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A case study from Peru

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Contents

List of tables and figures

Tables

Figures

Abbreviations

3Es	efficiency, effectiveness and equity
3Es+	efficiency, effectiveness, equity and other benefits
A&R	Afforestation and reforestation activities
ACCA	Asociación para la Conservación de la Cuenca Amazónica (Association for the Conservation of the Amazon Basin)
AFP	Agence France-Presse (French press agency)
AIDER	Asociación para la Investigación y el Desarrollo Integral (Association for Research and Integral Development)
AIDESEP	Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana (Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Amazon)
AMPA	Amazónicos por la Amazonía (Amazonians for the Amazon)
AP	Associated Press
APECO	Asociación Peruana para la Conservación de la Naturaleza (Peruvian Association for the Conservation of Nature)
ARA	Autoridad Regional Ambiental (Regional Environmental Authority)
CAMDE PERÚ	Conservación Ambiental y Desarrollo en el Perú (Environmental Conservation and Development in Peru)
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CEDISA	Centro de Desarrollo e Investigación de la Selva Alta (Center for Development and Research of Upper Amazonia)
CI	Conservation International
CIFOR	Center for International Forestry Research
CIMA	Centro de Conservación, Investigación y Manejo de Áreas Naturales (Center for Conservation, Research and Management of Natural Areas)
COP	Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
CPN	Cadena Peruana de Noticias (Peruvian News Chain)
DAR	Derecho, Ambiente y Recursos Naturales (Law, Environment and Natural Resources)
DGCCDRH	Dirección General de Cambio Climático, Desertificación y Recursos Hídricos (Directorate General of Climate Change, Desertification and Water Resources)
DGFFS	Dirección General Forestal y de Fauna Silvestre (Directorate General of Forestry and Wildlife)
DPA	Deutsche Presse-Agentur (German Press Agency)
EFE	Agencia EFE (Spanish international news agency)
FCPF	Forest Carbon Partnership Facility
FEPROCAM	Federación de Productores Castañeros y Madereros (Timber and Brazil Nut Producer Association)
FERIAM	Federación Regional e Indígena Awajún del Alto Mayo (Upper Mayo Regional and Indigenous Federation)
FIP	Forest Investment Program
FONAM	Fondo Nacional del Ambiente (National Environment Fund)
G1	article group 1 (related to REDD)

G2	article group 2 (related to climate change and forests)
G8	Group of Eight
GCS-REDD+	Global Comparative Study on REDD+ initiatives
GHG	greenhouse gas
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
ISUR	Interoceánica Sur (Interoceanic South Initiative)
KfW	German Development Bank
LNM	Lineamientos Nacionales de Mitigación (National Guidelines for Climate Change Mitigation)
MADERACRE	Maderera Río Acre
MINAG	Ministerio de Agricultura (Ministry of Agriculture)
MINAM	Ministerio del Ambiente (Ministry of Environment)
MRV	measurement, reporting and verification
NAMA	Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Measure
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
OEI	Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos (Organization of Ibero-American States)
NGO	nongovernmental organization
ORDEPISAN	Oficina Regional de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas de San Martín (Regional Office for the Development of the Indigenous Peoples in San Martín)
PCM	Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros (Presidency of the Council of Ministers)
PROFONANPE	Fondo de Promoción de las Áreas Naturales Protegidas del Perú (National Fund for Natural Protected Areas)
PRONAMI	Programa Nacional de Mitigación (National Mitigation Program)
REDD	reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation
REDD+	reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, and enhancing forest carbon stocks in developing countries
RPP	Radio Programas del Perú (Peru Radio Program)
TNC	The Nature Conservancy
UNAMAD	Universidad Nacional Amazónica de Madre de Dios (Amazonian National University of Madre de Dios)
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Acknowledgments

Executive summary

In recent years, the role of forests in climate change has been a topic of great interest in the negotiations of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The discourse about the potential of avoided deforestation (and shortly thereafter forest degradation) as a mitigation tool started in 2005. Since then Peru has been one of the countries most actively involved in the early stages of REDD+ (reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, and enhancing forest carbon stocks in developing countries). As a pilot country in several international readiness initiatives, Peru has supported a nested approach, and a variety of subnational REDD+ initiatives are underway in the country. Nevertheless, although the country has experts and actors with knowledge of the subject, it is not clear to what extent the discussions have reached a larger audience.

In this study, we assessed the media coverage of REDD+ in Peru's national and subnational newspapers to better understand the messages reaching Peruvian readers. At a national level, we found only 33 articles on REDD+ in eight national newspapers: *El Comercio, Perú 21, Gestión, Expreso, La República, La Razón, El Peruano* and *Trome*. Expanding the search to '*cambio climático + bosques*' (climate change + forests), we found 203 articles. Upon finding this low coverage in the national press, we selected two regions in the

country where the largest number of REDD+ projects are located and the most progress has been made in the readiness stage: San Martín (*Voces* and *Ahora*) and Madre de Dios (*Don Jaque* and *El Observador*). But again we found only 10 articles on REDD+, and 10 more when we expanded the search to include climate change and forests.

In regional newspapers, all the articles mentioned REDD+ but did not discuss the topic deeply enough for an assessment of the media frames and approaches. In national newspapers, 26 articles discussed REDD+ more deeply. Most of them were optimistic about REDD+ (58%). Although it is estimated that there are 41 REDD+ projects in the country, 74% of the articles were about international issues. The central themes of the articles were mostly related to politics or ecology and the main actors were environmental nongovernmental organizations. Approaches were almost equally distributed among co-benefits (26%), equity (26%), efficiency (21%) and effectiveness (16%) of REDD+. Although REDD+ was created with a view to climate change mitigation – where efficiency and effectiveness are the most relevant concerns – equity and co-benefits are the central themes in Peru. The rights of indigenous peoples, poverty reduction and biodiversity conservation appeared as the most relevant topics in REDD+ coverage and as national priorities.

1 Introduction: Untangling REDD+

Since the beginning of the negotiations at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), forests have always been a controversial issue. In 1997, the Conference of the Parties (COP) agreed to establish the Kyoto Protocol, which excluded greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions and sequestration from forests. The arguments to support this were, among others, that the largest forest area in the world is located in the northern hemisphere, especially in developed countries with a high GHG removal potential, and that the inclusion of forest credits could flood the market with cheap and easy-to-trade carbon certificates. It was argued that this could hinder the development of other emission reduction projects (Inwent et al. 2009) and the development of a system for GHG measurement, reporting and verification (MRV) in forests. At COP 7 in 2001, (Marrakesh Agreement) the parties agreed to include afforestation and reforestation (A&R) activities in the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), but did not elaborate on the regulations that should govern these projects. At COP 9 (Milan), the parties adopted the definitions and modalities set in the CDM for the A&R activities of the first commitment period. COP 11 (Montreal) agreed to include GHG emission reduction through avoided deforestation in developing countries, which was called REDD at that time. After this event, and in successive COP decisions, other issues were included, such as forest degradation, conservation, sustainable forest management and the maintenance of carbon stocks, all of which is currently referred to as REDD+ (Inwent et al. 2009). Countries are still negotiating the best mechanism to implement REDD+ ensuring that developed and developing countries, with early initiatives, and both weak and strong forest governance systems support it and can participate. Agreements and decisions are moving at a slow pace, due to the complexity of the issue.

In principle, the reduction of GHG emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+) is based on two main concepts. The first is that emissions from this sector in developing countries are responsible for roughly 20% of total global annual GHG emissions. The second is that if we generate a system – with an approach based on credits or funds – to reward people, communities, projects and/or countries that reduce GHG emissions from forests, emissions could be significantly reduced, at a low cost and in a short period of time, while contributing to poverty reduction and sustainable development.

The process of clarifying the details of REDD+ will not necessarily be simple, requiring that countries agree on how REDD+ will be focused in terms of developing benchmark levels, MRV systems, non-permanence, scale (national, subnational), benefit sharing, funding and other complex issues. While international negotiations have not yet reached a consensus on these details, countries are moving forward with the readiness process (or preparation for REDD+ implementation). This readiness process involves the design of public forest policies and the creation of discourses on these issues. While there is a group of qualified practitioners in REDD+ issues in Peru, it is not clear to what extent policy makers and the general public understand the issues.

The media, via their relationship with civil society and decision makers, are an important actor in the formation of public opinion on these policies. The media are a tool that serves two clear functions: first, they report and communicate different facts and news on a mass scale; second, they act as a source of information for different people, groups or organizations that use them to know what is happening (Sandoval and Al-Ghassani 1990). According to Muñoz (2011), the media act as 'transmitters of thought,' since they have led to 'a number of significant social changes in modern society, resulting in the subordination of political and social issues, such as social needs, to the elaboration of messages and the delivery of information through them.'

From the late 1960s until the early 1970s, a new phase emerged in the study of the mass media's impact on public opinion. The power of the media to highlight certain issues and to establish frameworks for the interpretation of different events became apparent. They were recognised as being able to influence people's thoughts and knowledge and guide political or

non-political discourses. Milburn (1991) emphasizes the media's ability to 'define the issues society should think about and discuss all the time, to direct public attention to some issues and not others, while setting the standards and parameters for understanding, explaining and analyzing events.' Complementing this opinion, McCombs (2004) claims that the media play an important role in the global information system and that most popular knowledge on different issues is not derived from personal experiences, but from the media. A well-known Peruvian journalist also says that the media serve to put a variety of issues on the agenda, whether these are of public interest or of interest to those who manage information, since the media are often owned by different political, economic or other pressure groups (Vargas 2010).

This context shows the importance of this study, promoted by the Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) within the framework of the global comparative study of the first generation of REDD+ activities and REDD+ national efforts (GCS-REDD+). This study sheds light on media discourse on environmental issues (specifically REDD+ and forests) in Peru, and it may help to identify key opportunities and challenges that need to be addressed in the near future.

After a brief introduction to Peru's REDD+ context, this study examines the media in the country and presents an analysis of REDD+ discourse in national newspapers, as well as case studies of two subnational regions (San Martín and Madre de Dios).

2 REDD+ in Peru: Does forest country mean REDD+ country?

At the national level, the high potential for forests is evident. Peru has the second largest forest area of any country in Latin America. Forests cover 60% of the national territory. Moreover, Peru has 39 million ha of forests allocated to timber extraction. However, adequate forestry activities have not yet been developed, which means the forestry sector represents only 1%–4% of gross domestic product (GDP). Natural forest cover is mainly located in the Amazon, while coastal dry forests represent less than 1% of national forest cover (MINAM 2010).

In Peru, the main source of GHG emissions is the conversion of forests to agricultural fields and pastures due to deforestation in the Amazon, which accounts for 47.5% of total national emissions. National deforestation in 1990–2000 was about 150,000 ha per year (MINAM 2010). The factors that lead to deforestation include: slash and burn agriculture, firewood extraction and grazing in the mountains, large-scale agriculture and forest plantations, forest clearance to grow coca and to build illegal landing strips, cattle grazing, building of roads and infrastructure in the Amazon, as well as the increase in the demand for land and resources due to population growth (PCM 2008).

The road to evaluating the feasibility of REDD+ implementation in Peru began with some important initiatives, including: (1) specific studies to determine carbon stocks and emissions in the main land uses, and baseline studies on carbon sequestration and payment for environmental services; (2) a REDD+ group formed in Peru in 2008 with several participating organizations (government, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), private companies, native communities, etc.); and (3) a Peruvian initiative, in conjunction with other Latin American countries such as Argentina, Chile, Honduras, Mexico, Panama and Paraguay to inform the UNFCCC of their interest in the '*nested approach*' (SBSTA 2008) (see Figure 1 for key events for REDD+ in Peru).

At the same time, since 2008, Peru has been promoting a series of actions focused on exploring the opportunities of a low carbon economy and the mitigation of GHGs. In this regard, the National Guidelines for Climate Change Mitigation (Lineamientos Nacionales de Mitigación, LNM) have been validated by the Technical Working Group on Mitigation and the CDM of the National Commission on Climate Change, as well as at the regional level (Loreto, San Martín, La Libertad, Junín, Arequipa and Lima). The Technical Working Group has agreed to include National Mitigation Program (Programas Nacionales de Mitigación, PRONAMI) in the LNM, which are in line with Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Actions (NAMAs) and consist of a series of activities undertaken at the national, regional or sectoral level. These initiatives promote sustainable development, reduce emissions and increase GHG sequestration or removal through sinks. All this is implemented and supported by the technology, funding and capacity that the country can provide on its own and with the help of developed countries on a bilateral or multilateral basis. The LNM suggested six PRONAMI for the following sectors: forestry and land use, agriculture, solid waste, energy, transport and industry.

On 27 July 2011, the Peruvian Government submitted a communiqué to the Executive Secretary of the UNFCCC reiterating its commitment to strengthen collective action to mitigate climate change through the development of a low-carbon economy for sustainable growth, which would involve the following voluntary actions pursuant to the principles and provisions of the Convention (MINAM 2011):

1. Reduce total net emissions and reach zero net emissions for land use, land-use change and forestry.

2. Transition to a national energy matrix wherein non-conventional renewable energies and hydropower together represent at least 40% of the energy consumed in the country.

3. Capture and use of methane via appropriate urban waste disposal.
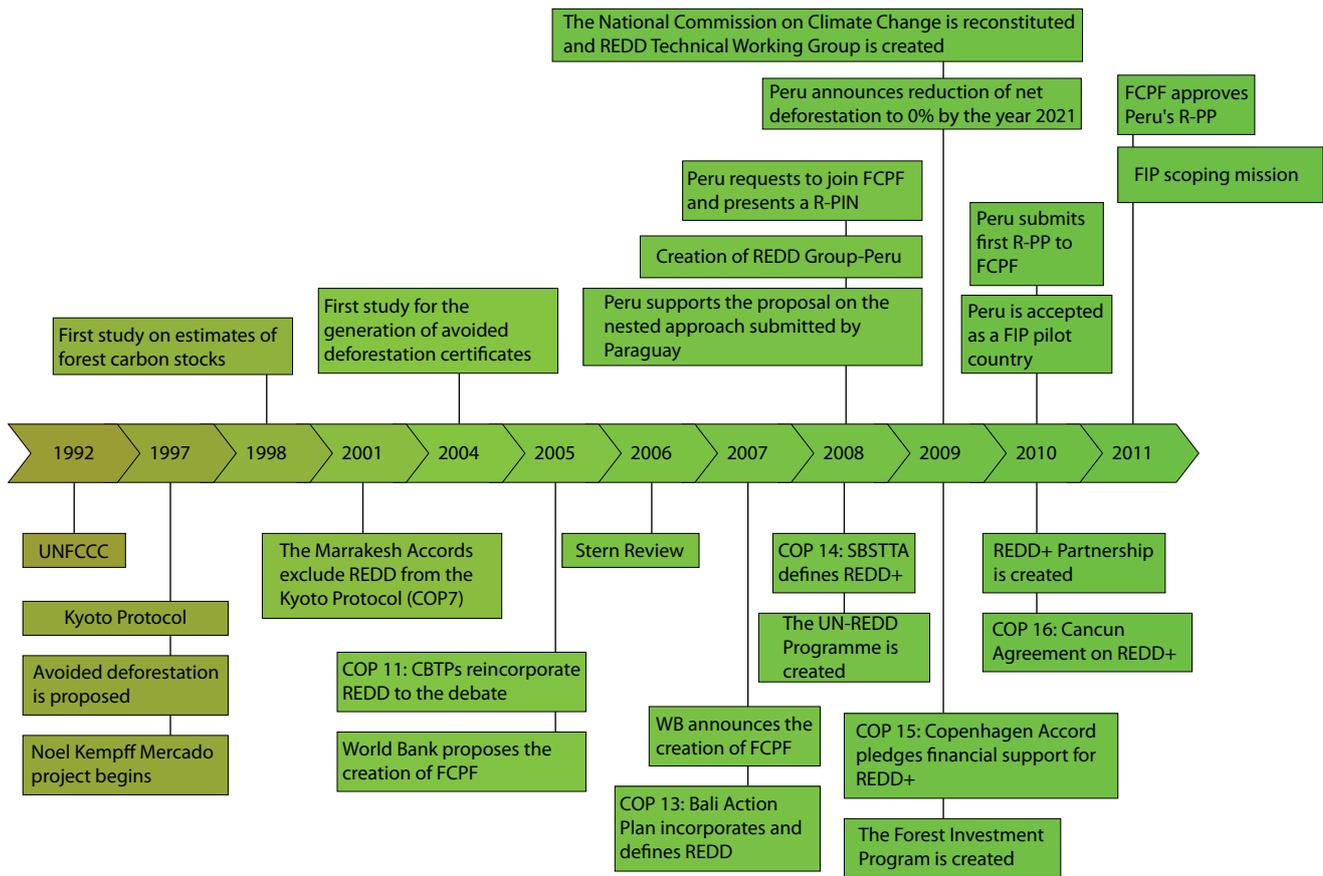
Figure 1. REDD outcomes at national and international levels
Source: DAR, 2011

These international commitments may promote schemes to reduce emissions from deforestation, which could in turn promote new public or private REDD+ initiatives.

While international discussions continue on legal, political, technical and financial issues relating to REDD+, at the national level there is an agenda for the design and implementation of the national REDD strategy. Currently, there are funds committed for the preparation and development of REDD+ initiatives, including the Forest Investment Program (FIP); the Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF); funds from private companies; bilateral cooperation (e.g. with the German Development Bank, KfW and the United States Agency for International Development,

USAID); private foundations (e.g. Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation); and others (Che Piu and García 2011).

Not all stakeholders in the national REDD+ process hold the same views. However, in the face of deforestation, many actors identify these initiatives as an opportunity for the country to not only mitigate emissions, but to also improve local economies, promote private investment and preserve environmental services. Some stakeholders, most notably the Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest (Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana, AIDESEP), have submitted statements and letters to the government to express their concern about REDD+ and the apparent risks related to its implementation.

3 The media in Peru

This chapter will provide a brief explanation of the importance of the media in Peru and in the two regions studied here. It will then provide a review of these media and their scope.

3.1 The impact of the media on decision makers

As mentioned above, the media serve as a tool to disseminate information and as a source of knowledge. Moreover, it is through the media that people's thoughts and discourses can be influenced and guided.

According to a study on the level of public confidence in the institutions of Lima and Callao, which was published by the University of Lima in 2007, the media play an important role in the analysis of confidence in non-state institutions (Grupo de Opinión Pública 2007). As shown in Table 1, radio ranks second, while television ranks fifth and the printed press ranks sixth, all three rank above NGOs and political parties, which occupy the ninth and last position respectively. The number of people who stated that they did not have confidence

in the press (47.8%) was higher than those who said they did (46.8%).

Interviews indicate that, in general, journalists regard the media as shaping decision makers' opinions and actions, since the media set the agenda of the main events to be addressed and taken into account in Peru. At the same time, through the dissemination of information, the media prioritise the seriousness of different issues and form decision makers' immediate reactions. 'The media are the vehicle used by decision makers to convey information. There is a tendency for people not to trust official sources, so they need the media in order to understand information and the truth,' says Gonzalo Pajares, a journalist from the newspaper *Perú 21*.

According to Alberto Paniagua, Director of the National Fund for Natural Protected Areas (Fondo de Promoción de las Áreas Naturales Protegidas del Perú, PROFONANPE), 'the media play a very important role in the dissemination and creation of debate, which leads decision makers to be careful when making their decisions. The media have put issues such as illegal mining, native rights, GMOs,

Table 1. Level of confidence in non-state institutions

Institution	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	No answer %	Confidence level %
Private universities	74.3	18.9	6.5	0.3	+59.4
Radio	71.1	24.6	3.8	0.5	+48.6
Catholic Church	72.7	25.5	1.6	0.2	+48.0
Banks	63.5	32.8	3.6	0.2	+31.8
Television	59.9	35.5	3.7	1.0	+25.6
Press	46.8	47.8	4.1	1.3	-1.1
Telecommunications companies	44.4	50.7	4.5	0.3	-6.6
Business associations	39.7	45.6	13.2	1.4	-6.8
NGOs	35.2	51.9	12.2	0.6	-19.2
Football clubs	36.9	55.7	6.3	1.1	-20.2
Workers' unions	34.7	56.9	7.9	0.6	-24.2
Political parties	10.6	87.1	1.9	0.4	-78.2

Source: Public Opinion Group of the University of Lima, 2007

etc. on the public agenda before their discussion, with the aim of creating public policies.' They exercise a strong influence on society and public opinion, since they are, in many cases, the primary source of information for the general population.

This is how the media in the country (and the world) play an important and decisive role in information dissemination and decision making at various levels. Issues related to the environment (REDD+, for example) are also affected by this reality, and it is precisely the examination of current national-level newspaper discourses that will enable an understanding and evaluation of the information about REDD+ being disseminated. This will help identify key actors at national and international levels, the most evident views and the most widely discussed issues, among others.

3.2 The most important media in Peru

As in other countries of the world, the media play a vital role in Peru, both in cultural and political life. At the national level, there are media that treat information seriously and accurately. However, in the last few decades, other media of low quality and credibility have emerged, which are cheaper and more accessible to lower income citizens. These newspapers are called *chicha* press and are characterized by a doubtful reputation and an extremely vulgar style (Cappellini 2004).

According to Bruno Sanguinetti, Manager of the Madre de Dios Consortium (Consorcio Madre de Dios), the differences between television, radio, the press and the Internet should be taken into account, since each of them has a defined code and an orientation toward a given public. As stated by Sanguinetti and many other interviewees, the radio reaches the majority of the population and is the most widely used media in the country, due to its functionality and accessibility.

Below we describe the main media outlets in Peru, Madre de Dios and San Martín.

3.2.1 Press: Newspapers

There are 73 newspapers in the main cities in Peru, mostly based in Lima. In the capital city a total of 25 newspapers are distributed. These newspapers address different issues such as the economy, sports, sensational

Table 2. Average daily print run of the main national newspapers

No.	Newspaper	Average print run
1	*Trome*	1 824 676
2	*Ojo*	526 052
3	*El Comercio*	467 619
4	*Perú 21*	293 432
5	*El Popular*	225 865
6	*Correo*	197 732
7	*Depor*	190 903
8	*Ajá*	182 089
9	*El Bocón*	153 386
10	*Libero*	128 442
11	*La República*	94 363
12	*Todo Sport*	56 963
13	*El Men*	53 040
14	*El Chino*	50 289
15	*Gestión*	50 086
16	*La Razón*	49 804

news, etc. *El Comercio*, established in 1839, is regarded as the oldest and most serious newspaper circulated nationally. Other important newspapers at the national level (according to data obtained from national polling companies and readership measurement surveys) are as follows, classified according to the issues they address: (1) 'serious' informative newspapers: *Correo*, *Expreso*, *Gestión*, *La República*, *Perú 21* and *El Peruano* (the government's official newspaper); (2) sports newspapers: *El Bocón*, *Líbero* and *Depor*; (3) yellow press (moderate): *Ojo* and *El Men*; (4) *chicha*: *Ajá*, *El Chino*, *Extra*, *El Popular* and *Trome* (Cappellini 2004).

Most newspapers in the country are associated with groups or blocs; for example, Grupo El Comercio, a center-right group that owns *El Comercio*, *Perú 21*, *Trome*, *Gestión*, *Depor* and *Metro*; EPENSA, a liberal group that owns *Ojo*, *Ajá*, *Correo* and *El Bocón*; or Grupo República, a center-right and slightly socialist group that owns *La República*, *El Popular* and *Líbero*.

Table 2 provides details on the average daily circulation of the major newspapers in the country in 2010, in descending order.

According to a study conducted in Lima by the Peruvian Company for Marketing and Public

Opinion Studies (Compañía Peruana de Estudios de Mercado y Opinión Pública, CPI) (2010), there are important differences between the readers of the three newspapers included in their study (*Trome*, *El Comercio* and *Perú 21*). As shown in Table 3, the following has been found regarding the studied newspapers: *El Comercio* and *Perú 21* readers mainly belong to the A/B income bracket (wealthy), while *Trome* readers are mostly from the D/E income bracket (lower income). Most *Trome* and *Perú 21* readers are male, whereas *El Comercio* has the highest percentage of female readers. Most *Trome* readers are 15–25 years old, while *El Comercio* readers are 26–37, and *Perú 21* readers are above 51. While most *Trome* readers have completed secondary education, *El Comercio* and *Perú 21* readers have completed higher education. Most *Trome* and *Perú 21* readers work as freelancers, while *El Comercio* readers are employees.

Provincial newspapers, despite their very small circulation compared to the newspapers with national coverage, represent the voice of the towns and cities in the interior of the country. In this sense, it should be noted that these newspapers are of great importance for local areas (DePerú 2011).

In the case of Madre de Dios, there are three newspapers that have a relatively high circulation: *Don Jaque*, which is distributed Monday–Saturday and has a daily print run of 1500 copies; *El Observador*, which is distributed on the same days (although its circulation is stopped at certain times of the year) and has a daily print run of 1000 copies; and *Diario Internacional Mi Frontera*, which is issued once a month.

In San Martín, the three main newspapers are: *Voces* with a daily print run of 3500 copies, *Ahora* with 4000, and *Hoy* with 3000. It is important to note that *Hoy* is circulated Monday–Sunday, whereas the first two are circulated Monday–Saturday.

3.2.2 Television

In Peru, television is divided into free-to-air television, which is free throughout the national territory and depends on the frequency and signal range; and cable television, which is paid and includes international channels. Lima, with a total of 1.5 million customers of cable television (which

Table 3. Characteristics of the readers of three Lima newspapers

Category	TROME %	El COMERCIO %	PERÚ 21%
Socioeconomic status[a]			
A/B	14.8	52.1	44.6
C	37.5	29.4	34.6
D/E	47.7	18.4	20.7
Sex			
Men	50.1	47.9	60.5
Women	49.9	52.1	39.5
Age groups			
15- 25	33.7	23.6	19.6
26-37	27.7	27.2	27.0
38-50	20.4	22.0	22.7
51+	18.2	27.2	30.7
Level of education			
None	0.4	0.2	0.4
Primary	7.8	3.4	3.5
Secondary	53.9	28.6	26.6
Technical	23.3	23.2	25.8
Higher	13.7	39.4	38.3
Postgraduate	0.9	5.3	5.5
Family status			
Housewife	25.2	22.5	17.1
Head of household	28.1	28.5	39.7
Children	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	36.9	38.5	34.9
Housewife/head of household	9.9	10.5	8.2
Occupation			
Executive/ businessman/ director	0.2	1.3	0.8
Self-employed professional	1.5	8.2	10.5
Employee	14.9	26.0	16.7
Worker	6.8	3.0	1.4
Freelancer	26.0	14.3	25.7
Student	19.4	16.9	19.4
Housewife	23.4	20.7	13.6
Retired	4.1	7.5	9.4
Unemployed	3.1	2.1	2.3
Other occupations	0.6	0.2	0.5

a   The 2011 average monthly income by socioeconomic status (SES) in Lima was: SES-A = S/. 10 418; SES-B = S/. 3 017; SES-C = S/. 1 542; SES-D = S/. 1 092; SES-E = S/. 890 (*Perú 21*, 2012).

Source: CPI 2010

represents 65% of national subscriptions), is the main city in Peru using this service (Comunicar 2011).

Out of 105 television broadcasters at the national level, 22 are located in Lima (OEI 2011). As regards television receivers, in 1997 there were 3060 in all the country; that is to say, there were 126 receivers per 1000 people. The state channel (Televisión *Nacional del Perú* (TNP) 7), which is broadcast nationwide, ranks seventh out of the 10 most watched channels in the country. Many cities in the interior of the country have their own channels, programming and broadcasting, being independent of the main channel networks in Lima, whereas others retransmit part of these channels' programming in the capital in combination with their own program.

3.2.3 Radio

The two most popular radio stations in Peru are *Radio Programas del Perú* (RPP) and *Cadena Peruana de Noticias* (CPN Radio). RPP is the most popular Lima radio station in the provinces, since it offers exclusive program for local audiences. However, there are a number of provincial radio stations that occupy the first place in regional rankings. According to Menéndez (2007), in Peru's 10 largest cities (excluding Lima), 3 or 4 out of 5 broadcasted stations are local, and only 1 or 2 are from Lima. In rural areas, where the press does not necessarily reach households or people have no access to electricity, battery powered radios play an essential role as they often represent the only source of 'external' information. According to Segundo Noé Cahuas Peas, an Awajún technician of the Regional Office for the Development of the Indigenous Peoples in San Martín (*Oficina Regional de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas de San Martín*, ORDEPISAN), 'in communities one can only work via radio since they have limited access to television.'

According to the Vice President of the Upper Mayo Regional and Indigenous Federation (*Federación*

Regional e Indígena Awajún del Alto Mayo, FERIAM), Elias Peas Cahuas, 'the radio is the most widely used medium in native communities, as it is the most accessible one. However, there are communities like the Cachiyacu community, in which there is no radio signal.' And he adds that 'another problem is that when there is a radio signal in the communities, the broadcast is in Spanish. However, some communities do not speak Spanish but rather their indigenous languages.'

The radio enables rural people to access local and national information, and provides them with an educational and development tool. A clear example of the potential of the radio as a tool is the case of 'school radios' (*radioescuelas*) or 'village radios' (*radios del pueblo*), which are intended to promote rural development through the improvement of agricultural production, health and education, among others. These initiatives involve the broadcasting of program specially designed for local groups (Gutiérrez 2005).

3.2.4 Other media for the dissemination of environmental news

Although environmental issues are included in traditional mass media, there are other specialised channels covering these issues. For example, InfoRegión is a virtual platform focusing on environmental issues and reaching different regions. This press agency has a web platform, newsletters and a radio station broadcasting information about Peru's upper Amazon. The Ministry of the Environment (*Ministerio del Ambiente*, MINAM) supports Ecozona Jóvenes, an environmental news platform with a web page, which focuses on student groups and presents a more youthful approach. In addition, different NGOs have blogs, as is the case for Actualidad Ambiental, an online newscast by the Peruvian Society for Environmental Law (*Sociedad Peruana de Derecho Ambiental*, SPDA), which features Peruvian environmental news.

4 Methodology

This study is part of the GCS-REDD+, which has been evaluating early REDD+ processes and projects at a global level. GCS component 1 is focused on analyzing REDD+ processes and policies at the national and subnational levels in 12 countries. As previously mentioned, the media are an important part of these processes, particularly in terms of information dissemination and creation of national and local discourses. For this reason, the GCS has developed a methodology to analyze the discourses in national and subnational print media (the press) (Di Gregorio et al. 2012). In studying the media in Peru, we used two different evaluation stages: (1) national newspapers; and (2) subnational newspapers in two Amazonian regions, San Martín and Madre de Dios. When only a small number of articles on REDD+ were found in the national newspapers, we decided to work in two regions so as to make subnational case studies available. We chose to work in San Martín and Madre de Dios because these regions had: (1) the largest number of REDD+ pilot projects (San Martín, 7; Madre de Dios, 16) (MINAM 2012); (2) greater progress in terms of consolidation of the Regional REDD+ Roundtable (working group composed of the regional government and civil society organizations); and (3) significant progress on research and definition of baseline scenarios. Although they are not the most populated areas, they account for the largest number of REDD+ activities and it was thus assumed that the regional newspapers would have adequate references to REDD+ issues.

The study was performed in two stages: the first, consisting of a Lima-based analysis of the most important newspapers at the national level; and the second, involving trips to Madre de Dios and San Martín to study the regional newspapers *in situ*. In addition to the analysis of newspapers, both stages included a series of interviews with people working on environmental issues and in the media in order to enrich the analysis.

The methodological steps followed in this study are described below.

4.1 Selection of newspapers and articles

Although it would be interesting to study the coverage of REDD+ in different media – including radio, television and others – this study is focused solely on the press (newspapers).

4.1.1 Stage 1: Search of national newspapers

For this study, eight nationally distributed newspapers were selected: (1) *El Comercio*, (2) *Perú 21*, (3) *Gestión*, (4) *Expreso*, (5) *La República*, (6) *La Razón*, (7) *El Peruano* and (8) *Trome*. This selection was based on several criteria: they are some of the most widely read newspapers at the national level, they have a search box[1] on their web page (which enables online searches), they are well-known, and they are distributed throughout the country. The initial remit of the study was to review the news articles in only three national newspapers, but given the small number of articles found for REDD+, it was decided to broaden the search and include more newspapers. The identification of the articles was made through a keyword search, both in newspaper web page search engines and in the intranet of those newspapers, where accessible (*El Comercio* and *Gestión* newspapers; for all the keywords below, except for '*cambio climático + bosques*' (climate change + forests), '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation) and '*Protocolo de Kioto*' (Kyoto Protocol). Searches in newspaper intranets are not generally open to the public, and only journalists working for the newspapers can access them internally, which made it difficult to reach all of them with this level of search. In the first review stage, a search of the following keywords was made in the search boxes (exact phrases):

- 'REDD'
- '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation)

Given that the number of articles found in this initial search, made with the above keywords, yielded a very small number of articles, a second search was made to determine the frequency of the following keywords (exact words):

- '*cambio climático + bosques*' (climate change + forests)[2]
- '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation)[3]
- '*cambio climático*' (climate change)
- '*calentamiento global*' (global warming)
- '*Protocolo de Kioto*' (Kyoto Protocol)
- '*deforestación*' (deforestation)

Based on this second search, it was agreed that the study would include news articles containing the keywords '*cambio climático + bosques*' (climate change + forests) and '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation). Articles found with the other keywords are not part of this study, but they are mentioned since they help frame climate change issues in the national media. It is also worth mentioning that the number of articles is not available for each year, but in total.

The search for keywords was made without taking into account an exact start date and ran until the end of November 2011. The length of time covered by the search is determined by each newspaper's online system for the identification of news articles via keyword searches. This means that one newspaper may have a longer search period than another. since the engine allows for identification of news articles in a given period or as a result of the system's operational database. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that since the term 'REDD' was created only in December 2005, it is assumed that there are no news articles related to REDD before that time.

Three issues that need be considered in relation to the accuracy of the number of articles found and the search engines of the newspapers are: (1) the news articles available on newspaper web pages and intranets are not necessarily all the existing news articles, since electronic databases are not necessarily updated and there are articles that have been published but are not

currently available; (2) search boxes in newspapers are not completely reliable since keyword searches often showed a certain number of results, but access to the news article was impossible (those articles were not considered in this study); and (3) it is likely that some news articles are present in newspaper databases but do not appear when the search is made. For instance, in the search for the keywords '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation), the only article found also contained the keyword 'REDD', but this article did not show up under the search for 'REDD'.

4.1.2 Stage 2: Search by region

For the regional study, all the newspapers of relative importance in each region were included. For Madre de Dios, the newspapers studied were: (1) *Don Jaque* and (2) *El Observador*; while in San Martín, the selected newspapers were: (1) *Voces*, (2) *Ahora* and (3) *Hoy*.

Madre de Dios

To carry out the Madre de Dios study, a trip was made on 20–26 November 2011, in which only the regional capital, Puerto Maldonado, was visited. This is where the largest number of organizations related to environmental issues are based and where the printing presses of the main newspapers are located. Before the trip, an Internet search was made, and only *Don Jaque* was identified as having a website; however, the information shown had expired, and generally there were Internet-related problems. The keywords searched were the same as for Stage 1.

To collect environmental news articles and analyze them, we visited the Municipal Library of Puerto Maldonado. These facilities only housed archives of *Don Jaque* newspaper, since according to the library management's criteria, it is the only newspaper with continuous circulation. The newspapers were archived from 2004 onwards. Nevertheless, when the different publications were reviewed, from 2005 onwards (as determined by the methodology) we noted that the newspapers were in poor condition – some news articles could not be read as some of the pages had been cut off, the color of the paper had become blurred, and the newspaper quality was low.

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2   Both terms in the same news article.

3   Both terms in the same news article.

Since the Municipal Library did not have photocopying facilities and indeed the newspapers were in a bad state of disrepair, it was agreed to take photographs of the news articles identified as relevant for the study, so as to have them archived later on in accordance with the keywords already defined.

Likewise, information was searched at the Library of the Amazonian National University of Madre de Dios (*Universidad Nacional Amazónica de Madre de Dios*, UNAMAD); however, as in the previous case, only the *Don Jaque* newspaper was archived. The storage was made without any specific (year or date) order. As a third source of information, we visited the offices of the Association for Research and Integral Development (*Asociación para la Investigación y el Desarrollo Integral*, AIDER) in Puerto Maldonado. They had some newspaper archives in their small library, which complemented the search in the two libraries.

San Martín

The trip to San Martín was made on 4–10 December 2011 and involved visits to Moyobamba (the regional capital) and Tarapoto (where most of the organizations related to environmental issues are based). The news search dynamics were similar to those in Madre de Dios, through the newspapers' web pages and print editions. In this region, the newspapers *Hoy*, *Voces* and *Ahora* were reviewed. The last two have their own archive, which allowed for hard copy newspaper searches. It is worth mentioning that there were some gaps from year to year, the quality of the paper was not very good, some news articles were blurry, and some complete pages had even been torn out. As was done in Madre de Dios, we took photographs of the news articles and stored them under the same previously defined keywords.

We also visited the Municipal Library of Moyobamba, where we found the same problems of gaps in information. The newspapers were not appropriately archived, and in some cases complete months had been lost, got wet or had been eaten by insects.

4.2 Media framing approach

The analysis of the media is a crucial factor to consider since the media are 'an influential and heterogeneous group of non-state actors' (Boykoff 2008) who are characterized by their role as sources of information and discourse leaders given that they both reflect and affect the social perceptions of facts. Therefore, by analyzing the treatment given to REDD+ issues in the media, the study intends to identify the main discourses and points of view on the issue. The analysis of the media makes it possible to have a clear overview of how the debates relating to REDD+ policies are being framed in different countries, providing a context for a deeper analysis and enabling assessment of how the frames have varied over time. One of the big strengths of this study is that it is made in parallel in several countries and under the same criteria, which makes it possible to compare the results and draw interesting conclusions.

According to Bennet (cited in Boykoff, 2008), a media frame is 'a broad organizing theme for selecting, emphasizing, and linking the elements of a story such as the scenes, the characters, their actions, and supporting documentation'. In practice, a frame is a conceptual lens that brings certain aspects of reality into sharper focus (emphasizing a specific way of understanding an issue) while relegating others to the background.

Newspaper articles can be divided into several sections, and they can have more than one frame. The primary frame is very likely to be identified in the most important parts of the text – headline, subheading and first paragraph. Furthermore, articles are likely to quote sources in support of the frame; these sources are more likely to be named, and more likely to be prestigious, than in subsidiary frames. For the sake of balance, the frame is likely to include a rebuttal, or alternative view from that initially proposed. However, adversaries are often given less prominence, space and direct voice than 'primary definers' (the term given to the chief advocate of the primary frame).

For longer articles with a deeper level of discussion, the subsequent paragraphs can examine the history from a different angle, so we can identify a secondary frame. Having eliminated the elements of the text that support the primary frame, we can then group the remaining text according to themes and assess their position in the text, and the nature and extent of quoted sources, to identify a secondary frame.

4.3 Coding process

The coding exercise involved the collection of information at three different levels. Level 1 coding was aimed at identifying descriptive variables, which simply identify the article. This included the date, author, page number, section of the newspaper and type of article. Although they are used to identify the article, they can provide interesting insights on the changes in the coverage of REDD+ issues over time and across countries. Level 1 coding also made it possible to identify if the article makes a slight or deep reference to REDD+. Only in the second case would it move on to the next level. Level 1 coding was applied to all the articles in the database.

Level 2 coding made it possible to compile variables on the primary frame and, if applicable, the secondary frames. This included: (1) how the article frames the REDD+ discussion (diagnostic, prognostic, symptomatic or motivational), as outlined in Table 4; (2) the political scale of the debate (international, national, subnational and local); and (3) the specific issues surrounding the article (political, economic, ecological, cultural and social). Level 2 analysis provided enough information if the aim was to briefly identify general themes reported in newspaper articles.

Level 3 coding identified the primary and secondary frames in more detail, including identification of the main advocates and adversaries, their stances and ideological position, and types of actions. Level 3 coding was much more intensive and allows a more detailed identification of the main discourses that were used to represent ideological positions and beliefs. It identified advocates and adversaries within the frames, so it better qualified their positions. This level of analysis allowed for identification of different interests and later analysis of coalitions advocating various approaches to REDD+ issues.

Level 3 coding also included an inventory of protest events, policy events and core actors. Protest events are defined as 'a collective, public action regarding issues in which explicit concerns about the environment (in our case REDD+) are expressed as a central dimension, organized by non-state instigators with the explicit purpose of critique or dissent together with societal and/or political demands' (Fillieule and Jiménez 2006). Protest events were assessed based on what was written in the article, not on frames. Policy events included the type of event

Table 4. Categories that describe the type of frame

Term	Description
Diagnostic	It identifies who or what is to blame for a problem (related to REDD+), including dismissing the reality of the problem altogether.
Prognostic	It involves the articulation of a proposed solution to the problem, or at least a plan of attack, and strategies to carry out the plan.
Symptomatic	It identifies why an issue is a problem, often by discussing its potential consequences. For example, the effects of a bad REDD+ policy for the reduction of emissions, ecological systems, etc.
Motivational	It goes beyond the basic existence of the issue and its causes and consequences, and puts forward moral and motivational reasons why the speaker and/or others should be concerned about the problem and take action on it or ignore it.

and responses to it. They were defined as 'a critical, temporally located decision point in a collective decision-making sequence that must occur in order for a policy option to be finally selected' (Laumann and Knoke 1987). As with the protest event coding, policy event coding was based on what was written in the article, not on frames. Each article was scanned for relevant events.

A core actor is 'an organization and/or individual that defines it/him/herself and that is perceived by others as being part of the national REDD+ policy domain.' This list of main actors contributes to the identification of all the relevant actors (mainly organizations) that operate within REDD+ policies.

For the Peru study, the articles were coded in Spanish in both stages because the articles were in this language. Before the beginning of the coding process, CIFOR experts carried out a training workshop, where the methodology was explained in detail. After the workshop, several coding tests were made among the project team staff who had participated. These tests were compared in a group, assessing the differences in results, in order to harmonize criteria for variables and thus ensure accurate coding. Once the criteria were harmonized at the project team level, the coding proposals were sent to CIFOR experts for comments and

subsequent approval. Thus, we were able to strengthen the assessment guidelines and ensure that the articles were coded with criteria that were compatible with research in other countries.

4.4 Interviews

In order to supplement the information collected in the search for and coding of articles on REDD+ in different newspapers, a set of short interviews were carried out with journalists and national experts on REDD+ and environmental issues. All the interviews with journalists were face-to-face. All of these interviews were recorded and then transcribed. The scheme of the interviews was designed to add more depth to the analysis.

4.4.1 Stage 1: Interviews at the national level

At the national level, the study involved seven interviews with journalists from newspapers and media with national coverage, and 11 interviews with REDD+ experts and people related to environmental issues, mostly living in Lima.

In the case of REDD+ experts in the first stage of the study, some interviews were done by e-mail, since some experts were not in Lima.

Interviews with journalists

For the national study, a preliminary survey of the articles identified was made before the interviews. It was not possible to identify a group of journalists regularly writing about the assessed themes, so people related to the media (journalists and editors, among others) were selected.

Overall, seven interviews were conducted with people related to the media: two interviews with *Perú 21* staff (a journalist and an editor); an interview with the Chief of Information of the *Expreso* newspaper; and an interview with the editor of *La República* newspaper; two interviews with journalists of *El Comercio*; and an interview with the IT manager of the same newspaper, to understand the functioning of the Internet and intranet, and to learn about the news archive system. The questions were intended to obtain respondents' opinions regarding the impact of the media on society. The average duration was 30 minutes, and most of the questions were open, which encouraged interviewees to express their opinions

Table 5. Journalists interviewed for the study conducted at the national level

No.	Name	Position	Workplace
1	Gonzalo Pajares	Journalist	*Perú 21*
2	Claudia Izaguirre	Editor	*Perú 21*
3	Francisco Ínsua	Head of information	*Expreso*
4	Nelly Luna	Journalist, weekend supplement	*El Comercio*
5	Roberto Ochoa	Editor	*La República*
6	Mariella Balbi	Journalist	*El Comercio and CPN Radio*
7	Carlos Batalla	In charge of Excalibur[a]	*El Comercio*

a   A program to store news, used by *El Comercio* to facilitate news searches.

on different issues. The questions ranged from the importance of the media in providing information about environmental issues, to the quality of the information itself. In addition, in a closed question, interviewees were asked to rank the newspapers depending on the importance they gave to the treatment of environmental issues. All the interviews with journalists were face-to-face. The journalists interviewed, their positions and workplaces are shown in Table 5.

Interviews with REDD+ experts and people related to environmental issues

The interviews with REDD+ experts were carried out to complement the analysis, due to the low number of articles containing the keywords initially required for the study. The selection of interviewees was made taking into account people related to REDD+ in the public and private sectors and in NGOs as well. All the interviewees were selected from the list of National REDD+ Group members, taking into account the inclusion of people from the three sectors.

The initial idea was to carry out all the interviews face-to-face, but some interviewees were outside Lima or were busy, so they preferred to answer electronically. Overall, five face-to-face interviews and six virtual interviews were made. The invitation was made by e-mail, explaining the objective of

the GCS-REDD+ study and the media analysis. A total of 17 invitations were made, and only 11 interviewees replied. The interviews conducted with REDD+ experts involved a set of closed questions, in addition to several of the open questions put to journalists. These questions aimed at gathering more accurate information on respondents' perceptions of the impact of the media on decision makers, as well as the availability of information related to REDD+. The REDD+ experts interviewed, their positions, workplaces and sector are shown in Table 6.

4.4.2 Stage 2: Regional interviews

Prior to the regional visits, interview arrangements were made with the main members of the newspapers in each region and with practitioners from organizations related to REDD+ and other environmental issues. An invitation was initially sent by e-mail, principally through contacts in the area and based on the database of REDD+ roundtable members in both regions.

The interviews were prepared using a questionnaire similar to that used in the first stage interviews in Lima. The interviews lasted 25–40 minutes and were tape recorded. At the end of each interview, respondents were given a short questionnaire to fill in, in order to provide additional important information about the organizations and their perspectives. After the interviews were made, they were transcribed in full.

Madre de Dios

The interviews in Madre de Dios were carried out in November 2011. Approximately four people (journalists and members of organizations) were interviewed per day. The list of interviewees appears in Tables 7 and 8.

San Martín

In San Martín, the interviews started in December 2011, with interviews both in Moyobamba, the regional capital, and in Tarapoto. The list of interviewees can be found in Tables 9 and 10.

As in the case of Madre de Dios, the interviews were later transcribed and systematised to facilitate the analysis.

4.5 Analysis of the 3Es: effectiveness, efficiency, equity

One aspect of GCS-REDD+ involves an analysis of the achievements of early REDD+ initiatives, in terms of effectiveness, efficiency and equity (3Es) and in generation of co-benefits such as poverty reduction and biodiversity conservation (3Es+). Table 11 shows more details of REDD+'s 3Es.

The frame analysis of 3E approaches is intended to assess the frequency of articles focusing on the different themes. Thus, the set of media articles can be understood as representing the importance of different REDD+ issues in the discourses.

Table 6. REDD+ experts and people related to environmental issues interviewed in the study conducted at the national level

No.	Name	Position	Workplace	Sector
1	Bertha Alvarado[a]	Specialist	DGFFS - MINAG	Public
2	Elvira Gomez	REDD+ Expert	GCCDRH – MINAM	Public
3	Julia Justo	Executive Director	FONAM	Public
4	Alberto Paniagua	Executive Director	PROFONANPE	Public
5	Roberto Persivalea	Director	Asesorandes	Private
6	José Luis Alzamoraa	Project Manager	BioForest	Private
7	Juan José Rodríguez	Project Coordinator	TNC	NGO
8.	Eddy Mendoza	Territorial Planning Coordinator	CI	NGO
9	Lucía Ruiz	Executive Director	CIMA	NGO
10	Alonso Castroa	REDD+ Expert	AIDER	NGO
11	Tania Garcíaa	REDD+ Expert	DAR	NGO

a   Interviews conducted via e-mail

Table 7. Madre de Dios: interviewed media members

No.	Name	Position	Workplace
1	Jose Antonio Cevallos	Manager	*Diario Don Jaque*
2	Leónidas Tito Laura	Manager	*Diario El Obserador*
3	Grimaldo Taboada	Owner/Director	*Diario Internacional Mi Frontera*
4	David Mejía	Journalist and radio host	*InfoRegión* and *radio program Diálogo Ciudadano*
5	José Antonio Huamaní	TV presenter	*Telepuerto al Día*
6	Alonso Paz	Radio Host and TV Presenter	Radio newscast *Noticiero de la 1* and television program *Intercambio*
7	Julio Blanco	Journalist	*Radio Popular*

Table 8. Madre de Dios: interviewed REDD+ experts and people related to environmental issues

No	Name	Position	Workplace	Sector
1	Bruno Sanguinetti	Manager	Madre de Dios Consortium	Public
2	Nelson Kroll	Project Coordinator	MADERACRE	Private
3	Andrea Chávez	Representative from the University of Florida in the Madre de Dios Consortium	Madre de Dios Consortium	Public
4	Mishari García Roca	Director	UNAMAD Office for International Technical Cooperation	Public
5	Oscar Macedo	Head of Public Relations	Regional Government of Madre de Dios	Public
6	Carlos Sánchez	Regional coordinator	AIDER	NGO
7	Jaime Semizo	Coordinator	Tambopata ISUR Project	Private
8	Juan Carlos Flores	Regional Manager	Amazon Forests in Madre de Dios	Private
9	Melina Panduro	Project and Community Relations Assistant Manager	Candela Perú	Private
10	Pastor Vidal La Madrid	President	Forest Product Association of Madre de Dios	Private
11	Victor Zambrano	President	Management Committee of the Tambopata National Reserve	Private
12	Augusto Mulanovich	National Director	ACCA	NGO
13	Iván Cárdenas	Coordinator	Brazil Nut Federation FEPROCAM - Organic Agriculture	Private
14	Pedro Casanova	Technical Secretary of Agricultural Affairs	Agricultural Federation of Madre de Dios	Private
15	William Moreno	Regional Coordinator	CAMDE PERU	NGO
16	Claudio Delgado Vega	Natural Resources Assistant Manager	Regional Government	Public
17	José Luis Mamani Condori	Graduate from the Faculty of Forestry of the UNAMAD		Public

Table 9. San Martín: interviewed media members

No.	Name	Position	Workplace
1	Lenin Quevedo Bardales	Chief Editor	*Diario Voces*
2	Marco Carrillo	Editor and Writer	*Diario Ahora*
3	Julio García Montenegro	Director	*Diario Hoy*

Table 10. San Martín: interviewed REDD+ experts and people related to environmental issues

No.	Name	Position	Workplace	Sector
1	Alex Juárez	Coordinator	Peruvian Association for the Nature Conservation (APECO)	NGO
2	Elías Peas Cahuas	Vice President	Awajún Indigenous and Regional Federation of the Alto Mayo (FERIAM)	Private
3	Segundo Noé Cahuas Peas	Awajún Technician	Regional Office for the Development of the Indigenous Peoples in San Martín (ORDEPISAN)	Public
4	Karina Pinasco	Policies and Projects Director	Amazonians for the Amazon (AMPA)	NGO
5	Karla Mendoza	Technical Secretary	San Martín REDD+ Roundtable	Public
6	Sebastián Inoñam	Director of Territorial Management	Regional Environmental Authority (ARA)	Public
7	Silvia Reátegui	Manager	Regional Environmental Authority (ARA)	Public
8	Cinthia Mongylardi	Director	CIMA Cordillera Azul Program	NGO
9	Walter Aguirre	Communicator	CIMA Cordillera Azul Program	NGO
10	Mario Ríos	Director of Environment and Head of Conservation and Reforestation	Regional Government	Public
11	Martha del Castillo	Executive Coordinator	Center for the Development and Research of the High Forest (CEDISA)	NGO
12	Miguel Alva	Executive Director of Management and Conservation of Natural Resources	Regional Government	Public
13	Jessica Quipas	Assistant Director of Environmental Management and Territorial Planning	Provincial Municipality of San Martín	Public
14	Jessica Untama	Conservation consultant	Regional Government and Chamber of Commerce	Public

Table 11. The 3Es (effectiveness, efficiency and equity)

Term	Description	Questions that it seeks to resolve
Effectiveness	It refers to increased emission reduction/removal due to REDD+ actions	Is the mechanism reaching GHG emission reduction targets?
Efficiency	It refers to the cost of the reduced emissions or increased removals	Has it achieved this objective at a minimal cost?
Equity	It refers to REDD+ cost and benefit-sharing	What are the consequences in terms of benefit sharing and co-benefits?

Source: Angelsen and Wertz-Kanounnikoff, 2008

5 Results and analysis of article coding

The results of the assessments in both stages of the study are discussed below.

5.1 Frequency of articles in the selected newspapers: Level 1 assessment

5.1.2 Stage 1: Number of articles at the national level

For the national analysis, 33 articles were assessed for G1 (keywords 'REDD', *deforestación evitada* (avoided deforestation) and 'r*educción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation); and 203 articles for G2 (keywords '*cambio climático + bosques*' (climate change + forests). It should be noted that there is some overlap in the number of articles, which means that the total number of reviewed articles does not equal the sum of articles identified for each of the groups, as can be observed in Figure 2.

Thus, there is a small group or articles that refer both to REDD+ and to '*cambio climático + bosques*' (climate change + forests) (nine altogether). This is surprising, not because the articles are repeated in both searches, but because of the small number of articles that mention both topics, since REDD+, forests and climate change are closely linked.

Overlap: 9 news

'REDD', *deforestación evitada* (avoided deforestation) and '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation)

33 news

'*cambio climático + bosques*' (climate change + forests)

203 news
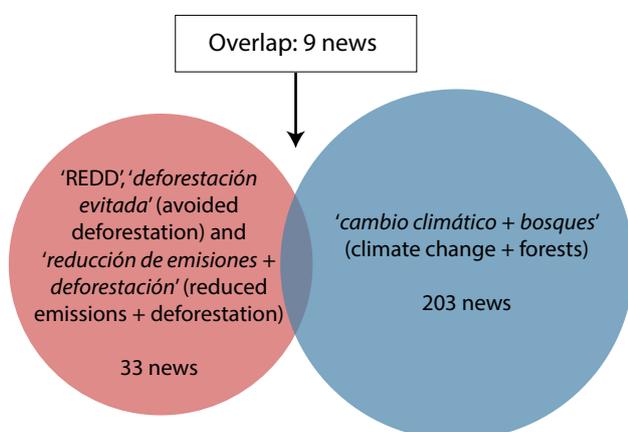
Figure 2. News overlap with keywords analyzed at the national level

The distribution of these articles by keyword and year is shown in Figure 3. As can be seen, the largest number of articles with the G2 keywords, ('*cambio climático + bosques*' (climate change + forests), appears in 2010, with 77 articles, followed by 2009, with 42 articles. In the case of G1 ('REDD', '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation) and '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation) the number of appearances in 2010 is 14, only two more articles than in 2009. Four articles of G1 were found in 2011. It should be taken into account that the search was made up until the end of November 2011, so 2011 data are not comparable with the other years.

Figure 4 shows the frequency of articles with the broader search for keywords. As can be seen in the figure, the broadest terms, such as '*cambio climático*' (climate change) with 4494 appearances, '*calentamiento global*' (global warming) with 2612 appearances, and '*deforestación*' (deforestation) with 1220 appearances, have a much higher frequency than more specific terms – including 'REDD' with 30 appearances, '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation) with 2 appearances and '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation) with only 1 appearance. The total number of articles found per newspaper, in descending order, was as follows: (1) *El Comercio* with 5181 articles; (2) *La República* with 2368 articles; (3) *El Peruano* with 489 articles; (4) *Gestión* with 221 articles; (5) *Perú 21* with 210 articles; (6) *Trome* with 184 articles; (7) *La Razón* with 61 articles; and (8) *Expreso* with 13 articles.

It is worth mentioning that for this study the coding was based only on articles containing the keywords 'REDD', '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation) and '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation) (G1) and '*cambio climático + bosques*' (climate change + forests) (G2). Unfortunately, there is no information available on the exact date of the appearance of articles containing the keywords '*cambio climático*' (climate change), '*calentamiento global*' (global warming), '*deforestación*'

	2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
■ *'cambio climático + bosques'* (climate change + forests)	1	1	6	1	19	20	42	77	36
■ 'REDD', *'deforestación evitada'* (avoided deforestation) and *'reducción de emisiones + deforestación'* (reduced emissions + deforestation).						3	12	14	4
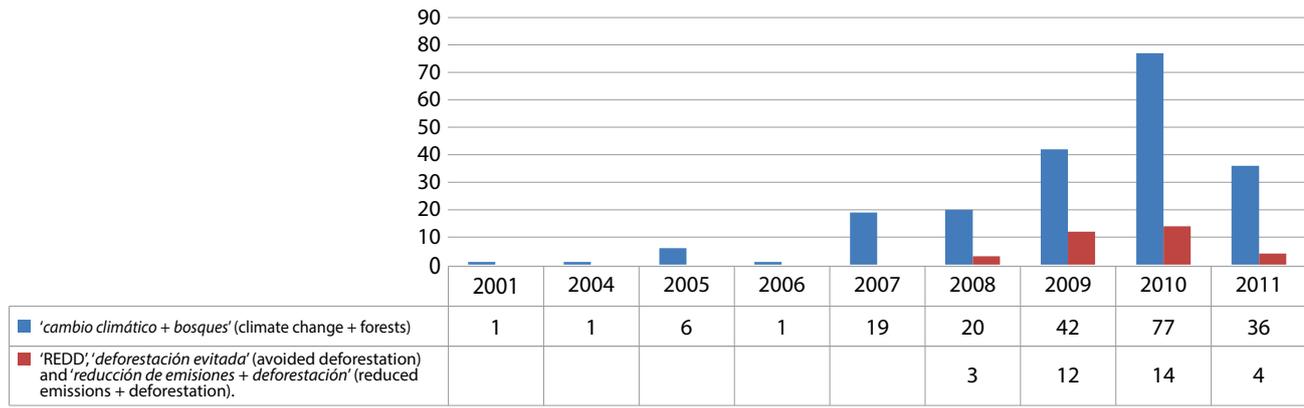
Figure 3. Frequency of articles in national newspapers containing the following keywords: *'cambio climático + bosques'* (climate change + forests); and 'REDD', *'deforestación evitada'* (avoided deforestation) and *'reducción de emisiones + deforestación'* (reduced emissions + deforestation)

Note: In all the graphs, blank cells mean that there were no results for that search.

	El Comercio	El Peruano	Expreso	Gestión	La Razón	La República	Perú 21	Trome
■ *'cambio climático'* (climate change)	2833	319	7	139	32	1016	52	96
■ *'calentamiento global'* (global warming)	1577	83	2	47	17	765	50	71
■ *'deforestation'* (deforestation)	683	70	4	17	12	374	47	13
■ *'deforestación evitada'* (avoided deforestation)	1			1				
■ 'REDD'	16	4		5		5		
■ *'reducción de emisiones'* (reduced emissions) + *'deforestación'* (deforestation)		1						
■ *'cambio climático + bosques'* (climate change + forests)	63			10		97	32	1
■ *'Protocolo de Kioto'* (Kyoto Protocol)	8	12		2		111	29	3

Figure 4. Frequency of articles by national newspaper, according to the broader group of keywords

(deforestation), and '*Protocolo de Kioto*' (Kyoto Protocol) since the search box of the newspapers does not allow for filtering by year. The analysis of broader issues is outside the scope of this study.

If the frequency of articles by newspaper is assessed for G1 and G2 keywords (see Figure 5), it is clear that *El Comercio* ranks first for G1, but *La República* has the highest number of articles for G2. *Perú 21*

is in third place for G2, with no news specifically related to REDD+ (G1) issues.

In the interviews, both experts and journalists were asked to rank the list of newspapers, in order of priority (from 1 to 9), based on their perception of how much they address environmental issues. Table 12 shows the ranking for the journalist group, for the REDD+ expert group and for the sum of all those interviewed, as well

	'cambio climático + bosques' (climate change + forests)	'REDD', 'deforestación evitada' (avoided deforestation) and 'reducción de emisiones + deforestación' (reduced emissions + deforestation)
El Comercio	63	17
El Peruano		5
Gestión	10	6
La República	97	5
Peru 21	32	
Trome	1	

Figure 5. Number of articles in national newspapers for 'REDD', 'deforestación evitada' (avoided deforestation), 'reducción de emisiones + deforestación' (reduced emissions + deforestation) and 'cambio climático + bosques' (climate change + forests)

Table 12. Ranking of newspapers according to interviewees' perception, versus the actual frequency of articles

Newspaper	Ranking according to interviewees' perception			Ranking according to real incidence of articles		
	Journalists	Experts	Global[a]	G1[b]	G2[c]	Broader group[d]
El Comercio	1	1	1	1	2	1
Perú 21	3	2	2	n/n	3	5
La República	2	3	3	3	1	2
El Peruano	5	4	4	3	n/n	3
Gestión	4	5	5	2	4	4
Expreso	7	6	6	n/n	n/n	8
Correo	6	7	7	n/a	n/a	n/a
La Razón	8	8	8	n/n	n/n	7
Trome	9	9	9	n/n	5	6

a   Total value is based on the sum of the answers of both groups.

b   G1: 'REDD', 'deforestación evitada' ('avoided deforestation) and 'reducción de emisiones + deforestación' ('reduced emissions + deforestation).

c   G2: 'cambio climático' (climate change).

d   Broader group: G1, G2, 'cambio climático' (climate change), 'calentamiento global' (global warming), 'Protocolo de Kioto' (Kyoto Protocol).

n/n: no news were found in that search; n/a: not available; Correo was not part of the study.

as the ranking according to the results of this study (i.e. the number of articles for different search groups).

There is a substantial difference in the number of articles found for different newspapers, *El Comercio* having the greatest frequency of articles for most searched keywords. This is in line with the insights provided by Nelly Luna (interviewed journalist from *El Comercio*): '*El Comercio's* guiding principles include environmental issues as one of the pillars of research because it considers that a healthy environment is the basis for people's quality of life'; and with the comments by Alberto Paniagua, from PROFONANPE: '*El Comercio* disseminates this kind of information every weekend through *Somos*

and supplements…There is always something about environmental issues… *El Comercio* is the newspaper that provides most information, news and reports on this issue.'

As shown in Table 12, the newspaper ranked highest by all interviewees, both the group of journalists and the group of experts, was *El Comercio*. This coincides with the frequency of articles found for all keywords (including keywords that are not part of the study) and for G1, but not G2, where the newspaper with the highest number of articles is *La República*. *La República* was ranked second by journalists, which is consistent with the actual situation, but it was ranked third by REDD+ experts, who ranked *Perú 21* in

second place. Both groups agree that *La Razón* ranks eighth, and *Trome*, ninth.

REDD in the national media: Level 1 assessment

Comparing these results with findings from Brazil (a country with which the Amazon and some causes of deforestation and forest degradation are shared), where a total of 409 articles were found in four newspapers (in the context of GCS-REDD+) (May et al. 2011), the number of articles found in Peru is extremely low, not even reaching 8% of the articles found in Brazil. In other countries, similar numbers to Peru were found, such as in Cameroon with 14 articles (Kengoum 2011) and Vietnam with 18 articles (Pham 2011), while in Indonesia 190 articles were found until 2010 (Cronin and Santoso 2010). Although the number of articles is very low in Peru, there is a growing tendency to cover these issues, as shown in Figure 6 and confirmed by Eddy Mendoza from Conservation International: 'In the last 10 years there has been a positive change. In important newspapers such as *El Comercio*, *La República* and RPP, environmental issues are addressed.'

Out of the 2008 articles, the first one, dated 5 March and titled '*Financiarán primer proyecto para evitar deforestación de bosques*' (First project on avoided deforestation to be financed) (2008), discusses the first initiatives launched in the country and their financing. The second one, '*Bonos de carbono financiarían proyectos forestales en Perú*' (Carbon credits to finance forest projects in Peru), dated 1 October (2008), discusses the potential in Peru for the issuance of carbon credits and describes

the REDD+ mechanism. The third article, dated 5 October, entitled '*Ecuador: ¿Medio ambiente o petróleo?*' (Ecuador: Environment or oil?) (2008) makes only a superficial reference to avoided deforestation and mentions the potential sale of credits of non-environmental pollution by the Ecuadorian government.

In the national level assessment, 12 articles mentioning REDD+ were found for 2009, 14 for 2010 and 4 for 2011.

Figure 6 shows the number of articles found for each reviewed newspaper with national distribution containing articles on REDD+. Out of eight newspapers, *El Comercio* contains the largest number of articles (17), followed by *Gestión* (6), and *La República* and *El Peruano* (5 each). In the newspapers *Perú 21*, *Expreso*, *La Razón* and *Trome* there were no articles with the G1 keywords on their web pages.

If the frequency of news by quarter is analyzed, as can be seen in Figure 7, the highest peak of G1 articles is in October–December 2009, with a total of 10 articles, which coincides with COP 15 in Copenhagen (7–19 December). All of these articles are related to COP, and seven of them were published in December. Both October articles were written in Bangkok, as a result of the preparatory summit for COP 15. Both of them discuss the lack of commitments achieved and the lack of clarity in several issues to be addressed in Copenhagen, REDD+ being one of them. In the November article, there is a paragraph on REDD+'s direction

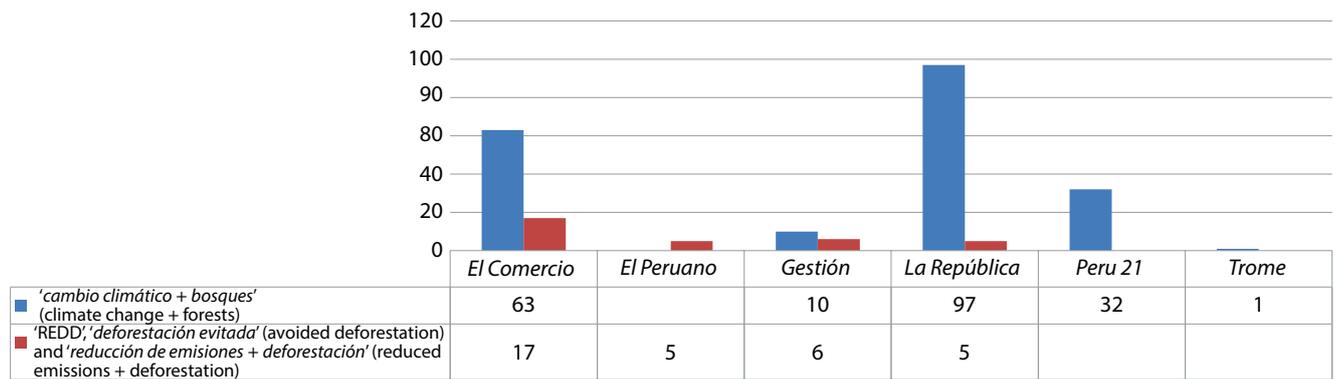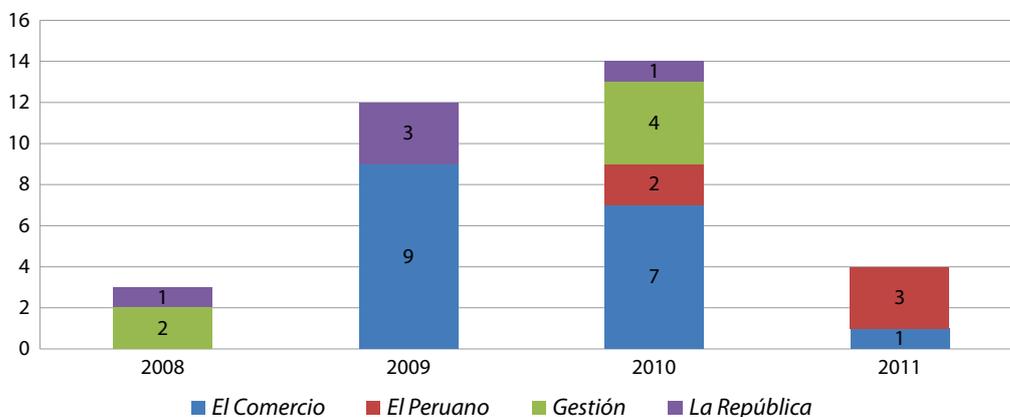**Figure 6. Frequency of coverage by year and national newspaper for 'REDD', '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation) and '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation)**

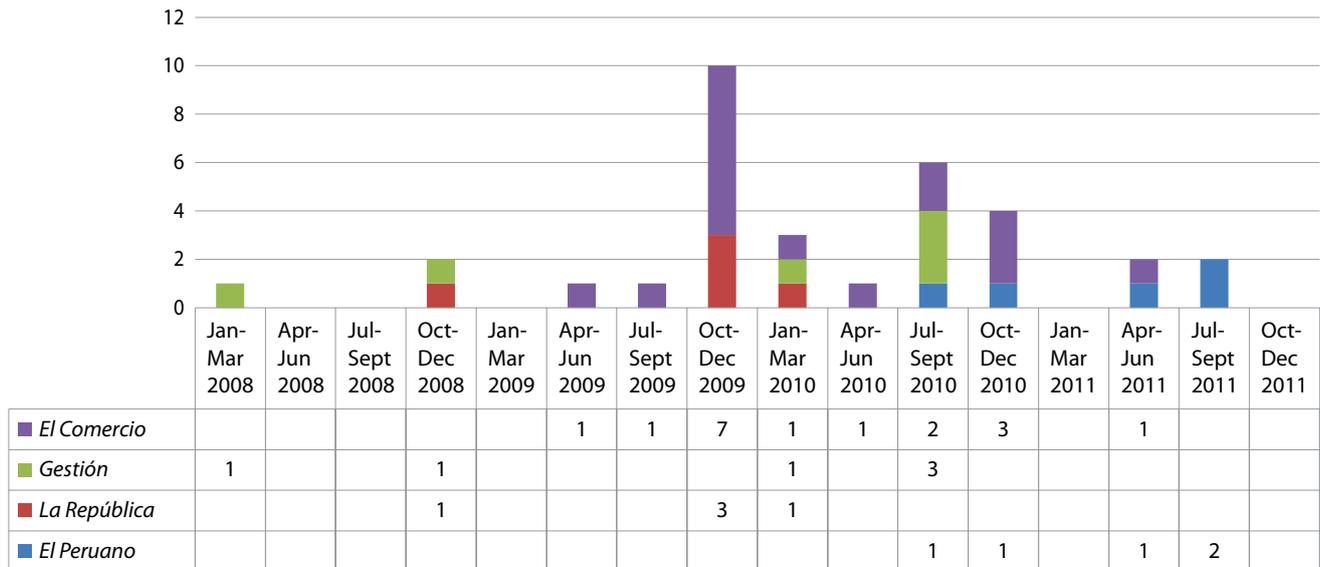|	Jan-Mar 2008	Apr-Jun 2008	Jul-Sept 2008	Oct-Dec 2008	Jan-Mar 2009	Apr-Jun 2009	Jul-Sept 2009	Oct-Dec 2009	Jan-Mar 2010	Apr-Jun 2010	Jul-Sept 2010	Oct-Dec 2010	Jan-Mar 2011	Apr-Jun 2011	Jul-Sept 2011	Oct-Dec 2011
■ *El Comercio*						1	1	7	1	1	2	3		1		
■ *Gestión*	1			1					1		3					
■ *La República*				1				3	1							
■ *El Peruano*											1	1		1	2	

Figure 7. Frequency of coverage by quarter and by national newspaper for 'REDD', *'deforestación evitada'* (avoided deforestation) and *'reducción de emisiones + deforestación'* (reduced emissions + deforestation)

in Copenhagen. One December article describes the events leading up to Copenhagen and also explains the progress and likely outcomes. Two articles present anecdotes and positions of different countries (Colombia and the African Coalition). One presents the position of Amazonian indigenous organizations. Another refers to Jane Goodall (an opinion leader in environmental and conservation issues) and a talk she gave in Copenhagen. And the other two deal with the REDD+ mechanism and Peruvian forests.

COP 15 issues continued to be addressed in 2010, with two articles being published in January 2010. One of them, entitled '*Decepción y esperanza*' (Disappointment and hope), summarises the post-Copenhagen feeling since 'expectations for an ambitious and binding climate change agreement collapsed with the indolence of the negotiators appointed by each country.'

Although there is a second peak in July–September 2010, articles are not related to any specific event and discuss different REDD+ issues, including national and international events. The third peak in Figure 7 corresponds to the months of October–December 2010 and coincides with COP 16 in Cancun, Mexico. Out of the 4 articles, 3 are directly related to COP.

In 2011 there are 4 articles in total, 2 of which were published in June, 1 in July, and 1 in September. Due to the small number of articles, no pattern of article frequency can be attributed to external events.

This coincidence of news peaks with international events, like the COP, reveals that newspapers discuss REDD+ topics mostly when there is an important international event that addresses the issue. At the same time, it becomes evident that there is a lack of coverage of issues at the national and local levels, either because there is no news to be reported or because the press does not consider them relevant. This is also reflected in the comments of several interviewees, who claim that the information provided in news articles is usually associated with reporting on international events.

Climate change and forests in the national media: Level 1 assessment

The first article with the keywords '*cambio climático + bosques*' (climate change + forests) appeared in 2001, as an editorial in *La República* newspaper, entitled '*Efecto Invernadero*' (Greenhouse Effect) (2001). As shown in Figure 8, in 2002 and 2003 no articles appeared with these keywords, and it is only in 2004 that an article appears again in the same newspaper, entitled '*El hombre: La especie más peligrosa*' (Humans: The most dangerous species) (2004). In 2005, there is a slight peak, with six articles, falling in 2006 to one. A steady growth can be seen since 2007, reaching 77 articles in 2010. In 2011 (until the end
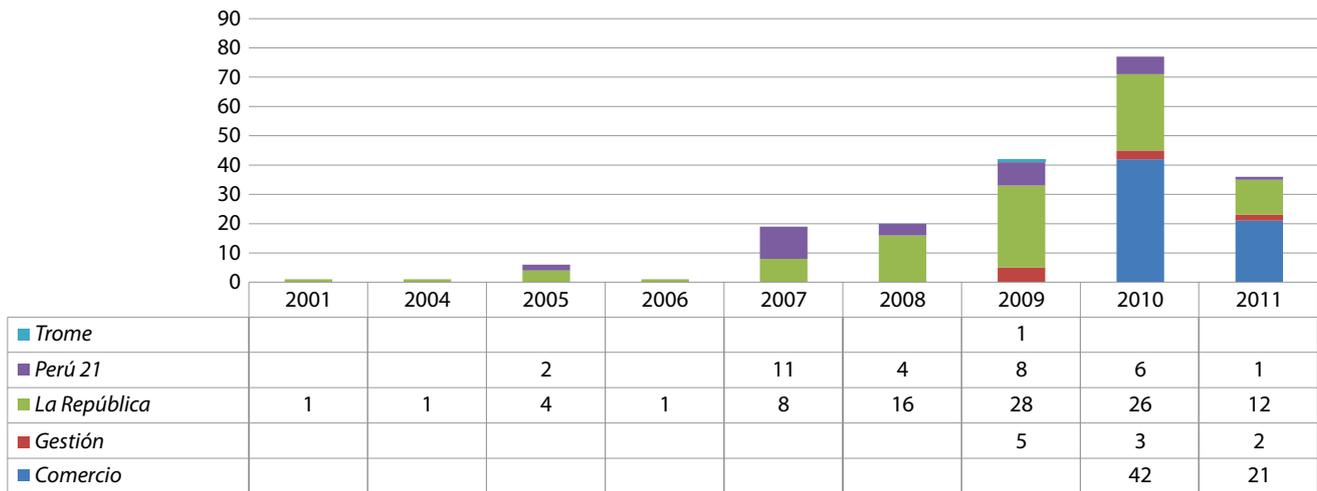
	2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
■ *Trome*							1		
■ *Perú 21*			2		11	4	8	6	1
■ *La República*	1	1	4	1	8	16	28	26	12
■ *Gestión*							5	3	2
■ *Comercio*								42	21

Figure 8. Frequency of coverage by year and national newspaper for '*cambio climático* + *bosques*' (climate change + forests)

of November), there were 36 articles, 30 fewer than for the same period in 2010.

If the articles are divided into quarters, as shown in Figure 9, a series of peaks can be observed, most of which are not necessarily related to any particular subject. The peak of April–June 2007 coincides with the Eighth Session of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Working Team II that took place in Brussels, Belgium (2–5 April) and the G8 meeting in Heiligendamm, Germany (6–8 June), which are mentioned in several articles in that quarter.

The peak of articles written in October–December 2009 coincides with COP 15 in Copenhagen. In this period, 18 articles were found, many of which are related to the COP and events leading up to it. A similar situation occurs in October–December 2010, which coincides with COP 16 in Cancun, where there is a peak of 25 articles, largely about COP-related events and issues.

As for G1 news, it is important to note that the peaks are related to international rather than national or local events. This again shows the media's lack of interest in covering national events related to environmental issues. This may be due to a number of factors, such as considering them irrelevant or that they will not increase newspaper sales. Some important events happened in the country that were not reflected in the articles found, such as:

- The launch of the Pioneering Alliance for Sustainable Management of Forests for Climate Change Mitigation (*Alianza Pionera en el Manejo Sostenible de Bosques para la Mitigación del Cambio Climático*), which was established between Scotiabank Peru and the forest company Maderacre in order for the bank to offset its GHG emissions, with support from the Ministry of Environment.

- The submission of Peru's Second National Communication to UNFCCC.

- Receipt of funding to finance projects related to forest management and conservation, such as the funds from the Moore Foundation, KfW or FCPF.

5.1.2 Stage 2: Number of articles at a regional level

Overall, 10 articles were assessed for G1 ('REDD', '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation) and '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation), and 10 articles for G2 ('*cambio climático + bosques*' (climate change + forests)). The distribution of these articles by newspaper, keyword and year is provided in

Figure 10. It is worth mentioning that all the reviewed articles, both for G1 and G2, were found through the newspaper web pages; none was found in the print edition search. Figure 10 indicates that the only regional newspapers in which articles were found are from San Martín.
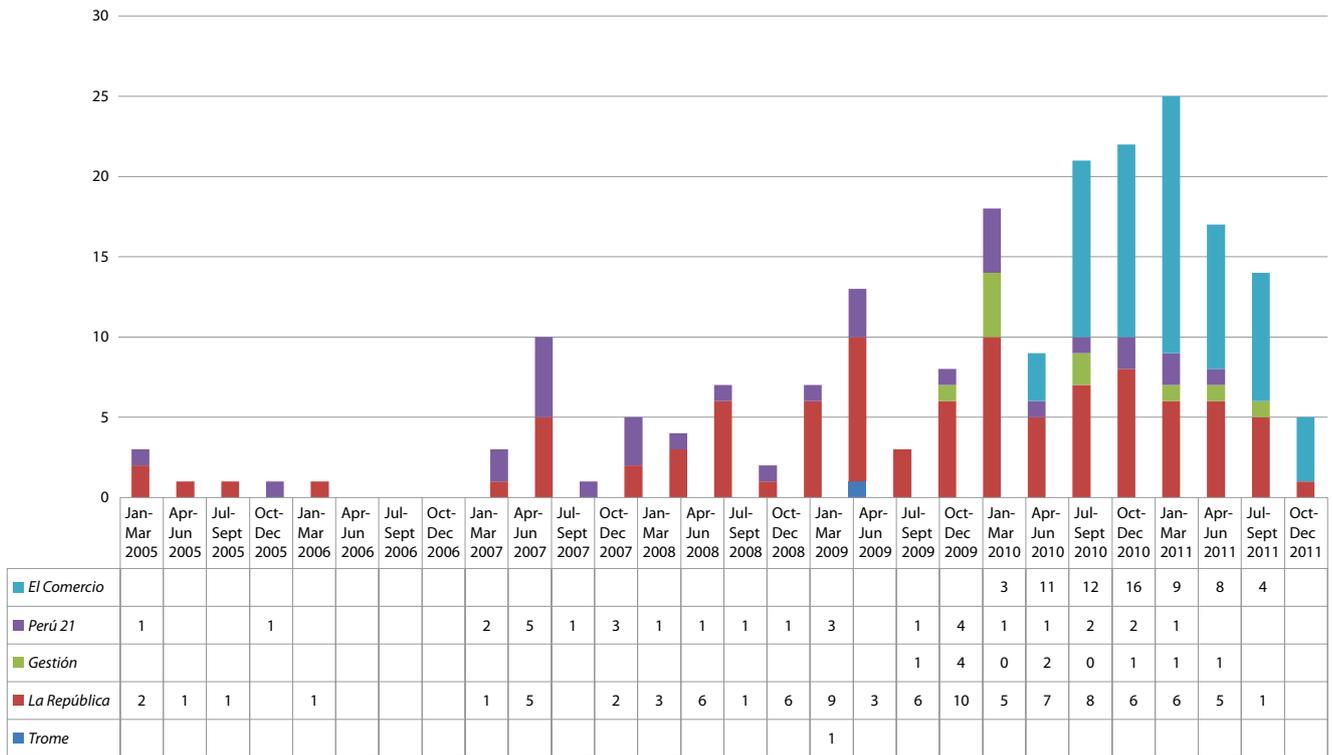
	Jan-Mar 2005	Apr-Jun 2005	Jul-Sept 2005	Oct-Dec 2005	Jan-Mar 2006	Apr-Jun 2006	Jul-Sept 2006	Oct-Dec 2006	Jan-Mar 2007	Apr-Jun 2007	Jul-Sept 2007	Oct-Dec 2007	Jan-Mar 2008	Apr-Jun 2008	Jul-Sept 2008	Oct-Dec 2008	Jan-Mar 2009	Apr-Jun 2009	Jul-Sept 2009	Oct-Dec 2009	Jan-Mar 2010	Apr-Jun 2010	Jul-Sept 2010	Oct-Dec 2010	Jan-Mar 2011	Apr-Jun 2011	Jul-Sept 2011	Oct-Dec 2011
El Comercio																					3	11	12	16	9	8	4	
Perú 21	1			1					2	5	1	3	1	1	1	1	3		1	4	1	1	2	2	1			
Gestión																					1	4	0	2	0	1	1	1
La República	2	1	1		1				1	5		2	3	6	1	6	9	3	6	10	5	7	8	6	6	5	1	
Trome																	1											

Figure 9. Frequency of coverage by quarter and national newspaper for '*cambio climático + bosques*' (climate change + forests)

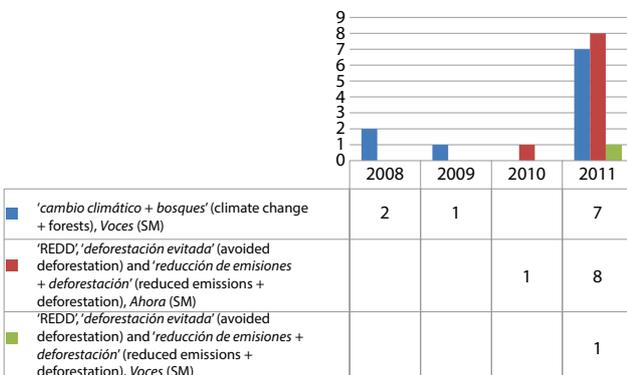|	2008	2009	2010	2011
■ '*cambio climático + bosques*' (climate change + forests), *Voces* (SM)	2	1		7
■ 'REDD', '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation) and '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation), *Ahora* (SM)			1	8
■ 'REDD', '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation) and '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation), *Voces* (SM)				1

Figure 10. Frequency of articles in regional newspaper articles for '*cambio climático + bosques*' (climate change + forests); and 'REDD', '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation) and '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation)

As can be seen, no articles containing any of the two groups of keywords were found before 2008, with relatively few articles until 2011, when the highest frequency is found, with seven articles for G2 and nine for G1. It is worth mentioning that the article searches were difficult because the newspaper web pages were not up to date, and in many cases print editions could not be found.

As with the first stage, the article search covered the period up to the end of November 2011.

Regarding the extended search of keywords (Figure 11), as with the study of newspapers with national coverage, it is evident that the most frequent terms are '*cambio climático*' (climate change) with 157 appearances, '*calentamiento global*' (global warming) with 101 articles and '*deforestación*' (deforestation) with 185 articles. Unlike the national assessment, in the regions the most frequent keyword is '*deforestación*' (deforestation), because it is a very common issue in both regions.

In relation to newspapers, it is evident that *Ahora* has the highest frequency of articles (251), followed by *Voces* (178). Both newspapers are from San Martín. In *El Observador* from Madre de Dios, no articles containing the assessed keywords were found.

As with the national-level assessment, interviews were also held with journalists and regional experts, where they were asked to rank a list of newspapers in order of priority (from 1 to 3), based on their perception of how well they covered environmental issues. Table 13 shows
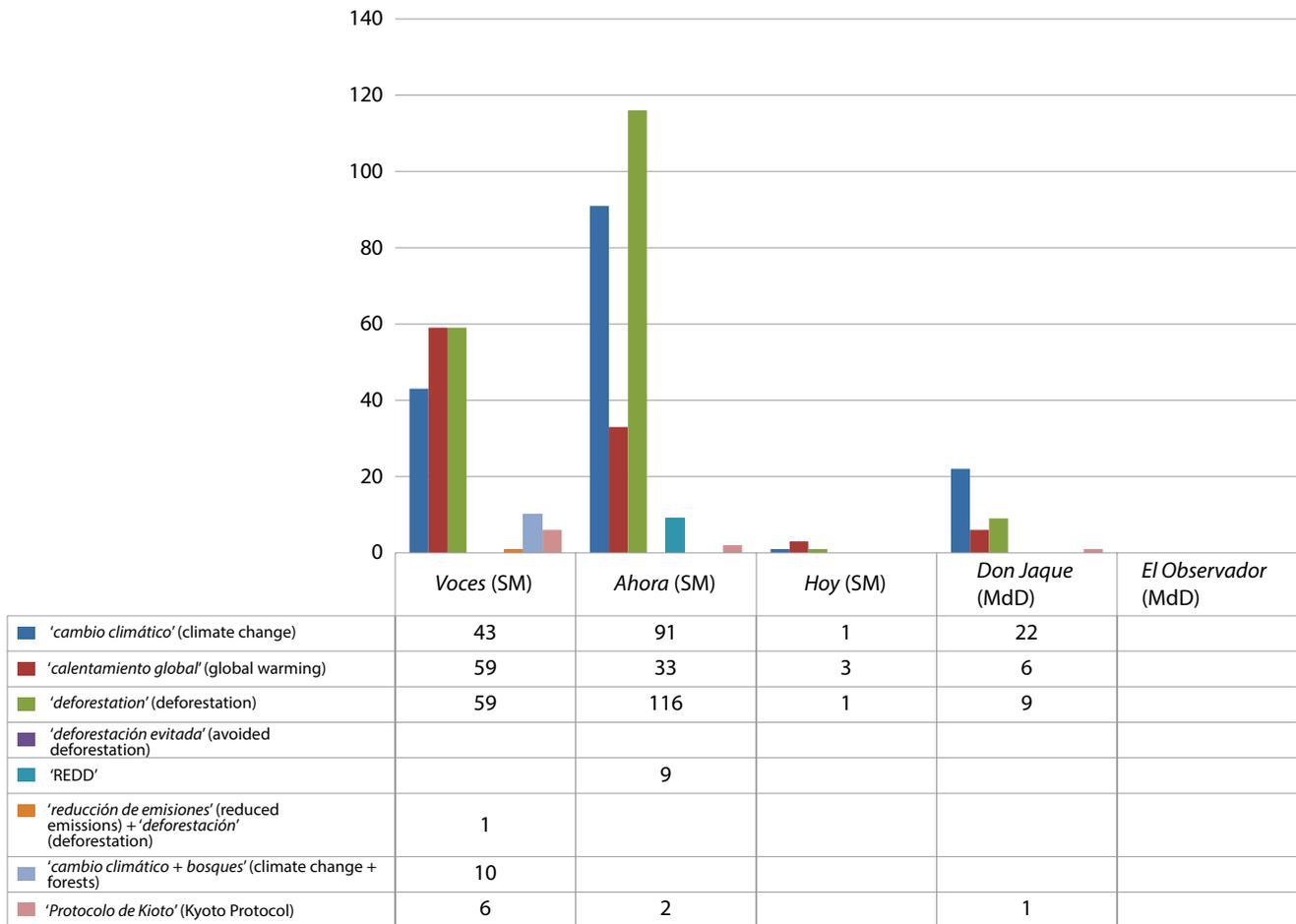
	Voces (SM)	Ahora (SM)	Hoy (SM)	Don Jaque (MdD)	El Observador (MdD)
■ 'cambio climático' (climate change)	43	91	1	22	
■ 'calentamiento global' (global warming)	59	33	3	6	
■ 'deforestation' (deforestation)	59	116	1	9	
■ 'deforestación evitada' (avoided deforestation)					
■ 'REDD'		9			
■ 'reducción de emisiones' (reduced emissions) + 'deforestación' (deforestation)	1				
■ 'cambio climático + bosques' (climate change + forests)	10				
■ 'Protocolo de Kioto' (Kyoto Protocol)	6	2		1	

Figure 11. Frequency of articles by regional newspaper, according to the broader group of keywords

the ranking for the journalist group, for the REDD+ expert group, and for all the interviewees.

For Madre de Dios, *Don Jaque* was the newspaper ranked highest by interviewees, which is consistent with the number of articles found for the largest group of keywords. It is worth highlighting that no articles from *El Observador* were found in any of the searches.

For San Martín, the newspaper ranked overall highest by interviewees was *Voces*, which had the greatest frequency of articles for the G2 search, but not for G1 or for the broader group of keywords. *Ahora*, which was ranked second overall by interviewees, but first by the group of journalists, showed the highest number of articles found, both for the G1 search and for the broader keywords search.

As shown in Figure 12, an analysis of only the two groups of keywords assessed in the study reveals that *Ahora* contains the highest number of articles mentioning G1 keywords, with 9 appearances;

while *Voces* newspaper is ahead for G2 keywords, with 10 appearances. No articles with G1 or G2 keywords were found in the reviewed newspapers from Madre de Dios.

REDD+ in the regional media: Level 1 assessment

As shown in Figure 13, no articles on REDD were found in the regional newspapers until 2010, when a single article was found in *Ahora* newspaper from San Martín. In 2011, there was a slight peak of 9 articles overall; 8 from *Ahora* and 1 from *Voces*, both in San Martín. As discussed above, there were no articles for G1 in Madre de Dios. The first article found, dated 18 October, is entitled '*29 científicos internacionales evaluaron bosques de Ucayali*' (Twenty-nine international scientists evaluated Ucayali forests) (2010) and is about a delegation of REDD-Alert scientists from around the world evaluating the possibilities of the Aguaytía basin being considered within an avoided deforestation program.

Table 13. Ranking of regional newspapers according to interviewees' perception

	Newspapers	Ranking according to interviewees' perception			Ranking according to actual frequency of articles		
		Journalists	Experts	Overall	G1	G2	Broader group
Madre de Dios	Don Jaque	1	1	1	s/d	s/d	1
	El Observador	2	2	2	s/d	s/d	s/d
San Martín	Voces	2	1	1	2	1	2
	Ahora	1	2	2	1	s/d	1
	Hoy	3	3	3	s/d	s/d	3

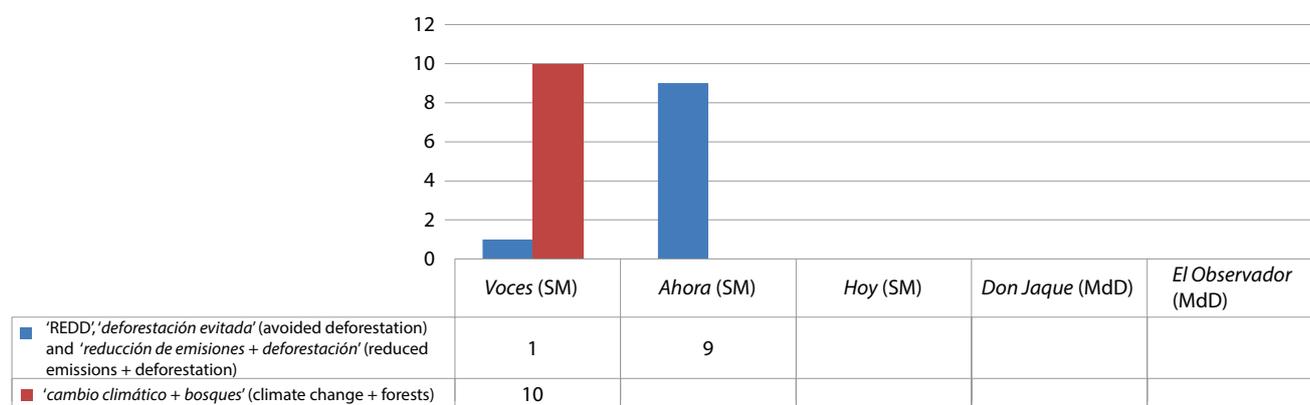|	Voces (SM)	Ahora (SM)	Hoy (SM)	Don Jaque (MdD)	El Observador (MdD)
■ 'REDD', *deforestación evitada* (avoided deforestation) and *reducción de emisiones + deforestación* (reduced emissions + deforestation)	1	9			
■ *cambio climático + bosques* (climate change + forests)	10				

Figure 12. Number of articles in regional newspapers for 'REDD', *deforestación evitada* (avoided deforestation), *reducción de emisiones + deforestación* (reduced emissions + deforestation) and *cambio climático + bosques* (climate change + forests)

Ahora and *Voces* were the only newspapers in which articles on REDD+ were identified. *Ahora*, from San Martín, had the highest frequency (eight in 2011 and one in 2010), while in *Voces* only one was found in 2011. In *Hoy*, *Don Jaque*, and *El Observador*, no articles with G1 keywords were found on the web pages or in the print edition searches.

According to the perceptions of interviewees at a regional level, media coverage about REDD+ is limited, and the articles related to this issue are basically about carbon credits or environmental
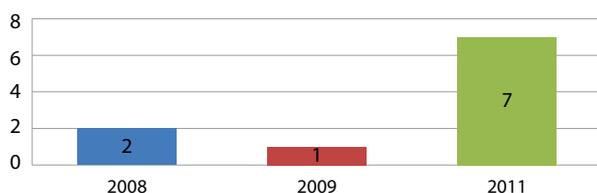

Figure 13. Frequency of coverage by year and regional newspaper for *cambio climático + bosques* (climate change + forests)

services. News reporting on environmental issues is focused on social conflicts and complaints regarding illegal logging, mining, contamination, etc. Bruno Sanguinetti, Manager of Madre de Dios Consortium, who has lived many years in the region, says that 'communication regarding REDD+ is limited to institutions providing articles to the media. There are no articles about this, not even on environmental management. In general, I think that environmental issues are not considered important, and although nowadays some news is spread because it is related to the current situation of the mining sector, REDD+ is not part of information management in Madre de Dios.'

For Andrea Chávez, representative of the University of Florida, REDD+ coverage 'is mostly found by electronic searches, but there is still no central place where all the information is collected. Institutions themselves, therefore, need to start systematising their own information. The regional government, which should have information, does not have well-

collected data either… there is a lot of information that comes from abroad, from research done here in the area, especially in the summer. The trouble is that research is not usually returned, and the analysis of this work and information would be very relevant for us… Here in Madre de Dios, there are still many expectations and a lot of misinformation in relation to REDD+; because locally there is not a lack of understanding, but there is simply misinformation and misinterpretation of information,' Chávez says.

According to Mario Ríos, Director of Environment and Head of Conservation and Reforestation of the regional government, 'there is no evidence of the media dealing with the issue. The issue is still considered to be too technical. And language is too complicated, even for foresters themselves.'

Climate change and forests in the regional media: Level 1 assessment

For the G2 search ('*cambio climático + bosques*' (climate change + forests)), 10 articles were found, distributed in 2008, 2009 and 2011. All the reviewed articles were found using the web page of *Voces* newspaper from San Martín.

As shown in Figure 13, two articles were found for 2008. The first one is entitled '*Adaptación al cambio climático*' (Adaptation to climate change), dated 15 October (2008), and deals with the vulnerability of those in greatest need in the face of climate change and the need for adaptation. The second 2008 article, dated 28 October, entitled '*Resultados de escenarios de cambio climático*' (Results of climate change scenarios) (2008), discusses the presentation of a study on climate change scenarios for the Mayo river basin and describes some of the conclusions.

The 2009 article, dated 16 September, '*Premian a ganadores de concurso de dibujo sobre cambio climático*' (Prizes awarded to winners of climate change painting competition) (2009) is about a painting competition on climate change for students.

From the seven 2011 articles, it is worth mentioning '*En San Martín se trabaja en el cumplimiento de compromisos para mitigar daños del efecto invernadero*' (San Martín works to meet commitments to mitigate damage from the greenhouse effect) (2011), dated 8 August. This article gives an overview of climate change events, mentioning the Kyoto Protocol, the agreements reached and some related events. The other six articles deal with various

issues: some announce events, such as the Second Meeting of Amazon indigenous nationalities (2011); while others report two specific announcements: '*Presidentes regionales darán a conocer problemática de la selva peruana*' (Regional presidents to make Peruvian rainforest problems public) (2011), and '*Gobierno peruano destinará 12 millones de dólares para la conservación de bosques*' (Peruvian government to allocate 12 million dollars for forest conservation) (2011).

5.1.3 Authorship of the articles analyzed

An analysis of authorship of the articles published in different newspapers reveals that many names are repeated both nationally and regionally and for both G1 and G2 searches. It should be noted, however, that there is no author who writes for both national and regional newspapers.

Stage 1: Authorship in national newspapers

As shown in Figures 14 and 15, for the national analysis the authors appearing most frequently are international news agencies, such as EFE,[4] Andina,[5] AP,[6] AFP,[7] DPA[8] and Reuters[9] – 27% for G1 and 37% for G2.

For the national study, the author that appears most frequently in the two groups of keywords is EFE, with five articles for G1 and 37 articles for G2. Andina is the author that appears second most frequently, with 17 articles for G2 and none for G1. Another author that appears several times is Reuters, with three articles for G1 and seven for G2. The journalist who has written the largest number of articles is Erik Struyf, a correspondent of *El Comercio* in Brussels, with three articles for G1 and none for G2 (Struyf's articles cover COP 15 events in Copenhagen). It is surprising that there is not even one journalist who appears

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4   EFE is an international news agency in Spanish (www.efe.com).

5   Andina is the Peru News Agency (www.andina.com.pe/agencia).

6   AP is the international news agency Associated Press (www.ap.org).

7   AFP is the Agence France-Presse or French Press Agency (www.afp.com).

8   DPA is the Deutsche Presse-Agentur or German Press Agency (www.dpa.de).

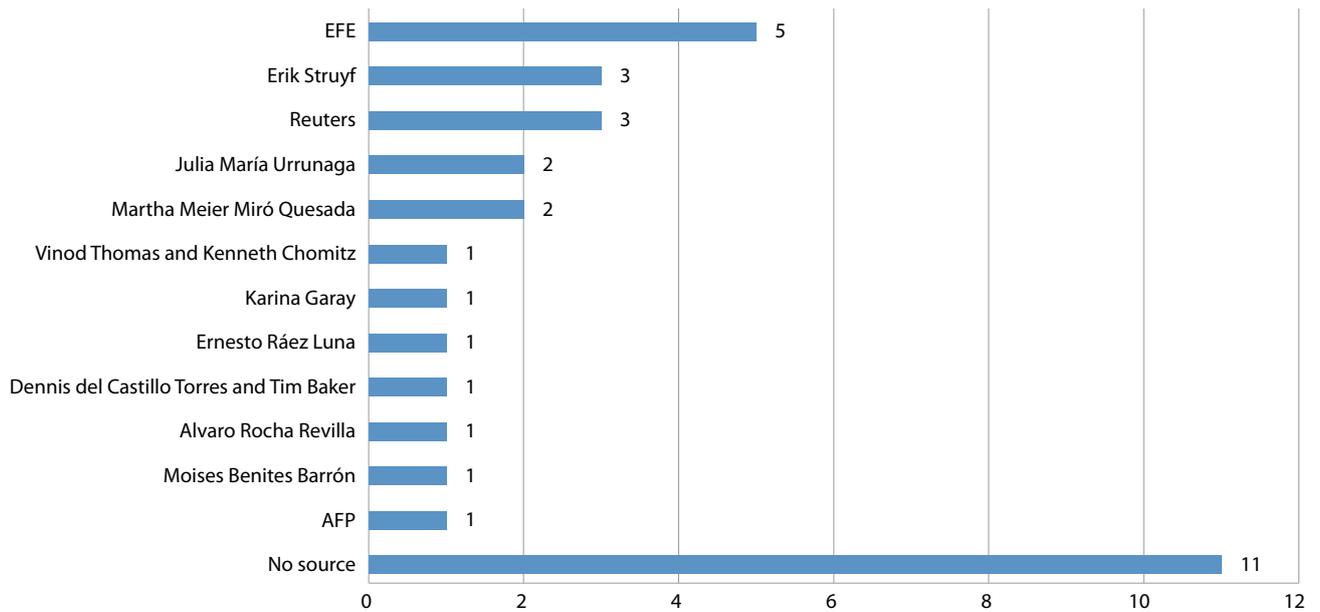9   Reuters is the largest international news agency (www.reuters.com).

Figure 14. **Frequency of articles by national newspaper and author for 'REDD', *'deforestación evitada'* (avoided deforestation) and *'reducción de emisiones + deforestación'* (reduced emissions + deforestation)**
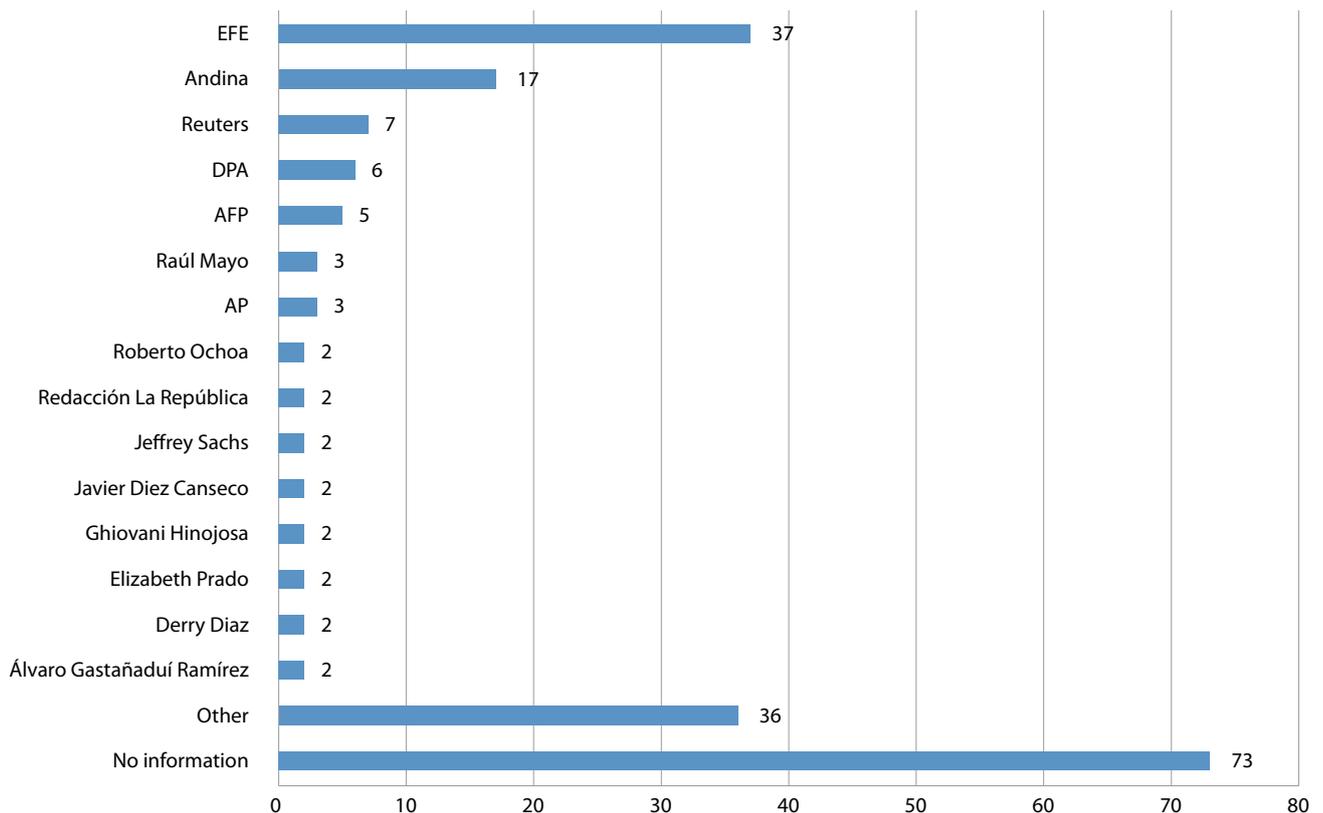

Figure 15. **Frequency of articles by national newspaper article and author for *'cambio climático + bosques'* (climate change + forests)**

Note: 'Others' refers to 36 different authors that appear only once and have been grouped to facilitate the analysis.
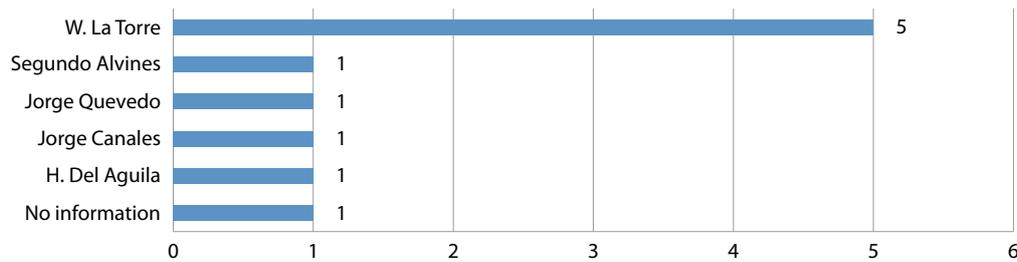
Figure 16. Frequency of articles of regional newspapers by author for 'REDD', 'deforestación evitada' (avoided deforestation) and 'reducción de emisiones + deforestación' (reduced emissions + deforestation)
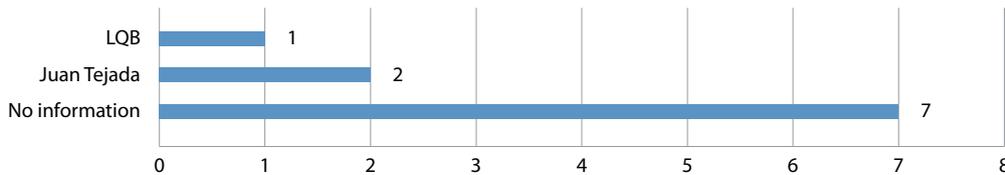

Figure 17. Frequency of articles by regional newspaper and author for 'cambio climático + bosques' (climate change + forests)

more than three times. Again, this reflects the lack of media interest in covering environmental issues, especially REDD+, and journalists' limited knowledge on these matters. As indicated by Alberto Paniagua from PROFONANPE: 'Media interviewers and journalists themselves do not handle these issues. Their education should involve knowledge on environmental issues. I think that this topic should be included in the curriculum of the country's universities.'

The number of articles coded as 'no source' is also very striking, which means that they do not have an identified author for the article. For both search groups, the highest number of articles are 'no source': 11 for G1 (33%) and 73 for G2 (36%). These articles with no source may have been written by some of the journalists who have been appropriately referenced in other articles, which may lead to underestimates of authorship.

Stage 2: Authorship in regional newspapers

For the regional study, as shown in Figures 16 and 17, the authors that appear most frequently are W la Torre for G1 with five articles and Juan Tejada for G2 with two articles.

Again, it is striking how many articles indicate no source, particularly for G2 articles, where 7 out of 10 articles found have no author.

5.2 Analysis of articles at level 2 and 3[10]

Of the 33 articles coded in the first stage for G1 keywords, 7 were coded only at level 1 because they mentioned the term but did not analyze it in depth; 7 were coded up to level 2, because they did not have an advocate or an adversary; and the other 19 were coded at level 3. From now on, the analysis focuses only on the 26 articles of level 2 and 3.

Of the 10 regional newspaper articles found in the search for G1 keywords, none were coded beyond level 1, because they did not analyze the issue of REDD+ in depth.

No secondary frame was identified in the 26 articles of level 2 and 3, all of which have only one primary frame. It follows that no article assesses REDD+ from more than one angle, which again confirms the lack of coverage and depth that REDD+ receives in the national press. None of the G2 articles ('cambio climático + bosques' (climate change + forests) were coded beyond level 1 because they contained no information on REDD+ –which is why they are excluded from the analysis in this section.

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10   Articles with the keywords 'cambio climático + bosques' (climate change + forests) were only analyzed at level 1, because they did not have any information on REDD+.
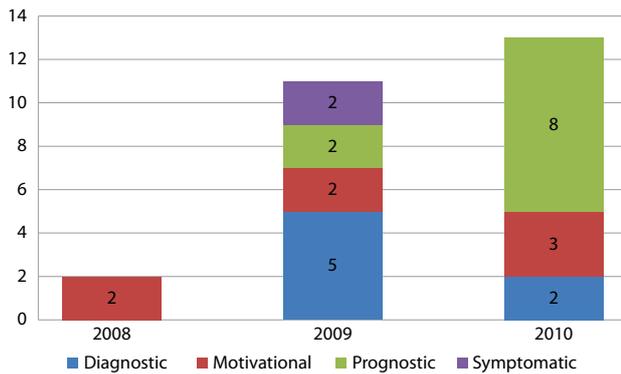
Figure 18. **Evolution of the category of primary frames by year for 'REDD', 'deforestación evitada' (avoided deforestation) and 'reducción de emisiones + deforestación' (reduced emissions + deforestation)**

5.2.1 Analysis of media frames

As shown in Figure 18, 7 of the 26 articles that passed level 1 contain motivational primary frames, 2 symptomatic, 10 prognostic and 7 diagnostic. Due to the low number of articles (which were only published from 2008), it is difficult to determine a clear trend. What can be seen is that there was a change from 2009 to 2010, from a predominance of diagnostic articles – 5 out of 9 articles in 2009 – to prognostic articles, with 8 out of 13 articles.

An example of an article containing a prognostic primary frame is '*De castaño a oscuro*' (From bad to worse) (2009), which not only exposes the current problems of *castañeros* (Brazil nut concession holders and harvesters), such as deforestation and invasions, but also suggests that a potential solution to the problem would be to include *castañales* (Brazil nut forests or concessions) in a REDD+ scheme, in order to ensure forest preservation.

5.2.2 Level of coverage

As shown in Figure 19, most published articles are focused on international issues, with a total of 19 articles, which is equivalent to 73% of the 26 reviewed articles. In relation to the information that appears in the news, Elvira Gómez from the Ministry of Environment explains: 'I also consider that more international than national news is included [in the newspapers].' She also says, '[the newspapers tend to cover] more descriptive events, about a summit or an international event.'

Although in 2008 the only two articles found were focused on national issues; in 2009, 9 out of 11 articles had an international focus; and in 2010, 10 out of 13 focused on international issues. Of the 26 articles, 15.5% are about subnational issues, while 11.5% address national issues, with no articles on local issues.

In 2009, 10 out of 12 articles appeared in October–December, which coincided with the COP. Out of these 10 articles, 9 were assessed beyond level 1, 8 of them with an international focus. Some of the news headlines from October–December 2009 included '*Especial: Conferencia de Copenhague*' (Special: Copenhagen Conference) (2009), '*Coalición Africana se pone fuerte en reunión mundial*' (African coalition stronger in world meeting) (2009) and '*Cambio climático: Indígenas piden compensación económica*' (Climate change: Indigenous people request economic compensation) (2009), which refers to what was happening at the COP.

For 2010, the four articles from October–December have an international focus, and three of them are related to COP 16 in Cancun, as they deal with events occurring at COP: '*Desde hoy se buscará una nueva dinámica ambiental*' (From now on, a new environmental dynamic will be sought) (2010), '*Medidas contra la deforestación pueden reducir hasta en 80% la extinción de especies, según estudio*' (Measures against deforestation can reduce species extinction up
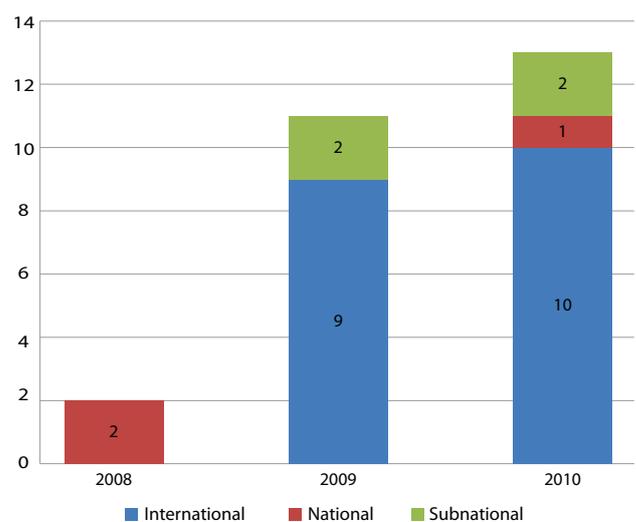

Figure 19. **Number of articles by year and level for 'REDD', 'deforestación evitada' (avoided deforestation) and 'reducción de emisiones + deforestación' (reduced emissions + deforestation)**

to 80%, says study) (2010), '*El nuevo Google Earth engine ayudará a evitar la deforestación*' (New Google Earth engine will help avoid deforestation) (2010). In the first quarter of 2010, the three articles make reference to COP15 in Copenhagen. Two of them have an international focus: '*Revela un estudio de las Naciones Unidas*' (Study of the United Nations revealed) (2010) and '*Los bosques y el clima*' (Forests and climate) (2010), and one is about national issues: '*Decepción y esperanza*' (Disappointment and hope) (2010). The other international articles in 2010 are related to different situations; they do not coincide with any specific event, and they deal with different REDD+ issues.

The four subnational articles identified are from 2009 and 2010, with two articles each year. The first 2009 article, titled '*De castaño a oscuro*' (From bad to worse) (2009) refers to current issues affecting *castañeros* in the Madre de Dios region and to the implementation of a REDD scheme to avoid further damage in the area. The second 2009 article, '*Hermano fuego, hermano bosque*' (Fire brother, forest brother) (2009) deals with forest fires with anthropogenic causes and mentions the fire observatory for Madre de Dios (*Observatorio de Fuego para Madre de Dios*) as an interesting initiative. '*Venderán bonos de carbono gracias a los bosques*' (Carbon credits to be sold thanks to forests) appeared in 2010. It relates to the elaboration of a REDD+ project in the Angostura-Faical Regional Conservation Area, in Tumbes. The final subnational article, titled '*La importancia del cuánto*' (The importance of how much) (2010), mentions two REDD+ projects in Madre de Dios.

If the authorship of these articles is analyzed (which is discussed in more detail in section 5.1.3), it can be seen that out of 26 articles, 6 have no identified author, so the authorship cannot be compared with the level of coverage. The nine articles whose author is an international agency (EFE, AFP, Reuters) cover international issues.

The other 11 articles were written by different individuals, and some authors appear more than once, e.g. Erik Struyf (a correspondent for El Comercio in Brussels), with three international articles; and Julia María Urrunaga (President of EIA Peru) with two international articles.

Of the other articles written by individuals, three are subnational – written by Alvaro Rocha Revilla

(journalist at the Saturday magazine *Somos*, *El Comercio*), Ernesto Raéz Luna (Science and Development Director for the Environmental Sustainability Center at Cayetano Heredia University) and Moisés Benites Barrón (Senior Analyst in Communications in Amazon Forests) – and three are international, written by different authors.

That the great majority of articles are international in scope may be for a number of reasons: (1) there is no clear government position on REDD+ or other related issues; (2) there is no organization or group of actors that has adopted the advocacy (or opposition) of REDD+; (3) most REDD+ developments or initiatives occur in the provinces, where there may be limited media coverage; (4) national newspapers do not necessarily have a policy of covering environmental issues, though this has changed over time; (5) the authors of the articles are not trained in this issue, so they cannot write about complex issues that they do not necessarily understand.

5.2.3 Topics addressed

As shown in Figures 20 and 21, in the 26 articles reviewed thoroughly, there are two issues that have been discussed more frequently, (1) politics and policy making with 8 articles (31%) and (2) ecology with 7 articles (27%).

The group of articles on politics and policy making refer to debates and political processes for the design and implementation of REDD+. The most common subtopic among them is international organizations and political debates (6 out of 8
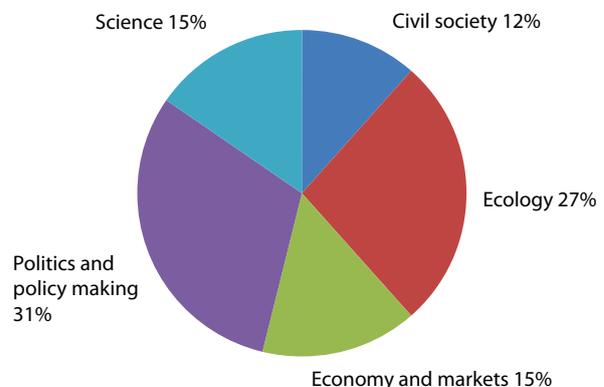

Figure 20. Identified metatopics for 'REDD', '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation) and '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (emission reduction + deforestation)
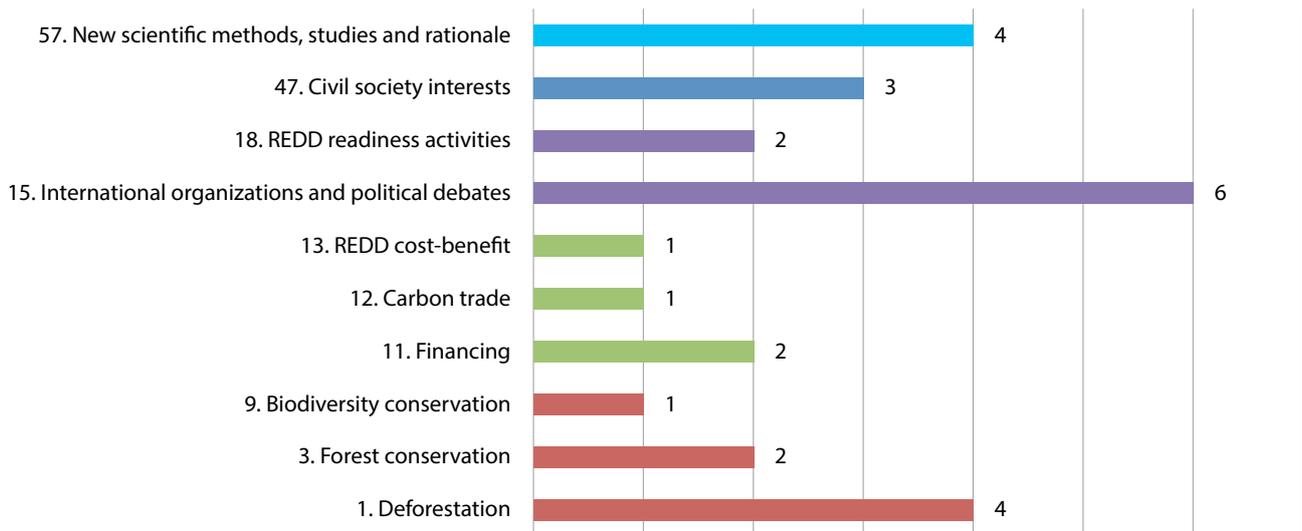
**Figure 21. Identified topics for 'REDD', '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation) and '*reducción de emisiones +*
deforestación' (reduced emissions + deforestation)**
Note: The colors were established according to metatopic colors in Figure 20.

articles), followed by REDD+ readiness activities (2 articles). It is worth mentioning that all the articles in this group are of international scope and generally do not refer to national or local policies. They deal with issues related to the lack of a political decision to push through mechanisms to fight climate change, such as '*Emisión imposible*' (Emission Impossible) (2009).

One of the articles in the subgroup about international organizations and political debates is '*Desde hoy se buscará una nueva dinámica ambiental*' (From now on, new environmental dynamics will be sought) (2010), an article appearing in the context of COP 16 in Cancun and discussing Peru's commitment to preserve 54 million ha of forest through the National Forest Conservation Program (Programa Nacional de Conservación de Bosques). This initiative was first introduced in Poznan in 2008 by the Minister of Environment.

In the ecology group, which mostly refers to issues related to forests, plants, biodiversity and conservation, among others, more than half of the articles deal specifically with deforestation (4 articles). The other articles of the group are divided into forest conservation (2 articles) and biodiversity conservation (1 article).

Out of the 7 articles on ecology, there is one dealing with biodiversity conservation, '*Medidas contra la deforestación pueden reducir hasta en 80%*

la extinción de especies, según estudio' (Measures against deforestation can reduce species extinction up to 80%, says study) (2010). It mentions a report presented by Conservation International in Cancun indicating that extinction rates for thousands of species could be reduced by up to 80% in 5 years with adequate financing for REDD+.

In the group on economy and markets (15%), 2 out of 4 articles refer to financing – one to REDD+ cost-benefit and the other to carbon trading.

The four articles of the science group deal with new scientific methods, and finally, the three articles in the civil society group are related to civil society interests.

Although the core topic may vary, most of the 26 articles deal with problems associated with legal stability in property rights and titling in forests. Two examples are '*Especial. Freno a la deforestación*' (Stopping deforestation) (2009), focused on politics and policy making, and '*Bonos de carbono financiarán proyectos forestales en Perú*' (Carbon credits to finance forest projects in Peru) (2008), focused on the economy and markets. Another issue that was widely discussed is land invasions and the lack of state presence in remote areas. For example '*De castaño a oscuro*' (From bad to worse) (2009) is about the lack of strategic planning and poor social planning around the interoceanic road area leading to deforestation and invasion of Brazil nut concessions. State bureaucracy is also mentioned as an obstacle

to the development of related activities, as it extends deadlines and makes processes more expensive.

As Alonso Castro from AIDER argues, in order to avoid deforestation and promote REDD+, it is essential to educate local people: 'They can raise awareness about this issue among people in the region, preventing wrongdoers and people outside the Amazon from enjoying forest benefits to the detriment of local populations. This will enhance transparency in the REDD process.'

5.2.4 Actors

Of the 26 reviewed articles, 19 were coded to level 3, because they have information about actors involved in the news. All the identified actors in the 19 articles are considered to be advocates of REDD+, since they are the ones who present a position related to REDD+. None of the 19 reviewed articles has an adversary, from which we can deduce that the analysis of the topic is not sufficiently deep, since no articles present two versions or two positions of an argument related to REDD+. It should be noted that this does not mean that adversaries (in this study) oppose REDD+, but that they oppose the frame and position expressed by advocates.

As shown in Figure 22, the most frequently cited group on REDD+ issues is environmental NGOs, whether international (5 articles) or national (1 article), which together amount to 6 articles, accounting for 31.6% of level 3. The frequency of references to environmental NGOs in the articles on

REDD+ is a clear indication as to who is establishing REDD guidelines in the country. Two NGOs were referred to in the articles: 1) Greenpeace, which claimed that Colombia's opposition to designing a mechanism to reduce CO_2 emissions caused by deforestation heralds a climate catastrophe, '*Colombia deja sin protección a selva*' (Colombia leaves rainforest unprotected) (2009); and 2) the World Wildlife Fund for Nature in '*Decepción y esperanza*' (Disappointment and hope) (2010), which is about the lack of agreements reached in Copenhagen, as well as about the positive impact that social participation can have on decision making.

International research centers and intergovernmental organizations are the second most frequently cited, with three articles each. Indigenous organizations and multinational corporations appear as advocates in two articles each; while national state and bureaucratic actors, national private companies and individuals appear only once.

An interesting observation is that none of the actors identified are mentioned in more than one article, neither at organizational nor at personal level. This suggests that no individual or organization has decided to disseminate information about REDD+ in the media, but that they are isolated actors who are occasionally quoted or interviewed by the media. As mentioned by Gonzalo Pajares of *Perú 21*, it would be a good idea 'to have contact with the sources and receivers of information; with a constant flow of information, we could see how things are working.' All this shows that there is no contact between the
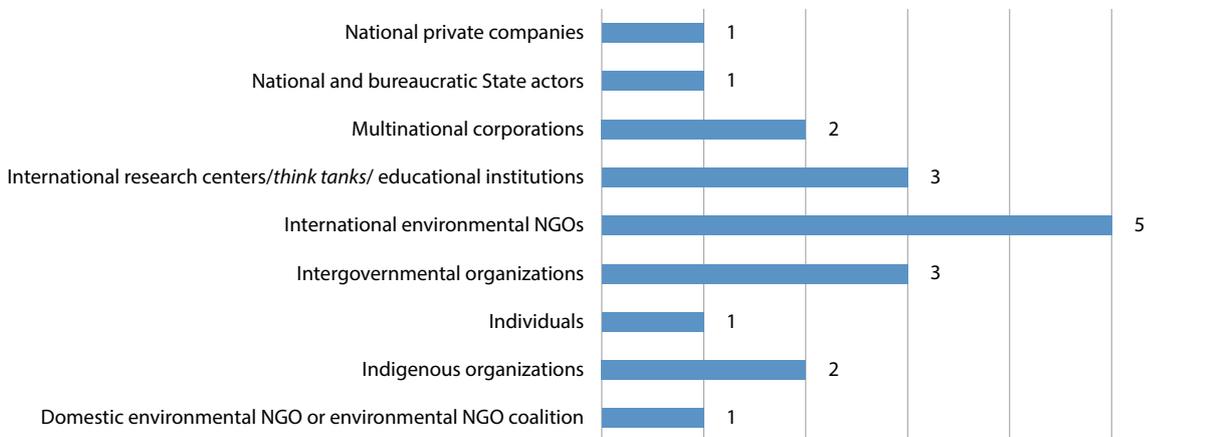

Figure 22. Organizational representation of advocates for 'REDD', '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation) and '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation)

sources linked to environmental issues (let alone REDD+) and the media.

Given the low number of articles, once again it is difficult to determine who is handling the issue in the country. It is clear that environmental NGOs are a central group in this area, but there is no clear leadership from any organization or individual. As claimed by Tania García of Law, Environment and Natural Resources (*Derecho, Ambiente y Recursos Naturales*, DAR), there is no continuity in the coverage of environmental issues, and news is rarely published. Even if articles are well developed, the news does not permeate to readers due to the limited frequency of coverage. The media are not reporting on any specific issues or following any specific initiative. This is reflected in the lack of defined actors, because there is no significant movement on REDD+, and there is no organization, or group of actors, leading the discourse. None of the reviewed newspapers seems to have a strategy to refer to the environment or REDD+, and the articles occur independently and opportunisticly, capturing specific news. The only articles that are related to one another in some way are those discussing or appearing during the COP meetings in Copenhagen and Cancun. Bertha Alvarado of the Directorate General of Forestry and Wildlife (*Dirección General Forestal y de Fauna Silvestre, DGFFS*) and the Ministry of Agriculture says, 'environmental issues in Peru are ignored or poorly addressed in data, and facts are often distorted', and 'the quality [of information] is poor and there is very little of it.'

5.2.5 REDD+ prospects

The position taken by frame advocates illustrates how they highlight certain aspects, while relegating others. Optimistic advocates are those who consider REDD+'s future to have more positive than negative outcomes, while pessimists are those who believe it is likely to have mainly negative outcomes.

For the Peru analysis (see Figure 23), the actors identified are mostly optimistic about REDD+'s future, with 11 articles coded as 'optimistic' (58%). The second group in terms of the number of articles is 'neutral' (26%), with five articles, followed by the 'pessimistic' group (16%), with only three articles.

As shown in Figure 24, the majority of actors have an optimistic vision of REDD+'s future, with the international research group leading this tendency; since the three articles in which this group appears as an advocate have been coded as optimistic. If the
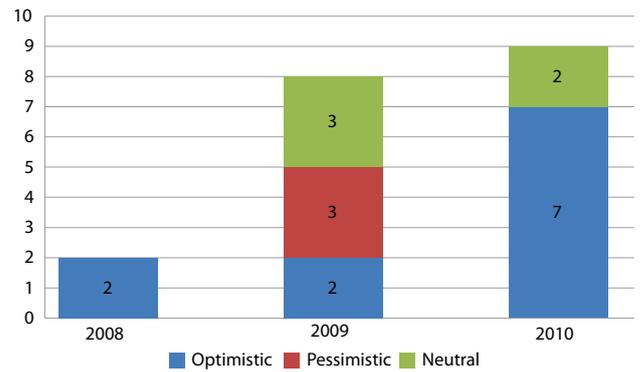

Figure 23. Assessment of REDD+ future by advocate and year for 'REDD', 'deforestación evitada' (avoided deforestation) and 'reducción de emisiones + deforestación' (reduced emissions + deforestation)

NGOs are considered as one group,[11] 3 of the articles have an optimistic view on REDD+, 2 pessimistic, and 1 neutral.

The three pessimistic positions on REDD+ appear in two articles that have as advocates environmental NGOs (Global Witness and Greenpeace) and AIDESEP, an indigenous organization. The article in which Global Witness appears as an advocate, '*Los bosques peruanos están en la mira*' (Peruvian forests in the spotlight) (2009), deals with potential REDD+ problems as a result of COP 15 in Copenhagen. Laura Furones, from Global Witness, identified as the advocate in the article, argues 'REDD+ is like a cake many countries want a slice of,' which shows the lack of clarity and defined rules in the outcome of the Copenhagen process. The second pessimistic article, whose advocate is Greenpeace, entitled '*Colombia deja sin protección a selva*' (Colombia leaves rainforest unprotected) (2009), deals precisely with the lack of commitment of the Colombian government to establish a REDD+ mechanism. In '*Cambio climático: Indígenas piden compensación económica*' (Climate change: Indigenous people request economic compensation) (2009), AIDESEP argues that the REDD+ mechanism threatens ecological diversity and stresses that plantations are not forests.

It is worth highlighting the absence of a discourse about the REDD+ mechanism and indigenous peoples. Indigenous organizations are advocates in only two articles, although indigenous lands represent 15% of the national territory, most of

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11   International or national environmental NGOs (including international environmental NGOs, domestic environmental NGOs, or coalitions of environmental NGOs).
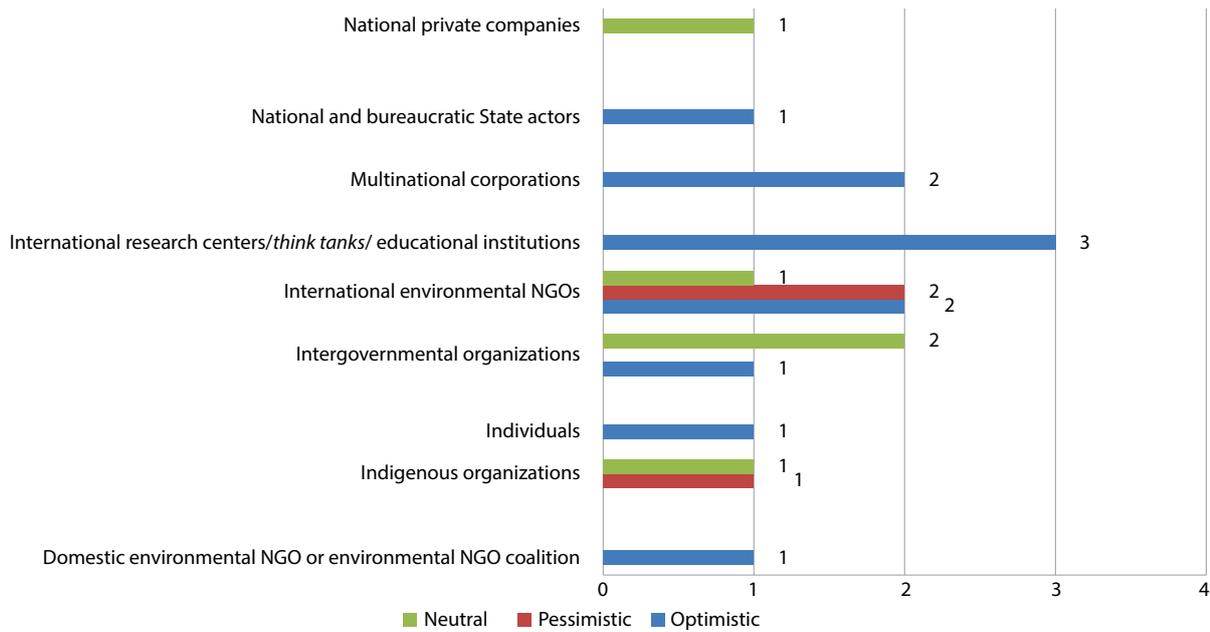
Figure 24. Assessment of REDD future by advocate and organization for 'REDD', '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation) and '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation)

which are located in the Amazon forests. AIDESEP has been active in national and international discussions, with a report presented at the COP in Durban in 2011 (Espinoza and Feather 2011) and has influenced the REDD+ readiness stages in Peru (e.g. MINAM's Readiness Preparation Proposal). Although there is participation in the process, and REDD+ and indigenous peoples in Peru have received coverage from international newspapers (SMH 2010; Ranganathan 2011) and on television (60 Minutes Australia 2012), it has not become a dominant issue in the discourses of national or subnational newspapers.

These results show that actors generally consider REDD+ initiatives as positive for emission reduction and forest conservation. We have been unable to determine the reason for the increase in positive articles about REDD+. It may be because there is no distinct pattern of news coverage; it is completely random. Actors presenting REDD+ issues positively are probably those trying to promote studies and research on REDD+, both internationally and in Peru. These include international research centers (including CIFOR as an advocate in one of the articles) and environmental NGOs. So it is not surprising that there is a predominance of optimistic views on this topic. They consider REDD+ to be a potentially interesting mechanism in the future, without necessarily overestimating REDD+'s potential, promoting expectations or encouraging initiatives. In general, research centers promote studies about the current situation and its potential.

5.2.6 REDD+ and the 3Es

The position of the actors identified in the 19 level 3 articles was assessed to determine if they give priority to any of the 3E+s – effectiveness, efficiency, equity, and other co-benefits (Angelsen and Wertz-Kanounnikoff 2008). As illustrated in Figure 25, the analysis shows that no single aspect stands out from the others. Equity and other co-benefits are the aspects most frequently emphasized, with five articles each. The efficiency of REDD+ mechanisms is covered in four articles, and effectiveness in three articles.
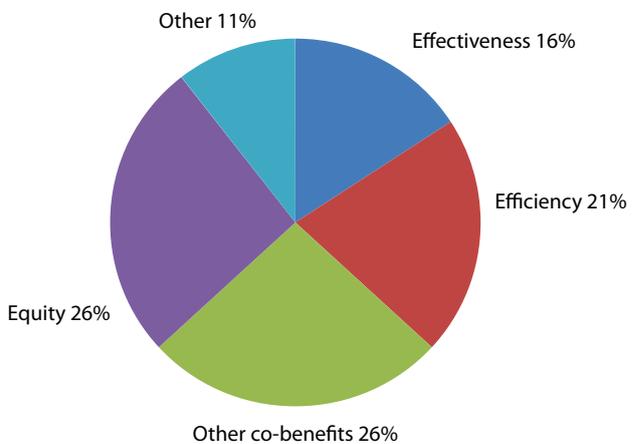

Figure 25. Priorities of supporters in relation to REDD+ results for the following keywords 'REDD', '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation) and '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation)

Significance is given to issues related to equity and other co-benefits, which are more closely associated with social and conservation matters than with appropriate project development. One example is '*Publirreportaje: Conservación y manejo de los bosques amazónicos y el nuevo paradigma de calentamiento y cambio climático global*' (Advertorial: Amazon forest conservation and management and a new paradigm for global warming and climate change) (2009), which states that in addition to contributing to tropical forest preservation to ensure carbon sequestration, REDD+ could also ensure that forests continue fulfilling their social and economic role for the benefit of local people. Cesar Morán, Executive Director of the *Association for the Conservation of the Amazon Basin (Asociación para la Conservación de la Cuenca Amazónica*, ACCA), in the article '*De castaño a oscuro*' (From bad to worse) (2009) argues that the state should 'strive to provide forest benefits to those who preserve and take care of it,' referring to the *casteñeros* in Madre de Dios.

An analysis of the priority given by the three different groups of actors in terms of the 3Es reveals that there is no defined position. Again, this may be associated with the low number of articles found, which hinders the analysis of clear trends in the contents.

According to interviewees, opportunities need to be created for presentations, meetings and discussions based on knowledge of the reality of the situation in forest areas and understanding of the impact of REDD projects. Strategic partnerships between research institutions, the media and public administration should be promoted to increase the amount of information to better reflect the potential effects of introducing REDD+ in Peru. Juan José Rodríguez from The Nature Conservancy believes it is important 'to promote environmental news, REDD+ concepts and the advantages of this mechanism for different actors – for landowners, municipal and regional governments, and for the various organizations trying to eliminate bureaucratic barriers and to facilitate processes.' Lucía Ruíz, Executive Director of the Center for Conservation, Research and Management of Natural Areas (*Centro de Conservación, Investigación y Manejo de Áreas Naturales*, CIMA) claims that 'in order to understand REDD+ discussions, we should start with climate change, adaptation and mitigation and with specific experiences taking place in the country. With these kind of explanations, we can then move on to discussions on economic tools and instruments such as REDD+.'
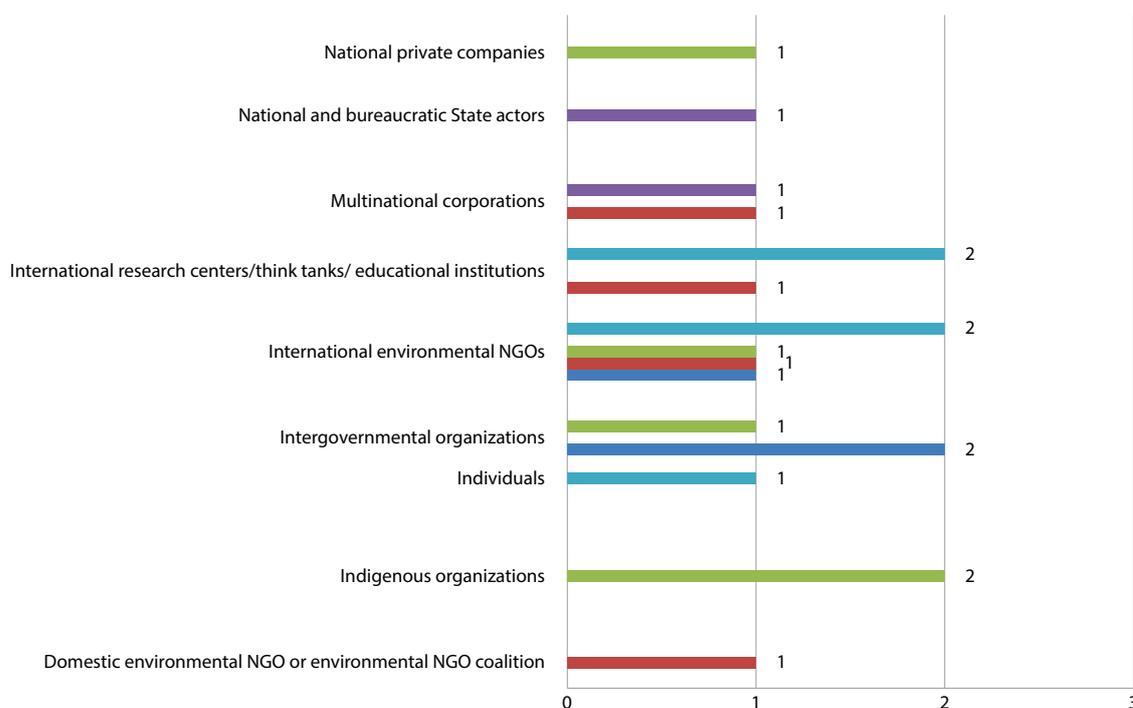

Figure 26. Priorities of advocates according to organizational representation for 'REDD', '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation) and '*reducción de emisiones* + deforestación' (reduced emissions + deforestation)

6 Conclusions and recommendations

As discussed above, there are a limited number of articles about environmental issues in both stages of the study, REDD+ being rarely mentioned. Moreover, few articles provide a deeper analysis of the issue. There are even relevant events that have not been identified in the articles found. This has considerably hindered the analysis because it is very difficult to draw conclusions from the few articles found. Thus clear trends cannot be discerned, except where one of the variables is more prominent than others. As stated by Tania García of DAR, there is no continuity in the coverage of environmental issues, and articles are very sporadic. Even if articles are well developed, the news does not permeate to readers due to the limited frequency of coverage.

Out of the 33 articles found in the national study on REDD+, only 26 were analyzed in more detail since the remaining 7 did not contain sufficient information. Out of the 10 articles found in the regional study, none of them had enough information for deeper analysis. Out of the eight newspapers reviewed in the national study, *El Comercio* had the largest number of articles on G1, 'REDD', '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation) and '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation); however, it had none on G2, '*cambio climático + bosques*' (climate change + forests). *La República* yielded a more significant number of articles on G2 than the other newspapers. A comparison of the findings of the search with the perceptions of interviewees (both REDD+ specialists and journalists) confirms most respondents' believe that *El Comercio* publishes the largest amount of environmental information – based on all search results (G1, G2 and the broader search). Interestingly, all interviewees ranked *Trome* last; however, one article of G2 was found in this newspaper, while no articles were found for either of the two search groups in *Expreso* and *La Razón*. This shows that people's perceptions of newspaper's environmental coverage does not necessarily coincide with the actual situation. This must be taken into account when designing strategies for the dissemination of articles on environmental issues, including REDD+.

As a result of the analysis, it can be concluded that the press coverage of topics related to REDD+, climate change and forests has increased, albeit gradually and not representatively. In the specific case of REDD-related articles in national newspapers using the keywords 'REDD', '*deforestación evitada*' (avoided deforestation) and '*reducción de emisiones + deforestación*' (reduced emissions + deforestation), the first 3 articles appeared in 2008, 12 were published in 2009, and 14 in 2010, which shows a growing tendency. It is worth mentioning that only four articles were found for 2011. Because the search was made only until the end of November 2011, it is not comparable to the other years.

In the case of the regional analysis, the number of articles found in all of the searches (G1 and G2) was low. The frequency of REDD-related articles is surprisingly low given that. Madre de Dios and San Martín were especially selected as they were pioneering regions, but no news at all on REDD+ was found in Madre de Dios. In spite of the low frequency of articles, REDD+ is still an active issue, with a significant number of organizations working on it. The media are just not interested in disseminating information on this topic. As explained by José Antonio Huamaní, news presenter of *Telepuerto al Día*, 'they only refer to the environment when there are social conflicts, precisely in relation to the attack against the Amazon and deforestation. However, the approach to the environment is not intended to raise awareness, but is focused on the sale of what is destroyed – no solutions are put forward or sought.'

Regarding the number of articles related to REDD+ found in regional newspapers, a growing tendency can be identified, with only one article in 2010 and nine in 2011, all found in newspapers in the San Martín region. Nevertheless, many factors hindering article searches for the regional study should also be taken into account. Examples include unreliable search boxes on newspaper websites, badly organized libraries and newspaper archives, and print copies kept in a very poor state of preservation.

The analysis shows that most of the articles in the national study are related to international events, e.g. the peaks reached in December 2009 and 2010, which coincide with COP 15 in Copenhagen and the COP 16 in Cancun, respectively. This does not mean that national or local news are not covered. Rather, it proves that much more coverage is devoted to major international events than to small-scale news, either because there are no events to report or because the press does not consider them relevant.

The topic most widely discussed in the reviewed articles is politics and policy making, although none of the articles analyzed deals with any specific policy or political process. However, the Kyoto Protocol is mentioned in many of the articles of international scope, which refer to Kyoto to provide context to the news or to state a position regarding the progress made after that event. The last article that mentions a national policy is '*Desde hoy se buscará una nueva dinámica ambiental*' (From now on, new environmental dynamics will be sought) (2010) which refers to Peru's commitment to preserve 54 million ha of forest through the National Forest Conservation Program.

A recurrent issue in several of the articles in the national study is the lack of legal stability, which jeopardises property rights, thus representing a major challenge for REDD+ programs in Peru. Another challenge to be met is state bureaucracy, which is often a barrier to processes, creating obstacles and raising costs for planned actions.

National and subnational articles are mostly descriptive, rather than analytical. The information presented often describes a fact or an event, providing no in-depth analysis of the conditions. Environmental articles are published, but they rarely explore historical, economic and cultural causes, thus providing little opportunity for readers to reflect. As Jaime Semizo of the Interoceanic South Initiative (*Interoceánica Sur*, ISUR) argues, 'only a few environmental articles are presented, that is to say, they come out weekly but are very short; they basically refer to conflicts and police reports, mere copy/paste news from other media in Lima.'

Most of the articles found were written by international news agencies, and very few were written by national journalists. As some interviewees state, it is essential to train current and future journalists in environmental issues, which will gain increasing importance in the media and can be very sensitive issues affecting the population. An environmental course could be included in the curriculum of journalism and communications programs, as recommended by some respondents.

This study analyzes newspapers at the national and regional level; it does not consider television, radio, websites or any other communication media. It was not possible to include an analysis of radio broadcasting in this study because it is outside the scope of the methodology, since online searches of radio discussions are not possible. However, it is clearly a major communication medium for the dissemination of information and the creation of national discourses. Since Peru is a low-income country, it is important to consider that a large number of people do not have access to newspapers and their only information medium is the radio. This point was raised in regional interviews, for example by Carla Mendoza, Technical Secretary of the REDD+ Roundtable in San Martín: 'The radio, on the other hand, is an interesting communication medium for the region, a strong one, especially because the television signal does not reach poor houses.' It was also emphasized by Nelson Kroll, Coordinator of the MADERACRE project: 'One of the things most widely used by people is the radio, even more than newspapers, and it can reach more people, more effectively.' Thus, a potential REDD+ dissemination campaign should use different media in order to reach a larger number of actors. The radio is the medium that can be accessed by the largest number of people, including low-income communities, who are often precisely the beneficiaries of REDD+ projects.

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In this study, we assessed the media coverage of the REDD+ mechanism in Peru's national and subnational newspapers to better understand the messages reaching Peruvian readers. At the national level, we found only 33 articles on REDD+ in eight national newspapers: El Comercio, Perú 21, Gestión, Expreso, La República, La Razón, El Peruano and Trome. Expanding the search to include climate change and forests, we found 203 articles. Upon finding this low coverage in the national press, we chose two of the country's departments where most of the REDD+ projects are located and which have shown the greatest progress in the readiness stages: San Martín (Voces and Ahora) and Madre de Dios (Don Jaque and El Observador). But again we only found 10 articles on REDD+ and 10 more when we expanded the search to include climate change and forests.

In regional newspapers, all the articles mentioned REDD+ but did not discuss the topic deeply enough for an assessment of media frames and approaches. In the national newspapers, 26 articles discussed REDD+ more deeply. Most of them were optimistic about REDD+ (58%). While it is estimated that there are 41 REDD+ projects in the country, 74% of the articles were about international issues. The central themes of the articles were mostly related to politics or ecology and the main actors were environmental nongovernmental organizations. Approaches were almost equally distributed among co-benefits (26%), equity (26%), efficiency (21%) and effectiveness (16%) of REDD+. Although REDD+ was created with a view to climate change mitigation — where efficiency and effectiveness are the most relevant concerns — equity and co-benefits are the central themes in Peru. The rights of indigenous peoples, poverty reduction and biodiversity conservation appear as the most relevant topics in REDD coverage and as national priorities.

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