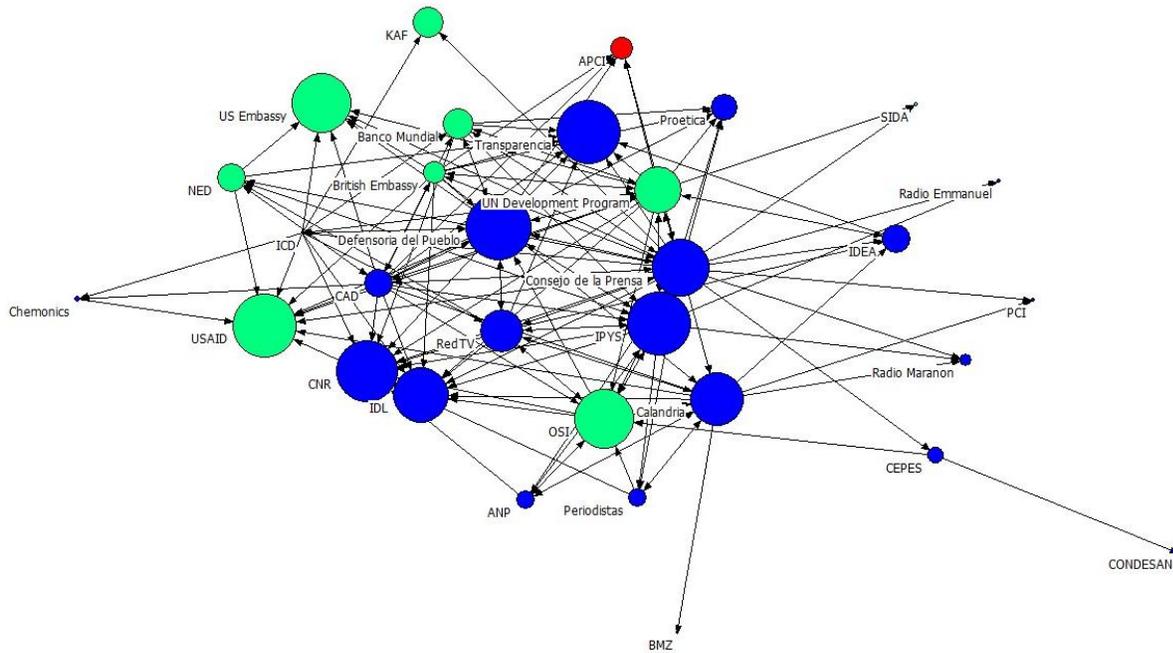


Media)) Map

The impact of media development worldwide

Peruvian Media Development Sector Network Analysis & Factors Influencing Media Development

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About the Author

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About The Media Map Project

The Media Map Project is a multi-faceted two-year pilot research collaboration between Internews and The World Bank Institute, funded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. This report is a product of that research. The findings and conclusions contained within this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect positions or policies of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

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

Credits

Tara Susman-Peña, Director of Research, The Media Map Project, edited the report.

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Executive Summary

This report presents the results of a social network analysis (SNA) study of inter-organizational networks of the Peruvian media development sector, as well as the results of several interviews with NGOs, donors, and observers on the factors influencing the development of Peruvian media. The data presented in this report was gathered from interviews with Peruvian NGOs, donors, and expert observers in February, 2011, and from an online SNA survey conducted from March to April, 2011.

A primary goal of the study was to identify the structure of the network of media development organizations in Peru, that is, organizations (donor or otherwise) that are somehow connected to the advancement, reform, or protection of Peruvian journalism and free media. The results of the network analysis show that the Defensoría del Pueblo (the ombudsman's office) was thought to be the most important actor with whom to maintain a relationship in the media development community, as well as one of the most trusted and cooperative organizations in the network. The data also reveal that international donor agencies, particularly USAID, are thought to be important organizations with whom to maintain a relationship, but are not perceived to be as trustworthy or cooperative as local NGOs. The results of the interviews indicate that the Peruvian media development community faces a sensationalist media system, an apathetic public, and the perception of diminishing international funding.

Data from both the SNA survey and the qualitative interviews indicate that relationships in the network are by-and-large perceived to be cooperative as opposed to competitive—unlike many communities of civil society actors that must compete for limited funding. Most relationships among actors in the network could be described as trusting. However, the levels of information exchange among organizations are lower than is probably desired in an efficacious civil society. Implications of the study include:

- Donors and evaluators should consider the supporting role ombudsmen play to media development in Latin America.
- Peruvian media development NGOs rarely come together to proactively work on solutions to mutual issues of concern.
- Funding for media development is waning and media development NGOs are altering their missions to obtain funding.
- Donor organizations do not occupy strategic positions in the network that allow them to efficiently broker information and resources.
- Time and resources should be spent in developing interaction and information exchange among Peruvian media development NGOs.
- Donors should encourage further cooperation among media development NGOs.

Section I. Overview of Sample, Research Methods

I.1 Brief Explanation of SNA

Efforts to develop or reform media are often dependent on a small group of actors, ranging from NGOs, professional associations, and international donor agencies. While each organization in a community may have their own goals and activities aimed at the development of media, in order to reform media at a large scale organizations should work together cooperatively. Social network analysis provides a research perspective and methodology by which the structure of a particular environment can be assessed, thereby assisting in determining the state of cooperation among media NGOs and donors in Peru.

A social network is made up of individual actors or “nodes” that are tied together by certain kinds of relationships. Social network analysis helps to identify the structure of a “network” of actors, the quality of relationships in it, identify gaps in relationships, and find those organizations that are best positioned within the network to cooperate and serve as an advocate on behalf of the network.

SNA was employed in Peru to determine levels of cooperation, information exchange, trust, and to identify the most prominent organizations in the media development community.

I.2 Participants in Network Study

The sample for the online SNA study was constructed in part through previous research conducted by members of the Media Map Project team for Peru, in part through interviews with NGOs and donors in Peru, and also through the recommendation of survey participants during the actual survey itself. Through these three methods, a total of 41 organizations were identified. However, not all of these organizations were included in statistical tests of the network. Inclusion in many of the network tests hinged on the organization being mentioned or nominated by more than one other participant. As a result, in some tests, the number of organizations included dropped to 33 or fewer. The next section discusses the many organizations that were mentioned as influential in the development of media in Peru.

A number of international organizations have funded media development in Peru in the past 20 years, although often under the aegis of human rights development—a topic to be discussed in a subsequent section. Several donors were mentioned by the participants as funding media development currently or in the recent past, including: the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), USAID, Open Society Institute (OSI), the British, American, and Canadian Embassies, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAF), the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the Lima branch of the World Bank, the Catholic Church, and the United Nations Development Program (UNPD). All of these donor organizations were mentioned by interview participants, or in the previous research of the Peru Media Map team, as directly or indirectly connected to funding media development in Peru.

Based on the nominations of the interview participants, the central civil society groups and NGOs that specifically address the advancement and protection of media in Peru include: Calandria, Consejo de la Prensa Peruana (Peruvian Press Council), Instituto Prensa y Sociedad (IPYS, Institute for Press and Society), and Red TV/TV-Cultura. These Lima-based organizations work on different aspects of media development including, but not limited to, conducting research on media (Calandria), developing and producing media content for radio and television (Red TV/TV-Cultura), journalist training (IPYS), advocating for the free access of information and the rights of media owners (Press Council). All of these organizations, excepting the Press Council, are discussed in Gabriela Martinez’s Peru Media Map case study report.

In addition to the aforementioned groups, there were several other organizations, including NGOs, professional organizations, and universities, who directly or indirectly assist in media development and often work with the media development-specific NGOs (Calandria, IPYS, Press Council, RedTV/TV-Cultura). Such organizations included: Asociación Nacional de Periodistas del Perú (ANP, National Association of Peruvian Journalists), Instituto de Defensa Legal (IDL, Institute for Legal Defense), El Centro Peruano de Estudios Sociales (CEPES, Peruvian Center of Social Studies), Ciudadanos al Día (CAD, Citizens’ Day), Defensoría del Pueblo (Ombudsman), Instituto de Comunicación para el Desarrollo (ICD, The Institute for Development Communication), Instituto para la Democracia y la Asistencia Electoral (IDEA, The Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance), Proetica, Chemonics, PCI Media Impact, Red de Periodistas de Provincias del Perú (RPPP, Network of Peruvian Provincial Journalists), Transparencia, and the Pontifical University of Lima (often referred to as simply the Catholic University).

As more fully explained in Martinez’s report on donor funded media development in Peru, the Catholic Church has also been extensively active in the development and reform of media in Peru. The Church funds and manages several radio stations, many of which are under the backing of the Coordinadora Nacional de Radio (CNR, National Radio Coordinator). The CNR is the largest donor funded radio network in the country with over 200 affiliates, and is particularly influential in the provinces, where radio is the primary form of media consumed by citizens. Two of the radio stations included in the

Table 1. In-degree centrality scores for communication importance

Organization	In-degree centrality (rank)
Defensoria del Pueblo	115 (1)
USAID	113 (2)
IPYS	113 (2)
Transparencia	112 (3)
CNR	110 (4)
OSI	108 (5)
U.S. Embassy	107 (6)
Press Council	105 (7)
IDL	104 (8)
Calandria	100 (9)
UNPD	93 (10)
RedTV/TV Cultura	89 (11)
Banco Mundial	75 (12)
KAF	74 (13)
NED	73 (14)
CAD	73 (14)
IDEA	72 (15)
Proetica	69 (16)
British Embassy	66 (17)
APCI	65 (18)
ANP	60 (19)
Red de Periodistas del Perú	60 (19)
CEPES	59 (20)
Radio Maranon	53 (21)
Chemonics	46 (22)
Radio Emmanuel	44 (23)
PCI Media Impact	44 (23)
SIDA	43 (24)
ICD	42 (23)
BMZ	36 (24)
CONDESAN	32 (25)
Canadian Embassy*	-
Catholic University*	-

*Note: Not included in this question, nominated within the survey itself

network were two such stations: Radio Marañón and Radio Emmanuel, although a survey participant would go on to mention that they work with Radio Cutivalú.

Lastly, the Agencia Peruana de Cooperación Internacional (APCI, Peruvian Agency for International Cooperation), the government body that requires NGOs to be officially registered and that tracks, organizes and distributes international investment, was often mentioned as a key player in the media development environment of Peru, even if the agency does not in and of itself directly participate in development activities.

Section 2. Results of Network Analysis

2.1 Communication Importance

To discern those organizations that are perceived to be the most integral to the media development community in Peru, a communication importance question was employed. The question “On a scale from 0 (not at all important) to 10 (very important), rate the value of your organization's communication relationship with each organization listed below,” was used to assess what actors are thought to be the most important to maintain a relationship with based on the evaluations of the other members of the community. This question was used to create the network of relations based on organizational importance.

The results for organizational importance were calculated using what is called in-degree centrality. In-degree centrality in this case represents the total score achieved by each organization, obtained by adding together all other respondents' rankings of that organization. As seen in the results of Table 1, the Defensoría del Pueblo (the ombudsman's office) emerged as the most important actor among the media development community in Peru based on the evaluations of the survey respondents. International donors such as USAID, OSI and the U.S. Embassy were also ranked highly, as well as some key NGOs such as IPYS, Transparencia, CNR, and the Press Council.

Unlike other institutions studied in this research (namely NGOs and donors), the ombudsman's office is a constitutionally independent entity created by the government—established under the Fujimori regime no less—but largely funded through international cooperation. Alasino (2008) noted that significant international support and attention has been paid to the development of the Defensoría del Pueblo. Indeed, he suggested that the greatest achievement of international cooperation has been the support board for the ombudsman. The institution is constitutionally free from government intervention, and it retains a fair modicum of power. In the case of Peru, the ombudsman's office has express jurisdiction over election processes, among other civil and human rights responsibilities (Pegram, 2008). Given the office's function in the maintenance of a free and fair political and civil society, it is perhaps not surprising the ombudsman attained such high rankings from the actors surveyed in terms of communication importance.

partners do not necessarily have to be directly concerned with media development, but instead assist the media development community.

Figure 1 represents the network with nodes sized to represent the importance of the organization as deemed by their peers. The graph has also been redrawn to show only those linkages with a score greater than 7 on a 10-point scale. In other words, only the strongest relationships are shown in the graph. The graph helps to demonstrate those organizations important to the media development environment in Peru.

2.2 Interaction and Prestige

While the ombudsman was perceived as the most important actor in the media development sector with whom to maintain a relationship (see previous section), perceptions of relational importance do not always translate into interaction. As such, it is necessary to gauge what organizations interact with one another and the quality of relationships that exist among them.

2.2.1. Interaction Network

The network data used to analyze interaction and relationship quality were acquired through use of a single-name generating question. The name-generating question was modeled after the National Opinion Research Center’s (NORC) General Social Survey—a commonly used question in network survey design. Participants were presented with a list of the organizations generated through the reputational snowball sampling process, and asked: “From time to time most people discuss important matters with other people. Looking back over the last year—what are the organizations on this roster with whom you

Table 2. In-degree centralities

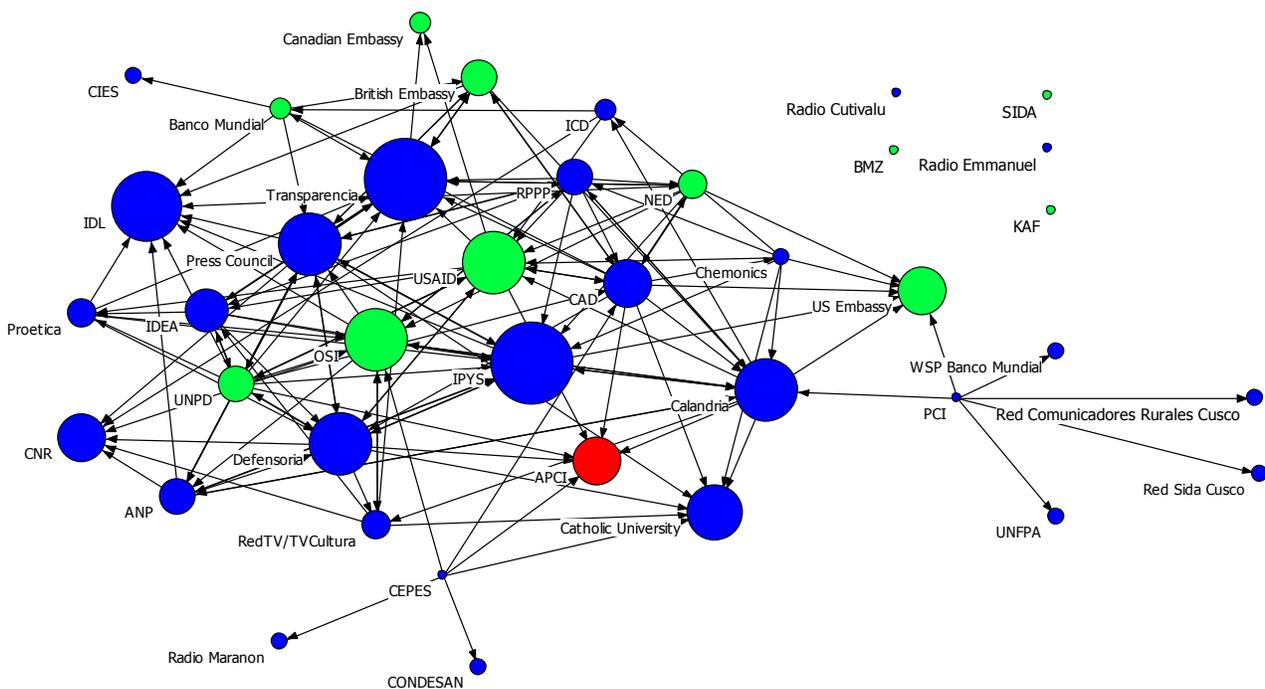
	Interaction	Trust	Info	Cooperation
IPYS	11	38.16 (5)	46.25 (4)	47.55 (6)
Transparencia	11	30.5 (8)	38.25 (8)	39.778 (8)
IDL	9	23.16 (17)	32.25 (11)	32 (13)
Press Council	8	43.33 (3)	51 (2)	52 (1)
Calandria	8	48 (1)	50.25 (3)	50.11 (3)
Defensoría del Pueblo	8	45.83 (2)	45.75 (5)	49.55 (4)
OSI	8	39.33 (4)	45.5 (6)	48.55 (5)
USAID	8	24.66 (14)	30 (12)	29.33 (15)
CNR	7	24.167 (15)	25.75 (17)	28.77 (16)
Catholic University	7	25.5 (12)	27 (16)	27.66 (18)
CAD	6	43.33 (3)	51.75 (1)	51 (2)
APCI	6	14.5 (21)	18 (24)	18.55 (23)
US Embassy	6	15.83 (23)	19.5 (22)	17.33 (24)
IDEA	5	25.16 (13)	28 (14)	32.11 (11)
UNPD	4	14.33 (22)	43 (7)	47.111 (7)
RPPP	4	35.33 (6)	25.25 (19)	38.55 (9)
ANP	4	25.667 (12)	28.75 (13)	28.22 (17)
British Embassy	4	20 (19)	20.25 (21)	21 (21)
RedTV/TV Cultura	3	28.667 (10)	37.5 (9)	30.66 (14)
NED	3	7.5 (24)	18 (25)	14.33 (25)
Proetica	3	4.5 (25)	8.75 (26)	9.22 (26)
Banco Mundial	2	31.5 (7)	27.75 (15)	33.22 (10)
ICD	2	20.5 (18)	19 (23)	19.77 (22)
Canadian Embassy*	2	0	0	0
Chemonics	1	29.5 (9)	33.5 (10)	31.55 (12)
CEPES	0	23.66 (16)	23.75 (20)	26.44 (19)
PCI Media Impact	0	7.66 (23)	25.5 (18)	23 (20)
CONDESAN	0	3.83 (26)	4.25 (27)	4.55 (27)
BMZ	0	0	0	0
KAF	0	0	0	0
SIDA	0	0	0	0

*Note: No relational data was gathered on the Canadian Embassy. Blue indicates those who completed the survey, red indicates those who did not.

discussed matters important to your organization?” Participants were then asked a series of questions about the nature of their relationships with the organizations they identified in the single-name generating question.

Analysis of in-degree centrality lends additional insight into other prestigious organizations in the network. As shown in Table 2, Transparencia and IPYS were the organizations with the highest in-degree centrality scores. In other words, Transparencia and IPYS are the organizations with the greatest number of incoming ties or relationships initiated by others. Other organizations, such as IDL, USAID, OSI, the ombudsman, and the Press Council received higher numbers of ties as well.

Figure 2. Interaction Network



Note: Green represents donors, blue represents NGOs and professional associations, red is APCI, the sole government institution included in the study. Nodes are sized by their in-degree centrality scores.

The interaction network with nodes sized by in-degree centrality can be seen in Figure 2. Transparencia is a large, well-funded NGO that has been instrumental in the creation of other NGOs in Peru (for example, Proetica¹). Knowledgeable and well-connected individuals, including those who are directors of other NGOs sampled in this study, constitute

¹ An anti-corruption NGO, headquartered in Lima but that often works in the provinces.

Transparencia's board of directors. Information from the qualitative interviews supports the finding that IPYS is among the most prominent, and perhaps the most efficacious, of the media development NGOs. Notably, Transparencia certified the results of the 2011 Peruvian Presidential elections. IPYS's journalism training programs and efforts to overthrow Fujimori in the 1990s secured IPYS a place as one of the leading NGOs in Peru. Researchers have found that the history of an organization's participation in civil society is likely to lead to an enhanced reputation and greater in-degree centrality. In the case of IPYS, it may be its history in the community and its past successes that have led to its receiving the most ties from others.

2.2.2. Trust, information exchange and cooperation

Analysis of the relational form data gathered in the survey yields insight into the quality of relationships among these actors. Table 2 also lists the weighted in-degree centralities for trust, information exchange, and cooperation. In other words, the table includes the total score received by each organization for questions regarding trust, information exchange and cooperation. The trust, information exchange, and cooperation networks were constructed through the use of questions that tapped into the nature of the relational qualities of the respective concepts.

Research has shown that trust is a precondition for many other forms of behavior.² Measures of relationships in a network can help to indicate what information is being exchanged, between whom, and to what extent. Similarly, ties between actors can be explored to find out what the important information exchanges are among the multiple relationships that tie the actors together. Information exchange was assessed via questions modeled on Sommerfeldt and Taylor (2011) regarding the accuracy, timeliness, and frequency of information received from each organization named in the single-name generator question.³ Levels of cooperation are also important to assess in civil society, as cooperation is essential to achieving mutual goals. Cooperation, however, may be hindered by competition for funds. Cooperation was measured using questions adapted from Taylor and Doerfel (2003).⁴

Trust, information exchange, and cooperation were also measured using network density.⁵ Measuring the density of a network provides an index of the degree to which actors are

² Trust was measured using questions modeled after Hon and Grunig's (1999) measures of relational quality. The questions met established levels of reliability ($\alpha = .88$, $M = 23.9$, $SD = 3.18$).

³ A reliability test of the information exchange scale showed the composite variable met acceptable levels of internal reliability ($\alpha = .67$, $M = 20.65$, $SD = 2.83$).

⁴ A check of internal consistency of the measures for cooperation also met acceptable levels ($\alpha = .93$, $M = 45.52$, $SD = 5.67$).

⁵ Data for each measure were recoded to indicate the presence of a tie using a 3.75 cutoff point on a 5-point scale. Mean scores less than 3.75 were recoded to indicate the absence of a tie.

connected in a population. The density of trusting relationships was high at 69 percent, meaning that 69 percent of all relationships among actors in the network could be characterized as trusting using a 3.75 cutoff point on a 5 point scale. The density of information exchange is low at .12, meaning that only 12 percent of the total possible relationships in the network could be described as having an intense exchange of information. When examining the existing relationships, the density grows to .51, meaning only half of the existing relationships exhibit high levels of information exchange, and represents a network barely transitioned to order (Kauffman, 1993). As information exchange is a key precondition of collective action, the levels of information exchange exhibited in this network indicates a sector of civil society not preparing to engage in collective actions in the near future. The density of cooperative relationships was high at 82 percent, meaning that most relationships in the network are viewed as highly cooperative.

In-degree centrality—the simple number of relationships received by an organization—is not always an indication of quality relationships. Like the Defensoría del Pueblo, USAID ranked third in terms of in-degree centrality for the interaction network—it received the third highest number of incoming relationships. Unlike the ombudsman, however, USAID’s relationships were substantially lower in quality, based on the metrics presented in Table 2. As such, in network analysis, it is not only important to study the number of ties received, but also the nature of those ties and what flows through them. Clearly, the Defensoría is not only thought of as important, but it is also trusted, cooperative, and seen as a valuable information provider. Surprisingly, USAID, while it had high scores for importance and interaction in-degree centrality, is not viewed to be as trustworthy, cooperative or as valuable an information provider as it perhaps should be. Other organizations such as the Press Council, IPYS, CAD, and OSI have quality relationships with others.

The counterpart to IPYS as a NGO for media advocacy is the Consejo de la Prensa Peruana, The Peruvian Press Council—one of whose goals is lobbying for the rights of media owners. While it was seventh in perceived communication importance, the Press Council ranked highly on all of the cognitive measures employed in the study. Qualitatively, it was implied the Press Council and IPYS may have somewhat of an adversarial relationship, given the development history of both organizations and their current purposes. One of the founding members of IPYS would leave the organization to participate in the creation of the Press Council. The Press Council had been described as merely representing the interests of media owners, who are not a particularly popular crowd among the media development community. That said, the Council does not appear to be suffering from a lack of quality relationships with other organizations, including IPYS. Although, for the information exchange measure, IPYS claimed to have a strong information exchange relationship with the Press Council, that is, it looked to the Press Council for important information, but the relationship was not as strongly reciprocated.

2.3. Hidden Network Structures

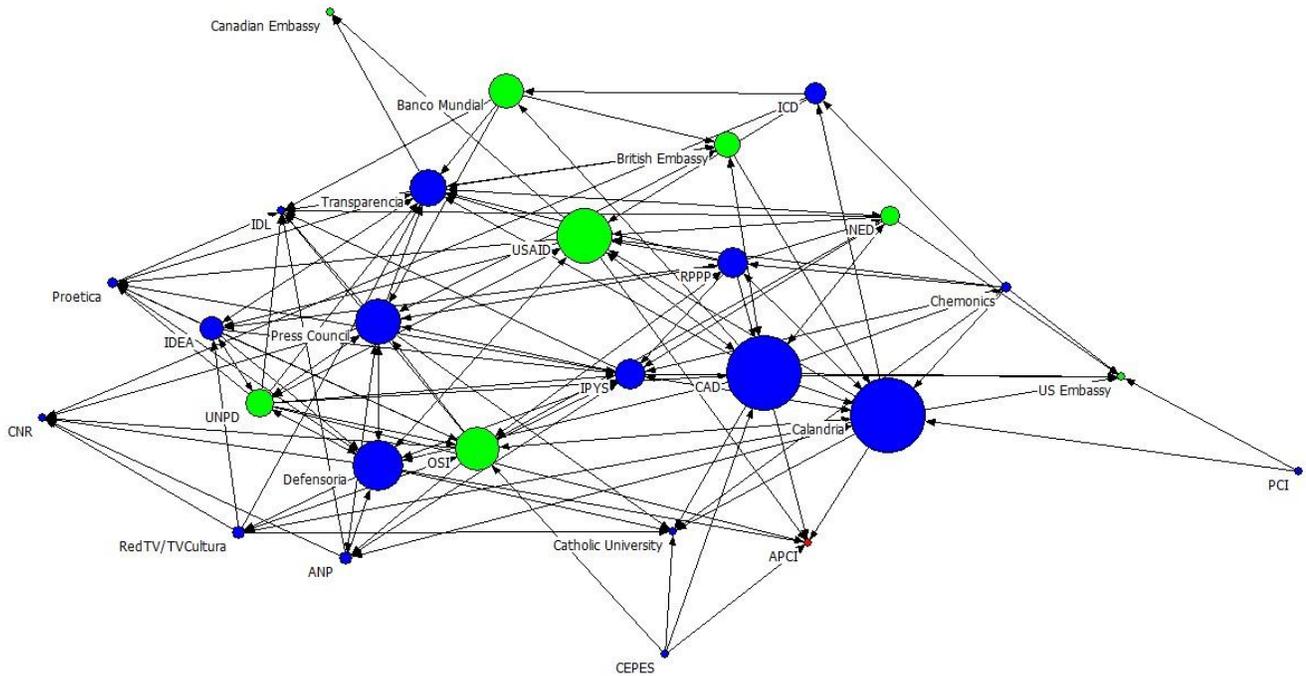
Analysis of betweenness centrality scores helps to reveal the hidden structures of a network of actors. Betweenness centrality may be useful to report when the goal of the research is to uncover important gatekeepers, hubs for information, or to discover who connects different parts of a network. Betweenness centrality helps to gauge the extent to which an organization serves as a broker of information and resources in a network (Freeman, 1979). Betweenness centrality scores help to reveal if organizations help to connect different parts of a network and are therefore valuable communication partners. The scores for betweenness centrality are listed in Table 3. While Ciudadanos al Día (CAD) was neither perceived to be among the most important actors in media development (it ranked 16th out of 33 organizations) nor was it the organization with the highest in-degree centrality (5th out of 33), the relationships it does have affords it the second highest betweenness centrality score in the network.

As shown in Figure 3, Calandria and CAD sit in unique positions in the network because they connect actors that would otherwise have no easy way to access others in the network (Knoke & Yang, 2008). They connect different types of organizations (donors, researchers, and professional associations). CAD's high betweenness centrality score is a likely reason for why it occupies the number one position for information exchange. Due to their relationships with different kinds of organizations spread out in the network, Calandria and CAD are likely to receive information sooner, and from a variety of sources.

Table 3. Betweenness centrality

Calandria	75.61
CAD	75.49
USAID	52.79
Defensoria	47.21
Press Council	43.06
OSI	39.27
Transparencia	33.22
Banco Mundial	31.46
RPPP	25.46
IPYS	24.81
UNPD	22.84
British Embassy	18.96
IDEA	17.84
ICD	14.65
NED	11.35
RedTV/TVCultura	5.52
ANP	4.53
Chemonics	2.73
Proetica	2.21
IDL	0.00
CNR	0.00
US Embassy	0.00
APCI	0.00
SIDA	0.00
BMZ	0.00
PCI	0.00
Catholic University	0.00
KAF	0.00
Canadian Embassy	0.00
CEPES	0.00
CONDESAN	0.00

Figure 3. Network by Betweenness Centrality Scores



Note: Green nodes are donors, blue are NGOs or others. Nodes are sized by their betweenness centrality scores.

Assessments of how resources such as information flow through a network help to reveal organizations that have the capability to strategically broker or control the resource flow of the network. Although Calandria and CAD are prominent in the betweenness centrality network, meaning they have the position to control or broker information and resources, the network centralization index is low at 3.91%, indicating the network does not exhibit much control by a few organizations over information or other resources. In other words, no one organization exerts an undue amount of influence in the network.

Also interesting to note is the relative lack of high scores among donors in the betweenness centrality network. While USAID did rank third in betweenness centrality, other donors scored lower. On the whole, donors do not occupy key positions to strategically broker information or resources. Certainly, part of APCI's stated mission is to perform this function, but data from the SNA survey and from the interviews show that APCI is not particularly involved in media development, and is not trusted by media development actors. Indeed, as Martinez reported, there are tense relations among NGOs and APCI. Given this, it can be stated with a measure of certainty that donors are not as engaged in the network as they could be—if such engagement is desired by donors currently active in Peru.

The betweenness centrality measures also show that donor organizations like NED and the U.S. Embassy do not sit in strategic positions in the network, indicating they are not as fully integrated as some of the other donors. In contrast, donors like OSI and USAID occupy more strategic positions, again, as a consequence of linking disparate actors.

Section 3. Factors Influencing Development

Prior to the implementation of the network survey, members and observers of the media development community in Peru were consulted on the political, social, and cultural environments of Peru. The interviews in this study not only served to identify relevant community actors, but also helped inventory community characteristics, and provided an initial assessment of community needs and assets.

Participant interviews were recruited via a reputational snowball sampling method based on earlier research of the Media Map team and then from recommendations of the initial interview participants themselves. A total of five organizational profile interviews were conducted, meeting the number of profiles suggested by Grootaert and van Bastelaer (2002) for the assessment of social capital⁶ in a community. The organizations included representatives from IPYS, the Press Council, Proetica, RedTV/TV-Cultura, and a representative of a foreign embassy that has had extensive involvement in funding media development activities.

In addition to the five organizations that were profiled, two informant interviews were conducted in the field. One interview participant, Claudio Zavala, was currently unaffiliated with any development organization, though he had previously worked for two such groups, and another was a university professor, Hugo Aguirre, currently at the Pontifical University of Lima. Both had general knowledge of media development efforts in Peru and of development NGOs. Obtaining information from organizational leaders, as well as the key informants (the professor and freelance journalist), help to obtain a reliable assessment of Peruvian civil society organizations, their capacity, the relationships among other media development actors, and the general environment in which they operate.

Once consent had been given, interviews were conducted in person and digitally recorded. The interviews lasted approximately one hour each. Three interviews were conducted in English and the remaining interviews were conducted in Spanish with the assistance of a certified interpreter.

Interviewees were asked about the state of the media system in Peru, the political, economic and social climate that affects media operations, the need for media-related NGOs, and their means and capacity of making contact with each other and the outside world. Interviewees

⁶ As Putnam defined it, social capital is “the collective value of all social networks and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for each other. . . . social capital refers to features of social organizations such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (pp. 664-665).

were asked what organizations they regard to be prominent or influential in the community of interest, the nature of relationships among them, and about the factors that influence their operation. Many items were discussed as hindrances and boons to media development, although the difficulties far outweighed the advantages. The following sections summarize the challenges facing the community as discussed by the interview participants.

3.1 Lack of Trust in Media Institutions

Many participants commented on the lack of trust in media institutions, in government, and indeed, among the Peruvian citizenry, as a significant obstacle for the development of media and civil society in Peru. This, of course, makes the levels of trust among the media development organizations even more notable.

The mainstream media and press, and television in particular, were completely discredited by the widespread corruption, including control of the press, under Fujimori. The owners and managers of many major networks willingly received millions of dollars to order their journalists and other workers to remain uncritical, silent, or support the Fujimori regime (LaPlante & Phenicie, 2010; Youngers, 2000). This fact has tarnished the role of media, and there is widespread distrust in both government and mainstream media. The image of corruption in the press is still very much present in the minds of the public.

Participants described the efforts on behalf of mainstream media to regain the public trust as not altogether concerted or genuine. One specific problem with media regaining public trust in Peru, large media in particular, is that many media organizations are still run by those individuals who accepted bribes from Montesinos in 1990s in exchange for political favors or for keeping quiet. Kela Leon, Director of the Peruvian Press Council, commented:

...we must consider that not much has changed in real terms. The [media] owners and broadcasters are the same. The licensing system is exactly the same. It's the same people. The same people who worked under Fujimori still run the show.

These “same people” were also cited as a problem to the advancement of media in Peru because they are business people and not “media people.”

3.2 Public and Media Apathy

Five of the participants discussed a lack of will on the part of the people and media to make any changes in the way the media system currently functions. There is a cynicism among the Peruvian people about the chance for improvement in their important public institutions, media included. Their apathetic pessimism has been continually fed by decades of political instability, broken government promises and inefficiencies, and the often deceitful behavior of the media and its manipulation by the state.

Research performed by Proetica, an anti-corruption NGO, showed that while people are aware of the problems with poorly performing government institutions, widespread corruption, and wayward media, they complacently accept that things are not likely to change. As Cecilia Blondet, director of Proetica, noted, “They are like fatalists, nothing is going to change, everything will be like this, so the feeling is very...it’s a cause of concern.”

3.3 Lack of Training and Provincial Problems

There is a large disparity between the education that journalists receive at university and the current realities of the profession in Peru. While there may be inadequate training and a general lack of ethics among journalists in Lima, the situation in the provinces is far worse. Not only is there limited access to training in the provinces, but there is a large disparity between how much journalists in Lima and their provincial counterparts earn. As such, two interviewees discussed how provincial journalists are far more likely to be bribed or face pressure from local authorities, politicians or corporations. According to the participants, the levels of corruption and chicanery among government officials and institutions in the provinces far exceeds those in Lima, and level to which these bodies exercise power over journalists increases the farther away a journalist works from Lima—particularly in smaller cities or towns.⁷

Several participants discussed the state of commercial radio and advertising as a weakness of provincial journalism. Radio is by far the main medium in the provinces. Many radio stations in the provinces will “farm out” hours of broadcasting time a day to a journalist for a fee, and then it falls upon the journalist to justify to management the money he or she must spend to fill the hour. It is up to the journalist to decide whom to interview, to communicate with municipal authorities; basically, to decide what programs to produce. Owners of radio stations often have no journalistic training; they merely have the means to purchase stations as a money-making operation.

While the provincial citizenry may be uninformed about the subtleties of current events, they are not naïve or unaware of the unreliability of their media or of the backroom deals that pervade business and politics. Given this recognition by the public, participants felt that transparency and accountability was not only a problem for the authorities, politicians and media owners, but also as praxis for the population. The perception of the interviewees is that the citizenry are willing to tolerate the fraudulent behavior of those in power, because citizens hold the false hope that they, too, will one day hold power and be influential.

Several participants noted that when it comes to media in the provinces, the only exception to the norm of corruption, transparency, and a lack of accountability are the stations owned and operated by the Catholic Church, many of them under the umbrella organization Coordinadora Nacional de Radio (CNR). While these stations are fairly uncorrupt and independent, they also

⁷ This finding contrasts that of Martinez that suggested corruption is just as high, if not higher in Lima.

have a certain ideological bent. Editorial freedom is restricted when it comes to controversial social or moral issues such as abortion, even in those stations controlled by the Jesuit or Franciscan orders, which are generally regarded as being fairly progressive.

The challenge of improving the situation in the provinces is further exacerbated by the extremely low level of professionalism and quality. Even when organizations such as RedTV and TV-Cultura attempt to work with provincial journalists to acquire news from the provinces, they find that journalists are so poorly trained the content they submit is often low in quality and nearly unusable.

3.4 Waning International Attention

The general furor that Fujimori inspired—both in Peru and worldwide—led to the creation of a number of NGOs and the increased attention of the international donor community. However, without referencing actual numbers, the general impression among all those interviewed is that international donors are now pulling out of Peru with growing rapidity. This finding is in agreement with Martinez’s research. While funds have never been plentiful for media development, monies funneled through international cooperation agencies were perceived to be available in far greater quantity during the Fujimori era. This is partly due to the fact that international attention to anti-corruption and freedom of the press was dramatically heightened under Fujimori’s autocracy and immediately thereafter. Much attention was paid to the transitional governments in the few years after Fujimori, but interest has been on the decline since.

Participants described a general perception from the rest of the world that Peru must somehow “be okay” now that Fujimori has been out for power for more than a decade and that Peru’s macro socioeconomic indicators are on the rise. Indeed, two participants recounted how the Swedish and the Dutch have recently withdrawn much international aid to Peru solely based on Peru’s improving economic indicators. In addition, participants believed that budgets for international aid, particularly those from European governments, are being cut. There is also a perception that priorities of international governments are changing, again from Europe, where many conservative parties have won recent elections and have cut down funding to lesser developed countries. For example, a large funder of media development was the Dutch organization Free Voice—which has recently been reorganized under a new name and mission—and OSI have given some Peruvian NGOs notice that they will no longer be offering financial assistance.

3.5 Funds for Human Rights, not Media

All of the NGOs profiled suggested that media development has always had a “very different kind of international cooperation.” These organizations recognize that international donors are far more likely to fund economic development and anti-poverty efforts than media. As Kela

Leon described it, “Media, and freedom of expression, free speech had a very different patronage you might say.” As Carlos Cardenas of Red TV and TV-Cultura articulated, “most international cooperation in Peru is not targeted at media. Because they see the media not as an end, but as a means for other purposes.” Funding for media development is often so specialized that most of the NGOs described having to look to general human rights funding to acquire support. This finding concurs with the research conducted by Martinez. Participants described having to look for loopholes to find how they could tailor their activities to the requirements of the funding organization. Often, media development NGOs must determine how they can frame communication and a free and fair press as fitting into the goals of funding initiatives. But still, it has been extremely difficult to acquire money where the media was the objective, not a means to an end.

Most of the NGOs profiled more or less admitted that they are not likely to be able to support themselves without outside funding. Participants described having to shut their doors if external funding is not continued in close to their present levels. One participant noted that the biggest challenge facing this community of media development NGOs is indeed self-sustainability. Cardenas suggested that NGOs must adapt to depend less and less on outside donations:

However, this is much easier said than done, and in some cases it’s feasible and in other cases it’s hard to see how that is possible. . . . So some has to come from outside funding. But in the case of organizations like IPYS or Calandria I don’t see what they can really sell for money, so they are really dependent on outside donations. It depends, but it is a challenge to the entire sector.

In order to help subsidize their incomes, IPYS and the Press Council described producing publications that they sell to media organizations, but commented that the profits from such efforts are minimal. However, despite the limited monies available for media development work, participants described relatively little competition among the community of actors in Peru.

3.6 Trust, Cooperation and Competition

The levels of trust among actors is notable, particularly when compared to the low levels of trust that exist in Peruvian society at large. As identified through the interviews, many of the interview and survey participants know each other, and in many cases, have worked with one another in the past. This provides the network of Peruvian media development organizations with an advantage, in that trusting relationships already exist and do not have to be laboriously built.

There appeared to be very little overt competition among the groups, a least little that was admitted to by the representatives of NGOs themselves. Competition over funding exists, but

is not a major cause of friction among the actors. As Leon noted, “There is a high level of cooperation, but of course we also compete, there isn’t that much money to go around.”

Several participants described a high level of cooperation among media NGOs, but were only able to offer a select few issues or projects that exemplified such cooperation. On the other hand, some did not describe the relationship as either overtly cooperative or competitive, but mentioned the same few projects. In other words, some felt the relationships were cooperative based on only a few examples, while others felt the relationships were not particularly cooperative or competitive based on the same examples. Thus, there are few concrete examples of cooperation, but a sense of cooperation still exists among the organizations studied.

Those not directly connected with a NGO agreed that in order for these organizations to make a difference, they should attempt to coordinate their missions vis-à-vis the current needs of Peruvian society. As they viewed these NGOs to be currently uncoordinated, they are regarded as largely ineffectual. As Aguirre stated, “I believe they would be far more effective if they developed a united strategy, and they don’t do that. They are not interconnected.” This comment supports the results of the SNA research, which showed that while levels of trust are high, the intensity of information sharing and interaction is far lower. Another participant—an employee of an international donor organization that had previously been active in media development (who preferred to remain anonymous)—noted that the lack of coordination among development actors is due to the structural qualities of the organizations. He suggested they are uncoordinated:

...because they have different beneficiaries, different stakeholders, different sources of funding; different missions basically. And the end result is that they don’t necessarily address the overarching goal of, say, developing public opinion, you see what I mean, promoting political awareness, etc. They have different action axes. They have their own goals, their own indicators.

As this participant described, the NGOs in question have their individual goals and idiosyncratic metrics of what constitutes success. As such, while the organizations come together on certain occasions, they are engaged in different lines of business, so to speak. They may be allied in a general way, but they have not developed a united strategy with specific goals. As the employee of the international donor noted, “they need a joint program of action.”

Section 4. Concluding Thoughts

4.1. The Role of the Ombudsman

As demonstrated through the communication importance question and the interaction network, a clear picture of the central players in the Peruvian media development sector emerged. The data reveal that the ombudsman is an important ally of the media development

community—so much so that it ranked higher in communication/relational importance than many of the most active media development NGOs and donors in the region. The ombudsman emerged as a central player; no doubt because of its perceived efficacy, impartiality, and the extensive involvement of international donors. Thus, while the value of the ombudsman for civil society actors may not be unique to Peru, it is certainly notable for future donor involvement.

USAID, OSI, and UNPD all indicated a relationship with the ombudsman. The Defensoría del Pueblo may be the organization best positioned to be the “crucial source of democratic change” needed in Peruvian civil society (Diamond, 1994, p. 5). Indeed, scholars have noted that ombudsmen play more active roles in Latin America than elsewhere (Pegram, 2008). The interest of civil society donors and evaluators should thus consider the role ombudsmen play in supporting media development organizations Latin America, as such organizations are not frequently mentioned in literatures studying civil society elsewhere, such as Eastern Europe or Central Asia.

4.2 Strong Relationships, Lack of Actions

The media development community in Peru has strong relationships and established social networks from which to draw upon reserves of social capital. But without a Fujimori to fight—so to speak—the issues and practices of the media development community appear to have fragmented. Quality relationships exist, they are just not frequently used to facilitate cooperation for mutual benefit.

There was a qualitative perception that most of the actors in the community were cooperative, and that many knew one another personally and felt comfortable calling on these individuals for help should it be required. While the organizations studied were quantitatively and qualitatively portrayed as being generally cooperative and as having little to no competition among them, there was a relative lack of concrete examples of issues around which the community came together. While there were, on occasion, specific issues for which several of the actors advocated—such as the campaign to restore a license of a radio station shut down by the Garcia government—these type of actions appeared to be few and far between. Moreover, these issues appeared to be *reactive* as opposed to *proactive*. As a representative from one of the donor organizations noted, most of the implementing NGOs have their individual issues, practices and purposes, and rarely do they come together to proactively work on solutions to mutual issues of concern.

4.3 Dependence on Donors

Given the political context of Peru and its recent transition period, although more than a decade on, it is easy to understand how Peruvian NGOs remain extremely dependent on continued funding from external donors. Peruvian media NGOs reported that they have had some success in securing grants for one-time projects, with the occasional luck of securing a

renewal. Renewals, however, are becoming more infrequent, both from the perspective of NGOs and donor organizations. It is becoming harder for media development NGOs to keep close to their original mission. They must continually adapt to the requirements of international donors, who are largely interested in the amorphous areas of human rights and free speech. Indeed, anti-corruption and transparency related NGOs do not seem to be suffering from the same funding problems as media-specific NGOs.

4.4 Implications for Donors

As discussed earlier, many of the interview participants sensed a growing withdrawal of the international donor community from Peru, especially in media development. This withdrawal was attributed to the growing wealth and infrastructural advances of the nation, as well as the shrinking budgets and growing deficits of donor nations in North America and Western Europe.

Many international donors were, until recently, active in media development in Peru, the Dutch and Swedish governments among them. Moreover, while donors such as USAID and OSI were noted as being among the most important organizations in Peruvian media development, they too were thought to be scaling back their involvement in the nation, at least in terms of their funding of media development projects.

Given this, the role of donors is likely to continue to be of critical import to the future of this sector. Currently, several of the major donors in Peru occupy strategic positions in the media development network. If they were to withdraw from such positions, the network as it currently exists would likely shatter. The long-term health of this network is thus dependent on donors to continue their involvement in the sector, further invest in the sustainability of NGOs, and to serve as facilitators of relationships and information exchange.

Organizations like USAID may be important to the media development sector in Peru, but it is not perceived to be a particularly valuable provider of information. As such, USAID, and the other donor organizations that do not sit in strategic positions in the network should attempt to foster relationships and fill key positions. Filling these positions better affords an organization with the ability to help others. Organizations that occupy strategic positions, such as those with high betweenness centrality scores, can decide with whom to share their resources—those around organizations that fill key strategic positions in a network tend to benefit from them.

There are a variety of problems that could be collectively addressed by the civil society actors studied in this report, many of which were discussed in section 2. Yet, as found through the interviews little collaborative action has been undertaken in the recent past. This is perhaps indicative of a civil society not going naturally dormant, as one might expect when issues hush or are resolved, but instead going stagnant. Either through the withdrawal of donors, the shifting of program focus to meet donor requirements, an inability to find common ground, insufficient number or resources to tackle the problems facing media in Peru, or some other

problem not uncovered by the research, the media development sector of Peru looks likely to continue to fragment, not come together.

While in the business sector competition may produce productivity, studies of civil society have overwhelmingly showed that dense networks of cooperation, trust and information exchange among actors are indicative of an active and productive civil society—a civil society capable of tackling problems of mutual concern (Doerfel & Taylor, 2003; Sommerfeldt & Taylor, 2011; Taylor & Doerfel, 2004). Thus, a lower level of information exchange and cooperation, as exhibited in the Peru network, suggests a civil society sector that could be more productive—although without a baseline to compare the results of this study to, this statement cannot be offered without caveat.

In examining the larger network of relationships in the Peruvian media development community instead of merely looking at specific organizations away from their context, we gain a greater sense of the opportunities and challenges these organizations have in their environment. Only considering the exchange between two organizations is a failure to recognize the broader context. All organizations in an environment are relevant and will more or less directly have consequences on an organization, such as donors and their ability to affect change.

In order to be effective, donors should adopt a proactive stance on communication with other organizations in their operating arena. Donors should attempt to regularly forge coalitions with other groups to increase their social capital and consequently their efficacy. NGOs are far more likely to accomplish goals when participating in a coalition of like-minded groups. Coordination and information exchange thus becomes critical to a sector of civil society dedicated to solving similar problems. The likelihood of solving these problems is increased when networks of cooperation are strengthened. Donor sponsorship or encouragement of the maintenance of cooperative inter-organizational relationships and facilitating the flow of information to proactively address issues may help to reinvigorate a civil society sector that may be in danger of stalling.

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Appendix

Response Rate / Missing Data

Of the organizations identified through the research of the Media Map team, and through the qualitative interviews, data from 22 organizations was collected, for a response rate of 69 percent. While this response rate is less than ideal, particularly as some of the key organizations did not participate in the survey, there are peer-reviewed SNA studies with a response rate similar to the one obtained in this project.

To cope with missing data, two strategies were adopted. One, in many analyses the purpose was to determine the number of ties received by an organization. For example, the U.S. Embassy did not participate in the survey, but still received ties from other organizations that claimed to interact with the Embassy. Two, for some tests, reciprocity in the relationship is assumed. For example, if Org A ranked Org B at 4 on a 5-point scale for trust, it was assumed that Org B would also rank Org A at a 4.

Method

As part of the reputational snowball sampling method to establish the network, interview participants were asked to discuss their links to other media development actors as well as to comment on the important donors for media projects in Peru. The participants mentioned an array of different types of organizations as participating the development of media. This list included some donors, NGOs, professional associations, government agencies and universities.

Once the initial network sample was identified, as detailed in the previous section, a survey with a social network design was administered online. The survey was administered in Spanish, and was translated by a certified translator. Those organizations that did not respond were kept in the data for analysis of nonsymmetrical network data, and in-degree centrality measures (the number of ties received by an organization) for the interaction network. Reciprocity was assumed among organizations for other network measures.

Participants were asked to rank the importance of their communication relationship with all of the actors in the roster. Next, they were asked to identify those organizations on the roster with which they had discussed important matters over the last year. Once they identified these organizations, they were asked to answer questions about the nature of their relationship with each of those actors. These questions were designed to measure levels of trust, cooperation, and information exchange among the actors. The next section reports the results of the network study.

Interviewees

- Kela Leon, Peruvian Press Council

- Carlos Cardenas, RedTV, TV Cultura
- Adriana Leon, IPYS
- Cecilia Blondet, Proetica
- Hugo Aguirre, Pontifical University of Lima
- Claudio Zavala, former IPYS employee, freelance journalist
- Anonymous interviewee from a foreign government previously involved in media development