How did news media (commercial and independent) portray the Peruvian political crisis of December 2022?

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the role of media reporting and narrative leading up to and during the Peruvian political crisis in 2022. Through a comprehensive analysis of media coverage from two outlets, El Comercio and Ojo Publico, this study investigates the framing and agenda-setting techniques employed in presenting key events and actors involved in the crisis. The study uses a qualitative content analysis design to analyze media coverage of the crisis. The analysis reveals differences in the portrayal of President Castillo and his administration, with El Comercio adopting a predominantly negative stance while Ojo Publico maintained a more neutral position. Furthermore, the two news outlets focused on different topics, such as economic and social impacts of political protests associated with this crisis. Recommendations for future research include expanding the analysis to include a broader range of media sources and examining long-term trends in media coverage. Overall, this thesis contributes to a deeper understanding of the complex interplay between media dynamics, political crises, and public opinion formation.

Keywords:

Political Crisis, Agenda-setting Theory, Framing Theory, Content Analysis, Peruvian Media

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Introduction

Scholars and everyday media consumers know that the role of the news media is essential in creating, modifying, and preserving certain narratives. For this reason, people in positions of power, such as politicians or the elite of society, have always sought to control the main narrative ("the truth," or at least what people believe to be the truth) to gain people's support.

There are at least two reasons why politicians might try to influence the news media. First, by controlling the media, politicians can influence public opinion in their favour. Second, politicians may wish to control the media to avoid negative coverage or censorship (Müller, 2017). If the government were to control the media, it could shirk all responsibility for its actions and jeopardize the principles of functioning liberal democracies.

There are several examples from Peru where we can see how government can control media companies. For instance, while Alberto Fujimori was the president of Peru in the 90s, his first adviser, Vladimiro Montesinos, literally bought off the editorial line, or in the words of Ian Betteridge of 'America Television' or Channel 4, the "set of beliefs about what is essential to your audience and desires to make that audience understand that certain things are important" (Betteridge, 2022, para. 2). This came to light because a film leaked from the hidden cameras in the room where Montesinos sat, showing Montesinos stacking one hundred thousand US dollars on the table in front of them. A massive mound worth one million US dollars was built, which Montesinos confirmed was payment for favourable coverage in January and February. (for a more graphic view, see Appendix A).

In another example from 2004, Samuel and Mendel Winter, 'Frecuencia Latina" or Channel 2 executives in the 90s, admitted to having received three million US dollars from Montesinos "in exchange for an editorial line that is accommodating to the regime and the re-election of Alberto Fujimori," as stated by the IDEHPUCP (Instituto Democracía y Derechos Humanos de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru – Democracy and Human Rights Institute of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru) ("Winter – Reparación civil," n.d., para. 1).

Although the two cases described above represent some of the most infamous cases of political efforts to control news media, there may be more. The Place of Memory, Tolerance and Social Inclusion (LUM), a government organization under the control of the Culture Ministry dedicated to the Peruvian internal conflict of the 1980s and 1990s, has posted 155 'Vladivideos' on its

YouTube channel. Vladivideos is a popular term for describing the collection of home videos made by Vladimiro Montesinos in the Peruvian National Intelligence Service (SIN – Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional) facilities. These movies expose how Montesinos bribed powerful media executives, businesses, and local and national politicians to support Fujimorism. In these videos, we can see Montesinos bribing media owners, politicians, and other powerful figures.

The consequences of this "editorial buying" in news media coverage are clear. For example, Torres Vitolas discusses how the way the news media presented the image of "El Chino" (The Chinese), as Alberto Fujimori was popularly called, "supports the stereotype of the worker Asian that is still present in Peruvian society" (Torres Vitolas, 2015. P. 241). Torres Vitolas also describes how the opposition leaders were constantly expressed in a "dysphoric form."

In this thesis, I will explore how politicians in Peru use the media to communicate a specific message, generally with one or more unspoken goals. As Bernard Cohen stated, referring to the press, "(it) may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. The world will look different to different people" (Cohen, 1963, p.13). This manipulation helps them maintain power, and politicians can work setting their agendas. This agenda-setting is "the process of the mass media presenting certain issues frequently and prominently with the result that large segments of the public come to perceive those issues as more important than others" (Dearing & Rogers, 1996, p. 168). This is one of the main reasons politicians attempt to build connections with the media or, in extreme cases, try to control it. To control media is to have a significant influence on the main narrative. It is also the most important reason for studying how media coverage political issues. This research project explores these issues in the context of Peru's media system.

Context: Peru and the Peruvian Media System

According to official numbers, Peru has a population of 33,726,000 people (2023), approximately one-third (10,151,000) of whom live in the metropolitan area of Lima, the capital of Peru. When talking about the country, it is usual to speak of the 'Costa' or the Coast (provinces in the west of the country with access to the Pacific Ocean), 'La Sierra,' which we will call the highland, which includes provinces in or by the Andes mountain range, and 'La Selva' or the jungle, which includes provinces to the east of the country, close between the lower east part of the Andes and the basically the Brazilian border. Culturally and politically, the coast is particularly important because it accounts for 58% of the population. (INEI, 2018). It is also

usual to divide the country into two parts, urban and rural areas. The term 'interior del país,' which I will translate as 'the inner country,' is also used when describing Peru and refers to any place outside Lima. This idea follows the fact that Lima is close to the main Peruvian port, and because of this, it has been seen as the 'main door' to the rest of the country.

A wide range of traditional media and an increasing number of digital media are available in Peru. Concerning media penetration, Peru is a well-connected country. A CPI (Compañía Peruana de Investigación – Peruvian Investigation Company) study published in April 2023 shows every Peruvian has access to at least one form of media, and TV and Radio are the most popular, each reaching 92% of the population (see Table 1). Digital media reaches 81% of the country's population weekly: 92% of people living in Lima and 72% in other provinces. 75% of the country's population is reached via outdoor (OOH/DOOH) advertising. Lastly, newspapers reach 36% of the country's population each week; the coverage is higher in Lima than in the interior.

	City of Lima	Provience of Lima	Northwest	Center	South coast	East
Universe	9,166,500	710,300	4,856,200	3,204,600	2,373,300	1,643,300
Media Total	99.9	100.0	99.8	99.9	100.0	100.0
Radio	92.9	91.5	91.7	93.3	87.7	97.5
TV Total	94.6	92.2	89.3	85.6	94.7	88.3
Open TV	93.2	91.9	88.0	83.8	77.6	86.8
Cable TV	63.8	64.7	49.2	27.5	39.6	65.0
Digital	92.3	74.8	66.3	77.9	78.7	69.4
OHH/DOOH	87.6	81.1	63.8	60.0	71.8	72.0
Press	43.9	24.6	35.3	25.8	25.2	29.7

Table 1 Market Report 2023. Source: CPI.

According to a 2022 survey from Sherlock Communications, a Latino-American marketing and public relations agency based in Sao Paulo, television is the most trusted medium among Peruvians. Their study found that TV is followed by web portals (20%), social media (16%),

radio (14%), print media (10%) and podcasts (1%), which have been gaining in popularity throughout the region (Torres, 2022). In the next section, I will discuss the specific media sectors in Peru.

It is also essential to note that Peru only has two types of media that are run by the public sector, more specifically, by the 'Instituto Nacional De Radio Y Televisión Del Perú' (National Institute Of Radio And Television Of Peru), a TV group which consists of: TVPeru, divided into TVPe, TVPeru Noticias (News), TVPe International, and iPe (which focuses on children's audiences). The second type of media they run is 'Radio Nacional' (National Radio), which also has a digital version of the same signal that goes over the internet.

Press (Newspapers)

The press has been a significant part of Peruvian society since the 18th century (1790), when 'El Diario de Lima,' a daily newspaper, first began publishing. Peruvian political journalism flourished throughout the 1800s, and the national press's leading daily, 'El Comercio' (1839), was founded then. In 1903, 'La Prensa' appeared and "together with 'El Comercio' managed to place Peruvian journalism in the modern era" (Zeta Quinde, 2002, p. 68)

The oldest newspaper in circulation in Peru is "El Peruano," founded in 1825, with its first issue on October 22nd. After 19 editions, in May 1926, the Government Ministry declared it the official newspaper. "El Peruano" became the official channel the government used to publish laws to the public. In Peru, a law is not official until it is published in "El Peruano."

There are not a lot of recent and complete studies about the reading customs in Peru, but a study published in 2022 shows the "Top Ten" newspaper reading average in Lima.

Average	%	Thousands
reading per day	29.1	2634.0
1 Trome	16.8	1518.1
2 Ojo	3.8	347.8
3 El Comercio	3.0	272.8
4 El Popular	2.6	238.3
5 Depor	2.1	189.1
6 La República	1.2	112.8
7 Perú 21	0.9	84.2
8 Libero	0.9	79.3
9 Correo	0.8	76.9
10 Exitosa	0.6	55.5

Table 2 "Top Ten" newspaper reading average in the city of Lima.
Source: CPI

Radio

On June 15, 1925, the first radio transmission was made by OAX AM, owned by the Peruvian Broadcasting Company, a pioneering radio station. In 1926, after some economic problems, Augusto B. Leguia's government took control of the radio station. However, according to journalists, the government found the editorial line too "uninhibited," which is why the government took an interest in it. (PERU21, 2021). In 1937, during the government of Oscar R. Benavides, the first radio station in Peru changed its name to 'Radio Nacional del Peru' and the new premise was inaugurated under the administration of the State, premise where 'Radio Nacional' still operates.

Radio has grown a lot since then. In 2022, there were 6,099 national and local FM/AM radio stations. ("Anexo," 2023). According to CPI, Radio reaches 20.3 million people weekly with an average of 24 hours and 12 minutes of tuning time. (*CPI on X*, 2023)

Television

The first TV broadcast in Peru was on January 17, 1958, and it was only by a few TVs in Lima. Until 1980, there were only three TV channels. Now, there are seven over-the-air TV

stations. According to the INEI – 'Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informatica' (National Institute of Statistics and Informatics), "In the urban area, 97% of TV homes are available, whereas in the rural area, only 53% are available. By natural region, on the coast, there is more access to television (97%) than in the jungle (83%) and the highlands (71%)." (*INEI*).

A 2023 CPI study shows that television reach in urban Peru is 91% in houses in Lima. Open TV is more popular, but cable TV is also available for those who can afford it.

Weekly TV Reach in percentage: METROPOLITAN LIMA

According to Socioeconomic Status	Lima	A–B	C	D–E
Universes	9,166,500	2,025,100	4,389,200	2,752,100
Total TV	94.6	92.9	94.8	95.7
Open TV	93.2	90.9	92.8	95.5
Cable TV	63.8	74.5	66.8	51.0

Table 3 Media Weekly Reach. CPI. April 2023.

Digital Media

Peruvians have a high digital use of devices and services. At the start of 2023, there were 24.31 million internet users, when internet penetration stood at 71.1 percent (CPI). There are 25.05 million social media users (January 2023), 73.3 percent of the total population. In general, digital users use Social Media such as Facebook (2.0 million), YouTube (17.60 million), Instagram (8.50 million), TikTok (16.87 million), LinkedIn (7.70 million), Snapchat (3.05 million), and Twitter (2.75 million) as the main sites where they spend time on the Internet. However, they also check the Press and Radio using digital platforms. For example, according to

the Reuters Institute, the weekly online reach in 2022 is shown in the following graphic (*Peru |*

Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, n.d.).

Weekly reach - online

ONLINE
Peru

	Weekly use	At least 3 days per week
Peru.com	24%	7%
RPP News online	23%	16%
El Comercio online	20%	10%
La República online	19%	11%
Latina News online	18%	12%
Exitosa News online	18%	12%
Perú21 por internet	17%	9%
ATV News online	15%	10%
Trome online	12%	6%
TV Perú online	12%	6%
Canal N online	10%	5%
CNN.com	10%	5%
Ojo Público online	10%	3%
Diario Oficial El Peruano online	10%	5%
Gestión online	9%	4%
Infobae.com	8%	4%

Figure 1 Weekly reach – online, 2022. © Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2023; polling by YouGov. This extract is made possible courtesy of the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Oxford University.

Peruvians also consume radio on the Internet. A CPI study shows that the reach of digital

radio is above 90% in the country. Still, streaming platforms such as YouTube have a

considerable reach, at least when considering music consumption.

Table 4 Weekly Reach of Media and Audio Platforms. Source: CPI

Traditional media still have more reach and acceptance in Peruvian culture. Television is the most common media Peruvians consume and the one they trust the most. In the next section, I will explore market share and show that that is only sometimes true since a few media groups own most of the media. There is even one particular group accused of media concentration.

Media Brands

Brand Trust

While researching Peruvian Media, I also found an interesting survey by the Reuters Institute and the University of Oxford, showing brand trust in Peruvian Journalism. They found out that "Overall Trust" in the news has declined from 40% to 33% and that "the percentage of people who say they distrust the media is higher than in many other countries, suggesting a high degree of media polarization" (Peru | Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, n.d.).

Brand	Trust	Neither	Don't trust
América TV News	37%	22%	41%
Canal N	44%	23%	33%
Correo	37%	28%	35%
El Comercio	45%	23%	32%
El Peruano	51%	24%	25%
Exitosa	43%	27%	30%
Gestión	43%	25%	32%
La República	43%	26%	31%
Latina News	39%	24%	36%
Local newspaper, radio or TV	39%	32%	29%
Ojo Público	30%	28%	42%
Panamericana News	42%	25%	34%
RPP News	53%	21%	26%
Trome	30%	23%	47%
TVPerú Noticias	45%	27%	28%

*Table 5 Brand Trust in Peru, 2022. © Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2023; polling by YouGov. This extract is made possible courtesy of the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Oxford University.*

It is interesting and important to note that, due to the way the survey was built with each person voting for each media outlet, one can find the same media outlet not only with a relatively high percentage of brand trust but also with a high percentage at the "Don't trust" column. Another critical point to highlight is that, among the Brands in the table, 'Ojo Público' appears as the only independent media brand in the list, with a not enviable 30% trust but a high 42% distrust.

Market News Market in Peru

"El Comercio" Group

Peru's commercial media system is highly concentrated despite government attempts to support competition in the media sector. The Peruvian Political Constitution states in Article 61 that:

"The State facilitates and monitors free competition. Fights are all practices that limit and abuse dominant or monopolistic positions. No law or concertation may authorize or establish monopolies. The press, radio, television and other means of expression and social communication; and, in general, companies, goods and services related to freedom of expression and communication, cannot be subject to exclusivity, monopoly or hoarding, directly or indirectly, by the State or individuals" (*Constitucion Del Congreso, 1993, p. 37*).

Despite this, the El Comercio Group ("Grupo El Comercio," 2023) owns a considerable percentage of the News Media in Peru, including newspapers and TV channels. For example, in 2013, the company acquired 54% of EPENSA, which had 22.43% of the daily readers. With this acquisition, the El Comercio group controls almost 80% of the newspaper market. (*Medios de comunicación en el Perú*, n.d.) As mentioned before, the company also uses social media channels to reach their audiences. (see Appendix B)

El Comercio group owns so many media channels in Peru that they have been in a legal process since 2013 for the alleged crime of media concentration (Casimiro, 2022). After a long ten years, this legal process is closer to a resolution since, on July 20th, 2023, "the constitutional judge of Lima, Juan Macedo Cuenca, declared the nullity of the purchase and sale contract [for EPENSA] (…) made in August 2013, by declaring founded the amparo claim presented by eight journalists against the concentration of print media in Peru" (Romero, 2023, para. 1).

Even though some people think that "the idea that media concentration is still an issue in the age of the Internet is ridiculous" (Winseck, 2022, para. 8), it is still an issue in several countries. For example, "media are organized hierarchically, with power concentrated at the top while other voices are just cries in the wilderness" (Winseck, 2022, para. 9). The great danger of monopoly on news, especially in countries such as Peru, is that the fewer people who control the editorial line of media channels, the fewer points of view the audiences receive. Notably, in times such as the 90s in Peru, it would make controlling media in the whole country easier and faster.

It is, to say the least, curious that precisely the Constitution of 1993, a Constitution drafted by the government of Alberto Fujimori, states that "freedom of expression and communication, cannot be subject to exclusivity" (*Constitucion Del Congreso*, 1993, p. 37) and that this precise government wrote so many shameless episodes of corruption and political control. The Peruvian media should be closely monitored anytime there is a political crisis in Peru and during relative peace. There is always the chance that people in power change, but the practices are similar or

even the same. In the next chapter, I will describe the background of the political crisis Peru lived through and is still living through after the last change in command in the Peruvian presidency in December 2022.

Independent Media

A common way to define independent Media is to group it as any kind of media, including newspapers, television, and digital publications, unaffected by corporate or governmental influence ("Independent Media," 2024). Independent media outlets also usually present themselves as an 'alternative' to the mainstream commercial media. They typically work with ads but do not have big corporations that finance them; in contrast, they even ask their readers for donations.

In Peru, independent media such as Ojo Público, La Encerrona, Epicentro, Wayka, Salud con Lupa, and La Antígona, among others, usually present a different viewpoint than traditional media. During the political crisis I am studying in this thesis, Independent Media, as Caballero Rojas expressed, represented in Peru, "…media that dared deny the inconsistent police versions about a fire that occurred in the Center of Lima. It *was* (…) [independent] media that revealed that Víctor Santisteban, the first protester to die in Metropolitan Lima, had died after a police officer threw a tear gas canister at his head from close range". (Caballero Rojas, 2023, para. 6)

According to the information in Table 5, presented in the previous section, Ojo Publico, founded in 2014, is not only the most trusted independent media in Peru but also the only one mentioned by the people surveyed. The Ojo Publico team defined themselves as media that "exposes the abuses of power that affect human rights, linking the local realities of Latin America with global dynamics." (Ojo Público, 2023).

Independent Media, in general, also has some detractors; as shown in the 2022 Brand Trust in Peru survey cited earlier on p.13, 45% of people do not trust Ojo Publico in Peru. This indicates that, as in the rest of the world, there is a polarization in media perception and trust. Usually, mainstream media is criticized for being on the right side of the political spectrum, too close to corporations and their interests, and independent media is criticized for being on the left side of the political spectrum, defending some ideas that are not shared by most Peruvians who are more conservative and religious.

El Comercio & Ojo Publico

El Comercio and Ojo Publico are two prominent media outlets in Peru, each with its own distinct characteristics and focus.

El Comercio, founded in 1839, is one of the oldest and most widely circulated newspapers in Peru. With a long history of journalistic excellence, El Comercio has established itself as a leading source of news and information for Peruvian readers. The newspaper boasts a significant circulation, reaching a wide audience across the country. It employs a large team of journalists and staff members, allowing it to cover a diverse range of topics and issues. It is currently owned by the El Commercio ownership group discuss on page 14 and 15.

In contrast, Ojo Publico is a relatively new entrant into the Peruvian media landscape, having been founded in 2014. Despite its shorter history, Ojo Publico has quickly gained recognition for its investigative journalism and in-depth reporting on issues of social justice, corruption, and human rights. While it may not have the same level of circulation as El Comercio, Ojo Publico has carved out a niche audience of readers who value its rigorous investigative reporting and commitment to transparency. It is currently an independent media outlet.

Both newspapers differ not only in their history and circulation numbers but also in their funding models and editorial focus. El Comercio, as a traditional print newspaper, derives a significant portion of its revenue from advertising and subscriptions. On the other hand, Ojo Publico rely more crowdfunding and selling branded products. Additionally, while El Comercio covers a broad range of news topics, including politics, economics, and culture, Ojo Publico is known for its in-depth investigations into social and political issues, including how corporations' acts affect nature and small communities.

Understanding the distinct characteristics and approaches of these two newspapers is essential for analyzing their coverage of the political crisis in Peru. By examining and comparing their publication schedules, editorial decisions, and reporting styles, we can gain insights into how media portrayal influences public perception during times of political upheaval.

Preview Methodology

As stated before, this thesis will address the issue of media coverage during the political crisis, and it follows six steps for the analysis as outlined by Bray (2023); these steps are:

1. Formulating a research question.
2. Collecting contextual information.

3. Choosing and acquiring relevant content.

4. Examining the content for recurring themes and patterns.

5. Evaluating the findings and deriving conclusions.

6. Presenting the results of the analysis.

This will be a Qualitative Media Content Analysis focused on the Peruvian political crisis that occurred at the end of 2022 (described in detail in the next chapter), using two important but different Peruvian media outlets. I will categorize, analyze, compare and describe their coverage to answer the question: How did news media (commercial and independent) portray the Peruvian political crisis of December 2022?

Summary

What we can call Peruvian Media has a long story of more than 200 years of existence that started even before its independence. Unfortunately, it is proven that the media delivered manipulated information that served particular interests, which sadly do not appear to be random episodes but rather ongoing examples that raise questions about Peruvian society and the lack of a true democracy. Perhaps the words that Alexis de Tocqueville noted after visiting the United States of America gain relevance in this Peruvian study: "You cannot have real newspapers without democracy, and you cannot have democracy without newspapers" (Tocqueville as cited by Potter, 2015, p. 2).

Background: Recent Political Crises in Peru

Sometimes, politicians want to - and can - control the narrative more than others. Times of political crisis are crucial for people in positions of government. It is precisely in these times when the media has been critical, and politicians have learned to use it. For instance, when there is a crisis, the state sometimes establishes a state of emergency, which gives those in the government the possibility to make quick decisions without having to go through the usual bureaucratic procedures, allowing governments to ignore constitutional policies and laws, which is sometimes seen or taken as an opportunity to benefit themselves. In extreme cases, governments can even act violently, proving Weber right when he said, "The state is considered the sole source of the 'right' to use violence" (Weber, 2009, p. 2).

In times of political crisis, they try to keep control of the situation and calm people so the problem does not get out of hand. For this work, I will define a political crisis as an issue in which the stability of a government or political system is threatened due to factors such as internal conflicts, external pressures, corruption, or a breakdown in the rule of law. During times like this, governments might declare an emergency state, allowing them to act more quickly after suspending standard constitutional procedures.

This thesis will focus on a specific Peruvian political crisis between the end of 2022. For this study, I am considering what happened on December 7, 2022 - when, facing his impending third impeachment trial in the short legislature, former President Pedro Castillo sought to dissolve the Congress- as the peak of the crisis, but of course, this crisis had started before that day.

Since Pedro Castillo sat in the presidential seat, there have been certain tumultuous events that unfolded during the political crisis in Peru. Beginning in November 2021, allegations of political pressure and corruption surfaced, leading to resignations and investigations. The situation escalated in March 2022 when key figures fled justice amidst corruption revelations implicating congressmen. Subsequent months saw intensified scrutiny and legal actions, culminating in December 2022 with President Castillo's arrest following a controversial attempt to dissolve Parliament. Dina Boluarte assumed the presidency amidst protests and a nationwide state of emergency, marking a pivotal moment in Peru's political landscape. (See Appendix C table for more detail about the events that led to the crisis).

As Cruz explained, two opposite hypotheses (and their associated media narratives) try to explain what happened in Peru over those months in 2021 and 2022 (Cruz, 2023). The first narrative from Castillo's supporters claims that Boluarte was a coup plotter and usurper who joined forces with the Congress to take Castillo out of power. The second narrative, advanced by the majority of the Congress led by right-wing political parties, put Castillo as a coup plotter himself and called him a "permanent moral incompetent" after trying to close the Congress. It is important to note that at this time, there was a general feeling of dissatisfaction with the political class, so even though some people defended Castillo, others joined the protests with the voice of "Que se vayan todos", or "everyone should leave", seeking for new elections, which would have meant that not only the Executive Power was changed but also the Congress that had just removed Castillo from power. Although these two narratives existed side-by-side at the beginning of the crisis, it is important to note that over time, public figures and media outlets reached an almost absolute consensus to call Castillo's actions an attempted coup d'état. This unofficial consensus includes members of his political party, Peruvian politicians, the Constitutional Court, Peruvian media and some international news organizations, people related to the judiciary, and the Peruvian Army Forces. ("2022 Peruvian Self-Coup Attempt," 2024). Given this context, I decided to use the same term to describe Castillo's action.

Going back to the crisis events, the whole situation led to widespread political protests, which sometimes resulted in violence. 'La defensoría del Pueblo' or The Office of the Ombudsperson declared that only in January 2023, "219 social conflicts have been registered (156 actives and 63 latent)"[1]. The Office of the Peruvian Ombudsperson also recorded 60 deaths between December, January and February "as a result of clashes between civilians, police and military, and road blockages; *the political crisis* also gave rise to 1,261 collective protest actions (…) 86.7% (1093) are related to the conflict linked to the political crisis". (*Defensoría del Pueblo*, n.d., para. 1) As a response to these protests, police and, in some cases, the military made acts of repression that turned into fights that led to injuries and deaths. Just between December 11th, 2023 and February

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[1] The Office of the Ombudsperson defines a social conflict as a "…complex process in which social groups, the State and companies perceive that their objectives, interests, values, beliefs are incompatible or contradictory, and this contradiction can lead to violence" (Defensoria Del Pueblo - Informe 156, p. 25.)

9th, "forty-one adult civilians and seven minors died in these circumstances, still unclarified" by the end of 2023. (Gonzáles Sánchez, 2023, para. 37)

Lilian Kanashiro, a researcher in Social Sciences at the University of Lima, talking about the protests, said that "one of the narratives is the one that seeks to delegitimize the marches, and has to do with the supposed foreign or Bolivian intervention, which although it is motivated by a right-wing conservative public, is not the only one. They try to look for a foreign enemy." (Kanashiro as cited by Cruz, 2023, para. 2). On the other hand, Cruz explained that these narratives have escalated to the international level. For example, "among some left-wing governments in Latin America, the idea is defended that Castillo was the victim of a Coup D'état by the Legislature power". For example, the Honduran president, Xiomara Castro and the Mexican president, Andrés Manuel López Obrador have both said that they condemned the Coup D'état in Peru and the aggression to which the Peruvian people are subjected, about the protests against Boluarte. López Obrador has even suggested that the United States was behind Castillo's removal. (Cruz, 2023)

After more than a year, several sources have confirmed that there was unlawful use of force by Peru's police and military forces. For example, the independent news media 'La Encerrona' claimed to have access to an internal Peruvian Army report where Víctor Grados Rivas, Peruvian Army Capitan, informed that "those people responsible, who know who they are, assume their responsibility as such (…) there are people responsible, who are the real ones who went outside the airport and shot at point-blank range at the mob of protesters" (Grados Rivas as cited by Vásquez Benavente, 2023, para. 3). Amnesty International also prepared a report called 'Lethal Racism: Extrajudicial Executions and Unlawful Use of Force by Peru's Security Forces' where they made a chronology and an analysis of the key violent events in the period from 7 December 2022 to 9 February 2023. They highlight "extrajudicial executions and arbitrary killings resulting from the use of lethal force" in three regions. They also analyze four cities where they found evidence of "persons injured by lethal force" (Lethal Racism. Estrajudical Executions and Unlawful Use of Force by Peru's Security Forces., 2023, p. 33).

Two strong acts of violence occurred in two different regions of the country during the period covered in this investigation. The table below describes these acts.

Region	City(ies)	Date(s)	Main issue(s)
Apurimac	Apurimac, Andahuaylas and Chincheros	December 10, 11, and 12th, 2022	6 deaths and 67 injured.
Ayacucho	Ayacucho	December 15 and 16th, 2022	10 deaths and 72 injured.

Table 6 List of peak violent acts after Castillo's Coup D'état.

Summary

In general, this thesis focuses on how news media covered this political crisis in Peru and will try to find out which narratives are presented by different news media organizations. On the one hand, even though traditional media (e.g. broadcast and newspapers) reported news supporting the government, everyday social media users also shared posts and videos about what was happening. In this manner, social media and independent journalists also played a crucial role in constructing and sharing different narratives about this political crisis. On the other hand, it is also important to note that traditional media also impacted social media, with Twitter accounts, Facebook fan pages, and Instagram accounts all feeding into the news media's stories. This interaction between media types generates the main narrative that subsists in social media compared to what ordinary social media users post and share. While I recognize the relationships between social media and news media, my analysis of news media coverage of this political crisis will focus only on how the news media covered it.

Literature Review

This literature review aims to provide an overview of the current state of knowledge on the role of media in politics, with a specific focus on political crises. It also aims to identify gaps in existing research that this study seeks to fill. It also looks to develop a theoretical framework and method for this research, positioning this paper with other researchers and theorists. Finally, it aims to demonstrate how this research can fill a gap or contribute to the debate about the role of media in political crises.

Review Of The Literature

Economic And Political Bias In Media.

This thesis takes a theoretical position informed by the critical political economy of communications. In the book *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, authors Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky argue that the mass media is heavily influenced by the economic and political interests (the upper class) of those who control it. They note that this can lead to biased coverage of political events, supporting political agendas to get the masses to believe whatever serves them best. Herman and Chomsky explain how the uneven distribution of wealth brings an uneven distribution of stories favouring the upper class.

In their article "*One Bias Fits All? Three Types of Media Bias and Their Effects on Party Preferences*" Eberl et al. argue that media bias can significantly impact individual'' party preferences. After conducting a study using data from the Austrian parliamentary election campaign of 2013 (their study was made from a combination of an online panel survey with measures of media bias from content analyses of party press releases and media coverage in eight newspapers). They conclude that their "… study has found strong evidence of media bias effects on voters. Specifically, voters update their party preferences in response to the tonality of the media coverage they are exposed to." (p. 1141)

Some distinctions in biases must be considered on both the economic and political sides of the issue. I will consider three key points from different texts on each side.

On the economic side of Media Bias, Herman and Chomsky found three key points to be considered in the analysis:

1. The elite governing class is favoured in the media's coverage of events. The book is chock full of instances that demonstrate how biased and supportive of political and economic elites the mainstream media is. This authority controls both what is spoken and what is not said.
2. Stories that benefit advertisers are exposed more because they are the actual clients. These advertisers must continue to be content to support a specific media outlet.
3. Wealthy and influential people may pay experts who provide facts and information to support a particular position.

On the more political or ideological side of Media Bias, Eberl et al. mention three types of media bias: Visibility bias, Tonality bias, and Agenda bias.

1. Visibility bias is defined by the relative coverage devoted to each political actor in each medium.
2. Tonality bias measures whether evaluations in media coverage are systematically more favourable to one political party than others.
3. Agenda bias refers to how political actors appear in the public domain in conjunction with the topics they wish to emphasize. Agenda bias, therefore, stems from a journalist's or editor's decision to select or ignore specific news stories, giving only a voice to some actors and their policy positions.

The literature reviewed until this point suggests that public opinion can be affected by Media depending on the side it takes. This media bias can impact individuals' party preferences and is influenced by various factors, including their prior beliefs, political knowledge, and exposure to media.

Media Influence On Public Opinion.

One of the things we need to consider is that Media can influence public opinion. According to Doris A. Graber and Johanna L. Dunaway in their book *Mass Media and American*

Politics, the media can play a critical role in shaping public opinion by influencing the issues that are covered, the way that they are covered, and the emphasis that is placed on specific aspects of a story. This can have a significant impact on the way that individuals perceive political events and on their attitudes toward political issues. The authors stated, "Politicians and business leaders know what damage and unfavourable story can do and act accordingly, either to avoid or conceal objectionable behaviours or to atone for them by public confessions." (Graber & Dunaway, 2022, p. 8). When politicians have the media on their side, the outlook looks more promising. On the contrary, when they face opposition in Media, it is harder for them, as stated later in their book, "… for similar reasons, modern presidents have a harder time shaping public opinion concerning their policy agendas" (Graber & Dunaway, 2022, p. 232) This is because, among other things, Social Media is also a way people use to get inform and make an opinion of what is happening. The more ways to get information, the greater the diversity of thought and conclusions about the events that occur… unless all media give precisely the same information.

Similarly, Schiffer explores how media bias can influence political events in his book Evaluating Media Bias. He introduces the term "real biases," – such as favouring dramatic narratives over meaningful political discussions or appearing balanced on issues rather than focusing on the truth. For example, Schiffer says that media bias caused damage to the coverage of the Affordable Care Act (ACA). Failures have ranged from reporting false or misleading information (for example, when CNN, in its rush to pre-empt commentary from its rivals, falsely reported that the Supreme Court had rejected a personal mandate at the heart of the ACA) to overemphasizing its political tactics of lying while legislating instead. Not a significant change in health policy. He also argues that the media's tendency to prioritize flashy narratives and entertainment over political content has eliminated "the line between electoral politics and reality TV" (Schiffer, 2018, p. 110), such as in coverage of Trump.

Exploring Social Media Platforms, in *When Citizens and Journalists Interact on Twitter*, we learn that "Perceptions of media bias are troubling since they have been associated with a decrease in news consumption, and detachment from public life" (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2018, p. 229). In this paper, the author argues that Twitter is a great social network platform for studying interactions between journalists and the public. He also states: "Interacting in social media spheres is one possible way to meliorate the situation, through sustained engagement with the public on

micro-blogging platforms like Twitter." (p. 239) One of the main findings of the study is that "certain violations of professional objectivity might further stimulate notions of a bias press corps (…) [and that] evidence in this area suggests that reporters on Twitter still strongly defer to authority, rarely criticize politicians, and often act more like stenographers than fact checkers." (p. 240).

It is essential to mention that both sides of the political spectrum perceive bias. In Why Americans do not Trust the Media, a study is made starting with the hypothesis that the media in the USA "cover(s) Democrats more favourably than Republicans; they are more likely to portray poor people sympathetically while portraying big businesses as villains; news stories on the environment tend to reflect a pro environmentalist slant; foreign affairs coverage carries an internationalist bias." (Jones, 2004, p. 64). The bias is there, consciously or unconsciously, on any side of the political spectrum, and it is essential to have this idea present when producing or consuming media.

It is also important to mention that Guess & Lyons state that "there is evidence that sheer novelty – rather than the falsity of the information – may play a role in people's decisions to share or forward content to their friends or followers; and, based on what we currently know, caution should be exercised when claims are made about the effects of misinformation, especially on behaviours such as voting." (Guess & Lyons, 2020, p. 26). This means that something perceived as recent news is most likely to be shared, which is extremely dangerous when something is unclear. Any piece of media without a clear context can be interpreted differently, and people can make different hypotheses about it. If one of these hypotheses appeals to one person, this person will be more willing to share that with others. For example, if there is a robbery and they say that there is a chance that a person of colour did it, people with racist bias will be more willing to believe that that is the truth and will be more willing to share that with others.

We have reviewed the literature on how the Media has the power to influence public opinion and how people in certain positions, consciously or unconsciously, can influence the spread of not only news but also opinions that feed what people believe to be the truth. The following section will examine some tools used to achieve this influence.

Misinformation, Disinformation & Malinformation.

These concepts are essential to remember because they show us that there are ways in which political actors and/or Media intentionally share information in ways that look to shape public opinion or, even more straightforwardly, directly deceive public opinion.

Claire Wardle defines these three terms in her article, Understanding Information Disorder. She defines disinformation as news with "content that is intentionally false and designed to cause harm." (Wardle, 2020, para. 6) states that this is motivated by three factors: "to make money; to have political influence; or to cause trouble for the sake of it." Misinformation is false content shared by people, usually when "a piece of disinformation is picked up by someone who does not realize it is false and that person shares it with their networks, believing that they are helping." (Wardle, 2020, para. 7). Finally, she defines malinformation as "information that is shared with an intent to cause harm." (Wardle, 2020, para. 8), for instance, leaked emails that were not intended to go public. Wardle also shows that the 'set of misinformation' (surrounded by falseness) and the 'set of malinformation' (surrounded by the intent of harm) are intercepted, and disinformation lives in that interception.

In Misinformation, Disinformation, and Online Propaganda, Guess & Lyons study the words "misinformation," "disinformation," and "propaganda." According to them, these terms are employed interchangeably, their meanings shifting and overlapping. (Guess & Lyons, 2020). A deeper study on the same terms defines misinformation as "constituting a claim that contradicts or distorts common understandings of verifiable facts (…) and disinformation as the subset of misinformation that is deliberately propagated". (Guess & Lyons, p. 11). They also define "fake news" as a type of disinformation.

On the contrary, in The Politics of Social Media Manipulation, Rogers and Niederer study Dutch social media during the campaign periods before the 2019 Dutch Provincial and European Parliamentary elections. One of their conclusions it can be found that disinformation and fake news are different. They stated: "Worldwide, disinformation and fake news are increasingly under study together, but the argument could be made to separate them (…) when employing narrow definitions of disinformation and fake news, there is hardly any to be found in the Netherlands." (Rogers & Niederer, 2020, p. 240)

Yochai Benkler et al., in the book 'Network Propaganda: Manipulation, Disinformation, and Radicalization in American Politics' argue that media networks have become increasingly

polarized and fragmented, leading to the creation of separate "echo chambers" where individuals are exposed only to news and information that reinforces their existing beliefs. This phenomenon can lead to "filter bubbles," in which individuals are exposed only to information confirming their biases, creating a distorted view of reality. These "filter bubbles" are created by specific agents, making the algorithm one of the main suspects. Benkler et al. said that a "major suspect was centred on the Facebook News Feed algorithm, although it extended to other social media and the internet more generally as well. To some extent, this was simply a reprise of the nearly 20-year-old concern that the personalization of news, "the Daily Me," would drive us into "echo chambers" (Benkler et al., 2018, p. 10)

There are at least two reasons why this happens. The first is an organic share of news or, in other words, just the fact that people's closest friends will probably share similar beliefs and, ultimately, share the posts their friends shared. This is precisely what Molina et al. when they state that "fake news" no longer refers simply to false information." (Molina et al., 2021, p. 182)

The second is based on how the algorithm of a social network works, which is essentially similar because the algorithm is programmed to put similar content in users' feeds that have been engaged before by these users. Benkler et al., using an example from 2015, explain this phenomenon as follows: "The most significant study of polarization on Facebook was done by a team inside Facebook and published in Science in 2015. Using data from the last six months of 2014, the team found that Facebook users who shared news did so in a polarized way but that they did so primarily because they shared what their friends shared. They were segregated into politically homogeneous communities. It was users' sharing patterns, not the design of Facebook's algorithms, that led to the polarization." (p. 333). Even though I am not focusing on social media in this paper, what Benkler et al. stated is essential from the perspective of human behaviours and beliefs because what they said is that sharing. I would also add that consuming patterns lead to polarization, so if it can happen in a Social Media environment, it can also happen in any other type of media environment.

The Role Of Media In Political Crisis.

As I have defined a political crisis as an issue (or group of issues) in which the stability of a government or political system is threatened, I will also follow Meng's (2009) Issue Life Cycle to understand how, at least theoretically, a political crisis is or should be handled.

Meng states that an issue and a crisis are not the same things; when talking about crisis management, he considers that "it can be argued crisis management (…) is part of issues management" (Meng, 2009, para. 1); therefore, a crisis has a similar life cycle than an issue. Within the context of issue management, this life cycle has five stages. The first three, the potential, emerging, and current stages, are the ones that precede the actual crisis; the fourth stage is the crisis itself; and the last one is the dormant stage, where the issue starts to settle, at least momentarily.

It should not be a surprise for someone studying media that political actors would try to use media as "the 'prime arena' for political battles" (Koerber, 2017, p. 60) or as a tool in the dormant stage of a particular issue. These actors could also try to use the media to "pay attention to their particular crisis frame, and, if possible, support it." As I will discuss in the next chapter, media can be used not only to create a specific frame, with "processes of inclusion, exclusion as well as emphasis," but also to set an agenda, directing the audience to particular information.

As one example of how media could work, in the article *Fake News on Twitter During the 2016 US Presidential Election*, the authors examine the role of social media in spreading disinformation during crucial times. They did an interesting research that shows, among other things, how the number of fake news changes after election day and how the study "reflects that consumers of content from fake news sources were often exposed to multiple fake news sources." (Grinberg et al., 2019, p. 3).

Summary

The literature review comprehensively explores the current understanding of the media's role in politics, particularly during political crises. It identifies gaps in existing research, develops a theoretical framework, and outlines areas of further investigation. Drawing on works

such as "Manufacturing Consent" by Herman and Chomsky, the review delves into the economic and political biases inherent in media coverage, highlighting how these biases influence public opinion and party preferences. Distinctions are made between economic biases favouring elite interests and advertisers and political biases, including visibility, tonality, and agenda biases. The review also examines the influence of media on public opinion, emphasizing the power of media narratives in shaping political attitudes. Additionally, it explores the phenomenon of misinformation and disinformation, detailing how these tactics are employed to manipulate public perception. By analyzing studies on social media interactions, the review underscores the role of platforms like Twitter in shaping media narratives and perceptions of bias. It also discusses the media's role in political crises, examining how actors utilize media to frame issues and manage crises. The review illustrates the impact of media bias and misinformation on political events through examples such as the spread of fake news during the 2016 US presidential election. Overall, the literature review provides a foundational understanding of political media dynamics and sets the stage for further research into this complex and evolving field.

Research Design and Methodology

The current research topic focuses on analyzing the media narrative and messages around the political crisis in Peru in 2022. This study aims to investigate how news media covered the crisis. It will consider news media occurring both before and after the peak of the crisis (defined as Dec 7th, 2022, when Castillo tried to close the Congress). By analyzing media coverage in this way, this study provides insight into the role performed by the media in shaping public opinion, influencing political discourse, and representing the crisis results. By studying how news media portrayed this crisis, this research aims to better understand the role of news media in the Peruvian political turmoil. These issues will be studied through a dataset drawn from news articles, broadcasts, social media content, and other pertinent sources. The research question is: *How did news media (commercial and independent) portray the Peruvian political crisis in 2022?*

The method I choose to use in this study is a qualitative media content analysis. As Weber said, "Content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text" (1990, p. 9). Lasswell et al (1952) further note that "content analysis is a technique which aims at describing, with optimum objectivity, precision, and generality, what is said on a given subject in a given place at a given time" (p. 34). When applied to media content, this kind of analysis is "a primary research method [used] for studying portrayals of violence, racism and women in television programming as well as in films" (Macnamara, 2005, p. 1); it can also be used to analyse written media content, such as newspaper articles. Therefore, the qualitative media content analysis method selected for this study offers a robust framework for examining portrayals of complex societal issues, aligning with established research methodologies and providing a comprehensive understanding of news media content.

Considerations and Limitations

This next section addresses the study's considerations and limitations, reflecting on methodologies, biases, and constraints encountered. By acknowledging these factors, we contextualize our findings and provide insights into the scope and applicability of our research outcomes. This exploration highlights strengths and areas for further investigation, offering a nuanced understanding of the study's implications.

Personal Bias and Media Bias Perception:

In crafting any study, it is essential to acknowledge the potential for personal bias inherent in the research process. As the researcher, I bring my own perspectives, experiences, and predispositions to the analysis, which may influence my collection and interpretation of data. To address this concern, transparency and objectivity were prioritized throughout the methodology. By meticulously and transparently documenting the source data used and the methods employed for gathering and analyzing information, I aimed to provide readers with insight into the research process and enable them to evaluate the findings independently. Additionally, employing a clear and structured analysis technique helped mitigate the influence of any subjective interpretation. However, it is crucial to recognize the inherent subjectivity in certain aspects of the analysis, particularly in determining the tone of media coverage, which may be influenced by individual perception and judgment. Despite efforts to minimize bias, it is imperative to approach the findings with a critical lens and recognize the limitations inherent in any research endeavour.

On the other hand, perceptions of media bias are not exclusive to any particular political orientation; they can manifest across the entire spectrum. Herman and Chomsky (2002) aptly illustrate this phenomenon by highlighting how individuals in positions of authority, such as business magnates or politicians, often manipulate the media to serve their own interests. Typically aligned with capitalist ideologies, these influential figures wield significant control over the narrative presented to the public. Consequently, it's easy to fall into the trap of viewing media bias as a simplistic dichotomy between the political right and left when, in reality, the issue is far more nuanced and influenced by diverse forms of power dynamics.

Not All False News Is "Fake News."

Social Media - even social media accounts owned by big mass media corporations - can be used to post and replicate non-fact-checked information. This does not necessarily mean that it is "Fake News," as there are other forms of misinformation, disinformation, and malinformation. This might happen because of different factors. One is poor decisions on the part of journalists (such as publishing problematic content because of the pressure of the news cycle), and two is because of the actions of the news audience due to the ease of 'retweeting' or sharing information. This is reflected in what Benkler et al. (2018) call an "organic share of false

content." So, we cannot immediately conclude that every viral False News was planted to be False News. News that turns out to be fake is not necessarily 'fake news.'

More Coverage On A Topic means more "Fake News."

During times of crisis, there's typically a surge in both the volume of information and the prevalence of misinformation and disinformation surrounding the particular issue. This heightened informational landscape is especially noticeable during political events, including elections. As the public seeks to understand and navigate complex situations, they're inevitably exposed to a plethora of inaccurate or misleading information alongside legitimate news. This influx can pose significant challenges for individuals trying to discern truth from falsehood, making critical thinking and media literacy essential skills in such circumstances.

Research Design

I will use qualitative Media Content Analysis to answer my research question and draw upon agenda-setting and framing theory to interpret my results. Since this thesis' case study examines news media coverage during a political crisis, I draw upon Agenda-setting and Framing theory to consider how politicians use news media in strategic ways. Agenda-setting is the term that refers to the idea that the "news media indicate to the public what the main issues of the day are, and this is reflected in what the public perceives as the main issues" (McQuail, 2020, p. 512). According to Treanman and McQuail, there is evidence that shows "a correspondence between the order of importance given in the media to 'issues and the order of significance attached to the same issues by politicians and the public." (McQuail, 2020, p. 512)

One of the main concepts associated with this theory is the concept of gatekeeping, which considers what actors are "in charge of and ha(ve) control of the selection of content discussed in the media." (Agenda Setting Theory, 2010, para. 5). There is a choice made by journalists, editors and publishers on which topics or issues appear in the news – and which do not. The agenda-setting theory also explores how certain groups bring attention to certain topics and issues in news reports. It has two levels of analysis: the first is about exposing people to particular issues, topics, sources, and so on that appear in news reports, and the second is when news media focus on "how people should think about the nature of the issues." (Communication Theory, n.d., para. 4).

This last level of analysis is directly related to the framing theory, which starts with the premise that any "issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations". It can promote "particular definitions and interpretations of political issues" in a communication (SHAH et al., 2002, p. 343). In this way, journalists framing news can cause "inferences, ideas, judgements and contrasts concerning issues, policies and politicians" (McQuail, 2020, p. 511). Furthermore, framing can be represented through conflicts between different groups in society.

In other words, agenda-setting theory is about the fact that there is a choice of *what* topics or issues are covered in the news (key issues/topics), and framing theory is about *how* these topics or issues are portrayed. Framing can include the tone that is used to portray issues and topics. A limitation of these theories is that analysis is restricted to the production side of news – it does not consider how audiences receive and interpret news. In this thesis, I will only focus on the media production (selection and representation) side, which considers what was said and not how it was received. Among other things, this study will try to determine if and how agenda-setting and framing appeared in the news media during the peak of the Peruvian conflict.

Due to the vast number of media outlets in Peru, I decided to study what I think is the most representative media in the country during the most controversial days during the protests around the change in the presidential seat in December 2022. I studied news coverage on those days to see how the 'El Comercio' group presented news compared to how 'Ojo Público' covered the same news. The specific date range I will use is Dec 1-18, 2022. This period covers the week before the peak of the crisis, the time period when Castillo tried to close the Congress and went to jail, and the biggest protests that came out after that.

I picked the 'El Comercio' news media group because, as explained earlier, they not only own an important percentage of the market share but also because they have a lot of reach among people. I also picked 'Ojo Público' as a representative of independent news due to the high trust they have in Peruvian media consumption (note my earlier discussion on p. 16 about the differing trust levels of Ojo Publico).

To guide this research, I will follow the following six steps: one, generate a research question; two, gather information on the context; three, select and gather content; four, analyze content for themes and patterns; five, review your results and draw conclusions; and six, present the results. These six steps are discussed in detail below.

Generate a Research Question.

The first step is to have a research question: *How did news media (commercial and independent) portray the Peruvian political crisis in December 2022*? As noted above, this time span covers what politicians from various political backgrounds and several media outlets referred to as a failed coup attempt by Castillo. Therefore, I will focus on how news media in Peru covered the political crisis, explicitly comparing coverage from the two media outlets introduced earlier.

Gather Information On The Context

The background chapter describes the context of the study. To collect this information, I reviewed articles from various newspapers (not only El Comercio and Ojo Publico) and other sources describing what happened. In this short section, I highlight three critical events during this period. The first is December 7th, 2022, when Castillo carried out what has been described as a failed coup d'état. The second key event, also on December 7, is when Boluarte, former vice president of Castillo, put on the presidential sash after being sworn in as the first female president of Peru. Finally, the third is a group of events when people went to the streets to manifest their discomfort about the new government, Boluarte's decisions, and Congress's actions. News about these protests generated questions about how the media covered them, raising questions such as: Is the press covering the military's actions? Why was traditional media not saying anything about the excessive force used by the military forces (if there was any)? Those questions might be impossible to answer in this paper, but they motivated my investigation of the topic.

Select And Gather Content.

      El Comercio

The first step I took to gather articles from El Comercio was to visit their digital archive. I skimmed through the headlines of stories during my chosen time period to determine which were related to the crisis and which were not. While gathering information for El Comercio, I had to subscribe to the digital version of the media outlet to gain access to the whole archive collection; without this subscription, I would only have access to the articles signed by the editorial staff. This search resulted in 360 articles with headlines connected with the political crisis. These articles are divided as described in the following table:

Editorial Staff	International Agencies	Editorial Articles	Signed by Authors[2]	Total
224	33	14	89	360

Table 7 Distribution of first group of articles from El Comercio.

Upon closer review, I found that the 224 articles signed by the Editorial Staff were very short articles that stated a couple of specific points about something that was said, that happened, or that was shared on Twitter. Since these articles are all very short (e.g. some were only two paragraphs long) and did not include many details about the political crisis, I decided to remove them from further analysis.

This left 89 articles, which I divided into several categories: News Articles, Opinion, Analysis, and Investigation. Additionally, I found 33 articles from international agencies such as Spain (EFE Agency), France (AFA Agency), Argentina (La Nación), and Mexico (El Universal). Finally, there are 14 editorial articles from El Comercio. This resulted in a total of 136 articles that I analyzed in detail (see Appendix B for the whole list of articles used in the study).

Ojo Publico

To select articles from Ojo Publico, I did not access an official archive, but learned that they often share their published articles on social media, and in particular on their Twitter account. I visited their Twitter account (now called "X") and searched by date searching '(from ojo_publico) until:2022-12-19 since:2022-12-01'). I reviewed the search results, and in particular, whenever there was a link to a news article published on their website. In this context, it is

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[2] I'm calling 'signed articles' to the pieces written and signed with the name of a journalist who works for El Comercio.

important to note that there might be an involuntary source data bias. Since I did not have access to the newspaper's formal archive, there is the possibility that they published some articles that did not appear on Twitter, and therefore are missing from my data set.

It is important to note that Ojo Publico, as an independent media outlet, doesn't publish as much as El Comercio. As a result, I found fewer articles to analyze. This is in part because, in the first seven days of December, except for one article on December 1st that talked about the events that led Castillo to face a possible vacancy, Ojo Publico was following and publishing articles about different topics such as the legalization of abortion, Deforestation in the Peruvian jungle, sexual violence crimes, the 2023 budget, mining issues, problems in native communities, Peruvian Health, betting houses in Peru, Poland against abortion and LGBT, even Coca Cola and the use of plastic. After December 7th, they started to focus on the political crisis and protests, but this did not mean that they stopped covering other topics.

As a result, I only found 83 articles that addressed the political crisis, and most of these were news articles.

In conclusion, the process of gathering articles from El Comercio and Ojo Publico provided valuable insights into their coverage of the political crisis in Peru. Despite facing limitations in accessing Ojo Publico's official archive, the review of their Twitter activity shed light on their engagement with the unfolding events. Moving forward, the analysis of these articles will offer a nuanced understanding of how these two media outlets approached and portrayed a political crisis, contributing to the broader discourse on media coverage in crisis situations.

Analyze Content For Themes And Patterns.

This is the fourth step of the analysis, which looks for patterns and recognizes differences in how media reported about the government before and after the change. The goal here is to categorize the selected news and separate news using criteria such as dates, topics, tone, etc.

While in the process of reading both media outlets' articles, I classified them into three categories according to (1) the type of news article, (2) the tone they were written with, and (3) the general topic they were addressing.

Type of News Article:

First, to determine the type of article, I followed the El Comercio classification outlined above. This includes several article types: news articles, opinions, analyses, investigations, and editorials.

Tone the article is written in:

Second, I developed the analysis of tone. At first I focused on three subcategories to determine the tone of coverage: Positive, Negative, and Neutral. However, due to the complexity of this crisis and the two political actors involved, I adjusted this framework to reflect how the news coverage treated the two politicians. In the end, I adopted a simple, but more accurate, categorization into five subcategories which are listed below:

1. Positive for Castillo
2. Positive for Boluarte
3. Neutral
4. Negative for Castillo
5. Negative for Boluarte

A 'positive' tone, for either Castillo or Boluarte, means an article openly shows support for what the government was doing when the person was in power or just positive with him/her personal figure. A 'neutral' article does not make a value judgment on the facts, e.g. the article focuses only on the facts. It is important to note that I'm qualifying an article as 'neutral' because of the tone, not because of the content. With this in mind, I could find an article that, for instance, tells all about what Castillo did to end up in jail, which can be considered 'negative' for him but still has a neutral tone, so I would qualify that article as 'neutral'. Finally, a 'negative' article is an article where the media outlet openly expresses rejection of what the government did or how the person acts. Below, examples are provided to illustrate the previously described categories. (see table 8 below)

Political Tone	Example

Negative for Castillo	Castillo "has become, consequently, a dictator and thus must go down in History, in whose pages of infamy today he shares a place with all the ruffians who in the past tried to subvert the constitutional order in our country." (El Comercio, 2022, para. 1)
Negative for Boluarte	"President Boluarte has made her debut with interventions that contribute to the chaos unleashed in the country." (El Comercio, 2022, Strapline)
Neutral	"In a special session, Dina Boluarte was sworn in this Wednesday, December 7, as the new president of the Republic after the decision of Congress to vacate Pedro Castillo" (El Comercio, 2022, para. 1)
Positive for Castillo	There were no 'positive for Castillo' articles found during the study.
Positive for Boluarte	"The response of the legitimate authority – that is, the government established after the coup plotter's vacancy – cannot delay" (El Comercio, 2022, para. 3)

Table 8 Tone Examples.

General topic addressed in the article:

Lastly, I categorized the articles into six groups according to the main topic these articles were addressing. The six categories I used are Crisis, Vacancy, Coup D'état, Transition, Protests, and Finance. These categories do not exclude one another; for instance, to be precise, all the analyzed articles address the issue of the political crisis, or those discussing finances do so within the context of how protests against the political crisis specifically affect the finances of Peruvians. Nonetheless, each article primarily focuses on one of these categories, and thus, I have segmented them accordingly. The following table shows definitions and examples for each category.

Topic	Definition	Examples Extracts.
Crisis	Articles referring to the political crisis in general	Balance for the Castillo government, survey: Impressions about the President,

Vacancy	Articles with the possible Castillo's Vacancy as main topic	Allegations of corruption provide grounds for Castillo's removal, analysis of what could happened in the vacancy vote.
Coup D'état	Articles focused just on Castillo's acts on Dec 7th	Interview to Constitutional Tribunal president on whether it was a Coup and news about how supported that position
Transition	Articles referring to the transition in power from Castillo to Boluarte	Dina Boluarte receives the support of ambassadors, early elections
Protests	Articles that talk about the protests	Police intelligence handles information about the alleged participation of legislators close to former President Pedro Castillo in the mobilizations, deaths, violence, airports closed
Finance	Articles on how the protests were affecting the economy	The conditions are not in place for public investment to be carried out normally or Impact of protests in Cusco reaches S/2 million daily

Table 9 Topic definitions and examples.

In conclusion, the fourth step of this analysis aimed to discern a framework I could use to explore patterns and disparities in how El Comercio and Ojo Publico reported on the government before and after the significant crisis of December 7th. By categorizing articles based on type, tone, and topic, a clearer understanding of each outlet's narrative and focus emerged. This classification process not only facilitated a comprehensive analysis but also provided valuable insights into the broader media landscape surrounding political events in Peru.

This chapter outlines the methodology for analyzing media coverage of the 2022 political crisis in Peru. It studies how news media portrayed the crisis, using Qualitative Media Content Analysis and agenda-setting/framing theory and takes into consideration concepts such as media bias perception and challenges in discerning false news. The research design involves generating a research question, gathering context, selecting content, and analyzing themes. Through this approach, the study aims to offer insights into media representation during the crisis. In the next chapter, I will address the final two steps for the analysis: fifth, review your results, individually and comparatively, and draw conclusions; and sixth, present the results of the investigation.

Findings and Discussion

In this chapter, following this analysis study, we delve into the heart of our investigation, where I will review the results found and draw conclusions in my comparison of how El Comercio and Ojo Publico approached news during the 2022 political crisis.

Results

Following, the results are individually presented for each dataset before proceeding to a comparative analysis between them. Through a meticulous analysis and categorization, I have categorized articles published in both El Comercio and Ojo Publico positively and negatively for both Castillo and Boluarte, and neutrally when they only presented facts without commentary.

El Comercio

The analysis provides insights into El Comercio's editorial approach taken towards key figures such as Castillo and Boluarte, shedding light on the overall narrative framing within the publication. As mentioned before, I made a comprehensive breakdown of how articles in El Comercio news media are distributed based on tone, type, and topic. The following tables show how the tone and type of article were distributed in El Comercio news media, and are organized by article type.

Row Labels	Analysis	Editorial	Interview	Investigation	News article	Opinion	Grand Total
Negative for Castillo	1	*11*	-	-	8	*9*	29
Negative for Boluarte	-	*2*	-	-	-	*3*	5
Neutral	*8*	-	*3*	*1*	*69*	*17*	98
Positive for Castillo	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Positive for Boluarte	-	*1*	-	*1*	*1*	*1*	4
Grand Total	**9**	**14**	**3**	**2**	**78**	**30**	**136**

Table 10 Type/Tone El Comercio.

- **Analysis**: There was a total of nine articles categorized as analysis. Among these, one article had a negative tone towards Castillo, eight were neutral, and none were positive towards either Castillo or Boluarte.
- **Editorial**: 14 articles were editorials. Among them, 11 had a negative tone towards Castillo, two were negative towards Boluarte, and one was positive towards Boluarte.
- **Interview**: There were three articles categorized as interviews. All of these had a neutral tone.
- **Investigation**: Two articles were classified as investigations, both of which had a neutral tone.
- **News article**: The largest category, with 78 articles, all of which had a neutral tone.
- **Opinion**: 30 articles were opinions. Nine of these had a negative tone towards Castillo, three were negative towards Boluarte, and 17 were neutral.

It is also important to highlight that, as shown, for type, most of the articles were news articles (78), and for tone, most of the total articles were neutral (98). For topic, the articles were

more balanced, but the crisis was the most recurring (40); on the other side, finance was the least recurring, with only six articles (see table below).

Topic	Count
Crisis	40
Vacancy	17
Coup d'état	22
Transition	33
Protests	18
Finance	6
Total	136

Table 11 El Comercio articles distribution by Topic.

A analysis of these aspects of the articles that includes a consideration of publication date shows that El Comercio produced higher numbers of articles when the key events happened. This is shown in the following two images (see Figures 2 and 3). As noted in crisis communication and agenda-setting theory, this is something that would be expected. When a key event happened, El Comercio took more time to generate content and news about it.
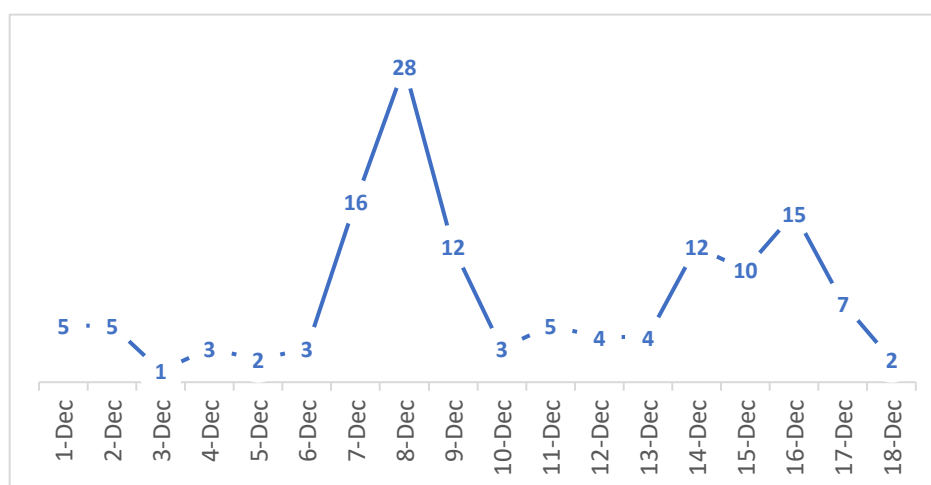
Figure 2 Total number of articles by date.
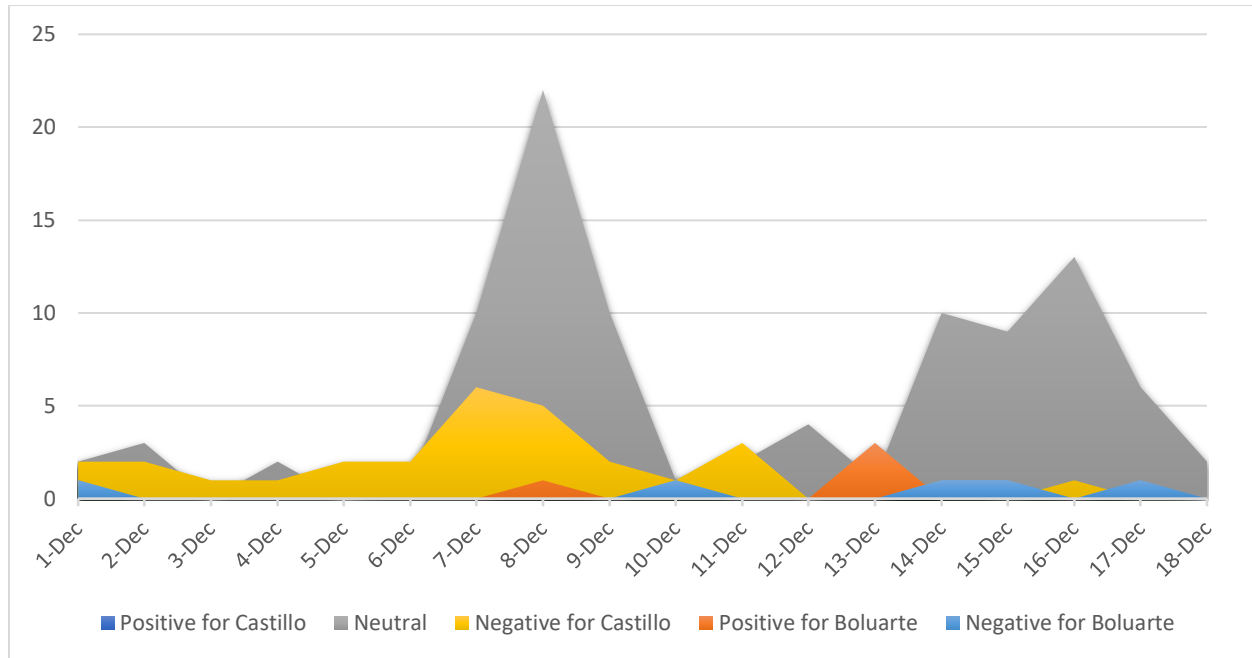
Figure 3 Daily tone distribution in news articles.

Figure 3 presents the tone alongside the time frame of the data set. It is interesting to note that, as seen in Figure 3, the few positive articles for Boluarte only appeared after Castillo's dismissal (one on December 8th, three on December 13th, and one more the day after). The first one noted that Boluarte is the first female president in Peru (which turns out to be an almost 'anecdotal' news article because the judgement is around her gender and not her management or actions). The other three 'positive for Boluarte' articles, published on December 13th, supported the police and military actions taken against the protests.
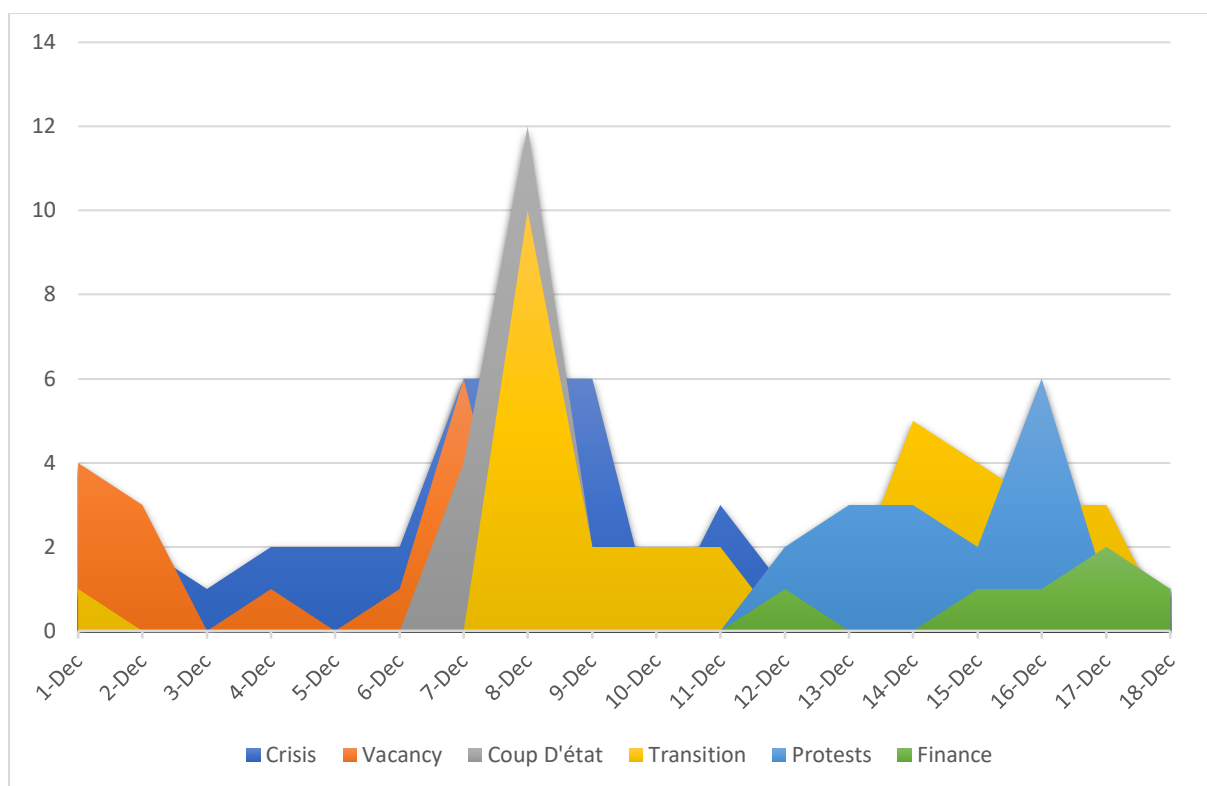
Figure 4 Articles according to topics.

Figure 4 presents the type of articles alongside the time frame of the data set. In general, and in line with agenda-setting and framing theory, figure 4 shows what it would be expected to receive from a big media outlet, at least in terms of the topics they picked. They talked about vacancy when the Congress was evaluating the vacancy vote; they also kept talking about the crisis the first two weeks of December; they spoke about the Coup D'état when Castillo tried to close the Congress and the transition in power after Castillo was put in jail, and they spoke about the protests when these started to happen. The only topic not extremely direct to the political crisis was the finance topic, which focused on how the protests were affecting the crisis and shared the idea that the more protests we have, the more prices increase and vice versa.

On the positive for Boluarte, some words and phrases indicate the journalists framed Dina Boluarte's taking of power as something positive but not necessarily politically positive. For instance, there was an article that gave positive enforcement to the transition because Boluarte is the first female president of the country; on December 8th, Maite Vizcarra, analyzing both the transition and Boluarte's speech, wrote,

> "It cannot be hidden that our desperation to build an illusion can surround the president with a halo of hope that she tried yesterday to embody by narrating part of her personal

story in her inauguration speech while identifying with all Peruvian mothers who suffer so much in the country (…) In the popular imagination, along with the empowered maternal figure, the figure of the absent father appears. Almost half of Peruvians have as their only reference this mother, who is also a father." (Vizcarra, 2022, para. 5 and 6)

In the following days, the positive articles that appeared were articles supporting the police and how they were repressing manifestations using phrases such as "The response of the legitimate authority" in their Editorial article on December 13th (El Comercio, 2022, para 3). These articles included sections calling the protesters "vandals" (*El Comercio, 2022, para. 2*), or even just focusing on those protests that claim the freedom to Castillo, living the protests that were complaining about the congress or even Boluarte on their December 14th Editorial article. As mentioned, the few positive articles only started showing after Castillo's destitution.

On the Neutral side of the articles, even though they were written in a neutral tone, there are some findings worth mentioning. For example, the financial articles only started appearing when the manifestations were taking place, and they always focused on how manifestations were negatively affecting the economy. For instance, El Comercio decided to publish and interview Guillermo Arbe on December 17th, who said, "The conditions are not in place for public investment to be carried out normally." (Arbe, 2022, para. 1) which also was the headline of the article.

On the topic of the Coup d'état, when the articles were generally neutral, repetitive phrases that remarked on what Castillo did could be found. For instance, on the international articles from the Agencia EFE, which El Comercio did not write but decided to share, I found the phrase "**Castillo's gesture was described as a Coup D'état** by members of his own Government and was rejected by the Armed Forces and the Police" (bold not in the original article but added by El Comercio), this phrase was found at the end of articles that not only mentioned that left-wing presidents, such as AMLO from Mexico (Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador) or Gabriel Boric from Chile, supported Castillo's narrative of political persecution, but also show that critics to Castillo from the OAS secretary and the European Union.

The Editorial pieces are essential in this study because, as mentioned before, they clearly show El Comercio's position on the issues; these articles are published early in the morning in their printed and digital versions. As mentioned before, there was only one positive for Boluarte Editorial articles. The other 13 were divided into seven openly against Castillo Editorial articles

(one of them, before December 7ᵗʰ, also showed support for Boluarte as the possible new president), two against Boluarte, and four against anyone who supported Castillo's narrative. This included the OAS[3] with phrases such as "The OAS (...) has chosen to issue a convenient report for the Government, where nothing is said about how this is the main promoter of the crisis that the country is currently going through"(*El Comercio, 2022, para. 7*). In several articles, they used words such as 'corruption' and 'Castillo' as the only words in bold, suggesting a connection between those words. They also used words such as "ridicule and shamelessness" or "Tremendous damage" when referring to Castillo's actions. Finally, El Comercio dedicated a particular digital Editorial article on the afternoon of December 7ᵗʰ, after Castillo's fall, which not only included words such as "Coup d'état, pages of infamy, dictator, ruffian, tyrant, etc." to refer to Castillo, but also an audio version of the same article read with a firm voice and changing chords played with an instrument that I would call a deep synthesizer, adding a particular atmosphere to the text.

It is opportune to recall that using bold words or phrases or just repeating them constantly is one way to frame news, creating a specific frame. The objective is, as Koerber describes, emphasizing an idea and pushing it into the people's imaginary (2017).

Ojo Publico

On the other hand, for Ojo Publico, I followed the same categorization used for El Comercio, for type, tone and topic. In the case of tone and type, I found that Ojo Publico did not publish any editorial or opinion articles, and most of the articles, 77 of 83, were news articles, as shown in the table below (table 12).

Row Labels	Analysis	Editorial	Interview	Investigation	News article	Opinion	Grand Total
Negative for Castillo	1	-	2	-	-	-	3
Negative for Boluarte	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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[3] During the first days of December, an OAS report said there was a "destabilizing media" in Peru, and the OAS was worried about Freedom of expression. El Comercio published some articles criticizing this report.

Neutral	-	-	-	*3*	*77*	-	80
Positive for Castillo	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Positive for Boluarte	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grand Total	1	0	2	3	**77**	**0**	**83**

Table 12 Ojo Publico Tone/type table.

- **Analysis**: One article was an analysis, and it had a negative tone towards Castillo.
- **Editorial**: There were no articles classified as editorials.
- **Interview**: Two articles were labelled as interviews; both had a negative tone toward Castillo.
- **Investigation**: Three articles were classified as investigations, none of which had a specified tone towards Castillo or Boluarte.
- **News article**: The largest category with 77 articles, none of which had a specified tone towards Castillo or Boluarte.
- **Opinion**: There were no articles classified as opinions.

A total of 83 articles were analyzed, with only one article categorized as analysis and the rest falling under the categories of interview (2), investigation (3), or news article (77). No articles were classified as editorials or opinions (see Table 13 below), and most were neutral (80).

Type of article	Count
Editorial	0
Opinion	0
Analysis	1
Investigation	3
Interview	2
News article	77
Total	83

Table 13 Ojo Publico articles by type of articles.

Mapping the articles onto the date range of the data set, we can see there are also gaps in publication that may be explained due to the lack of important events happening. They also seem to correlate with weekends, where Ojo Publico probably did not have as many people working as during the week. This analysis is shown in the figure below.
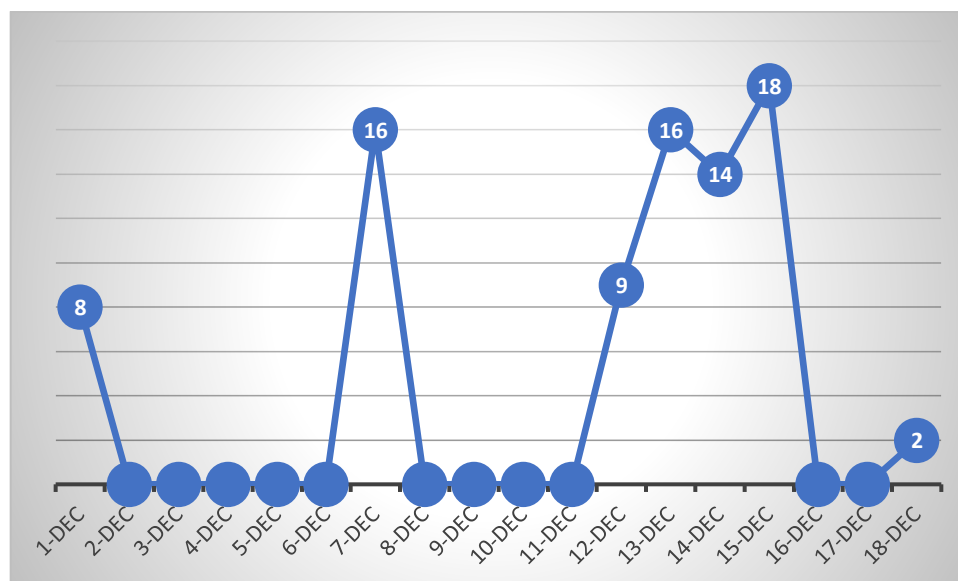
Figure 5 Ojo Publico number of articles referring to the crisis during the time frame of this study.

In the case of this media outlet, I could not find any positive articles for either Castillo or Boluarte. There were only three negative articles against Castillo in total; one of them, published on December 1st, was a summary of Castillo's situation facing the vacancy vote at the beginning of December; following this train of thought, one point to highlight is that Ojo Publico also defined Castillo's actions as an attempt of Coup d'état. Like El Comercio, most articles were neutral, including the 77 news articles.

One unique point to highlight from Ojo Public's overage of the protests is that they shared short stories of people who died. Ojo Publico shared details including their names, what they did for a living, their family structure, how they died, and even what they liked to do in their spare time. For instance, they published an article titled "A memorial for the teenagers and young people killed in the protests" (Ojo Publico, 2022), where they tell stories of young people killed during the protests. In the context of agenda-setting and framing theory, this article is important to take into consideration when analyzing how Ojo Publico covered these issues.

Another point to highlight is that Ojo Publico updated some of its articles. For instance, the abovementioned article was updated on January 26th, 2023, while no updated articles were found in my review of El Comercio's coverage.

Comparison.

As discussed above, El Comercio's extensive coverage, including editorials and opinion pieces, reflects a broader spectrum of perspectives, with some negative portrayals of Castillo. Conversely, Ojo Publico's more streamlined approach, primarily focused on news articles, suggests a commitment to factual reporting with zero editorial opinions. In this phase of the analysis, the focus shifts to comparing and contrasting patterns and distinctions in how the two media outlets, El Comercio and Ojo Publico, reported on the government before and after a change.

This comparative analysis involves the same categories, with El Comercio featuring a broader range of article types, including news, opinion, analysis, investigation, and editorials. El Comercio's coverage reflected vital events, such as the political crisis and transition of power, with negative portrayals of Castillo and supportive narratives of the new government. Conversely, Ojo Publico primarily published news articles, maintaining a neutral stance throughout, even categorizing Castillo's actions as an attempted coup. Notably, Ojo Publico's coverage of protests humanized victims who died during the protests, providing detailed accounts of those who lost their lives. The analysis underscores the nuanced approaches of these outlets in covering complex political events and their divergent editorial perspectives.

El Comercio and Ojo Publico datasets offer distinct perspectives on the crisis, allowing us to identify critical patterns and differences. Through this comparative analysis, I aim to elucidate the nuances between El Comercio and Ojo Publico's coverage, providing valuable insights into our research questions.

Type

The following graphic presents a comparative analysis of the types of articles published by the two Peruvian media outlets.
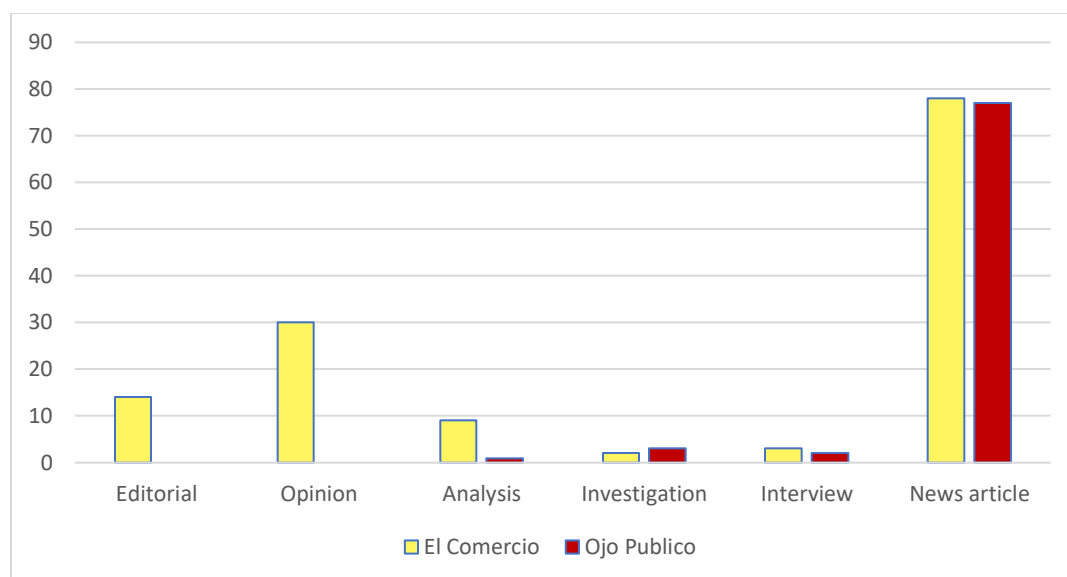
Figure 6 El Comercio and Ojo Publico articles' type comparison.

El Comercio exhibited various article types, including Editorial, Opinion, Analysis, Investigation, Interview, and News articles. Notably, it has published many editorial and opinion pieces, totalling 44 articles. These likely reflect the outlet's editorial stance and subjective viewpoints on the Peruvian political crisis.

In contrast, Ojo Publico did not produce any Editorial or Opinion articles during the same period, signalling a more singular focus on objective reporting rather than editorializing. Both outlets engaged in investigative journalism, with El Comercio producing a modest number of Analysis and Investigation articles (11). Similarly, Ojo Publico published three Investigation articles.

El Comercio and Ojo Publico prioritized News articles, with 78 and 77 publications, respectively. This emphasis underscores their primary focus on reporting information and updates on political developments. Despite this, the number of Interview articles could have been higher for both outlets, suggesting a lesser emphasis on direct engagement with key stakeholders involved in the crisis.

Overall, this comparison reveals differing approaches between El Comercio and Ojo Publico regarding their article types. El Comercio integrates diverse forms of commentary alongside its

news reporting, predominantly through opinion and editorial pieces. Additionally, it employs strategies such as bolding words or adding descriptive adjectives within its news articles, which draw reader attention and frame issues in certain ways. In contrast, Ojo Publico maintains a more objective approach to news coverage, prioritizing factual reporting without overt editorialization.

Topic

This graphic compares the coverage of different topics related to the Peruvian political crisis during the analyzed period.
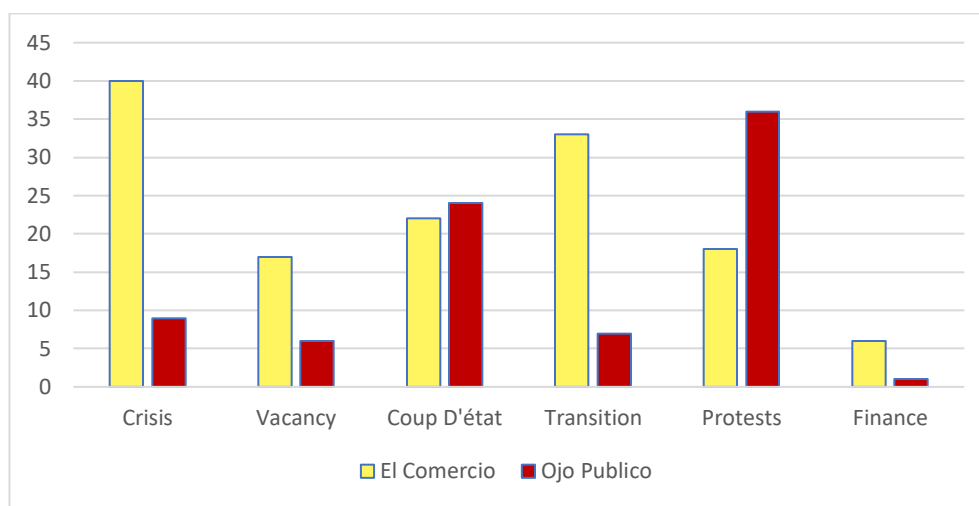
Figure 7 El Comercio and Ojo Publico topic comparison.

El Comercio provided extensive coverage across various topics, with the crisis being the most prominent, comprising 40 articles. Additionally, El Comercio allocated significant attention to topics such as the Vacancy process (17 articles), especially before the fall of Castillo and the subsequent Transition of power (33 articles), reflecting the depth of its reporting on key political events and developments.

Conversely, Ojo Publico demonstrated a different focus in its coverage, with a notable emphasis on reporting about the protests that ensued during the crisis, totalling 36 articles (which does not include tweets that were almost four times that amount). This suggests that Ojo Publico may have been prioritizing grassroots movements and civil unrest in its reporting agenda. As noted earlier, this coverage was framed a certain way, highlighting details about individual protestors

killed during the crisis. While Ojo Publico dedicated fewer articles to the initial crisis than El Comercio, higher levels of coverage of the Coup D'état (24 articles) indicates a keen interest in analyzing the political implications and actions surrounding the event.

Interestingly, Ojo Publico exhibited minimal coverage of the financial aspects of the crisis, with only one article dedicated to Finance. This suggests a lesser focus on economic ramifications than El Comercio, which published six articles on the topic, all of which focused on the impact of the protests on Peruvian finance. Overall, in line with agenda-setting and framing theory, both outlets provided extensive coverage of the crisis but with differing emphases on specific topics, reflecting their distinct editorial priorities and angles in reporting the unfolding events.

Tone

The following graphic compares how articles were distributed according to tone and shows that the percentages differed even when the two outlets had a similar number of neutral articles. Furthermore, El Comercio's coverage exhibited a higher diversity of tones, with a notable predominance of Neutral articles (98). This indicates a relatively balanced approach in presenting information without overt editorial bias. However, the outlet also published many Negative articles (34), especially against Castillo (29 of those 34), suggesting a critical stance or unfavourable portrayal of certain aspects of the crisis.
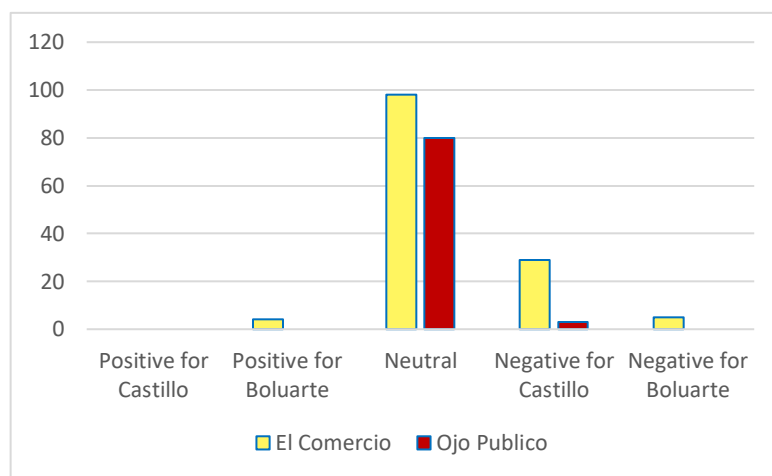
Figure 8 El Comercio and Ojo Publico articles' tone comparisson.

In contrast, Ojo Publico's coverage emphasized Neutral articles (80), signifying a commitment to objective reporting and factual presentation. However, the outlet published fewer negative for Castillo articles (3), indicating a comparatively restrained approach to expressing open criticism or opposing viewpoints, at least in their official articles. Notably, Ojo Publico did not publish any articles with a Positive tone, neither before nor after the fall of Castillo, suggesting a lack of overtly supportive or favourable commentary on the events surrounding the crisis. They also did not post any negative articles against Boluarte.

Overall, El Comercio and Ojo Publico maintained a predominantly Neutral tone in their coverage of the Peruvian political crisis, reflecting a commitment to impartial reporting and factual accuracy. However, El Comercio exhibited a higher proportion of Negative articles, indicating a more critical perspective on the crisis, first against Castillo's government and then against the protests. On the other hand, Ojo Publico had a Neutral tone in their articles but did not show any affinity with Castillo, but rather with the protesters.

News in time

El Comercio and Ojo Publico, concerning the Peruvian political crisis across various dates during the analyzed period. On December 7th, a significant surge in articles was evident for both El Comercio and Ojo Publico, with 16 articles each coinciding with critical events in the crisis, such as substantial political actions or protests.

Throughout the analyzed period, El Comercio maintained a consistent level of article publication, with fluctuations observed on specific dates. For instance, notable peaks in El Comercio's article publication occurred on December 8th (28 articles), right after Castillo's fall, and December 14th (12 articles), after the first wave of violence unleashed in Apurimac, indicating heightened media activity surrounding specific events or issues related to the crisis.

In contrast, Ojo Publico exhibited a more sporadic pattern of article publication, with fewer articles overall than El Comercio. However, Ojo Publico displayed notable spikes in article publication on December 12th (9 articles), December 13th (16 articles), and December 15th (18 articles), suggesting a quicker and more focused response to the waves of violence compared to El Comercio (see graphic below).
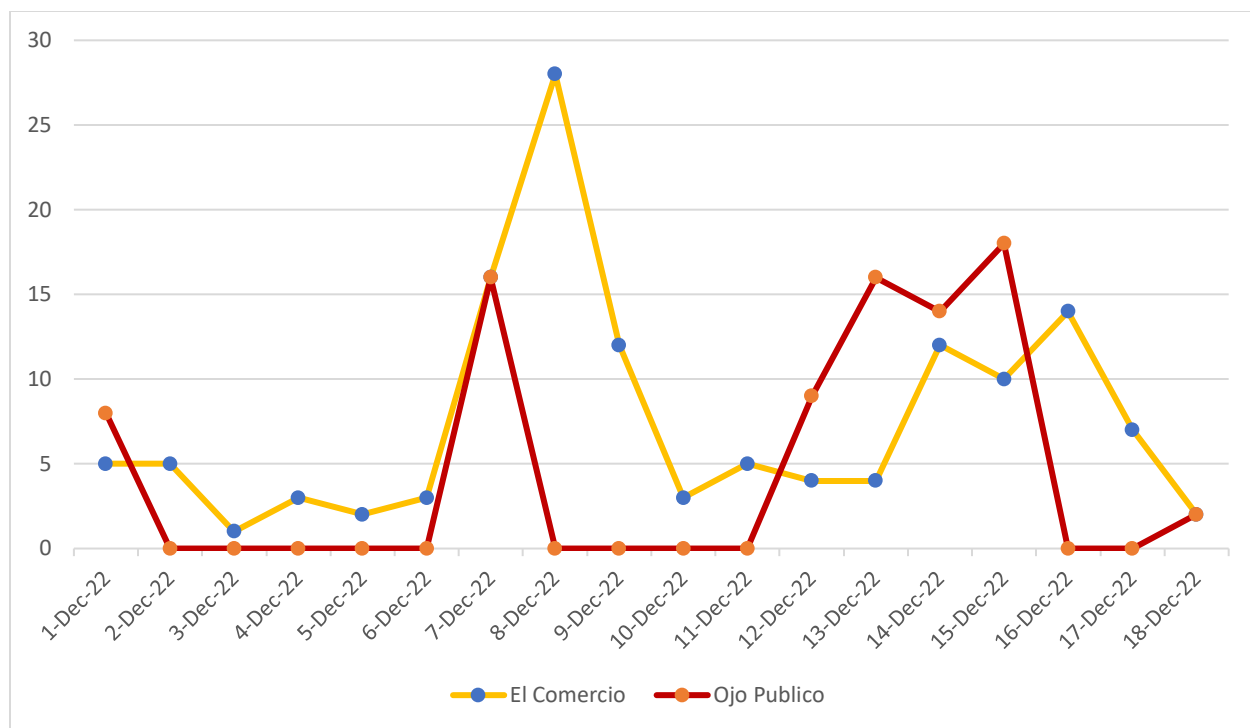
Figure 9 El Comercio and Ojo Publico articles in time.

Overall, and in line with crisis communication theory, both El Comercio and Ojo Publico demonstrated responsiveness to crucial events and developments within the Peruvian political crisis, as reflected in the varying levels of article publication across different dates. The distribution of articles underscores the dynamic nature of media coverage and its alignment with critical moments or shifts in the unfolding crisis.

Present Your Results.

For this final step and, based on the analysis of the articles, I will present several key findings that emerged regarding the agenda-setting and framing strategies employed by El Comercio and Ojo Publico, which are the following:

1. Negative Portrayal of Castillo by El Comercio.

Even though El Comercio remained neutral in most of the analyzed articles, we can conclude that they portrayed Castillo negatively because they consistently depicted Castillo's presidency negatively, emphatically framing him as a coup plotter. When they shared an opinion,

this opinion was radical, using not only strong adjectives or phrases against Castillo but also words in bold to remark on their position. This framing likely influenced public perception of Castillo's leadership and contributed to a sense of instability during the end of his tenure.

2. Emphasis on the Victims of Protest Violence by Ojo Publico.

Ojo Publico placed significant emphasis on the violence experienced by protesters during demonstrations. By highlighting the human impact of these events, Ojo Publico sought to engage readers emotionally and foster empathy toward the protesters. Despite maintaining a primarily neutral stance, Ojo Publico's coverage underscored the importance of the protest movement.

3. El Comercio Focused on the Negative Side of the Protests and Saw the Response of the Legitimate Authority as Positive.

Although there were only six finance articles related to the protests, in them El Comercio emphasized the negative financial repercussions of the protests, describing how they were impacting the markets. They also utilized words such as "vandals" to describe protesters. Additionally, El Comercio portrayed the police and military favourably, framing their actions as necessary for maintaining order and stability in their 'protests' articles. In this context, positive articles about Boluarte's government were found when El Comercio agreed with what Boluarte was doing about the topic.

4. Consensus on Castillo's Actions as a Coup Attempt.

Both El Comercio and Ojo Publico characterized Castillo's actions on December 7th as a coup d'état. This framing positioned Castillo's actions as a threat to democratic governance and further contributed to the negative portrayal of his presidency.

5. Limited Focus on Political Crisis by Ojo Publico Initially.

Ojo Publico did not initially prioritize coverage of the political crisis during the first seven days of December. This suggests that Ojo Publico focused on other news topics during this period, possibly due to editorial priorities or the perceived significance of different events.

6. Scarcity of Positive Governmental Coverage.

Neither El Comercio nor Ojo Publico offered extensive positive commentary on the government. However, El Comercio did highlight Dina Boluarte's historic role as Peru's first female president and expressed support for police efforts to contain protests, albeit sparingly.

Overall, these findings illustrate the nuanced agenda-setting and framing strategies employed by El Comercio and Ojo Publico, which played a crucial role in shaping public discourse and perceptions of political events during the period analyzed.

Conclusions

Considering the dynamics of media messaging and narrative during the Peruvian political crisis in 2022, this study aims to offer essential insights into the media operation in Peru, particularly during times of political crisis, by investigating the function of concentrated media ownership and its possible impact on information distribution. The results of this study indicate the need for more intense public awareness and critical media content analysis. Additionally, the research into how editorial agendas affect media narratives tries to show how factual reporting may be affected. Media coverage can be manipulated, biased, and spread disinformation, ultimately shaping public opinion and influencing the outcome of political events such as public support or elections. Understanding how media shapes narratives is critical to understanding the role of media in politics and, particularly, in political crises.

This study has shed light on the agenda-setting and framing strategies employed by El Comercio and Ojo Publico during the 2022 political crisis in Peru through an in-depth examination of their coverage. The analysis revealed distinct patterns and priorities in how these outlets reported on critical events and developments, offering valuable insights into their editorial perspectives and influences on public discourse.

El Comercio's coverage portrayed President Castillo as unstable and characterized by attempts to undermine democratic governance. This portrayal, coupled with a focus on the protests' negative aspects and a favourable depiction of law enforcement actions, likely influenced public perceptions of the political landscape and contributed to a sense of polarized discourse.

In contrast, Ojo Publico maintained a primarily neutral stance in its reporting, prioritizing objective coverage of events while highlighting the human impact of protest violence. By humanizing the victims of these events, Ojo Publico sought to foster empathy and understanding among its readers, emphasizing the importance of grassroots movements and civil unrest in shaping the political landscape.

Both outlets reached a consensus on characterizing Castillo's actions on December 7th as a coup attempt, reflecting a shared perspective on the gravity of the situation and its implications

for democratic governance. However, Ojo Publico's initial limited focus on the political crisis during the first week of December suggests editorial priorities or alternative news topics of perceived significance.

Although this study picked the most representative commercial media outlet in Peru and the most trusted independent outlet in the country, the analysis was limited to only these two media outlets, potentially overlooking nuances in other sources. Additionally, the study primarily examined written content, neglecting other forms of media, such as video and audio broadcasts, which could offer different perspectives. Furthermore, the analysis was conducted within a specific timeframe, and subsequent developments may have altered the media landscape and narrative framing.

Despite these limitations, this study presents various opportunities for future research in media analysis. One avenue for exploration is to expand the analysis to include a broader range of media outlets, both domestically and internationally, to provide a more comprehensive understanding of media portrayal during political crises. Additionally, future research could delve deeper into the role of social media platforms in shaping public perception and discourse surrounding political events, offering insights into the evolving media landscape.

Based on this study's findings and limitations, several recommendations can be made for future research endeavors. Firstly, researchers should consider adopting a mixed-methods approach that combines qualitative and quantitative analysis to gain a more holistic understanding of media representation. Additionally, longitudinal studies tracking media coverage over an extended period could provide valuable insights into the evolution of narrative framing and agenda-setting over time. Furthermore, exploring the influence of media bias and ownership on narrative construction would contribute to a deeper understanding of media dynamics during political turmoil.

Overall, the findings of this study, besides its limitations, underscore the complex interplay between media coverage, agenda-setting, and framing in shaping public discourse and perceptions of political events and crises. By understanding the strategies employed by media outlets like El Comercio and Ojo Publico, stakeholders can better navigate the diverse media

landscape and critically evaluate the information presented to them. As Peru continues to grapple with political challenges and transitions, the role of the media in shaping public opinion remains as crucial as ever, highlighting the importance of continued scrutiny and analysis of media practices and narratives.

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Appendices

A. Vladivideo Video Frame. Video Frame of the meeting between Vladimiro Montesinos and José Enrique Crousillat (who owned America Television then).

B. El Comercio Media Ownership. The graphic on the right shows that El Comercio owns 3 TV stations, 20 printed presses (including magazines), and 15 digital media brands—an image from Ojo Publico magazine.
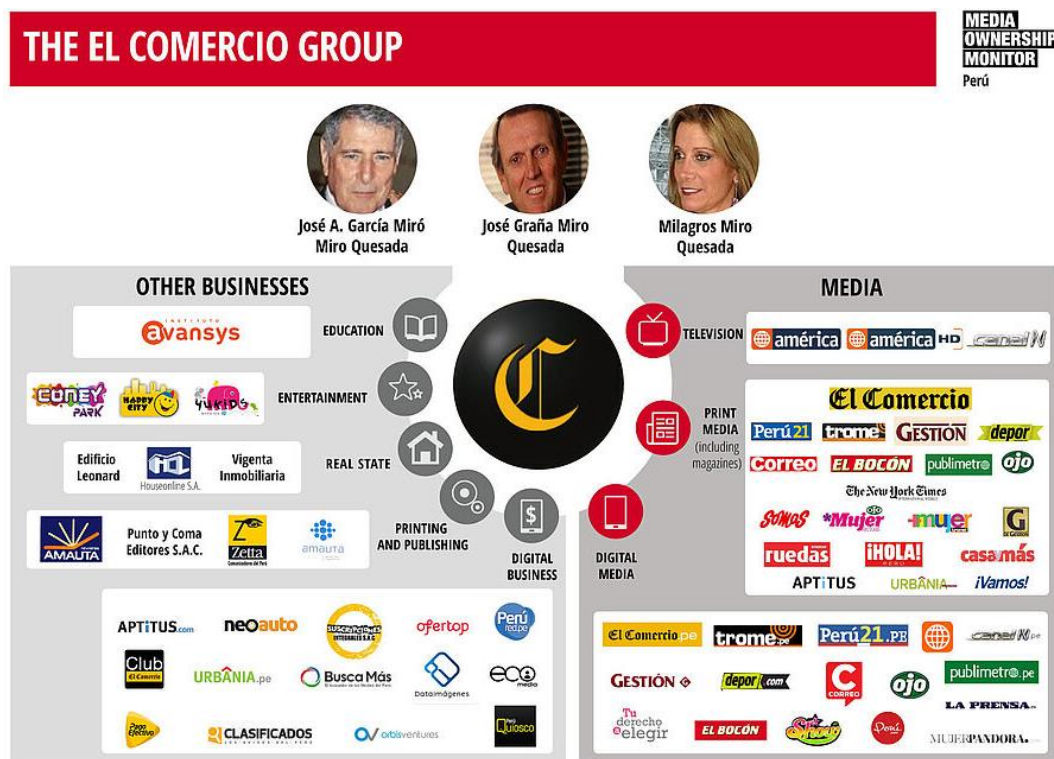
C. Summary of Crucial events since Pedro Castillo was President

Date	Event
Nov 8th 2021	Former Peruvian Army commander General José Vizcarra claimed that President Castillo and his secretary general at the time, Bruno Pacheco, put pressure on him to promote two colonels. Vizcarra was demoted from his post for not promoting them.
Nov 15th 2021	A conversation between Castillo's secretary was made public, where he supposedly pressured the head of the tax administration to help close friends. The situation worsened when the prosecutor inspected the government building and discovered 20,000 US dollars hidden in Pacheco's toilet. Pacheco ultimately decided to resign to face the investigations.
March 23rd and 31st 2022	Fray Vásquez, Castillo's nephew, and Bruno Pacheco, the former executive secretary, were the first to flee justice following the serious corruption revelations. Additionally, it is discovered that congressmen are involved in this corruption allegations.
May 20th 2022	Pablo Sánchez, the Prosecutor of the Nation at the time, decided to launch an investigation into Castillo and the area around him for the presumptive crimes of organized crime, aggravated influence trafficking, and state collusion in aggravated crimes.
June 5th 2022	Juan Silva, former Castillo minister, who was involved in the corrupt activities, flees, which results in the removal from office of the previous interior minister in the Congress.
June 21st 2022	According to the fiscal general (auditor general) of Peru, Castillo was the subject of six ongoing fiscal investigations relating to the cases of the Puente Tarata and Petroperu, the flaw in his master's thesis, his rise through the ranks of the Armed Forces and Police, his alleged premeditated obstruction of justice to assassinate members of his government, and his leadership of an organisation that provided construction services across the nation.

Oct 11th 2022	Fiscal general Patricia Benavides filed a constitutional complaint against Castillo alleging crimes related to criminal organisation, collusion, and the trafficking of influence. The document was accepted by the Sub commission on Constitutional Accusations.
Dec 7th 2022	Castillo's close associate admitted to a Congressional Committee that the president received money from him. A short while afterwards, Castillo announced the closure of the Parliament, the establishment of a Government of Exception, and the restructuring of numerous institutions like the Supreme Court, the Constitutional Court, and the General Prosecutor's Office, among others. After trying to dissolve the Congress, Castillo immediately imposed a national curfew, installed an emergency government that declared he would rule by decree and called a constitutional convention. However, his opponents in Congress called for a vote to remove him, claiming he had displayed "permanent moral incompetence" in leading the country, and got Castillo's vacancy approbation. Castillo's attempt ended with his arrest that same afternoon.
Dec 10th, 2022	Dina Boluarte, Castillo's former vice president, was subsequently sworn in as Peru's first female president.
Dec 14th 2022	After several protests, the new administration declared a state of emergency for 30 days nationwide in response to the overflowing demonstrations. Castillo continues to be detained while waiting for a decision on whether he must serve 18 months of preventive detention for attempting to undermine the constitutional order on December 15th.

D. Dataset: El Comercio Articles. The list of articles from El Comercio used for the analysis. (The colour yellow means that it is an Editorial piece)

Date	Headline	Tone	Text excerpt	Type	Topic
01-Dec	Vacancia de Pedro Castillo queda en manos de Perú Libre: ¿Cuál es el ánimo en las bancadas?	Neutral	Describes some political parties voting intention for the Vacancy.	News article	Vacancy
01-Dec	Pedro Castillo: Congreso decidirá este jueves 1 de diciembre si admite a debate la moción de vacancia	Neutral	Congress will vote for the vacancy.	News article	Vacancy
01-Dec	Pedro Castillo: el paso a paso de la tercera moción de vacancia presidencial	Negative	Steps for the Vacancy	News article	Vacancy
01-Dec	Dina: ¿transición y reformas?	Negative	Boluarte as the best option of the country.	Opinion	Transition
01-Dec	Elementos de convicción	Negative	The new presidential vacancy motion provides inescapable evidence of the president's moral incapacity.	Editorial	Vacancy
02-Dec	Pedro Castillo: ¿Qué rol juega Perú Libre en su tercer proceso de vacancia en el Congreso?	Neutral	Describes how votes have changed from the first 2 vacancy process to the third.	News article	Vacancy

02-Dec	Fernando Vivas: "El gobierno quiere conjurar la vacancia diciendo que nunca quisieron cerrar el Congreso"| VIDEOCOLUMNA	Negative	Openly critics the Government position (Executive)	Opinion	Vacancy
02-Dec	Avanzan en el Congreso las propuestas de suspensión presidencial y adelanto de elecciones: el detalle de los dictámenes	Neutral	Presents news about the proposal of presidential suspension and early elections	News article	Crisis
02-Dec	Cuestión de confianza: ¿El TC dará la razón al Congreso en su demanda contra el Gobierno? | ANÁLISIS	Negative	Constitutional Tribunal would support Congress.	Analysis	Crisis
02-Dec	Pedro Castillo: Congreso admite moción y debatirá vacancia presidencial el 7 de diciembre	Neutral	Describes how were the votes for the vacancy proposal.	News article	Vacancy
03-Dec	El Perú, según la OEA	Negative	Critiques on the OAS report	Editorial	Crisis
04-Dec	Pedro Castillo: ¿el debate de la moción de vacancia podría postergarse en el Congreso? | Análisis	Neutral	Explores the possibility of having the vacancy process delated.	Analysis	Vacancy
04-Dec	Encuesta Ipsos: Crece la percepción de que Pedro Castillo está involucrado en casos de corrupción	Neutral	IPSOS survey: Impressions about the President.	News article	Crisis
04-Dec	Muñeco ventrílocuo	Negative	OAS report follows the Government narrative	Opinion	Crisis

05-Dec	El gobierno de Castillo en el bicentenario	Negative	Negative balance for the Castillo government	Opinion	Crisis
05-Dec	Los que quedan	Negative	The recent appointments in the DINI and the PCM confirm that the government is no longer interested in governing, but simply in staying in power.	Editorial	Crisis
06-Dec	¿Vacancia de la presidencia?	Neutral	If the vacancy is approved, Boluarte's challenge will be to put together a government capable of providing a minimum of stability to the country.	Opinion	Vacancy
06-Dec	Wilson Barrantes a la DINI: ¿A qué apunta el presidente Castillo con esta cuestionada designación?	Negative	Critics Castillo appointment of the new head of the National Intelligence Directorate	News article	Crisis
06-Dec	Pedro Castillo: los polémicos personajes que recibe en Palacio en medio de esta nueva crisis política	Negative	the controversial characters he receives in the Palace during this new political crisis	News article	Crisis
07-Dec	Si no es hoy, será mañana	Negative	What Boluarte needs to do after the vacancy.	Opinion	Vacancy
07-Dec	Castillo no puede no cerrar el Congreso	Negative		Opinion	Vacancy

07-Dec	Pedro Castillo pidió S/2 millones a Geiner Alvarado para evitar que sus sobrinos vayan a prisión, según Salatiel Marrufo	Neutral	Pedro Castillo asked Geiner Alvarado for S/2 million to prevent his nephews from going to prison	News article	Crisis
07-Dec	Pedro Castillo y la vacancia: posturas y entretelones de una votación a definirse hasta último momento	Neutral	analysis of what could happened in the vacancy vote.	News article	Vacancy
07-Dec	"Es un golpe de Estado, un quebrantamiento del orden constitucional"	Neutral	Interview to Constitutional Tribunal president.	Interview	Coup D'état
07-Dec	Un relato por entregas	Negative	Third vacancy motion	Editorial	Vacancy
07-Dec	Golpe	Negative	Hard critic to Castillo, support to Boluarte	Editorial	Coup D'état
07-Dec	Óscar Caipo: "Es un atentado contra la democracia y una acción dictatorial"	Neutral	Head of Confiep rejected Pedro Castillo's measure to dissolve the Congress of the Republic.	Analysis	Coup D'état
07-Dec	Gobierno de Chile llama al diálogo y a "respetar los derechos humanos" en Perú	Negative	Government of Chile calls for dialogue and "respect human rights" in Peru	News article	Crisis
07-Dec	Secretario general de la OEA, Luis Almagro, rechaza acciones de Pedro Castillo y llama al diálogo en el Perú	Negative	Secretary General of the OAS, Luis Almagro, rejects Pedro Castillo's actions and calls for dialogue in Peru	News article	Coup D'état
07-Dec	Pedro Castillo: los argumentos que sustentan la tercera moción de vacancia presidencial	Neutral	arguments that support the third presidential vacancy motion	News article	Vacancy

07-Dec	AMLO critica la destitución de Pedro Castillo como presidente de Perú y le brinda su apoyo	Neutral	AMLO critics Pedro Castillo destitution	News article	Crisis
07-Dec	Colombia condena "atentado a la democracia" en Perú y hace llamado al diálogo	Neutral	Colombia condemns "attack on democracy" in Peru and calls for dialogue	News article	Crisis
07-Dec	Pedro Castillo: el testimonio del exjefe de la DINI refuerza tesis fiscal sobre presunta red criminal y encubrimiento	Neutral	The testimony of the former head of the DINI reinforces the prosecutor's thesis on the alleged criminal network and cover-up	Analysis	Vacancy
07-Dec	Bolivia dice en la OEA que rechaza ataques a gobiernos populares y quiebres constitucionales	Neutral	Bolivia says at the OAS that it rejects attacks on popular governments and constitutional breaks	News article	Crisis
07-Dec	La OEA expresa su preocupación por la democracia en el Perú	Neutral	The OAS expresses its concern about democracy in Peru	News article	Crisis
08-Dec	Pedro Castillo y más casos: ¿Qué otros líderes y gobernantes latinoamericanos fueron destituidos en los últimos años?	Neutral	Pedro Castillo and more cases: What other Latin American leaders and rulers were removed in recent years?	News article	Coup D'état
08-Dec	Las primeras horas de Dina Boluarte como presidenta: ¿Con quiénes se reunió? ¿Qué temas tocó?	Neutral	Dina Boluarte's first hours as president: Who did she meet with? What topics did she touch on?	News article	Transition

08-Dec	Eurodiputados trasladan a Dina Boluarte su apoyo como presidenta de Perú	Neutral	Euro deputies convey their support to Dina Boluarte as president of Peru	News article	Transition
08-Dec	AMLO reitera que México está dispuesto a brindar asilo político a Pedro Castillo	Neutral	AMLO reiterates that Mexico is willing to provide political asylum to Pedro Castillo	News article	Coup D'état
08-Dec	Rusia dice que espera una transición pacífica y "sin injerencias" en el Perú	Neutral	Russia says it hopes for a peaceful transition "without interference" in Peru	News article	Transition
08-Dec	Investigan presunta orden de Pedro Castillo para detener a la fiscal de la Nación	Neutral	They investigate alleged order from Pedro Castillo to arrest the National Prosecutor	News article	Crisis
08-Dec	Darwin estaba vivo, por Jaime Bedoya	Negative	Castillo hopes to be denounced for the crime of rebellion, since being an idiot does not constitute an offense	Opinion	Crisis
08-Dec	Pedro Castillo y un efímero golpe de Estado que apresuró la vacancia presidencial [CRÓNICA]	Neutral	Pedro Castillo and an ephemeral coup d'état that hastened the presidential vacancy	News article	Coup D'état
08-Dec	La crisis no terminó, pero entró a una nueva etapa	Neutral	Opinion on Castillo's coup d'état	News article	Coup D'état
08-Dec	Unión Europea subraya que se está "encauzando" la crisis en el Perú de acuerdo a Constitución	Negative	European Union emphasizes that the crisis in Peru is being "directed" in accordance with the Constitution	News article	Crisis

08-Dec	Dina Boluarte: Las primeras medidas y promesas anunciadas por la nueva presidenta de la República	Neutral	Dina Boluarte: The first measures and promises announced by the new president of the Republic	News article	Transition
08-Dec	Así fue la detención de Pedro Castillo: Quiso ir a embajada de México pero fue arrestado en el trayecto por su escolta	Neutral	This was the arrest of Pedro Castillo: He wanted to go to the Mexican embassy but was arrested on the way by his escort	News article	Coup D'état
08-Dec	Los países de América que pidieron respetar la democracia y el Estado de derecho en el Perú	Neutral	The American countries that asked to respect democracy and the rule of law in Peru	News article	Crisis
08-Dec	El golpismo peruano	Neutral	Brief history on Peruvian Coups d'état	Opinion	Coup D'état
08-Dec	La primera presidenta del Perú	Positive	The first female president of Peru	Opinion	Transition
08-Dec	Dina Boluarte juró como nueva presidenta y planteó tregua | VIDEO	Neutral	Dina Boluarte was sworn in as the new president and proposed a truce	News article	Transition
08-Dec	Pedro Castillo y otros presidentes destituidos o forzados a dimitir en América Latina	Neutral	Pedro Castillo and other presidents dismissed or forced to resign in Latin America	News article	Coup D'état
08-Dec	Pedro Castillo fue vacado tras dar golpe de Estado: Dina Boluarte juró como nueva presidenta del Perú en el Congreso	Neutral	Pedro Castillo was vacated after carrying out a coup d'état: Dina Boluarte was sworn in as the new president of Peru in Congress	News article	Coup D'état
08-Dec	Pedro Castillo: las instituciones rechazaron con firmeza el golpe de Estado	Neutral	The institutions firmly rejected the coup d'état	News article	Coup D'état

08-Dec	Dina Boluarte juró como presidenta y exhortó al Congreso a "una tregua política": los detalles de la jornada	Neutral	Dina Boluarte was sworn in as president and urged Congress to "a political truce": the details of the day	News article	Transition
08-Dec	Pedro Castillo: Las FF.AA. y la policía marcaron su postura contra el golpe en un comunicado conjunto poco usual	Neutral	The Armed Forces and the police marked their stance against the coup in an unusual joint statement	Investigation	Coup D'état
08-Dec	Gobierno de México pide respeto a la "democracia y a los derechos humanos" en el Perú	Neutral	Government of Mexico asks for respect for "democracy and human rights" in Peru	News article	Crisis
08-Dec	AMLO acusa a las "élites" del Perú de forzar la destitución de Pedro Castillo	Negative	AMLO acusa a las "élites" del Perú de forzar la destitución de Pedro Castillo	News article	Crisis
08-Dec	La democracia resiste	Negative	It was the institutions that prevented Pedro Castillo from consolidating the coup d'état that he prepared to carry out yesterday morning.	Editorial	Coup D'état
08-Dec	Quitarse el sombrero	Neutral	With the constitutional succession of Dina Boluarte, we have gained oxygen, but not salvation	Opinion	Transition
08-Dec	Salvados por la precariedad	Neutral	Blindness to the complexity of the crisis is not exclusive to Castillo	Opinion	Transition

Date	Title	Sentiment	Description	Type	Category
08-Dec	Las señales de Boluarte	Neutral	Yesterday's day has brought to light the constitutional resources that prevail in the country in the face of Castillo's authoritarian onslaught.	Opinion	Transition
08-Dec	Otra vez Andrés	Negative		Opinion	Coup D'état
09-Dec	AMLO mira cada vez más a América del Sur y se erige como protector de Castillo	Neutral	AMLO mira cada vez más a América del Sur y se erige como protector de Castillo	News article	Crisis
09-Dec	Investigan si Pedro Castillo ordenó detener a la fiscal de la Nación	Neutral	They are investigating whether Pedro Castillo ordered the arrest of the National Prosecutor	News article	Vacancy
09-Dec	Fernando Vivas: "Dina Boluarte, si quiere durar tiene que hablar de adelanto de elecciones" | VIDEOCOLUMNA	Neutral	Video Opinion on what Dina Boluarte should do.	Opinion	Transition
09-Dec	Pedro Castillo vacado: quiénes son los congresistas de Perú Libre y aliados que lo blindaron hasta el final	Neutral	16 parliamentarians from different groups voted against or abstained from supporting the dismissal of Castillo Terrones.	News article	Vacancy
09-Dec	Dina Boluarte y el adelanto de elecciones	Neutral	Video Opinion on what Dina Boluarte should do.	Opinion	Transition
09-Dec	Cuba: la destitución de Castillo en Perú subvierte "la voluntad popular"	Neutral	Cuba: the dismissal of Castillo in Peru subverts "the popular will"	News article	Crisis

09-Dec	Pedro Castillo solicita formalmente asilo político a México, informa el canciller Marcelo Ebrard	Neutral	Pedro Castillo formally requests political asylum from Mexico, informs Foreign Minister Marcelo Ebrard	News article	Crisis
09-Dec	Evo Morales pide a la CIDH medidas cautelares para preservar la vida de Pedro Castillo	Neutral	Evo Morales asks the IACHR for precautionary measures to preserve the life of Pedro Castillo	News article	Crisis
09-Dec	Gustavo Petro pide a la CIDH medidas cautelares de protección para Pedro Castillo	Neutral	Gustavo Petro asks the IACHR for precautionary protection measures for Pedro Castillo	News article	Crisis
09-Dec	El amigo en el norte	Negative	The Mexican Government seems willing to lend a hand to those who tried to subvert the democratic order in our country.	Editorial	Crisis
09-Dec	Desasosiego, alivio, incertidumbre	Neutral	The best news was that the State institutions responded organically shortly after.	Opinion	Coup D'état
09-Dec	Democracia e instituciones	Negative	What would happen is the Right would do the same? They would have supported the Coup D'état.	Opinion	Coup D'état
10-Dec	Dina Boluarte: ¿Cuáles son las cartas que baraja para su primer Gabinete Ministerial?	Neutral	Boluarte evaluates, behind closed doors, the names for the formation of the first Ministerial Cabinet	Analysis	Transition

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10-Dec	Fue ayer y no me acuerdo	Negative	Pedro Castillo's followers try to justify their offensive against democracy this week	Editorial	Coup D'état
10-Dec	Dina hereje	Negative	It is not clear at what moment Mrs. Boluarte stopped thinking like Pedro Castillo and his henchmen.	Opinion	Transition
11-Dec	AMLO rechaza que esté interviniendo en la crisis del Perú: "Solo estamos opinando"	Negative	AMLO rejects that he is intervening in the Peruvian crisis: "We are only giving our opinion	News article	Crisis
11-Dec	Escucharnos, respetarnos y valorarnos para volver a empezar	Neutral	listen to each other, respect each other and value each other to start over	Opinion	Transition
11-Dec	Prensa "enemiga", ¿fin de una era?	Negative	Since the return of democracy, no government had committed itself to raising obstacles between information and citizens.	Opinion	Crisis
11-Dec	Los que se fueron	Negative	The previous government did tremendous damage to the functioning of the public apparatus, and it will not be easy to correct it.	Editorial	Transition
11-Dec	Gobiernos de izquierda y golpe en el Perú	Neutral	reactions in several presidents of the Latin American left	Opinion	Crisis

12-Dec	El drama de los comerciantes en el centro de Lima tras 5 días con las calles cerradas por protestas	Neutral	The drama of the merchants in the center of Lima after 5 days with the streets closed due to protests	News article	Finance
12-Dec	ONU expresa su temor por posible escalada de tensiones ante aumento de protestas en Perú	Neutral		News article	Crisis
12-Dec	Alerta en Andahuaylas: este es el estado de los heridos graves por las protestas	Neutral	Alert in Andahuaylas: this is the state of those seriously injured by the protests	News article	Protests
12-Dec	Convulsión en el sur: así fue la violenta jornada del domingo 11 por protestas en Andahuaylas	Neutral	violent day of Sunday the 11th due to protests in Andahuaylas	News article	Protests
13-Dec	Ola de violencia en aumento: 7 civiles muertos y más de 100 policías heridos durante protestas	Positive	7 civilians killed and more than 100 police officers injured during protests	News article	Protests
13-Dec	Estados Unidos expresa su apoyo a Dina Boluarte y pide que las protestas en el Perú sean pacíficas	Neutral	The United States expresses its support for Dina Boluarte and asks that the protests in Peru be peaceful	News article	Transition
13-Dec	Policía señala a congresistas Bermejo, Bellido, Chávez y Tello como presuntos instigadores de violentas protestas	Positive	Police point out congressmen Bermejo, Bellido, Chávez and Tello as alleged instigators of violent protests	Investigation	Protests
13-Dec	El crimen no es protesta	Positive	Crime is not protest	Editorial	Protests
14-Dec	Cuentos para blindar a un golpista	Positive	"Stories to shield a coup plotter"	Editorial	Coup D'état

14-Dec	Para salir de esta	Negative	Except for violence, we must not rule out alternatives	Opinion	Transition
14-Dec	El Perú antisistema	Neutral	Peru faces this dark hour knowing that the ties that have united us will not be enough	Opinion	Transition
14-Dec	No más violencia, no más muertes	Neutral	Different demands, should be analyse separately.	Opinion	Protests
14-Dec	Dina Boluarte: ¿Cuáles serían los tiempos de una elección general, según actual normativa? | PODCAST	Neutral	What would be the timing of a general election, according to current regulations?	Opinion	Transition
14-Dec	"El problema (para Boluarte y el Congreso) va a estar en las calles"	Neutral	The problem (for Boluarte and Congress) is going to be in the streets	News article	Transition
14-Dec	Un adelanto para Dina Boluarte: ¿qué movimientos hubo antes y tras el fallido golpe de Castillo? Crónica de Fernando Vivas	Neutral	What happened before the intent of Coup D'état.	News article	Coup D'état
14-Dec	Gobierno de Rusia recomienda no viajar al Perú debido a violentas manifestaciones	Neutral	Russian Government recommends not traveling to Peru due to violent demonstrations	News article	Crisis
14-Dec	Crisis en Perú: la trastienda del documento de respaldo a Pedro Castillo que impulsó el Gobierno junto con México, Bolivia y Colombia	Neutral	Crisis in Peru: the backroom of the support document for Pedro Castillo that the Government promoted together with Mexico, Bolivia, and Colombia	News article	Crisis

14-Dec	Dina Boluarte recibe el respaldo de embajadores	Neutral	Dina Boluarte receives the support of ambassadors	News article	Transition
14-Dec	Demandan iniciar investigación contra legisladores señalados como instigadores de violentas protestas	Neutral	They demand to initiate an investigation against legislators accused of instigating violent protests	News article	Protests
14-Dec	Violencia sin control: ataques a la propiedad privada, instituciones públicas y medios de comunicación en todo el país en otra terrible jornada	Neutral	Uncontrolled violence: attacks on private property, public institutions, and the media throughout the country in another terrible day	News article	Protests
15-Dec	Adelanto de elecciones: ¿Cuáles son los plazos de un proceso regular?	Neutral	Election preview: What are the deadlines for a regular process?	News article	Transition
15-Dec	Precios de alimentos continúan subiendo en Mercado Mayorista de Lima	Neutral	Prices go up	Analysis	Finance
15-Dec	Demoras, despropósitos y ambigüedades	Negative	President Boluarte has made her debut with interventions that contribute to the chaos unleashed in the country.	Editorial	Transition
15-Dec	El país paralizado: 5 aeropuertos cerrados y 118 tramos de 21 carreteras inmovilizados	Neutral	5 airports closed and 118 sections of 21 roads immobilized	News article	Protests

15-Dec	A través del Foro Madrid, parlamentarios de América y Europa rechazan "injerencia" izquierdista en el Perú	Neutral	Through the Madrid Forum, parliamentarians from America and Europe reject leftist "interference" in Peru	News article	Crisis
15-Dec	Petro dice que Castillo ha sido "apresado" y cuestiona la Convención Americana sobre Derechos Humanos	Neutral	Petro says that Castillo has been "arrested" and questions the American Convention on Human Rights	News article	Crisis
15-Dec	Argentina toma distancia de México y Colombia y modera su defensa de Pedro Castillo en el Perú	Neutral	Argentina distances itself from Mexico and Colombia and moderates its defense of Pedro Castillo in Peru	News article	Crisis
15-Dec	Ecuador dice que una veintena de connacionales están varados en el Cusco por las protestas	Neutral	Ecuador says that around twenty nationals are stranded in Cusco due to protests	News article	Protests
15-Dec	"No es que Dina Boluarte, contra todas las cosas, se aferre al poder"	Neutral	Interview to Pedro Angulo Arana, President of the Council of Ministers	Interview	Transition
15-Dec	Adelanto de elecciones: el origen de la nueva postura del Gobierno a diciembre del 2023	Neutral	Advance elections: the origin of the Government's new position in December 2023	News article	Transition
16-Dec	Impacto de protestas en el Cusco llega a los S/2 millones diarios: ¿qué le espera al turismo y los negocios?	Neutral	Impact of protests in Cusco reaches S/2 million daily	Analysis	Finance

16-Dec	¿Qué salidas existen a la crisis política del Perú?	Neutral	solutions exist to the political crisis in Peru	Opinion	Transition
16-Dec	El monopolio de la violencia	Neutral	The declaration of a state of national emergency is a good first step. But Boluarte and company, new to power, are showing that they do not have very well-tuned political reflexes.	Opinion	Protests
16-Dec	La justicia no es tonta	Negative	Justice doesn't bite.	Editorial	Coup D'état
16-Dec	Gobierno de México trabaja para sacar a mexicanos varados en Perú	Neutral	Government of Mexico works to remove Mexicans stranded in Peru	News article	Crisis
16-Dec	Adelanto de elecciones: los vaivenes del Gobierno y el Congreso en un debate clave	Neutral	Election preview: the ups and downs of the Government and Congress in a key debate	News article	Transition
16-Dec	Fernando Vivas: "Adelanto de elecciones es más efectivo y más justo que empleo de la fuerza" | VIDEOCOLUMNA	Neutral	Critic to use of violence instead of advance of elections	Opinion	Protests
16-Dec	AMLO: visita de la embajadora de EE. UU. en el Perú a Dina Boluarte es un "acto de prepotencia"	Neutral	AMLO: visit of the US ambassador to Peru to Dina Boluarte is an "act of arrogance"	News article	Crisis

16-Dec	La CIDH visitará Perú ante la crisis desatada tras la destitución de Castillo	Neutral	The IACHR will visit Peru in the face of the crisis unleashed after the dismissal of Castillo	News article	Protests
16-Dec	El secretario general de la ONU pide, por segunda vez en una semana, respetar el Estado de derecho en el Perú	Neutral	The UN Secretary General asks, for the second time in a week, to respect the rule of law in Peru	News article	Crisis
16-Dec	El drama de los niños que no pueden llegar a hospitales en Lima por bloqueos	Neutral	children who cannot reach hospitals in Lima due to blockades	News article	Protests
16-Dec	Protestas en el país continúan: enfrentamientos en Ayacucho causan otras ocho muertes	Neutral	clashes in Ayacucho cause another eight deaths	News article	Protests
16-Dec	Costa Rica comienza a repatriar turistas varados por crisis en Perú	Neutral	Costa Rica begins to repatriate tourists stranded due to crisis in Peru	News article	Protests
16-Dec	Adelanto de elecciones: pleno del Congreso no alcanzó los votos para aprobar el dictamen	Neutral	The plenary session of Congress did not have the votes to approve the opinion	News article	Transition
17-Dec	Bloqueo de carreteras habría elevado el precio de GLP en regiones	Neutral	Road blockages would have raised the price of LPG in regions	News article	Protests
17-Dec	Mayor abastecimiento en los mercados de Lima reduce precios de alimentos	Neutral	Greater supply in Lima markets reduces food prices	Analysis	Finance

17-Dec	"Las condiciones no están como para que la inversión pública se realice de forma normal"	Neutral	interview with Guillermo Arbe Manager of the Economic Studies Department of Scotiabank Peru	Interview	Finance
17-Dec	No se han enterado de nada	Negative	Critic to the Congress for not approving the elections moved up	Editorial	Transition
17-Dec	Adelanto de elecciones no fue aprobado por el Congreso: bancadas se dividieron por estas razones	Neutral	Reasons with the Congress didn't approve the elections moved up.	News article	Transition
17-Dec	Dina Boluarte: Renuncian dos ministros tras muertes en protestas	Neutral	Two ministers resign after deaths in protests	News article	Transition
17-Dec	Colombia se ofrece para mediar un "diálogo político y social" en el Perú, asegura Petro	Neutral	Colombia offers to mediate a "political and social dialogue" in Peru, says Petro	News article	Crisis
18-Dec	Las otras violencias	Neutral	Different ways of violence	Opinion	Protests
18-Dec	Bloqueos se suman a problemas relacionados a la urea y sequías en el agro	Neutral	Blockades add to problems related to urea and droughts in agriculture	Analysis	Finance

E. Dataset: Ojo Publico Articles. The list of articles from Ojo Publico used for the analysis.

(the eight colours correspond to each website where the article was found)

Date	Headline	Tone	Text excerpt	Type	Topic
01-Dec	Alvaro Henzler: "el sentir común es el hartazgo ante inoperancia e incapacidad del Ejecutivo y el Congreso"	Negative	Interview with Alvaro Henzler, spokesperson for the Citizen Coalition	Interview	Crisis
01-Dec	Crisis en Perú: Informe preliminar de la OEA, dictamen de elecciones generales y moción de vacancia presidencial	Neutral	Crisis in Peru: Preliminary report of the OAS, opinion of general elections and motion for presidential vacancy	News article	Crisis
01-Dec	Congreso definirá la vacancia presidencial de Pedro Castillo el 7 de diciembre	Neutral	Congress will define Pedro Castillo's presidential vacancy on December 7	News article	Vacancy
01-Dec	Tribunal Constitucional otorga medida cautelar al Congreso y admite demanda competencial sobre cuestión de confianza	Neutral	Constitutional Court grants precautionary measure to Congress and admits jurisdictional claim on issue of trust	News article	Vacancy
01-Dec	Comisión de Constitución del Congreso aprueba dictamen de adelanto de elecciones generales para el 2023	Neutral	Congressional Constitution Commission approves opinion on the advancement of general elections for 2023	News article	Crisis
01-Dec	Inestabilidad democrática, polarización y acoso entre poderes del Estado	Neutral	Democratic instability, polarization, and harassment between powers of the State	News article	Crisis

01-Dec	Pleno del Parlamento inicia debate de vacancia presidencial de Pedro Castillo	Neutral	Plenary session of Parliament begins debate on Pedro Castillo's presidential vacancy	News article	Vacancy
01-Dec	Congreso decide si admite tercer pedido de vacancia contra Castillo en lo que va de su gobierno	Neutral	Plenary session of Parliament begins debate on Pedro Castillo's presidential vacancy	News article	Vacancy
07-Dec	Pedro Castillo es vacado del cargo y detenido por la Policía luego de intentar golpe de Estado	Neutral	Pedro Castillo is removed from office and detained by the Police after attempting a coup d'état	News article	Coup D'état
07-Dec	OEA se pronuncia: cierre del Congreso fue un atentado contra la democracia en Perú	Neutral	OAS pronounces closure of Congress was an attack against democracy in Peru	News article	Coup D'état
07-Dec	Fiscalía, Poder Judicial y Tribunal Constitucional rechazaron el golpe de Estado de Castillo	Neutral	Prosecutor's Office, Judiciary and Constitutional Court rejected Castillo's coup d'état	News article	Coup D'état
07-Dec	Pedro Castillo permanece detenido en sede policial junto a exprimer ministro Aníbal Torres	Neutral	Pedro Castillo remains detained at police headquarters along with former Prime Minister Aníbal Torres	News article	Coup D'état
07-Dec	EE.UU. rechaza cualquier "acto extraconstitucional" de Pedro Castillo, indica su embajada en Lima	Neutral	The US rejects any "extraconstitutional act" by Pedro Castillo, indicates its embassy in Lima	News article	Coup D'état

07-Dec	Congreso de la República vaca al presidente Pedro Castillo	Neutral	Congress of the Republic vacates President Pedro Castillo	News article	Vacancy
07-Dec	Comando Conjunto de las FF.AA. y Policía Nacional indican que no acatarán actos contrarios al orden constitucional	Neutral	Joint Command of the Armed Forces. and National Police indicate that they will not comply with acts contrary to the constitutional order	News article	Coup D'état
07-Dec	Congreso inicia la votación de la moción vacancia del presidente Castillo	Neutral	Congress begins voting on President Castillo's vacancy motion	News article	Vacancy
07-Dec	Exministros del Gobierno de Transición de Sagasti rechazan el golpe e invocan por una salida a la crisis	Neutral	Former ministers of Sagasti's Transitional Government reject the coup and call for a way out of the crisis	News article	Coup D'état
07-Dec	Vicepresidenta Dina Boluarte llama golpe de Estado a decisión de Castillo de cerrar el Parlamento	Neutral	Vice President Dina Boluarte calls Castillo's decision to close Parliament a coup d'état	News article	Coup D'état
07-Dec	Ministros renuncian a sus cargos tras el golpe y reconocen violación de la Constitución	Neutral	Ministers resign from their positions after the coup and recognize violation of the Constitution	News article	Coup D'état
07-Dec	Castillo ataca a los medios y declara en reorganización al sistema de justicia nacional	Neutral	Castillo attacks the media and declares the national justice system in reorganization	News article	Coup D'état

07-Dec	Golpe a la democracia: Presidente Castillo anuncia el cierre del Congreso	Neutral	Blow to democracy: President Castillo announces the closure of Congress	News article	Coup D'état
07-Dec	Dina Boluarte asume presidencia del Perú: es la sexta gobernante en cinco años	Neutral	Dina Boluarte assumes presidency of Peru: she is the sixth ruler in five years	News article	Transition
07-Dec	Explicador: ¿En qué consiste el delito de rebelión que se imputa a Pedro Castillo?	Neutral	Explainer: What does the crime of rebellion that Pedro Castillo is accused of consist of?	Investigation	Coup D'état
07-Dec	Pedro Castillo: el maestro que venció al legado de Fujimori y terminó imitando al dictador	Negative	Summary of events that put Castillo into jail, and brief summary of latest Peruvian Presidents.	Analysis	Coup D'état
12-Dec	Seis fallecidos en protestas, Estado de emergencia y violencia agravan la crisis en Perú	Neutral	Six dead in protests, State of emergency and violence aggravate the crisis in Peru	News article	Protests
12-Dec	Gobierno decreta Estado de emergencia en Apurímac: PNP y FF.AA. tomarán el control en siete provincias.	Neutral	Government decrees a state of emergency in Apurímac: PNP and Armed Forces. They will take control in seven provinces.	News article	Protests
12-Dec	Ataques a propiedad privada y agresiones a más de 20 periodistas durante las protestas	Neutral	Government decrees a state of emergency in Apurímac: PNP and Armed Forces. They will take control in seven provinces.	News article	Protests

12-Dec	Cinco gobiernos regionales y dos organizaciones indígenas se pronuncian ante la crisis política	Neutral	Five regional governments and two indigenous organizations speak out in the face of the political crisis	News article	Crisis
12-Dec	Se confirman cuatro fallecidos más en el sexto día de movilizaciones sociales	Neutral	Four more deaths are confirmed on the sixth day of social mobilizations	News article	Protests
12-Dec	Bloqueo de carreteras se extiende hasta la Amazonía peruana	Neutral	Road blockade extends to the Peruvian Amazon	News article	Protests
12-Dec	Arequipa: atacan aeropuerto, bloquean carreteras e incendian vehículos de compañía Gloria	Neutral	Arequipa: they attack the airport, block roads and set fire to Gloria company vehicles	News article	Protests
12-Dec	Manifestaciones contra el Congreso en regiones: demandan adelantar para el 2023 las elecciones generales	Neutral	Protests against Congress in regions: they demand that the general elections be brought forward to 2023	News article	Protests
12-Dec	Las víctimas de la violenta represión en Apurímac: un joven de 18 y un escolar de 15 años	Neutral	The victims of the violent repression in Apurímac: a young man of 18 and a schoolboy of 15 years	News article	Protests
13-Dec	Poder Judicial confirmó detención de Pedro Castillo por golpe de Estado en Perú	Neutral	The Judiciary confirmed the arrest of Pedro Castillo for a coup d'état in Peru	News article	Coup D'état

13-Dec	Unión Europea condena actos de violencia, pérdida de vidas humanas y pide respetar la Constitución	Neutral	European Union condemns acts of violence, loss of human life and asks to respect the Constitution	News article	Crisis
13-Dec	Pedro Castillo recibió 139 visitas, pero rechazó reunirse con funcionarios de la Defensoría del Pueblo	Neutral	Pedro Castillo received 139 visits, but refused to meet with officials from the Ombudsman's Office	News article	Coup D'état
13-Dec	Presidenta Boluarte completa gabinete con juramentación de ministros de Trabajo y Transportes	Neutral	President Boluarte completes cabinet with swearing-in of Ministers of Labor and Transportation	News article	Transition
13-Dec	Detención de Castillo vence mañana: Poder Judicial confirmó plazo de siete de días de detención	Neutral	Castillo's detention expires tomorrow: Judiciary confirmed a seven-day detention period	News article	Coup D'état
13-Dec	Presidenta Boluarte dice que se reunirá con el Congreso para "acortar los plazos" de adelanto de elecciones	Neutral	Vice President Dina Boluarte calls Castillo's decision to close Parliament a coup d'état	News article	Transition
13-Dec	El impacto económico de la crisis: servicios, turismo y micro y pequeñas empresas afectadas	Neutral	The economic impact of the crisis: services, tourism and micro and small businesses affected	News article	Finance
13-Dec	Congreso investigará a expremier y a exministros del Interior y de Comercio Exterior por rebelión y conspiración	Neutral	Congress will investigate former Prime Minister and former Ministers of the Interior and Foreign Trade for rebellion and conspiracy	News article	Coup D'état

13-Dec	Juez que condenó a Fujimori preside tribunal que decidirá si mantiene la detención de Castillo	Neutral	Judge who convicted Fujimori presides over court that will decide whether to maintain Castillo's detention	News article	Coup D'état
13-Dec	Seis fallecidos en protestas, ataques a entidades públicas y privadas y aeropuertos cerrados en el sur del Perú	Neutral	Six dead in protests, attacks on public and private entities and closed airports in southern Peru	News article	Protests
13-Dec	Continúan ataques a entidades públicas y privadas en Arequipa, Apurímac, Huancavelica, Cusco y Madre de Dios	Neutral	Attacks on public and private entities continue in Arequipa, Apurímac, Huancavelica, Cusco and Madre de Dios	News article	Protests
13-Dec	Autoridades han confirmado que seis personas fallecieron durante protestas en Apurímac y Arequipa	Neutral	Authorities have confirmed that six people died during protests in Apurímac and Arequipa	News article	Protests
13-Dec	Aeropuertos de Andahuaylas, Arequipa y Cusco suspenden sus operaciones por las protestas	Neutral	Airports in Andahuaylas, Arequipa and Cusco suspend their operations due to protests	News article	Protests
13-Dec	Protestas en el Cercado de Lima: hospital reporta un herido con traumatismo encéfalo craneano severo	Neutral	Protests in Cercado de Lima: hospital reports an injured person with severe cranial brain trauma	News article	Protests
13-Dec	Policía indica que 119 efectivos resultaron heridos en las protestas de los últimos días	Neutral	Police indicate that 119 officers were injured in protests in recent days	News article	Protests

Date	Title (Spanish)	Sentiment	Title (English)	Type	Category
13-Dec	Explicador: ¿Cuáles son los mecanismos para el adelanto de elecciones generales 2024?	Neutral	Explainer: What are the mechanisms for advancing the 2024 general elections?	Investigation	Transition
14-Dec	Juez decide hoy si acepta pedido fiscal de 18 meses de prisión preventiva para Castillo	Neutral	Judge decides today whether to accept prosecutor's request for 18 months of preventive detention for Castillo	News article	Coup D'état
14-Dec	Presidenta Dina Boluarte abre la posibilidad para que elecciones se realicen en el 2023	Neutral	President Dina Boluarte opens the possibility for elections to be held in 2023	News article	Transition
14-Dec	Juez que analiza detención por golpe de Estado dijo que Castillo se negó a recibir notificación fiscal	Neutral	Judge analyzing arrest for coup d'état said that Castillo refused to receive tax notification	News article	Coup D'état
14-Dec	Pedro Castillo se mantendrá detenido hasta que juzgado resuelva si procede pedido fiscal	Neutral	Pedro Castillo will remain detained until the court decides whether the prosecutor's request is appropriate	News article	Coup D'état
14-Dec	Ocho fallecidos en protestas mientras Ejecutivo decreta estado de emergencia por 30 días	Neutral	Eight dead in protests while Executive decrees state of emergency for 30 days	News article	Protests
14-Dec	Octavo día de protestas: seis fallecidos en Apurímac, uno en Arequipa y otro en La Libertad	Neutral	Eighth day of protests: six deaths in Apurímac, one in Arequipa and another in La Libertad	News article	Protests

14-Dec	Organizaciones indígenas del Vraem y la Amazonía indican que se sumaran a las movilizaciones	Neutral	Indigenous organizations from Vraem and the Amazon indicate that they will join the mobilizations	News article	Protests
14-Dec	Escalada de protestas: de marchas pacíficas y carreteras bloqueadas hasta actos de violencia	Neutral	Escalation of protests: from peaceful marches and blocked roads to acts of violence	News article	Protests
14-Dec	Ejecutivo oficializa estado de emergencia a nivel nacional: se suspende libertad de tránsito y reunión	Neutral	Executive makes state of emergency official at the national level: freedom of movement and assembly is suspended	News article	Protests
14-Dec	ANP indica que 43 periodistas y medios fueron atacados en una semana de protestas	Neutral	ANP indicates that 43 journalists and media were attacked in a week of protests	News article	Protests
14-Dec	Aeropuertos de Cusco, Puno, Apurímac y Arequipa suspenden servicios de transporte aéreo	Neutral	Airports of Cusco, Puno, Apurímac and Arequipa suspend air transport services	News article	Protests
14-Dec	Autoridades de salud confirman la séptima muerte en protestas en Apurímac	Neutral	Health authorities confirm the seventh death in protests in Apurimac	News article	Protests
14-Dec	Gobierno anuncia decreto de Estado de emergencia a nivel nacional por 30 días	Neutral	Government announces decree of State of Emergency at the national level for 30 days	News article	Protests

14-Dec	Después de Apurímac, gobierno decreta Estado de emergencia en Arequipa e Ica	Neutral	After Apurímac, government decrees a state of emergency in Arequipa and Ica	News article	Protests
15-Dec	Poder Judicial ordena 18 meses de detención preventiva para Castillo por fallido golpe de Estado	Neutral	Judiciary orders 18 months of preventive detention for Castillo for failed coup d'état	News article	Coup D'état
15-Dec	Juzgado ordena 18 meses de detención preventiva para Castillo por fallido golpe de Estado	Neutral	Court orders 18 months of preventive detention for Castillo for failed coup d'état	News article	Coup D'état
15-Dec	JNE: recorte de plazos electorales para adelanto de comicios será de responsabilidad del Congreso	Neutral	JNE: shortening electoral deadlines to advance elections will be the responsibility of Congress	News article	Transition
15-Dec	Congreso amplía su legislatura hasta febrero del 2023 para abordar adelanto de elecciones	Neutral	Congress extends its legislature until February 2023 to address early elections	News article	Crisis
15-Dec	Cancillería llama a sus embajadores en Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia y México tras comunicado sobre Castillo	Neutral	Foreign Ministry calls its ambassadors in Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia and Mexico after a statement about Castillo	News article	Crisis
15-Dec	Presidente del Poder Judicial que dejó el cargo por caso 'Cuellos Blancos' es abogado de Aníbal Torres	Neutral	President of the Judiciary who left office due to the 'Cuellos Blancos' case is Aníbal Torres' lawyer	News article	Crisis

15-Dec	Pedro Castillo y sus abogados no asistieron a audiencia de prisión preventiva	Neutral	Pedro Castillo and his lawyers did not attend the preventive detention hearing	News article	Coup D'état
15-Dec	Estado de emergencia: 18 fallecidos y 187 de heridos durante protestas en Perú	Neutral	State of emergency: 18 dead and 187 injured during protests in Peru	News article	Protests
15-Dec	Diresa de Ayacucho indica que siete personas fallecieron durante las protestas en dicha región	Neutral	Diresa de Ayacucho indicates that seven people died during the protests in that region	News article	Protests
15-Dec	Gobierno de Boluarte decreta inmovilización social en 15 provincias de ocho regiones del Perú	Neutral	Boluarte's government decrees social immobilization in 15 provinces in eight regions of Peru	News article	Protests
15-Dec	Quince fallecidos: 12 víctimas directas y tres en el contexto de las manifestaciones	Neutral	Fifteen dead: 12 direct victims and three in the context of the demonstrations	News article	Protests
15-Dec	Se confirman dos fallecidos más durante los enfrentamientos en el aeropuerto de Ayacucho	Neutral	Two more deaths are confirmed during the clashes at the Ayacucho airport	News article	Protests
15-Dec	Manifestantes se concentran en torno a una Plaza San Martín custodiada por la Policía	Neutral	Protesters gather around a Plaza San Martín guarded by the Police	News article	Protests
15-Dec	Grupo de exmilitares vinculados a Antauro Humala se movilizaron en el centro de Lima	Neutral	Group of former soldiers linked to Antauro Humala mobilized in the center of Lima	News article	Protests

15-Dec	Más de 125 vías bloqueadas en el primer día de estado de emergencia nacional	Neutral	More than 125 roads blocked on the first day of the national state of emergency	News article	Protests
15-Dec	Centros educativos de Lima Metropolitana y 21 agencias bancarias en regiones suspenden actividades	Neutral	Educational centers in Metropolitan Lima and 21 banking agencies in the regions suspend activities	News article	Protests
15-Dec	Minsa: 187 personas fueron heridas en protestas en favor del adelanto de elecciones	Neutral	Minsa: 187 people were injured in protests in favor of early elections	News article	Protests
15-Dec	Cierran cinco aeropuertos en el sur y aumenta seguridad en el Jorge Chávez de Lima	Neutral	Five airports in the south close and security increases at Jorge Chávez in Lima	News article	Protests
18-Dec	Un memorial por los adolescentes y jóvenes muertos en las protestas	Neutral	A memorial for the teenagers and young people killed in the protests.	Investigation	Protests
18-Dec	Paulo Vilca: "Así como Castillo se autovacó, este Congreso viene autodisolviéndose"	Negative	Interview with Paulo Vilca, former vice minister of Interculturality and director of the Regional Observatory of the Political Analysis Group	Interview	Transition