“These people aren’t first-class citizens”:
Portrayal of Amazonian Indigenous Movements in El Peruano during the Bagua conflict

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Contrary to the cases of Ecuador and Bolivia, where the indigenous population has managed to constitute successful ethnic movements and political parties, indigenous peoples in Peru have not been able to organize a permanent indigenous movements or to form ethnic parties, which could create and promote their own agendas. The failure of indigenous movement to participate in the public sphere was strikingly visible in the Bagua conflict, a confrontation between Amazonian indigenous movements and the Peruvian government on June 2009.

Previous research has shown that indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities are usually erroneously portrayed in the media and their agendas are distorted. The media representation of indigenous movements has not been extensively studied yet, although it is an important factor for their establishment and development. Therefore, this study was set up to discover how Amazonian indigenous movements, their issues and their agendas are being portrayed in the El Peruano newspaper.

To answer the research question, all the items published in El Peruano related to the Bagua conflict, from May 7 to July 11 2009, were revised and coded using the methods of content and frame analysis. The items were coded according to source, type of source, topic, naming of the participants and visibility of the item on the headlines. The coded items were analyzed using information biases proposed by Bennett and the conflict frames proposed by Gray.

The findings showed that indigenous movement representations in El Peruano were influenced by the political inclination of the daily and its historical role as the spokesperson of the sitting government. Coverage in El Peruano was based on influential political actors' statements and analysis, and did not offer enough space for contextualization of the conflict or investigative journalism on the causes of the conflict or the agenda of the indigenous movements. This study manages to add new knowledge to prior research on media representation of indigenous people and ethnic minorities by providing a comprehensive account of the framing of the entire conflict and its main protagonists.

At the same time, this study clearly indicates the necessity for further research on media representations of indigenous movements, since these new types of social actors are becoming more empowered and more influential in the politics of their encompassing state. The processes of political change, globalization, new economic policies and social pacts are creating a new type of struggle between indigenous peoples and governments, especially visible in Latin America, where the former have reached a higher degree of political participation previously unseen.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
Indigenous movements, Peruvian ethnic minorities, Amazonian indigenous peoples, media representation, Bagua conflict, frame analysis, El Peruano newspaper.
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1. Introduction

The title of this research: “These people aren’t first-class citizens” refers to the statement made by Alan García Pérez, president of Peru from 2006 to 2011, about Amazonian indigenous peoples after the events in Bagua, which was one of the most violent social conflicts in Peru’s recent history (CNN, 2009). Peru is the country with the second largest indigenous population in South America, comprised of Andean Indians and Amazonian Indians. It is difficult to know exactly what the percentage of indigenous people in Peru is. For example according to CIA – The world Factbook (2011), they constitute the majority of the population, whereas for the United Nations Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL), the indigenous population represents 25% of the total population (6,489,109). The majority of indigenous peoples, 70,1% (4,547,486), reside in the Andean region, whereas the Amazon region hosts only 4,1% (266,287). According to Van Cott (2005: 143), there are 72 distinct ethnic groups and 16 linguistic families in Peru. Indigenous people have less educational and work opportunities – especially when their mother tongue is not Spanish, the official language of Peru – and they have difficulties with participating in the political and administrative life of the country (Lewis, 2009).

Unlike in Ecuador and Bolivia, indigenous peoples in Peru have not been able to organize a permanent indigenous movement or to form ethnic parties, which could create and promote their own agendas (Van Cott, 2005: 104). A factor that could have caused this is the lack of a democratic environment during the government of Alberto Fujimori. The sphere of action for all social movements was severely restricted, especially during the internal conflict against the Marxist guerrilla of Shining Path, which allowed Fujimori to label all dissenting voices as terrorism. The conflict against the Shining Path took place precisely in the regions where the majority of population is indigenous so it further hindered the work of social and political organizations. Most of the victims of this civil war were Amazonian and Andean indigenous people, who were scared of getting involved in social movements.
due to fear of retaliation by the Shining Path, which systematically eliminated any rival organizations. (Van Cott, 2005: 140–141; García, 2003: 73.)

According to Van Cott (2005: 141), the neoliberal policies of the 1990s and the recentralization of the political system also hindered the development of indigenous land and language rights and failed to create new political rights. Moreover, indigenous people have serious difficulties in participating in the mainstream media since they are not fluent in the language the mass media works with (García, 2003: 75). This clearly affects the way journalists address issues related to indigenous people and portray the indigenous leaders. Media work practices also affect the indigenous people’s presence since most of the media prefer to use established and traditional information sources such as government institutions, political parties, police and military institutions and politicians.

The aim of this study is to analyze the coverage of indigenous activist movements and indigenous social organizations in Peru’s oldest newspaper, El Peruano. According to the guidelines of the United Nations factsheet on indigenous peoples and identities (2006), indigenous refers to people who identified themselves as indigenous and are accepted by such communities as members. They embrace a strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources, and the communities enjoy a historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies, featuring distinct social, economic or political systems as well as their own language, culture and beliefs. This study was set to focus on the representations of indigenous organizations that represent ethnic nations who possess the qualities previously mentioned. The Amazonian indigenous organizations self-identify as indigenous or natives much more strongly than their Andean counterparts. Andean indigenous peoples encompass a diverse group of peoples who usually have a strong link to a territory but who do not necessarily self-identify as indigenous and most likely constitute activist organizations revolving around their economic activity, which can be peasantry or mining labour. There is a long tradition of activism by campesino peasants’ movement and miners’ trade unions, which starts from the Spanish conquest and continues throughout the republic period (Greene, 2006: 334–338; Van Cott, 2005: 143–144; Korovkin, 2006:}
Due to the length and complexity of the *campesino* movement, this study focuses on the Amazonian indigenous movement and the Bagua conflict in particular since this is the conflict that received more media coverage both nationally and internationally than other previous social conflicts against extractive industry projects. The Bagua conflict is still relevant as an example of the continuous struggle of indigenous environmentalist activism in Peru and of the complexity of Peruvian politics.

**1.1. Brief review of Amazonian indigenous movements**

The first Amazonian indigenous movements appeared in the 1960s when indigenous peoples from the Central Forest formed the Amuesha Congress with the help of US Peace Corps workers. During the 1970s, the major indigenous ethnic groups—Awajún, Wampi, Shipibo-Conibo, Asháninka and Cocama-Cocamilla—established their own ethnic local federations, with the help of the Linguistics Summer Institute in many cases. The Institute is a USA-based worldwide Christian non-profit organization, with worked in Peru since 1950s promoting bilingual education. (Greene, 2006: 339; Van Cott, 2005: 157.)

According to Yashar (1998: 35), in the 1980s, the State promoted agricultural activities, cattle industry, oil exploration and felling in the Amazonian forest; this unexpected intervention pushed indigenous people to self-organize and demand land rights and autonomy opposing neoliberal policies. Amazonian organizations have unified their demands under the flag of “land rights”, but land does not only mean territory; it is also autonomy and acceptance of their own authorities and customary laws (Yashar, 1998: 35). In 1978, the indigenous organizations wanted to separate themselves from the institutions and intellectuals that were advising them, so they decided to form autonomous organizations. Five different ethnic federations founded the Association for the Development of the Peruvian Forest (AIDESEP) (Van Cott, 2005: 160). From the beginning, there were internal conflicts inside AIDESEP because of rivalries and different approaches to resolving problems among the ethnic groups and the participation of NGOs and political parties (Greene, 2006: 341). AIDESEP led the process of forming the transnational organization Coordinator of Indigenous
Organizations of the Amazonian Basin (COICA), which represents ethnic groups in eight countries and the French Guyana. From then on, Amazonian ethnic federations started using the UN established term “indigenous people” leaving the “native”-term behind. Between the 1980s and the 1990s, AIDESEP developed quite fast as the result of obtaining financial support from national and international NGOs as well as international aid from European governments and the USA. From then on, the leaders of AIDESEP could work exclusively with the organization, and office staff could be hired. Thus, the indigenous communities started to demand economic and infrastructure development support from AIDESEP, and its leaders were more focused on keeping good relations with the international funders than with the indigenous organizations. (Greene, 2006: 342; Van Cott, 2005: 158.)

Confederation of Amazonian Nationalities of Peru (CONAP) is an organization formed in 1987 by the Amuesha Congress and Yaneshia, Shipibo and Awajún activists, who decided to leave AIDESEP to establish their own platform. AIDESEP and CONAP both compete to be the leading legitimate representative of the interests of Peru’s Amazonian peoples. Both organizations have succeeded in obtaining collective land titles, protecting indigenous people from enslavement and forced labour and fighting bio-piracy but AIDESEP is still bigger in terms of amount of nations represented and historical influence. (Greene, 2006: 341; Van Cott, 2005: 158–159.)

During the 90s, new neo-liberal policies were implemented and a new constitution abolished the protection of indigenous collective land property and indigenous languages. Consequently, from then on the state and private companies could effortlessly privatize collective lands. The Amazonian movement leaders gathered 55,000 signatures to propose modifications and succeeded in preserving the acknowledgement of ethnic and cultural diversity of the Peruvian nation, the protection of indigenous communities and languages, as well as the right to practice traditional laws. The decade also marked a milestone for AIDESEP with the Declaration of Iquitos, where relevant environmental NGOs such as Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, Oxfam and World Wide Fund for Nature declared a common goal
with COICA in the struggle for sustainable development policies. (Greene, 2006: 342; Van Cott, 2005: 158.)

AIDESEP has had a leading role in the allocation of community titles to Amazonian indigenous groups working together with the state (García et Chirif, 2007: 109–111). AIDESEP has arranged several general strikes and road blockades, and supported other associations’ initiatives during recent years (García et Chirif, 2009). One of the most far-reaching general strikes took place on July 9 2008, when representatives of regional labour unions, such as mining workers and campesinos, and indigenous movements set up a coordinated general strike in order to protest against laws related to a free trade agreement that encouraged private investments in indigenous communities, as well as land and forest concessions to foreign companies (Arrunátegui, 2010a: 430–431). Nowadays, AIDESEP gathers 65 ethnic federations, who represent 1500 indigenous communities with a total population of 650,000 people, whose mother tongues belong to 16 different linguistic families. AIDESEP is divided in 9 regional offices, with 12 leaders and a secretary of Women affairs (AIDESEP, 2014; Van Cott, 2005: 174).

1.2. A brief history of the Bagua conflict

Since the 90’s the Peruvian state has granted oil and gas concessions of around 56 millions of rain forest hectares. Most of the indigenous territories and communities overlap with oil and gas concessions. Previous legislative threats, such as mining and gas easements (non-possessory right to use and/or enter onto the real property of another without possessing it) suddenly became a reality. At the same time, official reports alerted about major damages to the environment and public health in the oldest oil and mining exploitation areas, confirming the continuous denouncements of indigenous organizations about the negative impacts of these activities. (Peruvian Congress, 2010: 14)

In this context, beginning in 2006 the indigenous communities reacted negatively to projects or law decrees given by the government, (see Dolorier et Paneque, 2013). In October-November 2007, the series of essays “the Dog in the Manger” written by the
then President of the Republic Alan García and published in the daily *El Comercio*, were understood as a statement of future policies. Reforms would be elaborated one-sidedly, and indigenous communities’ legal certainty would be severely reduced with the aim of facilitating the exploitation of natural resources, foreign investment and plantations of biofuel. In the essays, Garcia likens the indigenous communities to the dog in the manger, calls them relics that obstruct Peru’s development and proposes to divide the unproductive collective community lands into lots to handle them. From then on, indigenous communities and organizations were on high alert. (Ibid: 16; Schmall, 2011: 113; Humphreys et Bebbington, 2012: 23–24.) According to Guevara (2011: 164), rather than starting a public debate about territory planning, the conditions of foreign investment or the rights of indigenous peoples, the articles supported the law reforms that fostered national and international investments in the extractive industries sector.

The government followed through with its plans and prepared a series of laws, known as the FTA package, after having obtained special legislative faculties from the Congress in order to prepare the ground for the Free Trade Agreement with the USA. The law decrees were not agreed upon by the indigenous communities and were systematically hidden from everybody, even from the Congress, until June 2008 when they were finally promulgated. The decrees concerning Amazonian forest territories were not even required by the FTA and were actually outside the legal framework defined by the Congress. (Peruvian Congress, 2010: 16.)

According to the Peruvian Congress report (2010: 18), the Amazonian indigenous organizations decided to demand a new relationship with the state so new laws affecting their interest would be agreed upon in advance. AIDESEP discussed 34 decrees where their interests were affected and selected the most urgent and threatening ones, writing its concerns in a response letter to Garcia in November. In that letter, AIDESEP explained the risks to indigenous peoples’ income sources and also to rain forest’s biodiversity (Peruvian Congress, 2010: 18). According to Amazon Watch NGO, living conditions of indigenous peoples have only worsened because river pollution and a decline in fishery resources (Schmall, 2011: 112). The continuous
modification and concealment of the decrees made their analysis very challenging and created distrust towards the government (Peruvian Congress, 2010: 18).

On August 9 2008, AIDESEP led a national demonstration and road blockades to protest against law decrees 1015 and 1073, which were considered the most harmful because they allowed the purchase and individualization of collective land property. Shortly after the protests, talks were held with the President of the Congress, who promised to resolve demands. On August 28, the Congress ruled to abrogate the decrees and started analyzing the other decrees deemed harmful by AIDESEP, deciding the abrogation of 9 more decrees because they collided with Constitutional articles. The report was presented and approved by the Congress on May 7, 2009. (Peruvian Congress, 2010: 19.)

Between January and June 2009, the government executed a campaign, led by the Minister of Foreign Commerce and Tourism, to defend the group of law decrees supporting their argument by stating in the media the importance of these decrees to secure the FTA with the USA—which was later denied—suggesting that a small sector of the society is threatening the national interest. The government not only avoided addressing the problem, but continuously harassed AIDESEP and altered the indigenous peoples’ laws already recognized. (Peruvian Congress, 2010: 19)

The Ombudsman’s office, the Congress multiparty commission, many NGOs with legal expertise and law analysts agreed that the decrees were unconstitutional and opposed the agreement with the International Labour organization, the Convention on Biological Diversity, local agreements and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, among others (Peruvian Congress, 2010: 20). On June 5 2009, policemen were ordered to attack Amazonian indigenous people who were blocking a very important commercial road in the city of Bagua, Amazonas region; the result was 34 people dead, 23 of them policemen, 11 of which had been held hostage at the oil pumping station number 6 of Petroperú and were assassinated by Awajún-Wampi protesters in retaliation for the shooting of indigenous people (Humphreys et Bebbington, 2012: 24; for more information on Awajún-Wampi people and practices see Greene, 2006; Greene, 2009b; Espinosa, 1998).
There was a strong suspicion among the locals that the number of civilian victims could have been much greater. The radio called *La Voz de Bagua*, which stood in favour of the indigenous populations, was accused of inciting violence and the government stripped it of its licence for 14 months, claiming that the radio did not meet deadlines for operational checks. TV channel *Television Oriente* had also lost its license because of a claim made by the Ministry of Transport and Communications (MTC) about operational check deadlines. (Peruvian Congress, 2010: 109–111.)

On June 8, an official propaganda spot about the Bagua clash was broadcasted nationwide; it showed disturbing images of the policemen’s dead bodies and portrayed indigenous protesters as barbaric and cowardly assassins manipulated by extremist members of an international conspiracy (Minister of the Interior, 2009). The Minister of Women and Social Development resigned due to the racist contents of the spot. The spot presents an interesting opportunity for an analysis of portrayal and ethnic representations of the indigenous movement.

The law decrees were finally abrogated on June 18 after more demonstrations, protests and negotiations. The conflict resulted in the replacement of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence and the Minister of the Interior. In December 2010, five indigenous leaders were sentenced to four years in prison accused of inciting violence and treason and, according to NGO Amazon Watch, the government has issued at least 250 more complaints against indigenous activists and protesters. (Schmall, 2011: 211; Carroll, 2009.)

### 1.3. Research questions

This research sets out to explore the news representations of indigenous movements during the Bagua conflict in the Peruvian Spanish-language newspaper *El Peruano*, in order to determine the representation of indigenous organizations constructed by this newspaper and understand the way indigenous activism has been framed via the journalistic discourse of this paper. *El Peruano* is part of the state media administered by private companies.
This study centres on a mainstream media newspaper because it is more relevant, has a bigger circulation than local ones, and is accessible to a nationwide readership. One can say a newspaper is the natural choice of a media platform when analyzing phenomena in a retrospective manner, because the conflict occurred in 2009. Another reason was that, since El Peruano has a national coverage, a circulation of 17,000 (Tapia, 2013: 2), it is completely accessible on the Internet, and has a privileged role as the publisher and deliverer of the state’s laws and decrees (El Peruano, 2015). Since its foundation in 1825, El Peruano has been close to the ruling party and has changed its name several times according to the political motivations of the ruling governments (Arrambide, 2006 in Arrunátegui, 2010b: 356). Nowadays, El Peruano defines itself as the journal that presents the position of the Peruvian state and its main function is to publish legal provisions enacted by the state institutions (El Peruano, 2015). The choice of El Peruano, the official state newspaper, can seem quite controversial given that it is obvious what kind of biases could be present in its content. Nevertheless, the aim of this research is to examine the representations of indigenous activist organizations. The official state position of the conflict offers an invaluable point of view of how the state apparatus interprets and understands these indigenous actors, their claims and the ongoing conflict.

This research poses three sub-questions: what are the most frequent frames used to represent indigenous organizations in El Peruano, what were the characteristics of the coverage of the Bagua conflict in El Peruano, and how indigenous movements were portrayed in El Peruano. To answer these questions, all of the articles related to the Bagua conflict published in El Peruano between May and July 2009 were analyzed. The articles were coded according to topic, source, type of source, name of participants and visibility (headline, cover and amount of pages). The codes were then classified according to the theories of frame analysis, information biases and conflict frames; the resulting findings are presented in this paper.

According to Nieves (2012: 72), the cases of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador represent a new social movement where the indigenous movements surpass the struggle of
ethnic rights and challenge political power while inserting themselves in the democratic process. With this research I hope to contribute to improve the status of Peru’s multiculturalism by raising awareness on how different social groups are portrayed in an advantageous or disadvantageous way according to their ethnicity and place of origin, and also determine the existence of racism, racial and indigenous stereotypes in the Peruvian media. In conclusion, it is important to highlight that more studies on this subject would encourage a dialogue on the reliability of the information that journalists rely on, on the impact of the images that they portray, and on the importance of fostering participation of indigenous people in the media and thus ultimately promoting cultural diversity.

The next sections explore in more detail first the literature this study is based on, looking specifically at indigenous organizations’ presence in the public sphere, media representations, and environmental conflicts. The following chapter outlines this study’s methodology, elaborating on sample selection, data collection and data analysis. The third chapter presents the result from the analysis that includes a description of the portrayal and representation of Amazonian indigenous movements, by which terms they are named and what the common features present in El Peruano coverage of the Bagua conflict are. Finally, the last chapter discusses the findings, compares them with previous research, and suggests repercussions of the results for indigenous movements and the press, summarizing concisely the study and its main findings.
2. Literature Review

This study draws on the research on media representation, representation of indigenous movements and conflict framing. In this section, I define the study’s theoretical framework by first elaborating on media representations of ethnic minorities to then revise notions of ethnic nationalism and alternative notions of modernity. They are followed by an analysis of indigenous organizations as part of the public sphere and then the relationship between environmental conflicts and Indigenous movements in Latin America is revised. Lastly, a brief review of terms used to name Amazonian indigenous peoples will be presented in order to provide clarity to the analysis and result chapters, and previous studies of the Bagua conflict will be revised in more detail. I aim to frame this study in the vast range of indigenous movements research, and to provide concrete research methods and strategies that could be applied when conducting analysis on this subject. This review presents the relevant information on the topic in order to constitute a comprehensive theoretical basis for the interpretation and discussion of the results of this study.

2.1. Representations and the Media

The media constitute a space where meanings are constructed, negotiated and exchanged. Political and economic actors are in a better position to create and establish frames that will become routinized and taken for granted. If an issue is not present in the media, it will not be perceived by the majority of the population so it is important to analyze the representations created through the media and what it implies to be outside the media space. (Castells, 2007: 241–242.)

The media have an important role in shaping stereotypes and common beliefs, which will spread in the imaginaries of the audience and assist to establish a certain image that would be considered as the reality. In Hall’s words (2002: 253):

“Stereotyping reduces people to a few simple, essential characteristics, which are
represented as fixed by Nature... Stereotyping as a signifying practice is central to the representation of racial difference”.

Representations produced in the media, especially during the news making process, create simplified definitions of what a determined culture is and what its members are like. “Representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture” (Hall, 2002:15). Media representations follow the pattern already established in the society. In other words, political and economic actors are more enabled to institute their opinions and ideas than other members of the society. According to Hall (in Harcup, 2003: 362), “the hierarchy of power in society is reproduced in the media as a structure of access “systematically skewed in relation to certain social categories”.

Journalism is not exempt of the process of representation even if journalists have always claimed to be impartial and objective. In reality they cannot escape their own culture and ideologies. According to Manoff and Schudson (1988: 6) “journalism, like any other storytelling activity is a form of fiction operating out of its own conventions and understandings and within its own set of sociological, ideological, and literary constraints”. It is undeniable that the media have a relevant function in the creation of representations. Firstly, they decide what issues are worthy enough to be news. Secondly, the media decide what news sources are more trustworthy. As Ungerleider (1991) states: “Governments are the main purveyors of news... To a slightly lesser, but still significant, extent, the centres of economic power prove to be easily accessible centres for information that also gets codified as news”. Behind the selection of news sources is thus not only the disposition and quick access to them but also the assumptions that sources from political or economical powers are authorized to speak. It is also believed that officials higher in the rank have more authority than those in lower ranks (Sigal, 1986: 20–21).

Concerning the representation of minorities in the media, it is important to consider that the media usually consider the news agenda of other media when deciding their own. This mechanism is called copy cat journalism. Another mechanism mentioned by Ungerlaider (1991) is pack journalism, which means that journalists follow each
other and report about the same issues in order to obtain all possible important stories and keep up with the competition. Another factor that influences the representation of minorities in the media is the habit of the press of constructing news into a story structure where minorities are usually portrayed as the villains or the victims, but rarely as the heroes (Ungerleider, 1991). While analyzing the evolution of media representation of Native Americans, Warren and Jackson (1996: 2) state that even if specialized newsgroups offer more details about social movements, few journalists are required to produce sustained analysis of social movements that would contextualize social conflicts and other events that attract media attention. Rarely coverage explores how indigenous groups use the media with increasing expertise to present their culture globally and to share their claims to self-determination with the public opinion.

In Meadows’ (2001: 5) research about media representations of Aboriginals in Australia, he investigates how Australian journalism has helped to create and sustain the hostile environment that surrounds race relations through systematic management of information. Meadows sustains that the media, especially commercial television, plays a bigger role in creating ideas and suppositions about Australia and the Australian society than official institutions, because of its immense capacity to produce and connect ideas, events and affairs into a structure of ideology (2001: 6). Media routine practices include the omission of Aboriginal people from relevant debates and common sense assumptions based on racist structures (Meadows, 2001: 7).

News has always presented itself as a “bearer of truth and objectivity” (Meadows, 2001: 13), which deals with facts and not fiction in order to inform and entertain. “Journalism has a unique position in the construction and repetition of images”, since it can utilize literary tools but is it not allowed to employ fantasy and imagination. The press is not considered the creator of policies or the trigger of events; even though the press recreates a reality, it does not invent it (Weston, 1996: 2). Weston’s (1996) study explores the way news media have supported stereotypical images of Native Americans in the USA as originated by practices, traditions and
forms of journalists’ daily routine through newspaper and magazine articles which were produced from a white perspective. The representations created by the media affected the way the majority viewed Native Americans, and had an impact on governmental decisions. As Weston states (1996: 73) “Widely accepted journalistic practices can have the effect of reinforcing inaccurate images instead of dispelling them with facts”. Meadows (2001: 12–13) affirms that although it is possible for the audience to be active, and oppose media content, or reject a dominant discourse, this does not mean that audiences have the power to completely block media influence. Weston (1996: 3) states that one of the advantages of researching news stories is their fleeting nature, since they are produced very quickly without being reflected on or polished, thus they offer portrayals of what were the views of society on a certain subject. In her study, Weston (1996: 3) elaborates on how Native Americans were rarely the subjects of stories or the target audience. Government policy and media representations are often complex and ambivalent ranging from positive to negative images almost at the same time. Warren and Jackson (1996: 20), mention that in the case of Native Americans, the contradiction is visible in the celebration of the indigenous past in nationalist ritual and tourist shows, and the simultaneous failure to see Native American contemporary communities as modern protagonists and citizens.

The drive of journalism to accomplish objectivity reproduces the basic structures of power and privilege, reinforcing common assumptions about government and society, supporting passive recording of official viewpoints and representing complex processes as distinct events (Weston, 1996: 131–132). In a report written by the Kerner Comission about the 1967 race riots in Detroit, it was concluded that the media had failed to analyze and report adequately on racial problems, and to meet Afro-American people’s expectations in journalism; thus Weston (1996: 130) affirms that the media coverage of the riots reflected the biases, the paternalism and the indifference of white America towards the harsh living conditions of Afro-Americans.

Latin American media, which is still very conservative, centralized, and suspicious of change and social movements, has maintained the traditions of authoritarianism and
oligarchy, and slows down alternative ways of thinking and points of view. Mass media in Latin America have been heavily politicized, and usually they are strongly attached to the government and political parties. In many countries there has been a strong tradition of party press in the past decades; currently, the situation of the party press is weak. The proposals for change presented by social movements are efficiently opposed with labels of cleanliness and uncleanliness, civilization and savagery, development and backwardness; frames that are strongly internalized in the upper and middle class, which isolate these movements from the social discourse. (Kröger, 2014: 222; Leskinen, 2014: 332.)

In Tomaselli’s (2012) analysis of natural resources claims and conflicts between the Chilean state and its ethnic minorities an example of this tendency can be found. The rise of indigenous movements has been portrayed negatively by the Chilean press, especially considering the Mapuche people, who are still remembered for having resisted assimilation until 1883. According to Tomaselli (2012: 172), the press reinforces a violent image of the Mapuche, which increases scepticism regarding their claims among non-indigenous Chileans. In reports about indigenous mobilizations, the press gives the image that indigenous people will never be satisfied and will always protest, without giving deeper information about their culture and their past struggles (Tomaselli, 2012: 173).

Since the late 1990s globalization, transnational relations and neoliberal policies have clashed with multiculturalism, transforming and opening new opportunities for indigenous-state relations in many countries of Latin America (Lucero, 2008; Van Cott, 2005; Yashar, 1998). Indigenous movements have forced their way into national politics and have become main actors in current networks of representation in those Latin American countries—especially in Bolivia and Ecuador—where the indigenous population was never totally assimilated by the state. Bolivia is the leading example, with the resounding victory of MAS (Movement Towards Socialism) in the presidential elections of 2005. Representation is a challenging subject for indigenous movements; discourses of authenticity, fragmented discourse and leadership, and attempts to define what an Indian really is and who is more Indian than someone
else, take a toll on organizational resources. Ecuador’s CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador), perhaps the strongest indigenous association of the Americas, has developed frames of indigenous nationalities, which do not necessarily correspond with reality but have made the confederation more united and stronger. (Lucero, 2008: 183–191.)

In conclusion, it is important to recognize that the main sources of news, which are the centres of political and economic power, are also the spaces in which representations of minorities are created. Also, the portrayal of minorities by the media is, as Ungerleider (1991) indicates, “a faithful representation of the way the opinion leaders think about minorities and the way the opinion leaders would like us—including the minorities themselves—to think about minorities”.

2.2. Ethnic nationalism and notions of modernity

Nationalism is present everywhere in the human world. It is the basis for political organization and is usually the driver of internal conflicts and wars. It is a mass phenomenon, which is highly visible in numbers and has a high statistical significance. According to Weber (1968: 389–390), humans as sociable animals who are used to living in groups and depend on each other to subsist; these groups need to feel related to each other and to differentiate themselves from other groups so they usually create a myth of a common ethnic origin, common language and territory, and emphasize shared traditions. When these groups with a common ethnic background manage to form a psychological subconscious bond that joins them tightly together despite of other dissociating factors, they have constituted a nation, the largest group that can command a person’s loyalty because of felt kinship ties (Connor, 1994: 196, 202).

Nowadays both ethnic and political nationalism cohabit. Ethnic nationalism can also be named simply nationalism, which means loyalty to one’s national group. Ethnic nationalism can be seen as more dangerous and volatile because it can generate stereotypes, xenophobia and racism (Geary: 2002: 55). According to Connor (1994: 196), political nationalism could be called patriotism, meaning loyalty to one’s state
and its institutions; this division can explain why the human world contains thousands of ethno-national groups and less than two hundred states.

In the case of Latin America, the independence of the colonies took place without the formation of nationalism. This task was extremely difficult given the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of the new states, the lack of good connections between regions and the nations’ illiteracy that made them unreachable to nationalist propaganda. The criollo elite and intellectuals constructed the countries without taking other ethnic groups into consideration. Indigenismo movement, started in the 1900s, tried to unite the European principles and ethics of the elite with the pre-Columbian cultures’ beliefs and world vision. Nevertheless, this movement was paternalistic and patronizing towards the indigenous nations. Nationalism was created through a liberal ideology of centralization, modernization and progress, which was not designed for multicultural realities. (Pakkasvirta, 2014: 229.)

According to Nieves (2012: 73), the rise of indigenous ethnic groups in Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru demanding autonomy and cultural rights contests the established views of citizenship, democracy and national identity. Thus, the South American indigenous movements would belong to the category of reforming nation-states. The continuous struggle of the indigenous movement for self-determination in international law has caused fears of destabilization, political independence and secession in the states.

Territorial integrity and sovereignty are central priorities of sovereign states; hence this fear is understandable but not completely accurate. As Morgan (2007: 283) states: “For most indigenous peoples, separation is just not practical”. The type of self-determination that indigenous peoples aim for is one that enables them to develop their own institutions on their own territories and determine their own development according to their own values in a continuous association with their encompassing states; thus indigenous movements do not seek political independence and are not interested in ethno-nationalism (Morgan, 2007: 284). However, indigenous representatives have legitimated their claim, stating that withholding their right to self-determination on account of their indigenousness would amount to
discrimination (Morgan, 2007: 285). In the opinion of Fano (2009: 497), indigenous peoples represent the best example of re-appropriation and reinvention of the concepts of community, country and nation. The organizations have been able to develop ethnic policies, where different identities and multiculturalism are being highlighted, but which do not oppose the state prerogatives (Fano, 2009: 497).

During the 19th century, Latin American countries started to follow the established model of development, embarking on big infrastructure projects and aiming to increase production in mining and agricultural sectors (Gellner, 1983; Kröger: 2014: 212). Guevara (2011: 166) states that societies and nations can be classified according to modernity criteria as archaic and modern collectives. The non-modern collectives are non-specialized self-subsistence groups, who respect traditional values and norms of conduct and do not use much monetary circulation (Guevara, 2011: 166–167). Social movements in Latin America that oppose the injustices of trade policies from the perspective of environmental justice have successfully drawn attention to the immense social and environmental costs that minority groups are expected to accept in the name of development from which they rarely benefit (Newell, 2011: 69). The arrival of the market economy has caused a worsening of the indigenous communities’ quality of life, so it is questionable whether the traditional development models are actually the best options for indigenous communities or whether new alternative models would be more adequate (García et Chirif, 2007: 118).

Nevertheless, Gaonkar (2001: 23) proves that there can be other modernizations produced by different factors that are more apt to work in different contexts. Modernity is actually flexible and adjustable since it can be adapted to function better in different contexts and realities, for example the Bolivian state environmental policy enshrined the right to water in its constitution and has granted rights to the Mother Earth, called Pachamama in Quechua (Nieves, 2011: 68). According to Fano (2009: 497), indigenous movements challenge the Eurocentric model of society and economy, forcing to rethink traditional notions of development in a way that would include the perspectives of those, who were always excluded
from political decision-making, and who have suffered the consequences of the imposition of the traditional model. Furthermore, indigenous organizations have proved that they are not only challenging the status quo, but they are also proposing new concrete solutions, and are willing to take part in the decision-making process of plans for development and modernity (Fano, 2009: 497). According to Green (2006: 330–331), the Amazonian indigenous organizations have been the leaders in creating, promoting and utilizing eco-ethnic policies in Latin America. Although the arrival of the market economy usually causes negative effects on indigenous populations, they can counteract them by constituting their own organizations and structuring a plan of activities (Fano, 2009: 497). In this way, the indigenous movements have become the only tool and weapon available to indigenous peoples to survive the process of globalization and, at the same time, to preserve their ethnic and cultural identity, in the absence of a multicultural state policy Green (2006: 353–354).

2.3. Indigenous organizations as participants in the public sphere

In this sub-chapter, a short review on the surge of indigenous movements and different examples of indigenous movements’ position as counter-public spheres and their scope of influence will be presented. Habermas (1991: 3) came up with the concept of the public sphere as a space where private people meet and become public. In this space people could debate common interest issues free from state intervention and could scrutinize the public authority. Habermas (1991) was, however, analyzing social structures of the public in bourgeois circles so all the members of the sphere were citizens with equal rights and obligations. According to Fraser (2007: 82), Habermas idealized the bourgeois public sphere, which included white males and excluded black, female and working-class people. Habermas also failed to examine other nonliberal, nonbourgeois, competing public spheres (Fraser, 2007: 82). Subaltern counterpublics are parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs, so as long as these counterpublics emerge in response to exclusions within dominant publics, they help to expand discursive space (Fraser, 2007: 82).
Counter-public spheres constitute critical oppositional forces, since public spheres can no longer function outside existing commercial and state institutions and at the same time claim an influential and representative function as a forum for oppositional activity and debate. The categories of public spheres need to be understood in terms of a series of cultural strategies, which can be effective across a variety of levels both outside and inside existing institutional structures. (Felski, 1989: 171.)

Manuel Castells (2007: 238) affirms that mass media is the social space where power is negotiated, and that “communication and information have been fundamental sources of power and counter-power, of domination and social change” because “the way people think” validates norms and values, which are the base of all societies. Castells (2007: 248–249) stresses that counter-power, which is the ability of social actors to resist another social actor who is imposing his or her will upon others, is represented by “social movements and insurgent politics” which use the “mass self-communication”, traditional media and “face-to-face interaction” in a lesser extent. Social movements are regarded as promoters of ‘real’ democratisation or, alternatively, as threats to democratic governability (Wolff, 2007: 1). In the case of Latin America, indigenous peoples faced many challenges when participating in the sphere because of a lack of resources and scarce access to information.

From the beginning of the republics of Latin America, the elite’s goal was to assimilate the indigenous nations in one way or another. The many insurgencies, revolts, uprisings, messianic movements, and other forms of protest that followed through the centuries only deepened their submission to the national powers. (Ramos, 2002: 257.). From the 60’s, indigenous movements have formed to contest contemporary citizenship shifting the entire landscape of Latin American politics (Yashar, 1998: 34; Espinosa 1998: 91). With the end of the cold war, a space was opened for the rise of community-type social movements and in the case of Latin America indigenous social movements appeared as legitimate social actors in both national and international levels and emerged as opponents to neo-liberal policies. Indigenous organizations began to construct a representation as ethnic actors
embracing their own internal cultural diversity and demanding a more inclusive citizenship inside their countries. The movements were not separatists but constituted themselves as peoples in dialogue with the national society. (Rappaport, 2007: 114.)

Indigenous peoples participate in the public sphere as a social movement with activity in organized protests (Yashar, 1998: 24). They can also constitute political parties as in the cases of Bolivia and Ecuador (Van Cott, 2005: 2), or they can have a great impact on state policies and practices that affect their lives even without the support of a well-structured organizational base (García, 2003: 89–90). Nevertheless, the indigenous movements still experience difficulties in accessing the public sphere (Ranta, 2014: 275). Undoubtedly, the ethnic factor is one of the key elements in this process of formation of indigenous organizations, but identity is a much stronger one. Most of these organizations were created in order to represent the interests of indigenous peoples against the state. Their main demands are both cultural and political: respect for the ancestral lands or territories and their own culture, as well as basic health and bilingual education, and access to technology. (Espinosa, 1998: 91; Brysk, 2000: 55.)

According to Espinosa (Espinosa, 1998: 97), over the last decade, technological advances have expanded the actions of the indigenous movement. Today it is common for indigenous leaders to travel around the world to participate in congresses and conferences, to promote their causes and gather economic support (Espinosa, 1998: 97). These new practices have therefore created new ways to understand and experience the Indian political leadership, and at the same time they generate new problems and tensions, especially in the relationship between leaders and their people (Espinosa, 1998: 97). For example, Aboriginal organizations and communities have noticed the potential of the Internet and many organizations have their own websites: indigenous young people in Australia, Canada and the USA take courses in communication design aiming to empower their cultures in the information age (Synott, 2000: 29). Some Amazonian communities, such as the Asháninka, have started to use the Internet to provide information about their goals,
but this skill is not still the general rule (Espinosa, 1998: 98). Another Amazonian nation that has been using social media to campaign for their cause is the Shipibo-Conibo Cangallo community, whose goal is to obtain support for improving their living conditions in Lima (Espejo, 2011). The contents of new media actors such as newly founded minority language radios, TV stations or newspapers produced by indigenous movements can be received with surprise and indifference by the main media players, who are not used to the concepts of multiculturalism and have difficulties treating minority issues without resorting to common beliefs or stereotypes (Scheufele, 1999: 116). In Scheufele’s opinion (1999: 116): “It is rather likely that this frame building function of mass media has a greater impact for relatively new issues (i.e. issues for which no frames have yet to be established)”.

The problem of indigenous movements in forming counterpublic spheres is that their members get trapped in a vicious circle of mobilization and negotiation. Indigenous groups enter the public sphere with the serious disadvantages of a lack of resources and a negative representation (Rappaport, 2007: 113). Therefore, these movements are forced to engage in activities deemed as illegal by the public opinion, such as road blockades, protests, demonstrations, occupation of lands, etc. in order to claim their rights as citizens (Rappaport, 2007: 117). Indigenous groups must contravene the rules set by governments in an attempt to expand the public sphere to include them. According to Rappaport (2007: 118): “the articulation of indigenous organizations with civil society is an incomplete project in most of Latin America”. Even when they obtain local prominence and autonomy, indigenous groups find the integration in the national society challenging because of their status as a minority. Nevertheless, Rappaport (2007: 118) states that Bolivia might be the exception to the rule, since the social movement MAS, which united trade unions, social movements and indigenous organizations, was able to form a society where indigenous and citizenship are synonyms. Furthermore, in the Bolivian case, the new indigenous social movements managed to snatch politics out of its typical environments: the presidential palace or the halls of congress, and to take it to their own controlled sphere: the villages, neighbourhoods, community councils, the streets and rural highways as a form of power from below (Nieves, 2012: 74). Indigenous social
movements can be understood as struggles to redefine citizenship as a much broader and more inclusive concept in contrast to the traditional subjugated role indigenous peoples have always played during Colonial and Republican times (Nieves, 2012: 76–77).

In Peru, through the indigenous movements, the indigenous peoples of the Amazon have been made more visible and enabled to act in various public spaces (Espinosa, 1998: 99). Furthermore, Amazonian indigenous people, through many historical events—e.g. the civil war and the war against Ecuador, have discovered how the media are fond of displaying exotic issues; so they have learned how to attract media attention by exaggerating certain exotic features such as typical outfits and mystical rituals (Espinosa, 1998: 97; Graham, 2002: 206). However, a greater presence of indigenous people in the television has not solved their problems; what it is happening is that the indigenous leaders are discovering and appropriating new forms of contestation and new strategies to achieve their goals (Espinosa, 1998: 97).

According to Bruckmann (2010: 603–604), it can be said that the indigenous movement is transforming powerfully the current Latin American political process. It is global, because it offers an overview of global social and political processes as well as local, because it is established as a resistance movement, which aims to challenge governments and traditional political power in some countries (Bruckmann, 2010: 604). Indigenous movements’ model of modernity and development differs significantly from the Eurocentrist view, because it aims to recover the “historical legacy of originarian civilizations” in its plurality as several identities, types of knowledge and ways of producing knowledge have survived the arrival of Europeans to the continent (Bruckmann, 2010: 604).

2.4. Environmental conflicts in Latin America

In Scmall’s opinion (2011: 111), with the high demand for raw material, Latin American countries are struggling between economic growth and human rights, environmental problems and respect for indigenous peoples way of life. This tension is especially visible in the Amazonian region where countries like Bolivia and Ecuador
are trying to balance exploitation of gas and oil with protection of nature (Schmall, 2011: 111). They are coincidentally the countries with the biggest indigenous populations. For example, in Peru, one of the most biodiverse countries, extraction policies have been especially aggressive and extensive (Schmall, 2011: 112).

According to Carruthers (2008: 10), indigenous rights have been a powerful driver for mobilization in the entire region as indigenous communities face the forces that threaten to harm them, displace them, and push them toward cultural disintegration. Indigenous leaders unite forces with environmental activists to re-evaluate the traditional ecological knowledge of their ancestors; it is often very difficult to separate environmental and resource claims from indigenous recognition and autonomy (Carruthers, 2008: 10). According to Newell (2011: 63), Latin American activists have fewer resources, are more constantly challenged and are more weakly empowered than their North American counterparts; for example, in many cases in Latin America, local opposition to extractive activities and private investments has been ignored by the government, which is eager to attract new investors and facilitate their activities.

Indigenous representatives have criticized the way that their traditional customs of using natural resources and conceiving their habitat is utilized by European or North American environmental organizations to achieve their own objectives. The indigenous goals of recognition of land property, the improvement of rights to use natural resources and reinforcement of autonomy through international networks are ignored even though they are extremely important to indigenous organizations, more so than conservation of nature and protection of the environment. Furthermore, there are many cases of open collaboration and participation of indigenous organizations and communities in extractive economic activities when these follow their guidelines and requirements. (Newell, 2008: 52; Ibid; McNeish, 2012: 56; Brysk: 2000, 41; Greene, 2009b: 53–56.)

On the other hand, according to Nygren (2014: 197) the international networking of indigenous peoples has acquired characteristics of ethnic nationalism. Notions of who gets to talk in the name of indigenous and local populations and who has the
right to define the discourses of environment and development are extremely delicate; *mestizos* and other local populations as well as Andean indigenous peoples trying to participate in the environmental debate do not receive the same attention as Amazonians (Nygren, 2014: 197). However, it is true that lowland or Amazonian indigenous peoples are more vulnerable to sudden changes and the intervention of outsiders in their territories since their communities are usually smaller than highland or Andean indigenous communities, and they have less experience in dealing with other ethnic and economic groups (Nygren, 2014: 197).

### 2.5. Amazonian indigenous peoples

Amazonian peoples have usually been classified based on racial categories of European colonialism and never successfully obtained a class term in Marxist theories as in the case of Andean *campesino* peoples. Andean indigenous peoples were more visible and present than Amazonians in the minds of Peruvians living in major cities. The forms of political organization, closeness to nature, and different degrees of isolation of the Amazonian peoples from the “modern world”, together with physical signs such as nudity, body paint, adornments, among others converted them into easy targets for the Western “modernity” and “development” supporters. (Greene, 2006: 332; Greene, 2009b: 56.)

Nonetheless, recent studies suggest that the concepts of “closeness to nature” and “pristine nature” are not accurate, and that Amazonian inhabitants used to cultivate intensively and live in larger communities before the arrival of Europeans to their territories (Nygren, 2014: 193; Roach, 2010; Muurinen, 2015). According to Opas and Virtanen (2014: 71) and Nygren (2014: 193–194), before the arrival of Europeans, the area of Amazonas supported heavily inhabited areas around the main rivers. During colonial times the population was reduced considerably due to diseases and exploitation, pushing the survivors to scatter and lose contact (Opas and Virtanen, 2014: 71).

In Peru, during the leftist revolutionary military government of Juan Velasco Alvarado in 1974, Amazonian indigenous peoples were granted collective land ownership
through the Law of Native Communities. Native communities were defined as indigenous groups with a common ethnic origin, who live in a determined territory. However this law was based on the organization and cultural traditions of Andean peasant communities and did not take into consideration the Amazonians’ own organizational systems and the linguistic kinship relationships among the Amazonian communities, so the formation process of linguistic identities which was slowly taking shape, was interrupted. At the same time, educational policy reform established bilingual education during elementary education and all native languages were declared official in the provinces where they were spoken. (Van Cott, 2005: 148; Greene, 2006: 334; Cánepa, 2008: 17; García, 2003: 73.)

Peruvian state adopted the term “native” to define the Amazonian indigenous peoples in order to replace the discriminating names of Indian, savage and chuncho, and in order to distinguish them from Andean indigenous people, granting the term “indigenous” to the Andean inhabitants (Greene, 2009: 334). Nevertheless, according to Greene (2009: 334), the term “indigenous” was also used to name Amazonian peoples in the context where Andean indigenous people were named peasants, campesinos. Chuncho is a pejorative term to name Amazonian indigenous people, which is defined in the dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy as “the naturals of a jungle region, who are deficiently assimilated to Western civilization” and as “uncivilized, rustic and shy” (RAE, 2014). The stereotype of the noble savage is still visible as a patrimony that needs protection in the mainstream media and information produced by environmental organizations (Opas et Virtanen, 2014: 73). This way of thinking has a negative side: Amazonian cultures should remain as they were and are not allowed to change even when faced with mainstream culture (Opas et Virtanen, 2014: 74).

2.6. Indigenous movements in the media

There are plenty of studies about representation of indigenous peoples and their participation in the political, social and economic public sphere. Most of those analyze the political and social impacts of indigenous movements elaborating on the issues of nationality, citizenship, modernity and environmental justice from the
perspectives of sociology, political studies, anthropology, indigenous studies or public administration (Yashar, 1998; Belleau, 2014; Van Cott, 2005; Lucero, 2008; Rappaport, 2007; Inganzo, 2011; Sabatini, 2012; Pape, 2012; Powless, 2012; Brysk, 2000; Chartock, 2011; Vanden, 2007; Stephenson, 2000.) However, studies of indigenous movements from a media studies approach have been scarce.

Weston (1996), Ungerleider (1991) and Meadows (2001) have made a historical review of the portrayal of ethnic minorities, and in some degree of indigenous movements in the press, in the United States, Canada and Australia respectively. Representations of ethnic minorities in the press have been studied generally from a linguistic approach using critical discourse analysis, for example: Arrunátegui (2010) on Peruvian Amazonian indigenous people, Chiu and Chang (2012) on Taiwanese indigenous people and Pietikäinen (2003) on Sami people.

There has been a fair amount of studies that have analyzed the race portrayals in Peruvian media (e.g. Arrunátegui, 2010; Espinosa, 2003; Guevara, 2011 Eto, 2010). Espinosa (1998) elaborates on how Amazonian indigenous peoples—Shipibo, Awajún and Asháninka—make use of media such as radio, television and Internet to structure their identity and to create their own representations. Espinosa (2003) revises the possibilities of a Peruvian multicultural citizenship and rejects the concept of mestizo as a hindrance for the acceptance of diversity. Eto’s (2010) study discusses the repercussions of framing negotiation and dialogue through the headlines of national dailies El Comercio and La República and a local paper La Región in Iquitos. Guevara’s (2011) study examines relevant approaches to development from a legal point of view in order to explain the Bagua conflict and to propose solutions to consider alternative development plans proposed by indigenous peoples.

Protests of the Amazonian movement in 2008 and 2009 have been the subject of three studies: Arrunátegui’s “The racism in Peruvian press”, Eto’s “Bagua: a headline conflict” and Gutiérrez’ “Journalist treatment of social conflicts in Lima press” (2013). Arrunátegui studied the language in the newspapers El Comercio, El Peruano and Ajá during the Bagua mobilization in 2008 to see signs of racism towards Amazonian indigenous peoples through their portrayal as the Other. Gutiérrez’ study focused on
the journalistic framing of the Bagua conflict as a propaganda campaign, aiming to push the views of the directors of El Comercio and La República to the audience.

These previous studies have not specifically analyzed the portrayal of indigenous movements or the construction of their image through media discourse; they have analyzed indigenous participants as individuals representing the Other in Peruvian society. Though this study shares some similarities with the previous research, it has important distinctions; it aims to be a contribution to the representations of indigenous movements in the media. This paper aims to contribute a new perspective to an important social problem, the exclusion of indigenous peoples from the public sphere, which has been already treated by other disciplines. A study on representation of indigenous movements under the framework of media studies is still necessary to complement the previous studies. This study’s approach is to describe indigenous peoples as empowered active members of the society and not only as a passive ethnic group.

Clearly, the literature shows that indigenous mobilization is a current phenomenon visible worldwide, but especially present in the Latin American context. Indigenous organizations are shaping new ways of political, economic and social participation for ethnic minorities in countries like Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Brazil, Colombia, Nicaragua, Guatemala, México and Chile. Furthermore, Peruvian press has paid little attention to the issue of fair representation of people regardless of their ethnicity, the great importance indigenous movements are acquiring in the public sphere, or to the necessity of assuring a quota so that the composition of the staff could reflect the demographics of the country the media is working on (Minority rights group, 2005). Thus, this research could be the beginning of a series of studies that could raise awareness on the fact that indigenous people and their movements are poorly represented and not allowed to participate in the media.
3. **Methodology**

This study of the representation of indigenous movements in *El Peruano* was conducted through quantitative and qualitative analysis of 312 articles. I examined the coverage of *El Peruano* during the time frame of the Bagua conflict (May 7 to July 11 2009) using a combination of quantitative content analysis and qualitative frame analysis. According to Jick (1979: 602), “qualitative and quantitative methods should be viewed as complementary rather than rival camps”.

3.1. **Research strategy and methods**

I used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to ensure the systematic analysis of media content but, at the same time, enrich the ‘hard’ data through qualitative frame analysis providing a theoretical framework to interpret the data and situate it in a broader social context. Hansen et al (1998: 91) suggest that content analysis should be complemented by the theoretical framework provided by other qualitative methods, and at the same time offering to these a methodological rigour, prescriptions for use, and systematic approach.

First of all, I selected only the news stories that handle the Conflict of Bagua and its consequences. Secondly, I proceeded to code the items according to the following categories: topic, source, types of sources and naming of the participants. Thirdly, the items were classified according to cover visibility and length: namely if they were present in the cover page or cover headlines and if they occupied a whole page. Finally, a frame analysis was conducted regarding two types of frames that could be present in the newspapers’ content: information biases and conflict frames. This research design will be explained in more detail in the following pages.

3.1.1. **Content analysis**

Content analysis is one of the oldest and most used methods present in social science. It is a mouldable method especially appropriate for assaying “great pieces of text” (Hansen et al, 1998: 123). The goal of content analysis in media research is to
examine in which ways production of media content such as “news, drama, advertising, and entertainment” mirror “social and cultural issues, values, and phenomena” (Hansen et al, 1998: 92). This feature of content analysis enabled me to see if the coverage of the conflicts reflects in a positive or negative light the issue of indigenous activism and its environmental approach.

Agenda-setting is an important aspect of this research because with the help of the theory this study can approach the possible presence of an agenda in the coverage of conflicts in El Peruano. Thus this method is fitting for this research because agenda-setting studies have been undertaken using content analysis with the aim of establishing how far the issues which rule the media’s agenda come to control and influence what the public ‘think about’ or perceive as the most important issues of the day according to surveys of public opinion. (Hansen et al, 1998: 93.)

Content analysis can help provide some indication of relative prominences and absences of key characteristics in media texts, but the inferences that can be drawn from such categories depend entirely on the context and framework of interpretation by which the texts analysed are circumscribed (Hansen et al, 1998: 95). Namely, outlining phenomena is not enough; it is also necessary to have a theoretical framework to contextualize and interpret these findings. Content analysis needs to have categories that originate in the research question and a theoretical framework, which provides the research with valuable concepts. According to Silverman (2001: 36), “Without a theoretical rationale behind the tabulated categories, counting only gives a spurious validity to research”, thus it is important to select a qualitative method that could complete the content analysis.

3.1.2. Frame analysis

Frame analysis is especially suitable for this research because throughout the years, it has mainly centred on “the identification of movement- or event-relevant frames and their effects... frame analysis is a cornerstone for a framing on social movements” so this technique, with its two variants, has been relevant to comprehend dynamics of social movements and political communication (Snow et al, 2007: 385). This research
analyzes the portrayal of indigenous activism during a conflict so frame analysis approach enabled me to determine how possible information biases create a positive or negative image of indigenous movements and their leaders.

The concept of framing constitutes an elemental tool for making sense of what people picture as existing in the social world, and assuring a comprehensive analysis of what is essential for more methodical understandings of how people both construct and react to choices and options (Young, 2010: 71). Gray (2003: 11) affirms that frame analysis is a flexible method because frames are not static constructions of events but they might change or might remain the same according to the political, economic and social milieu. Framing explains how individuals shape, focus and organize the world around them (Gray, 2003: 11). When individuals frame a conflict, they develop interpretations about what the conflict is about, why it is occurring, the motivations of the parties involved, and how the conflict should be settled (Gray, 2003: 11).

Framing can also be used to try to persuade people to adopt other individuals’ interpretations of the conflict. This is the case of framing in media content and that is why is so important to examine the issue of media representation of indigenous activism thoroughly. Gray (2003: 13) states that when an individual frames something, they put it in perspective by relating it to other information that they already have. Thus media audience is not totally influenced by new frames, on the contrary, they assimilate, modify or reject them according to the frames they have already adopted.

‘Framing’ is without doubt one of the most popular words in current mass communication research. The creation of the framing concept in the social sciences is often attributed to the Gregory Bateson in 1950 when he stated that declarations do not have meanings per se, but only obtain those in a frame that is formed by context and style (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011: 103). Goffman also introduced the term in 1986 and his book has been extensively quoted and commented ever since (Young, 2010: 53). Extensive adoption of the term in media and communication studies started when Entman’s (1993) article about ‘framing as a fractured paradigm’ was
published. Since then, the deployment of the terms ‘frame’ and ‘framing’ has increased constantly in research about news and journalism (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011: 101).

Goffman (1986: 21), one of the precursors of frame analysis, coined the term ‘primary framework’ that has the function of “rendering what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful”. These primary frameworks form a central element of a social group’s culture. Regardless of the degree of organization, each primary framework permits its user to “locate, perceive, identify, and label” an apparently unlimited number of tangible events defined in its terms (Goffman, 1986: 21). The user is probably oblivious of such organized features that the framework has since he or she cannot denote the framework with any comprehensiveness, yet these obstacles are no restriction to the application of it (Goffman, 1986: 21).

Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005: 405) state that frame analysis refers to the relevance of issues – not only presence or absence, but also emphasis on one aspect neglecting others. Therefore, news frame analysis explains the way news are socially constructed, as a process based on routines and journalism practices in which newsworthiness depends on how a particular event or story fits the time and space demands of the news organization (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011: 103).

The assumption of this research is that news sources intervene actively in the construction of representation frames. However, this research does not aim to find out how these categories become part of the frame and it does not focus on journalistic practices or content production. However, this could be an interesting topic for further research on this topic. Vliegenthart & van Zoonen (2011: 111) favour the ‘sociological perspective’, which alleges that media content production is mainly affected by “professional and organizational processes in the newsroom”, instead of “traits or decisions of autonomous individuals”. Sociological perspective also postulates “the relation between news frames and audience frames is based on collective processes of negotiation over meaning, rather than on individual exposure to news frames” (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011: 111). This research also adopts
the sociological perspective when conducting frame analysis since the research topic probes indigenous activism and assumes the construction, establishment and transformation of frames as a social process. Sociological perspective also assumes that “production and reception of news contents are not only affected by individual differences, but also by social and cultural contexts, structural divisions and power constellations” (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011: 112). Frames are elements of a collective struggle over meaning that occurs through a diversity of media and interpersonal communication; they come from a variety of resources, among which are news media and personal experience, and result differently for particular individuals, groups and institutions (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011: 112).

Thereupon, multi-level analysis of frame-building and frame-effects is necessary to engage in significant research about activism and minorities.

Bennett (2001) regards the making of the news not as an immaculate transmission of truth—but as an endeavour that is conditioned by myriad institutions and influences beyond the pressroom with their attendant distortions in the construction of “the first draft of history”. Journalists are not exempt from the process of frame construction since they can become victims of their own fixed ideas that constitute frames of reference for their daily work (Scheufele, 1999:117). Weick (in Brummans et al, 2008: 28) affirms that framing consists of employing a particular “repertoire” of categories and labels to place in the same category and interpret ongoing experiences. Frame analysis refers to the communicative process that people use to highlight and minimize certain features of experiences, apply a set of categories to classify them in order to create logical stories of what is happening, and decide about “what to do with those ongoing stories” (Brummans et al, 2008: 28). Media representations of indigenous activism contain implicit storylines explaining the newspaper version of what is happening and what are the measures to solve the conflicts presented, which are analyzed in the following chapters.

Frames impose order and make sense of the world, both for those who report on it and for their audiences. For example, In Weston’s study (1996: 13), the coverage of Native Americans fit the assumptions of how Indians were supposed to be: exotic,
warlike, childlike, or imprudent, ergo the media content reinforced these stereotypes and neglected to focus on stories related to land claims or government aid-reduction policies. Stories are worthy to analyze because they are central to human nature and they play a decisive role in the process of creating representations (Bell, 1998: 64). They are also central to news media: the relevant daily events in our societies are communicated through stories written with structure, order, viewpoint and values (Bell, 1998: 64). Therefore it is important to separate the content of what the story says from the latent content present in it (Bell, 1998: 66).

Bennett (2001: 41–50) identifies four structural biases—personalization, dramatization, fragmentation, and the authority-disorder bias—which are produced with the aim of gaining profit instead of fomenting a certain ideology and they establish political news coverage. The desire to present a compelling narrative (and presumably appeal to large audiences) lead gatekeepers, the newspaper editors and television producers who determine how events are covered, to frame news as actor-driven stories presented without sufficient context and often to focus on the ability of leaders to establish or to restore order (Bennett, 2001: 36). Furthermore, If we accept that “frames suggested by interest groups or political actors as sound bites are adopted by journalists and incorporated in their coverage of an issue or event” (Scheufele, 1999: 116), then we cannot refute that the language spoken by the majority and the way of thinking of the majority of the population set a frame that is followed by the media.

### 3.2. Sample and data selection

This paper will analyse news articles, editorials and columns published by *El Peruano* during the time that the conflict in Bagua (May 7 – July 11 2009) took place. The analysis unit of this research is a news article. These include opinion columns and editorials. The articles were retrieved from the website of *El Peruano* where the articles are available in a form identical to their printed version. All editions published during the time frame of the conflicts were reviewed and all the articles concerning the conflicts were selected, 312 news stories in total. The newspaper’s supplements or magazines were not included the sample because they have specialized content
and their reading level score is not as high as the main newspaper since they appear weekly. Since I want to analyse the representation of indigenous activism during a conflict with the government, it is important to examine the articles that reach a broader audience. In order to establish what relevant content is, I took into consideration the relation of the research problem and the theoretical framework, but also practical considerations like for example, setting a limit for the amount of material selected without putting in jeopardy the relevance of the sample (Hansen et al, 1998: 104). Articles that only briefly mentioned the conflict of Bagua were discarded since the main topic of this study was not the conflict per se, but the indigenous activism. Consequently, I analysed all the news articles that tackle the conflicts of Bagua from the El Peruano newspaper and where indigenous groups are portrayed or heard. I considered that it was important to analyse all such articles in order to follow the evolution of storytelling of the conflict presented by the newspaper.

After doing the content analysis of the news articles, editorials and columns published by El Peruano during the time that the conflict in Bagua took place, I decided to revise all the items published from May 7, 2009 to July 11, 2009 because during that period of time the beginning and the end of the conflict were clearly marked by the appearance of the first article related to the conflict in the newspaper and the resignation of the Minister of the Interior, one of the people in charge of making the decision of sending armed forces to dissolve the blockade.

May 7 is an important date, because it signals the beginning of the conflict when the Congress delayed abrogating the controversial decrees causing the anti-decree movement to start. By July 11, the Prime Minister and the ministers in charge of the police and the army resigned after a governmental campaign to maintain them in their office. After reading the items, I realized that the outcome of the conflict after the abrogation of the decrees was the ministers’ resignation and decided to take into consideration the representation of the conflict in El Peruano as a story with a clear beginning and an end. The examples presented in the following chapter are my own translations from Spanish to English of the most representative quotes and
statements found in the sample. The examples are referred to by their code number, which contains the date of the item in the format ddmmmyy_page number.

3.3. Data analysis

Content analysis will focus on the textual features of all the articles that covered the conflict. The first step will be classifying the news articles according to the coding categories: topics of each article, the origin of the sources and their classification in official sector or civil society or foreign official sector, and the names used to describe indigenous activists and participants.

In the beginning of the study, I had considered only two indicators: civil society and official sector. Nevertheless, a letter written by Bolivia’s president Evo Morales that was presented in the Continental Summit of Indigenous Peoples in Puno on May 29 started a theory of a conspiracy organized by the Bolivian government in order to cause violence and mayhem during the Bagua conflict. Several articles published in El Peruano gave support to this theory, quoting several politicians who believed in the possibility of the plot and demanded explanations from Bolivia’s government; Bolivian officials constantly denied these accusations. This new sub-plot on the storyline drove me to include the indicator of foreign official sector, since the quotes of Bolivian governmental sources could not be included in either Peru’s civil society or official sector.

The topic category will cover the concepts that are linked to indigenous people and that appear regularly in the press. The sources category will illustrate where the material for the news comes from and in which frequency. Naming of the participants will provide examples of different terminologies that could contain a discriminative connotation since it is still unclear what the politically correct terms for naming indigenous people are. This step will answer the question of how indigenous activists are described and portrayed in the media.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>What is the main topic?</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What are the subtopics if available?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Types of sources

- **Official sector:** Government and military sources
- **Civil society:** Indigenous activist sources, environmental activist sources.
- **Foreign official sector:** Foreign officials and international institutions.

### Naming of the participants

(Pietikäinen, 2003: 591)

- Names used to describe the indigenous activists.
- Classification of the names according to the degree of discriminative connotation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Origin of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Types of sources | • Official sector: Government and military sources  
• Civil society: indigenous activist sources, environmental activist sources.  
• Foreign official sector: Foreign officials and international institutions. |
| Naming of the participants | • Names used to describe the indigenous activists.  
• Classification of the names according to the degree of discriminative connotation |

Table 1 *Categories for first analysis step*

Two more categories were included in order to analyze the importance of the conflict of Bagua in the newspaper: visibility and length of the coverage. **Visibility of the topic** was assessed through two questions: whether the item was featured on the cover page, and whether the item was present in the edition’s headlines. In regard to the depth and length of the coverage, the category of a whole page was included in order to know if the article occupied an entire page or more in an edition.

The following step was to use the frame analysis method to search for and analyse possible information biases in news stories. Frame analysis has many different approaches and applications; the model elaborated for this research is a combination of Bennett’s (2001) model of information biases in press content and Gray’s (2003) model used when framing environmental disputes. This model will attempt to answer the question of whether the expressions of indigenous activism are seen as legitimate or illegitimate.

#### 3.3.1. Information biases

News organizations typically have an identifiable editorial position and their own style, which are reproduced by journalists and have an impact on the selection and framing of news stories about ethnic minorities. The story-telling conventions and journalism practices condition the production of media content and can generate
certain biases on the information. Bennett (2001: 41-50) emphasizes the idea that there are four information biases that affect media content which are produced by the requirements of the storylines and their established genres.

**Personalization** means that complex political, economic or social events are represented as triumphs or defeats of important individual players presented. Thus, in this type of bias, presidents or prime ministers are usually considered embodied personifications of entire countries. This characteristic will facilitate the comparison of media presence among the news participants, namely functionaries, indigenous leaders and indigenous activists.

**Fragmentation** “emphasizes individual actors over the political contexts in which they operate” (Bennett, 2001: 36). Deadlines and requirements for concision are factors that constitute this characteristic. Hence, news stories are presented isolated from their context and without enough background information making it more difficult to understand the whole picture of a specific issue. Analyzing this characteristic, the researcher can discover if the petitions and demands of indigenous activists were represented as trivial or were simplified by the media coverage.

**Authority – disorder** storyline enables journalists to present an issue in a simplified way denoting the world as a place where authority and disorder coexist and are entangled in an eternal struggle. Bennett (2001: 40) states, “the news is preoccupied with order, along with related questions of whether authorities are capable of establishing or restoring order”. With the help of this characteristic, the researcher can find out how media portrayed conflicts where indigenous activists participated and if there are major differences between representations of the different indigenous leaders and activists.

**Dramatization** refers to the simplification of news stories through exaggerating topics and enlarging conflicts and threats in a soap opera like fashion that blurs underlying contextual realities. In conclusion, these four biases are suitable for the analysis of media representation of indigenous activists.
3.3.2. Conflict frames

In the book *Making sense of intractable*, Gray (2003: 20) selected three main frames for analyzing interviews with stakeholders of environment conflicts. These main frames were identity frames, characterization frames and conflict management frames. Although the research centres solely on environmental conflicts and is based not only on news media coverage but also on interviews, meeting transcripts and archival data, the frames utilized are applicable for this research since it relates to conflict and representations of news participants.

Furthermore, conflict frames permit analysing how different news participants portray themselves in the media, how they aimed to be portrayed and how they perceive others. These frames are relevant in order to contrast the representation made by the media against the representation made by the news participants themselves. For this research, the most advantageous frames are the characterization of *the Other* and self-representation given that this study focuses on how news indigenous activists represent themselves and characterize *the Others*, namely their opponents in the conflict.

**Self-representation** describes how an individual defines him- or herself and his or her own image while presented in a social context (Putnam & Wondolleck, 2003: 45). This frame focuses on the issue of how an individual explains who he or she is using social categories (Gray, 2003: 21). According to Gray (2003: 22), identities serve to strengthen ties between members of the same group and to alienate themselves from other groups; thus, in times of conflicts or crisis, members of the groups would defend each other and externalize the responsibility to *the Others*.

**Characterization of Other** refers to how an individual conceptualizes *the Others* and frames them based on attributions of intent, blame, and nature of being. As with the previous frame, characterization of *Other* establishes the identity of the group, creating a sense of belonging through perceived similarities among the group’s members and perceived differences from individuals outside the group. (Gray, 2003: 24). Ungerlaider (1991) states that the three mechanisms, which are frequently
responsible for the way minorities are represented, are: the reliance on government and corporations as sources of news, "pack" and "copy cat" journalism, and the presentation of news in a narrative form with conflicts involving heroes, villains, and victims.

3.3. Validity and reliability

The validation will be ensured by combining a quantitative method — content analysis—with the qualitative method of frame analysis. Analyzing text is usually more reliable since the content is already available and there is no risk of biases concerning the collection of the sample.

Content analysis provides an adequate structure to classify the samples in categories and analyse it in a more ordered and systematic way. However, the crucial requirement is that the categories are suitably accurate to enable different researchers to produce the same results when the sample is examined (Silverman, 2001: 123). Another challenge concerning content analysis is related to the limitations created by the setting of categories, which could restrict the scope of the research making it stiff and rendering it incomplete (Silverman, 2001: 124). Due to this fact, I included other categories that appeared during the coding phase such as visibility of the topic and the length of the item, which required the modification of the already selected categories.

One of the challenges while outlining news frames is their intangible nature that makes the concept difficult to grasp in a practical context. Another challenge stems from the fact that frames have been discussed not only as a part of the media coverage but also as a part of people’s cognitive schemas, and framing itself has many applications that differ to a large degree from one another, so the results can be quite individual. Also, there is no globally accepted way to use this method but instead it seems like every researcher defines his or her own approach (Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005: 404; Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011: 102; Snow et al, 2007: 409; Scheff, 2005: 369). However, I have ensured the validity of the research by selecting a range of indicators, characteristics and frames, taken from three different studies,
thus enabling a multi-level frame analysis. Furthermore, the research will use thick description when doing the frame analysis in order to benefit the most from the data.

Due to my work experience, education and cultural background, I admitted the possibility that some biases concerning previous ideas about representation of the Indigenous people could interfere in the analysis while conducting the research. Thus I reflected about these possible biases and interferences of feelings and emotions with the help of a journal.

3.4. Ethical considerations

The unit of this research is a news article; hence no particular issues concerning ethics should be contemplated. Regarding the use of newspapers’ database, it is public and available to everybody. Mason (in Silverman, 2001: 270) also suggest three solutions to avoid changing directions of interest and access during a qualitative study: “decide what is the purpose of the research, examine which individuals or groups might be interested or affected by your research topic, and consider what are the implications for these parties of framing your research topic in the way you have done”. The researcher had these recommendations in mind during the entire study.
4. Results

The purpose of this investigation is to understand how Amazonian indigenous activism, its issues and agenda are being portrayed in *El Peruano*. In order to present the findings, I divided this chapter in three sub-chapters. The first one explains the main discoveries in the content analysis concerning *El Peruano*’s coverage, namely sources and types of sources, length and visibility of coverage, and naming of the participants. In the second sub-chapter I focused on the information biases of the coverage including personalization, dramatization, fragmentation, authority-disorder bias and patronization. This last bias, patronization, was not considered in the original study plan but arose from the items as a recurrent characteristic. The third sub-chapter delves into the portrayal of Amazonian indigenous movements through the articles’ topics and frames of the story. Through these variables it is possible to approach the subjects of construction of the Other, the native leaders in this case, and their self-representation in the items’ narration.

4.1. *El Peruano’s* coverage statistics

*El Peruano*’s coverage of the Bagua conflict consisted of 312 articles, which are mainly news articles. *El Peruano* did not offer many opinion articles; there were only three editorials and two columns in 62 days of content. Another relevant characteristic is the brevity of *El Peruano* items. During the period analyzed only five articles received broad one page coverage. The median amount of words per item during the conflict was 253.
Chart 1 presents the amount of words in *El Peruano*’s items: the bars in blue are the items published before the clash on May 5 and the bars in red are the items published after the clash. Most of the articles are very short: the vast majority contain under 500 words, the largest bulk of articles contain between 100 to 150 words, the other bigger groups between 150 to 200 and 200 to 250. The only articles containing more than 900 words appear after the clash, which represents the higher visibility the Bagua conflict received after the violent evacuation of the road blockade.

Chart 2. Type of coverage in articles about Bagua conflict.
In chart 2, the type of coverage during the Bagua conflict in *El Peruano* is presented. According to the analysis, news coverage mostly consisted of news articles, 304 in total. 98 of the articles reached the cover page, but the headlines were mainly statements and points of view from government officials. There were only three editorials concerning the subject, and two opinion columns. The first one was published on June 18, written by a Congresswoman, who proposed a larger representation of indigenous communities in the Congress. The second column was published on July 6, written by an APRA politician and government worker; he stated that the Amazonian and *campesino* movements were orchestrated by radicalized leftist groups.

From the sample of the front pages’ headlines, 45 in total, only two headlines presented the news from the point of view of indigenous leaders as active participants in the incoming negotiations:

*May 26, 2009: At the headquarters of the Council of Ministers. Dialogue with natives will start today. Alberto Pizango agrees to meet the Premier. Politics 3.*

*July 5, 2009: 2. Politics. Amazonian Leaders will negotiate with the President.*

The two headlines showed above presented the counterparts of the conflict, the indigenous leaders and the government’s representatives as equal participants of the negotiations. In both cases, representatives of AIDESEP were quoted and in the second example a representative of CONAP, the second largest Amazonian indigenous association, is quoted. Indigenous leaders are usually quoted when they give positive statements about the government and the negotiation processes. In the vast majority of the sample, it was the Prime Minister, the President, the President of the Congress and Parliament members who were quoted or whose statements were published.

*May 27, 2009: CONSENSUS. STARTING FROM TODAY QUESTIONED BY ETHNIC GROUPS. Open dialogue with natives yields fruits. The head of cabinet announces that the claims and petitions will be dealt with by the Executive branch as a state policy in order to reach short-, mid- and long-term agreements. Multi-sectorial commission will mainly work in four affairs:*
In this headline, there are nine lines in total; the first two ones are meant for the presentation of the negotiations’ success. The following five lines communicate the Prime Minister’s statement and the last two are a direct quote from AIDESEP’s president Alberto Pizango. There are few items were indigenous representatives were the main sources of information and could express their own point of view, 15 in total. These items will be analyzed in more detailed in sub-chapter 4.3.2.

4.1.1. Analysis of the types of sources

Official sector occupies a larger section of the sample compared to civil society. In the next chart, the types of sources present in the sample are presented. The large presence of official quotes, 69%, is not surprising considering the political aim of the newspaper to represent the government’s point of view; 28% of the sources were from the civil society.

Chart 3. Types of sources

Chart 4 (see page 67) shows that the most quoted source was the Prime Minister, the government’s main negotiator in the Bagua conflict. The Minister of the Interior is the second most quoted source since she represents the ministry responsible of emergency management and national security, and the handling of the road.
blockades were under her jurisdiction. The Minister of Foreign Affairs was the third most quoted official given the constant statements of possible international conspiracies against the Peruvian government coming from Bolivia, Venezuela or the FARC guerrilla.

The President of the Republic is the fourth most quoted source; his comments, speeches and messages were amply covered by El Peruano. The fifth most quoted was the Minister of the Environment, given his role as an expert on environment affairs and as a participant on the negotiations between the government and the indigenous leaders. Members of Congress, together with the Head of the Congress and the institution quoted as a whole, constituted the most numerous group in the sources, 81 in total, since the Congress was the main field were the abrogation of the decrees was discussed and ultimately decided.

Regional governments and municipalities, especially the ones located in the Amazonian forest area, were quoted in several occasions. The regions more represented in the sample are Amazonas and San Martín. Bagua town belongs to the Amazonas region, thus the opinions of the region’s president and the town’s mayor were quoted several times during the conflict. Other regions where the protests took place were San Martín, Loreto, Madre de Dios, Ucayali and Junín.

After the clash, there were solidarity demonstrations organized by trade unions, campesino organizations, indigenous movements from Apurímac, Lambayeque and Junín, and student organizations from public and private universities as well as different civil associations (Greene, 2009b: 56–57; Peruvian Congress, 2010: 103–120). Thus local government was also represented in the sample although not as prominently as expected given that the protests, demonstrations and road blockades took place in the regions previously mentioned. El Peruano’s coverage was predominantly centralized on the seats of the Congress and the Cabinet in the capital Lima.
Chart 4. Composition of sources from the official sector
The Catholic Church is the most quoted source of information from the civil sector, 19 quotes in total coming from different institutions inside the church. Given the large amount of institutions that constituted the Church and their distinct tendencies, it was difficult to decide whether the Catholic Church belongs to civil society or the official sector. Nevertheless, I decided to include the Catholic Church in the civil society group because only officials actually working for or holding a position in the government should be considered official sector.

Chart 5. Composition of sources from the civil sector
The second most quoted institution was AIDESEP, which together with its president Pizango was quoted 24 times, making it the most quoted source in the civil society group. However, I decided to count AIDESEP and its president separately because in this way the trend of personalization, namely the identification of AIDESEP with the figure of Pizango will be more visible. Other indigenous organizations and NGOs are equally represented with one to four quotes, which actually reflected the low representation of non-governmental and grassroot organizations even if a varied assortment of organizations was included. There are virtually no environmentalists or environmental organizations featured in the quotes, although there were several articles featuring different government officials denouncing a campaign against the government orchestrated by international NGOs. *El Peruano* quoted its own general content twice and its editorial content twice. The CAF Development Bank of Latin America is quoted four times in articles reassuring that the Bagua conflict will not affect Peru’s credit rate.

Chart 6. Composition of sources from the international sector
In Chart 6, two countries stand out: Bolivia and Nicaragua. Bolivia’s officials are by far the most quoted, 16 times in total. This is due to the Morales’ letter affair, which started the theory of the Bolivian government being behind the clash in Bagua. He was accused of conspiring against the Peruvian state and of instigating violence among the Indigenous nations, during the Continental Summit of Indigenous Peoples, which he actually did not attend but addressed in a public letter. Morales also gained prominence due to his statements on June 13 stating that the Bagua clash was a genocide caused by the FTA agreement between Peru and the USA (La República, 2009 June 13). This statement was never featured in El Peruano but the reactions of Peruvian politicians were presented in the articles. There were 18 news items where the conspiracy theory was presented. Nicaragua’s official sector was also featured to some extent because of the Nicaraguan government’s decision to grant asylum to Pizango. Several articles reported the comments and criticisms of Peruvian politicians regarding this decision.

Chart 7. Composition of indigenous organizations and ethnic groups as sources
In chart 7, the most prominent actor quoted was AIDESEP due to its position as the largest and the best-organized indigenous association in Peru (Greene, 2006: 341; Van Cott, 2005: 158–159). AIDESEP was quoted 14 times as an organization and Pizango was quoted seven times as the president of AIDESEP. CONAP is the second organization quoted five times; meanwhile the other organizations are quoted less than three times.

4.1.2. Naming of the Indigenous activists

The source analysis proved that the items were mostly written from the point of view of government officials, influential politicians and state institutions. Therefore, the representations of indigenous movements were mainly constructed through the statements and comments made by official sector actors. The naming of the indigenous organizations and communities will be presented next in order to discover the terms used to describe and frame the indigenous movements.

Chart 8. Terms used to name indigenous peoples and their organizations
In chart 8, we see the evolution of naming of the indigenous activists. The chart shows most of indigenous peoples are referred as natives (nativos), the most accepted term, which was taken officially into use from 1974 as a way to distinguish Amazonian Indians from the Andean communities. The second most common term is native community (comunidades nativas). I noticed indigenous communities (comunidades indigenas) and native communities were used as synonyms, whereas native was by far more used than indigenous (indígena), which in Spanish can be used both as a noun and as an adjective. Amazonian (amazónico) was used both as a noun and as an adjective together with Amazonian community (comunidad amazónica); the latter was used as a synonym for native and indigenous communities. None of the terms previously mentioned are considered as racist or discriminatory. However, ethnic names preferred by the indigenous communities were hardly used, which produced the representation of indigenous activists as a homogenous group without important cultural differences or own interests. Leaders (dirigentes and líderes) were used almost as much as apus (traditional community leaders). After the failure of continuing the negotiations on June 3, the Prime Minister decided to continue dialogue with the apus, who were considered the real native representatives in order to communicate the government’s message and proposal directly to the communities, without an intermediary.

The chart also offers a visualization of the evolution of the conflict signalling the increase of the media attention to the indigenous peoples’ plight after the Bagua clash. As the content analysis pointed out, the more violent the conflict became, the more media attention it received: the rain-forest and the Amazon as regions were named several times and described as a remote and inaccessible area, giving the impression that the area is a virgin wild jungle when it actually is an area under rapid urbanization (Opas et Virtanen, 2014: 72).

It is worthy to mention that in several items, official sources denied the participation of indigenous peoples in the protest, remarking that the protests were actually constituted by ronderos and ex-soldiers manipulated by extremist groups. Ronderos are autonomous Andean indigenous peasant patrols from Cajamarca, who were
especially active during the 80’s; now they inhabit the Amazon region and were part of the indigenous protests in 2009 (Peruvian Congress, 2010: 89–90). Furthermore, Awajún-Wampi ex-soldier veterans from the war against Ecuador also participated in the blockades.

4.2. Information biases in the coverage

The Bagua conflict was framed as a case of misunderstanding between government officials and indigenous peoples, who were manipulated by political forces, either local or international. Due to the lack of opinion columns and editorials, explicit examples of the presence of stereotypes and assumptions in El Peruano’s reporting were scarce. However, with the frame analysis, it was possible to classify the articles according to the information biases they presented through a deep reading of the articles. An important challenge was the brevity of the items, because most of them were not more than 300 words long. From the 312 items, I found 34 articles that did not include any information bias. Nonetheless, in most of the cases the items were so concise, it was expected they lacked enough layers to pursue an analysis.

4.2.1. Personalization

There were not many articles affected by personalization, only 81. In most items, the characters of the Prime Minister, Pizango – the president of AIDESEP – and the Minister of the Interior receive relevance as important actors in the conflict. I will explain briefly how the Bagua conflict arch affected the main actors.

Pizango is the most mentioned character of the indigenous organizations in the items analyzed. He is mentioned in 24 items in a negative light. He is always either criticized or denounced either by government officials, politicians or other representatives of indigenous groups. He is held responsible for the radicalization of the conflict and constantly accused of instigating violence and manipulating the indigenous peoples. Pizango’s prominence in El Peruano’s items diminished the visibility of his organization AIDESEP and decreased its scope of influence in the political sphere. According to Graham (2002: 187), outsiders may distrust indigenous leaders who
become too skilled or familiar with the Western political apparatuses. Language is a main defining characteristic of indigenous identity for non-indigenous audiences, thus this presupposes a conflict: a leader’s legitimacy can suffer if his or her skill in the state language is too strong, but at the same time, the leader cannot be able to convey the message if he or she is not fluent in the state language. Pizango belongs to the ethnic group shawi, speaks the shawi language but is also fluent in Spanish and has a high degree in bilingual education (Cruz, 2009).

Indigenous leaders use language and other external mechanisms such as bodily adornments to represent identity (Graham, 2002: 187). Pizango is always wearing the Tahuasampa, a feathered headdress characteristic of the Amazonian region that symbolizes authority (Eto, 2010: 62). This headdress used by the Shawi people and other ethnic groups is a remainder of his role as the leader of 71 different ethnic groups, who speak together 67 languages.

Regarding the information biases, Pizango is portrayed as a menace for authority and peace. He is the one who either manipulates or helps to manipulate indigenous associations. In some items he is portrayed as an illegitimate leader who does not really deserve to represent indigenous organizations and thus the demands he brings up do not need to be considered. An important event that marked the negative attitudes towards Pizango was his declaration of uprising after frustrating meetings with both Executive and Congress officials on May 15. Pizango almost immediately retracted his declaration, but did not continue participating in the negotiations with the state representatives. Nevertheless, the actual declaration of uprising did not actually appear in El Peruano; only the opinions or reactions of different politicians were covered in the news.

After June 5, the accusations and denouncements towards indigenous leaders were more direct and confrontational. Some days after the Bagua clash, Pizango pleaded the Nicaraguan embassy for asylum and was allowed to travel to Nicaragua. From then on, Pizango was the main accused for the damage and the deaths caused by the clash. He returned to Peru in 2010, and attempted to run for presidency but was arrested (Velez, 2010). Pizango is now facing charges for first degree murder,
instigation of violence, inciting rebellion and sedition, disturbance and illegal possession of weapons, official armament robbery, and serious injuries when protesters seized a natural gas field and a petroleum pipeline; even though he was not even in Bagua when the clash occurred (La República, 2014 October 2; Schmall, 2011: 115).

_The Prime Minister said that AIDESEP’s leader, Alberto Pizango, lied constantly. Cabanillas called Pizango a “delinquent”. (060609_5)_

_The head of the Congress stated that people should not be naive when dealing with the affair of the decrees, since there is a strategy to motivate a “dialogue of the deaf” by the Humala party and “the Pizangos”, who expect to impose their own agenda. (130609_4)_

In the first case the indigenous protest is portrayed as a criminal event, which reunites a group of delinquents who committed unbelievable and incomprehensible acts of violence. The events of assaulting a police station and robbing weapons took place, but since El Peruano informed about these events without feature stories, testimonies from witnesses, interviews of the participants or contextualization, the causes and consequences of the Bagua clash were oversimplified.

The Prime Minister, Yehude Simon, is portrayed as the main actor in the negotiations during the conflict with indigenous nations associations even though other state apparatuses such as the Parliament and the High Court were equally responsible of handling the demands of the indigenous associations. From the sample, it is possible to deduce that the Premier’s mission was mainly to persuade the indigenous organizations to renounce on the abrogation. According to the Peruvian Congress report of the event (2010: 19–20), the government actually evaded its responsibility and hindered the negotiations. As a consequence of the management disaster in the Bagua crisis, Simon was replaced after the Congress attempted to interpellate him. Simon is now a member of the Parliament. Regarding the Minister of the Interior, Mercedes Cabanillas, she continued in her post until July 12 when a new set of Ministers was appointed. She was heavily criticized for the disastrous handling of the Bagua conflict. The congress also discussed her interpellation. Cabanillas is also now a member of the Parliament. Furthermore, members of the APRA party were
interviewed much more often than politicians from other parties. Opposition politicians were interviewed occasionally but their points of view were less featured than the APRA members’ opinions.

4.2.2. Dramatization

Dramatization was found in a third of the total of articles analyzed. The articles that narrate the situation after the clash usually use the voice of a narrator, who describes things based on information from official sources. There are no interviews of local people or feature stories about the impact of the blockade and its eviction on the everyday lives of the protesters and the citizens of Bagua. Dramatization is most visible in the items where the actors from the official sector were reaffirming their disposition to reach an agreement, stating the lack of cooperation of the indigenous leaders, denying their responsibility in the clash, or denouncing an international conspiracy to harm the reputation of Peru.

“It was assumed that AIDESEP did not come to negotiate because there was no commission established, and it was assumed that they would lift their protests. However, now they say that they are not interested in the dialogue with the Commission any more and what matters to them is the abrogation of the decrees”, lamented Simon. (230509_3)

This example represents the way dramatization works as an information bias. Firstly, Simon is presented as a despairing diplomatic, who has tried everything to serve his indigenous counterparts. Secondly, indigenous leaders are portrayed as unpredictable and inefficient negotiators who are not sure what they are doing or what their goals are, and they are always changing their mind. According to Peruvian Congress report (2010: 49), the actions of the indigenous movements were coordinated in community and regional levels, and AIDESEP as the national spokesperson; there were several occasions when the community and regional organizations forced AIDESEP to withdraw from negotiations that only corrected the law decrees, because they insisted only the abrogation would be accepted. Therefore, the central government considered AIDESEP as an erratic organization not willing to negotiate. The broad space given to Simon’s statement is an editorial decision on how to represent the indigenous movement. In El Peruano’s coverage the
official sector sources are mainly quoted directly and then paraphrased in the same article. Thus their message is repeated twice even though the news items are quite concise most of the time.

4.2.3. Fragmentation

Fragmentation is present in 248 of the 312 items reviewed; it is the most common information bias on the sample. *El Peruano* fails in contextualizing the demands of the indigenous organizations and in offering an analysis of the motives behind those demands. The most liable proof for the lack of contextualization and analysis is that the median amount of words in most of the articles was 253, and most of the articles contained under 300 words. Another important characteristic of the coverage was the absence of interviews of the main actors of the conflict, investigative reporting, columns and special reports. On the other hand, not all the articles in *El Peruano* were short; the longest article found in the sample was published on June 18 2009 and it was an article that reproduced entirely the president’s message to the nation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 15:</td>
<td>Pizango exhorts Amazonian community to insurgency, demands abrogation of Forest law decrees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 16:</td>
<td>Catholic church reminds Amazonian natives that violence is not the right way to resolve petitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 5:</td>
<td>Violence is unleashed in the Amazonas region. 25 policemen are killed in a single day in Bagua vicinities. Pizango disappears from the public scene. Rumours that he would have fled the country to seek asylum in Bolivia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 8:</td>
<td>Nicaragua grants diplomatic asylum to Pizango. Nicaragua’s embassy in Peru sends a letter to Peruvian authorities confirming the version.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Conflict’s chronology: From violence to asylum. Alberto Pizango’s route (*El Peruano, 090609_3*)

Table 3 presents a chronology of the political performance of Pizango during the Bagua conflict published by *El Peruano*. The chronology does not include the plights and demands Pizango had tried to lobby before his asylum, or the causes of the protests. AIDESEP is not mentioned anywhere in the chronology; this omission might
be a symbolic attempt to maintain negotiations with AIDESEP even if Pizango would be prosecuted, as actually happened.

4.2.4. The Authority-Disorder Bias

The authority-disorder bias was present in 140 articles. In the content of *El Peruano*, AIDESEP and its leaders are portrayed as the main harbingers of instability and disorder in an otherwise stable and fast-developing country. Other actors portrayed as agitators were international NGOs such as Amazon Watch and Survival International, the Bolivian president, unnamed international actors such as FARC members, Venezuelan sympathisers of Hugo Chavez, and Ollant Humala, the leader of the opposition, and his followers as shown in this quote:

“*The purpose is obvious, it comes from the humala party and the Chavez influence through Latin America. They have started a boycott campaign against the Peruvian government*”, stated the APRA politician Rosas. (090609_4)

The local radio station *La Voz de Bagua* is mentioned in eight items, either as an agitator radio that incited violence during the conflict and encouraged disobedience of the imposed curfew by promoting social gatherings, or as a radio that had to be closed down due to license issues. The radio station was closed down on June 15 and lost its licence for 14 months (Reporters without Borders, 2010). According to the Peruvian Congress report (2010: 110–112), many local radios were closed down and censored because they were reporting constantly about the eviction and its consequences on the population during the conflict.

AIDESEP members and indigenous leaders were the most criticized actors during the conflict. CONAP members were presented as more agreeable negotiators and as more protective of their political independence. Other indigenous leaders representing smaller groups were usually not named. Indigenous leaders in general were accused of misinforming the indigenous people, of not being legitimate representatives, of being manipulated by national and international political actors, and of using the protests as a political campaign for future elections.
4.2.5. Patronization

Patronization as an information bias was not included in the frame analysis based on Bennett’s work (2001). Patronization as an information bias was frequently present in Weston’s (1996) analysis of Native Americans in the American press from the 1920s to 1990s though she did not use the term consistently. Patronization appeared in 47 articles in this study, so it is the least common information bias found. Nonetheless, after the analysis of the coverage of the Bagua conflict, it can be concluded that patronization was an important mechanism used to minimize the relevance of the indigenous movement’s plight, arguments and representatives. This kind of information bias is usually found in media representations of ethnic minorities and indigenous populations (Weston, 1996: 163). Next the most relevant examples of patronization will be presented.

The head of the council of ministers, Yehude Simon, stated yesterday that the government aims to prevent third parties from taking advantage of the native communities, and trusted that shortly the protests, promoted by a sector of the indigenous leaders, can be resolved... Simon regretted that some leaders, who claim to represent native communities, would not accept to negotiate, and choose to maintain intransigent attitudes, such as to demand the abrogation of a series of decrees, adducing erroneously that they would affect the natives’ interests. (240509_2)

Simon is using the manipulation strategy to patronize indigenous peoples by claiming they are being used and been taken advantage of by “third parties”. This is a strategy to present indigenous peoples as easy to manipulate and ignorant of the real consequences of the questioned law decrees. The Premier delegitimized the indigenous leaders by stating that only “a sector” of them was behind the protests, and by denouncing them as being intransigent and actually lying about the negative effects of the decrees. When the negotiations did not succeed, the government representatives would usually use these strategies to justify the failure and to defend their actions.

The Peruvian Congress report (2010: 18–19) states that actually the commission had already finished the analysis of the law decrees and had presented it on May 7. The commission’s report recommended the abrogation of the decrees, and was even
approved by majority in the Congress. The Executive branch refused to discuss the report and opposed the abrogation of the decrees. During the prior days of the Bagua clash, the negotiations were reaching a critical point and the statements made by the government’s representatives, and thus the content of El Peruano, were becoming more straightforward and confrontational; a tendency that was only intensified after the clash. Indigenous leaders and their agendas received more coverage and were more mentioned after June 5 though mainly in a negative light.

_The head of the Cabinet, Yehude Simon, said yesterday that he is hoping that the objections formulated by the Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rain-forest (AIDESEP) to the law decrees, which they consider supposedly damaging to their interests, will be solved during this week.... Nevertheless, Simon mentioned that in the negotiation, the “consultants who advise” were constantly interfering with the negotiations and making the natives recede, thus yesterday—he referred—he had to be very firm with one of the consultants so that the meeting could continue on the right course._

(280509_2)

Here the manipulation strategy is used when denouncing that “advising consultants” are a hindrance to the negotiations. There is a little of dramatization in the example, when Simon narrates that he “had to be very firm” with one of the advisers and thanks to that the meeting could continue: Simon portrays himself as a skilled negotiator, who is responsible for the success of the meeting.

“So when you talk without reading and reject a project only because of an ideology, to reject just to reject, you are making a serious mistake”, García expressed. (040609_2)

In the above example, the manipulation is used to criticize the indigenous protest, whose members are portrayed as ignorant, inflexible and ideologically led people, who actually have not acquainted themselves with the decrees’ content and repercussions.

_After expressing his condolences to the relatives of the eleven policemen and three natives who lost their lives, the head of the Congress declared that the last ones were “cowardly” misled by leaders and politicians._ (060609_5)
One day after the clash, the theory of political manipulation reached its peak and indigenous protesters were portrayed as innocent people prone of being misled.

_The president of the Amazonas region Altamirano maintained that the native communities have lost their confidence in AIDESEP, because they have been abandoned by the institution’s leaders... for this reason, the eight indigenous organizations of the Amazonas region have agreed to negotiate directly, without intermediaries, with the regional government in order to deal with their issues. (110609_2)_

Here the indigenous protestors are represented as victims of AIDESEP and its leaders, who have abandoned them when they most needed them. According to Altamirano, without AIDESEP, it is easier to negotiate directly with the indigenous organizations and establish a dialogue where the regional government would take the lead replacing the central government. However, we later see that AIDESEP chose a new president and continued to lead the negotiations.

_The opening of the meetings in the Council of Ministers’ seat in Miraflores was attended by almost a hundred of Amazonian native communities’ delegates; Apus, traditional leaders, and also leaders of AIDESEP, led by Zapata and other representatives, many of them coming from the most remote areas of the Rain forest. (260609_6)_

In this last example, there is a description of the opening of the four work groups, which belonged to National Group for the Development of Amazonian Peoples formed by the Council of Ministers. The attendance of the indigenous representatives and the distances they had to go over to participate are clearly highlighted. This example constitutes one of the few cases where the diversity of Amazonian cultures is mentioned in _El Peruano_’s coverage although it is in a short description. The lengthy descriptions of exotic outfits, adornments, gatherings and traditional festivities mentioned in Weston’s study (1996) were actually absent in _El Peruano_ coverage. The median length of the articles and the prominence of the official sector sources could be the cause of this absence. However, given the media attention AIDESEP leaders received from the indigenous protest coverage, it is also probable that _El Peruano_’s writers and editors did not feel descriptions were necessary. A historical study of indigenous representations in Peruvian media would be greatly necessary to understand better these dynamics.
4.3. **Portrayal of Indigenous activism and governmental practice**

The last section of this chapter presents the analysis of the strategies and frames used to characterize the Indigenous organizations as *the Others* and how they represent themselves in the few articles that presented their points of view. To serve this purpose two different sections are presented: in the first one, the characterization of the indigenous movement, their leaders and the indigenous communities is presented; in the following section, the study focuses on the portrayals of indigenous leaders and organizations presented by themselves and other indigenous leaders and representatives.

4.3.1. **Characterization of the Other**

*El Peruano*'s brevity in the coverage of the Bagua conflict does not allow including the representations indigenous leaders made about government’s officials and other actors as *the Others*, since there are too few items containing the point of view of the indigenous movement. The analysis of representations of *the Others* made by indigenous leaders would be an interesting topic for further research that could help to facilitate future negotiations between indigenous representatives and outsiders worldwide. The analysis will be presented in three parts: items published before the June 5, items published after the clash, and items published after the replacement of the Premier. Next the most relevant examples of characterization of *the Other* are presented.

*Congressman Mauricio Mulder when commenting on the abrogation debate: “what they are aiming at is to complete a reactionary, conservative vision of not doing anything so that the rain forest should stay as it is, namely submerged in poverty”. (240509_2)*

In this example, indigenous protesters are portrayed as conservative people opposing modernization and progress, content with their situation of poverty and scarcity. The project included in the law decrees is alluded to as a well-intentioned modernization program, which aims to bring prosperity to the Amazon region and improve the living standards of its inhabitants. The statement of the congressman reinforces the
characterization of indigenous peoples as backward individuals naturally opposed to progress and development.

*García said that the country “should not be threatened at gunpoint... Societies will always demand order from their governments. And it’s enough; these are not royalty, they are not first-class citizens, 400 thousand natives cannot tell 28 million Peruvians: You don’t have the right to come here. That is a serious mistake, and who thinks in this way wants to take us to madness”. (060609_3)*

The comments of the president are a clear expression of the way of thinking of the political and economic elite. García’s comments were rich in descriptive adjectives and modifiers, which are not common in politically correct discourse. In the example above, García states clearly that minorities do not have the same rights as the mainstream population: “they are not first-class citizens”. His argument is based on the percentage this population represents. The notion of national sovereignty is clashing with the concept of indigenous peoples’ self-determination (see Section 2.2), which is never recognised during the conflict’s coverage.

"[The decrees] also affect the drug traffickers who are totally free to enter those lands, and also the corrupt people, who are inside their own communities. In many of the communities land is rented by the Apus, and that money ends up in the hands of coca farmers or drug traffickers”, the congressman Mulder pointed out. (040609_6)

In this example, the indigenous leaders are represented as corrupt chiefs, who have business with drug traffickers and coca farming. According to García and Chirif (2009), the assimilation of the indigenous peoples to the mainstream culture has led to the adoption of new strategies and behaviours, which differed significantly from their traditional cultures. In AIDESEP, cases of authoritarian leadership *caudillismo* have already caused conflicts between leaders in office and also between the new and the old leaders, which hinders the construction of long-term plans. Furthermore, there had been cases of corruption and illegal use of institutional resources on different levels of the organization. The control mechanisms in a multicultural institution forced the members to be extremely careful, since accusations can be considered as affronts to the ethnic nation the leader belongs to.
The government maintained during the whole conflict that the law decrees would only bring benefits to the indigenous peoples and protection to the nature. According to the official view, both actors were in danger and needed urgent assistance. This study shows (see Section 2.3) that actually both the government and the indigenous movement agreed on this point, namely that a program of development was urgently needed in the region. The bone of contention was that both counterparts had a completely different vision of what this program should contain and how it should be enforced.

*Garcia:* “Politicians who advocate extremist policies, which have had no effect on the population of the cities or on the agrarian population of the Andes, have managed to persuade the rain forest populations and the Amazonian ethnic groups”. (070609_3d)

In García’s statement indigenous peoples are presented as gullible and easily manipulated groups, which had been persuaded by an ideology that has not managed to receive any support from the coastal or Andean inhabitants. There is a connotation of patronization here, showing Amazonian inhabitants as the only group who would pay attention to such “extremist policies”.

*Garcia:* “As a consequence of their irresponsible aggression, 22 policemen were assassinated in conditions of savagery and brutality, and with methods identical to the ones employed by the Shining Path guerrilla, humble unarmed policemen, who had surrendered, were wounded with spears and their throats were slit... there was an effort to resume the dialogue and even the so called native leaders’ endorsed agreements, which they later didn’t recognise, due to political directives and maybe international guidelines... They could never demonstrate that they have read the law decrees that they rejected...” (070609_3b)

In this example, Garcia referred to the death of policemen in the oil pumping station number 6 and during the eviction of the blockade. According to the Peruvian Congress report (2010: 99), the killings of policemen in a hill near the road and in the station were the result of launching the eviction operation too rashly without taking into consideration the situation of the policemen held hostage since April 2009; a peaceful protest became an armed conflict, which divided the opinions of the indigenous protestors, most of them Awajún-Wampi, and triggered a demand for retaliation present in their culture.
García explains in gruesome details the killing of the policemen portraying indigenous peoples as savages and barbaric capable of committing heinous crimes. The Peruvian Congress report (2010: 100), states that none of the policemen were killed by throat cutting and that this description was intentionally used to portray the protesters as savages of the rain forest. The strategies of political manipulation and international conspiracy are also present. The quote ends in a reminder that indigenous peoples could not possibly have been familiar with the content or understood the consequences of the law decrees. The indigenous protesters killed are not mentioned anywhere. After the clash, the government never acknowledged in the content of El Peruano that there was a confrontation between policemen and indigenous protesters, insisting on the assassination of the policemen; however, the government officials never explained the circumstances in which the indigenous protesters died.

_In a press conference, the Premier clarified that the government has never called the indigenous peoples “savages”, but it has condemned the savagery of killing 24 policemen, who were trying to restore the order in Bagua._ (120609_4)

Some days after García’s polemic statements about the indigenous movement, which received worldwide coverage, the Prime Minister was forced to offer an explanation of the president’s comment about whether or not he called the indigenous protesters “savages”. In the items analyzed in this study, there were found only two items containing the world “savages”: the one above and an item written on June 8, which contained the comments of Lima’s cardinal Cipriani, who declared that the policemen died in a “savage” way.

_The country is a combination of nationalities and each of them has its own idiosyncrasy and worldview. The wealth of Peru lies in the fact that Peru is a pluricultural and multilingual nation...Many of the problems we currently have and a great part of the limitations that the decentralization process is facing are due to the lack of valid interlocutors between the Congress and the distinct ethnic groups... In the face of the events in Bagua, all of us should recognise that the Amazonian peoples are Peruvians like us, but many times, this recognition is lacking when it comes to their rights._ (Opinion column, Venegas, 180609_13)
After the abrogation of the decrees on June 18, the government takes a more conciliatory approach, which is clearly visible on the content of El Peruano. The first opinion column, written by a congresswoman, is published and it conveys a demanding message in favour of indigenous rights. Venegas portrays the indigenous peoples as an asset for Peru’s cultural and linguistic richness, and she stresses that although Amazonian indigenous peoples are also Peruvians, in practice they do not have the same rights. Nevertheless, the second opinion column, analyzed in the last section of this chapter, was published on July 6 and conveys a totally opposite message.

4.3.2. Self-representation

There were only 15 items where indigenous association leaders or representatives are portrayed as active actors of the conflict and are able to create self-representations of their agenda. The main indigenous organizations CONAP and AIDESEP are the main sources of these items followed by AIDESEP’s leader Pizango, CONAP’s leader Barbarán and other indigenous leaders only mentioned once. The distribution of the items is showed in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Topic of the article</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>190509_2c</td>
<td>CONAP asks AIDESEP to join negotiations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270509_2b</td>
<td>AIDESEP praises meetings with the government, explains its agenda, and asks for charges to be dropped.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>010609_4a</td>
<td>CONAP asks other indigenous associations not to allow external interference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>050609_5a</td>
<td>Pizango explains natives’ agenda: to obtain abrogation of law decrees and to receive more public services from the State.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>090609_4a</td>
<td>AIDESEP’s new leader denounces manipulation of Pizango and his advisors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170609_5d</td>
<td>AIDESEP asks natives to stop blockades, asks for establishing a Truth commission and to free leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190609_4b</td>
<td>AIDESEP welcomes the abrogation. Leader says they are not being controlled or manipulated, they have a plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190609_4c</td>
<td>A native leader welcomes the abrogation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200609_4b</td>
<td>AIDESEP praises the negotiations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230609_6b</td>
<td>Native leader accuses Pizango and other AIDESEP leaders of fraud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250609_4a</td>
<td>CONAP asks other organizations to stop using their agenda in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Indigenous leaders represent themselves and their organizations as ethnic minorities, which have suffered injustices and negligence. However, they do not portray themselves as victims; they enforce an image of capable political actors who are ready and competent to discuss and negotiate with government representatives on the same level. Furthermore, although the indigenous representatives’ messages contained demands and requests, the tone of their statements was conciliatory and cooperative. Chartock (2011: 309) states, in her study about indigenous social movements in Ecuador and Peru, that AIDESEP prefers a lobbying approach instead of a more confrontational style.

Zapata, The Vice president of AIDESEP: “After so many confrontations between leaders and the government, I believe that from now on we have to meet, both sides, in an environment of trust”. Zapata noted that in this moment of reconciliation and dialogue, it is necessary to pay homage as much to the indigenous leaders as to the policemen who died in Bagua the last June 5. “Both counterparts are Peruvians, and between Peruvians we cannot ignore each other”. (200609_4)

In the previous example AIDESEP’s new leader Zapata asserted the need to reach reconciliation after the conflict, and highlights that all the victims were citizens of the same country with the same rights. Furthermore, it seems that the lobbying approach is a characteristic shared by other indigenous associations as the following example proves:

Rengifo, the leader of the Regional Association of Indigenous peoples from the Central Rain forest (ARPI SC): “Today is a historical moment for the Amazonian region; let’s not look behind us, let’s look forward, let’s build together the development plan for the Amazonian region… We are here present to proclaim to the country that indigenous peoples are part of the construction of a policy for an integrated democratic government, which has to do with human rights,
unity and integration of the Andean, Amazonian and Afro-Peruvian peoples...
We have lived many years in exclusion, considered as obstacles to development; nevertheless, we the indigenous peoples are not obstacles to development, we are Peruvians like you”. (190609_4c)

The conciliatory approach is strongly embedded in the statements of ARPI SC’s leader Rengifo, promoting the view of ethnic minorities, especially indigenous peoples, as equals to the mainstream population, and who deserve to participate in the public sphere and the decision-making process. Rengifo proclaims that indigenous people are not opposed to development, but they would like to participate in the selection of development strategies together with the local and central government.

The negative representations of Others are focused on other indigenous leaders and representatives by denouncing irregularities and finances of AIDESEP. According to García and Chirif (2009), the rapid growth of AIDESEP has led it to assume new projects and responsibilities without being prepared. This situation generates conflicts in a central, regional and local level; the relationships between the different association leaders and their members weaken. Nevertheless, García and Chirif note that AIDESEP demonstrated its organizational capacity and ability to summon masses in a disciplined fashion under the same goal during the Bagua conflict.

For example, in item 270509_2b, Pizango notes he is grateful for the beginning of the negotiations, presents the indigenous movement’s agenda and asks for the charges against him to be dropped. Then AIDESEP’s previous treasurer Fasabi accused Pizango of embezzlement of donations. All the negative representations were focused on AIDESEP’s leader and board of directors, which can be explained by the leading role of AIDESEP in the Amazonian region, where it has assumed responsibilities, which usually belong to the central or local governments (García et Chirif, 2007: 109–110; Ibid, 2009) and also because of the problems of corruption and authoritarianism mentioned previously (see section 4.3.1). The following example illustrates this point:

*Fasanando, a director of AIDESEP affirmed that the fugitive Pizango arrived to Lima accompanied by “fake leaders”, who manipulated the feelings of the*
Amazonian peoples in order to achieve political goals... Fasanando noted: “I have been denouncing for three months the irregularities committed by Pizango in AIDESEP, which range from a lack of representation to suspicious movements in the treasury of AIDESEP”. (090609_4a)

The rivalry between CONAP and AIDESEP after the former split from the latter in 1987 (Chartock, 2011: 309; see section 1.1), is translucent in many of CONAP’s leader Barbarán statements.

CONAP’s leader Barbarán: “… we are tolerant people, we seek to unify the indigenous peoples, so I make a call upon the brothers of AIDESEP so they would join this work group, because this is an important space and a historical achievement obtained by the Amazonian indigenous peoples.” (190509_2c)

The representation of the Other is also present in the statements against campesino peasant movements of Cusco and Puno, and also against left-wing politicians. Relationships with left-wing political associations are presented as decisions that brought negative consequences to CONAP and the indigenous movement in general (see García et Chirif, 2009; Van Cott, 2005: 159–161), thus the importance of maintaining the movement as solely indigenous is emphasised. The issue of who has the right to promote and to use the indigenous peoples’ affairs as part of an agenda or set of political activities is clearly visible in the following examples.

CONAP requested that the organizations protesting in Cusco and Puno remove the demand for the abrogation of the law decrees concerning the Amazonian region from their platform, since it is an issue that doesn’t fall on their jurisdiction, and it is already being handled in a work group. (250609_4)

CONAP requested the trade unions and left-wing associations to not to use the defence of the Amazonian peoples’ demands as an excuse to convene strikes or demonstrations.... He said that natives know how to defend themselves and don’t need spokespersons. (060709_3)
5. Conclusions

This study was set up to discover how Amazonian indigenous activism, its issues and agenda was being portrayed in El Peruano during the Bagua conflict in June 2009. One of the most important overall findings is the fact that El Peruano framed the conflict in a simplistic way, representing it as a confrontation between the government, who attempted to bring modernization to the forgotten area of the Amazon, against the native leaders, manipulated by radical leftist socialist Bolivarian groups, who exhorted to recur to public building and gas facilities assaults, road blockades, protests and massive mobilizations in an attempt to hinder progress and development in the area.

At the beginning of the conflict, preventing the abrogation of the controversial decrees was the government’s main goal. In order to reach it, the government constantly accused native leaders, mainly AIDESEP’s Pizango, of anarchy and collaborating with international plotters. Castells (2007: 243) explains that political actors have power over the media as information actors but, at the same time, they need the media to transmit their political messages so they can exist in “the public mind”. This message is usually attached to the image of a human face, which embodies “the projected image of values of a certain political actor”. Political actors try to destroy the credibility of a certain character through many methods such as causing political scandals. This study’s sample shows that most of the items dealing with the indigenous movement expressed the opinion of politicians and government officials related to the ruling political party and, in some occasions, reported criticism made by certain indigenous leaders against the movement’s leader. Therefore, the framing of Bagua conflict of El Peruano aimed to hinder the entrance of the indigenous movement to the public sphere by attacking the political actor that served as the leader and the state’s principal opponent. This study shows that “indigenous leaders and representatives” was a concept used constantly to represent the indigenous movements’ plights as unfounded and illegitimate. Therefore, this study
discovered that Pizango’s prominence on El Peruano’s coverage is an essential part of the frame the Bagua conflict was presented through.

To answer the first sub-question, what the most frequent frames used to represent indigenous organizations are in El Peruano, this study discovered four different frames used to portray indigenous movement: indigenous people as ignorant, indigenous people as manipulable, indigenous people as backward, and indigenous people as violent savages. All these frames complemented each other and were used to delegitimize the indigenous movement and justify the failure of negotiations and the escalating to more drastic measures against the indigenous protests.

Indigenous people were portrayed as ignorant, in the sense that several members of the Congress, the Prime Minister and the President of the Republic were constantly requesting that the indigenous leaders would present their requests in a more clear way, and were questioning whether the indigenous representatives were familiar with the polemic law decrees and whether they did really understand them. This frame is strongly related to the following one, indigenous people as manipulable; since the view that the indigenous movement was actually being conducted by a third party with hidden political interests, conveys the message that indigenous peoples need external guidance to organize themselves. Many influential politicians’ statements stressed the idea that the protests and demonstrations cannot possibly be organized by indigenous organizations since this event differed significantly from the stereotypes they had about indigenous people.

Indigenous people are also portrayed as backward, who reject basic and necessary projects of development and modernization just to maintain antiquated traditions and ways of life. There is not a single article that would deal with the alternative ways of development proposed by indigenous organizations or any mention to AIDESEP’s action plan and goals concerning development strategies in the Amazon region (see AIDESEP, 2007). Nor there is any mention of the cultural differences between the mainstream population and the Amazonian indigenous population or any reference to the cultural differences between the different indigenous nations. This lack of
depth in *El Peruano*’s coverage serves to simplify the indigenous movement’s issues and plights and its conflict with the government.

The frame of indigenous people portrayed as *savages* was especially prominent during the days following the Bagua clash, which was a sign of the cultural shock experienced by the influential political actors for the outcome of the operation. The account of the policemen’s murder in gruesome details was several times repeated by the main officials of the government, in an attempt to reinforce the view of the indigenous movement as an organization comprised of criminals and terrorists, and to portray indigenous people as inclined to warfare and gratuitous violence.

Regarding the second sub-question, what the common features present in the coverage of the Bagua conflict in *El Peruano* were, this study revealed that similarly to previous findings (Weston, 1996; Arrunátegui, 2010a et 2010b; Meadows, 2001; Eto, 2010; Ungerleider, 1991; Chiu, Sheng-hsiu et Chiang, Wen-yu, 2012), *El Peruano*’s coverage of the Bagua conflict is heavily influenced by the weight of sources from the official sector, which account for 69% of the total sources, and by the political orientation of the paper as the official newspaper of the state. Furthermore, most of the articles’ length was between 100 to 250 words, so the space available for an analysis of the conflict in *El Peruano* was limited.

Similar to Arrunátegui’’s conclusions (2010a et 2010b), this study confirmed that *El Peruano*’s coverage of the Bagua conflict represented more the current government’s points of view than the official version of the State. Arrunátegui (2010b) observes that *El Peruano* portrayed the government as a democratic entity willing to look for conciliation and obeying the desires and aims of the country, concluding that *El Peruano* behaves more like the government’s official speaker than as a newspaper. This study discovered that institutions such as the Ombudsman’s office and the General attorney, which are the organs more independent from political interference by the government, were quoted thirteen and two times respectively, thus demonstrating that not all state institutions’ positions were represented equally. It is also noticeable that none of the items published in *El Peruano* were ever credited;
the author’s identity is never visible in *El Peruano*’s articles, only in opinion columns. This explains the role *El Peruano* embraces as the official journalist representative of the Peruvian state.

As for the third sub-question, how the indigenous movement was portrayed in *El Peruano*, the analysis of information biases confirmed most of the items contained the information biases of fragmentation, personalization and authority-disorder, and less frequently the biases of dramatization and patronization in the portrayal of the conflict between the government officials and the indigenous movement. All of these biases are consequences of the reduced space of the newspaper allocated to inform and explain the visible consequences of the indigenous movement; contextualization, deep research and plurality of sources and points of views require far more space than was given to the conflict.

Similarly to previous studies of media representations using frame analysis (Van Gorp, 2005; Pietikäinen, 2003; Goss, 2004; Rogan, 2010; Brummans et al, 2008; Dimitrova et Strömbäck, 2005), this study demonstrated that *El Peruano* focused its coverage on indigenous movements through the conflict frame and the frames for indigenous people mentioned above. These four frames to portray indigenous movements are pressed through interviews with influential government-related political actors as pseudo-events, which reinforced the frames and portrayed the conflict as a *struggle* between *civilization and tradition*, between *mainstream population and indigenous ethnic minorities*, and between *legitimate political actors and external conspirators*. According to Manoff and Schudson (1987: 5), the basic commandment questions of journalism create a platform for interpreting answers and a set of legitimate sources, thus they organize the kind of news published in a newspaper. The news conveys what the sources say rather than what the journalists think; however, the content produced by the journalist is extremely relevant, because it strengthens common understandings present in a society (Manoff et Schudson, 1987: 8). In the case of *El Peruano*, the content of the Bagua conflict conveyed stereotypes of Amazonian indigenous peoples already present in the Peruvian society.
Regarding the first conflict frame, the clash between civilization and tradition, this frame was mainly presented through influential actors’ statements and comments about how the conflict was evolving and, whether the motivations behind the indigenous movement were legitimate and actually coming from indigenous people. The information biases presented below were also strongly featured in the items belonging to this frame, since the theories of international conspiracy and manipulation of indigenous peoples were constant during the entire conflict time frame.

The conflict frame of mainstream population against indigenous ethnic minorities was presented through the framing of the indigenous movement and its members as the Other, similarly to Arrunátegui’s studies, which discovered that indigenous activists were portrayed as the Other in a negative light and members of the government and the society in general became the all-encompassing “we” in order to construct a positive representation of the Peruvian government’s actions. Statements from the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Labour were clear in their message that indigenous peoples cannot intervene in the decision-making regarding a national development project because of their condition as an ethnic minority even when this project would affect them the most. As with the frame legitimate political actors against external conspirators, the comments of the Bolivian president Morales before and after the clash were used as a proof that the indigenous movement was “contaminated” by external influences and possibly was a part of an international conspiracy. In this frame, indigenous leaders were portrayed as anonymous invisible generalized actors, who were only following the scripts written by the international conspirators.

From the analysis of self-representation made by indigenous leaders, there were two predominant frames: indigenous movement as independent of external political influences, and indigenous peoples are equal Peruvian citizens. Regarding the first frame, the indigenous leaders were keen on stating that their organizations did not have any connections to political parties, left-wing organizations, trade unions or Andean social movements. The several accusations against AIDESEP showed the
challenges of structuring a multicultural movement composed of different types of organizations, and more importantly the difficulties of indigenous leaders to present themselves as competent and honest political actors, who are capable of negotiating state development strategies with government officials. The second frame emphasised the portrayal of indigenous peoples as Peruvians, who deserved equal rights, but who endured urgent threats, which endanger their interests, cultures and ways of life, thus requiring special attention from the state. Indigenous leaders highlighted the situation of their people as having been excluded from the public sphere for centuries. The clear message of these two frames was that the indigenous movements aimed to enter the public sphere and achieve the goal of recognition of equality of their members.

As for the overall research question this study has found that despite the deficient and politically influenced coverage of the Bagua conflict made by *El Peruano*, the protests and demands before and after the conflict demonstrate that indigenous movements in Peru are only growing stronger. Public opinion supported strongly the indigenous movement and there were many solidarity rallies and demonstrations across the nation (Schmall, 2011: 114). For the first time in Peruvian media history, the Amazonian indigenous movement gained prominence in the public sphere and made an important positive impact on the public opinion; all the other conflicts before Bagua were portrayed as regional protests organized by sectors of the population classified according to their trade (Eto, 2010; Arrunátegui, 2010a et 2010b).

According to García et Chirif (2009), the struggle for the recognition of indigenous rights has been strongly criticized by the elite and the Peruvian media, although these rights are protected by the ILO Convention n° 169 and the UN declaration on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples. In this study, I conclude that *El Peruano’s* representation of indigenous movements was based on information biases and characterizations of the Other, presenting the Bagua conflict in a limited and superficial fashion, where most of the information and analysis came from sources from the official sector, so these representations were a manifestation of the power
to represent someone or something in a certain way in a system of common beliefs and stereotypes (Hall, 2002: 259). I argue that the use of frames in El Peruano obeyed the political inclinations of the daily as well as its historical role as the spokesperson of the government in office (Arrambide, 2006 in Arrunátegui, 2010b: 356).

Arrunátegui’s studies (2010a et 2010b) conclude that media discourse is a social practice that has the power of constructing representations of reality, which can influence its audience. These representations can become part of the audience’s common sense and institute a negative representation of indigenous people as “the forgotten other” in Peruvian’s social imaginary. I conclude that the media discourse present in El Peruano is not as influential as Arrunátegui (2010a et 2010b) proposes. The conflict frames and indigenous peoples’ frames presented above were evaluated critically by the sector of the population that supported actively the indigenous movement, by the different social and political actors who criticized the government’s performance during the conflict, and by the majority of the public opinion who supported the movement (Schmall, 2011; Greene, 2009b). Furthermore, responsible media coverage of ethnic minorities should always offer space for investigative journalism, contextualization and even quotas for participation of ethnic minorities and different sectors of the population (Cottle, 2000: 29).

5.1. Challenges and limitations

Conceptually, the biggest challenge in conducting this study has been the complexity of the subject of indigenous movements and the multiple factors that influence this phenomenon. Limiting the literature review was especially challenging given the great amount of research on the topics of media representations of ethnic minorities and indigenous movements. Therefore, the aim of the literature review was to discuss the relevant literature written about the representation of indigenous people in the media, and to offer a review of research about indigenous movements presenting the social, economic and political aspects of their agendas and their achievements in Latin America in order to facilitate the understanding of this complex topic.
The initial intention of this study was to compare *El Peruano*’s coverage with other more independent and influential newspapers such as *El Comercio* and *La República*. Due to lack of resources and a limited time frame for the conduction of the study, I decided to focus solely on *El Peruano*. Nonetheless, given the nature and methodology of this study, which analyzed every single item that portrayed the Bagua conflict, confining the scope of the study to a single daily allowed me to explore and to perform the data analysis in a more comprehensive and exhaustive way, which could not have been possible in a comparative study. Since media representations, indigenous activism and environmental conflicts are current topics that are constantly featured in the Peruvian media, I wish this research will contribute to improve the situation of indigenous movements, raise awareness on the struggle of indigenous peoples for land and cultural rights, and highlight the importance of media representations including the threats and opportunities present in them.

### 5.2. Suggestions for further research

The assumption of this research was that news sources intervene actively in the construction of representation frames. However, this research did not aim to find out how these categories become part of the frame, it did not focus on journalistic practices or content production and it did not elaborate on how these frames affect the audience. All of these aspects of framing and media representations could be an interesting topic for further research on indigenous movements.

The Bagua conflict revealed a lack of institutional capacity to create a space for pertinent dialogue and deliberation, as well as ineffective mechanisms for participation of citizens in the management of indigenous movements and ethnic minorities’ conflicts (PAPE-UNDP, 2013: 14). Consequently, more studies on efficient mechanisms that could assure the participation of indigenous movements and ethnic minorities on the public sphere are urgently needed.
References


Regional Project of Political Analysis and Prospective Scenarios (PAPEP) of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Latin American Conflict Analysis Unit of Fundación UNIR Bolivia (2013). Understanding Social Conflict in Latin America. PAPEP-UNDP: La Paz.


## Appendix 1: Coding sheet for a newspaper article (some examples)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
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<td>TOPIC</td>
<td>Policemen were buried in Lima</td>
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<tr>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>Police, Interior Ministry, Prime Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE OF SOURCE</td>
<td>Official sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAMING OF THE PARTICIPANTS</td>
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<th>ITEM</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>TOPIC</td>
<td>Government offers conciliation to AIDESEP, who insists on decrees abrogation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>Police, Interior Ministry, Prime Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE OF SOURCE</td>
<td>Official sector, civil society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAMING OF THE PARTICIPANTS</td>
<td>Native leaders, violence and death acts consequences, indigenous communities problems, human rights, native communities traditions, culprits of criminal acts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>COVER</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOPIC</td>
<td>Native leader accuses Pizango and other AIDESEP leaders of fraud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>President of Ucayali’s Asháninka peoples association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE OF SOURCE</td>
<td>Civil society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAMING OF THE PARTICIPANTS</td>
<td>Natives, protests in Amazon rainforest, native leader, apus, asháninka, Alberto Pizango, other AIDESEP leaders,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COVER</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COVER HEADLINE</td>
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</table>
### Appendix 2: Coding sheet for frame analysis (example)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOPIC</th>
<th>CLASSIFICATION</th>
<th>INFORMATION BIASES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indígenas protestan contra decretos en región San Martín, gobierno regional pide calma, paro de ronderos se suspende en Huamachuco</td>
<td>Native protest, Government denounces protest, Government offers conciliation and complains about protest, Government offers conciliation and complains about protest, Government’s conciliation, complaint,</td>
<td>Authority-disorder, fragmentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gobernador pide cese de protestas, anuncia planes para mejorar administración y amenaza con tomar medidas</td>
<td>Government meets native leaders, Government complains about protest and offers conciliation</td>
<td>Authority-disorder, fragmentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Premier denuncia manipulación política y niega fundamento a las protestas</td>
<td>Meeting, government complains about Pizango not agreeing</td>
<td>Authority-disorder, fragmentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministro pide diálogo con líderes indígenas y sostiene que sus protestas son infundadas</td>
<td>Government complains about Pizango not agreeing and offers conciliation</td>
<td>Authority-disorder, fragmentation, personalization (Pizango)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nota de prensa de PCM sobre la reunión con organizaciones miembros de AIDESEP</td>
<td>Government denounces Pizango’s uprising declaration, Government offers conciliation and complains AIDESEP not agreeing</td>
<td>Authority-disorder, fragmentation, personalization (AIDESEP y CONAP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congresista pide calma y paciencia a líderes nativos</td>
<td>Government complains about protests and offer conciliation</td>
<td>Authority-disorder, fragmentation, personalization (Pizango), authority-disorder, fragmentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diálogo entre premier y AIDESEP sin resultados concretos</td>
<td>Government offers conciliation and ask AIDESEP to be more specific</td>
<td>Authority-disorder, fragmentation, personalization (Pizango, Prime minister)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congreso y defensoría llaman a la calma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critican llamado a la insurgencia y responsabilizan a AIDESEP de posible violencia futura</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronto se establecerá mesa de diálogo, CONAP bueno, AIDESEP malo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La selva es de todos los peruanos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Premier pide que AIDESEP clarifique que desean cambiar, gobierno descalifica reclamos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3: The sample of news articles from El Peruano
(http://www.elperuano.com.pe/)

1. “Piden mantener el diálogo” (May 7, 2009, p. 27)
2. “Piden a nativos retomar diálogo” (May 8, 2009, p. 3)
3. “Existe manipulación política exacerbada” (May 10, 2009, p. 4)
4. “Ratifica voluntad de diálogo” (May 12, 2009 p. 4)
5. “Invitan a Pizango” (May 12, 2009, p. 4)
6. “Total rechazo a la violencia” (May 12, 2009, p. 4)
7. “Diálogo garantiza solución” (May 14, 2009, p. 4)
8. “Congreso expresa rechazo” (May 16, 2009, p. 4)
9. “Se tomarán medidas para poner orden” (May 16, 2009, p. 16)
10. “Con RS oficializan mesa de diálogo” (May 16, 2009, p. 4)
11. “No solo de un grupo. La Amazonía es de todos” (May 17, 2009, p. 3)
12. “Simon ratifica diálogo con nativos pero sin violencia” (May 17, 2009, p. 4)
14. “Se respetó patrimonio de las comunidades” (May 18, 2009, p. 2)
15. “Diálogo sin bloqueo de vías” (May 19, 2009, p. 2)
16. “Paro afecta a los más pobres” (May 19, 2009, p. 2)
17. “Demandan a Aidesep escuchar las propuestas del Ejecutivo” (May 19, 2009, p. 2)
18. “Pide a amazónicos precisar reclamos” (May 20, 2009, p. 4)
19. “Instalan a comisión de diálogo” (May 21, 2009, p. 5)
20. “Demanda reflexión al Parlamento” (May 21, 2009, p. 5)
22. “Sería “irresponsable” anular disposiciones legales” (May 21, 2009, p. 5)
23. “El miércoles debatirán derogatoria” (May 22, 2009, p. 4)
24. “Deben levantar paro” (May 22, 2009, p. 4)
25. “Nuevo pedido de diálogo” (May 23, 2009, p. 3)
26. “Peligra el TLC con Estados Unidos” (May 23, 2009, p. 3)
28. “Simon: Gobierno busca evitar que se aprovechen de nativos” (May 24, 2009, p. 2)
29. “Percibe ‘visión reaccionaria’” (May 24, 2009, p. 2)
30. “Pide definir mecanismos” (May 24, 2009, p. 2)
31. “Insta enfrentar presión política” (May 26, 2009, p. 2)
32. “El diálogo empieza hoy” (May 26, 2009, p. 3)
33. “DL 1090 no debe derogarse” (May 26, 2009, p. 4)
34. “Destacan inclusión de nativos” (May 26, 2009, p. 4)
35. “Revisarán decretos” (May 27, 2009, p. 2)
36. “Pizango saluda consenso. Destaca voluntad de diálogo” (May 27, 2009, p. 2)
37. “Derogarian otra norma” (May 27, 2009, p. 2)
38. “Consultarán a comunidades. Opiniones divididas en AP” (May 27, 2009, p. 2)
40. “Un llamado a la calma” (May 28, 2009, p. 2)
41. “Por el futuro de la Amazonía” (May 28, 2009, p. 2)
42. “Advierten sobre intencionalidad de afectar TLC con EE UU” (May 28, 2009, p. 2)
43. “Editorial. Diálogo con los nativos” (May 28, 2009, p. 12)
44. “CONAP pide a comunidades no dejarse influenciar. “Por su libre determinación”” (June 1, 2009, p. 4)
45. “Propone diálogo con todos” (June 1, 2009, p. 4)
46. ““Quieren chantajear al país”” (June 1, 2009, p. 4)
47. “Exigen precisiones a Pizango” (June 2, 2009, p. 4)
48. “Legislativo no debe ceder a presiones” (June 2, 2009, p. 4)
49. “Piden se garantice suministro de combustible” (June 2, 2009, p. 4)
50. “Seguridad está garantizada” (June 2, 2009, p. 5)
51. “Pastor emplaza a dirigentes nativos” (June 3, 2009, p. 2)
52. “UN presentará proyecto de ley” (June 3, 2009, p. 2)
53. “Derogar Ley Forestal sería peligroso para la Amazonía” (June 3, 2009, p. 2)
54. “Brack: Insistir en derogatoria es un capricho político” (June 3, 2009, p. 2)
55. “Simon convocará a verdaderos representantes nativos” (June 3, 2009, p. 3)
56. “Nativos se están pasando de las formas democráticas” (June 4, 2009, p. 2)
57. “Respaldan esfuerzos del ejecutivo. Alcaldes capitalinos” (June 4, 2009, p. 6)
58. “Se trabaja por la Amazonía” (June 4, 2009, p. 6)
59. “Congresista Mauricio Mulder denuncia presiones contra Ley forestal” (June 4, 2009, p. 6)
60. “Yehude Simon anuncia viaje a comunidades amazónicas” (June 5, 2009, p. 2)
61. “Pizango presenta su agenda. Anuncia movilización” (June 5, 2009, p. 5)
62. “Por un voto de conciencia” (June 5, 2009, p. 5)
63. “Cuestionan norma N° 1064” (June 5, 2009, p. 5)
64. “Presidernte deplora violencia y pide sancionar a culpables” (June 6, 2009, p. 3)
65. “Traficantes y políticos se aprovechan” (June 6, 2009, p. 4)
66. “Se perdieron S/. 560 mllns.” (June 6, 2009, p. 4)
67. “Rinden homenaje a policías victimados” (June 6, 2009, p. 4)
68. “La población fue azuzada, dice general” (June 6, 2009, p. 4)
69. “PAP responsabiliza a nacionalistas. Comisión se reúne para ver el tema. Justifica que se haya intervenido. Defensoría e Iglesia piden calma” (June 6, 2009, p. 4)
70. “Se actuó de acuerdo a ley” (June 6, 2009, p. 5)
71. “Buscan que Parlamento se disuelva” (June 6, 2009, p. 5)
72. “Aplicarán toque de queda” (June 6, 2009, p. 5)
73. “Radioemisoras de Bagua. Incitaron a la violencia” (June 6, 2009, p. 5)
74. “Rescataron a 22 policías” (June 7, 2009, p. 2)
75. “Las Fuerzas Armadas asumieron el control del orden público” (June 7, 2009, p. 2)
76. “Hoy es día de duelo en todo el país” (June 7, 2009, p. 3)
77. “Hay una conspiración en contra de la democracia” (June 7, 2009, p. 3)
78. “Simon: Sí hay complot” (June 7, 2009, p. 3)
79. “Diálogo fue rechazado “por consigna” e intereses políticos” (June 7, 2009, p. 3)
80. “Nada justifica la violencia” (June 7, 2009, p. 4)
81. “AIDEX condena ola de barbarie. “No al sabotaje de la democracia”” (June 7, 2009, p. 4)
82. “Cabanillas. “No debe haber impunidad”” (June 7, 2009, p. 4)
83. “Homenaje póstumo a agentes caídos” (June 7, 2009, p. 4)
84. “Morada final. Los enterrarán en su tierra natal” (June 8, 2009, p. 2)
85. “Policías reciben ascenso póstumo” (June 8, 2009, p. 2)
86. “Arribaron restos de otros diez efectivos” (June 8, 2009, p. 2)
87. “Emblema nacional a media asta. En señal de duelo “ (June 8, 2009, p. 3)
88. “Presidente Alan García. “Mantennemos la firmeza de la ley”” (June 8, 2009, p. 3)
89. “Defensa. “Se impone el principio de la humanidad y la defensa de la vida”” (June 8, 2009, p. 3)
90. “Fernández exige a Pizango dar la cara. “Obra del discurso violentista”” (June 8, 2009, p. 4)
91. “Investiguen a responsables” (June 8, 2009, p. 4)
92. “Se incrementará seguro de vida” (June 8, 2009, p. 4)
93. “Pronaa distribuye alimentos en Bagua” (June 8, 2009, p. 4)
94. “Lamas. Opina sobre responsabilidad de líder nativo. Puede recibir dura pena” (June 8, 2009, p. 4)
95. “Ceremonia en homenaje a los caídos” (June 8, 2009, p. 5)
96. “La calma retorna a Bagua” (June 8, 2009, p. 5)
97. “Trasladan a 250 nativos” (June 8, 2009, p. 5)
98. “Reclamos deben ir al TC” (June 8, 2009, p. 5)
99. “Recuperan cinco fusiles AKM de policías fallecidos” (June 8, 2009, p. 5)
100. “Fuerzas Armadas actúan con prudencia para restablecer orden” (June 9, 2009, p. 2)
101. “De la violencia al asilo. La ruta de Alberto Pizango” (June 9, 2009, p. 3)
102. “El interés del país debe prevalecer” (June 9, 2009, p. 3)
103. “Denuncian que hubo manipulación” (June 9, 2009, p. 4)
104. “Al condena los asesinatos” (June 9, 2009, p. 4)
105. “¿Que la ley caiga sobre conspiradores. Síndican a falsos dirigentes” (June 9, 2009, p. 4)
106. “Chiclayo rinde homenaje a cuatro policías” (June 9, 2009, p. 4)
107. “Pronaa reanudará servicios” (June 9, 2009, p. 4)
108. “Por el diálogo y la paz” (June 9, 2009, p. 5)
109. “PJ actuará con tranquilidad” (June 9, 2009, p. 5)
110. “Amazonas retoma su ritmo de vida” (June 9, 2009, p. 5)
111. “Desmienten existencia de fosa común en Bagua” (June 9, 2009, p. 5)
112. “Demandan investigar “conexión boliviana”” (June 9, 2009, p. 6)
114. “La Iglesia acude al diálogo” (June 10, 2009, p. 3)
115. ““Políticos” influyen de manera negativa” (June 10, 2009, p. 3)
116. “Liberan tránsito por horas” (June 10, 2009, p. 3)
117. “Cuculiza y Alcorta: “Que dé la cara”. Cuestionan a Pizango” (June 10, 2009, p. 4)
118. “Tres países le negaron asilo antes de dárselo Nicaragua” (June 10, 2009, p. 4)
119. “Defensoría publica lista de fallecidos y heridos” (June 10, 2009, p. 4)
120. “Plantea que Ejército difunda bondades” (June 10, 2009, p. 4)
121. “Demandan sumar esfuerzos” (June 10, 2009, p. 4)
122. “Suspensión de DL N abrirá un espacio para el diálogo” (June 10, 2009, p. 5)
123. “El Perú se pronuncia ante la OEA” (June 10, 2009, p. 5)
124. “Trasladan cuerpo de comandante” (June 10, 2009, p. 6)
125. “Combustible sí circula” (June 10, 2009, p. 6)
126. “Turismo no disminuirá” (June 10, 2009, p. 6)
127. “Clases se reanudan y toque de queda se reduce” (June 10, 2009, p. 6)
128. “Paro indígena no tiene razón de ser” (June 11, 2009, p. 2)
129. “Perú reconoce decisión de Nicaragua” (June 11, 2009, p. 2)
130. “Simon: Asilo no debe afectar relaciones” (June 11, 2009, p. 2)
131. “80% respalda la democracia” (June 11, 2009, p. 3)
132. “Fuerzas extranjeras presionaron hechos en Bagua” (June 11, 2009, p. 3)
133. “Darán S/.55 mil a familiares de policías. Por seguro de vida” (June 11, 2009, p. 3)
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