



**Reuters Institute Fellowship Paper
University of Oxford**

New Media and Freedom of the Press

By Yvette Sierra Praeli

Trinity Term 2010

Sponsor: Thomson Reuters Foundation

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3
INTRODUCTION	5
CHAPTER 1	
1.1. Authoritarian regimes and New Media Iran, Cuba and China	7
1.2. Iran and new media: YouTube and twitter during the Iran election.	8
1.3. Cuba and new media The bloggers movement Internet restrictions in Cuba and the bloggers fighting	16 21
1.4. China and new media Freedom of expression restrictions	25
CHAPTER 2	
2.1. Peru: dictatorial times Alberto Fujimori's regime and freedom of the press Media credibility in the last decade Traditional Media versus New Media in Peru	33 38 41
2.2. First case study: The dismissal of the Editor in Chief of Peru.21	42
2.3. Second case study: The conflict in Bagua Mainstream Media coverage Blogs and social media	51 53 58
2.4. Third case study: Floods in Cusco	68
CONCLUSION	74
BIBLIOGRAPHY	78

Acknowledgements

This research has been a long journey since I first defined the idea to explore the relationship between new media and freedom of the press. On the way, various institutions and many people from different disciplines and different countries have helped me to bring my research to fruition.

First, I would like to thank the Thomson Reuters Foundation for giving me the opportunity to carry out my research at The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism (RISJ) at Oxford University. The Trinity term I spent in Oxford allowed me to experience journalism from a different perspective.

I am grateful to the invaluable people at RISJ: David Levy, Sara Kalim, Kate Hanneford-Smith and Alex Reid, and particularly to John Lloyd for being my supervisor, and to James Painter for his advice and patience during my stay in Oxford and after it.

I also want to show gratitude to all the people I interviewed – some of them only contacted by online platforms – for finding answers, explanations and opinions about the issue I was studying. Mahmood Enayat, Oxfordgirl and Nic Newman for the Iran section, Fernan Gonzalez-Torres for the Cuba situation, and Jesper Schlaeger, Anne S. Y. Cheung and Xu Zhiyong for the China study. Anne-Marie Oostveen, a researcher at the Oxford Internet Institute, was tremendously helpful in introducing me to some of the people mentioned above.

As well, I would like to express thanks to the Peruvian journalists Gustavo Gorriti, Jacqueline Fowks and Augusto Alvarez Rodrich for sharing their insightful views about the Peruvian media situation. All of them selflessly contributed their knowledge.

I owe special thanks to Dr Peter Pritchard who polished the language of the text. I believe the document would have been less readable without his priceless suggestions and aid.

Finally, I have to thank my fellow RIJS Fellows Emma Jane, Evelyn, Gabriela, Jennifer, Johanna, Margot, Miruna, Abdallah, Ichiro, and Sampo for sharing their time, experience and friendship with me. I will be eternally grateful to all of them.

Introduction

Peru probably experienced its worst time in its republican history for freedom of the press between 1990 and 2000 when the media was literally paid off to support the government. Still, even now the ghosts that threatened freedom of expression had not disappeared.

However, unlike the last decade of the twentieth century, in the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Internet and especially Web 2.0 was widely used in Peru and throughout the world. Is the Internet a way to avoid government control of freedom of the press? How is the Internet being used to support freedom of the press? I questioned myself, and this became the first step in the research I did at Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.

The role of social media during the Iran election in 2009, the Cuban blogosphere and Internet control in China are all part of this essay that, in the first chapter, examines those dictatorial regimes.

As is explained in that chapter, internet access is controlled and restricted in those countries. However, people have found different ways to avoid state control and they use blogs, Twitter, Facebook, Youtube and other social media to express themselves.

My study not only examines dictatorial regimes, but also a democratic country, which suggests that any government around the world can now be tempted to control the media, including new media.

The second chapter concentrates on that democratic country: Peru. My study focuses on three cases in Peru in which I compare the coverage in mainstream media and in new media of the same event.

The first case is about the government influence in the media through its intervention in the Peru.21 newspaper. The second case is the conflict in the Amazonia, where more than 30 people died during clashes between police and civilians in June 2009. The third case concerns the floods in Cusco, a disaster at the beginning of 2010 in the place most visited by tourists in Peru.

In all three cases, I focused my attention essentially on blogs and social media like Twitter, Facebook, Youtube and Flickr, all of them included in what is called new media.

In the current period of Wikileaks, the Wikicable scandal, and revolutions against dictatorial regimes in Arab countries, the role of new media is being extensively discussed around the world. At the same time some governments are looking for more and different methods to curb the freedom of the press.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Authoritarian regimes and New Media Iran, Cuba and China

According to Freedom House's¹ annual report, at least 32% of countries around the world do not have freedom of the press. This means that 40% of the world's population lives under fear of expressing their ideas.

Freedom House has also launched a study called Freedom on the Net, a pilot study of 15 countries that analyzes the state of internet freedom and warns that the rights of internet and mobile phone users are increasingly at risk as governments, both repressive and democratic, expand their ability to monitor and control online activity. The study covers both repressive countries such as China and Iran and democratic ones such as India and the United Kingdom, finding some degree of internet censorship and control in all 15 nations studied.²

In the same way, Reporter without Borders, another organization concerned with freedom of the press, has drawn up 'Enemies of the Internet' list which includes countries that are violators of freedom of expression on the Web either by using any means to prevent their citizens from having access to the internet or by installing massive filtering to control the Web.

Nations included on this list are countries that crack down hardest on the Internet, censoring independent news sites and opposition publications, monitoring the Web to stifle dissident voices, and harassing, intimidating and sometimes imprisoning internet users and bloggers who deviate from the regime's official line.³

¹ Freedom House. *Freedom of the Press 2010. Broad Setbacks to Global Media Freedom*. Washington DC. 2010. p 21 and 22

² Freedom House. *Freedom on the Net: A Global Assessment of Internet and Digital Media*. Washington DC. 2009 <http://freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=383&report=79>

³ Reporters without Borders. *World day against Cyber Censorship. Web 2.0 versus Control 2.0. Enemies of the Internet. Countries under surveillance*. Paris, 2010 http://www.rsf.org/IMG/pdf/Internet_enemies.pdf

As part of the research, this chapter presents the new media role in authoritarian regimes where governments struggle to control the information published not only in print press, radio and TV, but also launched through the Web.

Cases in Iran, Cuba and China are considered in this chapter since they are countries with authoritarian regimes and they are also included in both studies mentioned above. These three countries are amongst the worst nations where citizens can be imprisoned because their ideas are against the government's position.

However, citizens and journalists have found ways to avoid government censorship and use the internet to alert the world when a critical situation occurs.

1.2. Iran and new media:

YouTube and twitter during the Iranian election.

Neda Agha-Soltan, an Iranian girl, has become a symbol of the opposition to the Iranian regime after a mobile video showed the footage of her bleeding to death in a back street of Tehran during the aftermath of the Iranian post-election riots in June 2009.

These images circulated around the world in a matter of minutes via YouTube and the young woman's death was witnessed by millions of people. Also, other videos showing the violent repression of the Iranian government were also watched in various countries outside of Iran while the Iranian Government intention was to stop any coverage about the post-election protests.



Figure 1. One of the videos uploaded on YouTube on June 20th 2009 that shows the moment when Neda Agha-Soltan had been shot.

The aftermath of the Iranian elections in June 2009 provided further compelling evidence of the power of user-generated footage, but it also highlighted a battle of wills between a government determined to restrict access to information, and an alliance of newspapers, broadcasters and Iranian citizens equally determined to use new technology to get the story out. As in previous cases of so-called citizen journalism, it was mobile phones and other digital cameras that captured sometimes bloody street protests against the election results, which the opposition said were rigged.⁴

The role that new media played on TV coverage of Iranian's post-election protests was presented by Lindsey Hilsum, International Editor for Channel 4 News, during her talk at a Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism's seminar in May 2010. Hilsum explained all the problems she confronted during her coverage when the

⁴ Nic Newman. *The rise of social media and its impact on mainstream journalism: A study of how newspapers and broadcasters in the UK and US are responding to a wave of participatory social media, and a historic shift in control towards individual consumers.* Oxford, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2009, p.24.

Iranian government restricted her job as a journalist and arrested the Channel 4 cameraman.

I was aware of what was going on but I didn't have any video or picture. I didn't have a cameraman, and it is television. Then, it was when citizen journalism came familiar to me. These people at the demonstration were taking pictures with mobile phones and uploading on YouTube. In London, a team of fantastic journalists were getting these pictures and matched them with what I've said and I've seen. Is it not so good? Is it not the same? Is it not me saying this is what I've seen? But the pictures came from the same demonstration that I've seen and, even though I haven't seen the pictures, they described the pictures to me and then I could make the script and sent my voice. And hey, we got the story out.⁵

Hilsum's words explain clearly what happened when the Iranian government tried to stop the coverage by arresting journalists or sending international reporters to their hotels. However, these actions could not avoid information reaching the international media and international public opinion.

In the article *Iran: Beyond Twitter, the new revolution*⁶, published by Index on Censorship, Mahmood Enayat, a doctoral student at the Oxford Internet Institute, University of Oxford, and also a Project Director at BBC World Service Trust, explains the two political functions the Internet played prior to the protests and during the post election aftermath.

Firstly, the internet played a role as a 'free space' where opposition discourse was increasing. The Persian blogosphere was hailed as one of the most vibrant non-English speaking communities where youth, women,

⁵ Lindsay Hilsum, *Reporting Iran*, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism Seminar, Wednesday May 26th 2010.

⁶Mahmood Enayat, *Iran: Beyond Twitter, the new revolution*. Index on Censorship. June 11th 2010
<http://www.indexoncensorship.org/2010/06/iran-election-twitter/>

*homosexuals, and religious and ethnic minorities were expressing and to some extent mobilizing themselves*⁷.

*Secondly, the internet role as a 'fourth estate' that means the ability to create an independent institution making the authorities responsible for their actions. "There were a number of secretly recorded amateur videos documenting the wrongdoing of some Iranian officials. The subsequent wide coverage of those videos made it very hard for the Iranian officials to deny the incidents"*⁸.

According to Mahmood Enayat's article, these two internet political functions – a 'free space' and a 'fourth estate' – also played important roles in the aftermath of the election. The internet became the backbone of the green movement⁹, as severe restrictions were imposed on the movement's offline activities. "Citizens used their mobile phones and became the eyes and ears of the international media whose correspondents had been expelled from Iran. The videos documented the participation of Iranians in street protests and the brutality of force used against them by the authorities, resulting in the widespread practice of adding the postfix 'revolution' to social media platforms like Twitter and YouTube"¹⁰.

Enayat and Hilsum share the same point of view about the internet's function during the Iranian post election riots considering that international news correspondents were stopped from doing their job. As a consequence of the Iranian government restrictions, social media platforms turned into the only available source of information.

⁷ Idem

⁸ Idem

⁹ Green movement refers to a series of actions after the 2009 Iranian presidential election, in which protesters demanded the removal of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad from the government.

¹⁰ Mahmood Enayat, *Iran: Beyond Twitter, the new revolution*. Index on Censorship. June 11th 2010
<http://www.indexoncensorship.org/2010/06/iran-election-twitter/>

Would it have been possible to cover this political event properly without internet and social media networks? I believe it could not, and most importantly, without the images (photos and videos) that were sent through internet, the international community could not have been eyewitnesses to the violence in the Iranian post election riots.

The Time magazine article *Iran Protests: Twitter, the Medium of the Movement*, published on June 17th, 2009, a few days after the Iranian revolution, said “When Jack Dorsey, Evan Williams and Biz Stone founded Twitter in 2006, they were probably worried about things like making money and protecting people's privacy and drunk college kids breaking up with one another in 140 characters or less. What they weren't worried about was being suppressed by the Iranian government. But in the networked, surreally flattened world of social media, those things aren't as far apart as they used to be – and what began as a toy for online flirtation is suddenly being put to much more serious uses. After the election in Iran, cries of protest from supporters of opposition candidate Mir-Hossein Mousavi arose in all possible media, but the loudest cries were heard in a medium that didn't even exist the last time Iran had an election”¹¹.

After her speech at the 2010 Organization of New Ombudsmen (ONO) Conference¹², Oxfordgirl¹³ – a British blogger and journalist – talked to me about the Twitter role in the Iranian revolution. She explained how a microblogging service was used by Iranian people and by the Diaspora to spread information about their protests against the regime and the consequences of them.

¹¹ Lev Grossman, “Iran Protests: Twitter, the Medium of the Movement”, *Time Magazine*, June 17th, 2009
<http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1905125,00.html>

¹² Oxfordgirl, *Using social media to report on Iran*, ONO Conference (Organization of New Ombudsmen), Expanding ONO's Influence in a Digital Age, May 13th, 2010.

¹³ Oxfordgirl is her username on Twitter @oxfordgirl



Figure 2. Oxfordgirl's Twitter account. The hashtag¹⁴ #IranElection was used to post comments and spread information about the Iranian election and Iranian revolution, in June 2009. The same hashtag is still in used, and every day comments are posted on twitter against the regime.

When people are afraid to speak to each other (like in Iran), getting two million people to turn up at the same spot and at the same time without being arrested could not be possible without Internet. At the time of Iranian revolution, hundreds of people had been prepared to risk their lives supporting Iran. And clicking the same button means that millions of people have access to it. The organization has happened through that (internet), and if you wanted to know what had been building, it was there; if you wanted to know where speeches were, it was there; if you want to know when the next demonstration was, it was there (on Twitter)¹⁵.

However, the information traffic on internet was not as free as was supposed to be. The Iranian government restricted freedom of expression not only by limiting the journalists' job but also by controlling the internet.

¹⁴ A hashtag (#) is a way to unite global Tweets around some particular topic. To create a hashtag simply prefixing a word with a hash symbol: #

¹⁵ Interview with Oxfordgirl on May 13th, 2010.

Nic Newman, a digital media consultant and a former visiting fellow at Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, describes, in an interview, how the Iranian government cut the internet during the Iranian revolution.

Iran uses technical barriers and filters, and also uses secret service and pressuring bloggers, for example. It was interesting during the process in June last year, the Iranian internet connectivity – all internet traffic including emails from companies – was cut off completely for about 15 minutes. Then the internet was very slow and was filtered on some things. Just for a half an hour you could see the traffic was completely dying and it was panic. But you know, you can't do that for any significant period of time. But supposing that you are in the middle of revolution and wanted to stop it, this could happen. In June 2009, they could do that.¹⁶

Mahmood Enayat also explains how the internet traffic was restricted in June 2009 during Iran's post-election protests. "Iranian authorities tried to stop the 'Twitter revolution' by waging an active war against internet freedom. The authorities went beyond simple internet content filtering by tampering with internet connections and mobile phone services, by jamming satellite broadcasting, and by hacking and attacking opposition websites. They also monitored online dissenters and used the information obtained to intimidate and arrest them. They threatened service providers in Iran to remove 'offensive' posts or blogs and more significantly, they tried to fill the information void created by these measures with misinformation".¹⁷

A more complete description of the internet situation in Iran appears in a research paper published in June 2009 by OpenNet Initiative. The document explains how

¹⁶Interview with Nic Newman, digital media consultant and former visiting fellow at Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, in June 2009.

¹⁷Mahmood Enayat, *Iran: Beyond Twitter, the new revolution*. Index on Censorship. June 11th 2010
<http://www.indexoncensorship.org/2010/06/iran-election-twitter/>

Iran is consolidating its technical filtering system, “which is among the most extensive in the world”.¹⁸

According to this research, the Revolutionary Guard¹⁹ has begun to play an active role in enforcing Internet content standards. In conjunction with extensive surveillance, this increase in regulatory attention exacerbates an online atmosphere that promotes self-censorship and discourages dissenting views. The blocking of political Web sites during the 2009 presidential elections energized opposition to Internet censorship within Iran and has brought fresh attention to the issue of press controls.

The Iranian government is confronting the growing popularity of the Internet and it has invested in more technical control mechanisms. Besides, regulatory agencies have been created to control and block websites, blogs and any kinds of dissident’s voices that launch their opinions on Internet. “Human rights activists, bloggers and online media outlets, have become the target of government regulatory action and are subject to arrest, imprisonment and torture”²⁰.

From this perspective, freedom of expression is a dangerous ideal in Iran and control mechanisms to stop the information traffic are getting stronger than in the past. However, the Iranian government could not block news during the Iranian election; the Internet was a way to avoid government restrictions not only by Iranian citizens but also by journalists and traditional media that used internet resources in their coverage.

¹⁸ OpenNet Initiative. Internet Filtering in Iran. June 2009. <http://opennet.net/research/profiles/iran>

¹⁹ Iran's Islamic Revolution Guards Corps (IRGC) was set up in May 1979 to defend the country's Islamic system.

²⁰ OpenNet Initiative. Internet Filtering in Iran. June 2009. <http://opennet.net/research/profiles/iran>

1.3. Cuba and new media

The bloggers' movement

“In 2007, Yoanni Sanchez, a Cuban philologist, started her blog Generación Y. This blog has played an important role in Cuba and it can be said that Generación Y caused a revolution in Cuba and in the world outside the island”²¹. These are the words of a Cuban journalist and blogger Fernan Gonzalez-Torres who lives in the United Kingdom.

Revolution? I asked. “Yes, because it was the first time someone had written without the official permission and more importantly it had a critical style – an unprecedented event in Cuba”, said Gonzalez-Torres.

Considering that “Cuba has the most restrictive laws on free speech and press freedom in the Americas and at least 24 journalists were in prison in the country during 2009”²², Gonzalez-Torres' words could be considered as the beginning of a new era for freedom of expression in Cuba.

Before Generación Y and the bloggers' movement, information from Cuba was limited and official media were the only source of information in Cuba. Any attempt at launching unofficial media was blocked and journalists were threatened or imprisoned.

²¹ Interview with Fernan Gonzalez-Torres, Cuban journalist and blogger. June 2010

²² Freedom House. *Freedom of the Press 2010. Broad Setbacks to Global Media Freedom*. Washington DC. 2010, p. 96



Figure 3. Yoani Sanchez's blog Generación Y was the beginning of the blog movement in Cuba which has reached the attention of an international community.

“The government owns all traditional media except for a number of underground newsletters. It operates three national newspapers, four national television stations, six national radio stations, and one international radio station, in addition to numerous local print and broadcast outlets. All content is determined by the government, and there is no editorial independence. Cubans do not have the right to possess or distribute foreign publications, although some international papers are sold in tourist hotels”²³.

However, Internet has opened a new way to communicate from the island to the world. Yoani Sanchez's blogs have utilised this change in Cuba through her common stories of daily situations using a critical point of view and including her opinion.

Following her example, some other Cubans in the island have run their own blogs. Claudia Cadelo's blog, Octavo Cerco, started in 2008, after the trial of Gorki Águila

²³ Freedom House. *Freedom of the Press 2010. Broad Setbacks to Global Media Freedom.* Washington DC. 2010, p. 96.

– a rocker vocalist and guitarist, who was accused of being a potential risk to society.

A group of friends and I started a denunciation movement – it was how I met Yoani Sanchez – and an international campaign for his (Gorki Águila) liberation. In a short time I went from not talking about politics with strangers and being always a paranoid girl, to shouting in the middle of a concert with a protest poster in my hands. There were consequences for anyone recently involved in a freedom of expression movement such as beatings, police raids and detentions²⁴.



Figure 4. Claudia Cadelo's blog Octavo Cerco was launched in 2008. She is a active blogger who writes about human rights and against Castro's regime.

Miriam Celaya is a blogger among others who belong to the dissident movement in Cuba. She writes about the Cuban political situation and human rights circumstances in the island. In an interview in January 2009, Celaya said that this blog is her way of expressing herself freely.

²⁴Claudia Cadelo's blog Octavo Cerco <http://octavocerco.blogspot.com/p/como-llegue-hasta-aqui.html>

I prefer to say that my blog is the space where my character and my habitual tendency to provide opinions can be combined with the possibility of freely expressing myself beyond the limited boundaries of interpersonal relationships, within the reality of this country. My blog has allowed me to start relationships with many people, the majority Cubans like me, but also of other nationalities, all of whom are very close to me and very much needed. It has allowed me to practice tolerance, a skill that – I admit – was very hard for me years ago and something which I had been working on. I also got to know myself better. It was like a second birth for me, and I only hope that the blog will allow me to grow as a human being²⁵.



Figure 5. Miriam Celaya runs Sin Evasión. She is another dissident blogger in the island who writes on the political situation in Cuba.

The last report about Freedom of the Press published by the Inter-American Press Association stated that “about 30 to 50 blogs are regularly updated by Cubans who

²⁵ Claudia Cadelo, “Interview with Miriam Celaya” *Global Voices*, January 2009.
<http://globalvoicesonline.org/2009/01/08/cuba-interview-with-blogger-miriam-celaya/>

consider themselves as “alternative bloggers” rather than “dissidents” yet are strongly critical of the government”.²⁶

The document also states that “independent journalists and bloggers are expanding despite strong government pressures that range from short-term detentions to filters that block access to critical Web sites”²⁷. Some of those websites and blogs are cubanet.org, payolibre.com, bitacoracubana.com, cubadebate.com, prolibertadprensa.blogspot.com and Cubaencuentro.com. However, they are inaccessible in Cuba.

The Diaspora has a particular role outside Cuba. Blogs like Penúltimos Dias, Diarios de Cuba y Encuentro were created by Cubans living in exile and are dedicated to post news from the island and to inform about Cuba’s situation. They also support the dissident movement on the island.

“There is an important relationship between bloggers in Cuba and the Diaspora. Before Internet and blogs, there was isolation among Cubans who were against the Fidel Castro regime. Internet and blogs have created a channel between the Diaspora and people living in Cuba. Blogs are playing an important role in spreading information from Cuba to the Cuban community abroad. For the first time there is a way to be in touch with the island and from there to the international community”²⁸, said Fernan Gonzales-Torres who runs El blog de Fernan Gonzales²⁹ from London, United Kingdom.

A recent example of the role of blogs in publishing news that the government tries to hide from public opinion and international community was presented in January 2010 when the deaths of more than 20 patients at the Havana Psychiatric Hospital

²⁶ Inter American Press Association. *Freedom of the Press Report*. IAPA General Assembly, Mérida, México, November 5 - 9 2010

http://www.sipiapa.com/v4/index.php?page=det_informe&asamblea=26&infoid=778&idioma=us

²⁷ Idem

²⁸ Interview with Fernan Gonzalez-Torres, Cuban journalist and blogger. June 2010

²⁹ El Blog de Fernan Gonzales <http://fernangonzalez.com/>

during a cold snap was not covered by official press. The government acknowledged the deaths only after blogs from Cuba and abroad reported them, and foreign media also reported them.

Internet restrictions in Cuba and the bloggers' fight

Even though Internet is a free way to communicate in many countries, online accessibility in Cuba is limited. Government mechanisms for restricting internet accessibility range from maintaining two parallel networks to charging high costs for the internet service.

“Two parallel networks co-exist on the island: the international network and a tightly controlled Cuban Intranet consisting solely of an encyclopaedia, a few email addresses ending in “.cu” and some government news websites such as Granma. Outside of the hotels, only a few privileged people have special clearance to connect to the international network. The latter is also subject to censorship, which primarily targets dissident publications on foreign websites”.³⁰

Another limitation for internet users in Cuba is the high cost of the service. To have an idea, the online connection costs about US\$ 1.50 dollars per hour from point-of-access to the state-controlled Intranet, and US\$ 7.00 per hour in a hotel to access the international network. It is an exorbitant price considering that the average monthly salary is US \$20.00. The excessive price of connection explains why there are not many online users capable of surfing in the island. The special report *Freedom on the Net: A Global Assessment of Internet and Digital Media*, published by Freedom House, presents a clear explanation about the Internet access in Cuba.

³⁰ Reporters without Borders. *World day against Cyber Censorship. Web 2.0 versus Control 2.0. Enemies of the Internet. Countries under surveillance*. Paris, 2010, p 13

“Though the government has claimed that all Cubans have access to the internet, according to the ITU (United Nations agency for information and communication technologies), committed to connecting the world, only 1.3 million people (11.5%) had access to the internet in 2008. However, it should be noted that this number is also potentially overinflated as it includes those who had access to the Cuban intranet only, but not to the global internet. A closer estimate is that 240,000 (2.1%) of the population had some level of access to the world wide web in 2008”.³¹

In 2008, the current president of Cuba, Raul Castro, announced changes in internet accessibility. He said “he would lift the ban prohibiting Cubans from owning a personal computer and from visiting tourist hotels in order to access the Internet”. However, these new rules did not translate into a more widespread Internet access. The government’s priority is still total control of information. Boris Moreno, the Vice Minister of Information Technology and Communications, stated in the same year that “the use of the Internet [must serve] to defend the Revolution and the principles in which [Cuba] has believed for years”.³²

Due to those restrictions, a black market of internet users has emerged in Cuba. People are “willing to buy or “rent” passwords and codes of the few individuals and companies that have clearance from the incumbent party to access the Internet. Navigating the Net costs US\$ 50 per month and receiving/sending one email message US\$ 1. Illegal users take the precaution of connecting only at night”.³³

The black market is not the only way people have found to avoid the government limitation on their internet access. Systems have been created to disseminate information using devices like CDs, DVDs or USB. “The USB flash drives, which

³¹ Freedom House. *Freedom on the Net: A Global Assessment of Internet and Digital Media*. Washington DC. 2009, p. 45

³² Reporters without Borders. *World day against Cyber Censorship. Web 2.0 versus Control 2.0. Enemies of the Internet. Countries under surveillance*. Paris, 2010, p.13

³³ Idem.

are being passed from one blogger to another, have become the new vectors of freedom of expression in Cuba, the local 'samizdat'³⁴,³⁵.

The limitations are not only a problem to online readers in Cuba. In fact, bloggers have to find different mechanisms to be able to upload their posts in their own blogs. Practices like writing offline, recording the article in a USB flash drive, and then uploading it in a hotel or some embassy internet service are common in the island. Some others do the same procedure and then send it by e-mail to some friend abroad who uploads the post.

Incredibly, many bloggers cannot watch their own posts inside Cuba since their blogs are blocked in the island. For that reason, the audience inside Cuba for bloggers is still relatively small. Even though some bloggers are well-known in international community, such as Yoani Sanchez who has won prizes like the Ortega y Gasset Prize for Journalism and the Maria Moors Cabot Prize given by Columbia University, many Cubans have not heard of, or read their posts. However, the Cuban samizdat could be a method to expand the blogs' readers on the island. "There's no way to measure the impact when their posts are passed around on portable memory devices and even direct computer-to-computer links", said the latest report about Freedom of the Press published by Inter American Press Association.

In addition to those mechanisms to avoid the government restriction of the freedom of expression, a blog academy has been created in Cuba. The blogger Yoani Sanchez and her husband Reynaldo Escobar have opened a blogger school in their house where people can learn how to create a blog, how to write and post on it, and some other issues related to the blogosphere.

³⁴ Samizdat was a key form of dissident activity across the Soviet bloc in which individuals reproduced censored publications by hand and passed the documents from reader to reader.

³⁵ Reporters without Borders. *World day against Cyber Censorship. Web 2.0 versus Control 2.0. Enemies of the Internet. Countries under surveillance*. Paris, 2010, p.14

“They wanted to expand their academy to the city Santiago de Cuba and the town Villa Clara, but the government stopped the project. Most of the blogs are done in La Habana – Cuba’s capital – and the government is dedicated to restricting them and avoiding the increase of the blog movement to the rest of the country”, said Fernan Gonzales.

As well as the press, independent journalists have been persecuted and imprisoned when they expressed their opinions against the regime. Bloggers have suffered the same pressure and face other forms of harassment, intimidation, and restrictions on their rights.

“Yoani Sanchez and her husband Reynaldo Escobar were summoned for questioning in December 2008, reprimanded, and informed that their right to travel had been restricted, meaning they would be unable to attend a two-day blogging workshop in the western part of the island. Other individuals planning to attend the event were also summoned for questioning and pressured to cancel; as a result, the meeting of 20 bloggers was reportedly held online to avoid the risk of arrest. In May 2008, the government refused to issue Sanchez a travel visa that would have allowed her to receive the Ortega y Gasset prize for digital journalism in Spain”³⁶.

In addition, some Cuban bloggers have reported violent attacks and legal intimidation. However, the blog movement has not stopped and blogs are still being posted.

Although the blogosphere does not seem to have an important impact on public opinion in Cuba – because people do not have free access to internet – the government reaction to the dissident bloggers demonstrates that they could be a risk for the regime in Cuba. Probably the blogosphere will not change the political system in Cuba but it has opened a communication channel from Cuba to the

³⁶ Freedom House. *Freedom on the Net: A Global Assessment of Internet and Digital Media*. Washington DC. 2009, p. 50

world and it has unlocked the limitations on freedom of expression in the island. Unlike in the past, some Cubans can express and publish their own opinions against the government, while avoiding the restrictions.

1.4. China and new media

Freedom of expression restrictions

Jesper Schlaeger, a PhD Fellow at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark, whose research topic is e-government in China³⁷, told me:

What is the experience when you use internet in China? The first thing you will notice when you are a foreigner in China using internet is that certain websites are blocked. These are websites that you use frequently such as for instance Facebook, YouTube and others. Also if you search for Tibet, you officially are unable to find it. If you search on Falun Gong, there are limited results but only official ones.

During our online conversation about the internet situation in China and his experience as a foreigner living in China, Schlaeger continued:

If a certain website starts to post information which is controversial and it contains a lot of negative publicity for the government or if the government feels that its social stability is threatened, I believe the government has the means to shut down the website. Usually they go through the strong procedures such as first sending people to talk to the internet service provider and telling them 'You cannot post this kind of content. Would you please remove it immediately?' Providers usually remove it immediately because they are afraid of the consequences. If they do not do so, they are

³⁷ Online Interview to Jesper Schlaeger, PhD Fellow at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark. September 2010.

shut down and taken out of business. If some people try to go further, they will probably be detained by the police.

His words reflect how the internet is restricted in China. This situation has been described in the Freedom House Special Report Section called Freedom on the Net as follows:

Although China is home to the largest population of internet users in the world and has witnessed increasing creativity and 'pushback' from its netizens³⁸, the country's internet environment remains one of the most controlled in the world. China's 1.3 billion citizens have only a limited ability to access and circulate information that is vital to their well-being and the country's future direction. The Chinese authorities maintain a sophisticated and multilayered system of mechanisms for censoring, monitoring, and controlling activities on the internet and mobile telephones. This system has been enhanced in recent years with new attempts to manipulate online discussion, including the recruitment of commentators to guide opinions and more forceful encouragement of self-discipline among private internet companies and web-hosting services.³⁹

³⁸ Netizen or cybercitizen is a person actively involved in online communities. The word netizen comes from two other words: Internet and citizen.

³⁹ Freedom House. *Freedom on the Net: A Global Assessment of Internet and Digital Media*. Washington DC. 2009, p.34



Figure 6. The Internet Police Department website where people can report illegal activities such as pornography, gambling, phishing, sales of contraband, viruses and attacks, online games, and other illegal issues.

Anne S. Y. Cheung, a lawyer and Associate professor at The University of Hong Kong, refers to the way Chinese law is used to stop freedom of speech. She explained in a conference at Oxford Internet Institute that according to "Chinese Constitutions everybody has freedom of speech". However, the Chinese government has stipulated that certain forbidden areas cannot be touched. "There are nine areas that no one should touch, otherwise they will suffer the consequences. These areas include spreading rumours against the State, spreading false news against State, disrupting social order, and others". - Cheung continues: Besides these, government has added areas which are concerned with online activism"⁴⁰.

The Chinese government uses different ways to restrict the freedom of expression on the internet such as police control, law restrictions, publications censorship and also technical filtering. The Freedom House special report explains those alternatives used by the Chinese state to control Internet as follows:

⁴⁰ Anne S. Y. Cheung, Associate Professor of The University of Hong Kong. Lecture at Oxford Internet Institute. June 2010

The Communist Party's internet control strategy consists of four different techniques: technical filtering, pre-publication censorship, post-publication censorship, and proactive manipulation. While the first is primarily aimed at content based outside of China, the latter three apply to content produced and posted within China as well. The purported goal is to limit the spread of pornography, gambling, and other harmful practices, but such content is generally easier to access than information related to political and religious groups, human rights violations, and alternative news sources. The most systematically censored topics are those deemed by the Communist Party to be the most threatening to its domestic legitimacy. These include criticism of top leaders, independent evaluations of China's human rights record, violations of minority rights in Tibet and Xinjiang, the Falun Gong spiritual group, the 1989 Beijing massacre, and various dissident initiatives that challenge the regime on a systemic level, such as the Nine Commentaries (a series of editorials analyzing the history of the party and encouraging an end to its rule) and more recently Charter 08 (a pro-democracy manifesto calling for a multiparty system)⁴¹. In December 2009, intellectual Liu Xiaobo, Nobel Peace Laureate 2011, was sentenced to a long jail term of eleven years for having written his opinions on the Internet and participated in the launching of Charter 08.

⁴¹ Freedom House. *Freedom on the Net: A Global Assessment of Internet and Digital Media*. Washington DC. 2009, p.37

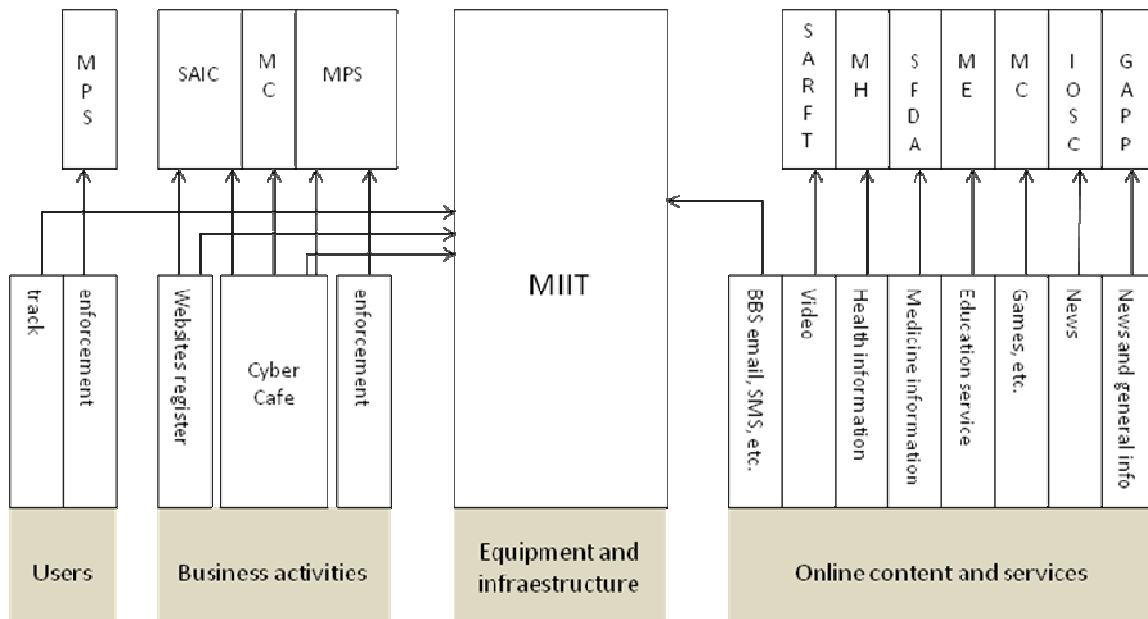


Figure 7. State Agencies Involved in Internet Control in China⁴²

Legend:

- MPS:** the Ministry of Public Security
- SAIC:** the State Administration of Industry and Commerce
- MC:** the Ministry of Culture
- MIIT:** the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology
- IOSC:** the Information Office of State Council
- SARFT:** the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television
- MH:** the Ministry of Health
- SFDA:** the State Food and Drug Administration
- ME:** the Ministry of Education
- GAPP:** the General Administration of Press and Publication

⁴² Idem, p. 40

Xu Zhiyong, Human Rights activist and blogger said "Blogs and Twitter break the control of government by the development of technology. By this means, almost all social information can be released". He also pointed out that "many activists cannot write their blogs in China. They have to write blogs on some websites out of China because all blog websites have strict censorship".⁴³

The image is a screenshot of the China Digital Times website. At the top, the logo reads "CHINA DIGITAL TIMES" with the Chinese characters "中国数字时代" and the URL "China Digital Times.net". Below the logo, the date "Tuesday, February 1, 2011" is displayed. The navigation menu includes "Home", "Sections", "News Focus", "Special Features", "About Us", "Contact Us", and "China Digital Space".

The main content area features an article titled "Xu Zhiyong: Destined To Fight For Social Justice". The article includes a photograph of Xu Zhiyong and a quote: "We must get rid of the traditional idea that politics merely means revolution and counterrevolution. What we seek is not destruction, but construction. We do not participate in politics to gain power, but to check power. What we pursue is not material wealth, nor the desire to control others. We strive to realize the value of life for ourselves, and help to promote public welfare in the meantime." Below the quote, it states: "This paragraph is quoted from an idealistic article titled Politics Should Be Desirable written by Xu Zhiyong last year. Thirty-five-year-old Xu is a legal scholar and activist. He is knowledgeable and enthusiastic, persistent and active. Many young people admire him as a role model, and intellectuals have great expectations for him. He seems to be born with compassion for those in poverty and misery... Xu has made a long list of remarkable achievements in fighting for social justice and making changes in politics. He wrote a public letter to the National People's Congress in the aftermath of the Sun Zhigang Incident; he volunteered to be the defense lawyer for Sun Dawu; he was elected twice as a People's Representative at Haidian District of Beijing; he conducted research on petitioners in Beijing, etc. The Open Constitution Initiative of which Xu is a member is preparing to file a collective lawsuit for victims of the recent milk power poisoning incident, seeking compensation for those who could not afford to hire a lawyer."

On the right side of the page, there is a "CDT HIGHLIGHTS" section with several article titles, including "Hu Ping: My Analysis of the Incident of Lang Lang's State Dinner Performance" and "Zhejiang Police's Internal Document: Controlling the Movements of Critical Persons". Below this is a "More China News" section with titles like "Despite China's Might, US Factories No. 1" and "China blocks 'Egypt' from internet".

On the left side, there is a "SUBSCRIBE" form with the email "user@domain.edu" and a "Subscribe" button. Below the form are social media icons for Twitter, Facebook, and RSS. There is also a "Grass-Mud Horse Lexicon" section with a large Chinese character "驢" and a "Support CDT!" section with a "Donate" button and logos for Visa, MasterCard, and American Express.

Figure 8. Xu Zhiyong, one of the founders of the NGO Open Constitution Initiative and an active rights lawyer in China.

According to the Press Freedom Barometer of Reporters without Borders, China has the world's largest number of individuals imprisoned for their online activities – 76 netizens imprisoned between 2000 and 2010. Most of them are cyberdissidents, but also nine bloggers and seven online journalists.⁴⁴

⁴³ Online Interview to Xu Zhiyong. August 2010

⁴⁴ Reporters without Borders. 2011: 125 netizens imprisoned <http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-barometer-netizens-imprisoned.html?annee=2011>

Nonetheless, a great deal of information is circulating on the Chinese Intranet and heated discussions are going on in online forums. Bloggers and Internet users alike are using more and more proxies and Virtual Private Networks (VPNs) to circumvent censorship. They keep speaking out against the failings of Chinese society and government abuses, increasingly compelling the official media to cover embarrassing scandals. The new media is thus helping the traditional media to test the limits of censorship. The announcement of the fire that damaged one of the towers of the state-owned TV network CCTV was first made via the Internet and Twitter – even though the state-owned media (including CCTV) had received the order not to mention it. Caught in the act, the latter ultimately had to reverse course and provide some form of coverage.⁴⁵

Bloggers like Zola became known for their coverage of social issues, such as forced evictions. Cyber-dissident Huanq Qi helped to reveal the authorities' role in the collapsing of Szechwan schools after the earthquake.

⁴⁵ Reporters without Borders. *World day against Cyber Censorship. Web 2.0 versus Control 2.0. Enemies of the Internet. Countries under surveillance.* Paris, 2010, p.11



Figure 9. Zola is a well-known blogger dedicated to cover social subjects. he is also considered China's first citizen reporter.

When Zola arrived to Chongqing to cover the story about the decision by two residents of central China's Chongqing Municipality to hold their ground when the land upon which the house they purchased had been sold, he wrote on his blog "As everyone knows, some reports of news like this which involves the government will surely never be reported, and [online] stories will be deleted at the request of unknown "relevant departments". There had been a Sina blog reporting 24 hours a day on the situation, but that blog later disappeared. That's why I realised this is a one-time chance, and so from far, far away I came to Chongqing to conduct a thorough investigation, in an attempt to understand a variety of viewpoints".⁴⁶

⁴⁶ John Kennedy, *China: Nation's first citizen reporter?* "Global Voices" March 30th 2007 <http://globalvoicesonline.org/2007/03/30/china-nations-first-citizen-reporter/>

These words and the subheading on Zola's blog reads (in English) "you never know what you can do till you try" explains more clearly his point of view about the Internet possibilities and his decision to cover those stories that domestic media cannot cover.

In China, netizens, bloggers, cyberdissidents and online users use technology resources to avoid government control on Internet. Even though it is not easy to do it, people use services placed in other countries to have access to censored websites and also to post on their own websites.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1. Peru's dictatorial times

Alberto Fujimori's regime and freedom of the press

On November 19th 2000, Alberto Fujimori's dictatorial regime (1990-2000) collapsed after ten years in power. The fall started after a video showing the level of corruption in Fujimori's regime was broadcast on television (Canal N) on September 14th 2000.

The video showed Fujimori's principal advisor, Vladimiro Montesinos, giving US\$ 15,000 to a congressman, Alberto Kouri, for him to leave the opposition and join the *Fujimorista* block within the Congress.

Riots against the government had started some months previously, ever since Fujimori announced his intention to run for a third term in government, even though that was unconstitutional. After he won the election in an unclear competition, protests became more and more radical. But nothing could match the video in demonstrating the corruption in Fujimori's regime. It was the beginning of the end of Alberto Fujimori's time as dictator.

On September 16th 2000, two days after the video was presented, Alberto Fujimori announced the firing of Montesinos, the dissolution of the National Intelligence Service (SIN) and the holding of new elections in which he would not run.

On September 23rd 2000, Vladimiro Montesinos fled Peru and sought political asylum in Panama. On November 13th 2000, Fujimori went to Brunei to attend a Presidential Summit and some days later, on November 19th, Fujimori resigned by means of a fax from Tokyo, Japan.

Three days later, Valentin Paniagua, who was the President of Congress at that moment, assumed the presidency of Peru as the President of a Unity and National Reconciliation Government.

In the following months, many 'Vladivideos'⁴⁷ were released in court and on television news programmes. All of them showed how Montesinos offered money and other benefits to parliamentarians, politicians, broadcasters, newspaper editors in chief, artists, and others in order to get them to support Fujimori's regime.

From February 2001 onwards, sixteen videos demonstrated how the regime managed the political positions taken by media editors and showed that they were heavily rewarded by the government during Fujimori's regime.

Media owners, broadcasters and editors in chief were filmed receiving money in order to change the editorial line, to cancel press programmes that were uncomfortable for the government, or to attack opposition politicians.

Some memorable videos in which media broadcasters and managers were seen receiving money in cash clearly showed the restrictions on freedom of the press in Peru. For example, the owners of America Television (Channel 4) received more than US\$1.5 million to keep the editorial line supporting Fujimori's regime. Another example was the video showing the owner of ATV (Channel 9) receiving US\$ 50,000 to cancel an investigative journalism programme called SIN Censura (Uncensored).

⁴⁷ All videos of Vladimiro Montesinos, the Fujimori regime's principal assessor, were called Vladivideos. Those shot in an office in the National Intelligence Service (SIN), showed how Montesinos negotiated with congressmen, broadcasters, majors, artists and other people to support Fujimori's regime. In many of these videos, Montesinos was blackmailing those people.



Figure 10. The picture shows the Channel 4 owner José Francisco Crousillat receiving money in cash from Vladimiro Montesinos.

This table⁴⁸ illustrates the ‘Vladivideo’ details presented by the justice authorities which were evidence of media manipulation during Fujimori’s regime. The meetings were between Vladimiro Montesinos and media owners.

Meeting date	Broadcasting date	File number	Description	Details
12/10/1998	16/07/2001	Video 1197	Julio Vera and publicist Daniel Borobio	Montesinos gives US\$ 50 thousand dollars to ATV owner (Channel 9) Julio Vera. In that meeting, they talked about cancelling two TV news programmes broadcast by journalists Cecilia Valenzuela and Luis Iberico.
14/10/1998	08/03/2001	Videos 1200-1201	José Francisco Crousillat (America Television owner)	America Television owner (Channel 4) receives 1 million 857 thousand soles (US\$ 660,000) from Montesinos in order to keep the editorial media position supporting

⁴⁸ Palestra del Estado. Portal de Asuntos Públicos de la PUCP. Reforma y Gobernabilidad. *Corrupción en Medios de Comunicación*. http://palestra.pucp.edu.pe/pal_est/index.php3?file=documentos/videos.htm

				Fujimori's regime.
26/02/1999	09/03/2001	Videos 1349-1350	José Enrique Crousillat López-Torres, José Francisco Crousillat (Both, father and son, were America Television owners) and TV host Gisella Valcarcel	After the meeting between Gisella Valcarcel, Montesinos and José Francisco Crousillat (America TV owner), the TV host leaves and José Crousillat López-Torres (also America Television owner) comes into the room. Montesinos gives them 1 million soles (US\$ 360,000).
26/02/1999	09/03/2001	Videos 1347-1348	José Francisco Crousillat and José Enrique Crousillat López-Torres	Previous meeting continues. Both TV businessmen ask Montesinos for helping to solve Channel 4's financial problems.
07/04/1999	22/02/2001	Videos 1459-1460	Genaro Delgado Parker and Víctor Joy Way	The Panamericana TV owner, Genaro Delgado Parker, decides to cancel the TV news show to be broadcast by journalist César Hildebrandt. Montesinos offers Delgado Parker to solve his legal problems.
21/04/1999	13/03/2001	Videos 1487-1488	Genaro Delgado Parker	Two weeks after the previous meeting, Delgado Parker asks Montesinos to intercede in his legal problems. He also reasserts his support for Fujimori's regime.
19/07/1999	07/07/2001	Videos 1607-1608	José Francisco Crousillat (America TV – Channel 4), Luis Alberto Wo (General Manager America TV), and Eugenio Bertini (Wiese Bank)	Montesinos and Crousillat talk about funds for America Television (Channel 4) and Bertini's role, as Wiese Bank representative, on that funding.
25/08/1999	24/05/2001	Videos 1677-1679	Ernesto Shutz Landazuri (Panamerican a TV -Channel 5) and Manuel Delgado Parker (Radio Programas del Peru)	Meeting between Montesinos and majority shareholders of Panamericana Television (Channel 5) and Radio Programas del Peru (radio station).

14/09/1999	11/05/2001	Video 1736	Eduardo Calmell del Solar (Expreso Newspaper)	Meeting between Montesinos and Expreso Newspaper Editor in Chief Eduardo Calmell del Solar. Montesinos gives US\$ 500,000 to Calmell del Solar in order to consolidate his capital on the newspaper. They also coordinate actions against opposition political candidates.
05/10/1999	11/05/2001	Video 1753	Eduardo Calmell del Solar (Expreso Newspaper)	Montesinos gives another US\$ 500,000. They continue coordinating actions against opposition political candidates.
06/11/1999	04/07/2001	Video 1778	Vicente Silva Checa (Chairman of Cable Canal de Noticias)	Montesinos gives US\$ 2,000,000 to Silva Checa, Chairman of Cable Canal de Noticias. The objective was that Ministry of Defence gets shares of that TV Channel. Eduardo Calmell del Solar (Expreso Newspaper Editor in Chief) and General EP Luis Delgado Arenas were in the meeting.
11/11/1999	06/07/2001	Videos 1788-1789	Eugenio Bertini (Wiese Bank), Crousillat and Winter	They talk about getting funds for Channel 2 and 4. The Wiese Bank representative was in the meeting. They also talk about how that bank could help the government.
26/11/1999	17/02/2001	Video 1795	Samuel and Mendel Winter Zuzunaga (Frecuencia Latina shareholders), Carlos Boloña (Economy Minister) and military leaders.	Meeting for planning strategies for Alberto Fujimori's re-election including the smear campaign against other candidates.
15/03/2000	01/03/2001	Video 1822	José Francisco Crousillat (America TV – Channel 4) and Alex Kouri (Mayor of Callao)	Montesinos provides Kouri a possible presidential candidacy in eventual elections on 2005. The America Television broadcaster was in the meeting.
13/04/2000	12/05/2001	Audios 1475-1476	Eduardo Calmell del Solar	Meeting between Montesinos and Calmell del Solar, in which the latter receives a financial offer from Montesinos to get Expreso newspaper serving Fujimori re-election campaign.

21/04/2000	12/05/2001	Audio 1492	Eduardo Calmell del Solar	Montesinos requests Expreso newspaper to support Fujimori's re-election campaign. He also offers the same economic offering from the previous meeting.
------------	------------	------------	---------------------------	--

The table demonstrates how media was managed during Fujimori's regime and all kind of concessions and benefits that the government offered media managers and owners in order to get their support. Peru had a decade without freedom of expression and without freedom of the press.

Some media and journalists tried to overcome these restrictions. They reported about corruption and the media's surrender to the government. However, most of them were fired from their media, news programmes were cancelled and smear campaigns were started to destroy any dissident voices.

Media credibility in the last decade

When Fujimori's regime collapsed, one of the most important issues was to recover media credibility. Peruvian people wanted to reinstate the freedom of the press and freedom of expression in all senses. The next president, Alejandro Toledo, offered to support those liberties.

In 2002, Peru was ranked in position 36 of 139 countries in the Press Freedom Index 2002 published for the first time by Reporters without Borders⁴⁹. It was a good perspective for freedom of the press and also the best position Peru had been ranked since Reporters without Borders started that index.

⁴⁹ Reporters without Borders. Press Freedom Index 2002. Reporters Without Borders publishes the first worldwide press freedom index (October 2002)

The same year, Freedom of the Press Index published by Freedom House included Peru as one of the 75 countries considered free in terms of freedom of the press⁵⁰. The report explains how the press was in Peru during Fujimori's regime and also refers to the progress of journalism during the first year of Alejandro Toledo government:

For more than a decade, Peruvian journalists feared the Shining Path guerrillas as well as dictatorial President Alberto Fujimori. In the name of fighting rebels, Fujimori's regime arbitrarily arrested journalists, used death threats against opposition reporters, repeatedly filed libel suits, permitted police harassment of news media, withheld advertising from critics, divested a leading television owner of his holding, and employed torture and other forms of pressure on journalists. Videotapes of bribes being paid to key figures in the media by Fujimori's intelligence adviser Montesinos confirmed that the Fujimori administration paid five of the six commercial television stations, much of the tabloid press, and at least one serious newspaper to run pro-Fujimori articles and editorials. Journalists' exposures of such widespread corruption and abuse of power helped bring down Fujimori, who fled to exile in Japan. After June 2001, the news media gained markedly from democratically-elected President Alejandro Toledo's efforts to restore the credibility and fairness of government. It was not always easy. Some surviving leaders in journalism were charged with complicity in the former corruption. Court processes were begun to sort out the victims from the victimizers. Numerous journalists who had been imprisoned for years were released. The public ombudsman called for repeal of the "insult laws" under which many journalists had been charged with defamation. Some officials who continued in office after Fujimori left the country sued the press under these laws for allegedly revealing their former ties. The Institute for Press and Society, an active press-freedom organization that helped overturn

⁵⁰Freedom House. *Freedom of The Press. Map of Press Freedom*, Country report: Peru 2002
<http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=251&year=2002>

Fujimori, seeks now to improve the quality and ethics of Peruvian journalism. The press is largely privately owned. Radio and television are both privately and publicly owned.

Even though 2002 was a promising year for freedom of the press, subsequently the ranking of Peru in Freedom of the Press Index by Reporters without Borders went down. In 2003 it fell to a ranking of 55, and in 2004 to 124. In 2005 it recovered to position 116. In the next two years it moved from 113 to 117. In 2008 its position went up to 108 and the next year was better because Peru reached position 85. However, in 2010 it went down to position 109.

Freedom of the Press in Peru⁵¹

Year	Position	Countries indexed every year
2002	36	139
2003	55	166
2004	124	167
2005	116	167
2006	113	168
2007	117	169
2008	108	173
2009	85	175
2010	109	178

“Murders of journalists are now rare. But physical attacks on journalists, committed openly in broad daylight by civil servants, police officers, union representatives or even elected officials, are still common in Peru. They are compounded by acts of censorship and intimidation by the government, which often tries to blame the media for unrest and violence”, said the 2010 report about of freedom of the press in Peru published by Reporters without Borders.⁵² The document reported that Peru has noticeable problems in terms of freedom of the press.

⁵¹ The table was based on Reporters without Borders Freedom of the press ranking from the last nine years. The organization started this ranking in 2002.

⁵² Reporters without Borders. *Press Freedom Barometer*. Country: Peru. June 2010
<http://en.rsf.org/report-peru,188.html>

Traditional Media versus New Media in Peru

In 1990, when Alberto Fujimori won the presidential election, the Internet was not extensively used around the world or in Peru. The media manipulation during the dictatorial regime was based on payments to media owners, broadcasters and editors in chief. However, the Internet changed the media perspective in Peru.

The emergence of the Internet and more importantly the emergence of Web 2.0⁵³ changed people's access to information and news all round the world and also in Peru. Internet users are increasing every year, and according to a study made by Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 56% of the population now has access to Internet in Peru⁵⁴, and at least 22% of the population accesses it every day.

The survey indicated that at least 15 million people⁵⁵ surf on the Internet looking for information, entertainment and other online activities. At the same time, there are more people posting information online through blogs, social networks and websites.

Considering these changes, media manipulation by governments is more difficult nowadays than during Fujimori's regime. Even though governments in Peru still have influence on the traditional media, it is not so easy to control online publications as well.

There are several cases where blogs, websites and social networking sites in Peru have published different information to that of the traditional media. In some cases

⁵³ A Web 2.0 site allows users to interact and collaborate with each other in a social media dialogue, in contrast to websites (Web 1.0) where users are limited to the active viewing of content that they created and controlled. Web 2.0 include social networking sites, blogs, wikis, video sharing sites, hosted services, web applications, and others.

⁵⁴ Instituto de Opinión Pública. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. *Encuesta: El uso de Internet a nivel nacional (Survey: Internet users in Peru)*. Junio 2010.

⁵⁵ Peru has 28 million inhabitants according to the last census made in 2007 by Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI)

it was to add information; in other cases to contrast information; and in some cases it was used to offer information that traditional media did not cover or discuss.

2.2. First case study

The dismissal of the editor in chief of Peru.21

"Do you remember some cases where online media has had a different role to that of the traditional media, or where Internet has informed more truly than other media?" I put this question to Augusto Alvarez Rodrich, the former Editor in Chief of Peru.21⁵⁶ newspaper.

"Yes, when I was fired from my position as the Editor in Chief of Peru.21 newspaper", Augusto answered.⁵⁷

It was November 14th 2008 when Augusto Alvarez Rodrich was dismissed from Peru.21 newspaper. Why? What was happening?

The Empresa Editora El Comercio that owns Peru.21 newspaper, explained the unexpected situation by publishing a press release next day in the newspaper.

*The economist Augusto Alvarez Rodrich has relinquished his position as Editor in Chief of Peru 21 newspaper more than six years of leading his team. The company thanks him for his job during this time and for having consolidated the leadership position of the newspaper.*⁵⁸

The company didn't give any reason for the decision. Meanwhile, Augusto Alvarez Rodrich said in a radio station where he also worked that there had been

⁵⁶ Peru.21 is a daily tabloid published since August 21th 2002.

⁵⁷ Online interview to Augusto Alvarez Rodrich, journalist, former Editor in Chief of Peru.21 Newspaper.

⁵⁸ That article was published on Peru.21 on November 15 2008. An available complete online version is on <http://peru21.pe/impres/impres/noticia/alvarez-rodric-deja-direccion-peru21/2008-11-15/230206>

disagreements on editorial policy between the company and him. However, the real reason was different.

On October 5th 2008, an oil scandal emerged in the media. The case called Petrogate⁵⁹ started when an audio tape was broadcast in a TV programme Cuarto Poder⁶⁰. The audio was a conversation between Alberto Quimper, the vice-president of the State Company Perupetro⁶¹, and Romulo Leon Alegria, ex Minister of Fisheries and a lobbyist and politically active member of Partido Aprista Peruano.⁶²

In that audiotape, Quimper and Leon were discussing payments they would receive in exchange for helping the Norwegian oil company Discover Petroleum⁶³ win contracts to explore offshore oil blocks and gas fields in Peru.

It was just the start of many audio tapes that revealed the level of corruption in Alan Garcia's government. Some of those audios involved ministers and other prominent politicians and executives working in the government.

Why is that scandal important in Augusto Alvarez Rodrich's dismissal? The fact was that Peru.21 newspaper followed the case and its investigative reporters wrote articles about the Petroaudios⁶⁴ case or 'Petrogate'. One of those reports involved the Prime Minister at that time, Jorge del Castillo, who had meetings with Fortunato Canaan – a businessman from the Dominican Republic who represented the Norwegian oil company Discover Petroleum – and helped him to set up a meeting with president Alan Garcia⁶⁵ and other ministers.

⁵⁹ Petrogate was the name given by the press to the oil scandal released in the Media in 2008.

⁶⁰ Cuarto Poder is a TV magazine broadcast on Sundays. It broadcasts investigative reports between reports on other issues.

⁶¹ Perupetro is a state enterprise dedicated to the hydrocarbons sector.

⁶² Partido Aprista Peruano is the party of Alan Garcia Perez, the president of Peru from 2006 to 2011

⁶³ Discover Petroleum won the public tender for exploring offshore oil blocks.

⁶⁴ Petroaudios was the other name that the press gave to that scandal. The name came from the type of source – audiotapes.

⁶⁵ Alan Garcia Perez has been president of Peru from 2006 to 2011

Due to the scandal, the Prime Minister and his Cabinet had to resign. Naturally, the president Alan Garcia and ex Prime Minister Jorge del Castillo were furious because the scandal involved the highest government individuals and created the worst political crisis in Garcia's regime.

In addition, the new administration of Empresa Editora El Comercio⁶⁶ did not want to confront the government. On the contrary, the new policy was to have a good relationship with Garcia's government.

As a consequence, the news company administration wanted Peru.21 to stop publication of the Petrogate investigative reports. As Augusto Alvarez Rodrich did not accept that kind of pressure which affected the freedom of the press, he was dismissed.

The traditional media did not react against the government intervention in freedom of the press. Daily newspapers, political and news magazines, TV and radio news programmes did not express any opposition to the attack on freedom of expression.

Some journalists such as César Hildebrandt and Mirko Lauer commented on the case in their own opinion column and an article in La Republica newspaper partially explaining the case. Other traditional media – press, radio and television – did not cover it extensively. They did not mention that the media company decision was a restriction on freedom of the press.

However, online coverage through blogs contained extensive discussion and in depth commentaries. Many blogs exposed the reasons for Alvarez Rodrich's dismissal and explained that the case was an attack on freedom of the press.

⁶⁶ The administration of Empresa Editora El Comercio had been changed a few months before the Petrogate scandal.

A popular political blog El Utero de Marita⁶⁷, written by journalist and blogger Marco Sifuentes, uploaded the post “Augusto Alvarez Rodrich has gone” on the same day that the Peru.21 Editor in Chief left the newspaper (November 14th 2008). On that post, the blogger wrote a brief introduction and then quoted different articles which explained the background of the event.

*An earthquake has occurred with the Grupo Editorial El Comercio. Editor in Chief of one of the most popular and independent publications, Peru.21, has been fired by the new company administration.*⁶⁸

Then, the blogger quoted different articles published before the dismissal and after the event.

*Mirko Lauer*⁶⁹ *was the black herald on his fotocheck from November:*

*Augusto Alvarez. He is writing on a shifting board. His position as an Editor in Chief is in the sights of the new majority owner of Perú 21. The visible theme: disagreements over the ends and means of the journalistic reports about the controversial audio case*⁷⁰ *(audiopolemica), with Alvarez on the side called publication at all costs – or almost. The real theme: Alvarez’s harsh attitude to the government.*⁷¹

As explained above, in the paragraph of Mirko Lauer`s article, Alvarez Rodrich had a hostile attitude to the government scandal and El Comercio administration was using it as an excuse to stop reports in Peru.21.

⁶⁷ Blog El Utero de Marita <http://utero.pe/>

⁶⁸ Ocam. *Se fue Augusto Alvarez Rodrich (Augusto Alvarez Rodrich has gone)* “El Utero de Marita”. November 14th 2008. <http://utero.pe/2008/11/14/se-fue-augusto-alvarez-rodrich>

⁶⁹ Mirko Lauer is a columnist of La Republica Newspaper. He wrote about Empresa Editora El Comercio crisis two days before the dismissal.

⁷⁰ It refers to the Petroaudios or Petrogate case.

⁷¹ Blog El Utero de Marita. November 14th 2008. <http://utero.pe/2008/11/14/se-fue-augusto-alvarez-rodrich/#comments>

The disagreements that Mirko Lauer refers to were as follows: On one side, the administration of Empresa Editora El Comercio was against the release of audios that had been leaked to the press, because the access to that material was not legal. On the other side, the Editor in Chief of Peru.21 newspaper defended the right to publish any material which is important to public opinion because of their impact and consequences for the nation. However, as Lauer said, the real reason was the Garcia regime's intolerance of press reports about Petrogate.



Figure 11. The post uploaded on the blog El Utero de Marita on November 14th 2008 “Augusto Alvarez Rodrich was gone” said the headline.

Heduardo, a draftsman and political columnist who publishes in Peru.21, posted on his blog:

As Mirko Lauer said in his column two days ago, and as we suspected when we said from this blog that after CPN Radio, it was going to be the turn of Peru 21, La Primera (newspaper) and uncomfortable blogs. At 1 pm. this afternoon, Augusto Alvarez Rodrich left his position as Editor in Chief of, in our humble opinion, the most independent and pluralistic daily, Peru 21”.

“Yesterday, two things attracted our attention: First, when President Garcia emphasized to say "I do not control the newspapers, eh", or something like that; and second, when he treated with unusual violence a reporter of La Primera, the uncomfortable daily which cannot put up with his usual methods⁷².



Figure 12. Heduardo uploaded a post about Alvarez Rodrich's dismissal. He questioned what was happening with freedom of the press in Peru.

The journalist and blogger Jose Alejandro Godoy wrote on his political blog Desde el tercer piso:

Thus, the director of what was, without doubt, the best newspaper in the country, has left. And he was fired for not giving in to something that, in my view, was a matter of principle: tell the truth and keep a critical attitude. It is a real shame⁷³.

⁷² Blog Hojas de Vida. November 14th 2008.

<http://heduardo.blogspot.com/2008/11/confirmado-sacaron-augusto-alvarez.html>

⁷³ Blog Desde el tercer piso. November 14th 2008

<http://www.desdeeltercerpiso.com/2008/11/botan-a-augusto-alvarez-rodrich-de-peru21/>



Figure 13. On political blog Desde el tercer piso, Jose Alejandro Godoy said that Alvarez Rodrich was forced to quit Peru.21 newspaper because he tells the truth.

Juan Sheput, a politician and blogger, also wrote on his blog Mate Pastor about the case. Even though he is an active member of a political party in opposition to Alan Garcia's regime, his posts are relevant because he gives additional information and refers to agreements between Alan Garcia's government and Empresa Editora El Comercio. He said that the pressure came from the government:

*Augusto Alvarez Rodrich was dismissed, who's next?
Political pressure from the highest level would cause the sudden departure of Augusto Alvarez Rodrich from the successful Peru.21 newspaper. The authoritarian and corrupt model moves forward in Alan Garcia's government, which needs for its 'work' a docile, conspiratorial and suddenly 'lubricated'⁷⁴ media⁷⁵.*

⁷⁴ 'Lubricated' (aceitado in Spanish) became a popular word to refer to a bribe after Petroaudios were released. The word was used in a telephone conversation between Alberto Quimper and Romulo Leon Alegria when they were talking about money they had to pay to get benefits.

⁷⁵ Blog Mate Pastor. November 14th 2008.

<http://mate-pastor.blogspot.com/2008/11/despiden-augusto-alvarez-rodrich-quin.html>

It is said in many circles that after the APEC summit new material would be released that involves current government officials. It would try to be suppressed at any price, hence Augusto's rude departure. Freedom of expression is at risk. It is not an exaggeration.

... Now the valid question is 'Who's next'?⁷⁶

On his second post written the same day, Sheput explained the land agreement behind the case.

Collique⁷⁷ passes the bill: Augusto Alvarez Rodrich was fired

Not only should Alan Garcia be celebrating the dismissal of Augusto Alvarez Rodrich. But also Luis Castañeda Lossio. The common factors between them are construction companies – the same ones that are making much money despite questions published by the press and investigated in Congress because of overcharging, serious evidence of illegality in tenders (Collique for example), structural failures, lack of planning, and so forth⁷⁸.

Well, Peru 21 was one of the media that reported this kind of business which directly affected not only citizens but collective morality. There is a feeling of impunity and corruption that disturbs what is normal⁷⁹.

I think that the Petromails and audios case was one of the reasons for Augusto Alvarez Rodrich's departure, but not the only one. "Keep the

⁷⁶ Idem

⁷⁷ Collique is the name of a district in Lima. In that district was located the Collique Aerodrome, which was built due to a donation made in 1944 for a civilian group of Peruvians called Liga Nacional de Aviacion (Aviation National League) to the State. In 2008, Alan Garcia's government sold the aerodrome lot to a private construction consortium. The sale was illegal because the land was a donation. According to the Civil Code from 1936 and the current Civil Code from 1984 "property donated cannot be spent on purposes other than that specified by the donor". The transaction was discussed in the Peruvian Parliament because it was denounced some irregularities on it, like the undervalued of the land.

⁷⁸ Blog Mate Pastor. November 14th 2008

<http://mate-pastor.blogspot.com/2008/11/collique-pasa-la-factura-despiden.html>

⁷⁹ Idem

Collique aerodrome and I will defend you with my guys, but in return give me the head of Augusto" some small-minded person would have said. It upsets me a lot⁸⁰.

In this context, Augusto Alvarez Rodrich would have been badly used as a currency by the dominant group in the decadent El Decano⁸¹. We must not forget that a consortium formed by a Chilean company Besco and a Peruvian company Graña Montero – the last one is the major shareholder of El Comercio daily- is involved in the rigged sale of Collique⁸².



Figure 14. Blog Mate Pastor written by Juan Sheput, an active politician, describes agreements undermining freedom of the press.

The discussion about the case continued on blogs. Despite an article in la Republica and some comment on radio, the traditional media did not cover the

⁸⁰ Blog Mate Pastor. November 14th 2008

<http://mate-pastor.blogspot.com/2008/11/collique-pasa-la-factura-despiden.html>

⁸¹ El Decano is the colloquial name of El Comercio newspaper, the oldest daily in Peru which also belongs to Empresa Editora El Comercio

⁸² Blog Mate Pastor. November 14th 2008

<http://mate-pastor.blogspot.com/2008/11/collique-pasa-la-factura-despiden.html>

situation. No one in the press, radio or television confronted the government for their attack on freedom of the press.

Even though reports about 'Petrogate' continued to be published, it was assumed that Alan Garcia`s regime could manipulate the media, restrict freedom of the press and decide what journalists investigate.

2.3. Second case study

The conflict in Bagua

June 5th 2009 was a tragic date in the history of Peru. It was the day 34 people died in Bagua⁸³ during clashes between civilians from Amazonian communities and police forces.

It was not an unexpected event. Since 2008, indigenous people from the Amazonian region in Peru had been protesting against the government because it enacted various Decree-laws concerning Amazonia⁸⁴.

Between March and June 2008, the Peruvian government had enacted 102 Decree-laws which delegated legislative powers to the Executive. Those laws were related to the implementation of the Trade Promotion Agreement (known as the Free Trade Agreement) signed between Peru and the United States of America.

Amazonian communities and indigenous organizations led by the Interethnic Association of the Peruvian Forest (Aidesepe)⁸⁵ protested against 38 of those laws. The Indigenous groups did not accept their content because they said they threatened Amazonian interests. They also complained that they had not been

⁸³ Bagua is a province of the department of Amazonas in the Amazonian Region of Peru.

⁸⁴ Law of the Rainforest was the name used to refer to those decrees of concern to the Amazonian region

⁸⁵ In Spanish it is Asociación Interétnica de la Selva Peruana (Aidesepe)

consulted as Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO) established.⁸⁶

In August 2008, people in the Amazonian region protested, demanding that those Decree-laws were abolished. On August 22nd 2008, the Peruvian Congress repealed two of them and offered to evaluate other controversial decrees. In December 2008, a multiparty parliamentary committee presented its report and recommended annulling ten of them.

However, the recommendation was not carried out by the Legislature, although the International Labour Organization had made observations to the Peruvian government urging, among other things, that they respected Convention 169.

Indigenous communities continued to demand the revocation of those laws, but negotiations between them and the Legislature were not successful. The government did not respect its promises made months before.

In April 2009, civilians from Amazonian region headed by Aidesep started a strike to demand the immediate abolition of those laws, especially 1064 and 1090, because they said they violated their territories.

The Government did not respond to the Amazonian people's demands and the strike continued for almost two months – exactly 55 days – until June 5th 2009.

On the morning of June 5th, 369 policemen of the Special Operations Division (DINOES)⁸⁷ and army soldiers carried out an operation in the area called Devil's Curve⁸⁸. The crackdown began at around 5 am when police fired tear gas and

⁸⁶ Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO), created in June 1989, commits governments to consult indigenous people whenever legislation would affect them directly. It was ratified by Peru in 1994.

⁸⁷ In Spanish DINOES means División de Operaciones Especiales.

⁸⁸ Devil's Curve is the name of the place in Bagua where the clashes between civilians and Police took place.

bullets – according to witnesses – at the civilians from helicopters and from the ground.

Despite the government knowing that the civilians had decided to leave the access road Fernando Belaunde – closed because of the strike – the same day, the executive ordered police and army to clear the area.

The result was the death of 34 people, of whom 24 were policemen, 9 civilians and one policeman went missing. Of that total, 12 policemen were killed by indigenous groups in revenge for the attack in Devil's Curve.

Mainstream Media coverage

Before June 5th 2009, media coverage of the Amazonian conflict was based mostly on government sources, and the position and views of indigenous communities were almost completely ignored. Indigenous demands do not receive much attention unless some violent incident occurs in the Amazonian region.

The reasons for the conflict were not expressed in the media, nor were the indigenous culture, viewpoints or traditions mentioned. Rather, Amazonian people were presented as uncivilized and opposed to the economic development of Peru.

Even on the morning of June 5th 2009, President Alan Garcia talked about Amazonian clashes and said that indigenous people “were not first-class citizens”. Those words reflected racism and showed the executive point of view about Amazonian people.

The time has come to open the roads and rivers and for each of the ministers to assume their responsibilities. That is what we have been appointed for. We were not elected to wash our hands and say there is no

harm and look the other way while we run out of oil and gas. Is that what they want?

What can the government do but act with energy? Order is a basic principle and society always asks for order. Things have gone far enough. These people have no mandate. They are not first-class citizens who can say, as 400 thousand natives to 28 million Peruvians, "You have no right to come here". No way, this is a serious mistake⁸⁹.

On the day of the riots, the media coverage mainly concentrated on the official government versions. Prime Minister Yehude Simon and Interior Affairs Minister, Mercedes Cabanillas, were spokespersons for the regime.

Although indigenous leader Alberto Pizango, president of the Association for Forest Development (Aidesep), was quoted, the official information predominated. Specialists in the Amazonian region and local people were not considered in the reports.



Figure 15. Front pages of La República, El Comercio and Peru.21 newspapers published on June 6th 2009, the day after the riots in Bagua. The rainforest bleeds, Bagua bleeds, and Massacre were the headlines.

⁸⁹ Videos showing President Alan Garcia's statement can be seen on Youtube <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yjzxl1IBswc>

Moreover, the reason for the dispute disappeared from the news. The media did not mention the Decree-laws that were the cause of the indigenous peoples' demands.

In the following days, the mainstream press focused on the government version, especially after the deaths were confirmed of nine of the 38 policemen who had been captured by the indigenous protestors.

Afterwards, the Amazonian population was presented as wild, barbaric and murderous. At the same time, the deaths of policemen were presented as more serious than civilians' deaths.



Figure 16. Front pages of the same newspapers published on June 7th 2009. They show "nine hostage policemen no mercy", "Absurd killing", and "barbarity" as headlines.

As in the first case study presented in this paper, only a few journalists tried to give a balanced coverage of those events by going to different sources and quoting Amazonian people. Most memorable stories were those issued by reporter Alonso Gamarra in the programme *Enemigos Íntimos*⁹⁰ on June 8th and 9th 2009. It

⁹⁰ The TV program *Enemigos Íntimos* (Intimate Enemies) was broadcasted in Channel 2 from Monday to Friday at 11 pm. A copy of the TV report can be watched at <http://notasdesdelenovo.wordpress.com/2009/06/09/alonso-gamarra-reporta-desde-imacita-chiriaco-y-nazaret/>

showed an Awajun⁹¹ woman claiming in heartbreaking and poignant terms what had happened in the Devil's curve and in the Amazonian region.

Please listen to us Mr. Alan Garcia:

You are guilty because you have wiped us out!

You are killing us

You are selling us

You are the terrorist

We defend our territory without guns, our defence weapons are only spears and sticks that are not long range and they are not to kill as you have done to us.

You have destroyed us using weapons, munitions, helicopters and you have killed our brothers, sisters, students, teachers, and children.

*Alan, we ask you to come here to our territory to pay for debts you have with us.*⁹²

Also TV journalist Martin Arredondo presented a report on the violence of the Bagua riots. His images showed both policemen and civilians during the clashes. It was broadcast on the TV programme Punto Final on June 7th 2009.⁹³ La Republica newspaper also tried to present both versions, from the government and from the indigenous groups.

In addition to the predominance of official media information, the government also avoided its responsibility for the event and provided a biased version of the facts by blaming the Indians for starting the riots. The government said they were armed.

⁹¹ Awajun and wampis are ethnic groups that live in Amazonian region where conflict took place. Both ethnic groups suffered the government repression for defending their land.

⁹² This is a selection of the words that Awajun woman said on TV report. The translation from Awajun to Spanish was published on blog Notas desde Lenovo run by journalist and blogger Jacqueline Fowks. <http://notasdesdelenovo.wordpress.com/2009/06/09/alonso-gamarra-reporta-desde-imacita-chiriaco-y-nazaret/>

⁹³ Martin Arredondo's report can be viewed on these links posted in Youtube
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X0shiOMiKVM&NR=1>
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iFzW6O7sFWI&NR=1>

In addition, the government accused the local media of encouraging people to attack the police. Prime Minister Yehude Simon said that the violent events in Amazon region showed there has been a foreign conspiracy against democracy in Peru.

At no time did the Executive accept responsibility for the killings in Bagua nor accept that they had given the order to open fire on the indigenous protestors although it was known that they would withdraw from the area that day.

Justice Minister Rosario Fernandez said that the violence and deaths were caused by violent speeches like the one made by indigenous leader Alberto Pizango. He and other four indigenous leaders have been accused of having committed a crime contrary to public order against the state in the form of sedition and fomenting riots.⁹⁴

The same day, in the afternoon, President Alan Garcia celebrated World Environment Day in the Government Palace. While people in the Amazonia region were demanding the protection of rainforest and more than 30 deaths were confirmed, Garcia was giving prizes to bio-commerce entrepreneurs. The Minister of Environment was also at the ceremony.

It seemed that Garcia and his ministers wanted to remind all Peruvians that people in the Amazonia were not important for the government. His words “these people have no mandate, they are not first-class citizens” had never before reflected so well his views about Amazonian communities.

Blogs and social media

⁹⁴ Doris Aguirre, *Fiscal accuses Pizango and four leaders of Aidesep of sedition and riot apologia*. “La Republica Newspaper”. June 13th 2009. <http://www.larepublica.pe/impresafiscal-denuncia-pizango-y-cuatro-lideres-de-aidesep-por-apologia-de-sedicion-y-m-2009-06-13>

As occurred during the Iran revolution, which was described in chapter 1 – and recently in Arab countries, principally Tunisia and Egypt – information about riots in Bagua that were not included in mainstream media was published on blogs and circulated through social media like Twitter, Facebook, Youtube, Flickr and emails.

Peruvian journalist and blogger Jacqueline Fowks, who had been covering the Bagua crisis for a long time, wrote widely during the Bagua riots and following days by including extensive information about them. She said in an interview.

In Bagua 2009, when the government attempted to submit an entirely manipulated version of facts of June 5th, blogs and twitter started to publish information that could not be accessed elsewhere. There were very strong reactions to threats, monopolization of power, and the attempt to monopolize a version of the events.

Some journalists and people from other professions, because of the magnitude of the tragedy and the lack of information, tried to get more accurate information. We did that job because what had been happening was devastating. Not only because of the scale of the violence and death, but because of the unacceptable government attitude.

After seeing the government's way of behaving, I believe the outrage was what led people to use any tools and means available to generate information and do something with this anger inside.⁹⁵

On the day of the clashes, blogger journalists, organizations concerned with human rights and Amazonian issues and lay people posted information from different sources and forwarded any information.

⁹⁵ Interview with Jacqueline Fowks in June 2010.

Tweets with hashtag #Bagua were forwarded thousands of times all day. Many people, including myself, were searching for true facts coming directly from the ground. Also posts pointing out the government responsibility were uploaded permanently.

Facebook was also used to set up groups to support the Amazonian people and upload pictures and information from the Bagua clashes. On the following days, information and opinion articles continued to be uploaded on blogs and social networks.

The picture of snipers on the roof of a building –probably the police station– was posted on Twitter. That picture contradicted the government version about clashes because the executive said indigenous groups started the attack and police just acted in response to the assault. However, the presence of snipers demonstrated that police were prepared to take action.⁹⁶

That picture was also uploaded on the post Massacre in Bagua (Masacre en Bagua) published on June 5th 2009 on the blog El morsa, written by Roberto Bustamante. He says on his post that the picture was sent by email. In the same post at least 17 links to other blogs about Bagua riots can be found.

⁹⁶ Jacqueline Fowks. Conflicto entre Gobierno y nativos: el caso de Bagua (Perú) en los medios masivos y la web 2.0. Congreso de Latin American Studies Association (LASA). Toronto, October 2010, p. 9



Figure 17. That picture was uploaded on Twitter by Roberto Bustamante, archaeologist and anthropologist who runs the blog El morsa⁹⁷.

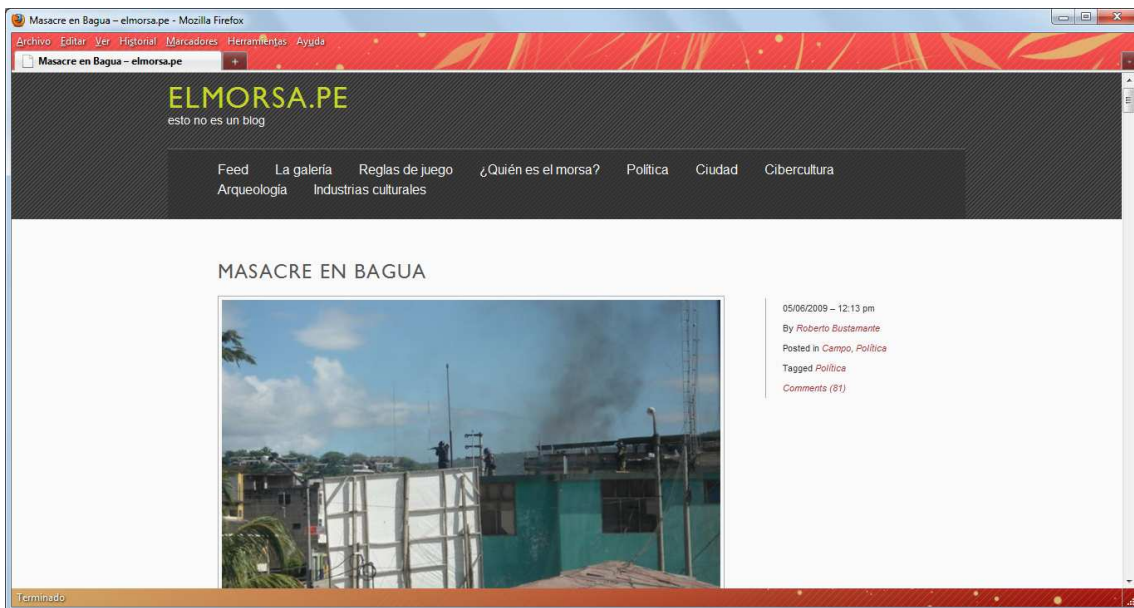


Figure 18. The same picture uploaded on blog El Morsa runs by Roberto Bustamante.

TV Cultura, a Peruvian association for social communicators, uploaded pictures of the Bagua clashes on the day of the riots on its Flickr account. Those pictures

⁹⁷ Blog El morsa run by Roberto Bustamante <http://www.elmorsa.pe/>

showed indigenous groups without firearms, but with spears and sticks. Those photos contradicted the government version which indicated that they had firearms.

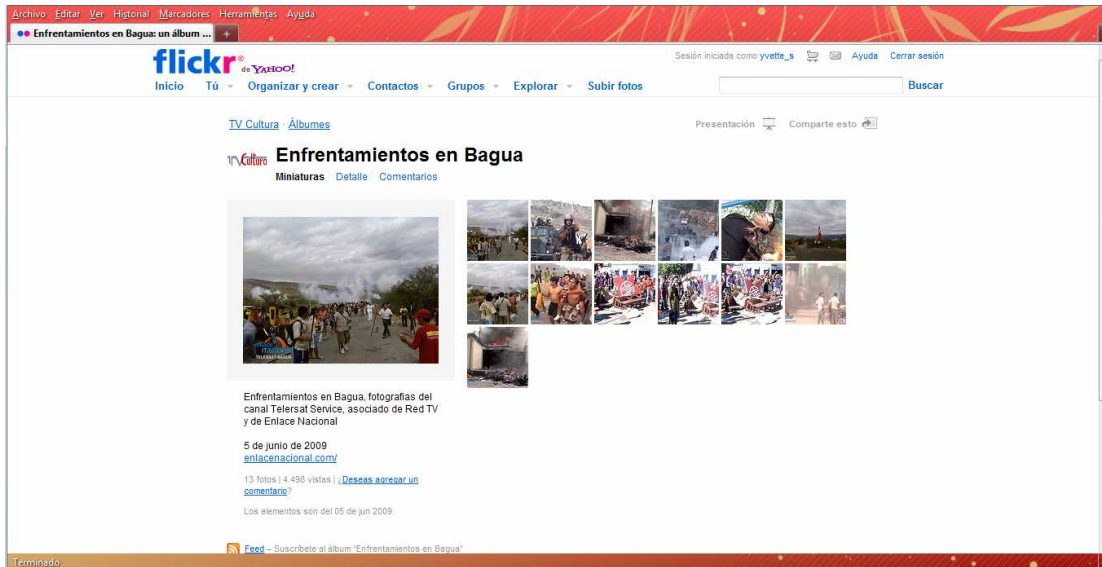


Figure 19. TV Cultura flickr account shows 13 pictures of Bagua riots. Images were taken from Enlace Nacional Telesat Bagua⁹⁸, an online TV station associated to TV Cultura.



Figure 20. The photograph on from left showed civilians with spears and sticks. The right picture one shows police with firearms. The confrontation was unequal. Both photos are from TV Cultura Flickr album⁹⁹.

⁹⁸ Enlace Nacional, *Confrontación entre policías y nativos en Bagua deja trágico saldo (Confrontation between Police and natives in Bagua leaves tragic toll)* June 5th 2009

<http://enlacenacional.com/2009/06/05/enfrentamiento-entre-policias-y-nativos-en-bagua-deja-tragico-saldo/>

⁹⁹ Photos can be seen on TV Cultura Flickr album Bagua riots

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/tvcultura/3598766694/in/set-72157619291522408/>

Enlace Nacional, a TV online station, covered the clashes from the ground and presented videos showing how policemen and soldiers opened fire on the protestors.. Videos also illustrated that civilians did not have firearms.¹⁰⁰

On June 6th 2009, more pictures showing injured civilians and deaths during riots were published on the Catapa NGO website¹⁰¹, the movement of volunteers in Belgium dedicated to globalization and sustainable development in Latin America.

Those pictures were taken by two volunteers in the field, Marijke Deleu and Thomas Quirynten. I noted that the link to those pictures were tweeted and retweeted¹⁰² hundreds of times on Twitter. The official government version that blamed indigenous leaders, environmental NGOs and foreign governments for the massacre was discredited. Everywhere it was said that Alan Garcia and his ministers gave the order to open fire in Bagua.



¹⁰⁰ Enlace Nacional video can be watched on its website

<http://enlacenacional.com/2009/06/05/enfrentamiento-entre-policias-y-nativos-en-bagua-deja-tragico-saldo/> and on Youtube http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Exjj4RAoszw&feature=player_embedded#at=106

¹⁰¹ Catapa NGO website www.catapa.be

¹⁰² Tweet means to upload posts on Twitter and Retweet (RT) means to share posts uploaded by any user on Twitter.

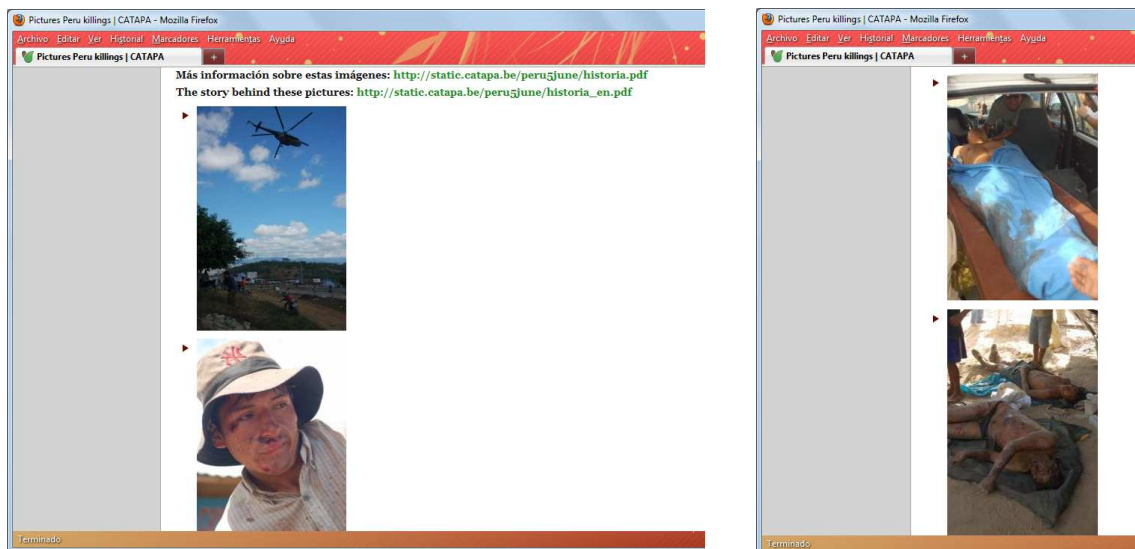


Figure 21. Catapa website uploaded pictures taken by its volunteers in Bagua. The headline is Pictures Peru killings and the presentation says “This page contains all the pictures taken by our volunteers in Peru of the conflict between the Peruvian government and the Amazon people. Some pictures are shocking”¹⁰³.

The Catapa NGO also posted a press released about the Bagua clashes. It presented the organization's viewpoint about the Amazonian conflict and told internet users what its volunteers had seen during the riots.

[Press Release] 2 Belgian volunteers were witnesses of a bloody conflict in North Peru.

Ghent, June 6, 2009. Two Belgian volunteers of CATAPA, a Belgian NGO that focuses on mining related problems in Latin America were present at the riots in the North of Peru. CATAPA distances itself from the violence and condemns the reaction of the Peruvian government, but supports the legitimate claim of the indigenous people for their involvement in the development of the Amazon. Our volunteers Marijke Deleu and Thomas Quiryen were evacuated and brought to safety as we speak.

¹⁰³ Catapa, *Pictures Peru killings*, pictures published on its website on June 6th 2009 <http://www.catapa.be/en/north-peru-killings>

The article also referred to the range of versions about injured and dead people. Most people in Peru had doubts about that because there were a variety of versions about the consequences of the clashes.

On June 6th official figures of clashes in Bagua were 32 dead including 23 policemen, 155 injured and 73 arrested. However, different numbers of deaths came from the ground. Civilians in Bagua reported that tens of people had been killed and many were missing.

The enduring conflict in Bagua (North Peru) between the Peruvian government and indigenous inhabitants of the Amazon led to violent confrontations on Friday. According to different sources, between 30 and 84 deaths are reported, and more than 100 were wounded when the security forces tried to stop a roadblock by using violent force. According to the police, the indigenous people fired at the policemen first. This is contended by the representatives of the different indigenous groups: they say that they were only armed with their traditional spears. Most sources affirm that shots were fired from police helicopters.

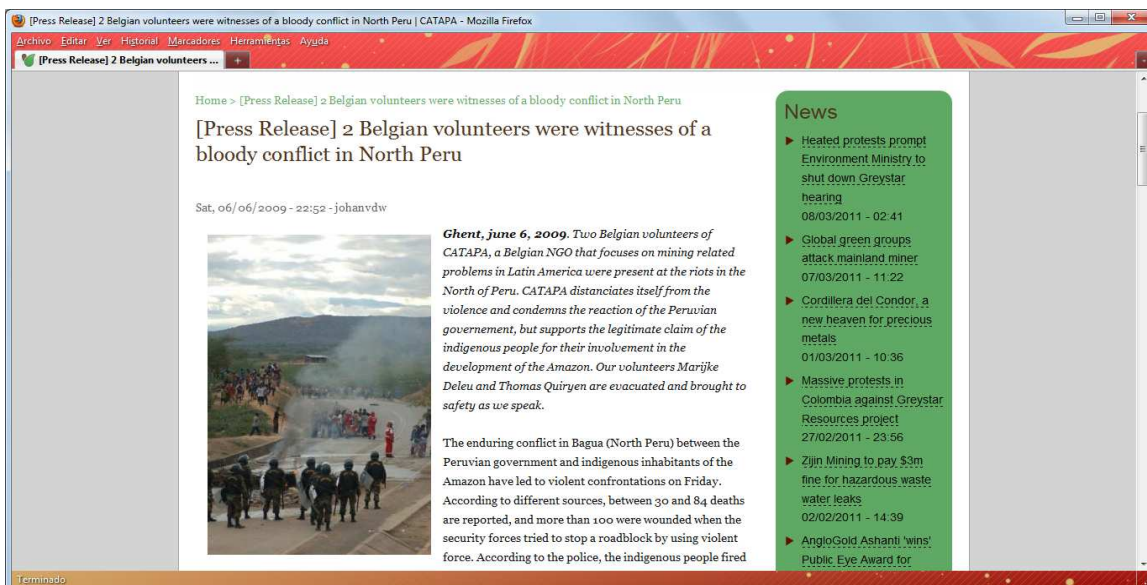


Figure 22. Catapa press release published on June 6th 2009. The article criticised government attitude and condemned violence in clashes.

On its blog, the National Coordinator of Human Rights (CNDDHH) expressed its worries about irregular circumstances occurred during the clashes.

The CNDDHH has brought to the attention of the authorities information from sources in the area that reported irregular events like disproportionate use of force by police, corpses showing signs of excessive violence, the irregular arrangement of the bodies of natives killed during clashes, asserting that bodies would have been cremated. Furthermore, detainees have been brought to the headquarters of the Army "The Miracle" in Bagua, where corpses would also have been taken¹⁰⁴



Figure 23. National Coordinator of Human Rights blog posted a press release concerning excessive use of force in Bagua riots.

On following days, blogs and social media continued to report about the Bagua crisis. Analysis, information from ground level, and reports about the Awajun and Wampis culture were published widely on Internet. Also some columnists wrote

¹⁰⁴ Blog of the National Coordinator of Human Rights. *CNDDHH calls on the authorities, especially the Attorney General's Office to investigate serious complaints of excessive use of force in Bagua* <http://blog.dhperu.org/?p=3555>

about the issue and TV news and radio programmes turned to web 2.0 for more information.

Notas desde Lenovo, the blog run by Jacqueline Fowks continued to report widely quoting specialists and analysts on Amazonian issues. She also uploaded government, indigenous and other organizations' documents about the Bagua crisis.

Two professional approaches to the northern rainforest

Marco Huaco, legal counsel of Awajun, reviews how different government agencies knew characteristics of the Awajun and Wampis. Rudecindo Vega, Amazonian sociologist and former senior official of Alejandro Toledo's government¹⁰⁵, presents indicators of the department where violence broke out on Friday 5th. Since Saturday, both texts are circulating on networks¹⁰⁶.

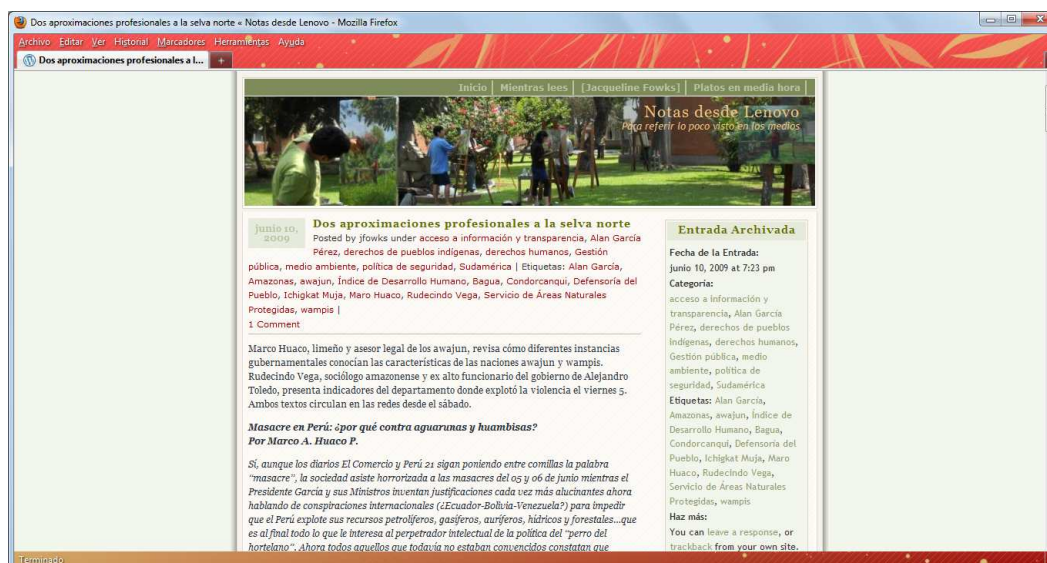


Figure 24. Jacqueline Fowks posted on her blog Notas desde Lenovo two articles from a lawyer and a sociologist about the Bagua crisis. Both criticised the government.

Army presence falls back population in mountain Datem of Marañon.

¹⁰⁵ Alejandro Toledo was President of Peru from 2001 to 2006.

¹⁰⁶ Notas desde Lenovo. *Two professional approaches to the northern rainforest*. June 10th 2009.

<http://notasdesdelenovo.wordpress.com/2009/06/10/dos-aproximaciones-profesionales-a-la-selva-norte/>

A report from the Regional Health Bureau – apparently from the department of Amazonas – to Department of Epidemiology of Ministry of Health said yesterday that in Rio Morona, Datem Province of Marañon (Amazonas), the arrival of members of the Army "has caused panic amongst the population which has retreated to the mountains"¹⁰⁷.

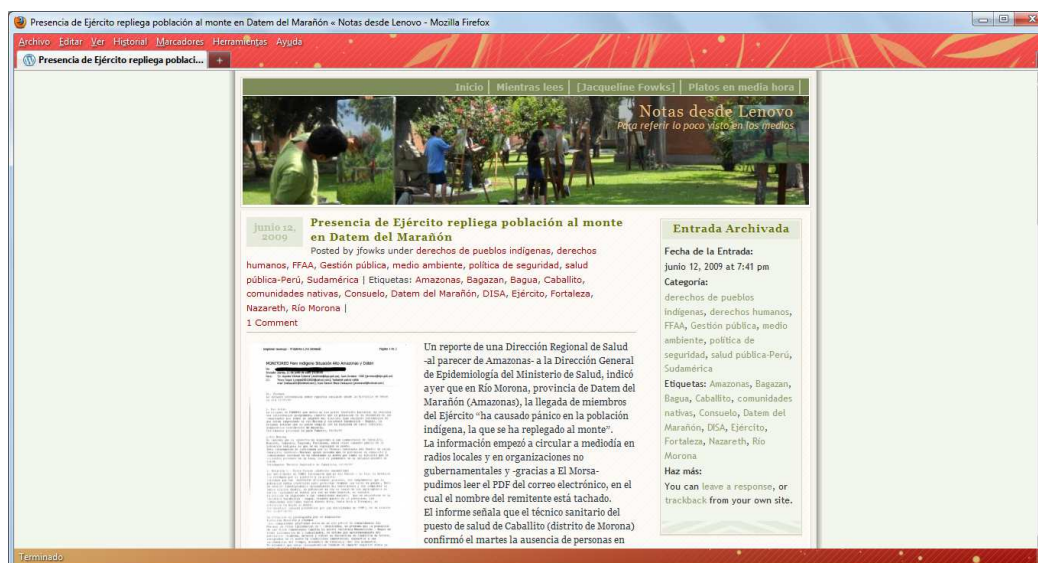


Figure 25. On that post, Fowks reproduced a document from the Regional Health Bureau.

The government continued to evade responsibility for the people's deaths in Bagua and continued to blamey the indigenous leaders; it also continued saying it was a foreign plot against democracy.

Two days after the clashes, the government broadcast a highly controversial clip on TV which presented the idea that riots in Bagua were an insurgency against Peru. The clip started with indigenous leader Alberto Pizango saying "To declare our communities in insurgency". Then, pictures showing policemen dead, one after another while a voice off said "22 humble policemen were killed with ferocity and savagery. These were no clashes, these were murders. They were cowardly slain

¹⁰⁷ Notas desde Lenovo. *Army presence folds population in mountain Datem of Marañon*. June 12th 2009. <http://notasdesdelenovo.wordpress.com/2009/06/12/presencia-de-ejercito-repliega-poblacion-al-monte-en-datem-del-maranon/>

when they were unarmed and defenceless.” Also pictures of Amazonian people waving spears were shown.¹⁰⁸

The programme caused indignation in the Peruvian population and negative reactions in the international community. On June 10th, it was removed from TV channels. However, the executive continued to deny evidence about the Bagua massacre.

On June 18th, thirteen days after the riots, decree-laws 1090 and 1064 that were unconstitutional and detrimental for Amazonia were repealed.

2.4. Third case study

Floods in Cusco

Cusco is the place in Peru most visited by tourists, and Machu Picchu – located in the Cusco region – is an iconic symbol that receives between 600,000 and 800,000 visitors per year¹⁰⁹.

Both Cusco’s Historic City Centre and Machu Picchu are World Heritage sites. As a consequence, tourism provides the most important income to the region and foreign visitors are paid special attention in any hazardous situation such as natural disasters.

On January 24th 2010, heavy rain affected many provinces in the region causing flooding and destruction. Official figures reported that more than 13,000 people were affected, 50 people were injured, 2,000 houses were damaged and 10 people died.

¹⁰⁸ The video can be found on this link <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JDVgw4pbHEk>

¹⁰⁹ Ministry of Foreign Commerce and Tourism. Statistical reports from 2004 to 2010 showed constantly increasing numbers since 2004 until 2009 when 815,000 visitors were reported. In 2010 the number fell to 699,000 because Machu Picchu was closed for more than two months due to floods.

Bridges and roads collapsed. The railway to Machu Picchu was also affected, with the result that more than 2,300 tourists could not leave the Machu Picchu town called Aguas Calientes.

Press radio and television news programmes widely reported the tragedy. Images from different places in Cusco arrived by email, Youtube, Facebook and Twitter. The media used many of them to show the disaster caused by the floods..

Some of mainstream media, however, focused mostly on the situation of tourists, and what the government was doing to rescue people stranded in Aguas Calientes. For some of them the rescue of two thousand people in Machu Picchu was more important than thousands of Peruvians affected in various towns in the Cusco region. After the tourists were rescued, the issue of flooding and its effects were hardly covered in some media.

As is usual when a disaster occurs, blogs and social media were used by citizens to report it.. Pictures, videos and messages asking for help were uploaded in blogs, social media and sent by emails. Some of those reports were used by the mainstream media for fuller coverage.

The Blog El Caminerito¹¹⁰ used Google maps to make a map that showed the areas affected by floods. The map was quoted by mainstream media like El Comercio newspaper.

¹¹⁰ Blog El Caminerito. *Map of emergency in Cusco*. <http://www.elcaminerito.com/2010/01/28/mapacusco/>

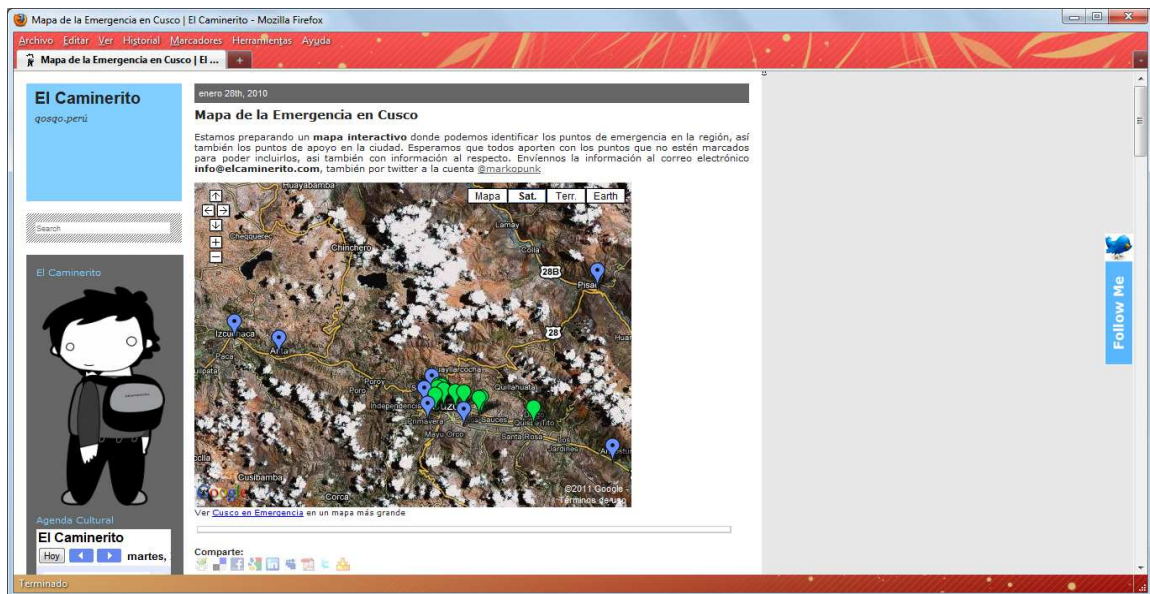


Figure 26. The map made by blog El Caminerito showed a general perspective of the disaster.

Bloggers from Cusco not only showed the magnitude of the disaster. Unlike the mainstream media, those from Cusco did not stop blogging after the tourists were rescued. Some people used their blogs to ask for help for injured people, and others like blogger Luis Figueroa, who usually writes about his experiences, became a reporter during the floods in Cusco going to the places affected. He posted people's needs and pictures about the disaster.

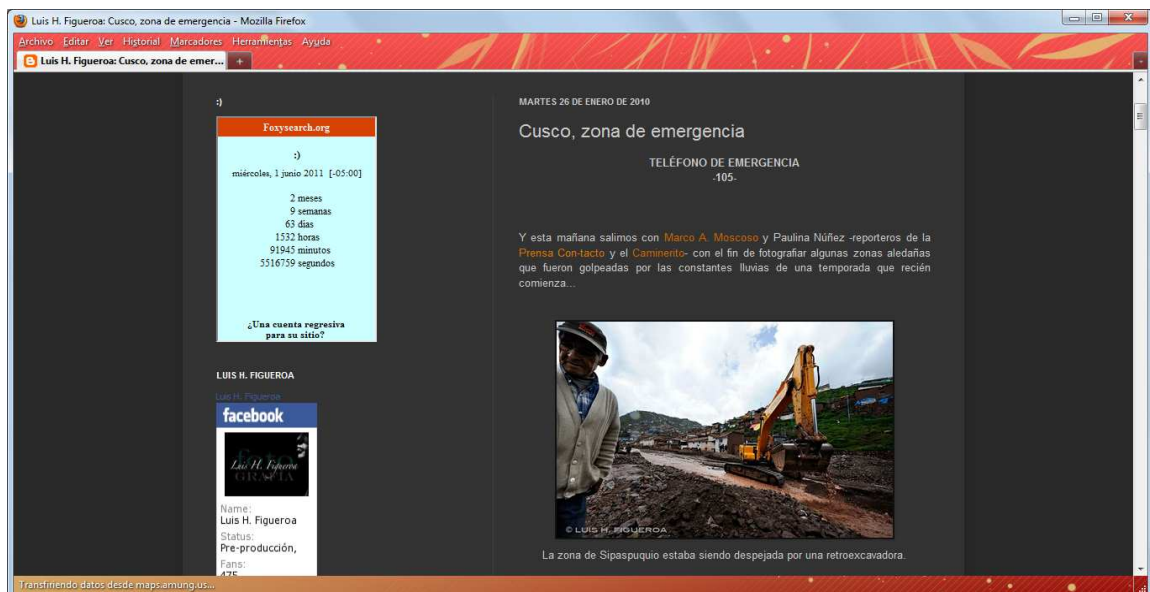


Figure 27. Blogger Luis Figueroa visited different places affected by floods.

Bloggers also criticised the government reaction to the disaster. On January 27th 2010, the blog El Placard posted:

Although we are used to heavy rains, it is not normal to suffer 24 hours or more of rain. Several houses collapsed in many provinces of Cusco, not only Aguas Calientes as has been reported. The situation is really worrying, but the government is doing virtually nothing. The visit of the Prime Minister was more to visualize the event than help people or to generate action.

It's amazing how the government responded automatically when the earthquake happened in Haiti¹¹¹. The disaster in Cusco was less devastating but significant enough, but the authorities are conspicuous by their absence.

It is also outrageous that the government gave greater emphasis to assisting foreign tourists than to locals. It is not fair that those helicopters that arrived at Aguas Calientes did not take out local people who wanted to quit the place. Machu Picchu is isolated¹¹².

¹¹¹ The Peruvian government sent an airplane carrying humanitarian help to Haiti immediately after the Earthquake in January 2010. However, during floods in Cusco, government reaction was inadequate. It was slow and did not include all the people injured.

¹¹² Blog El Placar. *Cusco lives between rain and collapse*. January 27th 2010.
<http://elplacardh.blogspot.com/2010/01/cusco-vive-entre-lluvias-y-derrumbes.html>



Figure 28. Blog El Placard criticised government reaction to the disaster

Gustavo Gorriti, Peruvian Journalist and Editor in Chief of IDL-Reporteros¹¹³, has said that the Internet has given each person with access to it the chance of publishing and potentially reaching all audiences in the world that are connected to the Internet as well.

“People have potential to express themselves, to use their voice, and to reach virtually all corners of the world. Nothing like that has happened before. In qualitative terms of communication development it has been not only a reform but a revolution. If we examine what else can be compared to it, the closest is the communication revolution that took place with the invention of printing”, said Gorriti.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ IDL-Reporteros is an online media dedicated to investigative journalism <http://idl-reporteros.pe/>

¹¹⁴ Interview with Gustavo Gorriti, June 2010.

CONCLUSIONS

New media, and principally Web 2.0, are alternative ways for supporting freedom of the press when traditional media (press, radio and television) are restricted by the government in any country.

It is not only dictatorial regimes which can impose restrictions on media liberties in terms of freedom of the press. Also democratic countries can find methods to limit freedom of information.

The first chapter analyzed how restrictions operate in dictatorial regimes. In the three countries mentioned on the paper – Iran, Cuba and China – technology is used to control and to limit internet access. However, people can evade limitations also by using smart technology.

During Iran's election, the government closed internet connections for one hour on June 13th 2009, but it could not be closed indefinitely because to do it would have a negative effect on online economic activities.

Social media network such as Facebook, Twitter and Youtube were essential at the time of the Iranian election riots and the clashes afterwards because they were a source of information inside and outside the country.

Twitter played an important role in helping people to communicate where demonstrations were taking place, and also to spread information about aggressive acts, arrests and other government actions against the people. Also, Youtube and Facebook were a source of videos and photos that described what was happening on the ground where media correspondents were not allowed to go.

Iran's election and other recent events in the Middle East have demonstrated that social media play an important role in helping freedom of the press when coverage is limited because journalists can use information uploaded on those platforms in spite of the restrictions on their coverage.

The bloggers movement in Cuba has revealed that it is possible to post on their blogs even though the Internet is under the control of government. Sending posts by email to people abroad who will upload that information is the most common way to avoid restrictions on the island.

In Cuba, a country where the press is controlled by the regime, blogs are a way to express freely opposition to the government, in a critical style and without official permission. However, the two parallel network systems in Cuba do not allow Cubans to have access to the blogs run in the island. For that reason, blogs are more relevant for the diaspora than for people in the country. Nevertheless, bloggers are a problem for the Cuban regime.

Mechanisms for controlling internet access in China are quite diverse such as legal arguments, police internet control and technological systems. On the other hand, internet users in China can evade government control through technical instruments like Virtual Private Network.

As has been explained, technological mechanisms are available to stop and control Internet and Web 2.0 platforms. Nonetheless, technological mechanisms are also available for internet users to evade control. Nowadays, probably the most well-known case is Wikileaks, which has evaded restrictions by creating countless mirror sites all over the world when Wikileaks.org was closed.

In dictatorial countries, social media have opened a new door, a way to let the international community know what is happening inside any country. Restrictions

can be so severe that people have to fight permanently against the government's control of the media.

Although it is believed that in democratic countries freedom of the press is guaranteed, the three examples from Peru I have examined show that restrictions can be similar to or the same as those in authoritarian regimes. In these circumstances, blogs and social media have become an alternative to mainstream media.

Many other examples around the world can be studied to show that freedom of the press is at risk in democratic countries, especially when governments try to keep secret cases of corruption, human rights violations, or political, economic, social or environmental mismanagement, among others.

The cases studied in Peru show that Web 2.0 was used as an option to avoid media restrictions. In some cases, new media – especially blogs – were used to give information that traditional media did not report. A clear example of this was the case of the sacking of the Editor in Chief of Peru21.

In other situations, independent journalists posted on their own sites information that was not mentioned by mainstream media. The conflict in Bagua was a special case in Peru where relevant information posted on blogs and social networks were later used by the traditional media.

Those platforms were used to add information to the official perspective, to give another point of view of the event, to report from the ground, to show images that were not displayed on conventional media. The flooding in Cusco is also an excellent example about how new media are also used to be the voices of those who could not gain access to the mainstream media.

Perhaps, new media have an exceptional role during critical events like riots, war, natural disasters, and others, because they can be used not only by journalists but also by citizens to report from other perspectives and from the ground.

However, new media is not a demonstration of freedom of the press *per se*. It is also important how journalists use it, how news is confirmed and what kind of information is distributed on those platforms.

Limitations on internet access such as availability, costs and technological inconveniences are obstacles that make it difficult to consider the new media as the solution to all the problems of press freedom.

However, there can be no doubt that Internet and specially Web 2.0 are changing the ways to access information, to receive news and to interact with each other.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AGUIRRE, Doris. "Fiscal denuncia a Pizango y a cuatro líderes de Aidesep por apología de sedición y motín" (*Fiscal accuses Pizango and four leaders of Aidesep of sedition and riot apologia*). La Republica newspaper. Lima, June 13th 2009. <http://www.larepublica.pe/impresafiscal-denuncia-pizango-y-cuatro-lideres-de-aidesep-por-apologia-de-sedicion-y-m-2009-06-13>

ANAYA, James. *Informe del Relator Especial sobre la situación de los derechos humanos y las libertades fundamentales de los indígenas. (Report on the situation of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people)* Consejo de Derechos Humanos, Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas, 2009. 19 p.

BATRA, N. D.. *Digital Freedom How much can you handle?* Rowman and Littlefield Publisher, 2008. 265 p.

BUSTAMANTE, Roberto. *Masacre en Bagua*. Blog El Morsa. June 5th 2009 <http://www.elmorsa.pe/2009/06/05/masacre-en-bagua/>

CADELO, Claudia. *Cómo llegué hasta aquí*. Blog Octavo Cerco <http://octavocerco.blogspot.com/p/como-llegue-hasta-aqui.html>

CADELO, Claudia. "Interview with Miriam Celaya". Global Voices, January 2009. <http://globalvoicesonline.org/2009/01/08/cuba-interview-with-blogger-miriam-celaya/>

CATAPA NGO. *Pictures Peru killings*. www.catapa.be June 6th 2009 <http://www.catapa.be/en/north-peru-killings>

CORDINADORA NACIONAL DE DERECHOS HUMANOS. *CNDDHH pide a las autoridades, especialmente a la Fiscalía de la Nación, investigar graves denuncias sobre uso desproporcionado de la fuerza en Bagua. (CNDDHH calls on the authorities, especially the Attorney General's Office to investigate serious complaints of excessive use of force in Bagua)* Blog of the National Coordinator of Human Rights. June 5th 2009 <http://blog.dhperu.org/?p=3555>

DEFENSORÍA DEL PUEBLO, *Actuaciones humanitarias realizadas por la Defensoría del pueblo con ocasión de los hechos ocurridos el 5 de junio del 2009, en las provincias de Utcubamba y Bagua, región Amazonas, en el contexto del paro Amazónico. (Humanitarian actions undertaken by the Ombudsman during the events of June 5, 2009, in the provinces of Utcubamba and Bagua, Amazonia region)* Informe de Adjuntía N° 006-2009-DP/ADHPD. Lima 2009. 97 p.

EL PLACAR. *Cusco vive entre lluvias y derrumbes. (Cusco lives between rain and collapse)* Blog El Placar. January 27th 2010.

<http://elplacardh.blogspot.com/2010/01/cusco-vive-entre-lluvias-y-derrumbes.html>

ENAYAT, Mahmood *Iran: Beyond Twitter, the new revolution. Index on Censorship.* June 11th 2010

<http://www.indexoncensorship.org/2010/06/iran-election-twitter/>

ENLACE NACIONAL. *Confrontación entre policías y nativos en Bagua deja trágico saldo (Confrontation between Police and natives in Bagua leaves tragic toll)* June 5th 2009 <http://enlacenacional.com/2009/06/05/enfrentamiento-entre-policias-y-nativos-en-bagua-deja-tragico-saldo/>

FOSSATO, Floriana and LLOYD, John. *The web that failed.* Oxford, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. Oxford, September 2009. 60 p

FREEDOM HOUSE. *Freedom of the Press 2010. Broad Setbacks to Global Media Freedom.* Washington DC 2010. 261 p.

----- *Freedom on the Net: A Global Assessment of Internet and Digital Media.* Washington DC 2009. 126 p.

FOWKS, Jacqueline. *Conflicto entre Gobierno y nativos: el caso de Bagua (Perú) en los medios masivos y la web 2.0.* Congreso de Latin American Studies Association (LASA). Toronto, October 2010. 18 p.

----- *Alonso Gamarra reporta desde Imacita, Chiriaco y Nazaret.* Blog Notas desde Lenovo. June 9th 2009

<http://notasdesdelenovo.wordpress.com/2009/06/09/alonso-gamarra-reporta-desde-imacita-chiriaco-y-nazaret/>

----- *Dos aproximaciones profesionales a la selva norte (Two professional approaches to the northern rainforest).* Blog Notas desde Lenovo. June 10th 2009.

<http://notasdesdelenovo.wordpress.com/2009/06/10/dos-aproximaciones-profesionales-a-la-selva-norte/>

----- *Presencia de Ejército repliega población al monte en Datem del Marañón. (Army presence folds population in mountain Datem of Marañón)* Blog Notas desde Lenovo. June 12th 2009.

<http://notasdesdelenovo.wordpress.com/2009/06/12/presencia-de-ejercito-repliega-poblacion-al-monte-en-datem-del-maranon/>

GODOY, Jose Alejandro. *Botan a Augusto Alvarez Rodrich de Peru.21*. Blog Desde el Tercer Piso. November 14th 2008
<http://www.desdeeltercerpiso.com/2008/11/botan-a-augusto-alvarez-rodrich-de-peru21/>

GROSSMAN, Lev “*Iran Protests: Twitter, the Medium of the Movement*”. Time magazine. June 17th, 2009
<http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1905125,00.html>

HEDUARDO. *Confirmado: sacaron a Augusto Alvarez Rodrich de Peru.21*. Blog Hojas de Vida. November 14th 2008.
<http://heduardo.blogspot.com/2008/11/confirmado-sacaron-augusto-alvarez.html>

HINDMAN, Matthew. *The Myth of Digital Democracy*. Princenton University Press. Princenton, 2009. 173 p.

INSTITUTO DE OPINION PUBLICA. *Encuesta: El uso de Internet a nivel nacional (Survey: Internet users in Peru)*. Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru. Lima, June 2010.

INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION. *Freedom of the Press Report*. IAPA General Assembly. Mérida, México, November 5 – 9, 2010
http://www.sipiapa.com/v4/index.php?page=det_informe&asamblea=26&infol=778&idioma=us

KENNEDY, John. “*China: Nation's first citizen reporter?*” Global Voices, March 2007. <http://globalvoicesonline.org/2007/03/30/china-nations-first-citizen-reporter>

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN COMMERCE AND TOURISM. *Statistics reports from 2004 to 2010*. Lima, 2010

NEWMAN, Nic. *The rise of social media and its impact on mainstream journalism* Oxford, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. Oxford, 2008. 53 p.

OPENNET INITIATIVE. *Internet Filtering in Iran*. June 2009.
<http://opennet.net/research/profiles/iran>

PALESTRA DEL ESTADO. Portal de Asuntos Públicos de la PUCP. *Reforma y Gobernabilidad. Corrupción en Medios de Comunicación*.
http://palestra.pucp.edu.pe/pal_est/index.php3?file=documentos/videos.htm

PERÚ.21. "Alvarez Rodrich deja dirección de Perú.21". Lima, November 15th 2008
<http://peru21.pe/imprensa/noticia/alvarez-rodrich-deja-direccion-peru21/2008-11-15/230206>

REPORTERS WITHOUT BORDERS. *World day against Cyber Censorship. Web 2.0 versus Control 2.0. Enemies of the Internet. Countries under surveillance.* Paris, 2010. 64 p.

----- 2011:125 netizens imprisoned. <http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-barometer-netizens-imprisoned.html?annee=2011>

----- *Press Freedom Barometer.* Country: Peru. June 2010
<http://en.rsf.org/report-peru,188.html>

OCRAM. *Se fue Augusto Alvarez Rodrich (Augusto Alvarez Rodrich has gone)* Blog El Utero de Marita. November 14th 2008. <http://utero.pe/2008/11/14/se-fue-augusto-alvarez-rodrich>

SHEPUT, Juan. *Despiden a Augusto Alvarez Rodrich ¿Quién viene después? (Augusto Alvarez Rodrich was dismissed, who's next?)* Blog Mate Pastor. November 14th 2008.
<http://mate-pastor.blogspot.com/2008/11/despiden-augusto-alvarez-rodrich-quin.html>

----- *Collique pasa la factura: despiden a Augusto Álvarez Rodrich (Collique passes the bill: Augusto Alvarez Rodrich was fired)* Blog Mate Pastor. November 14th 2008
<http://mate-pastor.blogspot.com/2008/11/collique-pasa-la-factura-despiden.html>