or El Universal, dictate the editorial line (Hernández, 2010). Likewise, framing the essay in the concept of clientelism, we will be able to argue why print media that had historically been accomplices of past governments, currently, following the considerable cut in the government budget for advertising, have distanced themselves from the current administration.

POLITICAL CLIENTELISM IN THE MEDIA

The massive poverty that has characterized Mexico during its recent history has led political parties to take advantage of this situation to generate an exchange relationship between marginalized communities and political actors.

These practices were developed since its inception by the PRI, a party that for much of the twentieth century took advantage of the government budget to distribute different types of gifts to determine in its favor the vote of the people benefiting from both social programs and other types of subsidies. In this sense, currently, Morena also exercises clientelistic practices based on the direct distribution of resources to young people, older adults, and people with disabilities, among others. However, the press-power relationship has had a substantial change in the current administration.

It should be clarified that there is a great difference between the purchase of votes and political clientelism since the latter is difficult to frame within the legal framework, making visibility and therefore punishment more difficult to identify. Hagene (2015) mentions that this practice is not completely undemocratic, since its legitimacy is based on the fact that it does not necessarily depend on the application of force or coercive methods and it is not even essential to make use of the public budget to consolidate these relations, a circumstance that facilitates its execution, especially in electoral times. On the concept of political clientelism Zapata Osorno (2016) states:

The definitions are constructed from the characteristics' indication, the basic structure, and types of exchange in its relations with the environment, but it retains a "fundamental element": it is an asymmetrical relationship of exchange between someone who gives benefits and favors, receiving in return votes and political support that allows them to remain in power.

Likewise, the dynamics that occur between a hegemonic entity and a subordinate one through clientelism seek to consolidate loyalty relationships between both actors with asymmetric characteristics. Through connections based on trust, interactions, and the exchange of favors or gifts, it is intended to generate an environment of advantage over the political opposition that, although it is also part of the clientele network, the political actor with the greatest amount of resources will have a favorable position.

Having reviewed the concept of political clientelism from the approach of Political Science, it is pertinent to point out that the characteristics that frame the concept are equally visible between political power and the media. Even though the system of ownership of media in Mexico requires that the analytical treatment be different, starting from the level of concentration that differentiates Television from Radio or print media, client practices through different methods are present on all platforms.

Any discussion of the media situation in Mexico must begin by recognizing the lack of journalistic autonomy as a result of different variables such as violence against communicators or censorship through coercion (Márquez-

Ramírez, 2015). However, there are more subtle methods to make the editorial line of a medium adapt to the needs of both factual and established powers. As mentioned above, the flimsy financial conditions of media companies make government advertising one of the main sources of revenue.

Meanwhile, assuming that the discretionary allocation of public funds in political propaganda occurs in environments of opacity and without clear and precise rules. Governments have taken advantage of the conjuncture to influence news coverage and shape the broad media landscape or editorial lines of specific media outlets or journalists through a biased allocation of government advertising; state and government subsidies to the media; and other similar financial instruments (WAN-IFRA, 2014).

Many print media, being led to accept patronage pacts with the government leadership, leave their editorial line in a vulnerable state for its interests, in such a way that they comply with the loss of sale of copies as a direct cost of editorial manipulation by power groups (Salazar, 2017). In this regard, there is evidence that the main revenues in newspapers come from government advertising, a situation that sometimes leads some newspapers to raise the costs of advertising spaces for government propaganda.

On the other hand, it is pertinent to clarify that there are different types of clientelism in the press-power relationship. So far we have analyzed the phenomenon taking into account only the subsidies that both local governments and the federal government grant to the owners of the media. However, thanks to the precarious conditions in which communicators operate in the country's newspapers, *envelope journalism* is another recurrent practice among governments and reporters. In this sense, Salazar (2017) argues that "the low profitability of newspapers as a commercial company is transferred to the working conditions of reporters, who become easy prey for clientelistic strategies."

Different studies by Salazar (2017, 2018) show that government advertising in the states of the country is not decisive to be able to control the critical posture in regional newspapers. Therefore, she argues that political heterogeneity in local congresses has made opposition parties also function as practicing clientelism actors, concluding that the greater the parliamentary opposition in an entity, the less loyalty the media will have to the executive branch since the approval of the government budget for official advertising naturally has to pass the approval of the local congress.

Clientelism is a game that is played under the cover of the complicity of the media themselves. Therefore, even in its least contingent manifestations - paid inserts, commissioned columns, or official advertising contracts - it is difficult to accurately calculate the actual intensity of exchanges, and the effectiveness

of deals. The only ones who know them are those involved, and for the rest, everything is uncertain (Salazar, 2018).

Taking into account that counterweights work as a brake so that clientelistic practices do not develop successfully, we could assume that media competition, coupled with the emergence of new digital media, has caused information consumers to fragment. This phenomenon has caused the income of the media to decrease substantially, so that not only regional newspapers depend on official propaganda, but also newspapers of national circulation.

With the arrival of new technologies and the migration of the media to the digital environment, there is no accurate information on the level of consumption of newspapers on digital platforms, however, the circulation of the newspapers with the highest circulation in Mexico does not exceed 300 thousand copies a day. According to the National Catalogue of Printed Media and Internet published by the National Electoral Institute in 2022, the newspapers with the largest circulation in the country are El Grafico with 285,558, followed by La Prensa with 219,800, and in third position the Metro, of Grupo Reforma, with 200,499 copies.

Once we have seen the circulation of the different newspapers in Mexico, we can glimpse an uncertain future for the main newspapers in the country, since the newspapers of greater relevance and hierarchy do not pull more than 140 thousand copies a day³, a situation that has put into question their continuity in the market of printed media.

PRINT MEDIA AND THE NEED TO SURVIVE IN THE FACE OF BUDGET CUTS

In all periods of the government of both PAN and PRI, congress has approved different budgets for the media. However, none of them has been fully respected. The administration of Enrique Peña Nieto, during its exercise in 2017, spent 11 thousand 240 million Mexican pesos on official advertising⁴, when in reality congress had only approved a total of 4 thousand 365 million.

Likewise, in recent years, the different administrations have exercised, at their discretion, the budget approved by the legislative branch, with 2017 being the year in which a greater increase in government spending on advertising can be observed⁵. Meanwhile, with the seventy-five percent cut implemented by the current management, print media that at one time had

3 <https://repositoriodocumental.ine.mx/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/131525/JGEor202203-24-ap-4-2-a.pdf>

4 Final figures provided by the Social Communication System (ComSoc)

5 <https://vanguardia.com.mx/noticias/nacional/el-gasto-de-pena-en-publicidad-rompe-record-10725-millones-en-2017-200-mas-de-lo-autorizado-CMVG3408381>

economic crises such as *Excelsior*, *Reforma*, *El Universal*, and even *Milenio Diario*, are in an uncomfortable situation, which has forced them to naturally distance themselves from the party in power (Morena).

I consider it pertinent to clarify that López Obrador's speech, since his appearance in the national political sphere, was always against the hegemonic powers in Mexico, which are largely composed of the media. Likewise, the media concentration that characterizes the region has made the most powerful media in the country have as the single owner who, irrefutably, immersed in the logic of the market, will always see for the benefit of himself and the media company.

On the other hand, given the digital convergence that has occurred during the last decades, together with the change in information consumption habits, newspapers have had to adapt to the new panorama, digital platforms being an escape valve against low levels of consumption in the printed format. Comparing the copies that are printed daily with the followers that each newspaper has on social networks such as Twitter and Facebook, it can be glimpsed that the present and the future are on these platforms, however, the advertising business model in cyberspace has not yet been consolidated, so that said media are in a constant battle to acquire advertisers or, in some cases, begin to employ the subscription model (Palacio, 2018).

With 7 million 5 thousand followers on Twitter and 5 million 495 thousand on Facebook, *El Universal* is the Mexican newspaper with the largest presence on digital platforms, followed by the journal *Milenio*, with a total of 5 million 531 thousand and 2 million 569 thousand. Likewise, media such as *Excelsior* or *Reforma* exceed 2 million followers on Twitter. Therefore, to some extent, Mexican newspapers still have a great influence on public opinion, at least in a quantitative way, a situation that has allowed the power relationship between the new government and the former to be in dispute.

Post-Marxist literature based on new technologies has attempted to demonstrate that cyberspace did not function as a place where capitalist structures crumbled and, in turn, has demonstrated that the capitalist system successfully migrated into virtual space. In this sense, McChesney (2013) states that the digital revolution, which initially offered an encouraging scenario in which it was expected to provide more competitive markets, as well as the decrease in high levels of concentration, failed. And the same structures and dynamics that were observed during the last decades in the physical space moved to digital platforms.

These postulates can be perfectly inserted in the print media in Mexico, who, despite presenting an evident crisis in their printed format, managed to cross the digital barrier and position themselves, as they did in the past, as the newspapers with the highest number of followers on social networks. Likewise, the power of media companies has not diminished in the face

of the digital revolution, since in political matters no opinion leader or information portal with ideas other than the hegemonic media has managed to capture such a level of users. Intellectuals and journalists considered to be leftists, such as Lorenzo Meyer or Julio Hernández, do not exceed 900 followers on Twitter, while opinion leaders such as Carlos Loret de Mola or Joaquín López Dóriga, historically related to past regimes⁶, exceed 8 and a half million followers on that platform.

In this way, we can observe that the media that have managed to migrate to the digital space or cyberspace still retain some political capital that makes them remain in force in public opinion. Strictly speaking about models of financing through the network, Christian Fuchs (2014) argues that the emancipatory environment of social networks has declined since, although they are not yet consolidated, the ways of marketing and inserting digital content in the capitalist dynamic can be given even more easily than in traditional forms.

For example, when only analog media existed, the way of marketing was measured through the number of readers or audiences, and despite the advertiser finding some section within a newspaper or some schedule in electronic media, the commercial product was always susceptible to people who did not belong to the target niche sneaking among the recipients, however, social networks, through the information provided by their users, offer the possibility to advertisers that the public can be segmented into users with the characteristics defined for a certain product, a possibility that traditional media could never offer.

This phenomenon opens a wide possibility for new business managers to begin to see cyberspace and social networks as a new ecosystem with wide marketing possibilities, adapting the traditional business dynamics and capital accumulation, within the new spaces through the network.

As we can see, the reduction of the government budget for official advertising has reduced the revenues of the media in general, but especially the printed ones. In the first three years of AMLO's government, 8 thousand 648 million pesos have been spent on official advertising, 26 billion pesos less than that exercised in the first half of Enrique Peña Nieto's six-year term⁷. The government, in turn, has proposed total transparency in spending to avoid the opacity with which the government budget was exercised in the past. Although, as can be seen, the funds allocated to the media have been reduced considerably, the preference of the current government for some

6 <https://www.forbes.com.mx/confirman-pagos-millonarios-a-periodistas-en-sexenio-de-pena-nieto/>

7 <https://contralinea.com.mx/noticias/amlo-ahorra-26-mil-millones-en-publicidad-oficial-fundar-y-articulo-19/>

media companies such as La Jornada, Tv Azteca, and Televisa, is evident, concentrating 28.6% of spending on the matter⁸.

Another way to analyze how the press-power relationship occurs in Mexico and understand one of the main factors by which the most important newspapers in the country changed their editorial line for the political party in power, is the legal environment in which the media are developed. Unlike radio or television, which operate through the allocation of government-provided concessions, print media operate as businesses with a higher level of autonomy, as they are not legally dependent on government policies. That is, the control over radio and television is much greater than that which can be exercised over the press because they are managed under the regime of concessions where the government is the one that grants them, in a discretionary way, which gives it the same right to withdraw or not renew them. This is not the case with the written press, where legislation does not grant the government any privilege over it (Riva Palacio, 1996).

However, as I have argued throughout the essay, the governments of both the PAN and PRI, at the federal level, created new ways of negotiating with the press based on clientelistic practices in the allocation of advertising budget. The World Association of News Papers and News Publishers, WAN-IFRA, (2014) has documented that the distribution of the government budget is discretionary and arbitrary since, for example, during the administration of Vicente Fox, the government considerably reduced official resources to the magazine *Proceso*, which had published negative information about the president. The magazine provided evidence of this situation and, having a circulation of 74,792 copies per week, only disseminated 5.16 pages of ads from the federal government, while a smaller magazine such as *Vertigo*, with 40,000 copies, obtained 166.42 front pages. That is, the federal government announced itself 32 times more in *Vertigo* than in *Process*⁹.

However, it can be corroborated by "the use of the state power to allocate public resources to reward the media condescending to the authorities and punish the independent or critical media. Some public officials understand that the publicity that the State must hire to fulfill its obligations has the purpose of ensuring the loyalty of the media" (Cuna, 2008).

Since we have reviewed the importance of government advertising in the media, but especially in the print media for their subsistence, we can infer that one of the main reasons why the written press has distanced itself considerably from the party in power is due to the lack of official resources.

8 <https://www.animalpolitico.com/2021/08/disparidad-publicidad-oficial-televisa-azteca-jornada/>

9 Pérez, E. C. Medios de comunicación y democracia en México. Hacia una evaluación de los medios en el desarrollo de la sociedad democrática

Regardless of what the purpose of newspapers such as Milenio, El Universal, or Reforma is, by attacking so strongly the actions of the current administration, these media companies, with the reduction and greater distribution of the advertising budget, will face some economic crises that we can better evaluate over time.

Currently, there is no systematic study with which we can clarify if the written press has turned against AMLO, however, in his "morning" lectures, López Obrador usually says that he is the most attacked president since Francisco I. Madero¹⁰. As the press-power relationship has been presented in Mexico, it would not be a surprise to observe a clear tendency to show the current administration negatively, since journalistic companies usually save the interests of their advertisers and attack those who do not provide them with profits and those who have taken it away.

CONCLUSION

The battle between the current government and the print media will continue until either López Obrador's administration ends or a budget deal is reached with the country's major newspapers. Even though during the six-year term of Enrique Peña Nieto, more than 60 billion pesos were spent on official advertising¹¹, public opinion mostly disapproved of the administration of the president of the republic. Such information forces us to reflect on the role of public spending on government propaganda since, if it does not fulfill the function of raising the image and reputation of the administration in turn, the only beneficiaries before the millionaire allocation of public budget are the owners of the media, excluding citizens.

Meanwhile, although audiences have fragmented with the emergence of new digital platforms, newspapers still set the new standard in Mexico, since traditionally, these are the ones that publish "serious" information regarding political issues or national importance, so they continue to be taken as a journalistic reference when evaluating the performance of a government. On the other hand, it would be naive to assume that the budget cut is the only factor that encourages the resounding change of editorial lines in media such as El Universal, Reforma, Milenio, or Excelsior, among others. There are also market, journalistic, or ideological reasons that traditionally place them at a significant distance from the current president.

Tuchman (1978) states that journalistic companies position and circulate knowledge and ideologies through public space. Also, through the simple

10 <https://www.diariodemexico.com/mi-nacion/dice-amlo-ser-el-presidente-mas-atacado-desde-madero>

11 Data provided by Artículo 19 México

question: "Why is it worth publishing some events and not others?" the author indicates that before the note comes to light, it has to go through a series of hierarchical filters, which maintain constant communication with each other. Such a dynamic helps us understand why, apart from the main thesis, the nationally circulated print media has embarked on a campaign of political lynching towards the current president.

Likewise, one of the directions that the current government seeks to take is to distribute advertising spending more equitably, so that any media that meets the requirements of the federal government, can become a creditor to ensure a greater and "better" distribution of the public budget. In this way, we are faced with a press-power relationship never seen before, in which the most important newspapers in the country remain critical actors in the current administration, unlike previous presidencies.

As mentioned above, there are no rigorous studies with which the change in the editorial line of the most important newspapers in the country could be generalized empirically. However, incipient studies have emerged that demonstrate that criticism and even disqualification towards the actions of 4T have been the dominant discursive action during the first year of government (Valles, 2021). Such results begin to open a space to understand the behavior of the written press and its relationship with the government in turn.

Throughout the twentieth century and the first two decades of the twenty-first, the print media and political power, through different tactics and strategies, had a relationship of mutual interest, in which the Mexican press accepted any kind of subsidy, either directly from the federal government in the form of budget allocations for official advertising or the practice *par excellence* that was developed to limit the opinion of some specific journalists, envelope journalism.

This essay is not intended to allude to the unquestionable transparency of the current president, since the links or relations that the ruling party may have created with electronic media such as radio or television have not yet been explored academically. However, the most important newspapers in the country have shown a sudden change of editorial line since the arrival of the Morena party to power.

All of the claims made in the essay could be empirically verified through a grueling content analysis, which takes into account a certain period and examines the information notes or newspaper headlines in question when reporting on government action. In addition, the approach provided in this work can function as a preliminary study that serves as a context or theoretical anchor, taking into account political clientelism, through official advertising, as a determining variable in the editorial line of national newspapers.

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