MAPPING DIGITAL MEDIA:
PERU

OPEN SOCIETY
FOUNDATIONS

Mapping Digital Media: Peru

A REPORT BY THE OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS

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Contents

Mapping Digital Media

The values that underpin good journalism, the need of citizens for reliable and abundant information, and the importance of such information for a healthy society and a robust democracy: these are perennial, and provide compass-bearings for anyone trying to make sense of current changes across the media landscape.

The standards in the profession are in the process of being set. Most of the effects on journalism imposed by new technology are shaped in the most developed societies, but these changes are equally influencing the media in less developed societies.

The **Mapping Digital Media** project, which examines the changes in-depth, aims to build bridges between researchers and policymakers, activists, academics and standard-setters across the world. It also builds policy capacity in countries where this is less developed, encouraging stakeholders to participate in and influence change. At the same time, this research creates a knowledge base, laying foundations for advocacy work, building capacity and enhancing debate.

The Media Program of the Open Society Foundations has seen how changes and continuity affect the media in different places, redefining the way they can operate sustainably while staying true to values of pluralism and diversity, transparency and accountability, editorial independence, freedom of expression and information, public service, and high professional standards.

The Mapping Digital Media project assesses, in the light of these values, the global opportunities and risks that are created for media by the following developments:

- the switch-over from analog broadcasting to digital broadcasting;
- growth of new media platforms as sources of news;
- convergence of traditional broadcasting with telecommunications.

Covering 60 countries, the project examines how these changes affect the core democratic service that any media system should provide—news about political, economic and social affairs.

The **Mapping Digital Media** reports are produced by local researchers and partner organizations in each country. Cumulatively, these reports will provide a much-needed resource on the democratic role of digital media.

In addition to the country reports, the Open Society Media Program has commissioned research papers on a range of topics related to digital media. These papers are published as the **MDM Reference Series**.

Mapping Digital Media: Peru
Executive Summary

The process of digitization is still in its early stages in Peru, where the transition to digital terrestrial television (DTT) will not be finalized until 2024 and the impact of online communication, though growing, is still limited.

Television and radio remain the most important media platforms and the main tools to access news in Peru. The internet has not caused a noticeable change in the way news is consumed—though it has become the second most trusted source of news, after radio and before television. At least part of the reason for this is the low broadband penetration—lower than in other countries in the region. A significant portion of internet access takes place through public access points.

As with other countries in the region, Peru shows high levels of media concentration. Digitization has not yet affected the dominant positions in the Peruvian mass media market. On the contrary, the largest media groups' hegemonic position has grown stronger. For example, the influence of Grupo El Comercio is felt in the political, social, and cultural arenas, where its ability to shape news agendas through its broadcasting and print outlets is unmistakable. The way in which DTT has been regulated and the distribution of the digital spectrum add to the power of established media groups.

The transition to DTT dates back to November 2006, when the Ministry of Transportation and Communications (*Ministerio de Transportes y Comunicaciones*, MTC) granted licenses for experimental broadcasting. The digital signal was not officially inaugurated until 30 March 2010, however, with the start of TV Perú's broadcasting in high definition. Complete migration to the digital system is scheduled for 2024.

While the first step in the implementation of DTT, the selection of the DTT standard, was properly managed and there was space for discussion and participation by different sectors of society, the next steps in the digitization of broadcasting failed to live up to this promising start. There has been no adequate public information strategy for this new technological tool—just a poor website on the subject, and a few workshops and public hearings. As a result, most Peruvians have never heard of DTT and have a limited perception of its potential for them.

Another important pending issue in the digitization of television is facilitating access for disadvantaged social groups. There are concerns over the ability of smaller media to get a voice in the digital environment. The Government, through the MTC, has decided to grant frequencies with "exclusive management" rights to a set of broadcasting companies with more business and political muscle. This arrangement, enshrined in a Supreme Decree (the Master Plan), suits the interests of a specific group of broadcasters.

Even though online communication has not modified the main elements of the media market or the general trends of news production and consumption, some noteworthy processes are taking place. A few blogs have become independent alternative references for news content, though in strictly quantitative terms their impact remains small. Spaces for online investigative journalism have been created by the initiative of prestigious and experienced journalists who, with little or no management experience, are embarking on the task of publishing news they feel deserves to be known.

The sustainability of these efforts is questionable, however. International funding is one of the main sources, and often the only source, of revenue. Nonetheless, in terms of news diversity, digital outlets occasionally manage to put alternative issues on the mainstream media agenda. Offline outlets make use of digital tools in their online versions that contribute to the active participation by users and increase interactivity, so readers, listeners, and viewers can provide information. These tools also generate greater civic involvement in political life as well as in journalism, increasing demands for rigor, informed analysis, and diverse sources.

Social networks are experiencing significant growth, and it is only a question of time and research before the effects will be manifested in shifts in media use and news consumption. Although online mobilizations have not been able by themselves to engineer a massive turnout or to put new concerns on the public agenda, online tools are used more and more to reinforce different positions on issues of public concern.

The Transparency Law (2002) requires public entities to inform citizens about, among other things, expenses, nominations, and budgets. It has had a positive impact on access to public information. The licensing process for DTT is transparent; information about the process is made public. The same is true of the digital transition process: biannual public reports are required by the Master Plan. On the other hand, transparency in the ownership of media is not regulated and there has been no advance in this area. In addition, increased official transparency has not stopped the Government from suspending or removing broadcasting licenses on unclear grounds.

As a whole, the general framework of policies, laws, and regulations does not meet the challenges of digitization in Peru. The Master Plan for the Implementation of Digital Terrestrial Television was adopted in 2010 as a Supreme Decree, without debate in Congress. The Radio and Television Law of 2004, the first law of its kind in the country, has been repeatedly amended. While there is constant work being done to improve the legislation, there is still much to do if Peru is to reap the full benefits of digitization.

Context

With an area of 1.29 million square km and some 30 million inhabitants, the Republic of Peru is the third largest country in South America and the fifth or sixth most populous. It is bordered to the north by Ecuador and Colombia, to the east by Brazil and Bolivia, and to the south by Chile.

Peru has remarkable biodiversity, comprising as it does three natural and strategic regions (the Peruvian Coast, the Andes mountains, and the Amazon jungle), and 11 eco-regions.[1]

There is a democratic presidential system of government; the president—directly elected by citizens (voting is compulsory)—is both the head of government and the head of state. The president appoints the prime minister and, with the latter, the rest of the Council of Ministers (i.e. the cabinet), which must be confirmed in office by Congress. The current president is Ollanta Humala, who took office in 2011.

The country is divided into 25 administrative regions, plus the Province of Lima, the capital city. Peru's population of 30 million is concentrated in the coastal regions; Lima has 8 million inhabitants. The official and principal language is Spanish, used by 84 percent of the population. The most commonly used indigenous language is Quechua, with 13 percent.

After years of steady growth since 2003, the economy slowed due to the 2009 global financial crisis, then recovered in 2010. The average annual growth rate was 7.2 percent from 2006 to 2011. The average income per head doubled from US$ 2,854 in 2005 to US$ 5,926 in 2011.[2] Over 50 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) is concentrated in Lima.[3]

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1. These regions are the Cold Sea, Tropical Sea, Coastal Desert, Equatorial Dry Forest, Pacific Tropical Forest (or Tropical Forest of the Pacific), Andean Steppe, Andean Highlands, Bleak Upland, High Altitude Jungle, Low Altitude Jungle and Palm Tree Savanna. See http://www.perueco-logico.com.pe/esp_megadiversidad.htm (accessed 27 July 2012), and http://dgffs.minag.gob.pe/index.php/ecorregiones-del-peru (accessed 19 August 2012).

2. Macroconsult. Overview of Peru and the Economy. See http://www.macroconsult.com.pe/en/about-us/presentation/ (accessed 30 July 2012).

3. Macroconsult. Overview of Peru and the Economy. See http://www.macroconsult.com.pe/en/about-us/presentation/ (accessed 30 July 2012).

Social Indicators

Population: 30.1 million (est. 2012)[4]
Households: 6.7 million (2007)[5]
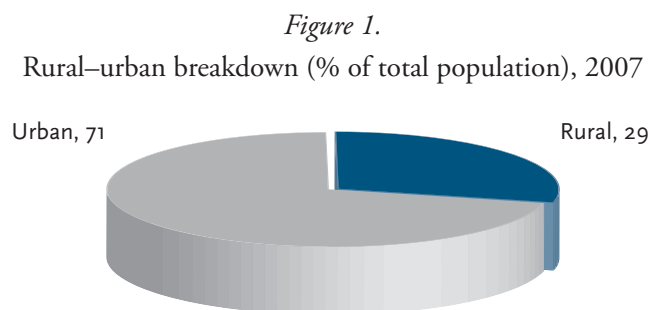
Figure 1.

Rural–urban breakdown (% of total population), 2007

Urban, 71   Rural, 29

Source: National Census 2007: XI Population and VI Housing (Censos Nacionales 2007:XI de Población y VI de Vivienda). Lima, Peru, August 2008. See http://censos.inei.gob.pe/censos2007 (accessed 19 August 2012)

Figure 2.

Ethnic composition (% of total population), 2007

White, 15   Black, Japanese, Chinese and other, 3

Mestizo,* 37   Amerindian, 45
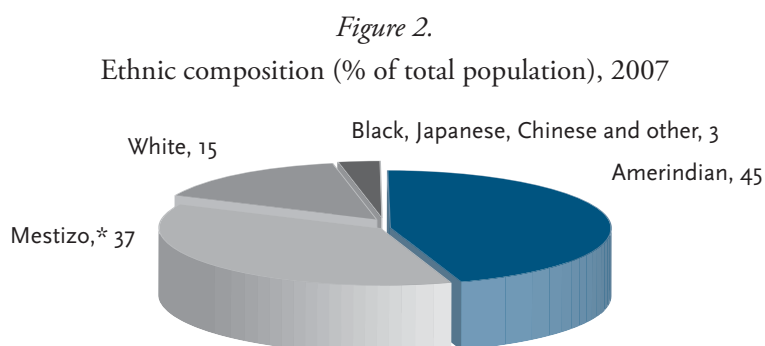
Note: * Mixed Amerindian and white

Source: National Census 2007: XI Population and VI Housing (Censos Nacionales 2007:XI de Población y VI de Vivienda). Lima, Peru, August 2008. See http://censos.inei.gob.pe/censos2007 (accessed 19 August 2012)

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4. Estimate as of June 2012 by http://worldpopulationreview.com/population-of-peru (accessed 26 July 2012). This total also tallies with a projection for 2012 in the 2007 Census, conducted by the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática*, INEI). See http://www.inei.gob.pe/biblioineipub/bancopub/Est/Lib0006/ANEX001.htm (accessed 15 March 2011).

5. National Census 2007: XI Population and VI Housing (Censos Nacionales 2007:XI de Población y VI de Vivienda) Lima, Peru, August 2008. See http://censos.inei.gob.pe/censos2007/documentos/Resultado_CPV2007.pdf) (accessed 19 August 2012).

Figure 3.

Linguistic composition (% of total population), 2007

Ashaninka, 0.3
Aymara, 1.7   Other, 0.9
Quechua (official), 13.0
Spanish (official), 84.1

Source: National Census 2007: XI Population and VI Housing (Censos Nacionales 2007: XI de Población y VI de Vivienda). Lima, Peru, August 2008. See http://censos.inei.gob.pe/censos2007 (accessed 19 August 2012)

Figure 4.

Religious composition (% of total population), 2007

Other, 3.3   Unspecified or none, 2.9
Evangelical, 12.5
Roman Catholic, 81.3

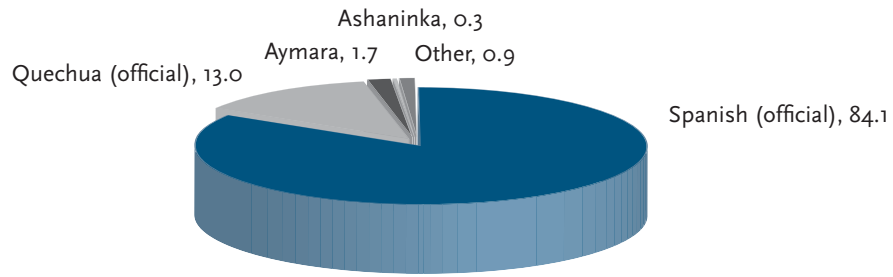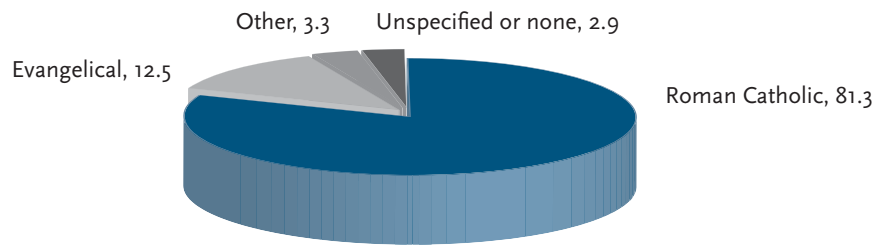*Source:* National Census 2007: XI Population and VI Housing (Censos Nacionales 2007:XI de Población y VI de Vivienda). Lima, Peru, August 2008. See http://censos.inei.gob.pe/censos2007 and http:// www.onu.org.pe/upload/documentos/ INEI-Perfil-Sociodemografico-Peru.pdf (accessed 19 August 2012)

Economic Indicators

Economic indicators

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011f	2012f
GDP (current prices), in US$ billion	79.397	92.306	107.12	127.406	126.766	153.549	162.479	172.751
GDP (current prices), per head in US$	2,916	3,339	3,796	4,445	4,356	5,195	5,414	5,668
Gross National Income (GNI), per head, current $	5,970	6,430	7,190	8,180	8,420	9,070	n/a	n/a
Unemployment (% of total labor force)	9.6	8.5	8.4	8.3	8.6	8.0	7.5	7.5
Inflation (average annual rate in % against previous year)	1.6	2.0	1.7	5.7	2.9	1.7	2.4	1.9

Notes: f: forecast; n/a: not available

Source: International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Economic Outlook Database, October 2010; World Bank (for GNI)

1. Media Consumption: The Digital Factor

1.1 Digital Take-up

1.1.1 Digital Equipment

The proportion of households with a TV set increased from 70.4 percent in 2005 to 80 percent in 2010. The number of households with a radio set has remained stable at about 5.5 million, as has the penetration rate (from 83.4 percent in 2005 to 83.3 percent in 2010).

Table 2.
Households owning equipment, 2005–2010

	2005		2006		2007		2008		2009		2010	
	No. of HH[6] (million)	% of THH[7]	No. of HH (million)	% of THH	No. of HH (million)	% of THH	No. of HH (million)	% of THH	No. of HH (million)	% of THH	No. of HH (million)	% of THH
TV set	4.6	70.4	4.8	72.0	5.1	74.8	5.2	76.6	5.4	78.9	5.5	80.0
Radio set	5.4	83.4	5.6	84.3	5.6	83.7	5.6	83.1	5.7	82.8	5.8	83.3
PC	0.6	8.8	0.7	11.2	1.0	15.4	1.2	18.0	1.4	21.2	1.6	23.4

Source: National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática*, INEI), "Informe Técnico N° 01 Marzo 2011. Las Tecnologías de Información y Comunicación en los Hogares: Trimestre: Octubre-Noviembre-Diciembre 2010" (Technical Report No. 1, March 2011. Information and Communication Technologies in Households: October–November–December Quarter 2010)[8]

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6. Number of households owning the equipment.

7. Percentage of total number of households in the country.

8. To calculate the number of households, the annual growth rate according to the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean was taken into account.

PCs are increasingly present and their penetration rose from about 8.8 percent in 2005 to about 23.4 percent in 2010. Their presence is more evident in Lima (rising from 16 percent in 2005 to 36 percent in 2010) and in the other urban areas of the country (from 10.6 percent to 27.6 percent),[9] but in rural areas (which represent 25.4 percent of the national total),[10] the penetration remains very low (2.6 percent). Thus, television and radio are still the most important media platforms for accessing news.

1.1.2 Platforms

Commercial analog television started in Peru on 15 December 1958 through the signal of Channel 4 of *Radio América*, today *América Televisión* (commercial provider). Currently, there are seven television channels that broadcast in the VHF signal, six of which are commercial providers: Latin Frequency (*Frecuencia Latina*), América Televisión, Panamericana Televisión, Andean TV (*Andina de Televisión,* ATV), Bicolor Communications Network (*Red Bicolor de Comunicaciones*, RBC), and Global TV. The seventh, TV Perú, is the public service provider and is managed by the Government.

On 23 April 2009, the Government announced the selection of the ISDB-Tb (International System for Digital Broadcast, Terrestrial, Brazilian version) standard for DTT. TV Perú, the state-owned TV station, broadcast the first digital signal in Lima and El Callao on 30 March 2010 through Channel 16. One day later, ATV started its digital transmissions through Channel 18, followed by Latin Frequency (Channel 20) and América Televisión (Channel 24). The migration to the digital system will be completed in 2024, according to the Master Plan for the Implementation of Digital Terrestrial Television in Peru.[11] The end of analog transmissions in the capital area (Lima and El Callao) has been scheduled for the fourth quarter of 2020.

According to the Supervising Agency for Private Investment in Telecommunications of Peru (*Organismo Supervisor de Inversión Privada en Telecomunicaciones*, OSIPTEL), there are three important cable operators: Telefónica del Perú SAA/Telefónica Multimedia SAC, Telmex Perú SA, and DirectTV Perú SRL. Although the services provided by operators still offer limited interactivity, pay-TV grew significantly in 2010 due to the Soccer World Cup in South Africa.[12]

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9.   National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática*, INEI), "Informe Técnico N° 01 Marzo 2011. Las Tecnologías de Información y Comunicación en los Hogares: Trimestre: Octubre-Noviembre-Diciembre 2010" (Technical Report No. 01, March 2011. Information and Communication Technologies in Households: October-November-December Quarter 2010), at http://www. inei.gob.pe/web/BoletinFlotante.asp?file=12269.pdf (accessed 1 May 2011).

10. INEI, "Proyecciones de la Población del Perú 1995–2025" (Peru Population Forecasts, 1995–2025), at http://www.inei.gob.pe/biblioineipub/ bancopub/Est/Lib0006/n00.htm (accessed 19 November 2010).

11. Supreme Decree No. 017-2010-MTC. 29 March 2010, at http://tvdigitalperu.mtc.gob.pe/D%20S%20%2001-2010-MTC-PLAN%20 MAESTRO%20IMPLEMENTACION%20TV%20DIGITAL-B.pdf (accessed 2 November 2010).

12. "Perú registró una alta tasa de captura de clientes de TV por cable por Mundial Sudáfrica 2010" (Peru recorded a high cable TV customer at-traction rate due to the 2010 Soccer World Cup South Africa)*,* in the Andean Peruvian News Agency (*Agencia Peruana de Noticias Andina*), 20 June 2010, at http://www.andina.com.pe/espanol/Noticia.aspx?id=bTfJkTl1zTw= (accessed 25 November 2010).

It is important to mention that there is a high rate of illegal cable connectivity in Peru. It is estimated that in 2008 more than 1 million households had cable. Operators estimated that only 774,060 households had a legal connection, however, which would mean that more than 200,000 connections were illegal.[13]

In 2010, according to OSIPTEL, there were no Internet Protocol TV (IPTV) services in Peru, despite some pilot tests with educational purposes in certain areas of Lima.[14]

According to OSIPTEL's data,[15] the only companies that offer satellite television services are Telmex and DIRECTV. In the second quarter of 2010, there were 136,994 subscriptions to Telmex services and 68,227 subscriptions to DIRECTV services. It should be pointed out that Claro, a Mexican company that provides cellular telephone services in Peru, and Telmex merged in September 2010.[16]

Table 3.

Platform for the main TV reception and digital take-up, 2005–2010

	2005		2006		2007		2008		2009		2010	
	No. of HH[17] (million)	% of THH[18]	No. of HH (million)	% of THH	No. of HH (million)	% of THH	No. of HH (million)	% of THH	No. of HH (million)	% of THH	No. of HH (million)	% of THH
Terrestrial reception	4.1	89.7	4.1	86.1	4.2	83	4.2	80.0	4.2	76.9	4.0	72.5
– of which digital							n/a					
Cable reception	0.5	10.3	0.6	13.5	0.8	16.1	0.9	17.3	1.0	19.2	1.2	21.7
– of which digital							n/a					
Satellite reception	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.9	0.1	2.6	0.2	3.9	0.3	5.8
– of which digital							n/a					
IPTV							n/a					
Total	4.6	100.0	4.8	100.0	5.1	100.0	5.2	100.0	5.4	100.0	5.5	100.0
– of which digital							n/a					

Note: n/a: not available

Sources: INEI; Supervising Agency for Private Investment in Telecommunications of Peru (*Organismo Supervisor de Inversión Privada en Telecomunicaciones del Perú,* OSIPTEL)

13. "Cuarta parte de las conexiones en Perú son ilegales" (One-quarter of connections in Peru are illegal), TodoTVNews.com, 8 September 2008, at http://www.todotvnews.com/scripts/templates/estilo_nota.asp?nota=nuevo/TV+Paga/cable/2008/09_septiembre/10_pirateria_peru_estudio_gobierno (accessed 25 November 2010).

14. "The acceptance of pay-TV services is increasing," 25 June 2010, at http://www.iptv-news.com/iptv_news/2010/june_2010_2/the_acceptance_of_pay-tv_services_is_increasing (accessed 12 December 2010).

15. All the information provided by OSIPTEL referring to pay-TV modes can be consulted at http://www.osiptel.gob.pe/WebsiteAjax/WebFormgeneral/sector/wfrm_Consulta_Informacion_Estadisticas.aspx?CodInfo=13474&CodSubCat=864&TituloInformacion=7.%20Indicadores%20de%20Televisi%C3%B3n%20de%20Paga&DescripcionInformacion= (accessed 21 August 2012).

16. "Se inició la fusión local entre Telmex y Claro" (Local merger between Telmex and Claro began), 9 September 2010, at http://elcomercio.pe/economia/636418/noticia-se-inicio-fusion-local-entre-telmex-claro (accessed 4 January 2011).

17. Number of households owning the equipment.

18. Percentage of total number of households in the country.

Data from INEI show a sustained growth in internet access. Nevertheless, broadband access is lower than that of other countries in the region: as of December 2009, there were 869,080 broadband connections[19] (2.9 percent of households). Each household had 4.7 members (according to INEI).

Although the percentage has decreased since 2007 (75.3 percent), a significant portion of internet access (60 percent) continues to be through public access points.[20] These sites facilitate a wider access to digital technology thanks to their low service costs (US$1 for three hours of internet browsing is customary).

Mobile telephone companies forecast a penetration rate of 90 percent of the market by 2010 (the percentage signifies the number of mobile cards for every 100 inhabitants).[21] According to OSIPTEL reports,[22] mobile telephone penetration in August 2011 stood at 95.5 percent.[23] The figures of INEI were less auspicious, but also showed a significant increase in cellular telephone access. In addition, the 3G IPhone started being sold in Peru on 22 August 2008. In 2009, 500,000 mobile users were connected to 3G networks, which is equivalent to 2.5 percent of the total cellular phones.[24] This figure is pretty close to the 2.33 percent recorded by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) for Peru.

Table 4.

Internet penetration rate (total internet subscriptions as % of total population)
and mobile penetration rate (total active SIM cards as % of total population), 2005–2010

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Internet	3.7	5.1	5.5	8.6	11.0	14.0
– of which broadband	1.3	1.9	2.3	2.7	2.9	3.3
Mobile telephony	20.5	31.9	55.6	74.9	87.5	95.5
– of which 3G	0	0	0	0	2.5	n/a

Note: n/a: not available

Sources: INEI; OSIPTEL, *Indicadores de Telefonía Móvil a junio de 2010* (Mobile Telephony Indicators as of June 2010); *Barómetro Cisco de Banda Ancha Perú 2005–2010* (Cisco Broadband Barometer, Peru, 2005–2010); 4G Americas

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19. G. Thornberry, *Promoción de la Banda Ancha en el Perú* (Promotion of Broadband in Peru), OSIPTEL, June 2010.

20. INEI, "Las Tecnologías de Información y Comunicación en los Hogares: Trimestre Enero-Febrero-Marzo 2010" (Information and Communication Technologies in Households: January-February-March 2010 Quarter, at http://www.inei.gob.pe/web/Biblioinei/BoletinFlotante. asp?file=11759.pdf (accessed 18 November 2010).

21. "Este año penetración de telefonía móvil en Perú llegaría a 90%" (This year, mobile phone penetration in Peru is likely to reach 90%), 25 August 2010, at http://mercadoenergia.com/mercado/2010/08/25/este-ano-penetracion-de-telefonia-movil-en-peru-llegaria-a-90.html (accessed 25 November 2010).

22. OSIPTEL, "Oferta Comercial Residencial de Servicios Públicos de Telecomunicaciones" (Residential Commercial Offer of Public Telecommunications Services), August 2011 (accessed 7 January 2011).

23. "Hay más celulares que personas en seis departamentos del país" (There are more mobile phones than people in six departments from Peru), *El Comercio*, 2 September 2010, at http://elcomercio.pe/economia/632744/noticia-hay-mas-celulares-que-personas-seis-departamentos-pais (accessed 7 January 2011).

24. "Perú tiene 500 mil usuarios de móviles conectados a redes 3G y podría duplicarse el próximo año" (Peru has 500,000 mobile users connected to 3G networks and this figure could double next year), in the Andean Peruvian News Agency (APNA), 13 July 2009, at http://www.andina.com.pe/espanol/Noticia.aspx?id=lzCiql3M6Fg= (accessed 25 November 2010).

1.2   Media Preferences

1.2.1   Main Shifts in Media Consumption

In Peru, digital transition has just begun. For that reason, no significant changes have been introduced in the information consumption routines of the population over the past five years, which privileges the use of traditional media.

In Lima, the capital, free-to-air television is the main means of accessing information (preferred by 94 percent of citizens in 2009), ahead of print media (preferred by 82 percent), radio (72 percent) and the internet (47 percent).[25]

The most watched television channels are América Televisión (50 percent), ATV (18 percent,) and Latin Frequency (9 percent).[26] The most widely read sections in the printed media are those related to sports, show business, international and national politics, and entertainment.[27]

In 2006, Peruvians acquainted themselves with political issues through television (68.9 percent), radio (15.2 percent), and newspapers (11.7 percent).[28] The internet ranked fourth with 3 percent. The figures for 2008 were broadly similar, with radio at 62.2 percent, television at 17.8 percent, and the printed media at 14.8 percent. The use of the internet as a political news consumption platform dropped to 2.6 percent.[29]

In 2005, radio was the most trusted medium;[30] as of 2009, it still ranked first for about 72 percent of users who also rated radio news as very good or good. Internet ranked second among the most trusted media platforms (67 percent), whereas only 64 percent of people had a lot of confidence or some confidence in the information disseminated through television. Newspapers came last in the media valuation table, with only 50 percent of users having a lot of confidence or some confidence in them.[31]

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25.   Institute of Public Opinion of Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (*Instituto de Opinión Pública de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú,* IOP-PUCP), "Estado de la Opinión Pública. Medios de Comunicación. Setiembre de 2009" (Status of Public Opinion. Media. September 2009), available at http://iop.pucp.edu.pe/images/documentos/2009%20Medios%20de%20Comunicaci%C3%B3n%20-%20Setiembre. pdf (accessed 12 December 2010) (hereafter IOP_PUCP, "Estado de la Opinión Pública").

26.   IOP-PUCP, "Estado de la Opinión Pública."

27.   Apoyo, Opinion and Market (*Apoyo, Opinión y Mercado*, APOYO), "Marketing Data. IGM—Hábitos y actitudes hacia la prensa escrita" (Marketing Data. IGM—Habits and attitudes toward print media), No. 85, 2007.

28.   Group of Public Opinion of Universidad de Lima (*Grupo de Opinión Pública de la Universidad de Lima*, GOP-UL), "II Encuesta Anual sobre Medios de Comunicación y Política" (II Annual Survey on Media and Politics), May 2006, available at http://www.ulima.edu.pe/webulima.nsf/ default/F598031D89943F2F05256E630017BD4C/$file/barometro_social_may_2006.pdf (accessed 12 December 2010).

29.   GOP-UL, "Barómetro social. IV Encuesta Anual de Medios de Comunicación y Política" (Social Barometer. IV Annual Survey on Media and Politics). June 2008, at http://www.ulima.edu.pe/webulima.nsf/default/F598031D89943F2F05256E630017BD4C/$file/barometro_ social_jun_2008.pdf (accessed 12 December 2010) (hereafter GOP-UL, "Barómetro social. IV Encuesta Anual").

30.   GOP-UL, "Barómetro social. IV Encuesta Anual."

31.   IOP-PUCP, "Estado de la Opinión Pública."

Although the regional press has a very small reach, some newspapers are important news sources in their areas. This is the case for *La Industria* in Trujillo, the regional editions of *Correo* (in Arequipa, Ayacucho, Chimbote, Cusco, Huancayo, Huánuco, Ica, La Libertad, Lambayeque, Piura, Puno, Tacna, and Tumbes), and *El Tiempo* in Chiclayo. Moreover, there are regional television channels (after Lima, Arequipa has the largest number of television channels) and even some broadcast television newscasts that offer segments with local information in some regions. A good number of radio stations are grouped into the National Radio Coordinator *(Coordinadora Nacional de Radio,* CNR).[32]

Television companies have some presence on the internet. The América Televisión site has more visits than any other television site, followed by the web pages of ATV, Latin Frequency, and TV Perú.[33]

Figure 5.

Most visited television websites (% monthly internet users), 2010
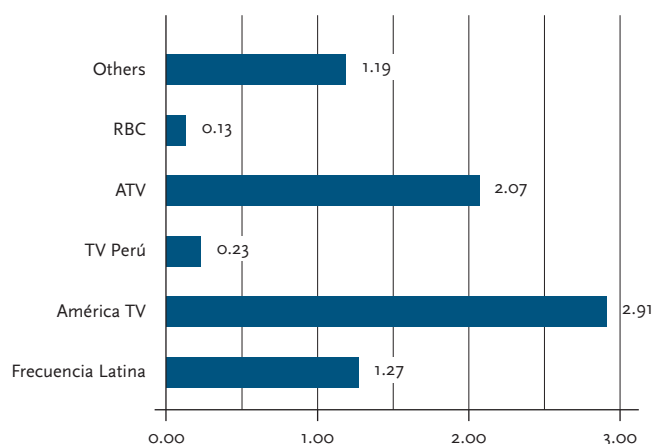
Source: Target Group Index (TGI) Perú 2010 Wave 1 (*Ola 1*), *Perfil del Consumidor de Internet* (Internet Consumer Profile), 2010

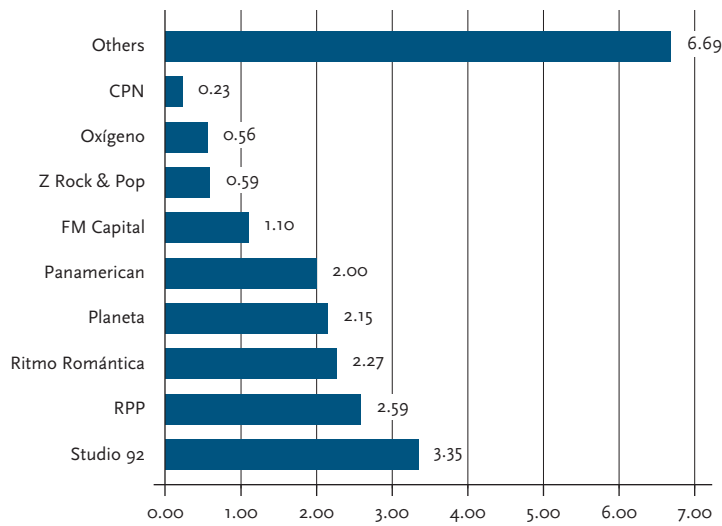The most visited radio station on the web is Studio 92, followed by the news pages of Radio Shows from Peru (*Radio Programas del Perú*, RPP), Planet Radio (*Radio Planeta*), Romantic Rhythm (*Ritmo Romántica*), and Panamerican Radio (*Radio Panamericana*).

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32.   See http://www.cnr.org.pe (accessed 21 August 2012).

33.   TGI Perú 2010 Ola 1, *Perfil del Consumidor de Internet* (Internet Consumer Profile), 2010.

Figure 6.

Most visited radio websites (% monthly internet users), 2010

As for newspapers, the website of Elcomercio.pe leads in traffic, followed by the websites Peru21.pe, Trome. pe, Elperuano.pe, and Larepublica.pe.[34]

Figure 7.

Most visited newspaper websites (% monthly internet users), 2010

34.   TGI Perú 2010 Ola 1, *Perfil del Consumidor de Internet* (Internet Consumer Profile), 2010.
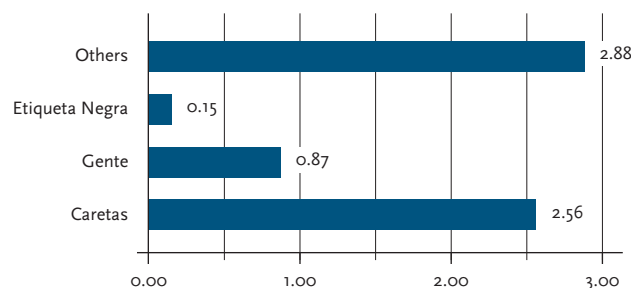
The most visited magazine on the web is Caretas.com.pe.

Figure 8.

Most visited magazine websites (% monthly internet users), 2010

Others	2.88
Etiqueta Negra	0.15
Gente	0.87
Caretas	2.56
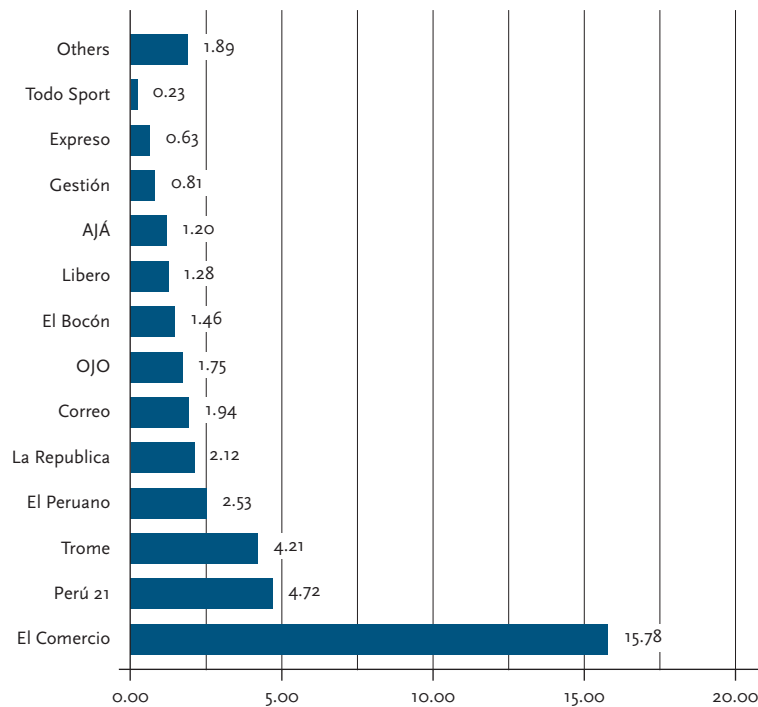
Source: TGI Perú 2010 Ola 1, *Perfil del Consumidor de Internet* (Internet Consumer Profile), 2010

1.2.2   Availability of a Diverse Range of News Platforms

The internet has not caused a noticeable change in the way news is consumed because traditional media remain the preferred choice as sources of information and news. However, some television channels, radio stations, and printed newspapers make use of digital tools that contribute to the active participation of users and generate more interactivity, so readers, listeners, and viewers can also produce information.

For example, in the morning newscast "*A Primera Hora*" (The Early Show), which is broadcast by Latin Frequency from 5.20 a.m., the "*Cámara Acción*" (Camera Action) section allows TV viewers to record themselves with their web camera making comments on news events. TV viewers can also send videos recorded with their cellular phones, which are broadcast if they are considered newsworthy.

On the websites of printed newspapers, information segments supplementary to printed editions have been introduced, including videos and the facility for users to comment on the news. Associated blogs, written by collaborators or staff-writers of these media, become segments of specialized information that satisfy certain user groups. It is important to mention that *El Comercio* is the newspaper that has best developed the concept of the virtual community on its website.

It should be noted that the advent early in the 1990s of the popular press,[35] characterized by the use of colloquial language, a news focus prioritizing local, showbiz, and sports news, a sensationalist style, and low cover prices, meant the expansion of the information on offer and allowed many sectors of the population to

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35.   J. Gargurevich, *La prensa sensacionalista en el Perú* (Sensationalist press in Peru)*,* Fondo Editorial of Universidad Católica del Perú. Lima, Peru, 2002. "The massive and popular press was only possible in Peru after the historical Andean migration that changed the face of Lima. Traditional readers of the daily press were quickly superseded by a large market of readers in the new masses that preferred new forms of expression and role models. Thus, the new popular press in Lima was born, which had—amongst other characteristics—the use of the slang born out of the city and rural linguistic encounter. Some characteristics of that scenario would be repeated many years later with the appearance of the popular press called *"chicha,"* amidst a cultural movement that reached proportions of true cultural alternativeness."

have access to news closer to their own interests and their surroundings. Proof of that is the preference for the newspaper *Trome*, with its very popular style, over *El Comercio*, the oldest Peruvian newspaper in circulation.

Finally, it is interesting to note that various blogs have become independent alternative references for news, for instance El Útero de Marita (www.utero.pe), La Habitación de Henry Spencer (www.lahabitaciondehenryspencer.com) and Desde el Tercer Piso (www.desdeeltercerpiso.com).

1.3. News Providers

1.3.1 Leading Sources of News

Television

In 2005, data on Lima and six other cities showed the prevalence of América Televisión (Channel 4), with an audience of 29.5 percent. ATV ranked second with 18.4 percent, followed by Latin Frequency with 15.5 percent, with Panamericana Televisión relegated to fourth place.[36]

Table 5.
Change in TV shows' viewership, 2008 and 2011

Show	2008 ('000)	2011 ('000)	Change ('000)
"*Al Fondo Hay Sitio*" (sitcom)	1,276.3	1,234.1	−42.1
"*Magaly TV*" (gossip show)	753.8	544.0	−209.7
"*América Noticias*" (news)	602.2	765.3	163.1
"*Habacilar*" (game show)	440.1	343.3	−96.8
"*90 segundos*" (news)	418.0	385.0	−33.0
"*Primera edición*" (news)	381.3	325.6	−55.7
"*ATV Noticias*" (news)	371.1	477.4	106.3
"*Prensa libre*" (news)	330.8	355.7	24.9
"*Cuarto poder*" (news)	596.7	571.9	−24.8
"*Recargados de Risa*" (comedy show)	482.3	380.2	−102.1
"*Punto final*" (news)	408.9	486.9	78.0
"*Día D*" (news)	380.4	340.7	−39.7
"*El reventón de los sábados*" (comedy show)	294.3	241.8	−52.5
"*Reporte semanal*" (news)	274.7	246.7	

Source: IBOPE Time, Ranking 21–29 September 2008; 21–27 March 2011

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36. IBOPE Time, "Ranking—Resultados en bloque horario de 8:00 a 23:59" (Ranking—Results from 8:00 to 23:59), 1 September 2005, as of 30 September 2005.

América Televisión leads primetime ratings during the week with drama and comedy series and newscasts, as well as the Sunday night schedule, traditionally focused on journalistic content and reportage. In 2010, seven of the 10 most watched programs on national television were broadcast by América Televisión, such as the comedy TV series "*Al Fondo Hay Sitio*" (There is Room at the End), the dance competition program called "*El Gran Show*" (The Great Show), the newscast "*América Noticias*" (America News), the comedy TV program "*Recargados de Risa*" (Overloaded with Laughter), and the journalistic TV program "*Cuarto Poder*" (Fourth Estate). ATV's most successful program is the showbiz program "*Magaly TV.*"[37]

Radio

In 2005, the most listened to radio station in Lima was RPP, which focused on information and news content, followed by Radio Panamericana, Radiomar Plus, Mega and Fashion Radio (*Radio Moda*), all of them strictly music radio stations. The radios with greater coverage nationwide[38] were RPP (90.2 percent), Panamericana (84.5 percent), The Caribbean (*La Karibeña*) (81.4 percent), New Q (*Nueva Q*) (80.4 percent), and Fashion Radio (*Radio Moda*) (76.9 percent), but audience levels do not necessarily correspond to coverage.

Figure 9.
Most popular radio stations in Lima ('000 listeners), 2010
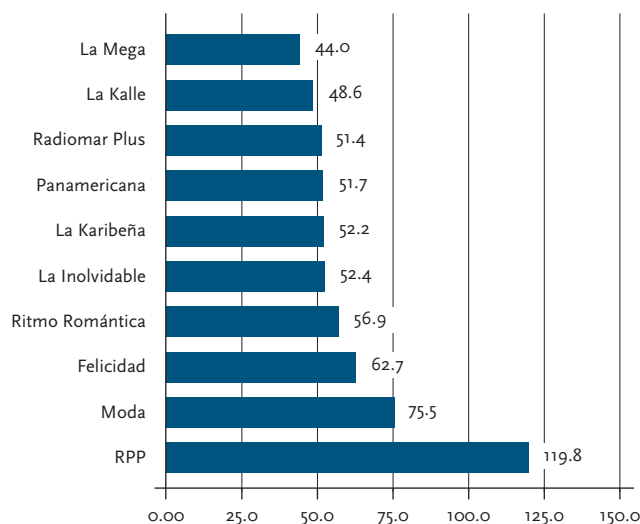
Source: CPI, *Audiencia radial Lima* (Lima radio audience). October 2010

As of October 2010,[39] according to the Peruvian Market Research and Public Opinion Company (*Compañía Peruana de Estudios de Mercados y Opinión Pública*, CPI) report, the most listened-to radio station in Lima was still RPP (119,800 listeners), and the other four were music radio stations: Fashion Radio (*Radio*

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37.   IBOPE Time, "Ranking del 26 de julio al 3 de agosto de 2010" (Ranking from 26 July to 3 August 2010).

38.   Peruvian Market Research and Public Opinion Company (*Compañía Peruana de Estudios de Mercados y Opinión Pública*, CPI), *Market Report*, October 2010.

39.   CPI, "Audiencia radial Lima" (Lima radio audience), October 2010, at http://www.cpi.com.pe/boletin.asp?id=225 (accessed 12 December 2010).

Moda) (75,500 listeners), Happiness Radio (*Radio Felicidad*) (62,700 listeners), Romantic Rhythm (*Ritmo Romántica*) (56,900 listeners), and The Unforgettable Radio (*Radio La Inolvidable*) (52,400 listeners). Capital Radio (*Radio Capital*), with news content, ranked 16th, with 28,600 listeners.

Radio Santa Mónica of Cusco (14,200 listeners), Radio Huancayo (15,900 listeners), Radio Uno of Tacna (11,300 listeners), and Radio Loreto of Iquitos (11,500 listeners) stand out in the interior of the country.

Print Media

In 2005, the most widely read newspapers in Lima were *Trome*, *El Comercio*, *Ajá*, *Correo*, and *El Popula*.[40] The first two belong to Grupo El Comercio*; Ajá* and *Correo* belong to Empresa Periodística Nacional (EPENSA); and *El Popular* belongs to Grupo La República. Three of these newspapers are part of the popular press (*Trome*, *Ajá*, and *El Popular*).

In 2010, *Trome* was still the most widely read newspaper in the capital city (1,824,676 readers, which is equivalent to 39 percent of the total Peruvian readership), followed by *Ojo* (526,052 readers, 11 percent of the total), *El Comercio* (467,619 readers, 10 percent of the total), *Perú 21* (293,432 readers, 6 percent of the total), and *El Popular* (225,865 readers, 5 percent of the total).[41] *Trome* and *Ojo* have increased their readership in the recent years, while that of *El Comercio* has fallen.

Figure 10.
Most read newspapers in Lima ('000 readers), 2010

40. CPI, *Índice Promedio de Lectoría de Diarios* (Average Newspaper Readership Rate), 2005.
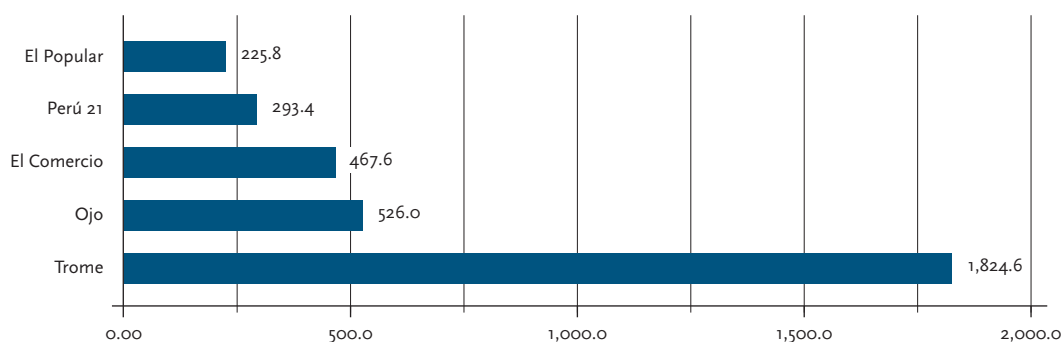
41. Kantar Media Research (KMR) Peru, *Estudio de Lectoría de Diarios y Suplementos* (Newspaper and Supplement Readership Study). December 2010.

Online Media

In 2005, the websites with the most visits in Peru were Hotmail, Google, MSN, Yahoo, and Terra.[42] As of 2010, the five most visited web pages were Google, the social network Facebook, Google Perú, YouTube, and Windows Live.[43]

The main online sites for news were Elcomercio.pe (200,000 visits a month),[44] Rpp.com.pe (100,000 visits), Peru21.pe (75,000 visits), Terra.com.pe (50,000 visits), and Deperu.com (30,000 visits). The website Peru.com is not one of the most visited anymore, unlike a few years ago, although Google Trends reports that it has about 50,000 visits. This website presents various themes, highlighting news and gossip.

Figure 11.
Most visited news websites in Lima ('000 visitors), 2011
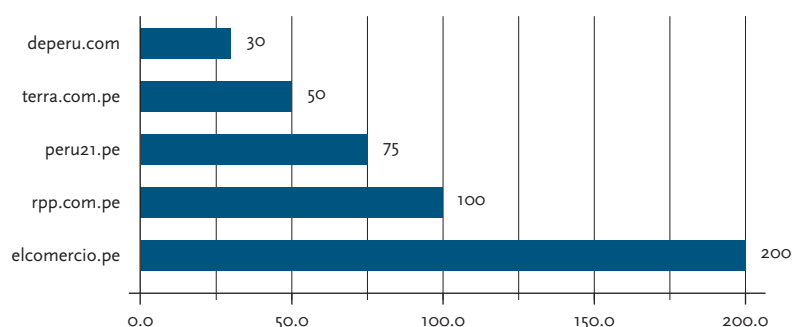
Source: Google Trends, 7 January 2011

Finally, it is interesting to note the increase in the use of social networks in 2011, with Facebook (1,500,000 visitors), YouTube (1,000,000 visitors), hi5 (250,000 visitors, but down from 500,000 visitors in 2009), Twitter (50,000 visitors), and Blogger (30,000 visitors).[45]

1.3.2   Television News Programs

In 2005, the most widely watched newscasts on television were broadcast by América Televisión: "*América Noticias, edición nocturna*" (America News, night edition), "*Primera Edición, edición matutina*" (First Edition, morning edition), and "*América Noticias, edición sábado*" (America News, Saturday edition), followed by ATV's "*ATV Noticias, edición nocturna*" (ATV News, night edition), and Latin Frequency "*90 Segundos, edición nocturna*" (90 Seconds, night edition).[46]

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42.   CPI, *Market Report*, December 2005.

43.   Search made on the portal Alexa.com, 7 January 2011.

44.   Data obtained through Google Trends, 7 January 2011.

45.   Data obtained through Google Trends, 7 January 2011.

46.   IBOPE Time, "Top 10 por género. Ranking—Resultados" (Top 10 by genre. Ranking—Results), 1–30 September 2005.

The strong presence of América Televisión in the televised news offer is evident. The most watched journalistic TV programs were "*Panorama*" (Panamericana Televisión), "*Cuarto Poder*" (by América Televisión), and "*La Ventana Indiscreta*" (The Rear Window), and "*Reporte Semanal*" (Weekly Report), both broadcast by Latin Frequency.

In 2010,[47] the most watched newscasts were "*América Noticias, edición nocturna*" (1,126,690 TV viewers), "*ATV Noticias, edición nocturna*" (508,430 TV viewers), "*Primera Edición, edición matutina*" (497,360 TV viewers), "*Prensa Libre*" (Free Press) (436,690 TV viewers,) and "*90 Segundos*" (424,590 TV viewers).

Among journalistic TV programs, "*Panorama*" ranks 19th among the most watched programs, surpassed by "*Cuarto Poder*" (708,540 TV viewers), "*El Francotirador*" (The Sniper) (638,860 TV viewers), "*Día D*" (D Day) (563,960 TV viewers), "*Punto Final*" (Final Issue) (483,570 TV viewers), and "*Domingo Al Día*" (Reported Sunday) (358,000 TV viewers). As noted, "*Panorama*" suffered a significant loss of audience due to the lack of a clear editorial line, continuous changes in the direction of the news program, and administrative problems of the media. By contrast, "*Cuarto Poder*" has established itself as the most watched news program on television. None of these changes is due to the digitization process.

It is worth mentioning the show "*Magaly TV*," broadcast by ATV. Specializing in showbiz and gossip notes, it has even created a journalistic format called "*ampay*" (gotcha), showing inappropriate behavior by a well-known personality from the showbiz or sports world, which had an average of 787,490 viewers per program in 2010.

1.3.3   Impact of Digital Media on Good-quality News

The impact of digital media on news quality has been minimal, but it has undoubtedly contributed to expanding the information choice, allowing the generation of new news segments through the use of social networks and the leverage of the blogosphere. However, despite the confidence that users have in the internet, they still do not consider it a priority as a platform for the consumption of news, because they prefer traditional media. Moreover, portals and other sites belong to newspapers and television channels that use the technological resource as a supplement to their traditional lines of business, because advertising investment still remains focused on traditional media (especially in print and on television). Content generated on digital platforms is still intrinsically related to what occurs in traditional media.

Finally, no digital channels or new media have blazed the trail for a new form of news production or have achieved a significant impact. However, Willax TV could be one of the first to do so.[48] This is a news channel produced by Agenciaperu Producciones, a company which started broadcasting through the internet, but which now can be watched on cable TV. Its reporters use 3G technology for broadcasting their news pieces.

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47.   IBOPE Time, "Top 20 emisión más alta" (Top 20 highest broadcasts), week of 13–19 September 2010.

48.   See http://willax.tv (accessed 21 August 2012).

1.4   Assessments

Although the internet is more and more common in Peruvian households, this does not necessarily mean that news consumption through digital media has increased or plays an important part in people's information-gathering habits. Studies show that 93 percent of online users use the internet to search for information in general (both for news and through Google or other network browsers), but also that a substantial percentage (42 percent) of Peruvians do not use the internet at all.[49]

Social networks have become important means for the production of information. That has been shown during the first months of 2011 during the presidential campaign in the general elections. Candidates became important actors on both Facebook and Twitter and their publications and comments contributed to the news agenda (see section *4.4*) in the sense that traditional media collected the information from candidates' accounts and disseminated it through their outlets. This allowed both dialogue to develop and people to participate more directly.

Furthermore, some media have begun to include spaces for interaction with the audience using digital technologies, so that their voices are included in the construction of news discourses, although further studies need to be conducted to assess the impact of these mechanisms (see section *3.2*).

A second important factor to be taken into consideration in news consumption patterns and in the choice of information platforms is the trust of users in the media. Levels of confidence in the internet are high, but it has not yet become relevant for news.[50] Broadcast television, newspapers, and radio are still the preferred news media.

In this sense, the prevalence of Grupo El Comercio in the generation of news agendas should be noted, to which América Televisión, N Channel (*Canal N*), and the most read newspapers (*Trome*, *El Comercio*, and *Perú 21*) belong. Already established as the most traditional media group in Perú, Grupo El Comercio handles various media, and its influence is felt in the political, social, and cultural arenas.

The internet allows people to be permanently and easily informed on issues that interest them. The boom in mobile smartphones and the price reductions in connection costs contribute to democratizing the virtual realm. Nevertheless, the choice of news is still being generated through traditional media, which relegates digital platforms to fulfilling the role of replicators of journalistic discourses. They enrich information through related contents (hyperlinks, photo galleries, videos, podcast), but their impact is still not highly relevant.

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49.   IOP-PUCP, "Estado de la Opinión Pública. El Uso de Internet a Nivel Nacional*"* (Status of Public Opinion. The Use of Internet Nationwide), June 2010, at http://iop.pucp.edu.pe/images/documentos/Uso%20de%20Internet%20Junio%202010%20(nacional).pdf (accessed 12 December 2010).

50.   GOP-UL, "Barómetro social. IV Encuesta Anual."

Some regional or community initiatives and proposals try to consolidate national information agendas. National Link (*Enlace Nacional*)[51] and CNR[52] are examples of this, although they generate identification spaces in very specific areas, or articulate the limited interests of a certain community. Given the apparent centralization of the main news media in major cities (particularly Lima), these initiatives have made a significant impact on regional information agendas, although their impact on the spectrum of national information provision is still limited.

Digital platforms are being used, in effect, as tools to express attitudes, indicating a more emotive and less information-driven value for their users. Nevertheless, some users do sometimes generate news segments that try to escape from traditional formats and address information from different points of view. However, except for isolated cases, they are not capable of denting the domination of the mass media. Therefore, the impact is still limited in strictly quantitative terms. However, in terms of information diversification, digital outlets occasionally manage to generate interesting and alternative agendas (see section *4*).

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51.   See http://enlacenacional.com (accessed 7 January 2011).

52.   See http://www.cnr.org.pe (accessed 7 January 2011).

2. Digital Media and Public or State-administered Broadcasters

2.1 Public Service and State Institutions

2.1.1 Overview of Public Service Media; News and Current Affairs Output

In Peru, there is no explicit public service model for the mass media. Nevertheless, the Government and other social actors administer some radio and television stations, which are defined and described as "public." These outlets prioritize the broadcasting of educational and cultural content.

A 2010 study by the Radio and Television Advisory Council (*Consejo Consultivo de Radio y Televisión*, ConcorTV) showed that 77 percent of all radio and television stations were commercial (664 television stations and 1,947 radio stations), while the other 23 percent played an educational role (419 television stations and 379 radio stations).[53] Article 9 of Law 28278 defines "commercial" broadcasters as those oriented towards entertainment and with a business aim; "educational" as those whose programming is oriented towards education, culture, and sports; and "community" as those located in rural, native and indigenous communities whose main goal is the maintenance of the identity and customs of the community.

There are 45 radio and television companies, 27 radio stations, and 18 television stations in the public/state category.[54] Of these, 30 belong to municipalities (located in areas such as Jangas, Máncora, Atalaya, Cajabamba, Junín or Satipo), 11 are universities (in the areas of Cajamarca, Cusco, and Puno), two belong to regional governments (Amazonas and Madre de Dios), and two national stations are administered by the government through the National Institute of Radio and Television of Peru (*Instituto Nacional de Radio y Televisión del Perú*, IRTP).

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53. ConcorTV, "Estadísticas de la Radio y la Televisión en el Perú" (Radio and Television Statistics in Peru), January 2010, at http://www.concortv. gob.pe/es/file/informacion/estudios/2010/concortv-estadisticas-rtv.pdf (accessed 28 November 2010) (hereafter ConcorTV, "Estadísticas de la Radio y la Televisión").

54. ConcorTV, "Estadísticas de la Radio y la Televisión."

The IRTP was created in July 1996 with the purpose of "prioritizing and institutionalizing under its responsibility the functions and activities for the production and broadcasting of educational, information, cultural, and entertainment contents through the state broadcasting media." Since 2003, it has been attached as a decentralized public agency of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (*Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros*, PCM), i.e. the Cabinet. The institute is responsible for ensuring that TV Perú, Peru National Radio (*Radio Nacional del Perú*), and Chronicle Radio (*Radio La Crónica*) "reach the entire population … with educational, cultural, informational and entertainment output."[55]

TV Perú is the public television network. It is not "commercial" and has at times been used by government as a propaganda platform. Established in 1958 as a body of the Ministry of Education (*Ministerio de Educación*), TV Perú—which at that time was simply called Channel 7 (*Canal 7*)—was the first television station aired in Peru, the first to broadcast in color (since 1978), and the first to start digital signal transmissions (since 30 March 2010). For many years, it had the greatest territorial coverage of all media outlets in the country, but a 2010 study by CPI ranked it second (89.5 percent of national coverage, against 93.6 percent for ATV).[56]

As for ratings, TV Perú performs poorly. According to IBOPE Time,[57] its daily ratings in 2009 ranged from 1.3 to 1.9 percent of the national audience. The only occasion when TV Perú broke this pattern was at the end of 2010, when it broadcast New Year festivities from the Government Palace, featuring Grupo 5, a popular cumbia music band, and achieved a rating of 6 pecent.[58]

From Monday to Friday, TV Perú broadcasts news content approximately eight hours a day through its programs *"TV Perú Noticias"* (TV Peru News) (6 a.m.–9 a.m., 1 p.m.–2 p.m., and 8 p.m.–9 p.m.), *"El Congreso Informa"* (Congress Informs) (9 a.m.–10 a.m.), and *"Rumbo Electoral"* (Electoral Route) (12 p.m. –1:00 p.m. and 11 p.m.–11.59 p.m.). On weekends (including Saturdays and Sundays), TV Perú broadcasts approximately six hours of news daily. On weekends, the average ratings of morning news programs are between 0.8 and 1.8 points, and in the evenings, from 1.8 to 2.3.

Radio Nacional del Perú was founded in January 1937. In 2005, it was not ranked among the 20 most listened-to radio stations. In 2010, according to CPI, it ranked 14th nationwide, with an audience of 13,500 listeners (equating to 0.1 percent of the urban population).[59] From Monday to Friday, it broadcasts information news content five hours a day through its programs *"Nacional en la Noticia"* (National in the News) (6 a.m.–8.30 a.m., 1 p.m.–1.30 p.m., and 8 p.m.–9.00 p.m.) and *"Pulso Empresarial"* (Business Pulse). It also has segments that provide information about the activities of the Congress.

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55. Supreme Decree 056-2001-ED, at http://www.irtp.com.pe/index.php?option=2 (accessed 2 December 2010).

56. CPI, *Market Report*, October 2010.

57. IBOPE Time, "Rating Hogares" (Household Rating), 6 June 2009.

58. "Grupo 5 calentó rating de TV Perú" (Grupo 5 boosted TV Perú rating), 3 January 2011, at http://www.peru.com/espectaculos/musica20110103/133840/Grupo-5-calento-rating-de-TV-Peru (accessed 2 February 2011).

59. CPI, "Audiencia Radial Global de Emisoras AM/FM. Nacional Urbano 100%. Del 13 de octubre al 9 de noviembre de 2010 (Global Radio Audience of AM/FM Radio Stations. Urban National 100%. 13 October to 9 November 2010), at http://www.cpi.com.pe/descargas/RADNAC.PDF (accessed 29 November 2010).

In the late 1970s, TV Perú and Radio Nacional del Perú competed on an equal footing with commercial channels (América Televisión and Panamericana Televisión). However, after Peru returned to democracy early in the 1980s, the commercial channels became stronger.

The other major government organ is the Peruvian Company of Publishing Services (*Empresa Peruana de Servicios Editoriales,* Editora Perú),[60] which includes the official gazette *El Peruano*,[61] and the Andean Peruvian News Agency (*Agencia Peruana de Noticias Andina*, APNA), founded in March 1974 by the military regime.

APNA has been the official news agency of the Peruvian government since June 1981. It produces more than 90 news items a day and distributes them to the radio stations of Lima and the provinces, newspapers with national and regional circulations, and international news agencies.

2.1.2   Digitization and Services

The transition to DTT dates from November 2006, when the Ministry of Transportation and Communications (*Ministerio de Transportes y Comunicaciones*, MTC) granted the licenses for the start of experimental broadcasting in the 470–698 MHz frequency band, corresponding to television channels 14–51. Terrestrial digital television broadcasting started on 18 January 2010 on UHF channel 16 of the ISDB-Tb system, but the digital signal was officially inaugurated on 30 March 2010 with the start of TV Perú HD broadcasting.

Despite being the pioneer in digital broadcasting, TV Perú has not diversified its content proposal or taken advantage of digitization. The TV offer is the same in analog and digital.

TV Perú's output is streamed live on the station's website.[62] In addition, it has a permanent video streaming channel called TV Peru News Online (*TV Perú Noticias On Line*), which broadcasts a selection of news pieces during the day or some special coverage. These contents are usually linked to the official activities of the president.

Radio Nacional del Perú also has a live radio service through its webpage.[63] However, the services it offers are the same as in analog signal broadcasting.

2.1.3   Government Support

The Master Plan for the Implementation of Terrestrial Digital Television in Peru establishes that the MTC will promote coordination between broadcasters and national and/or foreign entities committed to offering funding to expedite the implementation of this process. As incentives, the Master Plan proposes that those

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60.   See http://www.editoraperu.com.pe (accessed 21 August 2012).

61.   *El Peruano* has been the official newspaper of the Peruvian government since 1825. Legal rules and news on the state's acquisitions and contracting are published in *El Peruano*, but it also includes political, social, cultural, and international information. In 2005, the newspaper had 49,600 readers.

62.   See http://www.tvperu.gob.pe (accessed 21 August 2012).

63.   See http://www.radionacional.com.pe (accessed 21 August 2012).

broadcasters that simultaneously broadcast their programming in the analog and digital signals will pay the required fee only for the channel in which they provide the service with analog technology.

There is no legislation or policies that favor the IRTP over other commercial broadcasting companies. The law is the same for all radio and television operators.

The equipment that IRTP will use for its digital transmissions is valued at approximately US$1.5 million. The implementation of the Master Plan will take a few more years: in Lima and El Callao, the end of analog transmission is scheduled for the fourth quarter of 2020, and the limit for the start of digital transmissions has been set for the second half of 2014.[64]

2.1.4 Public Service Media and Digital Switch-over

Digital signal transmission in Peru is new, so it is not possible to measure efficiently the impact that it has produced in terms of audience. As far as content diversification is concerned, all television proposals show the repetition of contents that are already transmitted in the analog signal. The potential of digital outlets is expected to be exploited in the medium term initially by commercial television stations.

2.2 Public Service Provision

2.2.1 Perception of Public Service Media

The State Broadcasting Draft Bill dates back to 2007 and was drafted by representatives of various institutions, such as Presidency of the Council of Ministers, MTC, IRTP, the National Society of Radio and Television (*Sociedad Nacional de Radio y Televisión del Perú*, SNRTV), the National Assembly of Rectors (*Asamblea Nacional de Rectores*, ANR), and the Peruvian Association of Consumers and Users (*Asociación Peruana de Consumidores y Usuarios*, ASPEC).

The bill establishes in art. 2 that "the Broadcasting Service is a Private Service of Public Interest. Following that definition, the State Broadcasting Service emphasizes its public function in search of public welfare, taking into consideration the interests of citizens in the management of the State Broadcasting Media System, as well as in the production and broadcasting of contents."[65] This is the official definition of public communication in the country. Some of the principles of the broadcasting service are laid down in art. 3 of the draft bill:

- Building citizenship

- Independence, autonomy, pluralism and full respect for freedom of information and dissemination of ideas

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64. Supreme Decree that approves the Master Plan for the Implementation of Terrestrial Digital Television in Peru and amends the Regulations of the Radio and Television Law, at http://tvdigitalperu.mtc.gob.pe/Proyecto%20de%20DS%20-%20Plan%20Maestro%20TDT.pdf (accessed 12 December 2010).

65. State Broadcasting Draft Bill at http://www.pcm.gob.pe/Prensa/ActividadesPCM/2008/Noviembre08/radiodifusion.pdf (accessed 21 August 2012).

- Strengthening national identity, the unity and articulation of the State, and the decentralized development of the regions

- Citizen participation in the process of making public policies for greater social inclusion that strengthens democratic governance and respect for cultural diversity

- Incorporation of respect for the rights of others, as part of civic culture, as well as the dissemination of duty and observance of ethics and standards

- Recovery of our cultural traditions and valuation of our creative abilities and multicultural richness

- Universal service as a means of bringing the presence of the State to the most isolated areas in the country, as a tool of integration

Despite these principles, the management of TV Perú's programming criteria has always been under public scrutiny because there is a fear that state broadcasting systems are used for government propaganda. During the administration of Alberto Fujimori (1990–2000), public media were handled with obvious political purposes. The political scientist Fernando Tuesta Soldevilla said in 2000: "For the Government television has become a key strategy to develop its policy to permit a third term of President Fujimori. This uses the public channel (Channel 7) and private (open signal and cable). In the first case, it turns channel 7, a state channel, into the Government's channel and, therefore, into a propaganda apparatus for the president-candidate."[66]

The interim government presided over by Valentín Paniagua in 2000 introduced changes in the programming of the state channel with national cultural content, without setting aside entertainment, business guidance, information, and political analysis.

In 2006, the government of President Alan García was inaugurated and many of these programs were cancelled. This is common practice in Peru. When a new government takes office, it establishes new management policies for the state media, resulting in the cancellation of some programs and the appearance of others. Since 2006, TV Perú's programming has privileged coverage of the president and of individuals close to the government.

This was the case with the live broadcast of the announcement of the candidacy of Mercedes Aráoz for the presidency, on behalf of the governing party, the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance-Peruvian Aprista Party (*Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana-Partido Aprista Peruano*, APRA). Other candidates' announcements were not covered. This unusual coverage provoked a reaction from some Congress members, who demanded the resignation of the president of the IRTP,[67] María Luisa Málaga, because she seemingly sought to exploit state broadcasting platforms to benefit the official candidate. She justified the broadcast

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66. "El control de la televisión," Política, Blog de Fernando Tuesta Soldevilla, at http://blog.pucp.edu.pe/fernandotuesta/el-control-de-la-television (accessed 15 November 2011).

67. "Congresista Galarreta solicitará renuncia de presidenta del IRTP" (Congressman Galarreta will ask for resignation of President of the IRTP), *La República*, 29 November 2010, at http://www.larepublica.pe/29-11-2010/congresista-galarreta-solicitara-renuncia-de-presidenta-de-irtp (accessed 5 January 2011).

by saying that TV Perú's programming was not disrupted, and in fact the event was broadcast as part of the 1 p.m. newscast.[68]

The nature of the state media has always generated discussion. The TV anchor Beto Ortiz, director of the newscast "*Buenos Días Perú*" (Good Morning, Peru), agrees with the existence of state media because "it is a good thing that the official truth is known." But the political analyst and journalist Fernando Rospigliosi believes that TV Perú should be "a cultural channel with an independent board of directors," and Augusto Álvarez Rodrich, a columnist on the newspaper *La República*, says that these media outlets "should focus on the government's goals".[69]

Civil society organizations have also expressed opinions on this issue. The Association of Social Communicators, Calandria, said in 2008:

> The use of state media as a tool of communication and propaganda for governments has been a constant in our history, since radio and television entered our lives. The root of the problem is that, to date, there is no clear policy on state broadcasting in Peru. It has not been established what type of function or role the public or state media in our country must play. For instance, apart from channel 7, there are hundreds of television and radio stations owned by regional and local governments, yet they operate disconnected from each other, and disconnected from their own reality. These are not part of a unified proposal of communication and development.[70]

The "Study of Attitudes, Habits and Views on Radio and Television" produced by ConcorTV in 2011 found that TV Perú offers good programming (69 percent) and is recognized as entertaining, informative, and having quality content (81 percent). The situation with Radio Nacional is different, however: the study showed that 67 percent of Peruvians never listen to it.[71]

2.2.2 Public Service Provision in Commercial Media

Commercial media in Peru are not used to produce or disseminate public service content. When they do show programs with a cultural or educational purpose, these programs are produced for commercial reasons, and their continuation depends on their popularity, ratings, and the possibility of generating advertising revenue or other sponsorship.

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68. "IRTP justificó transmission del discurso de Mercedes Aráoz por Canal 7" (IRTP justified speech broadcast of Mercedes Aráoz on Canal 7), 30 November 2010, at http://www.rpp.com.pe/2010-11-30-irtp-justifico-transmision-del-discurso-de-mercedes-araoz-por-canal-7-noticia_315071.html (accessed 5 January 2011).

69. As quoted by Pedro Salinas in two books entitled *Rajes del Oficio 1* and *2*, Editorial Planeta, Lima, 2007 and 2008.

70. "Televisión pública en el Perú: cada vez más cerca" (Public Television in Peru: closer and closer), at http://legislaciones.item.org.uy/index-?q=node/645 (accessed 17 November 2011).

71. ConcorTV, "Estudio de Actitudes, Hábitos y Opinión sobre la Radio y Televisión" (Study of Attitudes, Habits and Views on Radio and Television), October 2011, at http://www.concortv.gob.pe/index.php/estudios/846-2011-estudio-de-actitudes-habitos-y-opinion-sobre-la-radio-y-television.html (accessed 30 August 2012).

As mentioned already, digitization has not yet produced any evidence of change in commercial stations or in state or public stations. This is because of its novelty and because its potential has not been fully exploited. Some observers expect that, with the development of digital technologies, commercial stations will develop channels that include public service contents in their programming; but there are no legal provisions to ensure this.

2.3   Assessments

It is very difficult to assess the gains and losses of public media as a result of digitization, because the process is just starting. However, some tentative gains and losses may be pointed out.

Gains may consist of:

- The possibility of streaming live television and radio signals on the public service outlets' portals

- Positioning TV Perú as a leading channel, in terms of innovation if not ratings

Losses may be:

- Little use of digital channels to provide a varied offer of programs

- Little provision of contents to meet the specific information needs of rural and other peripheral ethnic or cultural communities—which are precisely the population sectors in most need of digitization's benefits

3. Digital Media and Society

3.1 User-Generated Content (UGC)

3.1.1 UGC Overview

According to Alexa,[72] three out of the 10 most visited websites in Peru are search engines: Google (first), Google Perú (third), and Yahoo! (seventh). Websites with user-generated content (UGC) are also ranked high, such as Facebook (second), YouTube (fourth), Windows Live (fifth), Blogger (sixth), and Wikipedia (ninth).

Google Ad Planner shows similar results,[73] with Facebook ranked second (5,600,000 unique users), Blogger ranked fourth (2,400,000 unique users), and hi5 ranked sixth (1,900,000 unique users). Taringa, a website that allows exchanging files and information, especially related to music and films, ranks 10th (1,000,000 unique users).

The growth of Blogger is interesting. In 2005, according to the directory Perublogs.com,[74] there were 1,360 Peruvian blogs, of which 1,285 were active.[75] In 2010, the number of blogs recorded had increased to more than 16,000.

The only website of a media outlet ranked among the 10 most visited websites is the portal of *El Comercio* newspaper (1,100,000 unique users).[76] As mentioned above, this newspaper has worked the concept of the virtual community into its website, which allows users to become involved in constructing the news with their comments, and also to send videos or photos of events. Moreover, it has a section called "Reportube" that encourages the production of information content from the citizen's point of view.

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72. "Top websites in Peru," at http://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries/PE (accessed 4 February 2011).

73. Google Ad Planner, at https://www.google.com/adplanner/?pli=1#audienceSearch (accessed 4 February 2011).

74. Perú Blogs, at http://www.perublogs.com/ (accessed 28 December 2010).

75. Javier Albarracín, *"The Blog Report" Peruano. Principales indicadores de actividad y crecimiento* (The Peruvian Blog Report. Major activity and growth indicators), Perúblogs.com, November 2005, at http://www.azulcielo.com/BlogReport-Nov05.pdf (accessed 12 April 2012).

76. Google Ad Planner, at https://www.google.com/adplanner/?pli=1#audienceSearch (accessed 4 February 2011).

3.1.2 Social Networks

A journalist report published in August 2009 showed that 50 percent of internet users in Lima (2,100,000 people) belonged to at least one social network, according to a study by Ipsos APOYO.[77] The following year, Ipsos APOYO conducted a study entitled *Usos y Actitudes Hacia Internet 2010* (Uses of and Attitudes to the Internet 2010),[78] which pointed out that 53 percent of internet users have an account with a social network. According to this study, hi5 ranks first, followed by Facebook, Sonico, MySpace, MSN Spaces, Fotolog, and Tagged.

Using the figures from Google Ad Planner and Google Trends, the 10 most used social networks in Peru at the beginning of 2011 were the following:

Table 6.

Most popular social networks, 2011

Ranking	Website	No. of unique users
1	Facebook	5,600,000
2	hi5	1,900,000
3	Taringa	1,000,000
4	Sonico	750,000
5	Que pasa	240,000
6	LinkedIn	200,000
7	Fbcdn	170,000
8	Argentina Warez	160,000
9	Fotolog	160,000
10	Psicofxp	160,000

Source: Google AdPlanner (revised January 2011)

YouTube is not included in this list, but it is interesting to note that it was the most searched word by Peruvians in 2010, according to Google's "Zeitgeist 2010" list.[79]

Facebook's impact on internet users in Lima is more than evident. According to the portal CheckFacebook. com, as of 23 February 2011, Peru had 4,802,720 Facebook users.[80] Furthermore, according to the *Perfil de*

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77. "Negocio disponible" (Available business), *Día 1,* 10August 2009, at http://elcomercio.pe/impresa/pdf/1249880400/ECIF100809d12/ (accessed 28 December 2010).

78. Ipsos APOYO, *Usos y actitudes hacia Internet 2010* (Uses and Attitudes Toward the Internet 2010) (hereafter Ipsos APOYO, *Usos y actitudes hacia Internet 2010*), Lima, 2010.

79. "Zeitgeist 2010: How the World Searched," at http://www.google.com/intl/en/press/zeitgeist2010 (accessed 28 January 2011).

80. See http://www.checkfacebook.com (accessed 4 February 2011).

Usuario de Redes Sociales 2010 (Social Network User Profile 2010) issued by Ipsos APOYO,[81] 41 percent of social network users use Facebook, and they are 25 years old on average, log in every day and give about 60 minutes to each session; 70 percent of them have heard of or know about Twitter (the increase is particularly interesting because in 2009 the figure was just 31 percent).[82]

However, hi5 is one of the most important websites in the country because it was the first social network used by a large number of Peruvians. Back then, in 2006 and 2007, MySpace did not gain a following on the scale that happened in other countries. Among social network users in Peru, 53 percent use hi5 and they are 22 years old on average, usually log in every two or three days, and spend 46 minutes on each session.[83] Unlike Facebook users, in 2010 only 47 percent of hi5 users have heard of or know about Twitter (in 2009, only 10 percent knew about it).[84] Apparently, Twitter is perceived as a limited and less attractive tool.

Twitter is not listed among the 10 most used social networks in Peru, but the number of unique users has increased significantly from 5,000 in April 2009 to 50,000 in January 2011, according to Google Ad Planner. The study *Usos y Actitudes Hacia Internet 2100* (Uses and Attitudes Toward the Internet 2010) points out that 45 percent of internet users in Lima have heard of or know about this tool (in 2009, the figure was 9 percent), 29 percent have visited its web page, and the age of the largest number of users ranges between 18 and 24.[85]

The impact of social networks is also evident in the creation of national networks. On 1 February 2011, Peruvian Facebook was born, a network exclusively for Peruvians all over the world.[86] It was the idea of a 20-year-old information technology student named Yelson Flores,[87] who in just three days managed to gather more than 2,600 users. The website is called Peruanos Online[88] and aims to reach 1,000,000 members.[89]

3.1.3   News in Social Media

The study "*Uso y percepción del Internet*" (Use and Perception of the Internet), published in September 2009 by IOP-PUCP,[90] shows that most people were using social networks to communicate with friends (35 percent), share information, photos, and videos (30 percent), or search for friends and acquaintances

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81. Ipsos APOYO, *Perfil del usuario de redes sociales 2010* (Social Network User Profile 2010) (hereafter Ipsos APOYO, *Perfil del usuario de redes sociales 2010*), Lima, 2010.

82. Ipsos APOYO, *Usos y actitudes hacia Internet 2010* (Internet usage and attitudes 2010), Lima, 2010.

83. Ipsos APOYO, *Perfil del usuario de redes sociales 2010*.

84. Ipsos APOYO, *Usos y actitudes hacia Internet 2010*.

85. Ipsos APOYO, *Usos y actitudes hacia Internet 2010*.

86. Facebook Peruano website, at http://www.peruanosonline.com (accessed 4 February 2011).

87. "Joven de 20 años creó la versión peruana de Facebook" (20-year-old youngster created the Peruvian version of Facebook), 3 February 2011, at http://elcomercio.pe/tecnologia/707955/noticia-joven-20-anos-creo-version-peruana-facebook (accessed 11 February 2011).

88. See http://www.peruanosonline.com (accessed 11 February 2011).

89. "Creador de Facebook peruano: Quiero reunir a un millón de compatriotas" (Creator of Peruvian Facebook: I want to gather one million fellow Peruvians), 4 February 2011, at http://elcomercio.pe/tecnologia/708352/noticia-creador-facebook-peruano-quiero-reunir-millon-compatriotas (accessed 11 February 2011).

90. IOP-PUCP, "Estado de la Opinión Pública. Uso y percepción del Internet" (Status of Public Opinion. Use and Perception of the Internet), September 2009, at http://es.scribd.com/doc/20302791/Boletin-de-percepcion-del-Internet (accessed 15 November 2010).

(14 percent). While it is obvious that news forms part of the information being shared, it is important to clarify that in 2009 only 2 percent of users said they used social networks to comment on public affairs. (There are no data to show the use of social networks to access news as such.)

However, the situation seems to have changed within a few months, because Facebook and Twitter are now used to share information that is not only generated by regular citizens, but also by established media or by political actors and opinion leaders in certain public arenas.

In the 2011 general election the main presidential candidates created accounts on social networks. By mid-January 2011, Alejandro Toledo, the favorite at that time to win the election, had 4,000 followers on Facebook and, in just one and a half months, this figure increased to 72,334.[91] He had 22,358 followers on Twitter.[92] Luis Castañeda went from 26,000 to 44,224 Facebook followers during the same period, but his Twitter account only had 1,169 followers,[93] unlike the candidate Keiko Fujimori, who had 10,791 followers[94] (see section *4.4*). None of the candidates who passed the second round (Keiko Fujimori and the eventual winner, Ollanta Humala) generated appreciable activity on social networks at this time.

Twitter, unlike Facebook, has not had so much of an impact among users, but it is considered a strategic tool. Blogger Marco Sifuentes says: "Why is Twitter so famous? Because sometimes power does not depend on how many people use a tool, but on who uses it."[95]

More than half of the internet users in Lima (57 percent) visited blogs in 2010,[96] and blogs have become attractive as news sources. Important events of 2010 that involved social networks or blogs included:

- The blog La Mula (www.lamula.pe) found the former owner of América Televisión having a drink after receiving a pardon from the Government because of his delicate health condition.

- José Alejandro Godoy, creator of the blog Desde el tercer piso (www.desdeeltercerpiso.com), was condemned for publishing a link that made reference to Jorge Mufarech, who was involved in cases of corruption.

- The blog Número Zero (www.numero-zero.net) published a video of President Alan García slapping Richard Gálvez. The images were later broadcast by CNN.

- A criminal assaulted an office of the Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria (BBVA). A Twitter user, @solopedrito, reported it through messages, photos, and videos.

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91. "Análisis de la política 2.0" (Analysis of politics 2.0), *Gestión,* 23 February 2011.

92. Alejandro Toledo's Twitter, at http://twitter.com/atoledomanrique (accessed 4 February 2011).

93. Luis Castañeda Lossio's Twitter, available at http://twitter.com/LuchoCastanedaL (accessed 4 February 2011).

94. Keiko Fujimori's Twitter, at http://twitter.com/keikofujimori (accessed 4 February 2011).

95. "Datos, Por Fin" (Data, At Last), in Marco Sifuentes's blog Perú 2.1, at http://blogs.peru21.pe/peru2punto1/2009/09/datos-por-fin.html (accessed 22 November 2011).

96. Ipsos APOYO, *Usos y Actitudes Hacia Internet 2010*.

The website of *El Comercio* newspaper (elcomercio.pe) also carries blogs by several of its contributors. One of these, the blog Busco novia (blogs.elcomercio.pe/busconovia/busco-novia-renato-cisneros), by journalist Renato Cisneros, became very popular and was published as a book. In June 2010, the website Elcomercio.pe had more than 5,000,000 unique users (nearly double the number in June 2009). A new user signs up every three minutes in its social section called "La Comunidad."[97]

The level of professional responsibility shown by these new outlets in relation to the accepted standards of objectivity, that is, comparing sources and verifying the information provided, is still not clear. For instance, in October 2009, the journalist Claudia Cisneros published on her blog Sophimanía (www.sophimania. blogspot.com)[98] a post in which she mentioned that President Alan García was having a second son born out of wedlock. As it was news of interest, it was read on the air in the newscast of RPP, one of the most popular newscasts nationwide. A few months earlier, the president himself had admitted to having a son out of wedlock. He rejected the allegation as nothing but an unverified rumor.

It is a fact that social networks are experiencing significant growth in Peru. This suggests that the consumption of news information through these services will also grow rapidly.

3.2   Digital Activism

3.2.1   Digital Platforms and Civil Society Activism

The use of digital platforms for activism in Peru has grown in importance since 2009.

The first group that drew attention to itself on the social network Facebook was called "No a Keiko" (No to Keiko),[99] and was created in Cajamarca. As of February 2011, this group had 110,977 followers. In November 2009 the page was blocked by Facebook due to "an alleged violation to the terms of use by the group moderators,"[100] but it is currently operating. Keiko Fujimori is the daughter of the former president, Alberto Fujimori, imprisoned for corruption and human rights violations, and she was running for the presidency.

The "No a Keiko" campaign has generated similar profiles for other political personages directly linked to the general elections of 2011. "No a Castañeda Lossio" (No to Castañeda Lossio), also a candidate for the presidency, was published on 30 December 2009 and had more than 3,000 followers,[101] and "¡No a Alex

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97.   "Récord histórico de elcomerio.pe: cinco millones de visitantes en junio" (Elcomercio.pe historical record: five million visitors in June," 1 July 2010, at http://elcomercio.pe/tecnologia/503891/noticia-record-historico-elcomerciope-cinco-millones-visitantes-junio (accessed 1 May 2011).

98.   See http://sophimania.blogspot.com (accessed 21 August 2012).

99.   "No a Keiko," at http://www.facebook.com/noakeiko (accessed 11 February 2011).

100.   "Facebook bloqueó el grupo No a Keiko" (Facebook blocked the group No to Keiko), *El Comercio,* 23 November, 2009, at http://elcomercio. pe/tecnologia/372765/noticia-polemica-internet-facebook-bloquo-grupo-que-criticaba-keiko-fujimori (accessed 1 May 2011).

101.   "No a Castañeda Lossio," at http://www.facebook.com/pages/NO-a-Casta%C3%B1eda-Lossio/220805069148 (accessed 4 February 2011).

Kouri en Lima!" (No to Alex Kouri in Lima!) (created when Alex Kouri was a candidate for the mayoralty of Lima) had more than 4,700 followers.[102] However, none of these initiatives produced offline activism efforts.

In 2008, El Blog del Paki (www.elpaki.com) organized the campaign "Adopta un congresista" (Adopt a congressman).[103] The purpose was that each blogger associated with the initiative, numbering around 50, protected by the Transparency and Information Access Law, should send a letter to the Congress to request that a particular congressman should reveal his operating expenses. The mobilization started because of the much discussed cases of corruption involving lawmakers. It created such an impact on the media that several congressmen wanted to stop it.[104] The media picked up on the idea so that even some ordinary citizens also decided to adopt a congressman.

One of the most successful 2.0 campaigns with human interests at stake was in May 2009 when the blog El Hígado de Aquiles (www.akilesmartin.blogspot.com),[105] run from Trujillo by Aquiles Cabrera, mobilized people to help Peruvian children who were dying of cold due to the extreme weather conditions in some areas of the highlands.[106] Thanks to this, the media started sending reporters to the areas affected and covered the news, which allowed the issue to be made known to a larger number of people and efficient support mechanisms to be generated.

Activities such as the "Tuitertón,"[107] an initiative that supports social causes every once in a while, were organized on other social networks. The last known activity dates to December 2010, and consisted of organizing a "Fiesta de confraternidad," a fellowship party, to support the Children's Community Sagrada Familia (Sacred Family) with educational materials.

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102. "¡No a Alex Kouri en Lima!" at http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=268488750422 (accessed 4 February 2011).

103. "Adopta a un congresista," at http://www.elpaki.com/2008/09/campaa-adopta-un-congresista.html (accessed 4 February 2011).

104. "Adopta un congresista: respondió el Congreso," in blog El Útero de Marita, at http://utero.pe/2008/09/23/adopta-un-congresista-respon-dio-el-congreso/utero (accessed 26 November 2011).

105. See http://akilesmartin.blogspot.com (accessed 21 August 2012).

106. "Campaña por los niños del Perú" (Campaign for Peruvian children), 28 May 2009, at http://akilesmartin.blogspot.com/2009/05/campana-por-los-ninos-del-peru.html (accessed 4 February 2011).

107. See http://www.tuiterton.org (accessed 21 August 2012).

Ice cream D'Onofrio

Social networks have also been used to show consumers' anger. In March 2009, the Ice Cream Company D'Onofrio, one of the most important and beloved companies in Peru, announced that all its ice creams would cost 1 *nuevo sol* (about 33 U.S. cents) for a weekend, a pretty low price for most of its products. However, the terms were not respected (higher prices, refusal to sell certain types of ice cream), which caused consumers to reject the offer. The group "*D'Onofrio ... Lejos de ti*" (D'Onofrio ... Far from you), a name which referred to the brand's slogan, "*D'Onofrio, cerca de ti*" (D'Onofrio, close to you), was created on Facebook. Within a few weeks the group had nearly 10,000 followers.[108] A video broadcast on the blog La habitación de Henry Spencer was crucial in causing more impact.[109] The news was covered by the media and the damage to the company's image continues to be felt up to the present day.

Finally, at a more playful level, Facebook served to call more than 4,000 followers[110] to the first "Zombie Walk Lima," on 4 December 2010. Hundreds of people disguised as zombies walked down the streets of the capital city and the news was covered by several media. From that moment on, thanks to its success, Facebook has served to call for similar initiatives: pillow fights in the district of Miraflores and water pistol fights (10,000 people confirmed their attendance).[111] These activities are also covered by Twitter users and citizen correspondents of established media.

3.2.2 The Importance of Digital Mobilizations

Depending on the circumstances, some mobilizations have involved a large number of people in addressing concerns of public interest. The changing political outlook, the evidence of social injustice, or the possibility of generating mechanisms that strengthen solidarity ties with those in need seem to be the issues that generate more involvement and are channeled through digital tools. However, by themselves, they are not able to engineer a massive turnout. In sum, these tools can reinforce public concerns but cannot create them.

Most information access in Peru continues to take place through traditional media, which magnify the coverage of events organized in social networks or in cyberspace, but only to the extent that they are part of a public agenda or present any degree of novelty that turns them into news per se. Otherwise, mobilizations are limited to a small interested group that finds spaces for representation and identity on a network.

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108. "D'Onofrio … Lejos de ti" (D'Onofrio … far from you), at http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=61703348677&v=info (accessed 13 November 2010).

109. "Sábado por la mañana buscando un Chocosandwich" (Saturday morning looking for a Chocosandwich), at http://lahabitaciondehenryspencer.com/2009/03/28/video-gracias-peru-la-promocion-de-helados-d%C2%B4onofrio-estafa-engano-fraude-todos-un-sol (accessed 13 November 2010).

110. "ZombieWalk Lima," at http://www.facebook.com/zombiewalkenlima (accessed 12 January 2011).

111. "Convocatoria en Facebook a jugar con el agua tiene 10 mil adherents" (Facebook appeal to play with water gets 10,000 fans), 17 February 2011, at http://elcomercio.pe/lima/715222/noticia-convocatoria-facebook-jugar-agua-tiene-10-mil-adherentes (accessed 18 February 2011).

From this point of view, it is social issues that become particularly relevant in both social networks and traditional media. That is evident in the case of the campaign to reduce the ravages caused by extreme cold in the Peruvian highlands. The initiative came up on the network and generated a high level of replies among internet users. However, the largest impact was caused by the participation of the mainstream media, which organized support expeditions that took tons of supplies and clothes to the affected areas. However, because of the low internet penetration rate in the country, the autonomous impact of social networks is still very limited.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that a great advantage of digitization has to do with the decentralization of information and of the initiatives that are promoted. For a long time, Lima was the hub for mass participation and mobilization mechanisms, since it is the capital and has the largest number of inhabitants. As can be noted in the examples above, many mobilizations have originated in other regions of the country and have had an impact on the capital city and on other cities thanks to social networks and the internet. Therefore, information and access multiply, which makes the subsequent actions more democratic and the actors more representative of the people generally. One may therefore conclude that, despite low internet penetration rates, the impact of digitization is taking on an obvious importance.

Many organizations now use social networks to promote participation, mobilization, and awareness mechanisms for certain issues, particularly those related to democracy, the exercise of citizenship and the vindication of minorities' rights. The initiative implemented by Democracia Activa Perú, entitled "Wanted: Peruvians who don't want to be put to sleep" (*Se buscan peruanos que no se dejen mecer*), in order to promote citizen participation and strengthen democracy, is a good example.[112] However, it is necessary to study the real impact of these initiatives when it comes to generating changes in attitudes and behavior, in Lima and around the country.

Those who take full advantage of the resources provided by the network are youngsters, because they have the ability to create micro-events that are interesting in their immediate environs and generate limited but effective participation mechanisms, which deal more with hedonism and entertainment than with the big issues of society.

3.3   Assessments

The arrival of digital tools for information dissemination has increased the news offering generated by users. Traditional media outlets also collect this information, allowing for more people to become familiar with more events. A link shared on Facebook or Twitter allows many people to get acquainted with national or international news. In addition, as networks work as a microcosm of interest to certain groups, the news start being more specialized, meeting information demands that traditional media can hardly meet.

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112. See http://sebuscanperuanos.pe (accessed 21 August 2012).

The great capacity to call for social networks to generate civil or political activism mechanisms has been proved, but examples are still sporadic. The incorporation of social networks in the communication plans of some groups or institutions shows an interest in experiencing these new scenarios, but the real impact of these initiatives—and whether they can achieve significant changes in the social or political arena—is still unknown.

In these few years of discovery and experimentation, since 2009, results have been quantitatively relevant (that is, looking at the number of followers of a given account on Twitter or Facebook, the number of participants in a given activity called through social networks, the number of visits to a given blog). As these initiatives receive attention from the mass media, the effect becomes greater in terms of coverage, and sometimes attracts interest from more people.

Can Peruvians take better advantage of digital media? Undoubtedly, the answer is yes, but since these tools are accessible only to one section of the population, the support of the established media is required.

4. Digital Media and Journalism

4.1   Impact on Journalists and Newsrooms

4.1.1   Journalists

The immediacy of digital media has replaced passive audiences with active network users who are more demanding and less satisfied with static facts, and who expect a greater number of versions of each story and real-time updates.[113] This pushes reporters to constantly update their information which, in turn, challenges them to fulfill their journalist duties and not be seduced by the 'coolness' and speed of social networks. Fact checking remains the essence of journalism, but because of the immediacy of the new media and the temptation to be first and beat the competition, sometimes it gets neglected. Such was the case of the alleged arrest of the former Peruvian television entrepreneur José Enrique Crousillat, who, according to information published in the online edition of *El Comercio*,[114] was captured in Washington on 8 June 2010.[115] This online edition was published ahead of other media, but it contained false information.[116]

Today, the production and consumption of information occur almost simultaneously, so journalists are forced to sharpen their senses in order to show how their skills and abilities differentiate them from the common citizen, who enters the dynamics of information production without really meaning to, or even without understanding its social function. In an article published in *Peru 21* newspaper, the journalist Marco Sifuentes [117] mentions the "ten times when the net influenced Peruvian's current affairs (or vice versa)," highlighting the work of some citizens who put items on the news agenda. Such is the case of @solopedrito, a Twitter user who in December 2010, according to Mr Sifuentes, reported for more than six hours—through messages from his mobile phone, including pictures and videos—on the siege of the BBVA.

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113. *El Comercio* newspaper, for example, has a strong online community; as stated on the site, this community can meet other readers, share opinions, and follow the news of interest in real time. See http://blogs.elcomercio.pe/comunidadelcomerciope (accessed 20 August 2012).

114. See http://www.periodismoenlinea.org/ultima-hora/1/6893-jose-enrique-crousillat-es-capturado-en-washington, 8 June 2010 (accessed 15 June 2011).

115. The Government denied the capture of the fugitive Jose Enrique Crousillat, 8 June 2010 (8.34 p.m.). Includes video with statements Channel N (*Canal N*) (7.33 p.m.). See http://elcomercio.pe/politica/491892/noticia-gobierno-descarto-captura-profugo-jose-enrique-crousillat (accessed 15 June 2011).

116. It is surprising that this "news" is no longer available online.

117. "Los momentos de Internet del 2010" (2010 Internet Moments), at http://peru21.pe/impresa/noticia/momentos-internet-2010/2011-01-02/293599 (accessed 15 June 2011).

In Peru, as in other places, new communication technologies have moved a group of citizens into the realm of information production. Some of these people have taken on the function of journalists despite their lack of understanding of the basic rules, duties, and rights of journalistic work. According to Mrs Gloria Tovar, editor of the printed and online versions of *Pozo de Letras* (Well of Letters) magazine,[118] the internet "has generated diversity and ambiguity of spaces where it is hard to distinguish their journalistic nature."[119] Journalists are defined more than ever by the quality of their information and their capacity to sort through information in such a way that the public can easily understand it. Mrs Tovar explains that the internet implies a non-linear way to present text, with links that take us to a view of reality which is seemingly chaotic but has its own logic.

According to Mrs Tovar, journalists today handle multiple formats and thanks to technology can effortlessly navigate among different media. The lines between media formats have been blurred and the language of the journalist has evolved as stories are articulated and linked with other issues. Such is the case with the online news-site IDL-Reporteros,[120] which publishes journalistic exposés that include ways of referring to previous texts to provide context, hyperlinks of interest, revealing audio clips, as well as different interviews given by the sources to journalists. A good example of this is the investigation conducted by IDL-Reporters on the real-estate boom and the sale of land south of Lima.[121]

Thanks to digital media, the forms of censorship used by some governments (such as the purchase and/or closure of newspapers, forced self-censorship, and disagreement with items to be published and the editorial line) or media producers have become less effective. An example is the case of Mrs Josefina Townsend, anchor of Channel N's "*Primero a las 8*" (First at 8).[122] While on air, she criticized her own channel for refusing to broadcast live the event in which the presidential candidate Ollanta Humala took an oath to defend democracy, showing instead a review on pop queens.[123] This criticism went viral through Twitter, receiving many statements of support,[124] which were seen as an important reason why she was not dismissed by her employer.

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118. Journal of Research and Interpretation of the Communication and Journalism Career. School of Communication of the Universidad Peruana de Ciencias Aplicadas (UPC).

119. Interview with Gloria Tovar, Lima, 24 March 2011.

120. IDL-Reporters describes itself as "part of a global effort to both rescue and strengthen investigative journalism. We are a small publication and belong to the Institute for Legal Defense (IDL)."

121. Journalistic investigation, "Chauca slanders but audio contradicts him," see http://idl-reporteros.pe/2010/04/23/chauca-calumnia-pero-el-audio-lo-desmiente/ (accessed 15 April 2011); "Cofopri's Six-Figure Gift," see http://idl-reporteros.pe/2010/04/22/el-millonario-regalo-de-cofopri/ (accessed 15 April 2011); "Consequences of an investigation," see http://idl-reporteros.pe/2010/05/14/consecuencias-de-una-investigacion/ (accessed 15 April 2011). These articles address issues related to the story which IDL-Reporters uncovered in April 2010 on "the sale, at a bargain price, of a 30,000-m² beachfront property to a land trafficker, who planned to resell it at US$12 million, a corrupt transaction directed from inside the Entity for the Formalization of Informal Property itself."

122. Josefina Townsend air protest (19 May 2011), see http:bit.ly/ltfEVI (accessed 20 August 2012).

123. See http://www.netjoven.pe/noticias/62502/Josefina-Townsend-enfrenta-a-Canal-N-al-no-transmitir-juramentacion-de-Ollanta-Humala.html (accessed 22 May 2011).

124. Mobile.twitter.com/uterope/status/61243750323724288, and mobile.twitter.com/uterope/status/71389411094441984. Three days later (21 May 2011), it had had 50,799 tweets.

Digital media journalism has become an alternative for disseminating issues that are uncomfortable for business or politically incorrect. Faced with this reality, and in response to the increase in comments by citizens with access to new technologies, those in charge of traditional media have found themselves forced to develop higher tolerance.

Additionally, blogs provide supplementary platforms for journalists to express their own individualities.

Nonetheless, as leading investigative journalist Gustavo Gorriti points out, funding for online investigative journalism is limited.[125] In practice, then, journalists in digital newsrooms perform the functions and duties of their peers in traditional media outlets, but with fewer staff.

While the basic tenets of journalism (accuracy, balance, fairness, responsibility, truth, verification, independence)[126] are still recognized by a large number of serious Peruvian journalists,[127] technology has redefined the practice. Not only are the concepts of time and space affected (that is, the speed with which information can be updated, as also the time and place where it can be consumed), but so are the production costs of information,[128] the relationships between audiences and journalists, and the possibility to compare data and to build communities.[129] It should be noted that a journalist's salary in traditional print media compared with new media is, for the most part, still very different. An editor with 18 years' experience working in a major Peruvian print outlet earns approximately US$ 3,215 per month, while an experienced online investigative journalist makes around US$ 1,600 per month.

4.1.2 Ethics

New digital media confront journalists with a breadth of information supply from many different sources, and the pressure to publish quickly. This can blind journalists to the imperative of respecting the basic principles of a practice that depends on credibility. While digitization caters well to the preferences of a public that may be eager for parallel agendas and sensation,[130] this should not make its practitioners lose sight of the importance of context for a full understanding of the facts, and of the risks of not being rigorous and of publishing data which have not been checked.

While digitization is seen as the vehicle which facilitates the conquest of a greater freedom of expression, it is also an example of the value of journalistic self-regulation. According to sociologist Guillermo Nugent, an

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125. Gustavo Gorriti is director of IDL-Reporters (*IDL-Reporteros*). He has worked as director of *La República* newspaper in Peru and as deputy director of *La Prensa* newspaper in Panama. His books include *Sendero: Historia de la guerra milenaria en el Perú* (Lima: Planeta, 1990, 2008) and *Petroaudios* (Lima: Planeta, 2009).

126. B. Kovach and T. Rosenstiel, *The Elements of Journalism: What newspeople should know and the public should expect*. Three Rivers Press, New York, 2001.

127. Journalists Rossana Echeandía, Gustavo Gorriti, Angel Paez Rosa Maria Palacios, and Diana Seminario.

128. Information based on a survey conducted in November 2010 which included a group of journalists from a traditional printed press.

129. *El Comercio*'s online edition, for example, has an important online community; as stated, the community can meet other readers, share opinions, and follow news of interest in real time. See http://blogs.elcomercio.pe/comunidadelcomerciope (accessed 15 July 2011).

130. M. Sifuentes, "Paralelo Peru" (Peru Parallel), at http://peru21.pe/impresa/noticia/paralelo-peru/2011-05-15/303917 (accessed 15 June 2011).

interesting consequence of digitization for the ethical conduct of journalists is seen when faced with material that can be considered pornographic or obscene. "Journalists should be required to give more forethought in regard to the obscene violence to which we have access through links and hyperlinks within many reports."[131] Such is the case, for example, with photographs and videos released in the online editions of some media outlets, where the online coverage—focusing on certain images and videos—sometimes verges on obscenity, whereas the coverage on paper is generally more conservative.

The Ethics Tribunal of the Peruvian Press Council (*Tribunal de Ética del Consejo de la Prensa Peruana*)[132] was founded in March 1998 to monitor, evaluate complaints, and act accordingly. The Ethics Tribunal points out that complaints and corrections submitted by readers (and internet users) have increased substantially.

In Peru, the Wikileaks controversy has highlighted issues of responsible journalism. The disclosure of private conversations, illegally obtained and stored in digital devices, resulted in a ruling by the Peruvian Constitutional Court that affects the work of the press by stating that "the media are forbidden to disclose or disseminate recordings of telephone conversations, except with the authorization of the interlocutors or if determined by a court to be of public interest, under liability of legal prosecution."[133] This ruling caused great concern among some journalists, who considered that its implementation would harm freedom of expression, information, and opinion.[134]

In this context, the Ethics Tribunal pointed out[135] that where there is a conflict of interests between fundamental rights and freedom of speech, the directors and editors of each media outlet are responsible for balancing the merits of conflicting rights on a case-by-case basis.[136] According to an article published in *Caretas* (Masks), an important Peruvian magazine, although "the decision [of prohibiting the publication] is wrong, it highlights the need to debate the importance of self-control among journalists."[137]

Months after some of the WikiLeaks cables began to be published in Peruvian newspapers, there was still some discussion in Peru over whether Julian Assange's behavior was professional. At the 2011 General Assembly of the Inter-American Press Association (IAPA), held in Peru,[138] Mr Assange was criticized for not having protected his sources. José Manuel Calvo of the Spanish newspaper *El País* stated: "There is good and bad

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131. Interview with Guillermo Nugent, Lima, June 2011.

132. See http://www.consejoprensaperuana.org.pe/tempo (accessed 15 July 2011).

133. E. Bertoni, "Censura, Prensa y WikiLeaks. Los efectos perversos de la sentencia del TC que prohibía a la prensa divulgación de interceptaciones telefónicas" *(*Censorship, Press and WikiLeaks. The perverse effects of TC's ruling prohibiting the disclosure of wiretapped conversations), in *Caretas* (Masks), No. 2160, 16 December 2010, p. 86 (hereafter Bertoni, "Censura").

134. See Ebertoni.blogspot.com/2011/12/censura-prensa-y-wikileaks.html (accessed 28 July 2012).

135. "The Ethics Tribunal of the Peruvian Press Council (*Tribunal de Ética del Consejo de la Prensa Peruana*) advocates self-regulation through review and analysis of correction requests and complaints about information disseminated in the media that violate journalistic ethics," at http://www. consejoprensaperuana.org.pe/tempo/detnoticia.php?item=MTUy (accessed 15 July 2011).

136. *Caretas* (Masks). Paid advertisement, signed by the Director's Group of the Peruvian Press Council, 11 December 2010, p. 87.

137. Bertoni, "Censura," p. 86.

138. Lima, 14–18 October 2011.

journalism … Bad journalists give information without crosschecking their facts, without contextualizing, like he [Assange] seems to defend doing. Good journalists have to protect their sources, verify the facts, and maintain standards."[139]

4.2 Investigative Journalism

4.2.1 Opportunities

In 2003, in light of the profound problems facing Peruvian journalism, Gustavo Gorriti began a project to develop online investigative journalism in the country. He was prompted by a number of factors, including the increasing concentration of media ownership; the criminal nature and devastating impact of the relationships between Alberto Fujimori's government, communication entrepreneurs, and journalists; the growing importance of television; the marked subordination of journalism to advertising revenue; and the realization that "tabloidization" and "denunciatory journalism"[140] were not only profitable, but a tool for control. Since February 2010, his website (http://idl-reporteros.pe) has become one of the main Peruvian investigative journalism websites.[141]

In Peru's most recent election, according to Angel Paez, head of the Research Unit of the daily newspaper *La República*, there were digital media outlets that provided new agenda items which were different from those of traditional media outlets.[142] For instance, IDL-Reporters (*IDL-Reporteros*) (http://idl-reporteros.pe), publishes material that is then picked up and bounced through traditional media.[143]

According to Mr Gorriti and Jacqueline Fowks,[144] two leading Peruvian investigative journalists, digital media are like a pantry of information from which a trained and competent journalist should be able to gather and cross-check information, establishing new relationships that lead to discoveries.

Mr Paez takes the view that new technologies facilitate investigative journalism in the following ways:

- Providing links to many sources located in different parts of the world, making it possible to quickly consult a variety of information.

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139. Julian Assange was criticized at the IAPA for not protecting his sources: *El Comercio*, Politics, a7, 18 October 2011.

140. A term coined by Gustavo Gorriti. It refers to a type of journalism that privileges constant accusations with underlying interests, as well as blackmail.

141. Other examples of online investigative journalism that are financed by national and international NGOs are: www.ipys.org, www.remurpe.org. pe, www.noticiasser.pe, www.gua30.wordpress.com y www.enlacenacional.com (accessed 15 July 2011).

142. Angel Paez stated: "IDL-Reporters (*IDL-Reporteros*) offers a lot of information that is not in traditional media outlets." Interview with Angel Paez. Lima, 14 September 2010.

143. See http://idl-reporteros.pe/2011/02/18/el-hombre-que-regalo-el-vino-a-garcia/ (accessed 15 March 2011); see http://idl-reporteros. pe/2011/02/15/cuestion-de-etiquetas/ (accessed 15 March 2011).

144. Interview with Jacqueline Fowks, Lima, 28 January, 2011. Investigative reporter for IDL-Reporters (*IDL-Reporteros*); contributor to Operamundi, Brazil; member of the Board of the Foreign Press Association in Peru (APEP); author of "Addition and subtraction of reality. Media and general elections in 2000 in Peru," published by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, master's degree in Communication Sciences from UNAM, Mexico; graduated from the Universidad de Lima, Peru.

- Allowing access to digital files from which it is feasible to cross-check information and data.

- Providing access to different virtual libraries where relevant unclassified information is stored.[145]

- Allowing for contact between journalists from different parts of the world, which may turn into collaboration and the emergence of new issues and angles.

- Providing an easy medium for obtaining photographs of people involved in criminal acts.[146]

- Allowing for the unlimited dissemination of information (especially if it comes from independent media).

The statements made by Mr Paez are closely related to what Mr Gorriti says, who believes that the importance of the site he leads "is not created by those who visit it, but by those that replicate it."[147]

Generally speaking, Peruvian journalists make more and more use of new technologies, since these technologies facilitate their access to information and help to disseminate a variety of information in shorter timespans.

In the opinion of Mr Gorriti, a comparison of investigative journalism today with that of the 1980s and early 1990s suggests that the quantity has fallen. However, there is more today than three years ago, around 2009; and this modest growth is due not to the large traditional media, but to digital media such as "Hildebrandt en sus Trece"[148] and IDL-Reporteros,[149] to name just two outlets.

4.2.2   Threats

Drug trafficking and narco-terrorism, political pressures, and economic pressures have been and remain—in that order—the major threats facing Peruvian journalists, who are, due to the significant levels of corruption in the country, also exposed to extortion and blackmail.[150] Threats to investigative journalism posed by digitization are less significant, but still noteworthy. Ms Fowks mentioned the phone hacking of certain Peruvian journalists by Business Track (BTR).[151]

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145. Angel Paez considers the National Security Archive to be an example of a virtual library with large amounts of information being stored.

146. According to Mr Paez, "One can theoretically use social networks (hi5, Facebook) to find out about facts a person's life, or photographs of people involved in several news stories."

147. Interview with Gustavo Gorriti, Lima, 21 October 2010. An example can be seen at http://www.peru.com/noticias/portada20110219/140249 (accessed 18 February 2011); first published in http://idl-reporteros.pe (accessed 17 July 2011).

148. See http://www.hildebrandtensustrece (accessed 1 August 2012).

149. Mr Gorriti discusses the future of digital media at http://www.larepublica.pe/28-10-2011/GUSTAVO-GORRITI-EL-PERIODISMO-DIGI-TAL-Y-EL-FUTURO (accessed 28 July 2012).

150. According to a 2010 survey of 300 attendees at the 48th Annual Conference of Peruvian Executives (CADE), by Ipsos APOYO Opinion y Mercado SA, 48 percent of respondents considered that corruption at all levels of the state should be the second highest priority for the Government in 2011: *El Comercio*, 14 November 2010.

151. See   http://www.larepublica.pe/10-08-2011/beto-ortiz-sobre-caso-de-espionaje-telefonico-btr-hay-show-para-rato;   http://www.larepublica.pe/04-08-2011/caso-btr-alan-garcia-debe-aclarar-vinculos-con-marino-elias-ponce-feijoo;   and   http://peru21.pe/noticia/1003415/caso-business-track-citan-beto-ortiz (accessed 28 July 2012).

According to research by the journalists Cesar Romero and Ana Veliz of *La República* newspaper, between 1999 and 2000, a former Peruvian navy officer Manuel Ponce Feijoo intercepted the communications of journalists and politicians opposed to the Fujimori government. *Caretas* magazine (11,369 emails), journalists from *La República* like Mirko Lauer (4,684 emails) and Fernando Rospigliosi (2,507 emails), and foreign correspondents such as Sally Bowen (962 emails) and Lucien Chauvin (66 emails), were some of the journalists subject to this espionage.[152]

The Petroaudio scandal,[153] the result of public dissemination of an audio-recording through a Peruvian television broadcast,[154] and the publication of WikiLeaks cables[155] has brought the debate over journalists' self-regulation (among other issues) to public attention. In the case of Petroaudios, the Press and Society Institute held discussions as far back as 2008 about the appropriateness of using illegally obtained audio material for investigative journalism.[156] Leading journalists concluded that if the information was of public interest and the dissemination of the material was deemed beneficial to society, then the information should be used. In Peru, the WikiLeaks material was made public by *El Comercio* newspaper, an institution 173 years old, which was sought out for this purpose. For the publication of the cables, *El Comercio* selected only those cables that were of public interest and that did not compromise national security or the reputation of those mentioned in them.[157]

4.2.3   New Platforms

While some Peruvian journalists and bloggers[158] cover political news and offer news analysis online, there is still only a limited amount of investigative journalism outside traditional media.[159] As mentioned in section *1.2.1*, there are important online news outlets in Peru, including *El Comercio* newspaper (200,000 monthly visits),[160] *Radioprogramas del Peru* (100,000 visits), *Peru 21* (74,000 visits), DePeru.com (30,000 visits), and *Terra* (50,000 visits). However, none of these prioritize investigative journalism.

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152. See http://www.larepublica.pe/04-08-2011/caso-btr-alan-garcia-debe-aclarar-vinculos-con-marino-elias-ponce-feijoo; http://www.larepublica. pe/node/263107/print; http://www.larepublica.pe/04-08-2011/caso-btr-alan-garcia-debe-aclarar-vinculos-con-marino-elias-ponce-feijoo; http: //peru21.pe/noticia/1003415/caso-business-track-citan-beto-ortiz (accessed 28 July 2012).

153. "It all started in 2008, when it was revealed that the Andina de Televisión company Discover Petroleum had given out bribes with the intention of winning a public bid for the concession of oil exploration lots. Former Minister Romulo Leon Alegria of the APRA party and senior officials were involved, as a result of this journalistic scoop, the then Prime Minister Jorge Del Castillo was forced to resign together with his entire cabinet:" Fernando Tuesta Soldevilla, "The effects of "'Petroaudios,'" 20 April 2010, at http://blog.pucp.edu.pe/fernandotuesta/los-efectos-de-los-petroaudios (accessed 20 June 2011).

154. "*Cuarto Poder*," Channel 4.

155. WikiLeaks gives *El Comercio* cables relating to Peru," *El Comercio*, 13 February 2010; and "Wikileaks: our duty to inform," *El Comercio*, 13 February 2011.

156. See http://www.larepublica.pe/30-11-2008/los petroaudios y la prensa (accessed 19 August 2012).

157. See http://elcomercio.pe/opinion/713040/noticia-editorial-wikileaks-nuestro-deber-informar (accessed 19 August 2012).

158. El útero de Marita (www.utero.pe); Notas desde Lenovo (http://notasdesdelenovo.wordpress.com); El blog del Morsa (http://www.elmorsa. com); La habitación de Henry Spencer (http://lahabitaciondehenryspencer); Desde el Tercer Piso (www.desdeeltercerpiso.com) (accessed 19 August 2012).

159. See http://www.poder360.com/article_detail.php?id_article=1446 (accessed 15 July 2011).

160. All references to the estimated number of visits correspond to data obtained from Google Trend on 7 January 2011.

The development of online investigative journalism has been possible mainly due to funding from non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Such is the case of IDL-Reporteros, whose atypical journalistic quality and standards of thoroughness and accuracy are set by the director, Mr Gorriti. According to Ms Fowks, Mr Gorriti "requires proof of everything that is said."[161] IDL-Reporteros started its activities in 2010 and is an example of journalistic rigor and quality, in part thanks to the director's prestige. In a short period of time it has established itself as a reference for local and regional journalists, politicians, businessmen, and opinion leaders.

Similar new platforms include Remurpe (http://www.remurpe.org.pe), a national organization that now covers 500 urban and rural municipalities in 20 regions of Peru, promoting participatory governance and decentralization; Noticias SER (http://www.noticiasser.pe), an online publication focusing on social conflicts, human rights issues, decentralization, and environmental issues, which publishes reports and columns, and uses local journalists known for their competence in traditional media; and "*Enlace Nacional*" (National Link) (http://enlacenacional.com), a daily news program covering local and national news, broadcast in over 30 Peruvian cities, produced by TV Cultura and the National Association of Local TV Channels (Red TV), an alliance of 35 privately owned open signal channels. The journalist Hena Cuevas[162] considers "*Enlace Nacional*" to be an important tool for anyone practicing investigative journalism and in need of context, especially for information from Peru's interior provinces.

Another example of online journalism projects that are funded with international cooperation and are related to traditional print media is Gua 3.0 (http://gua30.wordpress.com). This is a major initiative of citizen media entirely executed in northern Peru, with digital support from the city of Piura.

A special mention should be made of the online project of the Institute for Press and Society (*Instituto Prensa y Sociedad*, IPYS) (http://www.ipys.org), which has been directed and managed by well-known investigative journalists, and has managed to raise an online publishing project that includes coverage of national and international news as well as academic services,[163] legal support,[164] and other activities.[165]

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161. Interview with Jacqueline Fowks, Lima, 28 January 2011.

162. Online interview with Hena Cuevas, 17 March 2011.

163. For example, workshop: Peru: Journalism and Elections 2011, Tarapoto, Trujillo, and Puno, March 2011; Course on advanced investigative journalism, 1–3 April 2011; Workshop on access to information, web 2.0 and journalistic coverage of electoral processes (October 2010–March 2001); Support plan for investigative journalism in Latin America (April 2009–March 2011); Training on mining conflicts (March 2005–April 2005); Strengthening the monitoring of freedom of the press in the Andean region (October 2005–September 2010. See http://www.ipys.org (accessed 20 August 2012).

164. Law clinics provide advocacy and legal support on journalists' behalf. See http://www.ipys.org/proyecto/136 (accessed 20 August 2012).

165. Latin American Investigative Journalism Award, established to encourage professional excellence in the field. Organizers wish to encourage greater transparency in government, business, and media, as well as oversight of social spending. Led by Transparency International (TI) and the Press and Society Institute (*Instituto Prensa y Sociedad*, IPYS), sponsored by the Open Society Foundations and the Ford Foundation. SOS Journalists is a network of journalists "interested in getting better safety conditions for the exercise of journalism in the country and to exert active solidarity with journalists in danger. It is strictly aimed at helping journalists in situations of emergency and to support work conducted by other institutions on protection of journalists and defense of press freedom." See http://www.ipys.org (20 August 2012).

In general, spaces for online investigative journalism have been created by the initiative of prestigious and experienced journalists who, with little or no management experience, are embarking on the task of publishing something they feel deserves to be known. To date, international funding is one of the main and often the only source of revenue.

4.2.4   Dissemination and Impact

The centralization of most activities means that Lima is the place where regulations are written, topics are proposed, and reality is constructed by the media. It is no surprise then that most traditional media are late to cover, or simply do not cover, regional issues that affect millions of people. In this context, the new online media coverage allows reporting from the exact place where the news is happening without intermediaries or editorial limitations. According to Ms Fowks, "Social networks are a very attractive way to keep on revealing stories."[166] The possibility for a story to be quickly picked up and repeated by national and international media is not only flattering but important to the extent that its repetition demands concrete reactions in shorter time periods. Additionally, digital information facilitates the development of projects that do not require massive financial investments or a large workforce.

Ms Fowks recognizes that the success of an investigation does not end with the number of hits on a page, but is closely connected with the impact that research has inside and outside the country. This includes the potential to trigger discussions in Congress or to introduce or change laws, or force the resignation of a public official. This was the case of "Cofopri's six-figure 'gift.'"[167] According to the investigation conducted by IDL-Reporteros, this institution "sold a land trafficker 30,000 square meters of beachfront property in one of the most developed zones with the highest real estate values to the south of Lima." The article by IDL-Reporteros rocked, as they themselves admit, "the highest levels of the Executive Branch," resulting in the resignation of the head of Cofopri; the arrest of many former officers of this government department; and the handing over of Oswaldo Chauca Navarro and his wife to the authorities. Mr Chauca is a card-carrying member of the APRA party, now accused of land trafficking.[168] This scoop was uncovered by an online media outlet, and then picked up by a variety of different traditional printed outlets and other online media.

Besides the examples mentioned in section *4.2.3*, there are very few publications devoted to investigative journalism online. According to figures released by www.perublogs.com,[169] most blogs favor personal opinion but are lacking in rigor and shy away from political news and analysis. However, as demonstrated by IDL-Reporteros' exposé on the irregular sale of lands, digitization has enhanced the dissemination and impact of investigative stories.

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166. Interview with Jacqueline Fowks. Lima, 28 January, 2011.

167. Entity for the Formalization of Informal Property (Cofopri): see http://idl-reporteros.pe/2010/04/22/el-millonario-regalo-de-cofopri (accessed 19 August 2012).

168. See http://elcomercio.pe/lima/478058/noticia-se-entrego-presunto-favorecido-adjudicacion-tierras-hecha-cofopri; see: http://idl-reporteros.pe/2010/04/23/error-de-matematicas (accessed 19 August 2012).

169. The validity of these figures cannot be guaranteed.

4.3   Social and Cultural Diversity

4.3.1   Sensitive Issues

A number of social conflicts are recognized by the country's Ombudsman (*Defensor del Pueblo*) as decisive and in urgent need of journalistic coverage. According to the report on social conflict produced by the Group for the Prevention of Social Conflicts and Governance of the Ombudsman's Office[170] (*Defensoría del Pueblo*) by the end of December 2010 there were 246 social conflicts, 164 of which (67 percent) were active as of January 2011, while 82 (33 percent) were dormant. Also, a total of 117 conflicts (48 percent) were social and environmental, while 26 cases (11 percent) were related to local government,[171] 24 to national government, 19 to electoral issues, 13 to labor issues, and 12 to territorial demarcation, such as the conflict between the provinces of Bolognesi (Ancash) and Dos de Mayo (Huánuco), because of the lack of formal demarcation of the border between these Peruvian departments in the sector of Huallanca district, northeast of Lima.

Two examples of these social conflicts are: first, Cenepa native communities' opposition to mining activity by the Afrodita company, pointing out that the process of public consultation was not carried out, the opposition being also due to the foreseeable pollution of the Sawientsa, Comaina, Marañon, and Amazonas rivers; and second, in the electoral district of Supe, province of Barranca, Lima, after the election was over, a mob broke into the electoral center and burned part of the ballots in protest against the virtual re-election of the current mayor.

A simple review of the list of 246 social conflicts (active or dormant) is enough to recognize that a significant number of them are not part of the journalistic agenda of traditional and/or new media. Among the topics of civic interest, most of them related to mining, that receive little or biased coverage by traditional media are:

- the *Canon minero* (Mining Canon), the portion of the income tax that returns to the region where the mines are located

- the development of extractive industries

- conflicts over water resources

- relocation of residents

- territorial boundaries

- pollution and metallurgical operations.

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170. See www.defensoria.gob.pe/conflictos-sociales; information from the Territorial Coordination Directorate of the Ombudsman (*Dirección de Coordinación Territorial de la Defensoría del Pueblo*), 10 January 2011, at informes@defensoria.gob.pe (accessed 15 July 2011).

171. Dispute between the mayor of Challhuahuacho district and the rural community of Carmen Alto. The villagers claim very old land within the district. However, the mayor has called for the dissolution of this community. Location: Carmen Alto Community, Challhuahuacho district, Cotabambas province, department of Apurimac. See http://www.defensoria.gob.pe/conflictos-sociales/objetos/paginas/6/44reporte_85.pdf and http://es.scribd.com/doc/48346129/Reporte-Defensoria-del-Pueblo-Diciembre-2010 (accessed 10 June 2011).

Hence, in Ms Fowks's view, there is tremendous potential for online investigative journalism "in the category of disputes over natural resources" which directly affect communities living in historically neglected Peruvian provinces.[172]

4.3.2   Coverage of Sensitive Issues

The editorial and business interests of some media at times impose timid and/or politically interested coverage on their journalists, neglecting the balance, accuracy, and independence necessary for citizens to draw their own conclusions. In the case of social conflicts, the visual language used by some television channels, for example, at times privileges certain angles, constructing stories that are plausible but not real.

The well-known tragedy of 5 June 2009 in Bagua, a province in northern Peru, located in the western part of the Amazon Region, is a clear example of complaints that historically have been ignored, as well as of biased media coverage aligned with the government's point of view and out of context.

> In Bagua, some 3,000 people blocked the Fernando Belaunde road … The central government's decision (with an unsuccessful attempt on 5 June) to vacate the road and send a message to the country, resulted in a serious tragedy: 23 policemen and ten civilians dead, one law enforcement official disappeared and almost 200 civilians with gunshot wounds.[173]

In Ms Fowks' opinion, the coverage "highlighted the information from the police and used sensationalist angles at the expense of information and explanatory approaches." This then justified the plea of the townspeople who, as described by the reporter Alonso Gamarra, requested journalists in the area to "tell the truth."[174] According to Mr Gamarra, "sometimes the population is more resentful towards the press than towards the police." However, according to Ms Fowks, this harsh experience stands out as a novelty: "for the first time traditional media from the capital city were overwhelmed by the action of citizens who use social networks and the internet as a means of disseminating additional, non-official, information.[175] Informing so as to oversee the exercise of power and respect for the law is a central obligation of journalism. In that sense, the case of Bagua was a failure of the mainstream media."[176] However, as we are reminded by the same journalist, other examples of biased coverage may be found during the second government of President Alan

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172. See also interesting data in PrevCon-PCM Contributions to the democratic transfer of social conflicts: see http://www.prevcon.gob.pe (accessed 19 August 2012).

173. Jacqueline Fowks, "Perú. El público sigue perdiendo" in Omar Rincón (ed.), *¿Por qué nos odian tanto?(Estado y Medios de Comunicación en América Latina)* (*Why do they hate us so much? State and media in Latin America*), Bogotá: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Foundation, Latin American Center for Competence in Communication. Document no. 11-FES-C3, 2010, p. 222. At http://www.c3fes.net/docs/porquenosodian.pdf (accessed 10 June 2011).

174. Alonso Gamarra, 4 October 2009: see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KRqilvYJI (accessed 10 June 2011). See also http://notasdesdelenovo.wordpress.com/2009/11/18/capitalinos-discutimos-como-cubrir-conflictos-en-adelante/ (accessed 8 February 2011).

175. Jacqueline Fowks. TV and Democracy Seminar entitled "The responsibility of the press in covering conflict: The Bagua Case," Paracas, Peru, 15 November 2009 (hereafter TV and Democracy Seminar), slide 17.

176. TV and Democracy Seminar, slide 19. See http://notasdesdelenovo.wordpress.com/2009/11/18/capitalinos-discutimos-como-cubrir-conflic-tos-en-adelante (accessed 8 February 2011).

García, when a large sector of the media fell into line over reporting on matters of economic policy related to investments in hydrocarbons and mining.

Fortunately, biased coverage on sensitive issues is not the norm.

4.3.3 Space for Public Expression

Regardless of whether people have access to digital media,[177] an important sector of the population, living far from major cities, is not heard or reflected in the traditional media. These populations have first-hand, insider information on social issues that complement traditional agendas, and yet they are not usually consulted as information sources. They depend on others, including some NGOs that are technologically equipped, for their versions of events to be incorporated into news stories.

But nowadays, "social actors enjoy, thanks to these new platforms, a larger share of coverage, and are better positioned to create their own media. This is forcing traditional media to rethink their agendas, and to incorporate the voice of those who do not have one," said Mr Paez.[178] From the supply side, as Mr Gorriti explained,[179] "there is a relatively small group of journalists (on digital platforms) making a pioneering effort ... with some differences in style, business and funding model."

Today, there is no doubt that Peru's development is forcing urban residents to wake up and take a closer look at the social and economic situation in faraway and forgotten zones of the country. The inhabitants of these areas are finding the new communication technologies to be efficient methods to make their presence known and their voices heard, despite their slow-moving access to them. Twitter, for example, while still expanding, has become a medium of concise expression used to sound alerts and address topics of interest, based on which journalists engage in their innovative coverage.

Some examples of how disfavored groups make their voices heard are the Homosexual Movement of Lima (*Movimiento Homosexual de Lima*, MHOL), the oldest gay and lesbian organization in Latin America, which works to eliminate discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity;[180] Lundu Centro Afroperuano;[181] Mi Mina Corrupta,[182] a website that produces and disseminates information on mining conflicts in Cajamarca; and Celendin Libre,[183] an organization formed by civil organizations in the province of Celendin, Cajamarca, to protect natural resources and promote sustainable development.

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177. *El Comercio*, 20 December 2010, Politics, a6. INEI stated that 14 percent of Peruvian households had an internet service—an increase of 1.5 percent over the same quarter in 2009. According to a survey by the Institute of Public Opinion (*Instituto de Opinion Pública*, IOP) at Lima's Pontificia Catholic University (*Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*), 34 percent of Lima´s population has internet access at home.

178. Interview with Angel Paez. Lima, 14 September 2010.

179. Interview with Gustavo Gorriti by Ingrid Bachmann, *IDL-Reporteros*, 25 April 2011, at http://idl-reporteros.pe/2011/04/25/periodismo-de-investigacion-latinoamericano-los-desafios-por-encontrar-un-modelo-sustentable/ (accessed 30 July 2012).

180. See http://www.facebook.com/mholperu (accessed 30 July 2012).

181. See http://www.facebook.com/LUNDU.PaginaOficial (accessed 30 July 2012).

182. See http://aguamina.blogspot.com/ (accessed 30 July 2012).

183. See http://www.facebook.com/pages/CELENDIN-LIBRE/111585118923612); celendinlibre.wordpress.com/ (accessed 30 July 2012).

4.4   Political Diversity

4.4.1   Elections and Political Coverage

There have been no changes in the regulation of the media's coverage of elections. But even though the legislation has not changed and the coverage by traditional media has not shown substantial variation, digitization has triggered a significant media shift.

Unlike what happened in December 2005, when 11 of the 24 political groups registered to participate in the general elections of 2006 had no website,[184] candidates are now aware of the fact that websites and accounts on social networks are essential to learning more about their constituents and their demands.[185]

Nonetheless, and despite the explicit commitment of Alejandro Toledo, a former president and for a while the leading candidate in the 2011 presidential campaign, to answer every attack with a proposal, social networks have not been used as a space for campaigning, let alone the discussion of government proposals.[186] During the recent presidential campaign, Facebook and Twitter were filled with accusations and insults.[187] This resulted in the rebirth of the Electoral Ethics Pact originally signed on 25 June 2010 by candidates, in which political parties reaffirmed their "commitment to democracy … which seeks to focus the campaign on a discussion of proposals and ideas that allow citizens to cast an informed vote."[188]

4.4.2   Digital Political Communications

Online media present a clear opportunity for citizens interested in the publication of a variety of topics (see section *3.2.1*) and for different points of view and actors traditionally not incorporated into the discourse of the media. Peruvian centralism means that analysis emanates from the capital city, obscuring the richness and diversity of voices which are required for a full understanding of the facts. Today, however, politicians understand that anyone is able to build a blog, post messages, and create pressure. According to José Luis Sardon, a political analyst, "In the elite sectors, online debate will be most relevant. This implies a much greater social control over politics. Social networks democratize the debate."[189] Hence, according to

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184. "Empezó la campaña virtual. ¿Qué ofrecen las páginas web de los candidatos que encabezan las encuestas? ¿Tienen presencia en las redes sociales? ¿Qué tan determinante será Internet? Este es un repaso del momento actual" (The online campaign has begun. What do the leading candidates' websites have to offer? Do they have a presence in social networks? How influential will the internet be? This is a review of current events), *El Comercio*, 20 December 2010, Politics, a6.

185. Party websites include: Possible Perú (*Peru Posible*) (www.peruposible.org.pe); Nationalist Party (*Partido Nacionalista)* (www.partidonacionalistaperuano.net); Force 2011 (*Fuerza 2011)* (www.fuerza2011.com); Alliance for the Great Change (*Alianza por el Gran Cambio*) (www.ppk.pe); National Solidarity (*Solidaridad Nacional*) (www.psn.org.pe).

186. "Se debe rescatar Pacto Ético para frenar excesos en la red" (The Ethics Pact must be rescued to curb excesses in the network. The proposals are not yet online), *El Comercio*, 31 December 2010.

187. "Debate político llega a lo grotesco a través de Twitter. Red social se ha convertido en trinchera de agravios entre candidatos y sus portavoces. Toledistas y seguidores de Luis Castañeda Lossio sostuvieron ayer un ácido duelo de 'tweets'" (Political debate becomes gross through Twitter. The Social Network has turned into a trench for accusations amongst candidates and their spokespeople. Toledo and Luis Castañeda's fans held yesterday an acid duel of 'tweets'), *El Comercio*, 30 December 2010.

188. See http://www.pactoeticoelectoral.org.pe/doc/acta_25062010.pdfa, and http://www.pactoeticoelectoral.org.pe/firma_pacto_etico (accessed 27 June 2011).

189. "Se debe rescatar Pacto Ético para frenar excesos en la red" (The Ethics Pact must be rescued from the excesses on the internet), *El Comercio,* 31 December 2010.

Mr Sardon, one must recognize that those who ignore the immense power of networks will be completely out of the game. This may be true, despite the analyst Luis Benavente's opinion[190] that only 10 percent of internet users read political information through social networks.

Ariel Segal, a political analyst,[191] agrees with Mr Sardon, saying: "It is practically impossible to imagine political communication—understood as the role of media in transmitting news to a global audience—without digital media. Today, political communication lies not only in the hand of journalists and specialists, but represents an option to a vast majority of people who need to communicate, look for the opportunity, and learn the basic social network alphabet."

Political and social activism can be organized, monitored, and followed through instant messaging, Twitter, Facebook, and other social networks. Today, civic participation through social networks provides a plurality of views and evidence of people's greater engagement in political life. This is more manifest through sites such as Escoge Peru,[192] a page that lets users find their own policy preferences through questions on key issues (economy, politics, foreign affairs, social issues, environment, and corruption).

Other political organs which have become more visible and able to be followed include political parties and the municipalities, politicians such as some national congresspersons and mayors (http://twitter.com/#!/susanavillaran; http://twitter.com/#!/Munozestuvoz), the ministries and their ministers, former presidential candidates (www.ppk.pe; http://twitter.com/#!/ppkamigo), and Peru's first lady, Nadine Heredia (http://twitter.com/#!/NadineHeredia), who has become even better known among Peruvians due to the frequent[193] use she has made of new communication technologies (Twitter, Facebook).[194]

4.5   Assessments

The possibility for citizens to interact in real time, the substantial reduction of space-time barriers, and the opportunity for everyone to become publishers all create not only greater social control over politics, but increased demands for rigor, the capacity for analysis, and the corroboration of a wide variety of sources. In the words of Mr Gorriti, "The only competition is the competition for quality." Rosa María Palacios, a lawyer by profession and then host of "*Prensa Libre*" (Free Press), an analysis show aired on Channel 4 (*Canal 4*),[195]

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190. Virtual campaign started (Empezó la campaña virtual), *El Comercio,* a6, 20 December 2010.

191. Online interview with Ariel Segal, political analyst, 15 February 2011.

192. "Know your political preferences and decide on your vote. Give us your opinion on the questions to come. The questions are about key issues for the future of the country, including the economy, politics, foreign affairs, social issues, environment, and corruption. The more questions you answer the better able we are to determine your political preferences." See http://peruescoge.org/main (accessed 30 July 2012).

193. 5,470 tweets; 257,383 followers, as of 25 August 2012. See http://twitter.com/#!/NadineHeredia (accessed 25 August 2012).

194. See http://es-la.facebook.com/notes/siete/nadine-heredia-tan-dif%C3%ADcil-es-caminar-derecho/305849876098594 (accessed 30 July 2012), and https://www.facebook.com/NadineHeredia?sk=wall (accessed 19 August 2012).

195. Channel 4 (*Canal 4*), highest rated Peruvian TV channel.

with more than 272,000 followers on Twitter,[196] believes that digital media journalists need common sense and a trained eye to recognize "good, reliable, and credible news." [197] Mr Paez emphasizes that digital spaces significantly help people who possess the abilities to select and verify.[198]

In addition to traditional media, these new media platforms have demonstrated the importance of citizen participation in the construction of information. This, however, according to journalists Mr Paez and Mr Gorriti, does not turn citizens into journalists. "The idea is that he who knows journalism, does journalism," emphasizes Mr Paez. New technologies give you quick access and this means not skipping on the quality of information which should be checked according to the basic tenets of journalism, as recommended by Mr Gorriti, quoting Kovach and Rosenstiel.[199]

In the 2010 election campaign, while the social networks were indeed used with much more emphasis and consistency than in any previous campaign, the quality of the messages was not always of the best. Insults, attacks, and a lack of well-grounded arguments were some of the problems that prevented the new technologies from being used to better understand the demands of the constituents and the candidates' proposals. Their use had more of an emotional impact[200] and is unfortunately still restricted to those who have access to online tools. According to the INEI, internet penetration in urban areas of Peru is 12.5 percent, while in rural areas it reaches only 0.2 percent.[201] The figures show that we are facing a scenario with great possibilities for expansion and growth, in which we must include training in the use of online tools.

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196. As of 25 August 2012, Rosa Maria Palacios had 272,541 followers.

197. Interview with Rosa Maria Palacios, Cerro Azul, 19 December 2010.

198. Interview with Angel Paez, Lima, 14 September 2010.

199. B. Kovach and T. Rosenstiel, *The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople should know and the public should expect*, Three Rivers Press, New York, 2001.

200. Mr Toledo used Facebook and Twitter to announce his candidacy: "For my friends and followers: in the next few minutes I will announce my candidacy for President of the Republic. Back to the Ring," *El Comercio*, "Candidacies in campaign," 11 November 2010.

201. *El Comercio*, "Virtual campaign started," 20 December 2010, a6.

5. Digital Media and Technology

5.1 Broadcasting Spectrum

5.1.1 Spectrum Allocation Policy

The Radio and Television Law (*Ley de Radio y Televisión*, LRTV) approved in 2004 states that the distribution and granting[202] of the broadcasting spectrum is a responsibility of the MTC.[203] It also says that the radio-electric spectrum is a "natural resource with limited dimensions that is part of the nation's patrimony" whereas broadcasting services are "private services that are of public interest."[204]

Nevertheless, according to Jose Távara, former vice-minister of MTC, in practice radio and television are considered as businesses with little to do with the public interest. The government's priority is to facilitate the use of frequencies by profitable businesses instead of non-commercial radio stations. An example that illustrates this point is that no mechanisms exist to compensate for the lack of technical resources of non-commercial radio stations.[205] The only legal advantages for these stations, whether they are educational or community-based, are a faster application process and a reduction in tax. Besides not offering much help, the law does not clearly define community broadcast media, creating ambiguity, impeding a standard application of the norm, and not allowing community media to take advantage of this special regulation. The result is that there are no community radio frequencies.[206]

The basic requirement for obtaining a license is to submit an application. However, when the number of applications exceeds the number of available frequencies in a locality, a public competition is carried out to determine who obtains the concession.[207] The MTC is in charge of this competition. The date of the

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202. The spectrum is distributed by concession, that is "the legal act by which the state gives to a natural or legal person the right to provide a bearer, final, or dissemination service of a public nature,," Art. 47 of the Consolidated Text of the General Rulings of the Communications Law (*Texto Único Ordenado del Reglamento General de la Ley de Telecomunicaciones*).

203. The MTC is part of the executive branch of the government.

204. The Radio and Television Law 2004. Second Book, Broadcasting Services. First Section, Broadcasting Services. Second Title, Broadcasting Spectrum, Art. 11, Broadcasting Spectrum.

205. The Radio and Television Law classified service broadcasting as (1) commercial, (2) educational, and (3) communitarian.

206. C. Rivadeneyra, "Las mordazas invisibles" (Invisible gags), at http://revistas.pucp.edu.pe/lamiradadetelemo/node/39 (accessed December 2010) (hereafter Rivadeneyra, "Las mordazas invisibles").

207. As long as the number of frequencies or channels available in the bands is less than the number of applications in a given locality.

competition is announced twice, with a week's interval, in the official newspaper *El Peruano* and in a newspaper with national circulation. This assembly establishes the rules and the timetable of the competition. The MTC is responsible for preparing the requirements and receiving, evaluating, and rating the proposals. The rules of the competition contain the same requirements as for concessions awarded without a public competition. These include legal documentation (such as a criminal record certificate), technical documentation (such as the technical project profile of the station to be installed, and a study to ensure that the non-ionizing radiation emitted by the station does not exceed the maximum permissible limits); financial documentation (such as the projected investment for the first year), a description of the purpose of the service, the payment for the right to submit the application (approximately US$ 127), and the payment for publishing the award (approximately US$ 212).

The competition rules indicate the score for each one of the requirements and the concession is offered to the applicant who obtains the highest score. ConcorTV acts as supervisor.

The processing of concessions takes place in Lima. However, the application can be made in the provinces by downloading the application from the MTC site, and paying the fee at any branch of the National Bank (*Banco de la Nación*, BN).

Concession renewals are automatic if they are requested and the requisites for renewal have been met. Among these are the presentation of a certificate reporting any change in stockholders, partners, owners, etc.; the fee for the right to submit the procedure; and the fee for the publication of the authorization.

An evaluation of the use of the media, its content or its contribution to social interest is not required. This has led critics to argue that some TV channels lean towards the vulgar and do not contribute anything to society or, as is the case with Panamericana Television, offer re-runs due to lack of resources for new productions. The official position is that controlling content would go against democracy and freedom of speech.[208] In any event, all that is required is documentation to show that the purpose of the service, presented with the application, has been achieved. However, the procedure is not specified, and so in practice this requirement is not made use of.[209] According to specialists,[210] the model permits informality and arbitrariness in the giving, renewing, and cancelling of concessions:

> In practice, the communication project is limited to a two-page document which, even though it describes the media communication proposal in general terms, it does not provide support or details about such proposal. However, requesting a document of this nature and its subsequent evaluation will help decide the granting or renewal of concessions according to the background of the aspiring broadcaster.[211]

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208. Interview with Manuel Cipriano, General Director of authorizations for the MTC, Lima, 22 December 2010.

209. Rivadeneyra, "Las mordazas invisibles," p. 7.

210. Interview with Carlos Rivadeneyra, Member of the Regional Council of the World Association of Community Radio, Lima, 22 December 2010.

211. Rivadeneyra, "Las mordazas invisibles," p. 10.

The Master Plan for DTT spectrum divides the country into four territories for digitization. Territory 04, which includes the poorest departments[212] and 47 percent of the country's population, does not have a time-frame for switch-over. Public interest is not defined in the Master Plan, and even the division of broadcasters into educational, community, and commercial is not clear.

The Master Plan[213] presents two migration models to the digital signal: first, to an "exclusive management" channel with a full 6MHz; and second, to a shared channel, where three broadcasting stations would use the 6MHz. A station will only obtain an "exclusive" channel if it operates in Lima (territory 01) and, as a minimum, operates in 50 percent of the localities that comprise territories 02 and 03 of the Master Plan. Those radio stations that do not comply with this requirement (such as the local and provincial broadcasters, which do not operate in Lima) will only be able to access a shared channel. Thus, the three most powerful television businesses are favored because they are the ones that can comply with the requirements needed to obtain a digital "exclusive" channel. For example, Channel 45 of Villa El Salvador (VES) was compelled to operate under the shared channel modality. Its executive manager said in July 2011: "We hope the new government and congress will revise these laws, and that we all receive the same treatment to avoid favoring only commercial channels or free-to-air channels."[214]

The official position is that account has been taken of which companies are able to invest and get on the air quickly. Therefore, the only the most powerful companies can do it. As with analog TV, this again permits the concentration of frequencies that are managed by a few businessmen, which affects the plurality of broadcasting stations.[215] Carlos Cardenas, president of Red TV,[216] explains that this law violates the freedom of business organizations and is anti-competitive, because stations with shared management (with 2MHz each) cannot compete with an "exclusive management" channel of 6MHz and its possibility of transmitting in HD.

5.1.2 Transparency

Broadcasting frequencies are distributed according to an established National Frequency Allocation Plan (*Plan Nacional de Atribución de Frecuencias*, PNAF) that is published on the MTC website, and it relies on a specialized technical team to help with its development. The PNAF has been criticized because the constant modification of its provisions (justified by the rapid pace of technological change in telecommunications) is carried out without the participation of all interested groups (such as broadcasting companies and social organizations), does not seem to respond to any technical reason, is not subject to debate, and does not explain the criteria being followed:[217]

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212. Huancavelica, Huanuco, and Apurimac had among them a poverty incidence of 60–77 percent for 2009, according to INEI.

213. Master Plan (*Plan Maestro*) for the implementation of DTT, issued by Supreme Decree 2010/03/28. It contains the grouping of regions into four areas (Lima is in the first area), with different terms for the implementation of the digital signal and the analog switch-over.

214. "400 canales de TV de provincias en peligro de desaparecer" (400 TV channels of provinces in danger of disappearing)," *Diario 16*, 21 July 2011, at http://diario16.pe/noticia/7615-400-canales-de-tv-de-provincias-en-peligro-de-desaparecer (accessed 17 November 2011).

215. Interview with José Távara, former vice-minister of the MTC and PhD in Economics, University of Massachusetts, Lima, 25 November 2010.

216. National Association of Local Television Channels, formed in 2006. It is the first and only association of national broadcasters.

217. Interview with José Távara, former vice-minister of MTC and PhD in Economics, University of Massachusetts, Lima, 25 November 2010.

The problem lies in the fact that there is no legal base requiring higher publicity standards when a plan needs to be changed. For example, having a public hearing should be mandatory. I appreciate receiving letters asking for my opinion about broad-band policies, but that gesture should not depend on the good faith of the businessmen, it should be mandatory.[218]

However, the MTC website also contains useful information on the administration of the spectrum.[219] It has, for example, a National Frequency Registry that shows the frequencies assigned to the broadcast stations in each area, the channel, and the state of the concession (authorized, cancelled, reserved for the state, or available).

The transparency of the concession system is also shown in the practice of public competitions. Nevertheless, specialists point out that the rules and conditions should be revised to allow for greater plurality. Nowadays, concessions depend on the available space and the criteria for evaluation are mainly technical. A broadcasting station could change the name and content, altering the deal offered, without any legal impediment, to the point of turning it into a sort of a hereditary license, thus limiting the entry of new broadcasting stations. According to researcher Martin Carrillo, the current system of concessions is limited to "a technical approximation, almost neutral, but insufficient and partial."[220]

The communicative content of aspiring broadcasters is minimal and symbolic, although it could be a matter to be taken into account to give it a score. Nowadays, any radio station may radically change its name and be placed in the same frequency, or it may offer content totally different to that offered on the previous month. It is a decision of the operators, a business initiative, but it alters the band and the offer proportion.[221]

To this opinion, Mr Távara adds: "Priorities, to my judgment, have not been clear. There is a high level of inertia, and that is a critical point of the current model."[222]

Transparency problems for concessions for DTT follow the same line, as they have the same parameters, adding to the controversy around the concession of frequencies for "exclusive" frequencies, as explained above. Miriam Larco, technical secretary for ConcorTV, states that the MTC has failed to give sufficient information on the reasons why some "exclusive management" frequencies are given to some radio broadcasting stations, "I would not say with little transparency, but in an accelerated way, without reflection and without a dialog with citizenship."[223]

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218. Interview with José Távara, former vice-minister of MTC and PhD in Economics, University of Massachusetts, Lima, 25 November 2010.

219. See www.mtc.gob.pe (accessed December 2010).

220. Interview with Martin Carrillo, specialist in communications law at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, 10 November 2010.

221. Interview with Martin Carrillo, specialist in communications law at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, 10 November 2010.

222. Interview with José Távara, former vice-minister of MTC and PhD in Economics, University of Massachusetts, Lima, 25 November 2010.

223. Interview with Miriam Larco, Technical Secretary of CONCORTV, Lima, 20 December 2010.

Finally, a favorable development in the transparency of this process is that the Master Plan requires the MTC to submit a report every six months on the progress of DTT implementation and the assignment of frequencies, and publish it in its website. This has not been implemented yet.

5.1.3   Competition for Spectrum

The radio and analog TV frequencies in main cities in the country, such as Lima, Arequipa, and Trujillo, are already saturated, and some locations will not have frequencies available for years. This is why there have been no attempts to reduce the availability of spectrum for new operators in analog broadcast television. In the case of DTT, the problem with the concession of "exclusive management" frequencies (see section *5.1.1*) is the influence of the most powerful TV broadcasters in Lima, grouped in the National Radio and Television Society (*Sociedad Nacional de Radio y Televisión*, SNRTV).[224]

In August 2009, the Temporary Multi-sector Commission (*Comisión Multisectorial Temporal*)[225] recommended the reservation of frequencies in the digital platform in favor of present holders of analog TV, in response to their claims of "Respect for the rights obtained by the TV broadcasters with current authorization." The master plan includes this recommendation (see section *5.1.1*). As explained by Mr Cárdenas, "the TV channels in Lima have done their job in the Ministry, long before this subject matter was known, to obtain a law that would satisfy their needs".[226] For Ms Larco the problem lies in centralization, and in the fact that radio broadcasters from the provinces did not get organized, which diminished their power: "It was thought that the SNRTV representative would take all radio broadcasters voices, ... but it only took the voices from the radio broadcasters from Lima."[227]

Though this process may not be described as a direct attempt by the powerful broadcasters from Lima to reduce spectrum availability, it is a real effort to make the law suit their specific needs, not caring about the rest of the broadcasters which were not able to fight for their rights.

5.2   Digital Gatekeeping

5.2.1   Technical Standards

In 2005 the LRTV regulations led to the creation of a committee to study and recommend the standards for the implementation of DTT. This committee, composed of MTC officials, recommended reserving the band 470–584 MHZ for DTT. In February 2007, a second committee was formed with the aim of

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224. The television broadcasters which are associated with the SNRTV are Andean Broadcasting (*Andina de Radiodifusión*, ATV), Latin American Broadcasting Company (*Compañía Latinoamericana de Radiodifusión*, Frecuencia Latina), and Peruvian Broadcasting Company (*Compañía Peruana de Radiodifusión*, América TV).

225. This Commission was created by the Presidency of the Council of Ministers on April 2009 to provide recommendations to the MTC for developing the Master Plan. See section *7.1.1*.

226. Interview with Carlos Cárdenas, President of Red TV, Lima, 22 December 2010.

227. Interview with Miriam Larco, Technical Secretary of ConcorTV, Lima, 20 December 2010.

recommending the most appropriate standard for DTT to the MTC. This multi-sector committee was formed by representatives of five institutions, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, REE) and a representative of civil society (an engineer recommended by ConcorTV). According to Manuel Cipriano, General Director of authorizations for the MTC, the broadcasters were not included due to their internal divisions (they could not agree on the election of a representative).

Experts interviewed for this report agree that the process for selecting the standard, which had to take account of the regional context,[228] was quite positive. The committee was open to suggestions. The SNRTV supported the Japanese-Brazilian standard with newspaper advertisements.[229] Society at large, however, remained ignorant of the issue. The state established no mechanisms for information-sharing and decentralized participation in the selection of a standard.[230] Mr Carrillo thinks ordinary consumers were under-represented in the process because it was hard to find an entity to represent them.[231]

After two years of work, on 28 February 2009, the committee presented its final report, in which it recommended to the MTC the Japanese-Brazilian standard (ISDB-T). After two months of consideration, the MTC decided to adopt this standard.

Table 7.
DTT standard classification[232] by the Multi-sector Committee

Evaluation criteria	Standard			
	ATSC	DVB	ISDB-T	DTMB
Technical	4°	3°	1°	1°
Economic	3°	2°	1°	4°
Technical cooperation	3°	1°	2°	4°

Source: Final report of Multi-sector Committee, 2009, at www.mtc.gob.pe/portal/tdt/documentos.html#informe1 (accessed January 2011)

Civil society is interested in implementing digital television technologies, but because of the lack of information the interest is limited to concern about how to implement digital signals at home and how to set devices to receive the signal. There is a belief in society that the matter is not being debated, not because of a lack of popular interest, but because the authorities have not established an appropriate information campaign about the benefits and risks of digital television or to encourage debate about implementation.

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228. Brazil was then the only country in the region which had made a decision on its standard, ISDB-T.

229. C. Crisólogo, "El impacto de la Televisión Digital Terrestre en la sociedad peruana" (The impact of DTT on Peruvian society), at http://www.teleley.com/revistaperuana/caceres-67.pdf (accessed 30 December 2010).

230. Interview with Alexander Chiu, responsible for communications and image of ConcorTV, "Alexander Chiu conversa sobre TDT en Perú" (Alexander Chiu discusses DTT in Peru), *TV Technology*, 18 August 2010, at http://www.tvtechnology.com/article/105050 (accessed 20 December 2010).

231. Interview with Martin Carrillo, specialist in communications law at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, 10 November 2010.

232. Technical criteria were the reception quality, mobility, and portability; the economic criteria considered the cost and benefit for consumers and operators; and technical cooperation criteria considered business opportunities and financing, among others. The number 1° indicates the best option, chosen by the Multi-sector Committee.

For these reasons, the debate in civil society has been almost non-existent. Public interventions limit themselves to exposing the benefits of digital audio and video. No debates have taken place between the government and civil society organizations. There are no known mechanisms to extract maximum benefit from the possibilities of the new technology, for example, by introducing new business models and communication processes, or increasing citizen empowerment.[233] The MTC does the required minimum regarding public information. In 2010, it did seven workshops and public hearings in cities such as Lima, Tarapoto, Huancayo, and Arequipa. The survey by the Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics (*Instituto Brasileño de Opinión Pública y Estadística*, IBOPE) showed that the effort was not sufficient: only 25 percent of interviewees had heard of DTT, and 61 percent of them thought it meant "a better quality in audio and video over the air-waves."[234]

5.2.2   Gatekeepers

Since digital broadcasting is in its early stages, there are no known problems with digital gatekeepers at this time.

5.2.3   Transmission Networks

As the digital switch-over process is still in its infancy, there is no indication whether transmission network operators have made any attempts to benefit from the digital spectrum distribution.

5.3   Telecommunications

5.3.1   Telecoms and News

Unlike free-to-air television and radio, which are regulated by the MTC, telecoms and cable are regulated by the Supervising Agency for Private Investment in Telecommunications (*Organismo Supervisor de Inversión Privada en Telecomunicaciones,* OSIPTEL).[235] Over the last few years, telecoms have grown significantly due to the increase in market competition. By the end of 2009, fixed telephony had reached a density of 10.1 phone lines per 100 people, and mobile phones density reached 84.3 mobile cards per 100 people.[236]

The fixed telephone market had a period in which the entry of new operators was prohibited by law. Although this period ended in 1998, Telefónica del Perú still reaches 73 percent of homes with fixed telephony service.[237] As for mobile telephony, Figure 12 shows the different services and their evolution from 1990 to 2011, with three firms dominating: AméricaMóvil (Claro), Telefónica (Movistar), and Nextel.[238]

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233. Interview with Miriam Larco, Technical Secretary of ConcorTV, Lima, 20 December 2010.

234. Survey entitled "Radio and television in Peru," conducted in November 2009 by IBOPE for ConcorTV.

235. Created in 1991 to promote private investment, free and fair competition, etc.

236. According OSIPTEL, the number of households with access to mobile or cell phones doubled in the period 2007–2009.

237. Statistics MTC, Lines in service as fixed line company, 2009, at www.mtc.gob.pe/estadisticas/index.html (accessed January 2011).

238. Telefónica has 63.3 percent of the market, Claro 33.4 percent, and Nextel 3.3 percent (OSIPTEL 2009).

Figure 12.

Evolution of the mobile phones market structure, 1990–2011

1990	1991	1994	1997	1998	2001	2005	2006–2011
						TIM	Amby AméricaMóvil
					Nextel		
	CPT –Entel		Telefónica			Telefónica	
				Bellsouth			
	Tele 2000						

Source: Supervising Agency for Private Investment in Telecommunications (*Organismo Supervisor de Inversión Privada en Teleco-municaciones,* OSIPTEL)

The arrival of Claro in Peru in October 2005 boosted the mobile telephone market.[239] 3G generation arrived in August 2008, when Claro launched the iPhone 3G, followed a month later by Movistar. According to OSIPTEL, 38 percent of the country's districts (696 of the 1,833 districts) are not covered by mobile telephony. Also, 34 percent of households do not have any mobile telephones.[240]

By the end of 2008, the investment gap in telecoms infrastructure estimated for developed telecommunications reached US$ 5,446 million, out of which 24.7 percent corresponds to the fixed telephone segment and 75.3 percent to mobile telephones.[241]

Between 1993 and 1997, the cable television service expanded rapidly due to continuous decreases in prices, the appearance of tiered pricing with low-cost program packages, and users' interest (as there were more cable channels than those offered by local television). From 1997, the growth rate decreased, one of the reasons being the competition from satellite television (Direct TV) and the increase of signal theft.[242] In 2009, there were 34.9 cable service subscriptions per 1,000 people.[243]

239. OSIPTEL, *Modelo de Difusión Tecnológica: Un análisis de la Industria Peruana de Servicios Móviles* (Model of Technology Diffusion: An Analysis of the Peruvian Mobile Services Industry), OSIPTEL, Lima, 2009.

240. J. Bossio, *Entorno Regulatorio de las Telecomunicaciones: Perú 2007–2009* (Telecom Regulatory Environment: Peru 2007–2009), Regional Dialogue on the Information Society (*Diálogo Regional sobre Sociedad de la Información*, DIRSI), 2010, at http://www.dirsi.net/ (accessed 30 January 2011). DIRSI is a network of professionals and institutions in ICT policy and research in Latin America.

241. Data from the Peruvian Institute of Economics (*Instituto Peruano de Economía*, IPE).The gap indicates the investment required to achieve a development level similar to that of Chile.

242. A. Roque, *Impactos de las tecnologías de información y comunicación en el Perú* (Impacts of information and communication technologies in Peru), INEI, Lima, 2001.

243. Statistics MTC, Subscribers and density of the cable television service, 2009, at www.mtc.gob.pe/estadisticas/index.html (accessed January 2011).

Figure 13.

Cable providers' market share, September 2008

Others, 17

Telmex, 5

DirecTV, 6

Telefónica Multimedia, 72
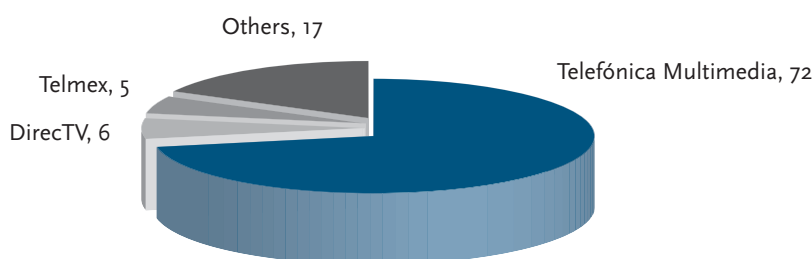
Source: Subscriber distribution per company of cable services, 2008, at www.mtc.gob.pe/estadisticas/index.html (accessed January 2011), MTC

Telefónica is the strongest company in telecoms. Cable Mágico, its cable TV service, distributes multimedia and news content through its production channels: CMD for sports and Plus TV for varied content. It also carries channels for other producers, such as FEM TV,[244] a news channel (*Canal N*), and the channel for the news radio station RPP TV. All these channels have an exclusive contract with Cable Mágico, and so they cannot transmit their programs with another cable company. There are other channels, such as Willax (news), which broadcasts in Cable Mágico and Claro; the Congress Channel, property of the Congress, which broadcasts in Cable Mágico and Claro TV; and Claro TV in Claro.

5.3.2   Pressure of Telecoms on News Providers

News providers have not complained about any pressure from telecoms in recent years, and there is no evidence of any such pressure.

5.4   Assessments

The MTC, which is in charge of spectrum management, is part of the executive arm of the Government, as has been noted. The minister of the MTC is elected by the president, and the deputy minister can be removed at any time by the minister. This situation makes it difficult for officers to make decisions, because they could be influenced by the political and economic powers.[245] This is illustrated by the government's decision to grant "exclusive management" frequencies to a set of broadcasting companies that have more economic clout and thus a greater capacity of political pressure. Nonetheless, this arrangement is found in the Master Plan, it is being fulfilled, and thus it is not an issue of arbitrariness in the application of the norm, but rather an issue of a norm that suits the interests of a specific group of broadcasters.

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244. FEM TV is an entertainment channel targeting women.

245. Interview with Manuel Cipriano, general director of authorizations for the MTC, Lima, 22 December 2010.

A positive point in the last few years is the use of the Transparency Law (concerning transparency and access to public information),[246] which is understood as guarding officials' independence vis-à-vis government.[247] This law, enacted in 2002, requires public entities to inform citizens about expenses, nominations, budgets, and so forth.

The LRTV is the first law of its kind in Peru. There have been five modifications to the regulation[248] and three to the law itself in the six years since its approval. This indicates that there is constant work to improve the legislation. For instance, there is a need for an autonomous organization with an institutional shield that would administrate the concessions; a simpler mechanism to solve complaints; and an ombudsman for radio viewers, among others. The issue of stations operating outside the law is critical. There are twice as many pirate stations as there are legal stations,[249] which is related to an ignorance of the legal rules for broadcasters. The main problem, though, is not the content of the law, but compliance and effectiveness. The concession of "exclusive management" frequencies to some broadcasters and the compulsory orders for the smaller ones to share frequencies does not ensure healthy competition.

Another important issue is accessibility to the DTT. The Master Plan arranged the division of the country into four territories for the implementation of the digital signal and the analog switch-over. However, it only established the timing and the broad territories; it did not establish percentage coverages or how goals would be achieved.[250] Also, territory 04, which includes the poorest departments[251] and represents 47 percent of Peru's population, does not have a time-frame for switch-over. A lack of compromise over reaching universal coverage in a specific period of time suggests that instead of turning into a tool for social inclusion, DTT could become another element of multidimensional differentiation; for, with DTT, the poorest areas will fall further behind the pace of development.[252]

Although the legal definition of broadcasting services is "private services for public interest," the truth is that public interest has not had its expected role in the whole process; the Master Plan for DTT states only that one of its aims is "to enable the supply of new services that would provide the maximum benefits to the country." Public interest involvement is not really defined, and even the division of broadcasters into educational, community, and commercial is not clear.[253]

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246. Enacted on 13 July 2002.

247. Interview with Manuel Cipriano, general director of authorizations for the MTC, Lima, 22 December 2010.

248. The regulation indicates how the law applies.

249. There would be about 4,000 radio stations and more than 2,000 informal television stations in Peru.

250. Interview with Martin Carrillo, specialist in communications law at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, 10 November 2010.

251. Huancavelica, Huanuco, and Apurimac among them have a poverty incidence of 60–77 percent for 2009, according to INEI.

252. M. Carrillo, "La regulación de la televisión digital terrestre en el Perú" (The regulation of DTT in Peru), *La mirada de Telmo*, at http://revistas.pucp.edu.pe/lamiradadetelemo/node/44 (accessed 12 November 2010).

253. There are no community radio stations. Educational stations include religious broadcasters.

6. Digital Business

6.1 Ownership

6.1.1 Legal Developments in Media Ownership

Art. 24 on Foreign Participation of the LRTV states that only Peruvian citizens and/or businesses founded and with legal domicile in Peru can be recipients of broadcasting frequencies.[254] The law also contains a paragraph stating that foreigners may have participation in companies receiving broadcast licenses, but with a maximum of 40 percent of the stocks and with the condition of owning media in their country of origin.

On 13 July 2007, the Constitutional Court declared this paragraph unconstitutional. It was determined that there should be no limit to property for foreigners: "the equality between foreign and Peruvian capitals in the country should be in direct relation with the principle of reciprocity and accordingly to how the specific foreign country treats Peruvians."[255] Since then no further modifications have been made to media ownership regulation. It should be noted that there are no rules that limit cross-ownership.

6.1.2 New Entrants in the News Market

Since 2006, there have been no new entrants in the media market. However, there have been purchases and sales between those companies which already have authorizations to operate.

On 28 September 2007, the Empresa Editora El Comercio, owned by the Miró Quesada family, acquired a stake in Prime Media (a company of the Colombian group Santo Domingo) in Group TV Peru. The Empresa Editora El Comercio paid more than US$39 million to the Colombian group Santo Domingo to become the major associate of the America Television channel and cable channel N.[256]

In April 2010, there was an important online purchase: El Comercio Group bought (for US$1.4 million) a stake of 51 percent of Interlatin Corp, a multinational founded in 1999 in the British Virgin Islands, main

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254. The Radio and Television Law 2004. Second Book, Broadcasting Services. First Section, Broadcasting Services. Third Title, The Broadcasting Services Operation.

255. Sentence given by all members of the Constitutional Court of Peru, at www.concortv.gob.pe/es/file/normatividad/2007/00013-2007-PI-TC.pdf (accessed 23 December 2010).

256. El Comercio bought 99.9 percent of the stock of Grupo TV Perú. Thus El Comercio now controls 70 percent of America Television; the remaining 30 percent belongs to Grupo La República.

owner of Peru.com, the second most visited website in Peru. The El Comercio Group is the most powerful conglomerate in the country, controlling newspapers such as the *El Comercio*, *Perú21*, *Gestión* (financial), *Trome* and *Depor* (sports), and TV channels such as channel N and America Television.

Another development in the market was the launch by RPP of its digital signal for cable TV in September 2010.

6.1.3   Ownership Consolidation

The LRTV says that radio and television "cannot be the object of exclusiveness, monopoly or hoarding, be it directly or indirectly, neither by the State nor by individuals."[257] Stocking is considered to take place when a person or business holds more than 30 percent of the available television frequencies or 20 percent of available radio frequencies in the same band of frequencies in the same locality.

Nowadays, there are just a few media conglomerates: the El Comercio Group (including the newspapers *El Comercio*, *Gestión*, *Trome*, *Perú21*, and others) owned by the Miró Quesada family; the La República Group (including the newspapers *La República*, *El Popular*, and *Líbero*) owned by the Mohme Seminario family; and the RPP Group (including RPP TV and the radio stations RPP Noticias, Radio Felicidad, Studio 92, La Mega, among others), founded by Manuel Delgado Parker. These conglomerates have achieved a powerful position because of the concentration of audiences and advertising. According to *Periodistas y Magnates* (Journalists and Tycoons)[258] in 2006 four television channels had 82 percent of the audience and 87 percent of advertising spending. In 2011 both rates went down to an estimated 75 percent.[259]

On the one hand, this type of concentration of media in groups allows for a more solid position when confronted with government pressure, and in this sense favors media independence.[260] On the other hand, the power of entrepreneurs over journalists has increased, especially regarding employment, as journalist Augusto Alvarez Rodrich[261] explains:

> If you are fired, you are not fired from only one newspaper but from three newspapers, two radios, two TV channels, and thus, the possibility of getting a new job becomes much more complicated … . Another thing is that, being linked, it is easy to pass a journalist between different media, and this is not decided by the market but by a managing entity, which says, "I want this gentleman in the radio or this other gentleman in the newspaper.[262]

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257. Preliminary Title. Art. I, Access Principles of the Broadcasting Services. a) Free Competition.

258. G. Mastrini and M. Becerra, *Periodistas y magnates. Estructura y concentración de las industrias culturales en Latinoamérica*, IPYS, Prometeo, Buenos Aires, 2006.

259. "La concentración mediática en el Perú" (Media concentration in Peru), Puntoedu, 3 November 2011, at http://www.pucp.edu.pe/puntoedu/index.php?option=com_opinion&id=5776 (accessed 12 November 2011),

260. "El periodismo y la concentración de la propiedad de los medios en América Latina" (Journalism and the concentration of media ownership in LatinAmerica), IPYS, Open Society Institute and others, Buenos Aires, November 2006 (hereafter "El periodismo y la concentración").

261. Journalist and economist, one of the most important political analysts.

262. "El periodismo y la concentración."

6.1.4 Telecoms Business and the Media

Telecoms businesses have not entered the mass media market in a significant way. The most relevant development in this area was the recent inauguration of the cable television channel Claro TV, operated by mobile telephone company America Mobile (Claro).

6.1.5 Transparency of Media Ownership

There are no legal requirements for media businesses to be transparent regarding the information on their owners, stockholders, investments, etc. The law is very clear in stating that, although of public interest, media companies are private operations, and so this information is not publicly available.

In some cases, when the company is publicly traded on the stock exchange, such as the El Comercio Group, it is possible to have access to certain information from the National Supervisory Commission for Companies and Securities (*Comisión Nacional Supervisora de Empresas y Valores*, CONASEV).[263] But there is no mechanism for determining the ownership of those media companies that are not publicly traded, because media companies are private.

6.2 Media Funding

6.2.1 Public and Private Funding

The Law on Official Advertising was enacted on 14 August 2006. However, some experts claim its provisions are not clear enough to be effective.[264] For instance, the law states that in order to place advertising in the media, public institutions are required to present the MTC with a proposal and a technical justification for the outlets selected according to, among other things, the public objective of the channel.[265] Nevertheless, quantitative criteria such as audience, rating, number of issues or prices are not required. Additionally, the law strictly forbids personnel involved in an advertising campaign from appearing in the advertising material; but this prohibition is not enforced. For instance, the former president, Alan García, appeared on the billboards along the Green Coast Highway when it was expanded.

The Law on Official Advertising has improved the transparency of government advertising contracts by releasing the sort of information that may reveal evidence of political intent. Each state agency has to publish its advertising contracts with the media. On 15 December 2010, the newspaper *La Primera* published a report indicating that between 2009 and 2010 the state assigned US$74.8 million for official ads. According to this document, television was the best paid and most used medium, receiving US$49 million for broadcasting 26,406 commercials. Out of this amount, the presidency invested US$ 830,201during 2009 to publicize its

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263. See conasev.gob.pe (accessed 1 November 2011).

264. Asociación por los Derechos Civiles, *El precio del silencio: abuso de publicidad oficial y otras formas de censura indirecta en América Latina*, Open Society Institute, Buenos Aires, 2008.

265. Law LEY Nº 28874. Law regulating government advertising, 2006. Law on official advertising.

achievements, and in the first nine months of 2010 this sum had increased to more than US$6 million. The political intention is evident if it is remembered that 2010 was a year of municipal and regional elections, in which the government party (APRA) was a contender.

Figure 14.

Distribution of public spending on advertising in the media (% per sector), 2009–2010
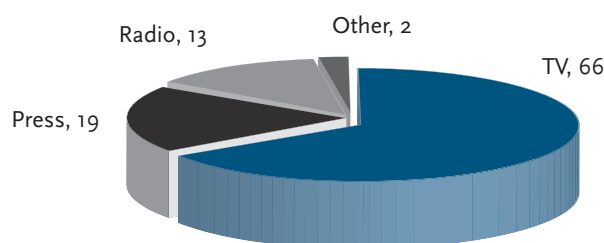
Source: IBOPE Time

State-owned media in Peru are financed mainly by the Government and, to a lesser extent, by advertising. The IRTP is a public business conglomerate which comprises all three public broadcasting media in Peru: National Radio of Peru (Radio Nacional del Perú), Chronicle AM Radio (Radio La Crónica AM) and TV Peru. The 2009 annual report showed that 63 percent of the financing (US$10.8 million) came from "regular resources" allocated by the Government, 30 percent (US$5.2 million) came from "directly collected resources" (sale of advertising slots), while the remaining 7 percent (US$1.2 million) were "resources from official credit operations" (including loans from financial institutions).

On 4 February 2010, the regulation on the use of state advertising in municipal and regional elections was approved. It bans the broadcasting of government ads from the date of the calling of the election until the conclusion of the municipal and regional election processes.

The following table provides an overview of state advertising in major media outlets in Peru.

Table 8.

State advertising in major private media (US$), 2005–2011

	Sector	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
El Comercio	Newspaper	3,193,292	5,397,540	4,705,540	3,309,466	4,306,208	6,879,603	9,609,931	37,401,579
América TV	TV		1,236,639	4,075,190	1,426,599	3,096,979	5,383,920	7,590,704	6,842,110	29,652,140
RPP Group	Radio	1,662,717	2,654,322	2,055,494	3,550,044	4,337,049	7,689,964	5,341,669	27,291,259
ATV Group	TV		988,893	3,637,283	1,219,729	2,620,102	4,008,980	6,459,754	4,856,861	23,791,601
Frecuencia Latina	TV		236,412	3,056,711	877,194	1,450,163	3,068,784	5,332,362	3,814,112	17,835,738
Epensa	Newspaper	1,294,538	1,018,928	1,385,426	1,809,550	1,466,401	1,338,726	970,007	9,283,575
La República	Newspaper	774,649	716,612	570,143	943,256	666,685	570,670	525,069	4,767,085
Panamericana	TV		740,621	1,317,287	5,608	22,579	204,163	243,410	—	2,533,669

Source: Electronic Government Procurement (*Sistema Electrónico de Contrataciones del Estado*, SEACE), at www.osce.gob.pe (accessed January 2011)

As for private financing, journalist and sociologist Santiago Pedraglio says the media are usually a lot more critical of the political powers than of the economic powers:

> The mass media are a lot more prudent and they abstain from criticizing the economic groups. There is a kind of self-censorship of the media, not coming from journalists, but from owners. And that has an economic reason, because they [the large economic groups] are the main advertisers, because they have the main packages of advertisement, and because to touch them is to be brave (and therefore dangerous).[266]

Large packages of advertising revenues are fundamental to the survival of the media. And while there is no evidence of the direct influence of economic groups on the media—among other reasons, because the information on who invest in the media is not publicly available—it can be verified that citizens' problems with the large businesses of the country (such as Telefonica or the different private pension funds) do not appear in newspaper or television news. This sort of information is published only on the internet, where pressure from advertisers is not felt so strongly: in the offline world, the media mostly depend on advertisers for their very survival.

Ricardo Uceda, executive director of the IPYS, states that this subject does not even appear in discussions about journalistic ethics in Peru: "When journalistic ethics is the subject, it generally alludes to problems that are produced when journalism has acted excessively, but never or rarely is the emphasis on the problems that newspapers should investigate and do not investigate to avoid problems."[267] In the same vein, Francisco Durand[268] maintains that corporate power has acquired enormous influence over the mass media.[269] This is partly because media owners are businessmen, and partly because the media depend on advertising.

Only public advertising investment has been regulated. There are no initiatives to make private investment in the media transparent, since broadcasting is understood as "a private service of public interest."[270]

Figure 15 gives an overview of private advertising expenditure in the media. Almost half of it (45 percent) goes to television, followed by newspapers and radio. Online advertising currently represents only 3 percent of total private advertising investment.

It is noteworthy that publicity investments in Peru have increased from US$ 150 million in 2002 to US$ 650 million in 2010, according to IBOPE Media. Since 2007, the companies with biggest investments in

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266. Interview with Santiago Pedraglio, journalist and sociologist, Lima, 12 November 2010.

267. Interview with Ricardo Uceda, Lima, 11 January, 2011.

268. Professor Francisco Durand (University of Texas at San Antonio) is a sociologist specializing in Latin American business issues.

269. F. Durand, "Dinámica política de la corrupción y participación empresarial" (Political dynamics of corruption and business participation), in F. Portocarrero (ed.), *El pacto infame: estudios sobre la corrupción en el Perú* (The Infamous Pact: Studies on Corruption in Peru), *Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú* (Network for Development of Social Sciences in Peru), Lima, 2005.

270. Art. 3. Definition of the broadcasting services. First Book, Basics Provisions. Single Section, General Provisions, LRTV 2004.

publicity have been those specializing in telephone services; in 2010 these entities had 28 percent of the total of commercial advertising.[271]

Figure 15.

Distribution of private spending on advertising in the media (% per sector), 2010
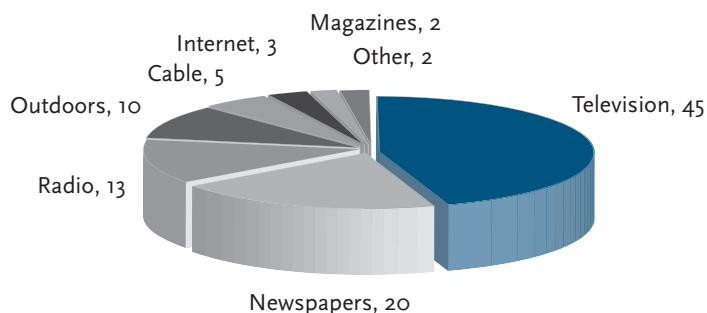
Source: *Gestión*, 7 February 2011

6.2.2   Other Sources of Funding

The mass media's main source of financing is still the traditional one: advertising. Apart from this, part of the media's revenues comes from audiences' payments (print publications purchases, pay-television, etc.). However, the web is still a field in development and media websites do not charge for their contents.[272] Some of them only require users to register and open a free account.

6.3   Media Business Models

6.3.1   Changes in Media Business Models

Since media businesses are private, they do not publish their sources of income, their business plans or their financial projections, so it is difficult to analyze any changes in business models. But, according to specialists consulted for this report, going digital is going to change how the media do business, even though the largest media will maintain their power. It is evident that the internet is going to affect established media. Mr Uceda said that going digital will change offline media: "You see the *El Comercio* newspaper website. It does not represent the *El Comercio*. They are two different media. I really believe that, eventually, *El Comercio* is going to be affected in its perception by this digital expression."[273]

But DTT still is in an incipient stage. The largest channels made a strong investment, and they are now the only ones that have a digital signal in simulcast. In turn, local television stations, even the smallest ones, are

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271. See http://semanaeconomica.com/articulos/74224-inversion-publicitaria-llegaria-a-us-600-millones-este-ano (accessed December 2010).

272. With the exception of *Gestión*, that even publishes a great amount of its contents free.

273. Interview with Ricardo Uceda, Lima, 11 January 2011.

in the full process of adaptation to the digital signal.[274] For example, they are interested in the acquisition of hybrid transmitters and they are exploring the possibility of making purchases as a group in order to lower prices, with the help of Red TV.[275] The TV stations of Madre de Dios, Iquitos, and Tarapoto (in the Peruvian jungle) have already begun making purchases, made possible by the recently built TransOceanic Highway.[276]

Peruvian economic growth slowed during 2009, but by mid-2010 the slowdown's effects were no longer felt.[277] Therefore, media companies have not had to make significant changes in the way they do business.

6.4   Assessments

Digitization has not affected the dominant positions of the mass media in the Peruvian market in any significant way. On the contrary, the consolidation of the largest media's hegemonic position is evident. The way in which DTT has been regulated and the distribution of the digital spectrum add to the power of these corporations. The information offered through the internet (blogs, digital newspapers, etc.) has not yet gained enough power to influence public opinion or the media market. As Mr Pedraglio shows, online information only reaches all sectors of the population when it has been published in the traditional media. The number of Peruvians who can access the internet confirms this statement.[278] Traditional media continue to be dominant.

Transparency regarding the ownership of media is not legally required. The law confirms that broadcasting services are private and do not need to make information public. There has been no advance in transparency.

With digitization, the impact of ownership on the independence and performance of the media has not changed; it has simply extended to digital media. The largest media already have a presence on the internet. There are also alternative sources of information online (for instance, blogs such as The Mule, www.lamula.pe), but they are few. What has taken place is the unfolding of traditional media into cyberspace. Groups like El Comercio, RPP, and La Republica, for instance, have their own blog board (see section *6.1.2*).

The problem with analysing media business financing is that there is no information. By law, only official financing that comes from state agencies has to be published. In fact, the mass media themselves are the ones informing the public on state financing through headlines such as: "The Government already spent more

274. Interview with Carlos Cárdenas, President of Red TV, Lima, 22 December 2010.

275. See section 5.

276. The Trans Oceanic Highway or Carretera Interoceánica is an international, transcontinental highway in Peru and Brazil. "Presidente García inauguró último tramo de la carretera Interoceánica" (President Garcia opened last stretch of TransOceanic Highway), RPP, 22 December 2010.

277. "Economía Peruana lleva nueve meses consecutivos al alza" (Peruvian economy grows for nine consecutive months), *El Comercio*, 16 July 2010, at http://elcomercio.pe/impresa/notas/economia-peruana-lleva-nueve-meses-consecutivos-al-alza/20100716/609132 (accessed 30 January 2011).

278. Only 36.2 percent of Peruvians use the internet and only 14 percent have internet access at home.

than US$43 million in advertising;"[279] "Government breaks record in advertising expenses."[280] The public has access to this information, and can form opinions,[281] but not on private financing. There is no public debate about the relationship between private finance and the information that the media publish or do not publish. Financing models which would make the media more independent are nowhere to be found.

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279. *Gestión*, 15 December 2010.

280. *La Primera*, 15 December 2010.

281. Public opinion according to the Institute of Public Opinion (*Instituto de Opinión Pública*, IOP), September 2009: according to those interviewed, the following media are susceptible to government influence: television (74 percent), newspapers (72 percent), radio (51 percent), and the internet (32 percent).

7. Policies, Laws, and Regulators

7.1 Policies and Laws

7.1.1 Digital Switch-over of Terrestrial Transmission

Access and Affordability

The Master Plan for the implementation of DTT arranged the division of the country into four territories, with different dates for the analog blackout (see section 5). The criterion for the division was essentially economic, and territory 04, which contains the poorest cities in the country, does not have a date for analog blackout.

According to Mr Cipriano, this decision was made because the process of transition is an expense for broadcasters that is not going to be repaid as rapidly in these poor cities, as is foreseen in territories 01, 02, and 03. These arrangements show the Government's lack of legal and political commitment to ensuring access to digital television for the whole population.

> It is being left to them [the broadcasters] to make their own decision on whether to do that transition. We understand they are going to do it. But we do not want to force them either and to take them into a situation in which many [settlers] remain without signal or they [the broadcasters] have to lose authorizations [to transmit], which is another great risk.[282]

But a deadline has been set in the four territories for channels to carry out technical changes, such as equipment updates, and there is another deadline for the beginning of digital broadcasting. Nevertheless, the time limits are not very precise (in years), and the percentages of required coverage are not established, nor are periods of time to comply with them. It is not established how broadcasters are going to make the deadlines or what will happen if they do not.[283]

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282. Interview with Manuel Cipriano, General Director of Authorizations for the MTC, Lima, 22 December 2010.
283. Interview with Martin Carrillo, specialist in communications law at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, 10 November 2010.

Subsidies for Equipment

At present, there is no plan for the payment of subsidies to those who cannot afford digital television sets or decoders. Government policy is to wait up to the nearest moment before the analog blackout and then evaluate the situation. If there are homes that have not acquired a decoder or a digital television set by then, the state will intervene with subsidies.

Mr Cipriano is confident that the MTC is not neglecting its responsibility to contribute to the development of DTT.[284] This "policy," he said, relies on the "fact" that the prices of digital television sets and decoders are going down fast, due to competition and popular demand. Over the course of less than one year (February 2010 and March 2011), the price of both products fell by 30–40 percent.

Legal Provisions on Public Interest

The legal framework does not mention specifically that the conversion to the DTT needs to serve the public interest. The Master Plan only says that digital broadcasting services should provide for their viewers access to a greater variety and quality of contents in the fields of information, knowledge, culture, education, and entertainment, raising the quality of life of the population.

Likewise, the Supreme Decree that approves the Master Plan states that the MTC should enact the necessary technical standards in order to achieve the maximum benefit for the country. Apart from this, it does not say a word about serving the public interest. One must take into account that the broadcasting services are private services of public interest and that the LRTV does not provide the exact meaning of "public interest."

Public Consultation

One of the most serious criticisms of the DTT implementation process is that it has been resolved administratively rather than constitutionally, excluding both Congress and civil society. The Master Plan was approved by means of a presidential Supreme Decree, and it has not been discussed in Congress, which represents all Peruvians.

> The issue of digital television has not been taken to Congress, it was resolved administratively. I believe that it was possible to present a partial reform to the LRTV to establish the general criteria for a digital policy, for example. That path was not chosen, it was just an administrative decision within the boundaries of the executive power.[285]

The Master Plan's terms were recommended by the Temporary Multi-sector Commission, comprising representatives of different official institutions: the MTC, the IRTP, the National Institute for the Defense of Competition and Copyright (*Instituto Nacional de Defensa de la Competencia y de la Protección de la Propiedad*

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284. Interview with Manuel Cipriano, General Director of authorizations for the MTC, Lima, 22 December 2010.

285. Interview with Martin Carrillo, specialist in communications law at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, 10 November 2010.

Intelectual, INDECOPI), and the Ministry of Production (*Ministerio de la Producción*, PRODUCE), among others.[286] Above all, there was the matter of technical debate. According to Mr Cipriano: "In some way we understood that this technological change is going to be mostly a load for the broadcasters, because they are the ones that have to buy equipment, rearrange, and invest, and these are investments of millions."[287]

7.1.2 The Internet

Regulation of News on the Internet

Internet news and news delivered through mobile platforms are not regulated in Peru.

Legal Liability for Internet Content

Internet content has no proper regulation, though this has been debated on numerous occasions in the media. So far, it has not been defined who is liable for the publication of text online: the website, the author, or the person who reproduces the information in other virtual spaces. Mr Carrillo[288] explains the problem:

> There is no specific regulation for the Internet, but it is considered as a medium and therefore my honor, my reputation, my intimacy can be affected because of some comment on television or some information on the internet. According to the law, a person can seek protection from information in any medium. There is the matter of finding out whom to accuse, the content supplier or the host. There are operating difficulties; there is not a unique rule because being transnational media there cannot be a national solution. There exist affected people who are going to introduce some protection to their country. There is always going to be this confrontation, the discussion is not new. What is new is the medium and its multiplying effect. It is a challenge for the law and it is being addressed with different results. In Peru we will have to define it. It is a challenge for the law and also for the judges that have to resolve about it. If they already doubt when there are rules, they are going to doubt more when they find out there are no rules and therefore they are going to have to set precedents.[289]

Nevertheless, some legal disputes have already taken place over crimes against honor (offense, slander, and defamation), which are detailed in the Peruvian Penal Code:[290]

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286. A. Chiu Werner, *Una aproximación a la Televisión Digital Terrestre y su implementación en el Perú* (An approach to Digital Terrestrial Television and its implementation in Peru) ConcorTV, 2010.

287. Interview with Manuel Cipriano, General Director of authorizations for the MTC, Lima, 22 December 2010.

288. Martin Carrillo is a specialist in legislation on communications, researcher and professor at the Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru. He has written the analysis "La regulación de la Televisión Digital Terrestre en el Perú" (Regulation on Terrestrial Digital Television in Peru), at http://revistas.pucp.edu.pe/lamiradadetelemo/node/44 (accessed 12 November 2010).

289. Interview with Martin Carrillo, specialist in communications law at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, 10 November 2010.

290. The Penal Code was created in 1991 by legislative Decree Nº 635. See: https://apps.contraloria.gob.pe/unetealcontrol/pdf/07_635.pdf (accessed January 2011).

Article 130. One that offends a person with words, gestures or actions, will be required to do community service from 10 to 40 days or will pay from 60 to 90 days' fine.

Article 131. One that falsely accuses another with a crime will pay from 90 to 120 days' fine.

Article 132. One that ... falsely accuses a person of a fact, a quality or a behavior that can damage his/her honor or his/her reputation, will be sentenced to prison time not greater than two years and will have to pay from 30 to 120 days' fine. ... If the crime has been committed through book, press, or another social media, the sentence will be prison time no less than one year and not over three years, and a 120- to 365-day fine.[291]

At the time of writing, all lawsuits related to information published on the internet hold authors liable rather than the intermediaries that publish the information, such as the owners or creators of the web platforms.

The most famous case involving the internet was that of José Alejandro Godoy, author of From the Third Floor (*Desde el Tercer Piso*) blog, who was accused of defamation by a former government minister, Jorge Mufarech. On 13 August 2009, Mr Mufarech filed charges against Mr Godoy for publishing a post in which the blogger provided links to documents published in other media to make reference to certain criminal offenses which Mr Mufarech had been accused of in the past. Mr Mufarech sent a letter to Mr Godoy asking him to remove the links, but Mr Godoy defended their publication, stating that the documents were already available in other media. As a result, Mr Mufarech sued Mr Godoy for "aggravated defamation." In October 2010, Mr Godoy was sentenced to three years of suspended prison, a payment of 350,000 Peruvian *nuevos soles* (PEN) (approximately US$ 125,000), and 120 days of community work. It was the first sentence of this kind against a blogger in Peru. Two months later, the judge in this case was suspended by the Office of Control of Judgeships because it was discovered that she was a member of the party in power (APRA).

In another case, Mr Mufarech accused the mayor of Lima, Susana Villaran, of defamation because of an article written by her entitled "Un justo en el banquillo" (A righteous person on the bench), published on the blog The Mule (www.lamula.pe),[292] in which she referred to a corruption accusation against the former minister. In November 2009, the Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression of the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights expressed concern over accusations of defamation against whoever accuses or expresses critical opinions against politicians or former politicians.[293]

291. Penal Code. Second Book, Special Part, Offenses. Second Title, Crimes Against Honor. Single Chapter, Libel, Slander and Defamation, at https://apps.contraloria.gob.pe/unetealcontrol/pdf/07_635.pdf (accessed 30 January 2011).

292. Website for the most famous Peruvian bloggers.

293. El Comercio, 15 November 2010. Possible sentence for libel against Susana Villarán concern to the IACHR (*Posible sentencia por difamación contra Susana Villarán preocupa a la CIDH*), at http://elcomercio.pe/actualidad/669622/noticia-posible-sentencia-difamacion-contra-susana-villaran-preocupa-cidh (accessed 30 January 2011).

7.2 Regulators

7.2.1 Changes in Content Regulation

The rules for the media have not changed except for the introduction of the DTT Master Plan on 29 March 2010. Up until then, the analog era rules were based only on the LRTV promulgated on 23 June 2004. New regulations have not been created for the digital medium.

It is worth pointing out that there are TV content quotas applied to open signal and digital channels. According to the LRTV, 30 percent of the content aired should offer locally produced shows between 5 a.m. and midnight. Also, the Law of Artists and Performers establishes that no less than 10 percent of the daily programming should offer shows related to folklore, national music and sitcoms or programs produced in Peru with content related to Peruvian history, literature, culture or current national issues.[294]

7.2.2 Regulatory Independence

OSIPTEL was created by Supreme Decree on 9 August 1994. It is a public agency associated with the prime minister's office, and it has financial, economic, technical, functional, and administrative autonomy.

According to Article 6 of the Framework Law of the Regulatory Agencies of Private Investments in Public Services,[295] the board of directors of OSIPTEL must be formed of five members: two members proposed by the prime minister, one by the MTC, one by the Ministry of Economy and Finance, and one by INDECOPI. According to the law, the members of the board of directors can be removed only as a result of gross misconduct duly supported and proved. OSIPTEL is funded through contributions which must not exceed 1 percent of the annual revenues of the entities under its scope.

In principle, the mechanism that should guarantee OSIPTEL's independence from the government is transparency. All processes, regulations, and sanctions carried out are published on its website, Osiptel.gob. pe, as well as research and statistics on the telecoms sector (phone system, internet, and cable TV). All the same, in December 2009 there was an accusation of extortion against the former director of OSIPTEL and member of the party in power, Marco Antonio Torrey Motta. According to *El Comercio*, there was possible "influence peddling" ("*trafico de influencias*") between OSIPTEL and Telefonica del Peru, the most powerful telecoms business in the country.[296] This judicial investigation is still in process.

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294. Law of Artists and Performers (Ley del Artista intérprete y ejecutante), 2003. Third Title, Labor Regime. Fourth Title, Artistic Promotion. Second Chapter, In Broadcasting. Art. 45. Dissemination of National Programming, at www.congreso.gob.pe/congresista/2001/edelapuente/leyes/Ley_Artista_Interprete_Ejecutante.pdf (accessed January 2011).

295. Law N° 27332 Framework Law of the Regulatory Agencies of Private Investments in Public Services (Ley Marco de los Organismos Reguladores de la Inversión Privada en los Servicios Públicos), 2000, Art, 6 About Board of Directors, at www.pcm.gob.pe/Transparencia/convpublicas/2012/Ley27332.pdf (accessed 30 January 2011).

296. "Ordenan detención de ex director de OSIPTEL, acusado de concusión" (Detention ordered of former OSIPTEL director, accused of corruption), *El Comercio*, 1 April 2010.

Many OSIPTEL directors have been members of the governing party, so that the agency is not independent in practice. Specialists agree on the need for a regulatory agency more independent of the political and economic powers in the country.

7.2.3   Digital Licensing

The LRTV stipulates that "access to utilization and provision of broadcasting services is subject to the principles of equal opportunities and of non-discrimination," and one of the principles for the broadcasting services provision is respect "for cultural, social, religious, political, and news pluralism."

The procedure for requesting a broadcasting license does not include stating the political, religious or ethnic affiliation of the applicant. All information on how to request a license is publicly available on the ministry website.

There have been cases in which the government, after having offered the concession, has decided to cancel a license because of the political affiliation of a radio station (see section *7.3.2*). For example, the license of Radio Voice (*La Voz*) of Bagua was suspended on technical grounds that could not be verified at the time.

It can be argued that the state discriminates economically over licenses for DTT. "Exclusive management" channels were offered to the most powerful television channels, as well as the option of having digital and analog signs in simulcast in different frequencies until the analog blackout date. The Government considers these broadcasters had greater economic capacity to develop digital technology in the whole country. In fact this played against small and medium-sized outlets, and also against provincial media, which only have the option of sharing channels with three broadcasters.

7.2.4   Role of Self-regulatory Mechanisms

The LRTV ordains that the broadcasters have a code of ethics, individually or in association. Not presenting it constitutes a minor offense, while not complying with its principles is a serious infraction.

Communications expert Rosa Zeta de Pozo, of the University of Piura, classified self-regulation of the Peruvian mass media into *general* mechanisms at a professional level and *internal* mechanisms for individual media organizations.[297] In the first group is the Council of the Peruvian Press, a civic non-profit organization founded in 1997 by major newspapers, and the codes of journalistic ethics of institutions such as the School of Journalists of Peru (*Escuela de Periodistas del Perú*), the National Association of Journalists (*Asociación Nacional de Periodistas*), and the Code of Unified Ethics of the Communication Industry. In the second group are style manuals, guiding principles, and the conscience clause.[298] These documents contain rules that journalists are obliged to comply with.

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297. R. Zeta de Pozo, "Hacia un defensor de la audiencia en los medios peruanos" (Towards a defender of the audience in the Peruvian media), 2004, at www.saladeprensa.org/art592.htm (accessed 30 January 2011).

298. The contract between the journalist and the owner of a broadcasting service must contain a conscience clause, so that the journalist will have the right to act accordingly and request the termination of her/his contract when s/he has been forced to behave against his/her conscience or against the code of ethics established by the owner of the media.

She also notes another mechanism of social participation in the promotion of journalistic standards: the Citizens' Social Communications Inspector (*Veeduría Ciudadana de la Comunicación Social* Calandria). This office was created in 1999 and monitors media programming, consults public opinion in order to assess its perception of the media, coordinates public hearings and protests, and offers proposals about programming.[299]

In April 2010, SNRTV presented its Self-regulated Contents Pact, establishing criteria and principles for the development of self-regulation.[300]

However, criticisms of self-regulation mechanisms are voiced:

> Here there is a very closed tradition, in which to have a reader's, or viewer's, or listener's defender (ombudsman) is resisted. It is not accepted because it could be a pebble in the shoe. And that is expressing a culture, a huge lack of respect to the viewer and to the reader.[301]

None of these mechanisms has real coercive power.

Mechanisms of self-regulation in the digital environment have not been established. What exists is an initiative of the National Association of Advertisers (*Asociación Nacional de Anunciantes*, ANDA)[302] that is still in development, a guide for the administrators of virtual spaces called "Good Practice in Online Communication."

7.3   Government Interference

7.3.1   The Market

During the Alberto Fujimori administration (1990–2000), there were numerous cases of interference by state authorities in the media market. Publishers were bought and a news agenda was imposed on the most important free-to-air terrestrial channels. Nowadays, there is no evidence of such interference. State advertisement is regulated by law, which requires publication of the reasons for investing in specific media outlets and the amounts paid to them (see section 6).

Thanks to this information, a possible case of the state benefitting a channel (RBC Television, whose rating is one of the lowest in the free-to-air terrestrial sector) was made known. The web page of the Superior Council

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299. The Veeduría Ciudadana de la Comunicación Social was an initiative of the Calandria Social Communicators Association (Asociación de Comunicadores Sociales Calandria), a civil society institution founded in 1983.

300. "SNRTV lanza Pacto de Autorregulación de Contenidos" (SNRTV launches pact on content self-regulation), *RPP*, 30 April 2010.

301. Interview with political analyst Santiago Pedraglio, Lima, 12 November, 2011.

302. ANDA has an active role in content regulation in television. Through its *Semáforo Ético* (Ethical Traffic Lights) it evaluates the content of radio and television programs. If a program breaks certain codes of ethics, ANDA suggests businessmen withdraw their advertisement, but cannot impose any sanction.

for State Contracts and Acquisitions (*Organismo Supervisor de las Contrataciones del Estado*, CONSUCODE) shows that in 2008 the total amount given to this channel was PEN 283,967 (US$ 103,638), while the annual average of the three previous years was PEN 4,015 (US$ 1,465).

The accusation of unfairly benefitting the broadcaster was based on the fact that the channel's financial adviser to the general management, Miguel Del Castillo Reyes, was the son of former prime minister Jorge Del Castillo. After this information was published,[303] Mr Del Castillo Reyes gave in his resignation to RBC Television, although without accepting the charges made against him.

If there have been no cases of state interference in the digital television market, it is because the market is not yet sufficiently developed. Until now, the only accusation of this kind has been of favoritism toward the largest television stations (offering them the option of "exclusive management" channels in DTT).

7.3.2   The Regulator

The office that regulates broadcasting media is the MTC. There have been numerous cases when its officials intervened and cancelled television and radio stations operation licenses, especially in the provinces. The most recent cases were the sudden closing of television and radio stations that had reported on local social conflicts, which, according to the statements of some politicians, provoked a violent public reaction. However, the alleged reason why the Government decided to close these stations down was their supposed minor administrative failures. Examples are Radio The Voice (*La Voz*) de Bagua (see section *7.2.3*), Radio Orion (*Orion*) of Pisco, and Radio Caplina (*Caplina*) of Tacna, and—in Chimbote—Radio Ancash (*Radio Áncash*), Radio Friendship (*Radio Amistad*), and Radio Miramar (*Radio Miramar*), as well as TV Channels 15, 27, and 55.[304]

In all these cases the MTC said that the stations were closed due to routine irregularities such as operating with expired licenses or having tax debts. However, just before the shut-down, the owner of Radio Orion in Pisco was accused by the Government of having fomented violence among the population, which was angry at the Government's inadequate response to the earthquake that had affected Pisco. Radio Caplina publicized the demand of the inhabitants of Tacna for an equitable distribution of mining royalties. Radio Ancash, Radio Friendship, and Radio Miramar had covered the maltreatment of some protesters in their city (see also section *7.2.3*).

In the pre-digital media, political pressure has also been exerted through the National Superintendency of Tax Administration (*Superintendencia Nacional de Administración Tributaria*, SUNAT). On 1 June 2009, SUNAT officials entered the Panamericana Televisión headquarters with the excuse of collecting tax debts and appointed Alberto Cabello as tax administrator. The action was illegal and had to be aborted. The press revealed a political purpose: the Government wanted to avoid the execution of a court order for the channel

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303. Information published on 1 April 2008 in the blog From the Third Floor (*Desde el Tercer Piso*) by Jose Alejandro Godoy.

304. Cases are detailed in the newspaper *La Primera*, 26 June 2009, at www.diariolaprimeraperu.com/online/politica/hay-otros-atentados_41080. html (accessed 30 January 2011).

to be returned to its owners; this would have meant that Genaro Delgado Parker, who was close to President Alan Garcia, would have lost control of the channel.[305]

Media companies' debts with SUNAT are a subject of concern for some media experts. The fact that companies are not required to disclose these debts may compromise their independence from SUNAT, by making them vulnerable to government pressure. In October 2009, SUNAT's chief executive revealed that 20 mass media companies had a combined debt of PEN 120 million (approximately US$42 million).[306] They included Panamericana Televisión,[307] the magazine *Caretas* (Masks),[308] the newspaper *Expreso*, the television program "*Magaly TV*,"[309] and some radio stations.

This type of pressure from the MTC has not happened in DTT.

7.3.3 Other Forms of Interference

Politicians in the administration have made threatening statements against the press on several occasions. In June 2009, former prime minister Jorge Del Castillo asked SUNAT to investigate the financing of *La Primera* newspaper. According to Mr Del Castillo, it was suspicious how a newspaper "with little advertising" could remain in circulation.[310] It is widely recognized that *La Primera's* editorial position is openly critical of the government.

Besides, according to *La Primera* on 26 June 2009, "government advertising discriminates against *La Primera* despite its important print run."[311] The president of the Calandria Social Communicators Association (*Asociación de Comunicadores Sociales Calandria*), Rosa Maria Alfaro, said that Mr Del Castillo's threat is an example of his administration's intolerance: "The Government is committing a serious error by permitting threats against freedom of speech."[312]

In October 2010, President Alan Garcia said that a newspaper and a television program would "have to explain" their editorial line.[313] This was about the media coverage of a slap that Mr Garcia had given Richard Galvez, voluntary worker at a state hospital, who had shouted "Corrupt!" at him in public.

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305. Politicians from opposition parties expressed their rejection in the following note: see www.rpp.com.pe/2009-06-03-oposicion-expresa-suspicacias-sobre-intervencion-de-sunat-en-panamericana-noticia_185504.html (accessed 30 January 2011).

306. According to *Gestión*, 7 October 2009.

307. Among the main five channels in Peru.

308. The most important magazine about politics and current affairs in Peru.

309. One of the most watched variety and gossip shows on Peruvian television.

310. La Primera. Want to silence us (*Quieren silenciarnos*), June 2009, at www.diariolaprimeraperu.com/online/politica/quieren-silenciarnos_41074.html (accessed 30 January 2011).

311. La Primera. Want to silence us (*Quieren silenciarnos*), June 2009, at www.diariolaprimeraperu.com/online/politica/quieren-silenciarnos_41074.html (accessed 30 January 2011).

312. La Primera. Want to silence us (*Quieren silenciarnos*), June 2009, at www.diariolaprimeraperu.com/online/politica/quieren-silenciarnos_41074.html (accessed 30 January 2011).

313. Referring to the newspaper *Diario 16*, which published the accusation, and the program "*PrensaLibre*" from America TV, conducted by the journalist and lawyer Rosa Maria Palacios.

Augusto Alvarez Rodrich, journalist and opinion-maker, described the administration's record on freedom of speech in his daily column in *La Republica* newspaper:

> The APRA administration has, although some want to hide it, dirty hands regarding freedom of speech: closing of media such as The Voice (*La Voz*) of Bagua, among others; censoring artists, such as Piero Quijano; slyly condoning sentences, such as the one of José Enrique Crousillat so to threaten America TV owners—[*La Republica*] and *El Comercio*; using SUNAT as picklock for controlling Panamerican Television (*PanamericanaTelevisión*); arbitrarily optional use of the State advertisement; maneuvers to fire journalists; or initiatives in Congress in order to harass those who carry out uncomfortable news coverage, such as Rosa Maria Palacios.[314]

In digital media there has been, so far, no case of this kind.

7.4   Assessments

The framework of politics, laws, and regulations is not responsive to the challenges of digitization. For example, it has not yet been defined who has responsibility for a text publication online: the website, the author, or whoever reproduces the same text in other virtual spaces.

But transparency in granting DTT licenses exists in the sense that the information is published. This is positive, since detailed information on each process may deter attempts of corruption. However, it is clear that the Government has permitted the most powerful television stations to benefit (see section *7.2.3*), altering the market for DTT.

There has not been a good public information policy on this new technological tool. The website created exclusively to deal with this issue has been disappointing in terms of its strategies to reach the public. The quantity of decentralized forums is very small: seven workshops and public hearings in 2010 for the 24 Peruvian regions. As mentioned in section *5*, only 25 percent of Peruvians have heard of DTT, and for 61 percent this technology only means an "improvement in the quality of audio and video in the free-to-air signal." There is a need for an information policy on the potential of DTT as a business and as a process of communication and citizen empowerment.[315] Evidently it is also necessary to develop the multiple possibilities (interactivity, simultaneity, etc.) that DTT has, apart from improvement in audio and video quality.

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314. A. Álvarez Rodrich, "Seducción y chantaje" (Seduction and blackmail), *La Republica*, 15 October 2010.

315. Interview with Miriam Larco, Technical Secretary of ConcorTV, Lima, 20 December 2010.

Finally, all specialists agree that the first step in the implementation of DTT, the selection of the DTT standard, was very good. There was space for discussion and participation of different sectors of society. Nevertheless, once this step was completed, the state did not follow in the right direction.

In general, the degree of interference from the authorities in mass media issues has been maintained since 2006. The Government used the lack of transparency in the rules (see section *5.1.1*) several times, to suspend or remove broadcasting licenses.

There are more public hearings and debates on new media technologies now than there were before. However, ignorance of the rules for licenses for analog television and radio stations is still great. There is a need to organize workshops and forums for the new technology of DTT, but nothing much has been done.

The legal disposition to grant an "exclusive management" channel plus the option to have an analog-digital simulcast in different frequencies only to some businesses, has affected the pluralism and the diversity of digital broadcasting. As Mr Cardenas confirms (see section *5.1.1*), radio stations that can only access a shared management channel, with 2 MHz for each of the three stations, will not be able to compete with an "exclusive management" channel that has the complete 6 MHz, can transmit in HD, and broadcast simultaneous signals with different contents. In addition, most of the shared management channels will lose their analog signal once the change to digital has been effected, while the "exclusive management" channels will be able to transmit in analog and digital until analog switch-off.[316]

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316. Interview with Carlos Cárdenas, President of Red TV, Lima, 22 December 2010.

8. Conclusions

8.1   Media Today

Although the internet is more and more common in Peruvian households, this does not necessarily mean that news consumption through digital media has increased or has an important influence on information habits. Public confidence in the internet runs high, but online platforms are not yet a significant source of news. Broadcast television, newspapers, and radio are still preferred for news.

Social networks have become relevant spaces for the production of information. Some citizens and politicians have become important actors on both Facebook and Twitter and their publications and comments have contributed to the news agenda in the sense that traditional media collect the information and disseminate it through their outlets. In addition, this has allowed dialogue spaces to multiply and people to participate more directly.

The news offer is still being generated through traditional media, which relegates digital platforms to fulfilling the role of replicators of journalistic discourses. They enrich information through related contents (hyperlinks, photo galleries, videos, podcasts), but their impact is still not significant in massive terms.

Despite the good intentions presented in the State Broadcasting Draft Bill, state or public communication services have not become more significant over the last years; to judge by its ratings, TV Perú still plays a secondary role.

8.1.1   Positive Aspects

The birth, thanks to the appearance of digital media, of new information dissemination scenarios has contributed to a greater news offer generated by users. The positive side of this reality is that traditional media also collect this information, allowing for a larger number of people to become familiar with events. Nevertheless, the responsibility in these new realms for managing information that complies with the minimum journalistic standards—contrasting sources and verifying information—is still not clearly delineated.

The great capacity of social networks to generate civil or political activism mechanisms has been proved, but they are still sporadic. The incorporation of social networks into the communication systems of groups or institutions is evidence of an interest in experiencing these new realms, but the real impact of these initiatives and whether they can make significant changes in the social or political arena are still unknown.

In online investigative journalism, digitization allows the incorporation of a significant number of citizens that were previously relegated to the role of mere receivers. Their presence creates new agenda items and points of view on information, which also affects the basic tenets of journalism.

The general centralization of all activities defines the place where regulations are written and topics are proposed. It is no surprise that most traditional media are late to cover, or simply do not cover, regional issues that affect millions of people. In this context, the new online media allows reporting from the place where the news is happening without intermediaries or editorial limitations. Social networks democratize the public debate, which should mean much greater social control over politics.

With the explosive economic growth of the provinces and the growing interest of advertisers in campaigns focusing on the major Peruvian provinces, advertising revenue presents itself as a distinct possibility to support new digital enterprises.

8.1.2   Negative Aspects

Broadcasting concessions are automatically renewed. No evaluation of an outlet's use, its content, or contribution to the public interest is required. According to the official position, controlling how contents develop would break the paradigm of democracy and freedom of speech.

Switching from analog to digital has not affected the dominant positions of mass media in the market. On the contrary, there has been a consolidation of their market position as the most powerful media sources. The implementation of the Master Plan of DTT favors the three most powerful television broadcasters and permits the concentration of frequencies in the hands of a few businessmen, affecting the plurality of TV. This situation also goes against business freedom, and it works against the ability of less powerful media to compete, because they have no means to demand their rights when political decisions are made. The decisions of MTC officials can be influenced by those in economic and political power, since the MTC forms part of the executive branch of government.

Limits to media concentration exist only within the same platform, whether television or radio. However, there are no limits to media concentration if it takes place across platforms. The public does not have access to information about private financing of mass media. The relationship between the larger private investors and the news decision-making process is not public knowledge.

8.2   Media Tomorrow

While the use of new information technologies continues to grow,[317] one of the major remaining weaknesses of digitization is the low penetration of broadband internet connections.[318] According to the INEI, internet penetration in urban areas of Peru is 12.5 percent, while in rural areas it reaches only 0.2 percent. The figures show that we are facing a scenario with great possibilities for expansion and growth. This will include mobile internet access, considering that only 12 percent of Peruvian internet users have surfed the web on their mobile phones.[319]

While Lima showed an internet penetration of 63 percent (4.83 million users) by late 2011, the East and Center regions only reached 57 percent (0.93 million) and 35 percent (0.62 million), respectively.[320] Penetration of the service at national level, therefore, has clear growth potential. This will promote the agendas of a diversity of actors, including those historically marginalized minorities, who will facilitate the diversification of information supply and the strengthening of democracy.

Although the first tests for digital television took place in the capital at the beginning of 2010,[321] it is a process that will take more than 20 years, a time-frame that will be divided into four stages,[322] the first of which is Lima and Callao, which contains 31 percent of the population. It is essential that the responsible institutions, such as the Transport and Communications Ministry, respect a rigorous schedule to prevent delays in an already long-term program, which could have the unwanted effect of even deepening the digital gap.

In order to enjoy digital TV, Peruvians must have a television with built-in ISDB-T tuner or a decoder, so the prices of this new technology have to be considered. The cost of DTT receivers still puts them beyond reach for the vast majority.

It is important that, apart from improving the resolution of the image and sound, the quality of the contents should respond to public interest.

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317. "Peru: Growing use of information technologies," 19 September 2011, at http://noticias.universia.edu.pe/en-portada/noticia/2011/09/19/868604/peru-crece-uso-tecnologias-informacion.html (accessed 28 December 2011).

318. "Internet in Peru: the numbers you need to know," TNW Latin America, at http://www.ecommerceday.pe/internet-en-peru-los-numeros-que-debe-saber (accessed 28 December 2011).

319. "Who said that only Peruvian youth are on the internet?," 21 October 2011, at http://blog.iabperu.com/2011/10/quien-dijo-que-unicamente-los-jovenes-peruanos-estan-en-internet (accessed 28 December 2011).

320. "Use of and attitudes to the internet 2011," at http://es.scribd.com/doc/67514715/Uso-y-actitudes-hacia-Internet-2011-Primera-medicion-nacional (accessed 28 December 2011).

321. "Cambio a TV digital se iniciará en Lima en 2010 y culminará 10 años después" (Shift to digital TV will begin in Lima in 2010 and will complete 10 years later), at http://acontecer-ahora-es.blogspot.com/2009/09/cambio-tv-digital-se-iniciara-en-lima.html (accessed 30 January 2011).

322. First stage Lima and Callao; second stageArequipa, Cusco, Trujillo, Chiclayo, Piura, and Huancayo; third stage Chimbote, Ica,Iquitos, Juliaca, Pucallpa, Puno, Tacna, andy Ayacucho; fourth stage Huancavelica, Huánuco, and Abancay.

List of Abbreviations, Figures, Tables, and Companies

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANDA	National Association of Advertisers (*Asociación Nacional de Anunciantes*)
ANR	National Assembly of Rectors (*Asamblea Nacional de Rectores*)
APEP	Foreign Press Association in Peru (*Asociación de Prensa Extranjera*)
APNA	Andean Peruvian News Agency (*Agencia Peruana de Noticias Andina*)
APRA	American Popular Revolutionary Alliance-Peruvian Aprista Party (*Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana-Partido Aprista Peruano*)
ASPEC	Peruvian Association of Consumers and Users (*Asociación Peruana de Consumidores y Usuarios*)
BBVA	Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria
BN	National Bank (*Banco de la Nación*)
CADE	Annual Conference of Peruvian Executives (*Conferencia Anual de Ejecutivos*)
Calandria	Citizens' Social Communications Inspector (*Veeduría Ciudadana de la Comunicación Social*)
CEPAL	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (*Comisión Económica para América Latina y El Caribe*)
CNR	National Radio Coordinator (*Coordinadora Nacional de Radio*)
CONASEV	National Supervisory Commission for Companies and Securities (*Comisión Nacional Supervisora de Empresas y Valores*)
ConcorTV	Radio and Television Advisory Council (*Consejo Consultivo de Radio y Televisión*)
CONSUCODE	Superior Council for State Contracts and Acquisitions (*Consejo Superior de las Contrataciones del Estado*)
CPI	Peruvian Market Research and Public Opinion Company (*Compañía Peruana de Estudios de Mercados y Opinión Pública*)
DIRSI	Regional Dialogue on the Information Society (*Diálogo Regional sobre Sociedad de la Información*)
DTT	digital terrestrial television
GDP	gross domestic product

GNI	gross national income
GOP-UL	Public Opinion Group of Lima University (*Grupo de Opinión Pública de la Universidad de Lima*)
IAPA	Inter-American Press Association
IBOPE	Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics (*Instituto Brasileño de Opinión Pública y Estadística*)
IDL	Legal Defense Institute (*Instituto de Defensa Legal*)
ILD	Liberty and Democracy Institute (*Instituto Libertad y Democracia*)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INDECOPI	National Institute for the Defense of Competition and Copyright (*Instituto Nacional de Defensa de la Competencia y de la Protección de la Propiedad Intelectual*)
INEI	National Institute for Statistics and Informatics (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática)*
IOP	Institute of Public Opinion (*Instituto de Opinion Pública*)
IOP-PUCP	Institute of Public Opinion of Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (*Instituto de Opinión Pública de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*)
IPE	Peruvian Institute of Economics (*Instituto Peruano de Economía*)
IPTV	Internet Protocol Television
IPYS	Press and Society Institute (*Instituto Prensa y Sociedad*)
IRTP	National Institute of Radio and Television of Peru (*Instituto Nacional de Radio y Televisión del Perú*)
ISDB-T	International System for Digital Broadcast Terrestrial
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
LRTV	Radio and Television Law (*Ley de Radio y Televisión*)
MINEDU	Ministry of Education (*Ministerio de Educación*)
MTC	Ministry of Transportation and Communication (*Ministerio de Transportes y Comunicaciones*)
OSCE	Supervising Agency of Government Procurement (*Organismo Supervisor de las Contrataciones del Estado*)
OSIPTEL	Supervising Agency of Private Investment in Telecommunications (*Organismo Supervisor de Inversión Privada en Telecomunicaciones*)
PCM	Presidency of the Council of Ministers (*Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros*)
PNAF	National Frequency Allocation Plan (*Plan Nacional de Atribución de Frecuencias*)
PRODUCE	Ministry of Production (*Ministerio de la Producción*)
REE	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*)
RP	Radio Programs of Peru (*Radio Programas del Perú*)
SEACE	Electronic Government Procurement (*Sistema Electrónico de contrataciones del Estado*)
SNRTV	National Radio and Television Society (*Sociedad Nacional de Radio y Televisión*)
SUNAT	National Superintendency of Tax Administration (*Superintendencia Nacional de Administración Tributaria*)
UNAM	National Autonomous University of Mexico (*Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*)

Figures

Tables

Companies

Agenciaperu Producciones
América Móvil (Claro)
Andina de Televisión (ATV)
Channel 45
Channel 4 (*Canal 4*)
Channel N (*Canal N*)
Direct TV
Empresa Editora El Comercio
DirectTV Perú
EPENSA Empresa Periodística Nacional
Grupo El Comercio
Grupo La República
Ipsos APOYO Opinión y Mercado
La República
Latin Frequency (*Frecuencia Latina*)
Nextel
Panamericana Televisión
Peru 21
Radio Uno
Radioprogramas del Perú (RPP)
RBC Bicolor Communications Network (*Red Bicolor de Comunicaciones*)
Global TV
Radio Shows from Peru (*Radio Programas del Perú*, RPP)
Santo Domingo Group
TV Cultura
Telefónica del Perú/Telefónica Multimedia
Telmex Perú
Willax TV

Mapping Digital Media: Country Reports (published in English)

1. Romania
2. Thailand
3. Mexico
4. Morocco
5. United Kingdom
6. Sweden
7. Russia
8. Lithuania
9. Italy
10. Germany
11. United States
12. Latvia
13. Serbia
14. Netherlands
15. Albania
16. Hungary
17. Moldova
18. Japan
19. Argentina
20. South Africa
21. Turkey
22. Lebanon
23. Macedonia
24. Bosnia and Herzegovina
25. Poland
26. Montenegro
27. Georgia
28. Nigeria
29. Colombia
30. Croatia
31. Slovenia
32. China

Mapping Digital Media is a project of the **Open Society Media Program** and the **Open Society Information Program.**

Open Society Media Program

The Media Program works globally to support independent and professional media as crucial players for informing citizens and allowing for their democratic participation in debate. The program provides operational and developmental support to independent media outlets and networks around the world, proposes engaging media policies, and engages in efforts towards improving media laws and creating an enabling legal environment for good, brave and enterprising journalism to flourish. In order to promote transparency and accountability, and tackle issues of organized crime and corruption the Program also fosters quality investigative journalism.

Open Society Information Program

The Open Society Information Program works to increase public access to knowledge, facilitate civil society communication, and protect civil liberties and the freedom to communicate in the digital environment. The Program pays particular attention to the information needs of disadvantaged groups and people in less developed parts of the world. The Program also uses new tools and techniques to empower civil society groups in their various international, national, and local efforts to promote open society.

Open Society Foundations

The Open Society Foundations work to build vibrant and tolerant democracies whose governments are accountable to their citizens. Working with local communities in more than 70 countries, the Open Society Foundations support justice and human rights, freedom of expression, and access to public health and education.

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