The Media Map Project

Peru

Case Study on Donor Support to Independent Media, 1990-2010

by Gabriela Martínez
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Youth reading headlines. (credit: Gabriela Martinez)

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Contents

THE MEDIA MAP PROJECT CASE STUDIES: AN INTRODUCTION .................................................................5
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS ..............................................................................................................9
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY ............................................................................................................................10
COUNTRY PROFILE ..................................................................................................................................11
  Population ...........................................................................................................................................12
  Languages ...........................................................................................................................................13
  The Economic and Political Landscape in the Last 20 Years ..............................................................13
  Peru’s Key Development Challenges .................................................................................................17
  Main Foreign Donors ...........................................................................................................................18
MEDIA LANDSCAPE ..................................................................................................................................22
  Newspapers .........................................................................................................................................25
  Radio ....................................................................................................................................................26
  Television .............................................................................................................................................27
  The Internet ..........................................................................................................................................28
  Media Influence and Freedom of the Press ...........................................................................................29
  Salary Issues in the Media ....................................................................................................................30
  Legal Framework ................................................................................................................................32
LITERATURE REVIEW .................................................................................................................................35
  Community Radio ................................................................................................................................36
  Media Landscape, Media and Society .................................................................................................37
  Gender Issues in the Media ....................................................................................................................39
  Legislation and Freedom of the Press .................................................................................................41
DONOR-FUNDED MEDIA DEVELOPMENT .................................................................................................46
  Why support the Media? The Donor Perspective ................................................................................46
  The Last 20 Years, 1990s-2000s: Major Donor Activities and Goals ...................................................47
  Roles of Foreign Donors and NGOs .................................................................................................55
  Other Actors in Media Development .................................................................................................56
  Trends in Donor Support to the Media .................................................................................................57
  Impact of Donor Investment ................................................................................................................64
  Sustainability and the Business of Media ............................................................................................66
  The Future of Donor Interventions in the Media .................................................................................69
  Future Directions for Research ............................................................................................................69
CONCLUSION ............................................................................................................................................71
APPENDICES ............................................................................................................................................79
  Appendix 1. Methodology ....................................................................................................................79
  Appendix 2. Interviewees ......................................................................................................................83
  Appendix 3. Local Media-Related NGOs: Brief Profiles .....................................................................86
  Appendix 4. The Peruvian press during the years of internal conflict .................................................88
  Appendix 5. Case Studies: Radio La Voz de Bagua and Radio Vox Populi ........................................91
The field of media development assistance – support provided by foreign donors to promote independent, professional news media in developing and transitioning countries – dates back at least to the 1950s. Almost never recognized as a sector in its own right, media development is a relatively tiny portion of overall development assistance.1 Despite this marginal status, media development veterans passionately believe that their work plays a critical role in improving the governance and development of the countries where they work. Successful support to local media should facilitate its independence from government and other outside influences, promote freedom of information, represent the public’s needs to decision-makers, and improve the quality of the news that is produced. In turn, by maintaining a free-flow of information, improved news media should keep government transparent and hold it to account, give life to the market economy, and provide citizens with the information they need to make all kinds of critical decisions that impact them as individuals, and their families, communities, and countries.

In theory then, media development supports all other development, both directly and indirectly. However, media development stakeholders have not always been able to make a compelling, evidence-based case to the greater development community that what they do matters critically for both governance and development. Former World Bank president James Wolfensohn, Nobel prize-winning economists Amartya Sen and Joseph Stiglitz, and many other policymakers have made a strong case for the media’s importance, but this has yet to be translated widely into systematic incorporation of media development support into aid policy and budgets. The Media Map Project was created to interrogate the evidence on the connections between media and development, as well as to make global data on the media sector more accessible to researchers, policymakers, and practitioners.

This series of case studies addresses more specific questions regarding the impact of donor interventions that support the media in developing countries.2 The following key questions focus on the last two decades of donor support to independent media in seven countries. Who are the major actors? What are the major activities? Which activities have a positive impact? Which activities fail? Why? Finally, we go beyond the reflective exercise of “best practices and lessons learned” to offer evidence for donors interested in improving the effectiveness and relevance of their media support. These studies are intended for donors, policymakers, and media development practitioners alike.

In a perfect world, we would have been able to identify all of the donors supporting media from 1990-2010, precisely outline their activities, goals, partners, and budgets, collect monitoring and evaluation reports, and, armed with nationally representative data measuring the many facets of the health of the media sector,3 we would have been able to determine precisely which projects had impact, the return on investment, and perhaps even the collective impact of all projects. Given the constraints of a pilot project, and the limits of the donors’ own documentation, we were not able to perform exhaustive research. Instead, our methodology was designed to build a solid foundation for understanding each country’s media development history, illuminated by rich, revealing detail. Further, we have carefully out-

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1 Estimates of current spending on media development are extremely difficult to make with precision, due to poor donor documentation, and range from 0.3% of all U.S. aid (the United States is the largest bilateral donor to media development) (Mottaz, 2010) to 0.6% of all aid (as estimated by D. Kaufmann in a presentation entitled “On Media Development & Freedoms in a Governance Context: An Outsider’s Reflections, with Some Empirics,” presented at OECD DAC GOVNET meeting on June 7, 2011.)

2 The vexing question of how to define impact of a particular media development intervention, and further, how to measure that impact, is addressed in another report for the Media Map Project (Alcorn et al., 2011).

3 The Media Map Project defines the health of the media sector: “The health of the media sector refers to the extent of its development. A healthy media sector is independent from both government and business, generates quality outputs that reach citizens, and engages them to make informed decisions that impact their own lives and the lives of their community” (Roy, 2011a: 3).
lined any remaining gaps in the research. Building upon this work, we have proposed a design for quantifying the impact of donor support to the media that could be undertaken in a subsequent phase of the research.4

The original design of the project included four or five countries as case studies. We selected the countries to represent a range of development challenges, political situations, media development history, and geography (with a slight emphasis on Sub-Saharan Africa). In consultation with the Media Map International Advisory Board, we selected Democratic Republic of Congo, Mali, Peru, Ukraine, and Indonesia. As the project progressed, we formed partnerships that enabled us to add Kenya (Center for Governance and Human Rights, Cambridge), and Cambodia (Australian Broadcasting Corporation). The basic research design includes:

1) Qualitative desk research providing context on each country’s development, political, historical, and media landscapes

2) Quantitative desk research creating a portrait of each country’s media sector progress over the last 20 years, to the extent that data is available, also some comparison between the country and its region

3) Primary data collected from in-country fieldwork, which includes interviews, focus groups, and observation

Pilot projects come with constraints, but they also come with great opportunities for exploration and creativity, and we have pursued the case study research very much in this spirit. However, while each of the countries contains all of the above components, and thus a consistent line of inquiry, there is some variation across the studies. First, as to format, the lead researcher for each country was provided with a template meant to structure the report. All of the reports cover the key areas in the template, but they do not share a perfectly uniform structure. Both the template and sampling guide are provided at the end of this report. Model discussion guides for interviews were provided, adapted for language and context, and used to guide semi-structured interviews and focus groups during the field work.

Mali and Peru were chosen to coincide with two of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development’s Development Assistance Committee (OECD DAC) Governance Network’s (GOVNET) case studies that lay the groundwork for improving donor support to domestic accountability. We provided GOVNET with summary reports on these two countries focusing on the media’s role in domestic accountability in support of GOVNET’s preparation for the High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in November 2011 in Busan, Korea.

To the Peru and Ukraine case studies, we added Network Analysis, a social science methodology that investigates connections among organizations to probe relationship patterns in areas such as information sharing, prestige, and trust. In Peru, we also piloted a methodology called Participatory Photographic Mapping, a technique that has been used principally in the U.S. and Canada to investigate community health and safety issues. This produced visual, oral, and textual data showing where people get their information and what sources they trust. The experiment yielded some insights about information sources, but was even more useful as a process to refine the methodology appropriately for future research.

In recent years, news media have been evolving and significantly overlapping with the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) sector. An overview of the Internet and mobile phones is included in the media landscape portraits. The question of new media and social media was included in the primary research to the extent that donors support these areas. We excluded any donor assistance consisting of pure infrastructure provision. In recognition of the rapidly shifting information landscape, we chose to focus the Kenya case study more pointedly on the convergence of old and new media, and on what donors are focusing on today, rather than conducting an extensive review of the past.

Finally, each of the individual case studies is meant to illuminate the specificity of each country context, but also feed into a broader evidence base of why and how better to support the media sector around the world. Out of this research, our aim is to identify clear guidelines for donors about the best approaches to media support across a variety of contexts. The final Media Map Project report will assimilate findings from all of these components, including the seven case studies, an econometric study that demonstrates that a healthy media sector has a positive impact on political stability in the sub-Saharan Africa region (Roy, 2011b), and a study of donors’ approaches to assessing the impact of their media development projects. All of these reports, the quantitative data used in the reports, and a wealth of other data that can be used to further investigate the role of information and media in governance and development is freely available on our project website, www.MediaMapResource.org.

4 See Roy and Susman-Peña, 2011.
## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADC</td>
<td>Asociación por los Derechos Civiles</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIETI</td>
<td>Asociación de Investigación y Especialización de Temas Iberoamericanos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AECID</td>
<td>Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional</td>
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<td>AED</td>
<td>Academy for Educational Development</td>
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<td>ANP</td>
<td>Asociación Nacional de Periodistas</td>
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<td>AMARC</td>
<td>Asociación Mundial de Radios Comunitarias</td>
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<tr>
<td>APRODEH</td>
<td>Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos</td>
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<tr>
<td>CNR</td>
<td>Coordinadora Nacional de Radios</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEPES</td>
<td>Centro Peruano de Estudios Sociales</td>
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<tr>
<td>CECOPROS</td>
<td>Centro de Comunicación y Promoción Social</td>
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<tr>
<td>DED</td>
<td>German Development Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>GTZ</td>
<td>German Society for Technical Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDL</td>
<td>Instituto de Defensa Legal</td>
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<tr>
<td>IEP</td>
<td>Instituto de Estudios Peruanos</td>
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<tr>
<td>IACHR</td>
<td>Inter-American Commission on Human Rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>INEI</td>
<td>Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPYS</td>
<td>Instituto Prensa y Sociedad</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRI</td>
<td>International Republican Institute</td>
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<td>KNN</td>
<td>Kids News Network</td>
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<tr>
<td>KAS</td>
<td>Fondo de Inversión en Telecomunicación</td>
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<tr>
<td>MTPE</td>
<td>Ministerio de Trabajo del Perú</td>
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<tr>
<td>MISEREOR</td>
<td>German Catholic Bishops’ Organization for Development and Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAPA</td>
<td>No Apto Para Adultos</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>OSI</td>
<td>Open Society Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>RCP</td>
<td>Red Científica Peruana</td>
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<tr>
<td>SIP</td>
<td>Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa</td>
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<tr>
<td>SIMDEV</td>
<td>Sistema de Información y Monitoreo de DEVIDA</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDF</td>
<td>United Nations Democracy Fund</td>
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<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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Peru’s media development landscape is uniquely characterized by prolonged funding of community radios by the Catholic Church, beginning in the 1960s and continuing until today. This activity appears to redress to some degree the lack of balanced development between Lima and the provinces.

The study’s approach was to identify the key implementing organizations engaged in media development, and through them, understand which donor organizations are funding media operations as well as the factors influencing the success or failure of the institutions and programs they fund. Some of the key players in media development addressed on this report are Calandria, IPYS, IDL, Red-TV, and CNR among others. Some of the key donors are OSI, MISEREOR, NED, IRI, USAID, AECID, KAS, AIETI, Free Voice, and Alboan.

Key Findings

General Background

- The media environment in Peru is well established, fairly well developed, and vibrant. However, it is highly centralized in the capital, Lima, and highly concentrated in terms of ownership.

- The existence of NGOs in the country goes back to the 1960s and 1970s, as does the relationship between NGOs and international donors.

- Donor funded media development goes back to the late 1960s and 1970s, although it was in the 1980s and particularly throughout the 1990s that there was a marked increase in the number of NGOs in Peru, several of which engaged in media development.

The Last 20 Years

- Peru’s media development landscape is uniquely characterized by prolonged funding of community radios by the Catholic Church, beginning in the 1960s and continuing until today. This activity appears to redress to some degree the lack of balanced development between Lima and the provinces.

- The 1990s was detrimental for freedom of the press and media development due to the Fujimori government’s control over the flow of information.

- Towards the end of the 1990s and as the country transitioned to the post-Fujimori era in the 2000s, funding for media development has focused primarily on promoting ethical journalistic practices, decentralizing the flow of information, democracy, institutional accountability, transparency, and programs dedicated to public health and gender issues.

- Two important laws were passed during the decade of the 2000s—the Transparency and Access to Information Law (2002) and the Radio and Television Law (2004).
• Media development is not necessarily the only or primary activity of all NGOs involved in the area. In some cases media is complementary to the NGOs’ other programs.

• Issues of sustainability are of concern. As Peru is becoming a middle income, stable democracy, donors are reducing their aid. However, in order to secure freedom of the press, decentralize information flows, and further media development, NGOs still need access to international funding.

• The government and other social and political actors remain a threat to freedom of the press, although the threats are not as systemic or dramatic as in the past.

• Although the intention of donors may not be to act as agenda setters, to a great extent they do set agendas based on the issues they promote and choose to support (i.e. democracy, accountability, gender issues, and rule of law, among others).

• For the most part both local NGOs and donors report only their successes, making it hard to unearth failed programs or conflicts between donor institutions and NGOs.

COUNTRY PROFILE

Peru has three major different geographical and ecological areas—the coast, the highlands, and the Amazon, occupying a half million square miles of territory on the west coast of South America. Politically, the country is divided into 24 Departments and one Constitutional Province, Callao. Lima, the capital, is located on the coast.

In the twentieth century, Lima became the center of economic progress, political power, and cultural life. Other major cities include Arequipa, Cusco, Trujillo, Chiclayo, Piura, Chimbote, and Iquitos; however, none of these cities have reached the same level of national importance as Lima. The centralization of power in Lima is a holdover from colonial times, which became consolidated after independence. Centralization has played a significant role in media development, as the most influential national media outlets and networks are located in Lima, including most of the donor-supported media.

During Alan García's first term as president, from 1985 to 1990, his government sought to break away from centralization by creating a new political configuration for the country by consolidating neighboring departments into regions. The idea behind this was to decentralize political and economic power from Lima and create regional governments that could be more autonomous in their decision-making as well as in the use of their natural resources. However, this process of unifying departments into regions did not work and created more problems than it solved.

Today, the departmental division remains in place although politically the departments are termed regions. Although the 24 regions have gained a certain autonomy and the decentralization process is advancing slowly, Lima's central government still retains the most power.

Population

Peru is a multi-ethnic country where indigenous groups make up 45 percent of the population. The second largest group is mestizo (people of mixed heritage-European and Indigenous) with 37 percent, then Europeans with 15 percent. There are small numbers of Afro-Peruvians, Japanese-Peruvians, and Chinese-Peruvians who make up about 3 percent of the population (INEI, 2008).

Peru's population at the 2007 census was 28.2 million, of which about 30 percent lives in Lima (INEI, 2008). Data from 2009 suggest that Peru's population had grown to 29.5 million (CIA, 2011).

In the last 30 years, Peru has experienced significant internal migration and displacement of population due to harsh economic conditions and political conflict. Rural dwellers seeking employment and a better life have been migrating to urban centers. People from urban centers in the provinces migrate to Lima for schooling or work. The internal conflict in the 1980s and 1990s produced hundreds of thousands of displaced people escaping from remote villages and provinces, who flooded into the cities, and in particular Lima. This migration of rural populations has impacted media development. Several newspapers, television networks, and radios have had to adapt their content and adopt new styles and formats to attract a new audience whose culture and language is other than that of the urban mainstream. Internal migration has produced the development of urban shantytowns, and some of these new poor urban neighborhoods have also developed their own media—radio in particular—with donor aid in some cases.

Languages

Spanish is the official language as well as Quechua and Aymara, the most common indigenous languages.
According to the 2007 census 83.9 percent of Peruvians speak Spanish, 13.2 percent speak Quechua, and 1.8 percent Aymara (INEI, 2008). There are dozens of other indigenous languages in the Amazon basin, spoken by small populations. The census does not take into account bilingualism, thus it is quite possible that the percentage of Quechua and Aymara speakers may be somewhat higher.

Donor-supported media plays a significant role in providing media spaces for content in other languages besides Spanish. There are many radio stations with programming in native languages, and indigenous communities are becoming better integrated into national life and the democratic process now they are able to access information in their own languages. Some donor-funded media projects focus on strengthening the cultural identity of indigenous communities through language and indigenous music and storytelling.

The Economic and Political Landscape in the Last 20 Years

Over the last 20 years, Peru’s governments have embraced neoliberal policies, largely transforming the economic landscape. Throughout the 1990s, Peru was one of the fastest-growing economies in the region, and although this growth has slowed down, the trend of growth and economic stability continues. According to the Banco Central de Reserva del Perú and the World Bank, the Peruvian economy grew by 9 percent in 2009, significantly better than the Latin American average of -2.3 percent. The growth in 2010 was about 8 percent. Peru’s current per capita income stands at an estimated $4,160 and is classified as a middle-income country (World Bank, n.d.).

The national and most regional governments now have greater financial resources to enable social and economic development than 20 years ago. However, economic and social inequalities remain a constant, and one of the major challenges is the reduction of poverty. The basic monthly salary is 600 Nuevos Soles or $215 (MTPE, 2011), which is not enough to support a person, much less a family. It is estimated that more than 50 percent of the population is living on less than $2 a day. According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 2009, 53 percent of the Peruvian population was living below the national poverty line and about 12 percent in extreme poverty. This clearly shows that the economic growth is not reaching all sectors of society, which creates ongoing internal tension and sharp divisions between the already divided classes, leading to potential socio-political upheavals.

Politically, the 1990s were tainted with a history of authoritarianism, press censorship, corruption, and human rights violations. The democratic election of Alberto Fujimori (1990-1995 and 1995-2000) brought significant historical changes. He is praised for rescuing the economy from hyperinflation, and for fighting and defeating terrorist organizations such as the Maoist group, Shining Path, and the Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru (MRTA). However, Fujimori has also been criticized for staging an internal coup d’état in 1992, changing the constitution, high levels of corruption, and human rights abuses for which he is currently serving a prison sentence. After Fujimori took over the government, he ruled by decree for about a year, and, although in 1993 he restored constitutional rule, this was accompanied by a systemic attack on democratic institutions, human rights, and the press.

During Fujimori’s regime, press freedom was under constant attack. Media owners and managers were bought off for millions of dollars, silencing them or asking them to put a positive spin favoring his government. Montesinos, the chief of the intelligence service and Fujimori’s right hand man, was the mastermind of these corruption scandals.

Figure 1 shows economic influences over media content during some of the Fujimori years and after Toledo took power in 2001, compared with the average for the Latin America / Caribbean region (LAC). It shows Freedom House’s score for Peru rose in 2001-2 reflecting less economic influence on media content after the

2 Peru’s conflict between the Shining Path and the state took place between 1980 and 1993 with a death toll of more than 62,000 people. Due to the centralized and Lima-centric nature of the press, the conflict was not properly covered and people were misinformed for a long time. For more information, see Appendix 4 and visit http://www.overdad.org.pe/ingles/pagina01.php

3 A short documentary about this media corruption can be seen at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X0y5uXV11O
departure of Fujimori (which would include pressure by government funding, corruption, withholding of government advertising as a selective pressure point, or bias in licensing, quotas for newsprint or other material needs of the media).4

The most influential television networks with national reach—PANTEL and America TV—were complicit in this corruption. The owner of Frecuencia Latina, Baruch Ivcher, a naturalized Peruvian citizen, was stripped of his citizenship for opposing the Fujimori regime and had to leave Peru. The Fujimori government then appointed new management to run Frecuencia Latina. Several popular newspapers were created with government backing to support the Fujimori regime. This was a traumatic period and caused a serious setback for media development and for freedom of the press in this country. Donor-supported media emerged during this time and, in the 2000s, it began to play an important role in the transition to democratic life, with this time, civil society, and, more specifically, NGOs with social and political influence demanding transparency, accountability, and better governance as did media owners and individual journalists who remained on the side of press freedom despite attacks against them.

The Fujimori regime ended in 2000 plagued with corruption scandals exposed by media outlets that did not buy into the system of media corruption set by this regime. Fujimori fled to Japan, and Montesinos fled to Venezuela. From 2000 onwards the state, civil society actors and some sectors of the population have tried to heal the wounds left by a decade of internal conflict during the 1980s, and a decade of state violence and corruption in the 1990s. Between 2000 and 2001 there was a transitional government led by Valentín Paniagua until elected President Alejandro Toledo took office and ruled from 2001 to 2006.

During Toledo’s presidency there was sustained economic growth coupled with political stability. One of the highlights of the period was the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, an independent body led by important Peruvian intellectuals and several members of civil society engaged in human rights and press freedom. Following Toledo, in 2006, Alan Garcia assumed the presidency, ruling from July 2006 to July 2011 when the newly elected President Ollanta Humala replaced him. During Garcia’s second presidential term, his government continued Toledo’s work securing economic growth and sustaining political life. However, structural problems such as poverty, rule of law, and decentralization issues remain serious social problems. The recently inaugurated President Humala has promised that his government will work hard in order to reduce poverty, improve internal security and the rule of law, and to further decentralization. Humala’s vision is to achieve these changes through more socially inclusive economic development.

**Peru’s Key Development Challenges**

Peru’s long-standing challenge is poverty. Fifty-three percent of Peruvians live below the national poverty line and about 12 percent in extreme poverty (UNDP, 2009). According to Alfredo Prado, a writer for Gestión (Prado, 2011), rural areas are worse off, especially in the highlands, where about 66 percent of the population lives below the national poverty line and a third live in extreme poverty. Another challenge is environmental degradation, which affects the most vulnerable living in

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4 Freedom House Freedom of the Press Index 2008: Economic Influences over Media Content. For more information, see http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-press. Freedom House’s scores have been rescaled here, so that higher numbers reflect better scores.
marginal urban and rural areas affected by extraction of natural resources (mining, deforestation, pollution of rivers, etc.).

Most of the macro-economic growth in Peru comes from mining; however, mining also brings serious socio-environmental problems. Even though the government controls formal mining companies, these companies often do not comply with all the required standards. Ongoing problems are pollution, degrading of resources, and safety standards. The situation is worse with artisanal and small-scale mining, which operates informally. Deforestation is another big concern: the Amazon region is threatened by ongoing deforestation for animal farming, oil extraction and wood products, and this affects indigenous communities in various different regions.

In terms of media development there have been three significant challenges in the past 20 years, and these continue to pose a threat to a healthy media environment. The first relates primarily to government and civilian attacks and challenges to press freedom. The second is linked to a lack of economic investment for establishing and sustaining a media operation, and having enough capacity to run the operation. The third is the centralized nature of media with all major television networks, radios, newspapers, and weekly magazines being produced and concentrated in Lima. This centralization leads to a one-way flow of information from the capital to the provinces, and a shortage of media professionals or media-trained citizens in the provinces, since many aspire to work in the capital.

**Main Foreign Donors**

Peru, like many Latin American countries, receives aid both from the bilateral and multilateral donors, and from private international donors. The international funds flowing to Peru are bilateral (i.e. governments), multilateral (i.e. the EU and organizations such as the World Bank), and private donations or foundations (i.e. Open Society Institute [OSI]).

Figure 2 shows the levels of international development aid to Peru up to 2008 in comparison with averages for rest of the LAC region. Total foreign aid flowing into Peru and LAC has not seen much change over time (World Bank, n.d.).

One of the main bilateral donors and perhaps the most important for its long standing in the country and volume of investment is USAID. Its priority in the past two decades has been coca eradication, but other areas of investment throughout several decades are public health, education, sanitation, and democracy.

Figure 3 shows that total USAID investment saw a dramatic increase in Peru after 2000. The regional average declined over time and has been consistently at a low level.5

5 USAID investment has been estimated based on a database on USAID obligations at the activity level compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green. The database comprises 44,958 records that capture the composition of USAID budgets for specific activities in all sectors between 1990 and 2005. It covers 165 countries for the 15 year span of 1990-2004. The database aggregates the activity-level data to measure the size of USAID sectors and subsectors in different countries and years. Because funds obligated during any given year may be spent the following year, two-year means (corresponding to the current and past fiscal years) of the total amount obligated in each sector or sub-sector
Other important sources of aid since the early 1980s came through the Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) [German Technical Cooperation] and the Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst (DED) [German Development Service] both of which support rural development, irrigation projects, and democracy issues.

Since the early 1990s, the Spanish government through the Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID) [Spanish Agency for International Cooperation for Development] has also become an important bilateral donor, and Peru is the Latin American country in which they invest most heavily. AECID’s major areas of focus throughout the 1990s were public health, rural development, and basic social services. AECID has continued this focus during the 2000s, and aid to good governance, democracy, and transparency issues has been added.

The European Union is the main multilateral donor in Peru, focusing its investments throughout the 1990s on four fronts: irrigation and rural development, micro credit for small entrepreneurs, professional development, and democracy issues. Since the early 2000s, its major focus has been on fighting poverty, decentralization, and public health (EU Commission, 2007).

The Catholic Church, through its different Orders and non-profit organizations, is another major donor, focusing primarily on education, rural development, media development, and other social development activities.

There are many other private foundations that have been investing in Peru over the past 20 years; organizations relevant to this study are the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), the International Republican Institute (IRI), the Open Society Institute (OSI), Free Voice from the Netherlands, and the Asociación de Investigación y Especialización Sobre Temas Iberoamericanos (AIETI) [Association for Research and Specialization on Latin American Issues]. All of these organizations are directly or indirectly linked to media development projects in Peru.

The influx of foreign aid to Peru is not recent, going back to the mid 20th century, when there was a corresponding growth in local NGOs. However, NGOs as we know them today did not appear until the mid 1960s with the founding of the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP) [Institute of Peruvian Studies] in 1964 and the Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo (DESCO) in 1965 [Center for the Study and Promotion of Development-DESCO] (Panfichi & Alvarado, 2010). The former is dedicated to creating a space for the development of intellectual life and the social sciences, and the latter for the study and promotion of development in Peru.

The IEP and DESCO mark the beginning of a growing NGO phenomenon that took off throughout the 1970s and 1980s and continues until today. In a country with roughly 29 million people there are currently more than 2,000 NGOs formally registered, of which about 1,700 are fully operational, according to Carlos Pando, exec-

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6 Since January 2011, GTZ is known as GIZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit [German Company for International Cooperation]) and has incorporated the DED.

7 The term NGO was not used in Peru until the 1980s. What we now know as NGOs were originally known as Centros de Promoción [Centers for Promotion] or Centros de Desarrollo [Centers for Development].

8 For more information on IEP’s history, visit http://www.iep.org.pe/historiaiep.htm
utive director of the Peruvian International Cooperation Agency (APCI) [ANDINA, 2008]. Unfortunately there are no data on how many are engaged in media development at present.

The NGOs formed in the 1960s and 1970s were created at a time of significant social and political change. There was a move towards nationalistic reform, and the power of the local oligarchy was being challenged. The diminishing power of the oligarchy and the left-leaning ideological and political changes of the time produced many non-governmental organizations aligned with the workers, the peasants, and the poor.

Under the populist and nationalistic military regime of Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975) many NGOs were established across the country, and the work of his government was to some extent complemented by that of the NGOs already receiving international aid flowing from Europe and the United States (Panfichi and Alvarado, 2010). International aid continued to grow as the populist military regime of Velasco Alvarado was replaced by the military regime of Francisco Morales Bermúdez (1975-1980). Morales Bermúdez moved away from most reforms and invested less in national development. Thus, as the economy was crippled, the role of NGOs gained more importance.9

Aid from European foundations intensified during the 1980s and many more NGOs were established as the country started its democratic transition but also began suffering from internal conflict.10 Indeed, the number of NGOs multiplied so much across the country, and especially in Lima, that a new Peruvian NGO class appeared; a class of highly educated intellectuals and professionals who for the most part shared similar politics, schooling, social and cultural capital and became linked with international development. Most of these people were from Lima and went on to work in the provinces. Those who were privileged to work for NGOs earned better salaries (usually paid in dollars) than the average middle-class professional. They enjoyed numerous travel options inside the country and abroad, with all expenses paid by their organizations or international aid.

The disparity between this new class and other professionals on the one hand, and the rest of the population on the other was so notorious that it was openly criticized in 1989 by Alberto (Tito) Flores Galindo, an intellectual and well respected historian, who wrote a public letter entitled Reencontremos la dimensión utópica: Carta a los amigos [Seeking the utopian dimension again: Letter to my friends]: “….The need to criticize socialism has upstaged the fight against the dominant class. We are not only confronted by an ideological problem, but also by our own participation in the establishment. While the country became dramatically impoverished, those of us on the left improved our material life conditions. During the years of crisis, I must admit, we did very well thanks to NGOs and foundations, and we ended up co-opted by the most vulgar economic determinism. At the other extreme the impoverished intellectuals were left behind, many of them from provinces who sometimes held onto resentment and hate.” (Galindo, 1989)

Flores Galindo felt the country was in a downward spiral throughout the 1980s, while many intellectuals and professionals who pledged their socialist ideals to working for the poor were ironically establishing themselves as successful brokers of poverty. Despite such harsh criticism, this new sector of professionals has continued forming new NGOs throughout the 1990s and up to the present.

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9 The greatest accomplishment of Morales Bermúdez’s regime was arguably to return the country to democratic life, calling elections in 1980.
10 The Maoist group the Shining Path declared war against the state and took up arms in 1980, and a few years later the Revolutionary Movement Tupac Amaru (MRTA) did the same.
Media systems have been long established in Peru. There are still two newspapers founded in the 19th century in circulation—*El Comercio de Lima*, which is private, and *El Peruano*, which is state run. The oldest radio networks date back to early in the 20th century. Television was adopted in the 1950s, and the Internet arrived in the early 1990s. Since its origins, media in general has always been highly centralized in Lima, and it is from Lima that the media with national reach provides information and entertainment to the rest of the country. Lima currently has 25 major daily newspapers, of which at least six have national circulation, 10 main television networks out of which seven have national reach, two cable news operations, and 227 radio stations. These media outlets are privately owned except for one of the television stations, which is state owned.

In Peru, mainstream media follows the U.S. economic model of media development. Most news organizations are privately owned, and profits are derived mainly from advertising. The two largest private television networks—PANTEL and America TV—were added to already-established radio networks. The most powerful media groups are family holdings that operate like corporations. The two most important families with strong ties to the media are the Miro Quesada family who own Grupo El Comercio, and the Delgado Parker family who used to own PANTEL and still own Radio Programas del Perú (RPP), one of the most important radio networks.

Radio and television remain the most prominent outlets for information and entertainment, followed by newspapers, the Internet, and to a lesser degree, weekly magazines.

Figure 4 shows the frequency of use of TV, radio and the Internet for urban areas of Peru in 2008 (BBG, 2008).11

Although there are a substantial number of radio and television stations outside of Lima, in the provinces, these are smaller operations with a limited ratio of coverage serving primarily their immediate geographical areas. In total, there are 1,083 television stations and 2,326 radio stations in the country (licensed and non-licensed) (CONCORTV, 2010). Several hundred radio stations are educative or community radios, and many of these are associated with the largest donor-funded national radio network, Coordinadora Nacional de Radio (CNR), founded in 1978.

In this media landscape, it is clear that radio remains the most prominent medium in terms of accessibility, especially in the provinces and in the rural or remote areas of the country. In urban areas, television is the leading medium, followed by radio. Newspapers rank third due to cost and illiteracy, which is still a social problem in several regions of the country. Research conducted by IBOPE suggests that in the major urban areas of Peru, 97 percent of households own at least one television set and the average viewer is exposed to television a minimum of three to four hours daily. In terms of radio exposure, about 86 percent of the urban population consumes radio on an average of 3.5 hours daily (IBOPE, 2009). Recent research by the U.S. Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) (2008) has shown that mobile phone ownership in urban Peru is on the rise and was the third most popular gadget in the home after a television and a radio. See Figure 5 (BBG, 2008).

In the audience research done by BBG in 2008, nine percent of respondents said they used their mobile for receiving information from a news provider via SMS and 14 percent of respondents said they used their mobile to watch a news report.

Newspapers

The most powerful newspaper company has expanded its operations through vertical and horizontal integration, becoming El Comercio Group, which owns the oldest and most influential newspaper—*El Comercio de Lima*. Currently, this newspaper has the largest national circulation in the country, of 100,687 per week.

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11 The BBG data are audience research for BBG’s broadcasters’ programs, conducted by InterMedia. The research is conducted via national and urban surveys using random probability sampling techniques and sample sizes range from 1,000 – 5,000 subjects.
The group also owns the most important cable news station Canal N, radio El Sol, and several other daily newspapers—Perú 21, Trome, and Gestión, targeted at medium- and low-income sectors of the population. Other private newspapers with relative national circulation are La República, Expreso, Correo, and Ojo. All big cities in Peru have an average of two or three dailies.

Most other newspapers produced in Lima circulate primarily in that city, targeting the low-income sector. This mass and popular press, known as "prensa chicha," is influenced by internal migration and the culture of Andean migrants to the capital. Juan Gargurevich (2008) defines "prensa chicha" as a reworked traditional "yellow press" or sensationalist press, but with the cultural addition of Andean slang and identity. The growth of Andean and other provincial migrants in Lima has created a whole new market of readers, which is marginal to the taste and interests of the middle and upper classes of Lima.

During the second half of the 1990s there was an illusion of a thriving free press due to the appearance of various new dailies sold at very low cost. Many of them favored Fujimori’s regime. Some examples of
In the provinces, radio stations in general tend to fulfill their public service role regardless of whether they are privately-owned, community run, or donor-funded. For the most part, they try to hold local authorities accountable.

Radio

The radio system in Peru dates back to 1925 when the first radio station, OAX, was established. Throughout the 20th century, commercial and donor-funded radio became well-established both in Lima and in the provinces, and the most important medium for delivering local and national information, entertainment, and education.

Government and foreign donors have always viewed radio as one of the best developmental tools because it reaches not only marginal urban populations but those populations marginalized in the highest reaches of the Andes and deep in the Amazon basin. In Peru, there are more than 2,300 radio stations, including a good number of indigenous language stations and dozens of donor-funded radio stations. The largest donor-funded radio network is the Coordinadora Nacional de Radio (CNR), which is primarily funded by organizations within the Catholic Church. The CNR serves as an umbrella organization for 45 stations supported by Catholic organizations, and more than 150 other donor-funded educational and community radios as well as NGOs working for human rights.

In the past 20 years many commercial stations established between the 1950s and 1970s have been replaced by others. In some cases they have been rebranded with different names and formats. One of the longest lasting radio networks and perhaps the one with most national influence is Radio Programas del Perú (RPP). Over the past two decades, RPP has become a radio group with six stations, out of which at least three have national reach. RPP Noticias, the oldest operation in this group, is one of the most listened to and influential radio stations in the country. Its other stations are Studio 92, Oxigeno, Felicidad, La Mega, and Capital 96.7. Radio Capital 96.7 has been created recently to provide a mediated public space for debate of pressing social, economic, and political topics. The audience is encouraged to call in and make use of its “open mic” to express their views and concerns. Adriana León, a journalist from the Instituto Prensa y Sociedad (IPYS) [Press and Society Institute], says that one of the criticisms of Capital 96.7 is that the agenda is set by the management and only rarely by the public. Social or political issues and other controversial topics that may upset the government are usually avoided. As a result, RPP may be said to practice self-censorship.

In the provinces, radio stations in general tend to fulfill their public service role regardless of whether they are privately-owned, community run, or donor-funded. For the most part, they try to hold local authorities accountable. However, some stations are, of course, vulnerable to local politics and economics and some stations or their journalists may fall prey to corruption from local interests. In other instances, political forces may attack them if they become too critical of local authorities or private interests connected to government. Depending on the region, some stations have programs in other languages besides Spanish. The most common languages are Quechua, Aymara, Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Conibo, among others. This is particularly the case for community/educative radios serving the urban poor and/or indigenous communities.

Television

There are ten broadcast networks, seven of which are national networks. The most prominent and long-standing television networks are PANTEL, America TV, Televisión Nacional del Perú (TVPerú), and Frecuencia Latina. TVPerú is a state-run public service television, and many agree that it tends to serve the government rather than the public. Newer television stations that have developed in the last two decades are ATV, Red Global, and a Christian evangelical television, Bethel Televisión. Many of the estimated 1083 television stations in the country (CONCORTV, 2010) are affiliates of the major networks such as PANTEL, America TV, Frecuencia Latina, and TV Perú. However, many others are small, private local enterprises or municipal and
community television stations located in the provinces. Currently, approximately 30 of these small private and municipal stations from across the country are connected as a network under the umbrella of donor-funded Red TV [Network TV]. One of the goals of Red TV is to decentralize the production and consumption of television, and subvert the one-way flow of information from the capital (the core) to the provinces (the periphery). Red TV promotes the exchange and circulation of content between these 30 stations, making it possible to watch television from different regions and learn about events that the Lima-centric networks may not be covering. At the same time, this connection allows audiences in Lima to learn about the provinces. Peru also has cable and satellite television, which provides similar packages to those available in the United States and includes the national networks as well.

Internet
The Internet was adopted in Peru in the mid-1990s. At first it was used institutionally in government offices, NGOs, and universities. The Red Científica Peruana (RCP) [Peruvian Scientific Network] was the institution that helped develop the Internet, making it accessible to a wider public (Martínez, 2008). Today, the Internet is used by most Peruvian media as well as all NGOs. NGOs use the Internet to have a presence and communicate information via their websites. Some NGOs in the past 20 years have developed web-based news operations. Some prime examples are IDL-Reporteros, which has a remarkable investigative news operation produced exclusively for web delivery. Red TV web streams some of its television episodes, and Calandria runs the Veeduria or Media Observatory on the Internet. Additionally, several radios associated with the CNR deliver audio content via the Internet. According to InterMedia, “Peru has seen a sharp rise in Internet use over the last few years, and the country represents a success story of ICT access in the developing world.”12 The ITU data for 2010 give Peru a figure of 34.4 Internet users per 100 people, up from 3.08 in 2000. However, it is estimated that the number of Internet users may be significantly higher than this, given that most Peruvians access the Internet using cabinas públicas [public Internet cabins] or internet cafés, for which official data does not exist.

Media Influence and Freedom of the Press
The Peruvian media have suffered a major crisis over the last 20 years, particularly during the 1990s. As already mentioned, the Fujimori regime was detrimental to press freedom. During the Fujimori decade (1990-2000), payoffs to influential media outlets were the main strategies to control the press; another strategy was state terror. The Fujimori regime was characterized by paramilitary forces that threatened, kidnapped, and tortured journalists who did not conform. By buying and attacking the press, his government created an information-void. As a result, the public still does not trust the government and is somewhat suspicious of the media.

Figure 6 shows that Peru’s press freedom improved significantly between 1994 and 2011 (Freedom House, 2011).13 Improvements were most notable especially after 2000, in the post-Fujimori years; in 2002 it was rated “free” for a single year but started to decline slightly thereafter. By contrast, Latin America / Caribbean (LAC) as a region maintained a partially free rating without significant change during that time period.

13 As noted before, these numbers have been rescaled so that higher numbers reflect better scores.
The high level of media corruption and coercion that existed during the 1990s is no longer in place, and the press is freer. However, despite some progress, more work needs to be done.

Attempts to censor the press in one way or another are signs of the media’s ability to influence public opinion. Furthermore, in Peru the attacks are not solely against journalists working in mainstream media, but also against other institutions daring to hold the government accountable, such as NGOs. The animosity against NGOs is sometimes greater if they own a media outlet of some kind. Panfichi and Alvarado (2010) point out that the government and the political elite are resistant to civil society’s demands, especially on topics such as corruption, human rights, and financial matters.

Salary Issues in the Media

Another big challenge in Peru is salaries. According to the Ministry of Labor (MTPE) the minimum monthly wage as of February of 2011 is $214 (or 600 Nuevos Soles). People with higher education such as journalists and other professionals may earn more than the minimum wage. However, there is a disparity among journalists working in different media. There is also a difference between those journalists working in Lima who earn a better salary than those working in the provinces. The best paid are those working for television stations, and, as in many parts of the world, the better paid are the most-well known television anchors. Top news anchors in Lima can earn anywhere between $2,500 and $6,000 per month, depending on ratings and years of experience. A television reporter earns between $800 to $1,200, depending on years of experience, and the places he or she may cover. According to cable news Canal N’s correspondent in Cusco, his monthly salary is $600 for covering Cusco, Apurímac, and Madre de Dios. This is considered a well-paid salary even though it is lower than that which a reporter from the same cable station makes in Lima covering only Lima and some surrounding areas. Correspondents working for other television stations in Lima covering only Lima and some surrounding areas. Correspondents working for other television stations in Cusco or other provinces earn less than $600. In some cases they are only paid by assignment.

The disparity between what journalists earn in Lima and in the provinces can lead to unethical and corrupt practices. This is more pronounced in small cities or towns. For example, radio stations in provincial towns rent out airtime instead of hiring permanent journalists, thus obliging journalists to find sponsors to pay for airtime and to provide them a salary. The number of such sponsors is limited in the provinces; therefore, journalists are forced to receive funding from local politicians, private interests, and others, ultimately compromising the ethics of their journalistic practice.

The high level of media corruption and coercion that existed during the 1990s is no longer in place, and the press is freer. However, despite some progress, more work needs to be done. The government continues to exert power over the media through soft censorship mechanisms such as tax control, placements of public advertising, and licensing laws. Local experts agree that self-imposed censorship exists within most media outlets and media organizations or journalists who dare to criticize harshly or oppose the government are always at risk. The most notable case in recent years is that of radio La Voz de Bagua, which in 2009 lost its license for criticizing the Garcia administration and informing the local public about some government agreements with transnational corporations that were made without consulting the relevant indigenous communities in the Amazonian region of Bagua (see Appendix 5).

Another chilling and more recent case is the assassination of radio journalist Julio Cesar Castillo Narvaez on May 3, 2011. According to the owner of Radio Olantay (where Castillo Narvaez worked), the journalist had been receiving constant threats since he aired a program addressing the corruption of some local authorities in the town of Viru where he lived and worked. The Freedom House index (2011) rates Peru as “partly free.” The Peruvian Asociación Nacional de Periodistas (ANP) [National Association of Journalists] regularly reports attacks against journalists, or against buildings or stations where journalists are at work in different parts of the country.

Hostility against the press is evidenced in several cases in which radio stations have been taken off the air, licenses revoked or not renewed, and journalists from different media physically or verbally attacked. Although many of these cases are isolated and are not part of a systemic threat to press freedom (as during the Fujimori regime), they are still significant enough to be of concern. The ANP constantly reports cases of journalists receiving verbal threats when covering highly sensitive issues or during street protests and marches. Such threats can come from a variety of sources - government, state forces (e.g. police or military), or civilians.
Several of the NGOs working in media development, such as Calandria, IPYS, IDL, and Red TV, provide training for journalists in Lima and in the provinces. During such training, one of the points of discussion is usually about ethical procedures and problems with receiving money even through advertising. Members of these NGOs agree that most correspondents or journalists—especially in the provinces and small towns—are not well paid, and this presents a serious problem for transparency. Many journalists have several jobs, and not all are necessarily related to their journalistic career, which makes it more difficult for them to turn out high-quality work.

The quality of media production and journalism is also affected in the case of participatory community or educative media outlets. Often, those producing journalistic reports in these outlets are not trained journalists but community members without media experience; thus production standards are low and the programming tends to suffer from persfigonal bias.

Legal Framework

The Peruvian Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and expression, and outlaws censorship. The Peruvian government is also a signatory of international agreements for the protection of freedom of expression. However, despite such constitutional guarantees, the main barrier to a diversity of voices in the media is an individual's inability to access information and/or the space to disseminate such information. Producing newspapers either in print or online requires certain permissions and funds. It is further complicated by the procedures for the licensing of radio and obtaining broadcast bandwidth, which is expensive and takes a long time.

In the 1990s, a major concern for the Fujimori government was to deregulate telecommunications and seek international investment for this industry. The most important law in the 1990s was the Presidential Decree #013-93-TCC, entitled Texto Unico Ordenado de la Ley de Telecomunicaciones [Primary Text of Telecommunications Law], signed in 1993 by Fujimori. This decree modified previous regulations with respect to ownership and investment in the industry. This decree deregulated telecommunications and promoted vertical and horizontal integration and the development of the cable industry. Figure 7 demonstrates the effects of this deregulation and shows telecommunications investment as a percentage of revenue increasing in the mid-1990s. However, this was a temporary success and investment declined post 1998 and has been consistently below the regional average for the LAC region since then (World Bank, n.d.).

Further broadcast regulation saw the creation of the Peruvian Code of Radio Ethics, approved in 1994. The core of this code of ethics promoted radio development within a free market and competition, freedom of expression, and self-regulation within a democratic framework. However, the code was flawed because it did not legally recognize alternative voices such as community radios. It took another decade for community radios to be formally recognized under the new Radio and Television Law, created in 2004 (see below).

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14 Peruvian Constitution, Part 1, Title 1, Chapter 1, Article 2.

15 Source World Bank, n.d.

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Figure 7 (note: data missing for Peru for 2002-2004)
In 2001, Toledo’s government proposed the Ley de Transparencia y Acceso a la Información Pública No.27806 [Transparency and Access to Information Law]. This law, approved in 2002, aims to promote government transparency and the public right to access information. Based on this law, all public institutions should establish mechanisms to provide public information openly and transparently to both the press and the public. This law was created to regain the trust of the population in government, which was severely damaged during the 1990s. Figures 8 and 9 show significant improvements in Peru’s media sector in terms of Law and Regulations (Figure 8) and Political Pressure and Control on Media Content (Figure 9) as judged by the Freedom House Index, and show that Peru caught up with the rest of Latin America / Caribbean region (LAC) in these areas by 2002 under Toledo’s rule (Freedom House, 2008).

The effectiveness of the 2001 law is still a matter for debate: although most public institutions now have web pages disclosing some of their internal operations, they do not disclose pressing or important issues which would enable the press to do a good and transparent job. The press, in many instances, has to pressure public institutions to get information beyond the basic information on their web pages. This law has been amended in 2003 and 2005; first, expanding the list of public bodies required to deliver information to include public companies, and, later, tightening restrictions and extending the deadlines for the release of classified information. Members of Calandria, Transparencia, IDL, IPYS, and Red TV have expressed their concern regarding the inadequacies of this law and the fact that many public institutions and public officials do not abide by it. However, most agree it is still a big step forward given that the law includes the right to appeal if requests are denied.

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16 Transparency and Access to Information Law, Title 3, Article 10.
The important Radio and Television Law No. 28278 was signed in July of 2004 during Toledo’s government.17

This law revolves around freedom of expression, press freedom, media transparency, and creating the space for a plurality of voices. In this law there are three classifications under which a media organization may operate: commercial media, educative media, and community media. The difference between educative media and community media is primarily based on location. Educative media are focused on education, culture, and sports. Community media are located in indigenous communities or rural areas and are focused primarily on promoting cultural identity and traditions while strengthening the national integration of indigenous groups.

This is the first time that community radio has been recognized within a legal framework; however, as author Carlos Rivadeneyra explains, despite this new law, there are substantial numbers of radio stations still functioning without licenses because no concessions have yet been granted to many of the community radios. Another problem pointed out by AMARC [World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters] is that the government marginalizes both educative and community radios by restricting their reach to low-power transmitters and to tight geographic boundaries, thus limiting the plurality of voices in the broader public sphere.

17 It is important to note that civil society was involved in the creation of this law. Calandria’s Veeduria was very important in the development of the law as will be discussed later.
There is a substantial body of literature addressing the Peruvian media. Most articles and books are divided into two camps, those dealing with the mainstream media and those addressing alternative media, also referred to as educative, community, or citizen media. Most of the existing literature focuses primarily on the history, media praxis, media societal effects, and to a lesser degree on media's economic and normative framework. In more recent years there has been an emerging trend around the new radio and television law. There is also another body of literature comprised of reports and produced more as informational tools than as scholarly literature, circulating primarily among civil society organizations or governmental institutions.

This report reviews works produced in the past 10 to 20 years, but it is important to note that there are many significant articles and books about the Peruvian media both mainstream/commercial and alternative, dating back to the 1980s, some of which are listed in the reference section.

**Community Radio**

The importance of alternative radio in the process of democratization and citizenship among the poor is addressed in the work of Dora Navarro, “Transforming public space: A local radio’s work in a poor urban community” (2009). In this article, Navarro looks at Radio Emmanuel, an alternative radio station licensed as an educative radio, founded and supported by the Catholic parish of Huaycan, a shantytown in the outskirts of Lima. Navarro’s central argument is that alternative radio is potentially a fundamental source in the construction of citizenship and participation, and a local alternative radio such as Emmanuel can “strengthen citizenship ideas, contest established social and political structures, and collaborate with the development of a local community from the community perspective” (p. 626). Focusing on the radio’s journalistic work, Navarro’s study analyzes the influence of the radio station in its community while also signaling the limitations of the station in its ability to create a more critical public sphere.

The book Voces y movidas radio ciudadanas: Itinerarios, experiencias y reflexiones desde la Coordinadora Nacional de Radio (2006) [Citizen radio, voices and movement: Itineraries, experiences, and reflections from within the Coordinadora Nacional de Radio] edited by Jorge Acevedo, former executive director of the CNR, is a four-part compilation of articles discussing experiences, development, and reflections from the vantage point of the CNR and its allies - social communicators, journalists, and human rights activists. The book contributes to an overall understanding of the role of the CNR in media development as well as the evolution of the CNR in response to significant needs such as education, democracy and peace, citizenship, and social development.

In 2007, Bruce Girard coordinated a report entitled “Empowering radio: Good practices in development and operation of community radio.” This report centers on five countries—Colombia, Nepal, Mali, Peru, and South Africa—and is a comparative study of community radio practice in the developing world. The report provides a good framework for understanding community radio and analyzes its good practices and challenges, especially those connected to sustainability—one of the major challenges faced by most community radios worldwide, and in particular in the developing world. However, the report does not suggest solutions to the problem of sustainability.

**Media Landscape, Media and Society**

In En vivo y en directo: Una historia de la television peruana (2001) [Live: A history of Peruvian television], Fernando Vivas covers the history of Peruvian television from its beginnings back in 1958 up to approximately 2000. This is, perhaps, the most exhaustive work to date on the history of Peruvian television, which brings to the fore the wide variety of programs produced by different national networks and does a critical analysis of Peruvian television. The book covers different genres from different periods, including news programs, comedy shows, talk shows, soap operas, game shows, and all of the most recognizable television characters. The
The new edition (2008) includes another 150 pages with an impressive update about television in the post-Fujimori era, and covers new programs, some economic data, and television politics from the first seven years of the 21st century in Peruvian television.

Juan Gargurevich, a journalist and researcher of media history, has written several books addressing different media in various socio-historical periods that have marked Peruvian society. One of his early works, and a classic text in Peruvian media scholarship, is *Prensa, radio, y TV: Historia crítica* (1987) [Press, radio, and TV: A critical history]. A more recent book is *La Prensa sensacionalista en el Perú* (2002) [Sensationalist press in Peru], which uses a historical approach to draw a picture of the different periods of the Peruvian “yellow press” or sensationalist “chicha” press. His main argument is that each socio-historical context has its own sensationalism, which in Peru until not long ago was primarily expressed through newspapers but in the last two decades sensationalism has invaded television and even the Internet and has a tremendous appeal with the mass audience. He suggests that this kind of press also expresses changes in the demographic landscape of urban areas, particularly the capital city, Lima. The book is useful for a better understanding of the phenomenon of “prensa chicha.”

The systemic corruption brought about by Vladimiro Montesinos, Fujimori’s secret police chief, is well documented and analyzed by John McMillan and Pablo Zoido. Their article “How to Subvert Democracy: Montesinos in Peru” (2004) brings to the fore a detailed picture of how Montesinos acquired political and financial power. McMillan and Zoido do an excellent job of pointing out the fact that in a democracy the media are as important, if not more important, than all other key democratic institutions.

Though limited in number, some quantitative measures of the media landscape are to be found in the literature. For example, Figure 10, produced with data from the World Bank’s World Development Indicators, tracks Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Official Development Assistance (ODA). In an improving economy, FDI as a share of GDP should be increasing and ODA decreasing; these graphs map FDI and ODA trajectories in relationship to different measures of media development. FDI seems to share a more systemic relation with different measures of media development than does foreign aid, suggesting that foreign direct investment positively correlates with the development of the media. Foreign aid seems to have declined gradually after 2000 and does not show any clear relation with the condition of media development.

### Relationships between media development and FDI vs. ODA in Peru

#### Gender Issues in the Media

The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), which has monitored the world’s press—including Peru—every five years since 1995 shows that women’s presence within the media industry and as news subjects is low and that stories highlighting gender equality or inequality are rare. As Figures 11, 12, 13 and 14 show, the GMMP has found that Peru does not differ greatly from the rest of Latin America in terms of the negative situation of women and the media. However, it is notable that both Peru and Latin America overall made some progress in coverage of gender issues, with a decrease in the percentage of stories that do not highlight gender equality.
Legislation and Freedom of the Press

“La ley pendiente de radio y televisión” (2003) [The pending radio and television law] by José Perla Anaya addresses the urgency of passing the radio and television law that was in process in 2003. This book was a contribution to the discussion taking place at the time and, although the topic may no longer be current, it presents the reader with important points on why there was a need for a legislative framework to regulate radio and television as a response to media misconduct during the decade of the 1990s. In 2005, the author wrote another book, Ley de radio y televisión: Análisis y comentarios [Radio and television law: Analysis and comments], as an update to the discussion, and assessed the Radio and Television Law that was approved in 2004. Perla Anaya has also published other important work on media legislation covering issues on state support for the development of the film industry, the regulation of advertising, copyright law, and ICTs in the Peruvian context. In 2009, he also published a history of Peruvian communication policies (see reference list).

The topic of the 2004 Radio and Television Law has generated other works such as the edited volume compiled by Rosa María Alfaro Moreno (2005). This focuses on the experiences of the citizens’ campaign in which people publicly debated the need for a comprehensive radio and television law and made suggestions for building a more ethical praxis to satisfy public interests. Rosa María Alfaro has written and edited a long list of works addressing various themes related to media that are useful for understanding the relationship between media and citizenship.
Another interesting contribution is *Otras voces, otras imágenes: Radio y televisión local en el Perú* [Other voices, other images: Local radio and television in Peru], edited in 2009 by Giuliana Cassano of Catholic University. The book compiles various works presented at the first and second National Colloquium of Radio and Audiovisual Communication, showcasing different approaches to communication in several regions of the country.

A report sponsored by OSI and the Asociación por los Derechos Civiles (ADC) [Association for Civil Rights] called “El precio del silencio: Abuso de publicidad oficial y otras formas de censura indirecta en América Latina” (2008) [The price of silence: abuse of official advertising and other forms of censorship in Latin America] offers an analysis of soft censorship exerted by different governments in the Latin American region. Adriana León, a journalist and communication specialist working for IPYS, conducted the study on Peru. León discusses the case of the Minister of Housing Development, Hemán Garrido Lecca, who bought official publicity in three of Lima’s newspapers in exchange for positive coverage of his administration. León also points out how local authorities in Huaráz buy silence from the press by negotiating public advertising contracts. This study shows the state of the press in Latin America overall and the complexity of censorship in these transitional democracies where blatant censorship is now outlawed, but soft censorship and self-censorship remain tools for exerting control over information.

A look at the available statistical literature about the evolution of press freedom in Peru produces some in-
The Media Map Project: Peru 1990-2010

Interesting points for debate. Freedom House’s data on Peru clearly shows a positive change for the development of media freedom post Fujimori (see Figure 6). However, other data from Freedom House are more controversial, for instance their breakdown of the scores of Freedom of Press by print and broadcast for the time period 1994-2001. The following graphs use these sub-scores to show how the two sectors of media have developed over time. While the Latin America/Caribbean region (LAC) as a whole does not reflect much change over time (Figure 15), Peru’s broadcast sector shows a significant improvement over print during that time range (Figure 16). However, this apparent improvement comes during the worst years of the Fujimori regime, in which Fujimori and Montesinos bought out the broadcast system (see page 12). Therefore, the Freedom House data must be treated with caution.

Figure 15

Figure 16
Macro data on the media sector and governance in Peru reflects that the media sector of the country is not mature and strong enough to bring about transparency in society; other socio-political factors dominate the governance scenario of the country; and good institutions take time to evolve and are dependent on factors other than the media sector.

The Worldwide Governance Indicators\(^\text{18}\) are interesting to compare with measures of press freedom. The various dimensions of governance as depicted by the World Governance Indicators (see Figs. 17 and 18 on government effectiveness and control of corruption) both reveal a dismal performance by Peru, and that the country fares badly when compared to the entire LAC region. Therefore, in terms of independence of the press and good governance in the society, we get a conflicting picture for Peru. While the Press Freedom scores show improvement post 2000 (i.e., immediately post Fujimori), the same is not reflected in its governance institutions’ performance.

The above data can be reflective of many things: the media sector of the country is not mature and strong enough to bring about transparency in society; other socio-political factors dominate the governance scenario of the country; good institutions take time to evolve and are dependent on factors other than the media sector.

Looking at the last five years (2005-2011), Figure 19 compares changes in economic freedom to changes in press freedom (Heritage Foundation, n.d.).

Again, contrary to expectations, this data seem to show that there is no positive correlation between the economy and press freedom: whereas there has been a boom in economic freedoms, there have been negative changes to press freedom over the same period. This state of affairs makes sense in Peru, where (as previously discussed), the economy has improved overall due to revenue from the extractive industries. This improvement has had an impact on the economy in a highly unequal way across the population.

Although not an exhaustive literature review, the above summary addresses the most significant works and debates related to the media development topics covered in this report.

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\(^{18}\) The WGI dataset reports governance indicators for 213 economies for six dimensions of governance: Voice and Accountability, Political Stability and Absence of Violence, Government Effectiveness, Regulatory Quality, Rule of Law and Control of Corruption. The aggregate indicators combine the views of a large number of enterprise, citizen and expert survey respondents in industrial and developing countries. The individual data sources underlying the aggregate indicators are drawn from a diverse variety of survey institutes, think tanks, non-governmental organizations, and international organizations. The score ranges from -2.5 to +2.5; higher numbers are better. See http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.asp.
Figure 17

Government Effectiveness
Worldwide Governance Indicators

Figure 18

Control of Corruption
Worldwide Governance Indicators

Figure 19

Change in Economic and Press Freedom: 2005 to 2011
Why support the Media? The Donor Perspective

Most donor interventions in the media landscape date back to the 1970s. There are four basic reasons for donors’ media assistance efforts:

1. The weakness of governmental systems and lack of state presence in various aspects of development across the country.

2. The centralization and concentration of media resources, which creates a one-way flow of information from the capital to the provinces, thus impairing strong development of local information and the presence of provincial voices in the capital.

3. The need for democracy, stability, citizens’ participation, and accountability of public officials as neoliberal political and economic trends were being adopted in the region and in Peru in particular.


The earliest media donor was the Catholic Church in the 1970s. At that time, a sector of the Catholic Church influenced by liberation theology saw as the primary goal the need to provide concrete tools to the poor such as technology and education. These Catholic donor organizations were interested in producing programming for radio stations to evangelize and to provide access to education (radio schools). Catholic donors and implementers saw education and radio as a key liberating force for the poor, and they were at the forefront of using this medium to educate the marginal sectors of the country. During the reformist military regimes of General Juan Velasco Alvarado and General Francisco Morales Bermúdez some of these radio stations, in partnership with the Ministry of Education, offered educational programming for the poor and for those living far away from urban areas.

During the 1980s, as internal conflict spread throughout the country, affecting more and more indigenous and poor people, Catholic donors and implementers sought to expand their radio networks to serve as an opposition to violence. Their media supported human rights and sought to shed light on topics crucial for the survival of populations who were caught between state violence and the opposing armed political groups. At this time, other NGOs requested funds for media projects linked to human rights, and donors started shifting money to aid this type of media development.

During the 1990s, as internal conflict decreased, the need to strengthen democracy and state institutions increased. During the same decade, Peru experienced the arrival of new technologies, particularly the Internet and less expensive audio and video equipment. Donors were aware of the potential power of the Internet, and the need to create a better flow of information nationally and internationally. Since the early 1990s, most NGOs adopted the Internet and multiplatform media to disseminate information and communicate with their target audiences and there was an increase in numbers of donors investing in this new media space. The use of multiplatform media, Internet radio, and broadcast television linked via the Internet, greatly improved broad dissemination and access to information. Decentralized media also provided opportunities for exchange of information between localities and improved citizen participation.

The Last 20 years, 1990s-2000s: Major Donor Activities and Goals

Over the last 20 years, the major activities in which international donors have invested and NGOs have engaged have been:

- Training professional journalists, social communicators, and activists
- Supporting the development of investigative reporting
- The promotion and defense of freedom of expression and freedom of the press
In Peru, donors have achieved successful results with relatively low levels of investment.

- Local production of information and cultural programs to be disseminated throughout the provinces and the capital
- The development of digital multiplatform journalism and other information media.
- Educational forums about the right to access information, and development of digital platforms to disseminate this knowledge.
- Strengthening the interaction between civil society and public officials in order to improve exchange of information and better policy making

The above are the key objectives of most donors such as OSI (Open Society Institute), NED (National Endowment for Democracy), USAID (United States Aid), IRI (International Republican Institute), and MISEREOR. Their support has comprised various types of media development and it is argued that successful results have been achieved with relatively low levels of investment.

Figure 20 shows that disbursements of foreign aid for “communication” for Peru increased gradually in the early 2000s and rose significantly post 2006, exceeding that of the average of the LAC region (OECD DCD-DAC, n.d.).

Radio Sicuani was originally established in 1951 by Gilberto Muñiz Caparó and Efraín Negrón Alonso as a private radio for the community of Sicuani (Province of Cusco). These two small entrepreneurs dedicated their radio to public service, and operated it as a de facto community radio station. Gilberto Muñiz Caparó later became mayor of the city of Cusco as well as Congressman for the Department of Cusco. Radio Sicuani was bought by the Catholic Prelature of Sicuani in 1978 to expand the radio station’s mission to educate, inform, entertain, and provide a voice from the heart of the province reaching the rural population in the high reaches of Canchis (Cusco). Radio Sicuani is the oldest radio station in the CNR and a founding member.

Another radio station with a long history is Radio Marañón (Province of Jaén-Cajamarca). In 1967, the Jesuit Order founded a radio in the Prelature of San Ignacio de Loyola with the purpose of distance-education and evangelization. In 1976, the Jesuits moved this radio to the larger city of Jaén, founding Radio Marañón. Radio Sicuani and Radio Marañón are well known for their distance-education programs, which lasted from...
the late 1970s to the mid-1980s, when the Ministry of Education lost interest and stopped sponsoring such programs.

In the last 20 years, these two radio stations have upgraded their systems and have solidified their connection with their communities through a more secular style of programming that includes news, local and popular music, a system of radio messages where citizens communicate with each other if living long distances apart, and the broadcast of musical requests for birthdays or special occasions. Since the mid-1980s, these radio stations have also developed programs that support community development in terms of public health, agriculture, women’s issues, and human rights.

In the last decade, they have been focusing on issues of democracy, better governance, and transparency in their localities while relating their local experiences to the regional and national spheres. Radio Marañón has also become famous for its coverage of ecological degradation and for promoting sustainable rural development.

Similarly supported by Catholic organizations, the NGO Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado (CIPCA) [Research Center for the Promotion of the Peasantry] set up Radio Cutivalú in 1986 in the city of Piura. Through Radio Cutivalú, CIPCA seeks to provide a means of communication to better integrate the Piura region located in the northwest of Peru. It also aims to serve the public interest by providing a participatory space where the community can access information and entertainment. It also creates programs based on the community’s needs. The station is keen on involving community leaders and ordinary citizens for generating dialogue, expressing opinions, and questioning authorities or decision makers when necessary.

Although the station belongs to an NGO, it is perceived and operates as a community radio station while also serving CIPCA’s other development projects as a voice for dissemination. The radio station has its own independent board and team to maintain a good level of editorial independence. However, as a station that belongs to a development NGO, it differs from a more traditional community radio given that, to a large extent, it is aligned with the goals and interests of CIPCA first, and with local interests second. As a voice for development, it sets a particular agenda, which will primarily fulfill the goals of the NGO even when the production of the programming may be fairly inclusive of sectors of the community and participatory in nature. Radio Cutivalú differs from other community radios in its internal structure, which is more professional, and it has substantial financial support provided by CIPCA and its funders. In this regard, unlike most community radios in Peru, radio Cutivalú is well established.

Radio Emmanuel, a more recent development, was started in 1996 by the Catholic Church working in the shantytown of Huaycan on the outskirts of Lima. This radio station came into being in the context of recent internal conflict and migration from the provinces to the capital in Peru. Huaycan developed in the 1960s and 1970s when poor rural settlers came to Lima seeking a better life. Then, in the 1980s and 1990s, more migrants sought refuge from the violence in rural areas. The Catholic Church has been closely involved and as the shantytown grew, the Church helped the community by building the radio as a communication system to improve on the loudspeaker system that had existed previously (Navarro, 2009). Radio Emmanuel operates as an educational community radio, and its main goals are: strengthening citizenship, strengthening human rights, and providing a horizontal public space for communal dialogue and good governance. The radio station offers broad programming, including spiritual and moral guidance, education (i.e. gender issues, health), news, folklore, popular music, and youth programs.

All the radio stations above are members of the umbrella group CNR. The CNR has grown to be the largest radio network in Peru with more than 45 radio stations that are networked with about 200 other stations and civil society organizations nationwide. The CNR is also a member of the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC). Some funders for the CNR and many of the media organizations under its umbrella are Catholic organizations such as MISEREOR, the Jesuit Order, and the Spanish Jesuit NGO, Alboan. Through the years, these organizations have funded media development ranging from technology and hardware delivery to programming development and professional training.

Another significant media development is that of IDL-Radio, which produces a news and opinion radio program called No Hay Derecho [No Right] directed by journalist Glatzer Tuesta, and broadcast daily on Radio San Borja, a commercial station in Lima. Supported by MISEREOR, OSI, and the Ford Foundation, IDL-Radio, and particularly No Hay Derecho, focus on hard news, human rights, democracy, social justice, and politics. At the same time, this media project is linked with several radios in the provinces through which they exchange information and disseminate news from the capital to the provinces and vice-versa. IDL-Radio also offers workshops for provincial radio journalists in the areas of technical training, reporting, and journalistic ethics relating to issues of social justice and human rights.
As Glatzer Tuesta enthusiastically explains, “…connecting with radio stations in the provinces is extremely important for a healthy national media environment, and it strengthens democratic values among citizens of all regions.” Through this connection, citizens have a broader and better picture of what is happening across the country. This means significant events no longer affect just one locality - residents in different regions can jointly pressure national authorities to change policy in support of events affecting other regions. A recent example of this is the case of Bagua and the state repression against Radio La Voz de Bagua (see appendix).

Another media initiative by NGO IDL is IDL-Reporteros, established in 2009. IDL-Reporteros is dedicated to investigative reporting and it delivers all of its information via a web multiplatform. The main funder for IDL-Reporteros is OSI, and the director is the high-profile journalist Gustavo Gorriti, who suffered state repression for his journalistic work during the Fujimori regime. According to Jacqueline Fowks, a journalist at IDL-Reporteros, her media organization is filling the gap left by mainstream media, which has for the most part stopped investing in investigative reporting due to the high costs and risks involved. As Fowks explains, “mainstream media does not do investigative reporting because of self-censorship, which some media organizations have to do to avoid a backlash from the government or the private sector, which pay for advertising in their outlets. Most of the mainstream media cover news and provide information, but they do not unearth deep-seated corruption in the state sector.”

Both IDL-Radio and IDL-Reporteros are media development organizations operating as part of the NGO Instituto de Defensa Legal (IDL). IDL focuses on legal defense and human rights, and has a long history dating back to the 1980s. Both institutions operate independently from IDL itself and from each other, having their own separate directors, journalists, institutional structure, and scope of operation. Both Tuesta and Fowks explain that their communication areas reflect the line of work and the interests of the larger institution on the topics they cover and investigate, but that they have editorial independence.20

Another significant media development organization is Red TV [Network TV], and their popular television programs Enlace Nacional and No Apto Para Adultos (NAPA). Red TV was born out of a successful project carried out by TV-Cultura [Culture TV], a non-profit media organization headed by documentary maker Carlos Cárdenas. In 2000, TV-Cultura received funds from USAID to develop a television program called Democracia Ayer y Hoy [Democracy: Yesterday and Today] aiming to generate dialogue, educate the population, and promote transparent elections. The program, designed to last for 10 weeks, was aired during the run-up to the presidential elections of 2000. The concerted effort to produce a program and to network with small local private and community television stations bypassing the big national networks was a unique experience. TV-Cultura worked with 37 television stations from different localities across the country, offering a decentralized model of production, dissemination, and ultimately a multidirectional flow of information, thus marking a shift in television production in Peru.

Out of this experiment, TV-Cultura sought to continue networking with these small local provincial television stations in order to improve communication, exchange information, and promote a national dialogue where different voices from various regions are networked around the country, including in Lima. Carlos Cárdenas explains that it took several years, plus financial support from Dutch NGO Free Voice and OSI to form Red TV, which came into existence officially in 2006 as the umbrella network organization for TV-Cultura and its associates across the country. Since then, Red TV has been producing and distributing two nationally-broadcast programs that are also accessible via the web. The first one is a news program—Enlace Nacional and the other is a magazine style program targeted at youth—No Apto Para Adultos (NAPA).

Cárdenas indicates that NAPA is the first television and Internet program in Peru that gives a voice to children from different regions of the country. A team of professional journalists in Lima, including 24 youth reporters

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20 For more information about IDL, see Appendix 3 or visit http://idl.org.pe
across the country, are the producers of NAPA, a program that has won domestic and international awards. This program has been sponsored primarily by Free Voice. According to Free Voice’s website, Kids News Network (KNN) is “structurally supported by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and is funded by the Nationale Postcode Loterij [National Post-Code Lottery], the Media & Democracy Foundation, Oxfam Novib, UNESCO, Plan Nederland, Cordaid, Terre des Hommes and the Euro Donation Fund.” Free Voice works with all of these organizations serving as a bridge and providing funds to the appropriate international implementers, who present programs to them. Free Voice’s objectives were to bring together commercial and non-commercial media and strengthen such connections, to promote media networking, and to promote the economic sustainability of community media.

Red TV televisions shows—Enlace Nacional and NAPA—differ from mainstream programs in that both are produced in a decentralized manner and respond to local needs and events where the participating TV stations are located. Then, these programs circulate between all participating stations, providing an alternative flow of information to Lima-centered mainstream media. Both are programs that have succeeded in sustaining themselves through advertising. However, according to Carlos Cárdenas “in order to build more capacity and strengthen journalistic practices in Lima and the provinces there is always a need for financial support even in small amounts.”

For Cárdenas, one of the major challenges is to continue producing these programs and expanding to produce others as donor dollars decrease. “Since Peru is now considered an emerging society with a growing economy, and the global economic crisis is affecting rich nations, funding is tighter. International donors are reducing or in some cases even ending, their aid. This is the case with Free Voice for example, which is the main donor for NAPA.”

Other NGOs and civil society associations receiving funding for media development are the Instituto Prensa y Sociedad (IPYS) [Press and Society Institute] and Calandria. IPYS is a civil society organization established in 1993, and it works for the defense and promotion of freedom of expression and press freedom. The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) is one of the main funders for IPYS. Their funding pays for training to create and promote regional journalists networks, workshops on legal and ethical journalistic standards, training in monitoring press freedom and legal defense in cases of attacks on freedom of expression. IPYS is among the most successful organizations at securing funding from other donors, such as the United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF) and Open Society Institute (OSI), which have funded training workshops for reporters in Lima and the provinces. Their other funders are UNESCO and the Ford Foundation, both of which have funded training for investigative reporting, open access to information, and the use of new technologies as a tool for long-distance training in investigative reporting. The U.S. Embassy has funded web 2.0 trainings for journalists through IPYS. NED continues funding IPYS, which is now also operating in Venezuela and Colombia.

Calandria, established in 1983 as an association of “social communicators,” has grown to be one of the most important media research organizations in the country with a staff of about 15 people. Social communicators

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21 For more information on IPYS, see Appendix 3 or visit http://www.ipys.org/.
The role played by foreign donors is a complex one. On the one hand, the goals expressed in their mission statements and by some representatives state that they provide assistance without trying to influence the mission or goals of the organizations they fund. On the other hand, most donor institutions set specific trends in funding, for example, a focus on maternal health, human rights, democracy, and transparency, among other areas. Thus, this is perceived on the ground as a subtle way of setting particular agendas for development.

Calandria receives funding from a long list of sources for projects that include production of radio and television programs, research, capacity building, gender issues, youth cultures and media, and monitoring media behavior. USAID, UNESCO, NED, IRI, Free Voice, and International Solidarity have regularly supported Calandria’s projects in the past 20 years. An example of research funded by IRI and USAID is the study titled “Eclipse en la Representación Política” [Eclipse in Political Representation]. This study is part of IRI’s larger project to promote democracy in Peru called Todos Hacemos Política [We All Do Politics]. In addition, Calandria has developed the “Veeduria Ciudadana” [Citizens Watch], which is a kind of media watchdog that probes citizens’ opinion of the press, presents citizens’ claims, and organizes public debates about media. As part of the Veeduria work, Calandria was involved in discussions to create the Radio and Television Law # 28278, approved in 2004. The need for this law came about due to the widespread corruption in various media systems under the Fujimori regime. This law aims at better overseeing the use of the radio spectrum in the interest of public service and making sure media outlets follow a code of ethics as established by the law. The British Embassy served as a mediator, inviting the owners of important mainstream media to discuss the development of this law.22

Roles of Foreign Donors and NGOs

The role played by foreign donors is a complex one. On the one hand, the goals expressed in their mission statements and by some representatives state that they provide assistance without trying to influence the mission or goals of the organizations they fund. On the other hand, most donor institutions set specific trends in funding, for example, a focus on maternal health, human rights, democracy, and transparency, among other areas. Thus, this is perceived on the ground as a subtle way of setting particular agendas for development. In some instances, local NGOs or recipient institutions do broaden or narrow their own mission and/or goals in order to elicit and access funding. If some initiatives do not fit the specific areas funded by international donors, then those initiatives may never get funded, even when they address crucial social issues.

Both European and U.S. donor organizations have specific areas of development they tend to fund. Usually these areas align with current institutional interests, and in some cases, with their government’s foreign policy towards the recipient country. The European donors usually take proposals that fit the themes they fund (i.e. maternal health, women’s rights, media transparency, citizen participation). If the funding organization

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22 According to the Veeduria website, the British embassy is currently one of its funders.
sees the proposal as viable and compatible with its own parameters, then the NGO gets funded to implement the proposal. In contrast to the European donors, most U.S. funding organizations tend to have a project already designed (i.e. web 2.0 training, children’s nutrition, coca crop replacement), and Peruvian NGOs compete to gain access to the funds by showing how they will implement a project. Although the approaches differ, both European and U.S. donors can be said to act as agenda-setters for development, even if unintentionally. The fact that these organizations define specific areas to be funded greatly influences the kind of initiatives that are proposed to address local issues.

Some international donors have exerted pressure for the adoption of neoliberal policies since the 1980s as economic global trends started to shift. In Peru this was not so evident until the 1990s, when the Fujimori regime fully embraced neoliberalism, attracting more foreign capital, including bilateral and multilateral agreements and private donations. International funding institutions embraced the Washington Consensus and, by the 2000s, it was clear that the role of international aid in general was to exert some political influence on issues demanding political and economic stability, transparency, and better governance for a smoother transition to and consolidation of democracy.

Other Actors in Media Development

In 2002, the Peruvian government created the Agencia Peruana de Cooperación Internacional (APCI) [Peruvian International Cooperation Agency]. This entity oversees all international aid and regulates NGOs. NGOs receiving funds from international donors must be registered with the APCI, and must declare amounts received (these records are not open to the public, however). According to the law #27692 under which the APCI was created, the agency exists in order to aid a more transparent use of funds donated by international donors, and to ensure that programs are implemented according to the government’s national development plans. Although no direct evidence was found of the APCI having problems with foreign donors or their representatives, there is plenty of material depicting the tense relationship this government institution has with local NGOs.

The APCI has attempted to gain constitutional powers to control local NGOs and their contractual agreements with private donor international agencies. Currently, the APCI only oversees funding provided by foreign governments within bilateral or multilateral agreements. Most people working in the NGOs believe that it is not APCI’s business to oversee private agreements or to require disclosure of how a private donor made the money that has been donated to a given institution. Most Peruvians involved in development and working with NGOs believe that the creation of APCI is not so much to aid transparency, but an attempt to intervene and exert control over civil society. As Erich Sommerfeldt found in the Network Analysis he conducted on Peru for Media Map, APCI is “not particularly involved in media development, and not trusted by media development actors” (Sommerfeldt, 2011: 13).

Trends in Donor Support to the Media

Some of Peru’s key donors in media development discussed in this report are USAID, OSI, MISEREOR, IRI, NED, Free Voice and AECID (Spain). These international organizations support media development in several ways, both directly and indirectly. Some media development is supported for short periods of time and some for longer, depending on the scope of the project. In the past 20 years, there has been more support for media content development, capacity-building, and workshops on human rights and journalistic ethical standards, but less investment in equipment.

In the past 20 years, one of the major funders in Peru has been USAID. This organization has been investing in public health, education, democracy, the environment, strengthening commerce, counter-narcotic initiatives, and economic growth. According to Bruce Abrams, who works for USAID, his organization is investing in Peru in a limited manner. He indicates that USAID is primarily focusing on the most crucial social problems; thus media is not a high priority. Generally speaking, USAID strategy in Peru is currently focused on economic growth, but this is more concentrated in Lima. However, USAID uses media to disseminate information, support the development programs on the ground, and create a participatory environment in which its project beneficiaries may have a voice. For example, one of USAID’s long-running programs (1999-2006) was aimed at improving the quality of life of Peruvians living along the Peru-Ecuador border. This initiative was focused on developing school education, health education, nutrition, and better local governance. This project, funded under the banners of democracy and humanitarian assistance, had a media

23 Coined in 1989 by economist John Williamson, the Washington Consensus concept refers primarily to a set of economic policies designed by Washington-based institutions, including the U.S. government, the World Bank and the IMF, for Latin America and other developing world regions.
component, which was implemented by Radio Cutivalú and Radio Marañón. These two radio stations received funding for programming that targeted audiences in the highlands and eastern jungle border regions (USAID, 2003). USAID reports the estimated total cost of the overall program at $25 million, although there is no budget breakdown indicating how much went to media development.

Another important area USAID has funded is “alternative development,” known in Peru as Programa de Desarrollo Alternativo (PDA), which is “a key component of the U.S. Government and Government of Peru’s comprehensive counter-narcotics strategy, to promote development in formerly coca growing areas and sustain coca reduction achieved with eradication programs” (USAID, 2011; 1). There are several implementers funded through this program. One of the main implementers is Chemonics International, a U.S. for-profit company working under contract for USAID-PDA. Chemonics has introduced the use of media for outreach among the population of the areas where the program operates. They have television campaigns, radio, and billboards. One of the significant slogans for these campaigns is “Aquí, sí hay futuro” [Here, there is a future], which implies the long-term advantages of entering the licit economy through replacement of crops or engaging in other types of lawful business (USAID, 2008). According to a representative from Chemonics in Peru who was interviewed for this report, the budget for media is approximately 7 percent of the overall budget of $200 million dollars distributed from 2004-2012.24 The PDA also works with local and national journalists to allow them to see the sites where it is operating. It seeks to engage the press, gaining access to local and national coverage to show changes taking place where the PDA operates. However, the PDA’s practice of engaging the press is controversial and some journalists, including members of IPYS, are critical of it. Because the PDA organizes trainings, hires journalists, buys advertising, and funds some journalistic work in the areas where it is operating, this is perceived by some as unethical and akin to paying to receive favorable coverage.

The representative of Chemonics in Peru suggests that this perception is a misunderstanding of what the PDA is actually doing. He points out the poverty and miserable conditions in which journalists live and work in the remote Amazon regions where the PDA operates, adding that journalists in those areas need more training at all levels and deserve better salaries for their work. Thus, he says, the PDA is partly filling a gap, providing journalists with better working tools, training, and, in some cases, funding to do their work. He also indicates that for their media campaigns, the PDA needs to buy airtime or publicity on the local radio stations. According to the PDA, paying the services of these radio stations helps the local economy, given that otherwise there are not enough advertisers or other paid public announcements to support local radio.

USAID also supports Comun@s, which has a transparency project linked to the use of the Internet. Marivi Pascual from Comun@s explains that this project originated from Fondo de Inversión en Telecomunicaciones (FITEL) [Fund for the Investment in Telecommunications], which is part of the Ministry of Transport and Communication (MTC). This government project is financed by USAID and implemented by the U.S. based NGO Academy for Educational Development (AED).25 The main objective is to fight corruption, and it has been working with 84 municipalities in the central high-

24 The Chemonics Peruvian representative requested anonymity.
25 In mid-2011, the NGO FHI360 acquired the programs, expertise, and assets of AED and AED as such no longer exists; see www.aed.org for more information.
lands. AED is helping the municipalities set up websites where they can provide information about their municipal work and labor in their respective communities. At the same time, it provides training to the local citizens to teach them about their right to access information, and their right to demand transparency from their local government. These trainings review legislation on transparency, free access to information, and on citizens’ rights. According to Pascual, “citizens can forge change in their localities by knowing their rights and by using them and demanding transparency and good governance from their authorities. One step in this direction is having municipal offices provide accurate information via the web, which can be checked freely by the people.” Comun@as makes free, web-based kiosks publicly accessible in local communities to provide citizens with access to this information.

Another important and long established donor in Peru is the Catholic Church, via its different development agencies like MISEREOR (Germany), Cordaid (Netherlands) or Manos Unidas (Spain) and various religious orders. The Jesuits, in particular, have been involved in social development including education for many years. It is from this social perspective that the Order has engaged in media development since the 1960s. Over the past 20 years, they have been important players in the development of educational and community radio stations operating through their parishes or NGOs. Several of the radios they fund are also members of the CNR, but two stand out for their longevity and influence in their communities: Radio Maraño and Radio Cutivalú (as discussed earlier).

Paco Muguiro, a Jesuit priest and director of Radio Maraño, explains that the Jesuit Order, international Catholic NGOs, and other secular international organizations have joined forces to support the media development in which the Church is involved. For example, Radio Maraño, which is under Muguiro’s church officer in Jaén was set up by the Jesuit Order, and the equipment (including the antenna) is a donation from MISEREOR. MISEREOR continues funding Radio Maraño, although there is no detailed information about the size of its budget or what the funding supports. IDL-Radio also lists MISEREOR as one of its funders, in 2009 this organization partly funded Calandria’s Veeduria project. Along with MISEREOR, another important source of funding connected to Radio Maraño and Radio Cutivalú is the Spanish Jesuit NGO Alboan. Alboan supports some of the programming of these two stations as long as they are connected to community projects, such as agriculture and democratic participation. Between 2007 and 2010, Alboan gave close to $2 million dollars for the Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado (CIPCA) program to empower marginal groups for better democratic participation. This program included dissemination of information on democratic participation using media outlets.

Radio Maraño is supported by a combination of local advertising and grants but Paco Muguiro explains that “international aid is diminishing, and I am not sure that educative or community media can be one hundred percent self-sustainable.” One of the problems is that these stations operate in small markets where there is limited investment in advertising, which is what normally generates revenue for media outlets. He adds: “It is hard for community media to compete with commercial media given the programming they offer, which tends to target sectors of society with less purchasing power.” Muguiro points out that the Catholic donor organizations operate like other donors and, in the past 20 years, in line with secular organizations, their interest has been focused on a more participatory development model. That includes democracy, transparency, and the prevention of violence against women, human rights, and public health.

Another donor working with the Catholic Church is the Spanish NGO Asociación de Investigación y Especialización sobre Temas Iberoamericanos (AIETI) [Association for Research and Specialization in Latin American Themes]. In 2009, this NGO invested 280,000 Euros in media development for the prevention of violence against women. This project was designed to last 24 months and was implemented by Radio Cutivalú and Radio Maraño. It consisted of radio programming, capacity-building for journalists and social communicators focusing on gender and the prevention of violence, and building and promoting a network of radio stations to disseminate and share programming in a participatory manner.

In 2009, AIETI also funded Calandria for a project on cultural identity developed in two provinces of Cusco—Quispicanchis and Anta. This project also included media used in a participatory manner. Media professionals from Calandria trained local people in the production and dissemination of information for strengthening their cultural identity and capacity-building in their own communities. The project was designed for 18 months at a cost of 270,000 Euros. In the words

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27 For more information, visit http://www.alboan.org/
28 For more information, visit http://www.aieti.es/newaieti/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=136&catid=40&Itemid=63
of Rosa María Alfaro (Calandria’s founder), “this type of project empowers indigenous people, women in particular; it strengthens their cultural identity, which tends to be undervalued and is extremely important.”

Although the Jesuits do not directly provide funding for their media development support, both Radio Cutivalú and Radio Marañón are listed under their main social development programs along with several other large development projects initiated and administered by the Order. Paco Muguiro believes these radio stations are successful, and have enriched and supported other development work led by Catholic and secular NGOs. According to Muguiro, “Radio Marañón has one of the highest audience ratings in Peru’s Northeastern region. Media are crucial for outreach, education, and citizen participation.” Muguiro’s assertion is echoed by the station’s website information, which indicates that it covers the Departments of Cajamarca, Amazonas, San Martín, and Piura in Peru; and Loja in Ecuador. The radio transmits on FM, AM, and Shortwave, potentially reaching an audience of approximately 600,000. However, neither Muguiro nor Radio Marañón has empirical data to validate this assertion. Usually big companies such as IBOPE-Time, Imasen, and The Compañía Peruana de Estudios de Mercado y Opinión Pública (CPI) [Peruvian Company for Market and Public Opinion Research] do not conduct market and audience research outside the major cities and tend to leave out community radios and non-commercial enterprises from their market and audience research.

Citizen participation, democracy issues, good governance, and press freedom are key issues in Peru’s contemporary social and political discourse. Since the mid-1990s and throughout the 2000s there has been an increase in the number of local NGOs addressing such areas. NED, a private non-profit foundation, has been financing several NGOs working on these themes, including IPYS, which is growing internationally, having opened offices in Colombia and Venezuela. IPYS was established with NED’s support. Mayumi Ortecho, a lawyer working for IPYS, indicates that NED continues to finance several of IPYS’ projects. In 2007, NED provided 116,469 U.S. dollars for a program to develop a regional network for press freedom. This program focused on strengthening the social role of the press in Peru and Bolivia, ethics, monitoring the press, and legal disputes. From 2008 to 2009, NED financed another project with a budget of 92,854 U.S dollars to strengthen the role of media covering conflict.

Aimel Ríos, program assistant for Latin America and the Caribbean at NED, indicates that NED has been funding several of IPYS projects for about ten years. NED’s project database lists at least six major projects related to freedom of information in Peru, including an IPYS project in Venezuela. Ríos says, “IPYS is exceptional; it has demonstrated capacity to implement all projects and shown resourcefulness in gaining access to multiple grants from different donors.” However, Ríos is pessimistic about whether IPYS is sustainable without donor support. Mayumi Ortecho, from IPYS, says she is concerned that foreign funding may dissolve. “Our work would be jeopardized if foreign institutions stopped providing support... because there is no Peruvian organization that could step in.”

OSI is another of IPYS’ donors and is generally interested in financing projects related to the right of access to information. OSI has financed IPYS at least twice. For example, during the period January 2005 to December 2006, OSI donated $7,044,2 and for the period of December 2008 to November 2011, it dramatically increased its donation, giving IPYS $314,570 for a project on deepening the right to access information.

Gordana Jankovic, the director of the Media Program at OSI says, “OSI is new to invest in Peru; Latin America as a region is a new place for OSI’s donations. OSI’s larger priorities for the region are to fight organized crime, promote policy reform, transparency, accountability, and decentralization.” Jankovic says that, “Decentralizing media in Peru is necessary given the concentration of media in the capital and the lack of information flowing to and between the provinces.” One of the decentralization programs supported by OSI is Red TV, which has received funds from OSI since 2006.

Carlos Cárdenas, the head of Red TV, explains that OSI was interested in funding community television, but “I had to do some convincing, laying out to OSI’s representatives the need to engage small provincial commercial television stations to work with them in order to promote decentralization.” Cárdenas suggests that the role and influence these television stations have in their communities is important enough to treat them as “community media.” Further, these stations are small and do not have the capability to compete or operate as the major national networks with headquarters in Lima. From the point of view of Red TV, these television stations act as “community stations” representing and serving their communities even when they are private small enterprises. Cárdenas adds that the main objective of Red TV is to help decentralization.
and promote a flow of information through the network of small stations associated with each other under the umbrella of Red TV.

Jankovic indicates that OSI is also supporting the development of two newspapers, El Buho in Arequipa and El Tiempo in Piura, as well as providing funds to build capacity for both papers, and for developing their websites. She adds that other projects OSI supports are the Provincial Network of Journalists that was created in 2004, led by journalist Luz María Helguero who is also the Editor in Chief of El Tiempo in Piura and the president of the NGO Transparencia in Lima. OSI has also funded the Peruvian Press Council for the development of a code of ethics for journalists as well as Calandria to develop a project engaging citizens and NGOs to learn their rights regarding access to information. OSI also funds IDL-Reporteros and IDL-Radio.

Jacqueline Fowks from IDL-Reporteros explains that her outlet relies mostly on OSI’s funding, which will need to be renegotiated once they approach the end of the funding period. “Funding renewal is always a reason for some anxiety because even when we’re doing a good job, we never know if we will be able to keep accessing such support,” explains Fowks. For example, Fowks hopes OSI will keep funding their investigative reporting work, but they know it is a competitive process. Jankovic, from OSI, suggests that her organization may not be able to maintain the same level of funding for Peru because new countries are being added to the regional agenda. “Right now” Jankovic says, “the agenda is changing to focus more on crisis areas of drug trafficking and organized crime. If the programs submitted to OSI don’t reflect these topics, then OSI may move away.” While IDL-Reporteros focuses more on government, in recent months they have been producing some web-television news related to drug trafficking issues. This is a good example of the influence funding agencies have in terms of agenda setting.

As mentioned above, Dutch NGO Free Voice is another donor, funding Red TV’s television program No Apto Para Adultos (NAPA) since 2007 as well as some of Calandria’s projects, such as the production of a Manual of a Code of Ethics for Journalists, which is also partly funded by OSI. The NAPA program is part of Free Voice’s Kids News Network (KNN) international media development program, which aims at supporting quality news programs directed at children via television and the Internet. KNN has programs in Peru, Mozambique, the Dutch Caribbean, Indonesia, and South Africa.34

NGOs tend to report only their successful projects and no organization mentioned failure during this study. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) is another donor, which has operated in Peru for about 40 years. When compared to other international donors, KAS is not as engaged in direct media development. However, it supports the consolidation of democracy, decentralizing of the state, and citizen participation in political life, with particular emphasis on indigenous peoples.35

In relation to media, KAS has primarily financed media research studies. For example, in the past seven years it has sponsored several of Calandria’s books such as “Comunicación y Desarrollo Local” [Communication and Local Development], “Prensa Amarilla y Cultura Política en el Proceso Electoral” [Yellow Press and Political Culture in the Electoral Process], and “Culturas Juveniles, Medios y Ciudadanía” [Youth Culture, Media, and Citizenship]. It is one of the supporters of Calandria’s Media Observatory as well, aiming at promoting open discussions about the role of the press and media in general. The Veeduría is part of this Media Observatory.

During the 1990s, KAS was a core funder of the Federación Latinoamericana de Facultades de Comunicación Social (FELAFACS) [Latin American Federation of Social Communication Departments], then headquartered in Lima. FEALAFACS is an international Federation combining about 300 communication schools and university departments. It provides training in different Latin American countries, organizes continent-wide communication research congresses, and publishes an academic journal. KAS also has supported smaller research NGOs such as the Instituto de Comunicación para el Desarrollo (ICD) [Institute for Development Communication], which did a study on audience perception of the media in the northern region of Peru and in Arequipa in 2005.

Impact of Donor Investment

NGOs tend to report only their successful projects and no organization mentioned failure during this study. The donor organizations assessed here do not tend to report failed projects either, although, as Aime Rios from NED indicates, there have been cases when con-

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35 For more information, visit http://www.kas.de/peru/es/
tracts with NGOs have not been renewed because the NGO may not have fulfilled all its obligations and objectives. However, Ríos was not specific about any particular NGO.

For the most part, donors and implementers think media development interventions in Peru have had good results, considering that the investment is moderate and in some cases even small, especially if compared to other world regions where the implementation of media development has been far more aggressive and with millions of dollars invested (i.e. the former soviet bloc and Eastern Europe, some Middle Eastern countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan).

Most of the NGOs interviewed agreed that given the ethical collapse of several mainstream media outlets during the Fujimori regime, developing an alternative media throughout the 2000s has been important because the government knows that if mainstream media fails to scrutinize its actions, there are now other organizations with media capacity who are watching and able to disseminate information in the public arena.

It was not possible to find clear criteria to measure media assistance initiatives. Impact seems to be assessed on a case-by-case basis, and each organization uses different approaches. Red TV hires a private company called Imasen, which conducts public opinion and market studies. Red TV provides Imasen’s ratings results to its funders and also enters its television programs in national and international competitions, which they have won on occasion. Funders such as Free Voice list the awards on their own webpage as a positive outcome of their investment. Carlos Cárdenas explains that this is a way of judging the quality and success of their work. He says, “Red TV needs to have results as much as the donors, so it is in Red TV’s interest to have an external company conducting research on the impact of our programming.”

In the case of USAID-PDA, the Sistema de Información y Monitoreo de DEVIDA (SIMDEV) [System of Information and Monitoring of DEVIDA] conducts research, surveys, evaluations, and dissemination of results. DEVIDA is a government organization that works with all international aid efforts to fight drug production and drug consumption. DEVIDA uses SIMDEV as the monitoring entity for all USAID-PDA’s work to verify that the established goals are met in compliance with government and donor objectives.

SIMDEV evaluates impact by measuring qualitative and quantitative changes in all the communities where USAID-PDA is working. It evaluates economic welfare and community progress. At the same time, Chemonics carries out its own evaluations, assessing change in the population’s attitude and the sustainability of these attitudes. For instance, its November 2009 report by USAID-PDA states that since 2002, landowners have voluntarily given up coca growing on more than 15,000 hectares of land while there are 52,000 families who are gaining direct assistance for growing legal crops such as cacao, oil palm, and coffee. However, neither SIMDEV nor Chemonics assessments indicate whether such success is due largely to media campaigns or to a combination of factors, including harsher laws and stronger police/military intervention in some of the coca growing areas. This clearly makes it hard to evaluate the true impact of media development in the area of counter-narcotics.

Other organizations such as Calandria and IPYS rate success based on the number of trainings they offer, the number of people attending trainings in different regions, the influence their organizations have in the public sphere, and other tangible results over time, such as Calandria’s role in the creation of the Radio and Television Law and the role of IPYS aiding Radio Bagua to regain its license.

**Sustainability and the Business of Media**

Peru is considered a small market in Latin America, and the well-established commercial media has seized most of the market share, making it hard for donor-funded media to compete and to be as self-sustaining as commercial media. In the last 20 years, television, newspapers, and radio have been the primary outlets for advertising with broadcast television (and recently cable) as the market leaders. Other outlets are public billboards, magazines, and Internet.

Audience research in Peru has a long history and it is as well established as the media itself. Some of the most important companies are The Compañía Peruana de Estudios de Mercado y Opinión Pública (CPI) [Peruvian Company for Market and Public Opinion Research] operating since 1973, Imasen since 1990, and IBOPE-Time since 1995. These companies are regularly consulted by media companies (particularly the big commercial television and radio networks) that are always interested in learning about audience ratings in order to sell advertising space and sponsorships for their programming. Their research, however, focuses primarily on urban areas, particularly in Lima, often leaving out the provinces and never including rural areas. This fact shows once again the problem of a Lima-centric worldview, and the lack of understanding about the great economic potential that the provinces
and rural areas may represent for the country.

In Peru, advertising dollars are mainly invested in television, radio and newspapers. During the 1990s, as the country recuperated from its economic collapse and civil war, the approximate total amount of investment in advertising in all media annually reached $300 million. One of the major advertisers was the government, through its different Departments and Public Service entities (Martínez, 2000). In 1999, the Supervisora de Medios y Publicidad S.A. [Supervisor of Media and Advertising], a private company analyzing advertising investments, reported that the Fujimori government was the leading advertiser followed by private companies such as breweries, pasta, soap, and soft drink producers. In fact, the Fujimori government used advertising as a means of soft-censorship and influencing local and national information (Martínez, 2000).

The political and media crisis brought about by Fujimori’s regime, accompanied by a slowdown in the economy during the early 2000s, did not allow for investment growth. However, since the mid-2000s, as the economy has been steadily growing and the country has been more stable politically, there has been an increase in the amount of investment in advertising. The Compañía Peruana de Estudios de Mercado y Opinión Pública (CPI) [Peruvian Company for Market and Public Opinion Research] indicates that since the mid-2000s overall investment has gone up, reaching approximately $514,000,000 in 2010. Television remains the leader with a 48.6 percent share of the advertising pie, followed by newspapers with 17.7 percent, and radio with 11.9 percent.

Given that commercial television, radio, and newspapers are the media with the most influence and are most widely consumed, greater attention goes to them than public billboards, the Internet, or magazines. The private research companies usually focus on analyzing the market for mainstream media, and ignore, for the most part, the universe of donor-funded media or other grassroots communication outlets. However, there are some media-implementing NGOs that from time to time use the services of media research companies to assess the ratings and consumption of their programs or the outlets on which they broadcast. Two examples are Red TV and IDL-Radio.

In recent years these NGOs have been engaging with commercial media to improve their sustainability. In the past few years, Red TV has been using audience research analysis conducted by IBOPE-Time and Imasen to learn about the ratings of their two programs and sell their audiences to advertisers such as Telefónica del Perú and Xoom.com, currently two of their sponsors for Enlace Nacional and NAPA. Carlos Cárdenas explains that as the programs are now getting higher ratings, they are starting to have some commercial sponsors. However, international donor funding remains the main source for Red TV and the programs it produces. Red TV could not fully cover all its operational costs and achieve its current levels of production and distribution without this international aid.

IDL-Radio disseminates its program No hay derecho by buying prime airtime in Radio San Borja, a commercial radio that targets middle class audiences. As journalist and director of IDL-Radio Glatzer Tuesta explains, “IDL-Radio needs to be present in the minds of people who have decision-making power as much as in the minds of all Peruvians who tune in to Radio San Borja, one of the most popular radio stations in Lima.” The program No hay derecho does not have direct advertising, even when there are commercial breaks during its two-hour slot. The revenue from this goes towards buying airtime. While IDL-Radio makes use of commercial radio in order to be perceived as a mainstream program, the tone and in-depth coverage of social and political issues sets it apart from regular news radio programming. Although IDL-Radio does not directly use the services of media research companies, it follows the studies done about Radio San Borja indicating that it is one of the most popular radios in Lima as well as allowing a connection with provincial radios, one of the key objectives of IDL-Radio.

The CNR has also been selling airtime to commercials for several years, through its advertising agency. The network airs radio commercials locally and in most departments of the country through its various associates. As Cecilia Valderrama indicates in an interview with the Communication Initiative Network, the CNR, like any other media network, has to be sustainable especially as international aid is decreasing. She argues that providing the publicity service does not compromise the mission of the network and its affiliates (Communication Initiative Network, 2008).

There is no doubt that sustainability remains a challenge for donor-supported media because it is not commercially driven and, for the most part, does not attempt to make programs in the same way as mainstream media. Furthermore, the target audience for most of the donor-funded media tends to be in low-income areas, which is not necessarily an easy audience to sell to advertisers. Another issue is the influence advertisers can have over content, which may prevent implementers from seeking sustainability through advertising dollars. However, given the examples of Red TV and

36 See also Valderrama, 2006.
To a large extent, donor-funded media serves as a controlling force for commercial media, thus improving the role mainstream media plays in the country: pushing both media and government to be somewhat more accountable.

IDL-Radio incorporating their programming within a commercial model and making smart use of market research, over time several media development efforts could become at least partially self-sustaining. These two examples show that it is possible to remain true to their core objectives and values while also reaching mass audiences.

The Future of Donor Interventions in the Media

When interviewed for this study, OSI was the only organization that mentioned a new trend in its future investments, which will be the strengthening of the rule of law to control drug trafficking. Even though none of the other organizations surveyed signaled a change, most local NGOs have a sense that change, specifically in terms of financial assistance, is occurring, and funding may continue to decrease. Therefore, a certain anxiety on the part of those working in donor supported media development projects is clear. The reality, both on the ground and in international funding trends, indicates that donors are likely to:

- Continue investing in issues of democracy, transparency, accountability, and better governance for at least another decade, considering that democracy remains fragile.

- Continue supporting education and poverty eradication. These two benefit from media use in order to disseminate information.

- Continue and expand investment in capacity building, which means more training of journalists, activists, and citizens engaged in media development, and further dissemination of web 2.0 applications for journalism and institutional transparency.

- Promote more decentralization and closer work with provincial NGOs and provincial media organizations.

- Strengthen networking between the regions, and promote more grassroots/citizen journalism and interregional media development.

Future Directions for Research

- Further research is needed to better understand the relationship and dynamics between the government, media development NGOs and/or civil associations and any other not-for-profit-organizations, and foreign donors. What are the main sources of tensions? How do they get resolved?

- The move towards decentralization raises further questions: What will the role be of regional governments and provincial NGOs in media development? Who will be responsible for capacity building? Will donors engage directly with provincial NGOs and regional governments, or would they still go through the NGOs operating from Lima?

- Further research should be done on institutional issues within organizations to better comprehend each NGO and donor. This is particularly important because most of the organizations we have seen are not exclusively engaged in media development, but they also have other areas of operation such as legal counsel, human rights, agriculture, and so on. This makes several of these organizations structurally different, as media development is not the sole focus of their activities, and media-work is often complementary to the other work the institutions are doing. Understanding how media development fits within this kind of structure may reveal, interalia, important issues about budget, logistics, expertise, and capacity.

- Internal learning is weak as well as public budget reporting. What are the overall operational budgets? What are the specific amounts invested in media or media related projects? How exactly do the recipient NGO and donors assess effectiveness and accounting of the investment? At present, most NGOs and donors do not publicly disclose their overall operational costs or overall amounts assigned to particular countries, institutions, and programs in relation to media.

- To what extent are foreign donors linking their operations in consultation with the government to match the national development agenda? Does the government of Peru have a media development
agenda? If not, why? And would it be interested in having one in order to improve transparency, accountability, and the rule of law?

- It would be interesting to further probe the CNR. What is its relationship with international associations such as AMARC and ALER? How does it manage the intra-network dynamics? Who are the funders for all the different radio stations and associated organizations it lists under its umbrella? This study provides only a glimpse of the significant role this organization plays, and looks into only one of its major funders: the Catholic Church. However, given its extensive number of associates and well established record in the country, there is a need to identify other donors who may be investing in its many radio stations besides the main ones discussed in this study.

- Further research could also focus on the partnership and collaboration between funding organizations when supporting the same projects, the same NGO, or similar goals. How do they cooperate? Who has the budgetary power?

- More research is needed on the extent to which international aid serves as an agenda-setter of social, political, and economic life in Peru. To what extent does this agenda coincide with local interests and local agendas?

**Conclusion**

Donor-funded media in Peru is somewhat new and its impact in shaping the overall media landscape is still minimal because commercial media in Peru is well established and has a long history. Newspapers have been circulating since the 19th century, radio stations have been operating around the country since the 1940s, and the three main national television networks (Pantel, America TV, and TV Peru) have been operating since the mid-1950s and are still popular despite their recent tarnished history of soft censorship, state repression and corrupt practices.

Since the failed corrupt Fujimori government, succeeding governments have passed various laws promoting and protecting freedom of the press and expression, the right to access information, and have created codes of ethics. Various local NGOs sponsored by international aid have been involved in the discussions and drafting of such laws. Having this body of normative parameters is helping to produce a more vibrant media environment where both commercial and donor-funded media operate as watchdogs of government. To a large extent, donor-funded media serves as a controlling force for commercial media, thus improving the role mainstream media plays in the country: pushing both media and government to be somewhat more accountable. Nevertheless, there is still much work to be done.

Donor funded media has stimulated citizens’ participation in the democratic process as well as in some processes of media development where a more participatory approach is used. The process of media decentralization is now starting to be a reality and will continue, provided that the organizations engaged in this process become sustainable and/or keep receiving funding.

One important observation from this study is that local NGOs working in media development should engage the commercial media more extensively in order to support further development of journalism professionals, nurturing a more responsive, vibrant, and transparent media.

The case of Peru shows that successful media development depends largely on working with local and well-established partners such as Calandria, IDL, IPYS, and CNR among others. It is important to note that these organizations are highly relevant in the local context, and that they have the capacity for institution-building. Other factors contributing to the success of donor-funded media development in Peru are political stability - for the creation of media policy, and the role of international aid as an agenda setter. Although international aid serving as an agenda setter is controversial, at the same time, it has created a conducive environment for a vibrant and free press.

Some negatives still remaining are the issues of sustainability and questions over the donors’ commitment to continue financing media development projects now that Peru is becoming a middle-income country and is achieving political stability. It is also arguable that donors have imposed a self-serving agenda following international economic and political trends, which do not always wholly benefit the country or the people on the ground.

Some recommendations for improving media development in Peru include helping NGOs to make their efforts more sustainable; providing more training to activists and citizens interested in journalism; and helping to improve the salaries and working conditions of professional journalists across the country. New donor-funded initiatives should focus on decentralizing media and improving information flow in the provinces and rural areas. Educational and community media should be given priority to develop professionalism and to achieve higher standards.
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Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP) [Institute of Peruvian Studies]. http://www.iep.org.pe/historiaiep.htm

Instituto de Defensa Legal (IDL) [Institute of Legal Defense]. www.idl.org.pe/

Instituto Prensa y Sociedad (IPYS) [Institute Press and Society]. www.ipys.org/


Ministerio del Trabajo y Promoción del Empleo (MTPE) [Ministry of Labor and Employment Promotion]. http://www.mintra.gob.pe/

MISEREOR. http://www.misereor.org/cooperation-and-service.html


Red TV. http://redtv.org.pe/

Sistema de Información y Monitoreo de DEVIDA (SIMDEV). [Information and Monitoring System for DEVIDA]: http://www.simdev.gob.pe/

Transparencia. www.transparencia.org.pe/
Appendix 1. Methodology

Case Study Report Template

**For the research consultant:** This document provides the overall structure for your report. Your role is to focus primarily on the following:

1. Pulling together the evidence needed to describe how donors have contributed (or not) to media development in the country: who were the major players, what were the major trends, over the last 20 years.

2. Incorporating the perspectives of donors, local NGOs, international implementers, and aid recipients to describe in these interventions: what worked, what didn’t work, and why. When possible, collecting the reports, data and other evidence on which these conclusions are based.

3. Diagnosing the state of media as a business in the country. What are the business models? What are the major challenges? What data do people base business decisions on?

**PART ONE: EXECUTIVE SUMMARY** (1-3 pages)

I. Summary (bullet points are fine) of the major findings of the study, focusing on the areas in the box above

**PART TWO: MEDIA OVERVIEW**

II. (suggested length: 2-3 pages) Brief historical and development background – tie into information / media culture
   a. What are the key political, social, and economic events and trends that have shaped the last 20 years of the country’s history?
   b. What are the country’s key development challenges (general development, media development)?
   c. What donors are most active in the country (economic development, not just media development)?
   What are their development priorities for the country overall (e.g. poverty, health, governance)?

III. (suggested length: 5 pages) What does the media landscape of the country look like?
   a. Brief overview: What are its major features? Developments and trends over the last 20 years? Is it able to hold government and business accountable? How well does it provide essential information to the population? Who does information reach and not reach? What forms of media are most prominent?
   b. What is the state of journalism in the country? Is the media relatively free from corruption? What are average salaries for journalists? How good is the overall quality of reporting? How safe is it to be a journalist?
   c. In what ways is the political economy / enabling environment of each country supporting or detracting from the development of the media sector?
   d. Brief overview of related laws, regulations and major developments over the last 20 years
   e. To what extent are laws and regulations that are in place put into practice?
   f. Describe the information culture of the country. How do different groups of people get information?
      What are the major challenges? Do they feel that they have a say in decision-making? How important is news vs. entertainment?

IV. (suggested length: 2-3 pages) What is the state of the business of media?
   a. What are the business models? What are the major challenges?
   b. What are the trends in media ownership, major issues there?
   c. What do people base business decisions on? What is the state of data on media?
   d. What kind of data on media is there in the media system (audience / market research)? What data do
different stakeholders use? How do they use it? How did its use develop?
e. If possible, please try to get copies or access to any of this data that media enterprises are using
(audience/reach for various types of media, advertising numbers, etc.)?

PART THREE: DONOR-FUNDED MEDIA DEVELOPMENT (suggested length: 20 pages)
IV. Given the media landscape, why have donors intervened in the media space? What was perceived as
missing / needed?
V. What have been the donor-funded media development interventions with the most impact over the
last 20 years?
   a. What were the major activities? What were these activities meant to achieve, in both the short
      and long term? What local media or media-related organizations were created / supported (brief description – profiles of key orgs can go in the appendix)?
   b. What have foreign donors’ roles been? What have foreign NGOs’ roles been?
   c. How have donor investments supported or impeded media development? To what extent have
      these activities addressed the major challenges outlined in Part One? What approaches
did they take? What worked? What didn’t work?
   d. Why? How do various actors opinions’ converge or diverge about the success or failure of
different MD interventions?
   e. By what criteria are stakeholders judging the success or failure of interventions? How do they
assess impact?
   f. Any sense of interactions / conflicts in goals or direction with other forces, such as private
      investors, public diplomacy, strategic communication, etc.
   g. What are the key issues around sustainability in donor-developed media? Differences in
      business model or approach between donor-developed media and the rest of the media?
   h. How have the actors, activities, and impacts evolved over the last 20 years?
i. Where do donor-funded interventions seem to be going in the future?
VI. (suggested length: 1 page) Gaps, further questions that should be asked, issues to investigate
VII. (suggested length: 1 page) Conclusions: What role did donor-funded media development interventions play
in shaping the overall media landscape? How do these interventions fit into the overall development of
the country?
VIII. Literature review: Brief overview of previous research on media development in this country
   a. What research has been done? What conclusions has it reached? What questions has it
      asked? How has it framed and assessed the question of impact of MD interventions?
      What are the gaps in the research?
   b. Who has conducted the research (academics, implementers, donors, etc.) and how has this
      shaped the perspectives?
IX. Methodology: overview of approaches used
   a. List of stakeholders interviewed
X. Profiles of key media organizations and NGOs (suggested length: one paragraph)
XI. Chart – overview of major donors, implementers, local partners, and activities

APPENDIX

XII. Literature review: Brief overview of previous research on media development in this country
   a. What research has been done? What conclusions has it reached? What questions has it asked?
      How has it framed and assessed the question of impact of MD interventions? What are the
gaps in the research?
   b. Who has conducted the research (academics, implementers, donors, etc.) and how has this
      shaped the perspectives?
XIII. Methodology: overview of approaches used
   a. List of stakeholders interviewed
XIV. Profiles of key media organizations and NGOs (suggested length: one paragraph)
XV. Chart – overview of major donors, implementers, local partners, and activities
### Sampling guide - Interviews

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<th>Category</th>
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Appendix 2. Interviewees

Bruce Abrams, USAID
January 25, 2011

Jorge Acevedo, CNR
Former Executive Director of CNR, and communication professor at PUCP
December 14, 2010

Hugo Aguirre, PUCP
Communications Professor
December 14, 2010

Rosa María Alfaro, Calandria
Executive Director
December 13, 2010

Javier Ampuero, PCI Media
Representative
January 24, 2011

José (Pepe) Arevalo, CNR
Journalist and Social Communicator
December 10, 2010

Sandra Arzubiaga, World Bank
Communications Officer
January 27, 2011

Amelia Campos, Freelance Radio Journalist
Work experience in Radio La Salle and Radio Vox Populi (Urubamba, Cusco)
December 21, 2010

Carlos Cárdenas, Red-TV and TV Cultura
Director
December 15, 2010 and January 24, 2011

Chemonics
January 26, 2011

Jacqueline Fowks, IDL-Reporteros
Journalist
December 13, 2010

Luz María Helguero, El Tiempo Newspaper and Transparencia
Journalist and President of Transparencia
January 26, 2011
Gordana Jankovic, OSI
Director Network Media Program
March 3, 2011

Edgardo Jimenez, FAO and Radio for the Ministry of Agriculture
Journalist and Radio Specialist
December 17, 2010

Adriana León, IPYS
Communication Program Officer and Journalist
December 15, 2010

Paco Muguiro, SJ, Radio Marañón
Director
December 27, 2010

Mayumi Ortecho, IPYS
Information Freedom Program Officer
December 15, 2010

Marivi Pascual, Comun@es
Director
January 26, 2011

Aimel Rios, NED
Program Assistant, Latin America and Caribbean
January 12, 2011

Carlos Rivadeneyra, Universidad de Lima and AMARC
Communication Scholar and Board Member of AMARC
January 27, 2011

Rafael Roncagliolo, IDEA
Senior Political Advisor
January 28, 2011

Glatzer Tuesta, IDL-Radio
Journalist, Director of IDL-Radio, and radio program main anchor
December 14, 2010

Mercedes Zevallos, ICD
Communication Expert
Founder of Instituto de Comunicación para el Desarrollo (ICD)
December 27, 2010

Guillermo Zora, Canal N-Cusco
Reporter
December 23, 2010

Focus group at the PUCP (Univ. Católica) with communication professors
January 28, 2011:
Jorge Acevedo Rojas
Hugo Aguirre Castañeda
Jose Carlos Cano
Rosario Peirano Troll
Veronica Salem
Appendix 3. Local Media-Related NGOs: Brief Profiles

**Instituto Prensa Y Sociedad (IPYS) [Press and Society Institute]**  
http://www.ipys.org/

IPYS was formed in 1993 as a reaction to the authoritarian Fujimori regime. Its main objectives are to promote and safeguard freedom of the press, the right to access information, and investigative reporting. It is part of a national and international network for the protection of freedom of the press and of journalists. Its success in Peru has led it to found two associated organizations, one in 2002 in Venezuela http://www.ipys.org.ve/ and another in 2008 in Colombia.

**Instituto de Defensa Legal (IDL) [Institute for Legal Defense]**  
http://www.idl.org.pe/

IDL was formed in 1983. Its central mission is working on human rights issues and providing legal defense in human rights cases. At the same time, IDL works for the promotion and defense of democracy and the right to access information. It has seven different areas, and one of them is communication, which is subdivided into three - Revista-IDL, a monthly magazine; IDL-Radio, a daily news radio program and a radio webcast (http://www.idealradio.org.pe/web/); IDL-Reporteros, an investigative news multiplatform website (http://idl-reporteros.pe/).

**Calandria**  
http://www.calandria.org.pe/

Calandria was established in 1983 as a civil association of social communicators. Its core activities are related to the promotion of and contribution to areas of communication research and media development. Some of the research produced by Calandria deals with the media’s impact on society particularly focusing on marginal populations such as women, youth, and the poor. In the area of media development it is involved in the production of radio and television programs that promote and generate the inclusion of citizens in the discussion of the role of media.

**Red TV [Network TV]**  
http://redtv.org.pe/

Red TV was formally constituted in 2006, although it has operated since 2000 as a response to the lack of flow of information between Lima and the rest of the country. Its core mission is to promote the democratization of communications and the creation of fluid networks of alternative media, particularly an alternative television that is inclusive of the universe of television production outside of Lima. The organization behind the development of Red TV is TV Cultura (http://tvcultura.net/), a civil association of social communicators established in 1986.

**The Coordinadora Nacional de Radios (CNR) [National Radio Coordinator]**  
http://www.cnr.org.pe/

The CNR was formed in 1978 with Radio Sicuani (http://www.radiosicuani.org.pe/). The CNR originates from the efforts of a progressive sector in the Catholic Church linked to liberation theology. The central mission of the radios under CNR’s umbrella, and those other organizations associated with it, is to serve the interests of all citizens at the margins of society such as the urban and rural poor, and indigenous populations. One of the main objectives is to represent and work for those who lack a public voice in democratic processes and who have minimal access to information. In many instances, the radios and other organizations associated with the CNR serve as mediators between communities and the state or communities and external forces affecting the interests of such communities. Three important radios associated with CNR mentioned on this report are Radio Cutivalú (http://www.radiocutivalu.org/), Radio Marañón (http://www.radiomaranon.org.pe/), and Radio Emmanuel (http://www.radioemanuel.org/).
The press failed properly to cover the internal conflict and, furthermore, it failed to serve as a watchdog of the government throughout the conflict in which The Shining Path, the army, and paramilitary groups devastated the country with a final estimated count of more than 60,000 deaths, thousands of disappeared, and thousands tortured and imprisoned. This was due to the following: a) high concentration of the press in Lima; b) lack of interest in events outside of the capital; and c) general disregard for, and ignorance of, events affecting indigenous or poor populations in rural areas.

While Deng Xiaoping’s China was undergoing change, in 1980 in Peru, the Shining Path, a hardliner Maoist group, began an armed struggle against the Peruvian state copying what Mao had done in China several decades earlier. On May 17th, 1980, a day before the elections were due to take place after 12 years of military dictatorship, Shining Path attacked a polling station, burning ballot boxes and the police quarters in the remote village of Chuschi in Ayacucho. This was their first act, declaring war against the institutional structures of the state and promising to carry out an armed struggle to transform the nation into a communist country. This event went unnoticed because the press was focused on returning to democracy and on politics in Lima. Shining Path’s action in Chuschi merited only a small note under the criminal section on the back pages of the newspapers.

Between 1980 and 1982, press coverage about the Shining Path was primarily presented as a common crime story, and ignored the systematic nature and guerrilla style of the attacks on state property and assassinations of peasant authorities and indigenous peoples. The brutal response of the police was not questioned, nor was the arrest, torture, and incarceration, of many innocent people.

Both the press and the government fell short of giving serious attention to the growing violence. Belaunde’s Lima-centered government (1980-1985), removed from the realities of impoverished regions, explained the growing socio-political struggle as an effort by international communist groups to destabilize Peruvian democracy. The discourse of the government at the time was that foreigners were financing Shining Path, which, according to President Fernando Belaúnde, was a small group of fanatics that could be dismantled swiftly by the police. A tame press, indebted to President Belaúnde for the de-nationalization and devolution of newspapers to their previous owners, bought into the official discourse and supported it. The opposition press, unable to discuss the Maoist group due to the elusiveness of its members, focused more on beginning to question the undemocratic methods of repression used by the police to fight the internal enemy.

In December 1982, President Belaúnde suspended constitutional guarantees, declaring a state of emergency, and placed the department of Ayacucho in the hands of the military, with General Clemente Noel as the politico-military commander-in-chief for the region. Congress, the international community, human rights organizations, and the press were concerned first by the possibility of a military coup, and second with human rights violations in the war zone, which was expanding quickly. However, the conflict was still perceived as far away from ‘official Peru’ because it had not yet touched Lima with the violence that the central highlands of the country were experiencing. Journalists were primarily covering urban and semi-urban areas that were easy to access. Images of death, hanging dogs, revolutionary graffiti, and student strikes at universities became commonplace.

To make things worse, in 1983 seven journalists ventured to a remote area of Ayacucho in an attempt to obtain first-hand information on the events in the area, but unfortunately local peasants mistook them for members of Shining Path and stoned them to death. This tragic incident is known as the Uchuraccay case. From that moment on, it was harder to get access to the growing emergency zone. Journalists were required to obtain special permission from the army in control of the zone. Catholic parishes in the provinces or towns and some human rights NGOs served as the repositories of local information. The people caught in the cross-fire would go and report killings, disappearances, and different types of attacks on their communities and families. But the army did not usually tolerate the presence of the press, and, at the same time, most media outlets did not want to risk sending their employees to these insecure areas. Thus, there was a lack of well-documented and in-depth coverage of the conflict and the overall situation unfolding in the country was not properly reported.
Appendix 5. Case Studies: Radio La Voz de Bagua and Radio Vox Populi

Although privately owned, Radio La Voz de Bagua operates as a small community radio. Its central tenet is to campaign for environmental protection and human rights in the Amazon region. In 2009, the journalists at this station found out that the Garcia government was making deals with transnational corporations to allocate Amazonian territory in the Bagua region for the extraction of natural resources.

The radio informed its audience about these deals, which were taking place in Lima without the agreement of the affected population in this part of the Amazon, and the indigenous local communities rose up in protest. This social upheaval brought serious confrontations between the local population and the police. There were several deaths in both camps, but the locals prevailed. The Garcia government accused Radio La Voz de Bagua of agitation, and of opposing development. As a result of these events its radio license was revoked. The station defended itself with the aid of press watchdog groups such as IPYS, the Defensoría del Pueblo (the Ombudsman), and the case was brought to the Inter American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) in Washington. Ultimately the government revoked its decision and renewed the radio's license.

The case of this radio station is one example of how the government censors criticism, and how, when journalists are doing their watchdog work in the public interest, it is perceived as working against the government. The Bagua case has further significance because indigenous territories tend to be considered “nobody’s land,” and therefore “up for grabs” by the state, without consultation with the diverse ethnic groups that have lived on the land for millennia. This situation was exemplary, particularly because the indigenous populations resisted and the cause of radio La Voz de Bagua became an international case. These two issues were so significant that the Ley de Consulta Previa a los Pueblos Indígenas u Originarios [Law of Consultation with Indigenous Peoples] was drafted in 2010, and was one of the first laws approved by Congress within three months of the newly inaugurated government of President Ollanta Humala. Symbolically, in September 2011, the President went to Bagua to enact the new law.

Another less publicized case is that of radio station Vox Populi in Urubamba (Cusco). This radio station, similar to La Voz de Bagua, is a small private radio that operates with the motto of “serving the interests of the community.” In 2010, the building where the radio station operates was stoned, breaking windows and doors, by a sector of the local population who were demonstrating in support of a mayoral candidate and the local priest who was supporting this candidate. The main news program of this small radio station had openly criticized this man, calling attention to the fact that he had recently been ousted from mayoral office, accused of nepotism and misuse of funds. These accusations had not yet been addressed at the time when he was running for re-election. The journalists were informing the citizens of this irregularity, questioning the candidate and the office that is supposed to control local elections, as well as pointing out the fact that the local priest was discussing politics in favor of this candidate during mass.

After the attack on Radio Vox Populi, the journalists and owner of the station continued receiving various threats. As a result, the owner had to leave town, and the radio station stopped broadcasting this news item. Because the case of this small radio station remained a local affair, and because it did not have the national or international attention—as in the case of Bagua—there were no consequences for the mayoral candidate (who became town mayor), or the local priest, or the people who attacked the radio station. The case has gone unregistered and now is talked of in town only as an anecdote. However, it is a case that sends a powerful message of the need for self-censorship to the other two small, local stations in the area.
The Media Map Project is a multi-faceted two-year pilot research collaboration between Internews and The World Bank Institute, funded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. This report is a product of that research. The findings and conclusions contained within this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the positions or policies of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the World Bank or Internews.

The Media Map Project draws together what we know and precisely defines what we do not know about the relationships between the media sector and economic development and governance. The research also examines donors’ roles in supporting the media sector over time and provides an evidence base for their future decision-making about media support. Through research, public events, and the data made available on the project website for public use and extended research, the project aims to engage the development sector in greater understanding and exploration of the role of media and information in development.