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"The press is plural – it represents all the political parties" Media access for the transitional justice campaign during democratisation in Uruguay (1989-2012)

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Abstract

This thesis aims to contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics of media democratisation in post-authoritarian societies. Since the return to democracy across Latin America, research has yielded important insights into normative expectations of the media during democratisation, and country case studies have highlighted the diversity of contexts for analysis. Long-standing obstacles to media democracy in the region have not been overcome by democratisation. However, there has been little attention to exploring whether media access for civil society actors – and, so, internal plurality of the media – improves over the process of democratisation and what factors influence this.

Based on a content analysis of newspaper coverage of major strategies of the campaign for transitional justice in Uruguay spanning from 1989 to 2012 and 16 interviews with journalists and civil society actors, this thesis draws three main conclusions. Firstly, it concludes that there is not a progressive increase in the quantity or quality of media access for civil society actors and this is principally due to the contingency of media access upon both journalistic routines and broader shifts associated with the process of democratisation including the return to "politics as usual" and increasing market competition. It further concludes that transitional justice campaigns face considerable obstacles in gaining media access to further their strategic ends, due to the way in which the media follows the mainstream political and public agenda during democratisation, and low levels of quality of access. Finally, it makes a methodological contribution in its mixed methods approach, which embraces the debate of de-Westernisation in media scholarship. This multi-faceted approach to researching media access reveals the way in which inequalities in media access cannot be divorced from wider power relations in society.

Overall, the thesis argues that the lack of media access for civil society actors constitutes a significant and ongoing problem for the deepening of democracies in Latin America. To this end, the thesis supports a more radical account of media

democratisation which incorporates a greater normative duty to represent civil society groups, particularly given the dominance of hegemonic, state-led narratives in pacted transitions. This should inform the way in which media policy is approached during democratic transitions and provide impetus for the current push for civil society-led media reform movements in the region. In addition to this, the thesis indicates the need for further and broader research into media coverage of transitional justice campaigns and mechanisms in different contexts and in comparison with other human rights issues.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signed: Beth Pearson

Chapter 1: Introduction

The "third wave" democracies of Latin America are now into their third decade. The transitions to electoral democracy have marked a decisive break from authoritarian regimes and civil war. Yet the process of deepening the democracies that replaced them continues. At the time of transition, scholars highlighted concerns regarding a weak rule of law, poor political accountability, and a significant degree of detachment of civil society organisations from the political institutions that ought to represent them (Hagopian, 1998). The contribution of the media to improving the quality of democracy in the region must be included among these outstanding issues. Scholarship has consistently raised the problems of high market concentration, close proximity to the state and professional norms of journalism (Waisbord, 2000, 2006; Hughes and Lawson, 2005; Matos, 2012). While early democratisation scholarship highlighted the importance of civil society for deepening democracy (Plattner and Diamond, 1994; Brysk, 2000; Whitehead, 2002), the inadequate representation of a plurality of voices in the media has been foregrounded as a significant concern (Waisbord, 2009a). The quality of political participation for groups in civil society has continued to be a critical issue for the deepening of democracy in the region with the election of left-wing governments across the region in the 2000s – and their decline (Cannon and Kirby, 2012). However, there has been little empirical research into whether media access for civil society actors has improved during democratisation nor influences upon this. This thesis addresses this gap by measuring media access for civil society actors over a 23-year period, using the transitional justice campaign in Uruguay as a case study.

To be sure, this is not a new concern in Latin America – or indeed any region of the world. Scholars and practitioners gathered in Costa Rica in the 1970s as part of the UNESCO-facilitated New World Information and Communication Order summit to discuss how the mainstream media in the region could be more representative and less constricted by the pernicious pressures of the state and market (Fox, 1988). The deliberations took place amid growing concern about the influence of North American media (Dorfman and Mattelart, 1972). Today, the question still revolves around the twin concerns of the state and the market. However, the context is now one of post-

authoritarianism and the return to democracy, in a framework of globalisation, neoliberalism and the "left turn" in Latin American governments, which is now waning. Meanwhile, scholarship on media reform has moved towards civil society-led movements to democratise the media (Waisbord, 2011a; Mauersberger, 2015). In this thesis, I engage with these contemporary dynamics via a mixed methodology that enables not only the measurement of media access but also how this has been shaped by wider relations between the media and the state and civil society and how these have been affected by processes of democratisation.

Some scholars see the potential for the media to help to reconfigure deep social and political inequalities and, so, help to deepen democratic representation and participation (Hughes and Prado, 2011). This is because gaining access to the media enables marginalised groups to articulate their demands to a wider public, put pressure on the state, and mobilise support (Cottle, 2003). Mainstream media democratisation literature draws attention to the role of the media in nurturing a democratic culture, however this tends to emphasise participation in electoral democracy rather than civil society-led participatory forms. Protests and other forms of organised dissent played a vital role in bringing about the end of the authoritarian period (Pearce 1997). The importance of civil society was subsequently highlighted in early democratisation scholarship (Whitehead, 2002). Therefore, by focusing on electoral participation the approach of media democratisation precludes the many points of contestation between democratising states and civil society groups, not least the pending issue of transitional justice. Thus, a more radical approach to the roles of the media in democratisation demands a duty to represent movements and organisations in civil society. However, little is known about whether groups in civil society do in fact gain improved access to the media during democratisation. In addition to this, little is known about how the media represents key transitional issues such as dealing with past human rights abuses.

Thus, this thesis explores the question of whether media access for groups in civil society improves across the period of democratisation. Analysing media access reveals the communication 'haves' and 'have nots' of major social and political issues. For this reason, major studies of source use in the UK and USA have focused on issues such as the

poll tax, crime reporting, and the Vietnam war (Gitlin, 1980; Ericson, Baranek and Chan, 1989, 1991; Deacon and Golding, 1994). During democratisation, one of the foremost issues fought for by civil society actors is transitional justice – or the issue of how governments in new democracies deal with past human rights abuses. The failure of many states to address the disappearances, torture, imprisonment and other crimes led to the emergence of campaigns across the region for *"verdad, justicia y nunca mas"* - truth, justice, and never again. While scholars acknowledge a significant gap in research on transitional justice and the media, they also indicate it may play an important role in promoting and explaining action on past human rights abuses rather than impunity (Price and Stremlau, 2012).

Uruguay was chosen as a case study for analysing media access for the transitional justice campaign for two reasons. First, important changes since the return to democracy, including the immediate restoration of the freedom of the press and increased media diversity, are associated with an improvement in the democratic performance of the media. This thesis incorporates this dimension by analysing two print newspapers: the traditional, conservative *El País* alongside left-wing *La República,* which was launched just after the return to democracy. Secondly, the inaction of the Uruguayan state on addressing human rights abuses during its period of authoritarianism (1973-85) created a political space that civil society actors occupied across the period of democratic consolidation. The thesis focuses on two of the strategies of their campaign – petitioning for plebiscites and an annual *Marcha del Silencio,* or March of Silence. While the public twice voted in support of the Expiry Law, which effectively prevented prosecutions, it was eventually repealed in 2011. For this reason, Uruguay is often cited as a textbook example of the "justice cascade" (Sikkink, 2011). This concept describes the shift from impunity for human rights abuses towards transitional justice, emphasising the role of prosecutions among a range of tools for achieving this. Therefore, as will be discussed in greater detail in the Methodology chapter, the case study of Uruguay enables a close examination of media access for civil society actors in a key and ongoing issue of the democratisation process.

This introductory chapter comprises five main sections. The first explains the aims and

research questions. The second explains the methodological approach and methods. The third section places the project in the context of scholarship on media and democracy in Latin America. The fourth extended section focuses on Uruguay and key features of its political system, media and transitional justice campaign. Finally, the fifth sets out the main arguments of the thesis and gives a guide to the chapters that follow.

1.1 Aims of the thesis

This thesis explores one of the central concerns regarding the role of the media in democracy: *who has a voice in society and why?* However, this has received little attention in the context of democratisation. As the primary institution for communication in democratic society, the media fulfils an essential function in representing public debate (Curran, 2005). Thus, viewpoints in society may be amplified, legitimised, and further mobilised by gaining access to the media (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993). This is particularly important for groups pursuing political demands, where gaining media coverage can be decisive in their success. This demands an interrogation of media access. Media access is generally characterised as a competition between sources, with a distinction typically being drawn between official – politicians and sources attached to institutions – and unofficial sources – variably organised groups in civil society (Manning, 2001; Cottle, 2003).

While this has been extensively researched in mature democracies, far less is known about who has a voice in the media during democratisation, nor clarified the conditions that enable or inhibit this. This thesis examines these issues in the context of post-authoritarian societies of Latin America – specifically Uruguay. In this context, newspapers, television and radio are recovering from a period of repression by military regimes. Unlike totalitarian regimes, authoritarian regimes utilise the media to stifle opposing views rather than supplant them with propaganda (Voltmer, 2013). Thus, media institutions and journalists are weakened and depleted via tactics including shutdowns, censorship, and intimidation. Further to this, the "competition" described above takes place in the context of major shifts in elite power relations and key issues

such as transitional justice in which the military, state and civil society have a stake. Groups opposing the regime will have been systematically excluded from the press and their subsequent representation in the media often reflects and even plays a role in reconfiguring state-civil society relations (Hughes & Lawson 2005).

In order to explore these dynamics, two research questions were developed: Does media access for civil society actors change during democratisation? What factors may help to explain this? The first research question aims to establish broad patterns of media access across the period of democratisation, elucidating shifts in civil society and official actors as well as shifts within civil society. The second research question focuses on explaining these patterns and locating them in a broader context of media practices, political change and civil society approaches to access. Thus, while they interrogate the issue in different ways, they essentially approach the issue from complementary perspectives. This allows both a rigorous examination of the nature of coverage and an analysis of the factors underpinning access or a lack thereof. As mentioned above, media access is shaped by broader power relations in society and revealing these necessarily involves identifying and engaging with these. In addition to this mutually-reinforcing nature, the questions were deliberately posited in an open way, for two reasons. First, there is a significant body of Western empirical research on source-media relations, from which this thesis draws key concepts and analytical tools. However, there is little research on the field in Latin America. The second reason for their open nature is that the theoretical literature expects generally progressive, linear democratisation of the media. As will be discussed upon in Chapter 2, this mirrors the expectations of the broader democratisation literature. However, it is not clear that this is the case. Indeed, most post-transition assessments of the media in the region have been critical (see section 1.3). Therefore, it is necessary to ask the question not only if there is democratisation, but also what are the obstacles to it?

A key issue invoked by this approach is to ask: how is media democratisation defined and how can it be investigated empirically? The literature offers some tools for discerning this. Specifically, it is useful to draw upon the related but distinct concepts of *media democratisation* and *democratic media*. The former is rooted in internal features of the

media such as market composition, laws regulating broadcast licensing and ownership; features that may be summed up as the political economy of the media. On the other hand, a democratic media refers to the roles that the media may be expected to play to increase the quality of democracy in a society. Theoretically, these vary by media model but often include the functions of giving information, holding politicians and the government to account or acting as a watchdog, and representing a range of opinion (Curran, 2005). Though treated as distinct perspectives, in reality they are related. One of the most relevant dimensions of this, for the purposes of this thesis, is the positive association between diversity of media outlets (i.e. an aspect of internal democratisation) with diversity of representation of groups in society (i.e. the satisfactory performance of the representation role of the media). However, it is conceivable that the association does not hold. For example, the news agenda may converge around elite politics in a way that sees the mainstream media competing over the same high-profile stories – and, so, the same sources.

Shifts in the internal democratisation of the media such as media diversity are generally taken as important proxies for whether the media is also performing its democratic roles – the selection of Uruguay as a case study for this thesis was, as previously mentioned, based on such features. Indeed, in lieu of empirical research on whether the media is actually representing a plurality of voices, an increase in the number of publications offers *prima facie* evidence that media democratisation has taken place to some extent. Thus, this illustrates the way in which the concepts of media democratisation and democratic media are related. However, this thesis goes beyond these formal indicators to develop more substantial measures of a democratic media, which are necessary if processes of and influences upon media democratisation are to be better understood. The quantity and quality of access to the media for civil society actors is a key measure of a democratic media (McQuail, 1992; Manning, 2001). The thesis investigates both dimensions by analysing newspaper coverage of some of the key events of the transitional justice campaign in Uruguay over a 21-year period. As a civil society-led campaign that extended across a number of years during the period of democratisation, the campaign enables us to explore some of the fundamental dynamics of democratisation around state-civil society relations and responses to transitional justice itself. If the field of media democratisation emerged as a response to its marginalisation

in the mainstream democratisation literature, then the question of transitional justice and the media in the context of democratisation is even less explored. Of the little scholarship that exists in the Latin American context, its focus is on the normative role of the media in covering truth commissions and trials – that is, assessing media performance once transitional justice mechanisms are in action (Laplante and Phenicie, 2010).

1.2 The methodological approach and methodology: Contributing to de-Westernisation

In the decade after the return to democracy in Latin America, momentum began for a project of "de-Westernisation" of media scholarship (Curran and Park, 2000). This dovetailed with emerging scholarship on the media in "third wave" democracies in Latin America and Eastern Europe, thereby resulting in a shift towards building a greater number of case studies from these new democracies as well as other regions outwith the West (Gunther and Mughan, 2000; Voltmer, 2004; Lugo-Ocando, 2008). This wider project of de-Westernisation pursues two main aims. First, it generates new empirical research on non-Western contexts. Second, it problematises some of the central, long-held assumptions about the media in Western scholarship. This allows for the testing of key concepts in different contexts. I address these together as they are interconnected dimensions of carrying out research influenced by the de-Westernisation debate. As Waisbord and Mellado note in a 2014 reappraisal, conducting empirical research in non-Western contexts does not itself constitute engagement with the de-Westernisation debate; the research must also address central questions in media and communications. Thus, the "expansion of the body of evidence… highlights the need to consider non-Western cases to produce more complex and stronger conclusions" (Waisbord and Mellado, 2014, p. 364). Thus, the process of exploring non-Western cases allows key concepts and assumptions based on Western cases to be tested. In the context of Latin America, this involves engaging with two key questions: the relationship between the media and the market and state (Waisbord, 2000; Matos, 2012); and partisan reporting and editorial involvement *vis a vis* Western normative standards of objectivity and neutrality (Mellado *et al.*, 2012).

The increased emphasis on empirical research in varied country and regional contexts has enabled some large-scale comparative projects, with some scholars now turning their attention to methodological approaches in comparative communication studies (Voltmer, forthcoming). However, not all scholars in the field are lending their voices to this call for greater comparative work. It has been suggested by scholars working on Asia and Africa that the best response to the Western bias in communication studies may not be a leap to large-scale comparative work but to move towards a "culture-specific…approach which insists that individual attitudes and behaviors, institutional structures and social phenomena should be understood and analyzed within their cultural frameworks" (Wang, 2014, p. 2). These denote significantly different responses to the project of de-Westernisation; one wielding a wide-lens and the other a microscope. However, the single country case study has remained the core research design for both positions. In this context, this thesis adopts a mid-way position that seeks to exploit the advantages of both approaches. I use a transparent and replicable content analysis that yields data that is comparable across cases, while incorporating richer contextual depth through interviewing both journalists and civil society actors. Further to this, the triangulation made possible by this approach avoids both over-generalisation as well as explanations that are overly culturally reductive.

In sum, the project of de-Westernisation is an ongoing process with which scholars must continue to engage (Matos, 2012; Waisbord and Mellado, 2014). The approach has influenced this project in two key ways. First, by aiming to avoid making assumptions about media in Uruguay, particularly given that there is not a great deal of existing empirical research on the topic, through the development of open-ended inductive research questions. Second, I have developed a mixed methods approach which engages elements of content analysis with interviews to enable the collection of important contextual information to guide analysis. The content analysis focuses on media coverage of key events in the campaign for transitional justice. Specifically, the plebiscites on the Expiry Law in 1989 and 2009 and the annual *Marcha del Silencio,* or March of Silence, which began in 1996. A total of 497 news articles appearing in the newspapers *El País* and *La República* - the former traditional, the latter a new

publication established in the wake of the return to democracy – were analysed to establish both the quantity and quality of media access for civil society actors. This incorporates key concepts drawn from Western literature on source-media relations to determine how far they travel. In addition to this, 16 interviews were carried out both with journalists and civil society organisations in order to investigate journalistic practices around reporting on civil society and to gain an understanding of how civil society organisations and journalists perceive media access. Thus, the mixed methodology enables a robust examination of the Uruguayan case while engaging with broader debates in media access.

1.3 Exploring the media and democratisation in the context of Latin America

As previously stated, this thesis enters into a debate on media and democracy in Latin America. While the region is geographically, culturally, linguistically and socially diverse, themes in its modern media are rooted in historical commonalities of authoritarianism, transitions to democracy and the shift to neoliberal economics taken by most countries during the 1990s. In addition, the notion that the media in Latin America ought to be conceived as a whole was partly initiated by the UNESCO conference of 1976 (Fox, 1988), which saw representatives from most nations in the region gathering to discuss common concerns and media reform. Since then, this idea of a shared media sphere has been bolstered by globalisation and continues to be supported by ongoing debates about a regional media provider, so far centered around broadcasting project *Telesur* (Canizalez and Lugo-Ocando, 2008). However, there are important variations between countries. This section explores broader dynamics of the media in Latin America that set the context for the case study of this thesis, Uruguay.

1.3.1 Media and democracy: the state, the market, and authoritarianism

The media in many Latin American countries has oscillated between state and market control since its inception – never being entirely rooted in one or the other (Fox, 1988).

Newspapers in the region generally emerged as party political mouthpieces and partisanship long characterised the reporting practices and editorial positions of the press. Therefore, media and the state have always been closely associated in a way that has prevented the conceptualisation of the media as a "fourth estate". This dynamic intensified firstly with the authoritarian governments of the 1970s-1980s (Waisbord, 1998). The media was used extensively by authoritarian governments not only to control criticism of the regimes and control information about alternatives, but also to restrict such discourse with the strategic aim of depoliticising citizens (Fox, 1988; Tironi and Sunkel, 2000; Lawson and Hughes, 2005). The manner by and intensity with which this was achieved varied by country. However, a degree of state-enforced censorship of newspapers was found in every country, from the rigidly routinised approach of the military in Brazil (Smith, 1997) to the more widespread self-censorship practised and internalised by editors knowledgeable of press laws against criticising government officials and reporting anything deemed contrary to the interests of public order (Waisbord, 2000). State violence against editors and journalists was frequent in Argentina and Brazil, including disappearances and torture. In Uruguay, as will be discussed in greater detail in section 1.4.2, opposition publications typically received direct instructions to censor specific news and were frequently met with shutdowns and suspensions if these were ignored.

Opposition publications were generally closed or appropriated, thereby breaking the long-held connections between political parties and newspapers, though there were exceptions. In Chile, for instance, despite the active role of the country's leading newspaper in the military coup and strict control of communications during the initial years of the Pinochet regime, alternative publications supported by anonymous political actors began to be tolerated in the 1980s and eventually became established and influential among the middle and upper classes until the plebiscite in 1988 (Tironi and Sunkel, 2000). In Latin America overall, however, the state's dealings with the media during authoritarianism created an enduring suspicion of state ownership of and influence over the media, and indeed strong links were preserved through two main mechanisms: first, the state as the main source of advertising revenue and, second, between opposition parties that came into power during democratisation and the media companies that supported them (Fox, 1988)

On the other hand, the consequences of market-led media had been warned of in the 1970s, chiefly in the context of US cultural imperialism (Fox, 1988). These concerns grew significantly in the following decades when the region underwent a seismic shift in media sectors from the family-based businesses typical in the 1950s-1960s to big, often foreign-funded, media conglomerates in the 1980s-1990s (Mastrini and Becerra, 2001). This decisive shift to commercialisation initiated the rapid growth of television as the medium with greatest reach, while globalisation was an issue in terms of importing of US programming as well as multinational ownership of media conglomerates. In turn, newspapers, particularly partisan ones, declined. Partisan newspapers have been observed to have survived longer in countries with strong political parties, including Uruguay and Colombia (Waisbord, 2000). However, in Colombia as well for instance, the previously fierce partisan printed press diminished in the face of increasing commercialisation, with newspapers adopting a more US style of objective reporting (Bonilla and Montoya, 2008).

Since the commercialisation of media, the single greatest unifying feature of media systems in Latin America is their extremely high level of concentration (Fox and Waisbord, 2002; Becerra and Mastrini, 2009). During the early 2000s, *Globo* in Brazil, *Televisa* in Mexico, *Clarín* in Argentina and *Cisernos* in Venezuela constituted the largest media conglomerates. Beyond these behemoths of Latin American media, market concentrations are found within other countries as well, such as the duopoly of *El Mercurio* and *Copesa* in Chile (Bresnahan 2003). Contrary to liberal theories of media, which hold that a privately-owned press is more likely to be diverse, the high concentration of Latin American media is generally agreed to represent a very narrow range of views, more often than not anchored in the perspective of the political and economic elite (Fox and Waisbord, 2002; Lugo-Ocando, 2008). This high concentration of the market continues to be identified as a key obstacle to a more plural and diverse media in the region (Mendel, García-Castillejo and Gómez, 2017). Indeed, concern intensified with the return to democracy in most countries, during which the media has shown a reduction in diversity and increased market concentration (Waisbord, 2000; Hughes and Lawson, 2005; Valenzuela and Arriagada, 2011). The foreign ownership of

media companies and the prevalence of television has further reduced the type of comprehensive domestic political coverage required for a democratic media (Fox and Waisbord, 2002). Meanwhile, the removal of authoritarian-era press laws and inadequate policies regarding public access to information has been a slow process in some countries (Lawson and Hughes, 2005).

In terms of the distinction already drawn between *media democratisation* and *democratic media,* these features reveal problems associated with the former. In the context of these obstacles to the improvement in the quality of democratic media in the region, the performance of the democratic roles of the media (as part of the concept of *democratic media*) of representation, information and acting as a watchdog on the government, have the potential to constitute a source of resistance to the competing and converging pressures of the market and the state. However, Latin America as a region has no particular tradition of journalistic norms and a lack of professionalism is frequently cited as an obstacle to improving the democratic performance of the media (Waisbord, 2006). Moreover, those journalistic norms that could improve the media's role in democracy, such as watchdog reporting and coverage of civil society and opposition parties, have been noted to have declined since democratisation, with Chile and Argentina showing particular evidence of this (Bresnahan, 2003; Leon-Dermota, 2003). Exceptions to this include Mexico, where a rise in independent newspapers has been noted largely as a result of human agency and networks between journalists rather than changes in structural conditions (Lawson, 2003) and a spell of watchdog reporting in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Peru (Waisbord, 2000) which receded in some countries within a few years (Pinto, 2008).

Therefore, scholarship has identified key features of the media in Latin America linked to the political economy of the media, the authoritarian era, and journalistic norms which may influence media access during the period of democratisation. As discussed previously, while the high concentration of the media is typically used as a proxy for low pluralism, this project addresses a gap in scholarship by analysing whether media access actually becomes more democratic during democratisation.

1.3.2 Recent dynamics and reforms

The "pink tide" of left-led governments in Latin America reshaped the political landscape of the region in the 2000s. The populist leftist governments that won power from the end of the 1990s in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Uruguay, Venezuela and beyond have to some degree altered the configuration of state, media and market, marking a return to a conflict-based dynamic between the state and media companies that was more common before authoritarian governments enforced consensus. Venezuela had consensus-based media-state relations typical of the region during democratisation until Hugo Chavez became president in 1999, when he initiated a shift towards confrontation (Lugo-Ocando and Romero, 2002; Canizalez and Lugo-Ocando, 2008). Since then, leaders including the late Chavez and Ecuador's Rafael Correa have hosted their own television programmes and directly criticised big media companies. Meanwhile, in Argentina, a less polarising approach saw the passing of a law aimed at breaking up media concentration, particularly conglomerate *Clarín*, which marked a move away from deregulation (Macrory, 2013). This shift in the approach to media politics can be identified by several common features, including the increased acquisition of state media resources and regulation of private media, the selective attack on particular media companies and the emphasis on the importance of the role of civil society in shaping media policy (Waisbord, 2011a; Kitzberger, 2014, 2016). The dominant media companies that oppose governments are typically characterised as being against the people, with the implication that the people can only be truly represented by state-owned media. This represents an inversion of the attitude towards state ownership in the early post-authoritarian period. However, there are competing interpretations of this phenomenon. The first is that it is an approach to media politics inherently bound up with the demands of populist government (Waisbord, 2011a), and as such is not fundamentally a project of media democratisation and neither are similar approaches likely to spread beyond governments of that type. The second is that the changing dynamic reflects a deeper ideological turn, rooted in a rejection of neoliberalism and committed to producing a counter-hegemony that is linked to civil society, which requires a reappraisal of the behaviour of the media and state in all left-leaning countries in the region (Kitzberger, 2012). In this latter interpretation, there is a

clear link with critiques of neoliberal media democratisation outlined earlier.

The other key recent development is that civil society is moving to the fore of "contemporary debates about the promotion of public access, participation, and diversity in media systems" and media reform (Waisbord, 2011a, p. 97). This follows a decade of structural critiques centred around media concentration and market-state collusion outlined above, which implied that internal media democratisation is a top-down process (Hughes and Lawson, 2005) in accordance with most theoretical literature on and indeed the experience of democratic transitions in Latin America. The shift in direction to a civil society-orientated approach lends weight to critiques of neoliberal media reforms as an extended project of depoliticisation of civil society and its detachment from the operation of the state, a phenomenon captured in research on social movements but rarely linked to the media since democratisation. Studies of two types of civil society-orientated media reforms – a media policy movement in Argentina and an advocacy journalism project in Uruguay – suggest that these kinds of organised media reform initiatives are able to cut through the competing pressures of state and market where weak journalistic norms cannot (Waisbord, 2010). Similarly, linked research has found that non-government organisations are able to access media where they imitate the journalistic logic of particular publications, thereby increasing the range of social interests represented (Waisbord, 2011b). Combined, these shifts in state-media and civil society-media relations during the consolidation of democratisation highlight broader dynamics of the period that may present opportunities for more democratic media access.

1.4 Uruguay: politics, media, transitional justice and civil society

1.4.1 Brief political history

Uruguay is considered a "robust" example of democracy in Latin America (Mainwaring and Pérez-Liñán, 2015, p. 114). This assessment is based on its long-standing democratic

stability, in comparison with other countries in the region, which is rooted in a foundation of broad liberal democratic values encapsulated in *Batllismo*. Jose Batlle y Ordonez served two terms as president, from 1904-07 and 1911-15, during which time he installed wide-reaching social, political and economic reforms and built a foundation of liberal democracy. As a result, the country had developed many components of a welfare state by the 1920s. Scholars have observed that *Batllismo* is central to understanding Uruguayan democracy as well as the national mythology of the country (Gillespie, 1986; Sosnowski and Popkin, 1993).

Strong political parties have long dominated the political sphere in Uruguay. As one scholar put it in the 1970s: "Practically all ideas expressed have followed party lines, with no better chances of influencing the political process and public opinion than the parties themselves" (Kaufman, 1979, p. 46). The country's political system evolved around two political parties – the right-wing *Partido Nacional* and centre-right *Partido Colorado*, which dominated politics for more than a century until the return to democracy. There are no deep ideological cleavages between these parties and, perhaps as a result of this, the political culture of government is consensus-based and elite-centred. This strong role of political parties and elite-centred resolution of political disagreement is encapsulated in the term *partidocracía*. An outcome of this is that civil society demands are channeled through parties, therefore Uruguay does not have the long tradition of social movements found in other countries in the region (Canel, 1992).

This democratic stability and consensual political culture was initially disrupted by the economic crisis of the 1950s and 60s, which was partly brought about by high spending on welfare. Further social and political unrest followed with the emergence of the left-wing *Tupamaros* or MLN-T (Tupamaros National Liberation Movement), an initially peaceful movement that sought a Communist regime. However, it initiated tactics of violence and political kidnappings in 1969 after the president of the time, Jorge Pacheco, called a state of emergency in response to strikes prompted by the economic crisis. During this time, the government repressed protest, imprisoned and tortured dissidents, and began to control the media through shutdowns. For the first time in the country's history, the military was called upon to intervene in Uruguayan political affairs

(Handelman, 1978).

The authoritarian period proper began on 27th June 1973 as a result of a cumulative shift in power relations from the civilian government, led by President Jorge Bordaberry, to the military. The handover of power was, in the end, by agreement, with Bordaberry accepting the military takeover and suppression of dissent in order to remain as the democratically-elected head of state. In this sense, the Uruguayan civil-military dictatorship differed from those in neighbouring countries. The military also preserved the main political parties, though banned left-wing parties including the *Frente Amplio*. The authoritarian era in Uruguay resulted in fewer deaths than in Chile, Argentina and Paraguay; instead, it is noted for its high levels of surveillance, torture and detainment. As Barahona de Brito describes it, " [r]epression in Uruguay was characterized by a system of totalitarian control over the population ensured by the widespread use of mass, prolonged imprisonment and the systematic application of torture" (1997, p. 46). Amnesty International estimated that within the first three years of the regime, one in 30 adult Uruguayans had been either interrogated or detained (Handelman, 1978). In a process enabled by the small size of the country, each citizen received a category of A, B, or C to denote their perceived threat to the regime. The majority of torture victims underwent "medically controlled" methods to ensure they survived and, so, could undergo further interrogations (Barahona de Brito, 1997, p. 47). Overall, approximately 160 Uruguayan detainees were disappeared, the majority of these in Argentina. In addition to this, 32 people died during torture and 26 were killed by extrajudicial execution.

The return to democracy began in 1980, when the military held and lost a constitutional plebiscite that was designed to institutionalise its control. This initiated a sequence of failed strategic moves by the military to retain control, which in turn gave the main surviving political parties, the *Partido Nacional* and *Partido Colorado*, greater leverage in negotiations around the liberalisation of the regime. In 1984, the military decided to release from prison the leader of the *Frente Amplio* left-wing coalition, Liber Seregni, in order for the party to join in negotiations. This would later prove to be an important step in the resurgence and rehabilitation of the party. Four years after the plebiscite

loss that began them, the transitional negotiations, known as the Club Naval pact, eventually established a date for the elections that would mark the return to civilian rule: November 1984.

The Uruguayan transition had two key features. First, its aforementioned pacted nature. This type of transition, in which the outgoing authoritarian regime contributes to the conditions of the handover, is associated with the preservation of "authoritarian enclaves" that can be obstacles to the quality of the emerging democracy and, in particular, the lack of a response to dealing with human rights violations that took place (Garreton, 2004). The way in which the question of transitional justice was dealt with is the focus of section 1.4.3 of this chapter. Second, its return to democracy is noted among scholars for the way in which the institutional political configuration appeared preserved in aspic during the authoritarian period. Some scholars describe the authoritarian era as being treated as if an interlude in democracy, during which the democratic political system was frozen, and then underwent a thawing process during the protracted negotiations for transition. Thus, Gillespie describes the transition as a return to the *status quo ante* – evidence for which was drawn from the way in which the vote share for the first election almost exactly mirrored that for the last before the military takeover (Gillespie, 1986). Similarly, Barahona de Brito describes it as "restoration" rather than "renovation" (1997).

In this context of political continuity, it would be left to the *Frente Amplio* to bring about a real seismic shift in Uruguayan politics, 20 years after the return to democracy. The triumph of the left-wing coalition in the 2004 national elections broke the 170-year domination of the *Blancos* and *Colorados* and marked Uruguay's assimilation into the "left turn" of Latin American politics (Canel, 2004). This was achieved, it has been argued, via "the party's complex transition from a predominantly urban, center-left mass party to an increasingly catch-all, professional electoral organization" (Luna, 2007, p. 1). This included pursuing a programme of moderation, which characterises the *Frente Amplio* as a "reformist" rather than "revolutionary" left government (Robinson, 2008). Now in its third successive term, the government has passed with relative ease (that is, relative to their controversial nature in other Latin American countries) a range

of socially progressive policies including same-sex marriage, abortion and the legalisation of marijuana. As section 1.4.3 will discuss in greater detail, the election of the *Frente Amplio* raised expectations that transitional justice would also be dealt with.

1.4.2 Media in Uruguay

The media in Uruguay has consistently been considered among the freest in Latin America, with the exception of the period of authoritarianism. The combination of economic prosperity and high literacy in the late 19th and early 20th century sustained the development of a rich tradition of newspapers. *El Dia* was founded in 1886 by the then leader of the *Partido Colorado*, Jose Batlle y Ordonez, who would later become president. It folded in the early 1990s. *El País* was founded in 1918 by the *Partido Nacional* or *Blancos*. Indeed, the main newspapers were founded by leaders of political parties, described as "highly combative and closely tied to the main political parties" (Faraone and Fox, 1988). Meanwhile, the government established a non-commercial public broadcasting service in 1929 as part of its broader educational and cultural policies (Fox, 1988). Many private, commercial radio stations also flourished during this time, while television broadcasting began in 1956. Press freedom and freedom of expression were guaranteed with the constitution of 1967, which was reinstated upon the return to democracy.

As mentioned in the previous section, the years leading up to the military coup in 1973 saw the gradual erosion of this exemplary tradition of press freedom as part of the government's response to the *Tupamaro* guerrillas. When in June that year a left-wing political magazine, *La Marcha*, published an editorial in support of their activities, President Pacheco invoked the Security Measures Act for emergency powers to confiscate the print run of the edition in question. This began a series of suspensions, confiscations and selective censorships of left-wing and Communist newspapers which continued up to the military coup on the 27th of June 1973. So it was that "[s]eventy years of press freedom had now been compromised by a political and economic crisis" (Alisky, 1981, p. 197). This pre-emptive censorship weakened press freedom, both

through direct measures and the beginnings of "docile obedience to government censorship, manipulation of information and outright distortion of the news" (Faraone and Fox, 1988, p. 152). By December of 1973 "all Marxist and far left publications were banned" (Alisky, 1981, p. 199). When the military took power in 1973, this first wave of media restriction shifted to "absolute control" (Faraone, 2003, p. 237). The censorship also extended to past issues of newspapers stored in the National Library of Uruguay in Montevideo (Faraone and Fox, 1988, p. 153). Five years later, only six of Uruguay's previous 11 daily newspapers were still in operation, due in part to economic reasons as well as the political situation.

Thus, at the point of the return to democracy, the left-wing press was considerably depleted. On the other hand, media freedom was immediately restored with the new civilian government in March 1984. This revived traditional newspapers as well as brought new ones (Faraone and Fox, 1988). The highest-circulation newspaper *El País* survived the authoritarian period. It is identified with the "establishment, both politically and economically" and has long-standing connections with the *Blancos* (Faraone, 2003). Key among the new publications was *La República,* launched on the 3rd of May 1988 – only three years after the return to democracy - which, in most accounts of media and democracy during transitions, should signal a significant opening of the media. *La República* is a left-orientated daily newspaper with informal links to the *Frente Amplio*. In the early period after the return to democracy, *El País* and *La República* typically set the agenda for the rest of the print and broadcast media (Faraone, 2003), however, interview data suggests this now precludes *La República*. An additional daily, *El Observador,* was launched in October 1991 and has a similar editorial position to *El País*. Another left-orientated daily, *La Diaria,* launched in March 2006 to report on gender issues, human rights, youth issues and alternative modes of development.

The press in Uruguay evolved alongside the two-party system that continued until the success of the *Frente Amplio* in 2004 and has traditionally been strongly partisan. The daily newspaper market in Uruguay has been and continues to be strongly shaped by the tradition of newspapers aligned to particular political parties. As is characteristic of

such systems, newspapers in the country were established by politicians as official publications of their parties. While this is no longer the case, there remains a close relationship between newspapers and either particular political parties or a broader political allegiance to either right or left. Asked to describe the landscape of media outlets in Uruguay, one retired journalist categorised the newspapers along broad economic and institutional lines.

> The big Uruguayan businesses are obviously more related to media like *El Observador, Busqueda* and *El País*, and more distant from media like *La República, La Diaria* and *Brecha*. The unions and public universities are closer to these three newspapers than the others (Interview with journalist, 2016).

While this indicates a broad division between "right" and "left", the nature of the political alignment, and so its importance in assessing media access, is less clear. This is particularly important to establish for the newspapers that were selected for the content analysis in this thesis – *El País* and *La República* (see Methodology Chapter for the rationale for their selection). *El País* is one of the traditional newspapers in Uruguay, founded in 1918 in support of the *Blancos* or *Partido Nacional*. As previously mentioned, it survived the authoritarian period by adhering to censorial guidelines and not criticising the military. Its allegiance to the National Party began with its founding in 1918 and continued to be clear in 1989 with the political news column having two sections: "National Party" and "Other parties" (*El País*, 1989). The current editor of *El País* acknowledged the newspaper's association with the *Blanco* party, though described this in terms that created a degree of editorial distance: *"It's not that we follow the party, but that the party and the newspaper believe the same thing"* (interview with journalist, 2016). The extent to which this applied to their respective positions on transitional justice is directly explored in Chapter 6.

On the other hand, *La República* was founded by Federico Fasano Mertens in the wake of the return to democracy. A journalist who worked at the newspaper during this time described how the return to democracy created a gap in the market for a newspaper

representing the left.

> He wanted to be competitive; he wanted to sell his newspaper, so that there was
> no other leftist newspaper [able to compete]. He wanted his paper to exist as a
> great voice or a single left-wing voice (Interview with journalist 2016).

The content analysis uncovered clear evidence that *La República* was initially positioned as newspaper broadly of the left that focused on campaigning on particular issues, particularly against impunity in the early return to democracy. This is in keeping with expectations in media democratisation scholarship that the early return to democracy is akin to a "honeymoon" in which new publications are established and previously censored issues can be extensively covered (Voltmer and Rawnsley, 2009, p. 235). In this period "political reporting throughout the recently democratized countries is highly opinionated and politicized" (Voltmer and Rawnsley, 2009, p. 244). The newspaper became ever more closely aligned with the *Frente Amplio* as it re-emerged as a political force during the democratisation period, to the extent that several interviewees described it as *oficialista* since the party had been in government. Again, this process of increasing alignment with party politics is anticipated by media democratisation literature – less clear is whether this has an effect on media access.

Therefore, this partisan alignment and concomitant editorial positions of the newspapers is likely to have an influence on which sources gain access on particular issues. However, the focus of the press on political parties may have a broader influence on media access; that is, it may shape journalistic practices of source use in a more fundamental way. One interviewee described this in the following terms:

> Uruguay is very institutionally political – the parties, the parliament – so its press
> is like that. Even today, if you follow all media, newspapers, television, weeklies,
> the coverage is mainly political and institutionally political. The theory is that

people have to know what their government does so the service we do for the public is following politics. But, no, the media doesn't give importance to other organisations - civil society is a messy concept but we know what we mean – and, no, there's very little coverage of things that are important but outside of the political establishment. And that has been so since the return of democracy until today. The only non-political - but still very political - organisations that get coverage are trade unions. But then in a way they are very political. The press says it's plural because it covers all parties, but it doesn't cover all issues. That's the tradition. It's not good, but it's tradition (Interview with journalist, 2016).

This suggests that the demands of civil society, or indeed any voices other than politicians, are typically excluded from newspaper coverage. In other words, politicians are at the top of the *hierarchy* of sources. In this sense, Uruguay is no exception in the region. Reporting on official government business traditionally carries high prestige across South America (Waisbord, 2000). Covering topics such as human rights carries much lower prestige (McPherson, 2012). This enables elite political sources to gain privileged access to news coverage, as is well established in UK, European and US research on source-media relations (Manning, 2001). There was agreement across interviewees that politicians and government ministers in Uruguay are generally highly accessible to journalists. Journalists working at newspapers positioned to the right and left said that if they put in a call to a politician or even a minister, they can usually expect to speak to them that day. As one reporter expressed it: "It's easy to talk to ministers. Uruguay is a small place. You can call ministers, in many cases" (Interview with journalist, 2016). Alternatively, as an editor put it: "If you can't speak to a minister in the same day, you're not really trying" (Interview with journalist, 2016). Thus, the availability of politicians is an essential part of the supply and demand of sources. As the quotes above indicate, this is normalised in the organisational routines of newspapers. This is in accordance with Hall's emphasis on the importance of professional routines in structuring media access initially based on the UK context (Hall, 1978; Manning, 2001). These issues will be developed in more detail in Chapter 6, which discusses particular journalistic routines and source use relevant to civil society media access.

This section has elucidated some key features of the Uruguayan press relevant to understanding media access. In particular, it has highlighted the strong tradition of partisan media and the way in which this may shape access both by the types of issues that receive coverage and in terms of the sources that may be more likely to gain access. This focus of the press on political parties was also linked to a general exclusion of voices from civil society. However, we do not know much about whether this dynamic has been affected by the process of democratisation and, crucially for the purposes of this thesis, how this affects media access for civil society actors.

1.4.3 Civil society and the campaign for transitional justice

As previously discussed, the human rights abuses during the Uruguayan civil-military regime were chiefly unlawful detention, imprisonment and torture. Approximately 200 citizens were disappeared, mainly in Argentina though many of the victim's bodies have yet to be found. The negotiations with the military over the terms of the transition are thought to have included a tacit agreement, as part of the Naval Club Pact, that the military would be immune from prosecution. The general approach of the transition government, led by President Sanguinetti, was initially characterised by its passivity – it neither pursued legal instruments that would protect military actors nor prevented families of the disappeared from initiating court cases against them. However, the agreement of the Naval Club Pact was formalised just after the transition to democracy amidst growing pressure from families of the disappeared and tortured for justice and counter-pressure from the military that such a process could threaten the nascent democratic state.

Thus, on the 22nd of December 1986, the Uruguayan Parliament passed Law 15,848 on the Expiry of the Punitive Claims of the State, which effectively prevented the prosecution of the police or military for human rights abuses committed during the military dictatorship and therefore was an impunity law in all but name. The

announcement of the Expiry Law was met with widespread dissent from the public, which led to the organisation of several civil society actors under the banner of the National Pro-Referendum Committee (CNP). The intention was to make use of a provision in the Uruguayan Constitution which states that a referendum on a contested law can be held within one year of the law being passed if more than 25 per cent of the population supports the initiative. The Committee, comprising actors such as MLN-Tupamaros, the Committee of Mothers and Relatives of Disappeared Persons and Peace and Justice Service (SERPAJ), collected 600,000 signatures and a referendum was held on 16th April 1989. On the day of the referendum, 84.7 per cent of the electorate turned out to vote - 56.6 in favour of the law and 43.3 against. That is, the referendum returned a "no" vote and this was followed by a long period of "silence" (Burt, Amilivia and Lessa, 2013) as the issue was removed from the public agenda. Nevertheless, the campaign itself can be seen as significant as "[f]or the first time in modern Uruguayan history, grassroots movements and social organisations had acted collectively without the top-down leadership of politicians" (Roniger, 2011a, p. 702), which suggested some erosion of the *partidocracia* – even if temporary. Indeed, the campaign was reinvigorated with the inaugural *Marcha del Silencio* in 1996. The 20th May 1996 was chosen for the *Marcha* as it was the 20th anniversary of the assassination of Uruguayan politicians Zelmar Michelini and Hector Gutierrez Ruiz in Buenos Aires, Argentina, as part of Operation Condor. They were tortured and killed alongside Tupamaros William Whitelaw and Rosario del Carmen Barredo. The characteristics of the march are shared with other protests against impunity in Latin America. It has always had a hybrid character - at once an act of remembrance and a demand for truth and justice, which for campaigners are "intertwined" issues (Lessa, 2013). However, these are articulated in different ways. Demonstrators walk with placards featuring a photograph of each disappeared person along with their name and occasionally their place and date of disappearance. The route of the march includes some of the main streets and squares of Montevideo. At a specific point, the name of each person is called out and the crowd replies "¡presente!" Unlike a typical street protest, chanting or shouting slogans is strongly discouraged, as the silence functions both as an act of remembrance and as a metaphor for the "politics of oblivion" - that is, the Uruguayan government's continued failure to confront past human rights violations. Rather, the demand of the action is articulated by the slogan that is formulated each year by members of the NGO *Madres y Familiares de Uruguayos Detenidos Desaparecidos* (hereafter *Familiares)*. This is printed

on a long banner that is carried at the front of the march. This particular repertoire of protest raises interesting issues for media access, which will be raised at various points in the chapter.

The triumph of Tabaré Vásquez and the *Frente Amplio* in the 2004 elections represented an ambiguous development for civil society organisations fighting impunity. While the party had previously pledged to bring to justice the perpetrators of human rights violations during the dictatorship and had the parliamentary majority necessary to do so, Vásquez had campaigned on a promise of maintaining the Expiry Law. However, 25 cases progressed through the courts during the Vásquez administration by exploiting exemptions to the Expiry Law that were rejected during the drafting of the law due to pressure from the military, but nevertheless became adopted in practice. Despite this advance, a collective of civil society organisations wished to see more significant progress and in November 2006 established the National Coordinating Committee for the Nullification of the Expiry Law. As well as the principal human rights organisations in the country, this also included the distinguished human rights lawyer Oscar López Goldaracena and *Frente Amplio* lawyers. Using a mechanism for constitutional reform, which required the collection of the signatures of more than 10 per cent of registered voters, the electoral court of Uruguay granted a plebiscite for 25th October 2009, which ran in parallel to the presidential elections in which José Mujica was the presidential candidate for the *Frente Amplio*. The party declined to support the campaign, with Mujica giving "reluctant" endorsement at the final stage (Burt, Amilivia and Lessa, 2013, p. 13), though it did receive indirect endorsement in the week before election day with the judgment of the Supreme Court of Justice that the Expiry Law was unconstitutional. In the end, the plebiscite returned a vote of 47.7 per cent - just short of the 50 per cent plus one vote necessary for reform. While it must be noted that Uruguay is unique in twice having its citizens vote to maintain impunity, the country also has a strong tradition of direct democratic measures such as referenda and plebiscites and, rather than being treated as one-off votes of conscience or principle, these are generally linked to party political allegiance. Unlike the consequences of the 1989 plebiscite, scholars note that the failure of the 2009 plebiscite had the counterintuitive effect of placing impunity "squarely on the public agenda and reinvigorated civil society mobilization" (Burt, Amilivia and Lessa, 2013, p. 14).

Running concurrently with this domestic approach to the issue was a case at the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) brought by the father-in-law and daughter of María Claudia Iruretagoyena de Gelman, who was abducted in Argentina and moved to Uruguay, where she was murdered after childbirth. It was argued that the Expiry Law was incompatible with the IACHR principles ratified by the Uruguayan state – by way of response, the government argued that retroactive application was not possible and it could not contravene the results of the 1989 referendum and 2009 plebiscite. However, resistance to the IACHR faltered after the court publicly condemned Brazil in 2010, setting in motion a series of legal moves led by foreign minister Luis Almagro which seemed set to effectively neutralise the key articles of the Expiry Law. However, at its final reading in May 2011 the *Frente Amplio* failed to pass the bill into law despite its parliamentary majority. One of the principal reasons for this was the abovementioned reluctance to act against the public will, particularly given the weight accorded to such popular mechanisms by the *Frente Amplio* in other policy areas. It was eventually passed in October that year.

Scholarship on transitional justice in Uruguay has unanimously found an "ambivalent" (Roniger, 2011a) process. In the context of the Southern Cone, it was slower to initiate trials or truth commissions than neighbouring Chile and Argentina – these began in the 1990s while it would be 2002 before a judge took on a case of transitional justice in Uruguay. As outlined in the previous section, although progress began to be made with the election of the left-leaning *Frente Amplio* in 2005, the party (in reality a coalition of parties spanning the left to centre-left), attracted muted support from both sides of the political spectrum once progress did begin to look possible. Thus, even after the election of the Frente Amplio government, which had initially stated its commitment to justice over impunity, "neither the first nor second *Frente Amplio* government took the lead on promoting accountability for dictatorship-era crimes" (Burt, Amilivia and Lessa, 2013, p. 17). In this way, Uruguay saw "policies of closure embraced by the democratic government" that aligned it with the approach in Brazil rather than neighbouring Argentina (Roniger, 2011a, p. 694). Uruguay also differed in its approach to truth commissions – it would be 15 years until one was established by the government, setting

it against the approach in Argentina and Chile and, again, aligning it with Brazil. Overall, the country's delayed and resistant approach to transitional justice reflects "the decision of the political class leading the process of re-democratisation to draw a line under the past without addressing normative expectations of truth and accountability...and the attempts by sectors of civil society to undo them" (Roniger, 2011a, p. 695).

This broad distinction between the "political class" and "civil society" in the context of democratisation obscures the complexity of defining civil society and which actors it might include. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, two different conceptions of civil society are evident in the democratisation literature. The liberal conception sees civil society as an inclusive entity, autonomous from but in symbiosis with the state. Accordingly, groups in civil society may participate in governmental networks and perform other roles in support of the state (Plattner and Diamond, 1994). On the other hand, a more radical definition conceives of civil society as a fragmented and unequal entity that is nevertheless a potential source for the transformation of the state (Grugel, 2001). Overall, existing scholarship on media democratisation draws from the liberal conception, thereby emphasising the role media can play in supporting electoral democracy by disseminating party political information or serving as mechanism for state accountability. This posed a theoretical and methodological issue for this thesis, for the reason that the liberal approach does not dovetail with the history of civil society in Latin America nor in Uruguay in particular.

In Latin America, civil society is more broadly associated with social movements, community groups, and other more informal, variably organised and institutionalised actors (Escobar and Alvarez, 1992). This was particularly relevant during democratisation, as the process of "NGO-isation" took place at different times and to different extents in different countries in the region (Alvarez, 1999). In the context of Uruguay, a decline in urban movements was noted during the period (Canel, 1992). However, in the case of the campaign against impunity, emerging issues were led by the families of politicians who were assassinated during the dictatorship as well as community groups – indicating that a clear distinction between political actors and civil

society actors may not hold. Given that this thesis foregrounds the importance of engaging with the de-westernisation of the field of research, this presented a key challenge. The emphasis on organised civil society in mainstream media democratisation alongside the existing categories of analysis in source-media relations research focusing on official/unofficial binaries obscured not only the long tradition of *disorganised* civil society in Latin America but also constituted an obstacle to investigating how groups in civil society actually changed during democratisation. On the other hand, developing new models for mapping diverse sources in the media would contribute towards a more nuanced, context-sensitive approach to investigating media-source relations in different regions. These could also play a role in critically interrogating liberal assumptions about civil society during democratisation and beyond.

However, a key element of engaging with the process of de-westernisation of media research is also to speak to the wider questions in the field. For this reason, it was decided that categories of analysis congruent with existing research in the field would be used in order to draw comparisons, utilise methodology tools from Western cases to test how far they travel, and more broadly to *speak to* ongoing debates around media pluralism in different contexts.

This section has drawn attention to key features of the state response to and civil society campaign for transitional justice in Uruguay. As mentioned previously, while the media and transitional justice is a significant gap in democratisation literature, the changing status of the issue on the public and political agenda over time raises the question of how it registered on the media agenda across the same period. Furthermore, in the context of an issue polarised between the state narrative and the civil society-based demands that contested this, how this was manifested in which sources gained both quantity and quality of access to make these arguments.

1.5 Main arguments of the thesis

Overall, the thesis argues that the lack of media access for civil society actors constitutes a significant and ongoing problem for the deepening of democracies in Latin America. To this end, the thesis supports a more radical account of media democratisation which incorporates to a greater normative duty to represent civil society groups, particularly given the dominance of hegemonic, state-led narratives in pacted transitions. This should inform the way in which media policy is approached during democratic transitions and provides impetus for the current push for civil society-led media reform movements in the region. In addition to this, the thesis indicates the need for further and broader research into media coverage of transitional justice campaigns and mechanisms in different contexts and in comparison with other human rights issues.

1.6 Conclusion

This introductory chapter has set out the aims of this thesis and contextualised them within the region and country of study. It has highlighted some of the key features of the media and transitional justice campaign in Uruguay. The thesis proceeds as follows:

Chapter 2 is a literature review of the key bodies of scholarship that form the foundations of this thesis and its research questions. Specifically, it engages with literature on democratisation and media democratisation, and source-media relations.

Chapter 3 explains the methodological approach and methods used to investigate the research questions of the thesis. In particular, it explains the single case study research design and mixed methods approach. It also explains the process of fieldwork, key features of the content analysis and the way in which this was combined with

interviewing.

Chapter 4 presents the findings of the first case study - the newspaper coverage of the plebiscites on the Expiry Law in 1989 and 2009. It analyses both the quantity and quality of media access for civil society and official actors and compares this across plebiscites and newspapers. It also draws out general patterns in coverage between the two plebiscites.

Chapter 5 presents the findings of the second case study – the newspaper coverage of the *Marcha del Silencio* from its first year in 1996 to 2012. It follows the analysis set out in the preceding chapter.

Chapter 6 brings together both case studies and draws on qualitative interviewing with civil society organisations and journalists to elucidate explanatory factors and identify broader shifts shaping media access during democratisation. It addresses the perceptions of media access of both groups; journalistic practices around source use and relationships with sources.

Chapter 7 explains the key conclusions and contributions of the thesis regarding media access, transitional justice, and the de-Westernisation debate.

Chapter 2: Media democratisation and civil society in Latin America

The project's aim and approach was developed through a review of scholarship on democratisation, media democratisation and sociology of news, especially source-media relations literature. This chapter highlights important themes for the development of the thesis and its methodology. Firstly, the critique of democratisation theory from the perspective of civil society is utilised to raise questions about the respective roles of the state and civil society in the media democratisation literature. Secondly, it demonstrates the evidence gap between normative expectations and actual performance of the media across democratisation. Finally, it highlights the importance of the use of mixed methodologies to capture different dimensions of source-media relations. The first section focuses on democratisation literature; the second on media democratisation literature; and the third on scholarship on source-media relations.

2.1 Democratisation from above and its critique

The succession of democratisations of the 1980s and 1990s in Latin America placed the continent under the magnifying glass of political science. The period was named the "third wave" of democracy (Huntington, 1991), thereby grouping it with contemporaneous democratisations in Eastern Europe. The period saw electoral democracies established in every country in the region between 1978 and 1990, most of which were considered to have underdeveloped or developing economies. This was notable because it questioned the prevailing democratic theory of the time - modernisation theory – which was largely based on case studies in the West and held that economic development would eventually, inevitably, lead to democracy. Thus, the theoretical work that followed these transitions to democracy took place under the conditions of this so-called "paradigm crisis" (Baker 1999: 15). One of the effects of this was that the transition literature exchanged the panoramic lens for a microscope. This enabled the revision of the teleological assumption that all economically developed countries would become liberal democracies, and exploration of the ways in which the raft of new case studies might contribute to democratic theory. Although many theories

of transition emerged, the foremost theory to emerge from the post-third wave work on democratisation has been transitology, initiated by O'Donnell and Schmitter (1986) and developed over the following decades. A second key strand of the literature critiqued this approach from the perspective of civil society, which drew to a far greater extent on literature on social movements and was led by scholars such as Jean Grugel, Ruth Collier, and Jenny Pearce. Though not polar opposites, these approaches involved significantly different analytical and normative responses to some of the key questions posed by democratic transitions in Latin America, chief among them: what kind of democracy? What role does civil society play vis a vis state actors and institutions? How are past human rights abuses best dealt with? Thus, this section discusses some of the key differences in both approaches most relevant to this thesis.

A central conceptual characteristic of the mainstream transition literature is its identification of distinct stages in the democratisation process. Early scholarship proposed a two-stage model of transition and consolidation. The first period of change – the "transition" period – was initiated by the beginning of the loss of legitimacy of the authoritarian regime, evidenced by disputes among the political elite concerning how to regain legitimacy and consolidate the authoritarian regime. This phase ended with the first democratic election. The second stage of "consolidation" began with the first democratic government taking power and continued until democratic practices and beliefs became embedded to the point that it could be considered a democratic regime (Mainwaring, O'Donnell and Valenzuela, 1992). This was later revised to three stages of "opening" where the regime began to break down and an opportunity for change appeared; "breakthrough" or moment of collapse of the regime and introduction of new democratic system; and "consolidation", in which institutions strengthened. These stages were chiefly defined by changes at the institutional level. The point of transition was located when elections were held and, in the earlier literature, the satisfaction of this democratic requirement along with other minimal conditions of Dahl's polyarchy, defined at the beginning of this section. The second stage of consolidation was largely explored in literature emerging during the 1990s. The consolidation stage is broadly associated with political parties becoming more established and diverse, the fortification of civil society and the establishment of a democratic media (Diamond, 1999). This literature broadly pursued two aims. Firstly, it appraised the quality and

type of democracy in the respective countries. By this point, different forms of democracy were emerging from Latin America that did not conform to the characteristics of Western liberal democracies. This led to a flurry of typologies as well as debates around the quality of these democracies (Collier and Levitsky, 1997). Crucially, this variation questioned the teleological nature of transition theory and that consolidation would logically follow transition. Secondly, there were attempts to define the point at which a new democracy could be said to be consolidated, or having completed transition. For many, this was once the political elite became unified in its commitment to the new democratic system and its institutions more deeply embedded – or, in the well-known phrase, became the "only game in town" (Linz and Stepan, 1996b).

Transitology theorists focused their attention on elite-level bargaining and pact-making by political actors during the process of democratisation. Elite pacts, where outgoing authoritarian governments play a role in the planning and process of transition, are thought to secure a more stable outcome for new democracies and were particularly notable in Latin American cases as a transitional mechanism (Karl and Schmitter, 1991). Civil society actors are acknowledged to play an important role in placing pressure on the regime at the point at which elite divides begin to emerge – also the point that initiates the transition process in the "stages" approach – and that this can add significant momentum to the push for democracy (O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead, 1986). In earlier work, transitologists had accorded civil society a role in so far as it followed the new democratic rules of the game (Linz and Stepan, 1996a) and predicted that any initial post-authoritarian bursts of social movement activity would effectively prove to be epiphenomena of the process itself and die down as representative democratic politics became normalised (O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead, 1986).

As noted above, a second strand of democratisation literature developed out of social movement scholarship, but criticism of the dominant transition literature also emerged from other quarters. Critiquing the "transition paradigm", Carothers called into question some of the fundamental assumptions of the transition literature (2002). These were fivefold: that leaving authoritarian rule meant "moving *toward* democracy"; that

democratisation takes place in a series of stages; that elections act as a proxy for deepening other spheres of democracy, such as political participation; that the inclusive approach of polyarchy obscured local differences that may be key to the outcome of democracy; and that democratisation processes in the "third wave" are taking place in countries where the state is already functioning – and are thus only modifications. While this critique is wide-ranging, the charge from the perspective of civil society is essentially that by focusing on institutions and individual actors, the actual as well as normative role of groups including social movements and trade unions in democratisation is critically underplayed.

Indeed, certain features of democratic transitions in Latin America were inherently problematic for theories of transition that relied too heavily on the democratisation of institutions. Remnants of authoritarian regimes, known as "authoritarian enclaves" (Garreton, 2004) had been preserved in the new democracies, including authoritarian constitutions and voting systems, which inherently limited democratic representation and participation. These were particularly enabled by pacted transitions. These enabled the outgoing regime to shape the institutional apparatus of the incoming democracy, including the extent to which past human rights abuses would be able to be addressed. That is, "they are anti-democratic mechanisms, bargained by elites, which seek to create a deliberate socioeconomic and political contract that demobilizes emerging mass actors while delineating the extent to which all actors can participate or wield power in the future" (Karl and Schmitter, 1991, p. 281). This inherent institutional failure of representation constitutes a severe rift between civil society and the state, which along with widening inequality has been identified as critical issues for the deepening of democracy in Latin America (Garreton, 2004; Blofield, 2011).

Although O'Donnell and his fellow transitologists had integrated a greater role for civil society in deepening democracy in their later work, this continued to draw criticism from a range of perspectives that revealed deep divisions in the respective approaches. These scholars acknowledged the decisive role played by political elites while warning that it was "not the whole story" and that the role of civil society both in bringing about the transition (Collier, 1999) and later in deepening democracy "beyond its formal

structure" had been neglected (Diamond, 1999, p. 219). The transition paradigm was also criticised for emphasising its analytically clear stages model at the cost of focusing on democratic outcomes, thereby "removing the normative content from their interpretation of democracy" and making "no assumptions about its social content" (Milton, 2005). This focus on agent-orchestrated "stages" of transition was also argued to restrict the breadth and depth of its view in a way that excludes a full appreciation of civil society actors, chiefly social movements in the case of Latin America, in the period before transition (Baker, 1999; Collier, 1999). Collier pays particular attention to the way in which the transition literature marked a shift in the "categories of analysis" which had the effect of systematically excluding civil society actors (Collier, 1999, p. 7). These included the focus on agents over structures, elites over collectives, strategically-defined actors rather than class-defined and state actors rather than societal. As such, it also marked a move away from structural theorising which placed class and ideology at the fore of the analysis. More radical critiques rooted the approach in the general "statist-bias" of political science, which designated civil society as an "anti-political" space that fulfilled an instrumentalist purpose for elite political theory rather than a space for participation and the public sphere (Baker, 1999, p. 16).

A more moderate critique from this perspective challenged the assumption in the transition literature that civil society is always supportive of democracy, and drew attention to inequalities within civil society that problematised its conceptualisation as a homogenous collective actor (Grugel, 2001; Whitehead, 2002). This issue of the configuration of civil society and its relationship to the state was drawn into particularly sharp relief by state responses to issues of transitional justice. Where questions of dealing with human rights abuses were sidelined by new governments, frequently as part of a pacted handover, it exposed deep divisions within civil society. In addition to this, transitional narratives of states often cast dealing with human rights abuses as incompatible with electoral democracy. Thus, the implication was that those groups campaigning for transitional justice, often drawing upon key democratic principles such as equality before the law, were acting in an anti-democratic manner.

As this suggests, and as Grugel observes, at the root of this disagreement are starkly

different conceptions of democracy and civil society. Transitologists tend to use a more procedural definition of democracy, often a minimal concept of democracy that is largely rooted in Robert Dahl's theory of polyarchy. Polyarchy distinguishes between democracy as an ideal and as a set of practices and institutions in actually-existing societies in the West. Thus, the minimal requirements for a democratic state are: elected state officials; free and fair elections; inclusive suffrage; the right to run for office; freedom of expression; alternative information; and associational autonomy (Dahl, 1989). In the context of the aforementioned paradigm crisis, this definition usefully dealt with the assumption that democracy, particularly liberal democracy as practised in the West, constituted an uncontested, invariable concept. Faced with unexpected political changes in Latin America and Eastern Europe, this formal definition was able to present a framework that could traverse diverse contexts and yield generalisable research. Polyarchy recognises real-life deviations from the ideal concept of democracy rooted in the Western canon, which had the effect of opening up the field of study. Thus, the taxonomy of democratic regimes broadened in the wake of Latin American transitions, particularly to include "delegative democracy" (O'Donnell, 1994) which described democratic regimes that were elected but had a high concentration of power in the administration and were therefore less representative. However, they were also stable.

On the other hand, Grugel, Pearce and Diamond are committed to or erring towards a substantive definition of democracy. This acknowledges the importance of institutions but integrates this with substantive democratic features such as participation, deliberation and rights. For Grugel, this is a matter of democratisation necessitating the extension of rights to subordinated groups in society, from which she argues that it follows that civil society play a greater role in democratisation. Diamond also attributes the deepening of democracy as an ongoing "struggle" that requires civil society actors, however for him this is part of a greater scheme for the creation of a political culture that supports democracy and, so, aids its consolidation. This, in turn, supports his "developmental" theory of democratisation, which is defined as a constantly evolving liberal democracy (Diamond, 1999). These groups may include those historically marginalised in Latin American society, such as indigenous peoples and women, as well as those groups marginalised during authoritarianism and therefore demobilised in the

subsequent democratic transitions, such as the trade unions and families of the disappeared.

Here it is necessary to return to and develop the previously stated distinction between the liberal conception of civil society as an inherently inclusive body that supports the state and a radical conception of civil society as transforming the state in order to reconfigure power relations (Grugel, 2001, p. 95). The former typifies the definition used in liberal democratisation theory but is inconsistent with the historical role of civil society, particularly social movements, in the countries undergoing transition (explored in greater depth below). Pearce traces the divergence of literature during the 1980s-1990s into transitology and social movements, which she notes as particularly important on the basis that "civil society" was virtually synonymous with "social movement" in the region at this time (Pearce, 1997). The social movement literature on Latin America from that period not only defines the nature and role of social movements under authoritarianism and during democratisation, but also highlights additional features of the period that are given scant attention in the transition literature, particularly protest in working-class communities, depoliticisation and the social effects of neoliberalism (Collier, 1999; Paley, 2001).

This rich history of political participation and its suppression by the state is considered incompatible with "a model of democratization in which collective actors, mass mobilisations and protests are largely exogenous" (Collier, 1999, p. 6). A path-dependence approach may have yielded a broader scope that enhanced the role of civil society in transitions on the basis of their role before the transition period was deemed to have commenced. As Diamond points out: "we must see democratization not simply as a limited period of transition from one set of formal regime rules to another, but rather as an ongoing process, a perpetual challenge, a recurrent struggle" (ibid, p. 219), which not only opens out the possibility for societal and collective actors to play significant roles after a bargaining or pact-making process but also encourages retrospective appraisal of the relative roles of political and civil society actors. Cox has explored the changing meaning of civil society in European and American literatures through the lens of Gramsci's concept of hegemony and identified the development of

two opposing uses of the term: first, that referring to a bourgeois cultural hegemony shaped by capitalist forces which produces a "'top down' process" (Cox, 2006a, p. 7) of influence through the population at large; second, that of a counter-hegemony constructed by those in the popular sectors who have been excluded from the benefits of the capitalist system, which generates a "'bottom-up' process" (ibid, p. 7) of social and political change. While the former supports the state apparatus, in part through the funding of NGOs which can have the effect of both influencing NGO activity and legitimising the hegemonic order, the latter aims to transform the state both through the organisation of actors, such as social movements, and the circulation of counter-hegemonic ideas that can lead people to question the status quo and conceive of it as constructed rather than natural.

2.2 Media democratisation

While many of the major works on the "third wave" of transitions were being published, media scholars made two observations. Firstly, that given the consensus on the importance of the media for democracy, it could be logically assumed to play a significant role in transitions from authoritarian and totalitarian rule to democracy (Keane, 1991; Jakubowicz, 1995; Bennett, 1998; O'Neil, 1998). Secondly, that transition theorists in political science had paid little attention to this in the emerging work on the topic (Mughan and Gunther, 2000; Voltmer, 2013). This initiated a significant new direction for media scholarship that had hitherto considered the media in democracies and authoritarian states to be binary opposites, a distinction simultaneously noted and queried by some scholars (Mughan and Gunther, 2000).

Just as transition theory was shaped by internal dynamics in political science at the time, so media democratisation scholarship emerged in the context of a number of broader debates in the field. The most significant of these saw scholars still struggling to escape the liberal democratic model of media established in the mid-1950s with the publication of *Four Theories of the Press* (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, 1956). This outlined the following key components for a media system equipped to serve

democracy: a privately-owned press in a free market, providing information, entertainment and performing a watchdog role. The model of democratic communication assumed by this theory was a uni-directional, top-down flow of information from the media to citizens. Plurality of representation was assumed to be taken care of by the 'marketplace of ideas'. Criticism of the model intensified during the 1990s and 2000s, largely for its extrapolation of a universal normative theory of the press from very particular press-state relations during the Cold War in the United States of America. Its key assumption that only a free market-based media is capable of ensuring a plurality of voices, diversity of media outlets and sufficient distance from the state to provide a watchdog role is now generally rejected. The threat to democracy of purely market-based media has been outlined by many scholars, from the narrow range of viewpoints represented by companies trying to appeal to a mass audience; monopolies inhibiting media diversity and pluralism by creating barriers to entry; the modern market precluding substantial investment in investigative reporting; editors viewing their readership or audience as consumers rather than citizens; and the market itself increasingly being required to be held to account (Curran, 1991, 2005; Keane, 1991).

Therefore, when media democratisation research began in earnest, scholars were already beginning to anchor normative roles of media away from the market. A key source of this was rooted in theoretical work building on and critiquing Habermas' public sphere model for deliberative democracy (Garnham, 1986; Curran, 1991; Dahlgren and Sparks, 1991). This places higher demands on the media to facilitate multidirectional democratic communication that enables discussion, debate and the representation of the views of citizens. More specific strands of this literature will be discussed later in this section. A decade or so later, an additional shift in scholarship towards 'de-Westernising' the field both in response to the gravity of the changing political context of the time and as a long-overdue reaction to the tenacity of the US-focused approach of Siebert et al (Curran and Park, 2000). Dovetailing with the ethos of political science at the time, this brought a fresh emphasis on empirical research that elucidated the domestic context of case studies from the regions involved in the "third wave" and beyond. This had the benefit of accelerating empirical work in hitherto unexplored contexts as well as being an opportunity to reassess long-held assumptions (Waisbord

and Mellado, 2014).

In this diverse and shifting context, then, the call to explain the role of the media in democratisations in Latin America has drawn different responses. Scholars specialising in the media and politics of the region have tended to place the authoritarian era and subsequent democratisation along a continuum of media and state-market relations (Fox, 1988; Fox and Waisbord, 2002). Rather than isolating the media's performance over the period of democratisation, this work emphasises the pressures on the media from the market and the state as ongoing barriers to the possibility of a more democratic media in Latin America and highlights the particular media politics of countries over a longer trajectory. On the other hand, the dominant scholarship on media democratisation began in dialogue with transition literature, engaging with the work of transitologists and utilising the "stages of transition" as a conceptual framework and theoretical approach where there was none from within the discipline (O'Neil, 1998, p. 6). Two of the main contributions towards theory building in media democratisation have used this approach to varying degrees. Rozumilowicz identifies four stages: pre-transition; primary; secondary; and late or mature (Price, Rozumilowicz and Verhulst, 2002). Voltmer's earlier work also used more defined stages that followed those drawn by transitology. However, her recent work acknowledges critiques from Carothers and others that the approach is teleological and insufficiently accounts for contextual differences. In light of this, she uses the broader categories of "before regime change", "transition" and "after regime change" (Voltmer, 2013, p. 77).

For Voltmer, like Rozumilowicz, the normative role of the media is contingent upon by the stage of transition: "depending on the particular stage of the transition process, the media affect the course of events in different ways" and this is further linked to the movements of political actors and changing power relations within the authoritarian state (Voltmer, 2013, pp. 72–73). Naturally, a key feature of the transitional stage is dismantling the architecture of authoritarian repression and constructing its democratic replacement: the lifting of censorship laws, *desacato* (insult laws), and the introduction of laws protecting the freedom of information. In light of these structural changes to the media environment, the transition period is characterised as a time where publications

will flourish in a newly competitive market and reporting may be particularly critical as a response to the period of suppression. Reliance on the media for political information is high, as citizens adapt to newly democratised society and use information-dense newspapers to keep track of political events (Loveless, 2008). As consolidation is the period in which party politics becomes normalised, it is anticipated too that newspapers will shed some of their initial over-zealous reporting associated with the lifting of restrictions and settle into following the political agenda. Here, point at which may return to previous journalistic norms of, for instance, partisan journalism (O'Neil, 1998; Voltmer, 2013), though Randall notes this may be combined with practices internalised during the authoritarian era such as self-censorship (1993). Bennett notes that though the media may be relied upon as a source of support for democracy in transition, it may pose a hindrance to consolidation through critical reporting that undermines the authority of nascent institutions. However, the role of the media throughout transition is broadly considered to be positive:

> [f]rom a normative perspective, one would expect the media to contribute to more transparent and responsive institutions and to a better-informed and more engaged citizenry (Voltmer, 2013, p. 96).

As this scholarship was partly developed out of the dominant transition literature, it is open to some of the same critiques. First, there is as in transition literature a somewhat teleological expectation that the media will democratise once formal restrictions are lifted. There have been calls to test empirically what the media actually does during democratisation (Jebril Nael and Loveless, 2013), particularly in light of regular broad assessments of the media in Latin America as having persistent and critical democratic deficits (Fox, 1988; Hughes and Lawson, 2005; Lawson and Hughes, 2005; Lugo-Ocando and Garcia Santamaria, 2015). These are attributed to high concentrations of media ownership, vestigial laws from the authoritarian era, insufficiently radical reform in the post-authoritarian era, and a lack of journalistic professionalism that creates sufficient space between state and media to enable accountability or watchdog roles, often linked with a historically partisan press. As mentioned previously, studies have found that the democratic role of information is particularly valuable during democratisation (Schmitt-Beck and Voltmer, 2007; Loveless, 2008). There has also been research into the

performance of the watchdog role in the wake of the return to democracy, with one study finding it increased in some countries in South America (Waisbord, 2000) and a later study finding it in retreat in the face of political and market pressures (Pinto, 2008). In terms of the representation role, market diversity tends to be used as a proxy for diversity of representation, though the link is not based on empirical research. Thus, the predicted increase in publications in the transition period implies a concomitant increase in representation of groups in society. As previously highlighted, this development would be of particular democratic value in post-transition societies in which certain groups have been marginalised. While gathering evidence of whether or not the media actually democratises is important, so is engaging with the question of what kinds of dynamics are involved in this process. Is there evidence that applying the stages approach to the media makes sense? Does the media "follow the state" across democratisation? Are its problems of democratisation then linked to problems of political democratisation? Or is the media subject to a broader range of influences during this period that shape its performance?

Second, like transition literature that focused upon democratisation at the institutional level, the state is identified as the key driver of media democratisation. Few would contest that the role of the state is vital in creating a promising legal and commercial environment, however there is also an emphasis on a normative duty for the media to support the state in new democracies (Voltmer, 2013). Again, this raises questions particularly pertinent to post-transition societies in which the state is the very site of key democratic obstacles created by pacted transitions, such as authoritarian enclaves and unresolved human rights issues, and these may be resisted by sectors in civil society. However, there are modifications to this state-centric approach in the media democratisation literature. While Voltmer places particular emphasis on the role of the media in "making institutions...work", the importance of the development of a culture of political communication is also stressed in order to facilitate democratic participation (Voltmer, 2013, p. 75). This is emphasised during the consolidation phase and draws upon Almond and Verba's concept of "civic culture" (1963), which understands political institutions and culture as having a symbiotic relationship. In terms of the consolidation of democracy, this foregrounds the importance of what type of political culture enables democracy to endure and deepen. As Voltmer notes: "[e]lements of a democratic

political culture include cognitive mobilization, indicated by interest in public affairs and political knowledge, the willingness to participate in political life, the sense of civic competence and the belief that citizens can have an impact on the course of politics, and finally support of democracy both as it actually exists and as a general ideal" (2013, p. 109). She notes that this is supported by evidence that the media may fulfil a particular function in mobilising citizens to vote and encouraging an interest in politics.

This recognition of the role of the media in this symbiosis of institutions and culture is important – for example, it is clear that the provision of political information fulfils a vital role in evidencing to citizens that representative democracy is functioning, which is likely to increase their trust in and engagement with the process. This highlights the role the media can play in political socialisation in new democracies, which contributes to the consolidation of democracy. However, the emphasis on civic engagement with formal political institutions and its mechanisms dovetails with the liberal conceptions of civil society and minimal definition of democracy discussed earlier. That is, in this conceptualisation, the civic culture nurtured by the media is one supportive of rather than antagonistic to the state and, again, does not recognise deep inequalities in civil society that enable some to participate in civic culture more readily than others. It also does not account for the possibility – posed by the scholars critiquing transition theory from the perspective of civil society – that democracy may be deepened via challenges to the state from civil society, in a bid to claim rights and improve participation.

In this way, critical points that have been raised against transition theory can be brought to bear against mainstream media democratisation theory. That is, its tendency to focus on electoral politics and changes at the institutional level means that more substantive democratic features relating to civil society are neglected. These include participation, debate and rights claims, which a democratic media supports through the normative role of representation. Instead, the institutional focus leads to the roles of information and accountability being emphasised more than that of representation. While there is an important emphasis on changes at an institutional and market level that enable a more diverse press, associated with greater plurality for representation, it is not clear that these shifts are accompanied by a more democratic representative media. This would

involve a greater range of voices gaining access to the mainstream media in a manner that enabled a wider-ranging debate on transitional topics, accountability of elected officials through pressure from groups in civil society, and exposure for different views that enabled mobilisation.

Therefore, the substantive definition of democracy proposed by Grugel and others, explained in the first section of this chapter, to address these points generates a different account of media democratisation. It is not that this account is entirely absent from the scholarship. Bennett identifies a "witness role", whereby the media may through photographic evidence and reportage verify events and perform a testimonial role, and the "reifying or confirming role" that is "symbolic confirmation of dissident values", which has the effect of legitimising claims that question the hegemonic narrative (1998, p. 200). These indicate the democratic role of media in supporting civil society, specifically in representing counter-publics or social movements that wish to reform the state. However, this is limited to being relevant pre-transition, to enable the media to support calls to end the regime. In this way, the utilisation of the "stages" approach to media democratisation has the effect of compartmentalising media roles in a way that may be out of step with how transitional politics actually plays out. As discussed earlier in this chapter, pacted transitions and the long struggle for transitional justice indicate that there is a need for hegemonic narratives to be questioned throughout the process of democratisation. However, this more radical account of media roles is largely absent from the mainstream media democratisation literature. As such, it is necessary to draw upon scholarship in the wider field to establish what an account of media democratisation with a greater role for civil society looks like.

As introduced at the beginning of this section, by the early 1990s Western media scholars were in the process of reappraising theories of the media based around Habermas' concept of the public sphere (Garnham, 1986; Curran, 1991; Dahlgren and Sparks, 1991; McQuail, 1992). This is a key component of Habermas' theory of deliberative democracy, which locates the foundation of democracy in rational-critical discourse. The concept of the public sphere is related to that of civil society, but refers only to that section of civil society that has organised in pursuit of political ends. As

Calhoun puts it, it is "an operationalization of civil society's capacity for self-organization, one that emphasized plurality and reason. It was also a social formation that depended in various ways on civil society for support" (1993, p. 273). This sets a high threshold for the role of public debate in democratic politics and, as the central institution for communication in society, the media plays a significant role in enabling this. Thus, normative theories of the media rooted in the concept of the public sphere not only highlight its representative role, but also accord organised sectors of civil society a fundamental role in shaping democracies and contesting the state. Curran argues that "the media are a battleground between contending forces" and therefore that "a basic requirement of a democratic media system should be...that it represents all significant interests in society...assisting the equitable negotiation or arbitration of competing interests through democratic process" (1991, pp. 29–30).

This emphasis on plurality and representation in the media has also been found in broader Latin American media scholarship. Earlier versions of the approach envisioned a role for the state in enabling a more pluralistic media; a possibility considered naïve even before authoritarianism (O'Neil, 1998, p. 16). Scholarship since the authoritarian era has, perhaps understandably, erred towards independent or alternative media performing the function. The NWICO initiative was the result of a 1970 UNESCO initiative to encourage domestic governments to develop media policies and saw representatives from 20 governments in Latin America and the Caribbean meet in July 1976 in San José, Costa Rica, to discuss media issues of national and regional concern. Though externally prompted, it was nevertheless harnessed by critics of the growing importation of news and television programmes in the region, censorship by governments, near-complete private ownership of the media and a shortage of participatory mechanisms (Fox, 1988, p. 6). The recommendations produced by the meeting called for a more democratic mass media and a greater role for alternative media both at the national and regional levels and in the face of the spread of West-orientated media to the developing world. There was a "critical sense that the mass media were by and large commercial enterprises run by small groups for personal gain that generally ignored larger development goals and social services" (Fox, 1988, p. 9). These concerns were echoed by scholars including Juan Somavía and Fernando Reyes Matta, who lamented that the marketisation of the media meant "the problems, expectations, points of view and

interests of large social sectors…are marginalised from dominant information flows or are downright distorted in their representation" in order to preserve the social *status quo* and thereby resist structural change (Somavia, 1981, p. 19). Matta characterised information as "primordially an individual and social right" that is only delegated to media organisations to fulfil and can be reinstated through "participation in and access to the communication process by society" (Reyes Matta, 1981, pp. 85–86).

More recent work has seen an emphasis on alternative or citizen media. Scholars from this field argue that the role of alternative media under authoritarian governments and its decline during transition has been understated by the literature on media democratisation (Downing, 2000; Bresnahan, 2010). They note the "central" role played by alternative media – including leaflets and newsletters – in developing pro-democracy social movements and that this "media-movement nexus" has been neglected in both media and social movement literature (Bresnahan, 2010). While these scholars suggest there is a place for alternative media in mainstream media literature, Rodriquez proposes a theory of citizen media, rather than alternative media, based on her research in South America. For Rodriquez, democratic communication enables people to create their citizenship through media that does not contest the dominance of the mainstream media (and so, for Rodriquez, is not subordinate to it as the term "alternative media" implies, by which she appears to mean "having less democratic value"). Both these approaches circumvent the question of the role of the state in democratising the media, however this raises the linked question of to what extent alternative or citizen media, its plurality notwithstanding, is able to put pressure on the state. That is, whether alternative media has a role in the public sphere which Curran and others discuss, or if better representation must be achieved in mainstream media if marginalised groups are to challenge political narratives and policies.

Curran responds to such questions with a typology of five media systems fulfilling different roles in society (Curran, 1991, p. 30). This sees the mass media focusing on mainstream concerns or reflecting the "prevailing balance of forces in society" with more contentious, independent media on the periphery. As intimated above, this approach is problematic not only because it presupposes some kind of democratic

symbiosis produced as a result of all systems fulfilling their roles at once, but because it potentially further marginalises voices to smaller media outlets and thereby inhibits their ability to exert influence on political actors. It is possible that challenging hegemonies is not the aim of Curran's scheme, since he does not base it in a Gramscian framework, however neither is it clear that it fulfils the criteria of serving the communicative needs of groups in the public sphere with specific political demands. More contentious versions of this core idea of multiple spheres draw on Nancy Fraser's revised interpretation of Habermas' public sphere, which includes counter-public and plural public spheres that can challenge the dominant public sphere (Fraser, 1990). For instance, Calhoun (1992) argues that groups in civil society can influence mass media as well as generate alternative public spheres, while Downey and Fenton (2003) specifically utilise the notion of "counter-public sphere" in order to define it as directed towards challenging the dominant politics. Yet another distinction draws a line between the "dominant" public sphere and the "advocacy" public sphere (Dahlgren and Sparks, 1991). Each of these schemes is important in highlighting the heterogeneity of the public sphere, as part of a heterogeneous civil society, and begin to articulate ways in which marginal spheres (whether counter- or advocacy) can gain influence.

Returning to the transitional context, this section has drawn attention to two gaps in the media democratisation literature. Firstly, empirical evidence that the media does democratise. Secondly, the absence of a strong representative role for the media in the mainstream media democratisation literature. Drawing on critiques of transitology from the perspective of civil society, it has been suggested that this omission overlooks a fundamental mechanism for deepening democracy in Latin America. Collective actors may wish to gain access to the mainstream media across the democratisation process in order to engage in a more participatory democratic politics and to support mobilisations that articulate political demands. A key example of this is in struggles for transitional justice, which constitute a central political project of civil society actors across the democratisation process (Sikkink, 2011). Thus, this project makes a contribution both by measuring whether the media has democratised in this way, while focusing on the unexplored case of access to the media for civil society groups campaigning for transitional justice.

2.3 Understanding media access: Source-media relations

This section turns to the relevant literature on source-media relations that both explains key developments and informs the methodology of this project. It highlights certain developments in the field that are particularly relevant to post-transition contexts, including the relationship between media access and hegemonic meanings; the shift to a sociological approach that emphasised fluidity of actors in civil society and their opportunities to gain access vis a vis official actors, which speaks to literature on civil society during transitions; and concepts from scholarship helpful for explaining quantity and quality of access. Again, much of this theory was developed on the basis of Western cases – for this reason, the peculiarities of the dynamics in Latin America are discussed at the end.

To begin with a fundamental dynamic of source-media relations, it is generally established that the mainstream media almost always favours official sources. That is, "...the story of journalism, on a day-to-day basis, is the story of the interaction of reporters and officials" (Schudson, 1991: p. 148). This gives official sources – those in positions of authority or attached to powerful institutions, or elected representatives – greater and more reliable access to the media than non-official or less powerful sources such as 'ordinary people', non-governmental organisations or social movements. One of the key points of contention among source-media relations, then, is the nature of the mechanism behind this and its flexibility or otherwise. The specific interest of this thesis is how this is manifested in the context of democratisation, which represents an acute case of the aforementioned power relations.

Following Manning (2001), approaches to the nature and dynamics of the relationship between sources and the media can be divided into three general waves of research. The first came in the 1970s and 1980s and is most closely associated with the work of cultural theorist Stuart Hall and what became known as the Birmingham school of cultural studies, but also includes the research of the Glasgow University Media Group

(1976, 1980) and the propaganda model of Herman and Chomsky (1988). Each was concerned with exposing the way in which the media is structured to serve the interests of dominant groups in society, such as the government and corporations, and each did so through the lens of structural Marxism and under the influence of Gramsci. As we shall see, while Herman and Chomsky and the GUMG placed greater emphasis on the role of the political economy of the media, such as the concentration of media ownership, Hall placed more emphasis on the role of journalistic practices. However, for each the outcome was a structured hierarchy of access to the mainstream media which had the effect of excluding marginal or unofficial sources.

In Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model of the media, the prevalence of government sources is one of five "filters" that create undemocratic conditions and "manufacture consent" for the dominant capitalist ideology: "the large bureaucracies of the powerful *subsidize* the mass media, and gain special access [to the news], by their contribution to reducing the media's costs of acquiring [...] and producing, news. The large entities that provide this subsidy become 'routine' news sources and have privileged access to the gates. Non-routine sources must struggle for access, and may be ignored by the arbitrary decision of the gatekeepers" (Herman and Chomsky, 1988, p. 21). Similarly, the content analyses of television news in the UK by the Glasgow University Media Group led it to question journalistic conventions such as neutrality and argued that "[a]ccess is structured and hierarchical to the extent that powerful groups and individuals have privileged and routine entry into the news itself and to the manner and means of its production" (1980, p. 114).

This basic, shared theoretical position was developed further by Hall et al with the concept of *primary definition*, which has been important in the study of sources and the media since the publication of *Policing the Crisis* (1978). This was an analysis of UK press coverage of a series of attacks and robberies named for the first time as "muggings" by journalists between August 1972-1973. Primary definition states that there is a structured relationship between the media and official or "accredited" sources which allows the elite to define in the first instance the meaning of a social issue. Once it has been so defined, any attempts at a secondary definition by other actors must be

undertaken in the terms of the primary definition, thereby severely limiting any possibility of changing the meaning. Crucially, in a feature that distinguishes the approach of Hall from that of the propaganda and GUMG, the relationship enabling this primary definition is not as a direct result of who owns the media and the vagaries of business-political relations, but the combined effect of working to deadlines and the professional routines associated with journalism. Specifically, the requirement that sources be "objective" and that journalists use "authoritative" statements from "accredited" sources (Hall, 1978, p. 58). Sources are considered to merit this position through occupying powerful positions in institutions, by having the status of a "representative" in government, or by being interest groups who represent their members or groups in society. These sources over-access the media as a result.

The second wave of scholarship on source-media relations was more or less initiated with the publication of Schlesinger's (1990) critique of primary definition. It signaled the decline of class-based, media-centric analyses and the rise of scholarship that looked into the nature and dynamics of these different groups, or unofficial sources. In this vein, Schlesinger made two key criticisms of primary definition, which are generally applicable to structural approaches to media-source relations. First, that it assumes that elite opinion will be united on the issue at hand and therefore that there will be a single primary definition. It therefore gave no account of the possibility that there may be intra-elite disagreement over meanings or that politicians with different agendas might use the media as a kind of battleground for different definitions. Second, it is assumed that the primary definition (PD) is agreed before the media report an issue and not something that becomes established in the process of media coverage, and, third, it does not explain different access patterns across different media (Miller, 1993). Fourth, structural approaches assume that the PD does not change; that is, "because Hall's approach to 'primary definition' resolves the question of source power on the basis of structuralist assumptions, it closes off any engagement with the dynamic processes of contestation in a given field of discourse" (Schlesinger, 1990, p. 69). This simple model of "ideological translation and transmission" (Cottle, 2003, p. 10) was suggested to be too reductive to explain shifting dynamics in source-media relations, including the increasing use of public relations by governments, businesses and NGOs and emerging scholarship thereupon.

The sociological approach, then, assumes that PD can be contested by other groups and that meanings can perpetually be redefined, under certain conditions, while nevertheless broadly agreeing that the media supports dominant power structures and narratives through asymmetric access in favour of government and official institutions. This broadened the previously media-centric approach to source-media relations scholarship and highlighted key issues for the investigation of this space of contestation. The influence of journalistic practices in source selection and therefore access to the media has been developed through the concept of source credibility, which is "a person's believability as a source of information or as the degree to which information is perceived by a journalist as accurate, fair, unbiased and trustworthy" (Reich, 2011, p. 51). While this is hierarchical, with government and other institutional sources at the top, it has also been found to be flexible (Davis, 2000).

The effect of elite conflict on typical source hierarchies has also been investigated, with studies suggesting that disagreement at government level opens the field for competing primary definitions (Miller, 1993). A well-established model theorising a mechanism for this is the *indexing hypothesis*, whereby the accessibility of the media to a range of sources depends upon the level of elite consensus around an issue (Bennett, 1990). Its core assumption is that political news will generally follow elite debate. Where there is elite consensus, political coverage of an issue will reflect this by reporting less critically and, thus, representing a narrower range of views. Where there appears to be conflict on an issue, a greater range of views will be represented. In this way, the perception of the elite debate can act as a valve on access for other sources. As Bennett notes, indexing fundamentally relates to "how the range of legitimate or otherwise 'credible' news sources is established by journalists" (Bennett, 1990, p. 107).

A great deal of research has also been carried out into the way in which non-official, or marginalised, sources strategise in order to gain greater media access, including the impact of public relations on access patterns (Davis, 2000; Cottle, 2003). In addition, an account of the persistence of certain definitions of social issues over time has been

suggested with the notion of a "media template" (Kitzinger, 2000), which locates the development of the definition in journalistic practices. It suggests that historical antecedents of particular news stories, accessed through the practice of consulting previous cuttings on a topic for research, inform the sources consulted and provide the context for stories under the pressure of time. This shows the way in which meanings can be reproduced via professional routines rather than ideology as such.

These advances in understanding how different dimensions both within and outside the media can influence source-media relations have been vital for the field, chiefly in drawing attention to the conditions under which elite narratives can be challenged and media access opened up, as well as explaining the influence of public relations on media-source relations. However, while Schlesinger urged that the sociological approach to source-media relations should operate within a framework of dominance, this link is rarely clearly articulated. While the scholarship has demonstrated that journalistic practices no doubt play a role in the persistence of the hierarchy of sources and the privileged access of government officials, there is a danger of over-instrumentalising the process of source-media relations and the influence of primary definers and other privileged roles (see below). Whether one anchors this in ideology, culture (Cottle, 2003) or another substantive explanation, the dominance framework at least asks us to seriously consider patterns of media access for elite sources in the context of the prevailing power relations of the time.

As part of the changing research agenda described above, source-media relations scholarship also went on to develop more sophisticated typologies of sources. These are of particular interest for this project because in order to explore media access for civil society actors, it is necessary not only to measure quantity of access but also provide evidence of their quality of access to the media. For example, in what way are they presented by the media and what status is attributed to their views? A key method of identifying these features is through analysing both the types of source and the roles they play in the context of a social issue, which gives a more in-depth indication of social and political status, as well as key variables such as the persistence of military influence on the media.

The division of sources into official and non-official is now generally acknowledged to be too simplistic and it could further be argued that a more nuanced typology is relevant for the post-transition context, where the status and definitions of party politicians and civil society actors are more fluid. Deacon and Golding (1994) highlight the notion of source credibility for determining who will be deemed a reliable or trustworthy contributor to the debate by categorising sources as either advocates or arbiters. Advocates are "the sources that journalists recognize as having explicit, vested political or professional interests which frame and inform their contributions…In the exchange with advocates, journalists are not just seeking information, but also opinions and assertions" (ibid, p.15). These sources typically include government officials and representatives from campaigning groups such as NGOs. On the other hand, arbiters are "professionals who are approached by journalists to evaluate assertions and interpretations made by advocates in a political debate" (ibid, p.171). These sources may include officials such as civil servants or analysts and academics or other experts considered independent. However, arbiters may nevertheless play an active role in shaping the political debate. While Deacon and Golding use this typology to analyse media coverage preceding the introduction of the Community Charge, or poll tax, in England and Wales in 1990 – that is, to analyse a top-down government policy – it is also a particularly useful framework in the analysis of social issues which have arisen from civil society in a post-transition context as it does not require the hard-and-fast attribution of official and non-official roles in what is a comparatively fluid context, especially over a significant time period as is the case with this study. For example, in Uruguay, the status of trade union officials is particularly ambiguous given the trajectory of trade unions from anti-dictatorship activists to involvement in anti-impunity campaigns during democratisation to *Frente Amplio* politicians. At the same time, the designation of arbiters indicates a type of privileged access to the media, particularly in the case of controversial issues such as impunity, which may have further resonance given the partisan journalistic style of the newspapers being researched. Arbiters are not necessarily traditional primary definers such as government officials or corporations and due to the status attributed to them by the media they are "treated with greater deference than those of even the most senior 'advocates'" (Deacon and Golding, 1994, p. 203).

In addition to this, scholarship has also suggested that the position of primary definers can be influenced by the context of the news story. Hansen (1991) found that environment campaigners, typically included as sources at a rate well below government officials and scientists, are able to become primary definers if the news report is focused around a demonstration, for example. This is important not only for indicating a case where normal patterns of source-media relations can be disrupted, with implications for the strategies of non-official sources, but also because it tells us something about the impact of journalistic practices and how these modulate media access for different actors. In the context of civil society-led campaigns, street demonstrations typically provide a news *event* that warrants coverage. If this context can be assumed to provide a platform for or otherwise amplify the status of usually marginalised sources, analysing the coverage of such events in the post-transition context could be particularly informative both in terms of basic features of whether demonstrators are quoted – as is usual practice in coverage of these news events in the UK and North America – and if photos are used, but also whether the configuration of advocates and arbiters changes.

2.4 Source-media relations in Latin America

The first point to make is that the media theory emerging in Latin America during the 1970s and 1980s by and large shared the approach of Hall and the Glasgow University Media Group, though this was naturally attuned to the media environment of the region. In particular, its critique of communication systems and practices was developed in the context of increasing influence of the United States on Latin American media content and corporations. The principle scholars of the time argued that, in line with Hall's use of Gramsci, a veiled hegemony was socially reproduced by the media (Dorfman and Mattelart, 1972; Somavia, 1981). However, instead of stressing the static nature of primary definition, Latin American scholars stressed the ability of alternative media to decentralise communications and the practices of producing this alternative media as having a demystifying effect. An additional key difference is that while Hall's model

emphasises the role of journalistic practices, particularly working to deadlines and the role of the professional values of objectivity and impartiality as serving primary definition, Latin American journalism is generally noted for its lack of tradition of objectivity, and being a partisan press.

In terms of relevant issues for current approaches to source-media relations research, there are some key features of Latin American media which differ from the conditions in which research in the West has been carried out. Firstly, while both structural and sociological approaches emphasise, albeit to varying extents and in different ways, the role of journalistic practices, specifically objectivity, Latin American journalism is generally acknowledged to have no consistent tradition of this particular practice. A strongly partisan press thrived before the onset of authoritarian rule, then the market reforms prior to or during re-democratisation led to a rise of a more US style of objective reporting being witnessed in some countries (Bonilla and Montoya, 2008). Overall, however, the spread of the norm of objectivity was limited by the enduring close relationship between state and media (Waisbord, 2000; Lawson and Hughes, 2005). This trend was particularly resisted in countries with longer traditions of journalism, especially in the Southern Cone countries of Chile, Argentina and Uruguay (Waisbord, 2000).

On the other hand, shared dynamics of media-source relations in South America have been identified which provide context for this study. As Waisbord notes, "the reporting of official news enjoys high prestige among South American journalists" (2000, p. 95) such that "sources with recognized political status carry enough credibility to kick off a story and confirm the suspicions of reporters and editors" and it is not uncommon to use these sources anonymously (2000, p. 100). This prestige has two consequences for the access of unofficial sources. First, "the political clout of a few sources, rarely quoted or only cryptically mentioned, is often sufficient to print stories, making it unnecessary to comb other potentially knowledgeable parties or to search for alternative sources of information" (2000, p. 103). It also reduces the number of news stories about topics regarding social injustice, which Waisbord links to the intended audience of mainstream newspapers as being the politically powerful and not the middle classes. However, in a

shifting political context it is not clear how stable these official sources are and whether there is fluidity between prestige and less prestige sources over time. One recent study has found that official sources dominate protest coverage across democratisation (Hughes and Mellado, 2015). This focuses on the access of civil society actors to coverage in Chilean media, based on protests linked to environmental, education and indigenous issues, among others, from the return to democracy in 1990 to 2011. While the study relates findings to mainstream scholarship on media source relations, it does not address expectations arising from media democratisation literature nor is embedded within key transitional debates embodying state-civil society relations, which is the particular focus of this thesis.

While an important study of the temporary rise of watchdog journalism in South America in the late 1990s demonstrated a dynamic of intra-elite competition for primary definition (Waisbord, 2000; Pinto, 2008) media-source relations research has since shifted fairly decisively to focusing on the source strategies of NGOs. This includes evidence of NGOs adapting to or mimicking journalistic logics in order to gain access to the mainstream media and, so, increasing the range of coverage of social issues (Waisbord, 2011b) and, from the other side, journalists in Mexico selecting human rights news on the basis of source credibility (McPherson, 2012). A further stream of research rooted in civil society suggests that civil society-organised media reform projects can be influential in altering patterns of access in a context where weak journalistic norms are unable to confront the competing pressures of state and market (Waisbord, 2011a; Mauersberger, 2015).

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explained the key areas of scholarship relevant to this thesis, while outlining its key contributions to this literature. In particular, it argued that mainstream media democratisation literature gives insufficient attention to the role of civil society in processes of democratisation in Latin America and, so, the way in which the

representative role of the media can support this. In addition to this, it highlighted an empirical gap between what is expected of the media and how the media actually performs. Lastly, the review of source-media relations highlighted the need to contribute towards the movement away from media-centric research in order to investigate the broader dynamics of source-media relations.

Chapter 3: Methodology - measuring and explaining media access over time and in context

This chapter sets out the methodology and methods chosen to investigate the research questions of this thesis: does media access for civil society actors change during democratisation? What factors may help to explain this? The project uses the single case of Uruguay and, within this, the case of the campaign for transitional justice. It uses a mixed methodology of content analysis and qualitative interviewing. The content analysis is based on coverage of key events in the transitional justice campaign in the newspapers *El País* and *La República*. This was analysed for both quantity and quality of access. In addition to this, qualitative interviews were carried out with 16 journalists and civil society organisations. This approach was developed in order to triangulate and respond to the debate for de-Westernisation.

The process for the selection of a single case study is the focus of the first section of this chapter. The second part explains the mixed methods approach and the two methods of data collection.

3.1 The case study research design and Uruguay

Uruguay was selected a single case study to enable an in-depth investigation of the dynamics of media access in the context of democratisation. This decision was based on three reasons. First, and foremost, the different types of data required to answer the research questions necessitated the depth of analysis enabled by a case study approach. Again, the research questions are: does media access for civil society actors change over the process of democratisation? What factors may help to explain this? The longitudinal (*across democratisation*) and exploratory (*measuring and explaining media access*) nature of the data required to answer these particularly suit the in-depth analysis enabled by a case study research design (Bryman, 2008). Conducting research over an

extended period of time - in this case democratisation - is well-suited to a case study approach as it enables detailed, contextualised analysis. A key consideration is that although democratisation has a temporal dimension conceptualised in early research as discreet, time-bound stages, it has more recently been understood as a complex, non-linear process that has taken different forms across countries in Latin America (Cannon and Hume, 2012). This includes significant variations within the Southern Cone of the region. For these reasons, the greater focus enabled by a case study design is key as it allows the peculiarities of democratisation in the domestic context to be brought into the analysis.

The research questions were deliberately developed as exploratory. This was partly in response to the lack of empirical research on what have been characterised in the previous chapters as *substantive* indicators of media democratisation, as well as lack of empirical research into journalistic norms over this period. Although many country case studies were published on the topic of media in new democracies in the wake of the "third wave" of democratisation, these were of varying methodological clarity and approach; many were descriptive reports written by in-country experts rather than based on research with robust methodologies (discussed in chapter 2). As such, when this thesis began there was very little empirical research on dimensions of the media that might serve as proxies or measures for processes of media democratisation beyond formal indicators such as the repeal of censorship laws or assessments of media ownership, with the exception of one study in Chile discussed in the previous chapter (Hughes and Mellado, 2015). Thus, owing to this shortage of empirical research on the particular perspective adopted by this thesis, a single country case study yields the depth and complexity of information that can shed light on different dimensions of democratisation as it is manifested in the media.

Second, the broader methodological concerns of the field highlight the ongoing importance of the domestic context in explaining how theoretical expectations of media democratisation actually unfold (Voltmer, 2013). Therefore, although media research is in general shifting towards more comparative studies, given the complexity of democratisation processes, and the lack of empirical knowledge about media-source

relations within these, an in-depth understanding of the domestic context is key. As such, a single case study research design is key to developing a better understanding of the importance of context. On the one hand, conceptualisations of non-Western media systems have drawn vital attention to the diversity of democratic media systems and raised important questions about the traditional expectations of a democratic media as developed around Western experiences (Hallin and Mancini, 2012). On the other, recent empirical research in some countries has found more similarities than differences in journalistic practices (Hughes and Mellado, 2015).

Third, the use of a single case study reflects normative concerns that logically follow from the broadly inductive methodological approach discussed in the introductory chapter of the thesis. This is informed by considerations arising from the shift towards the "de-Westernisation" of media studies (Curran and Park, 2000). The depth of focus enabled by a single case study design opens up the analysis to factors other than those derived from empirical scholarship carried out in the UK and North America. In turn, the move towards de-Westernisation offers the critical tools with which to problematise existing assumptions – while warning against essentialising western scholarship in the process (Waisbord and Mellado, 2014)

At the same time, the project is able to speak to the ongoing methodological development of the field by using an explicit and replicable methodology, which could therefore be used as the basis for comparative approaches in follow-up research. As indicated by the discussion that opens this section, the disadvantage of the case study design is that generalisability is not possible (Bryman, 2008). This is a particularly pertinent concern at a time when scholars are moving towards building comparative empirical analyses within the region and beyond. However, these have not been without problems and those that have been carried out highlight the complexity of doing so. The difficultly of gathering a complete set of standardised data from different countries is exemplified by studies with multi-researcher teams where certain categories have been unfulfilled or data is not available (Tiffen *et al.*, 2013). Thus, while the field may move in this direction as methodologies become standardised and scholars push for theory-building and testing, the financial and time constraints of a PhD project also delineated

the boundaries of this project.

3.1.1 Incorporating transitional justice as a nexus of state-civil society relations during democratisation

As initially discussed in the introduction, this thesis focuses on the issue case study of the campaign for transitional justice in order to investigate the issue of media access for civil society actors during democratisation. Transitional justice is a *pending issue* of democratisation. Inaction or insufficient action on tackling past human rights abuses by not only transitional governments but subsequent administrations during democratisation has resulted in a protracted struggle for truth and justice. The campaign for this has been led by civil society organisations and increasingly, as articulated in the *justice cascade,* through legal proceedings. As such, it constitutes a good case study for media access as there is a clear hegemonic narrative of the state and competing, contesting narratives from civil society.

First, the question of how authoritarian-era human rights violations are dealt with by the newly-instituted democracy often represents a key site of contestation between official narratives of the state and counter-narratives posed by human rights campaigners in civil society (Barahona de Brito, 1997; Garreton, 2004). In the context of Uruguay, these have been characterised as embodying "enduring and powerful denial … [that] remain[s] understudied and poorly understood" (Burt, Amilivia and Lessa, 2013, p. 21) that combine with concurrent narratives that "sacralise[d] national consensus and reconciliation…and the adoption of a forward-looking democratic perspective" (Roniger, 2011b, p. 693). Media access is fundamentally a question of how power is distributed in society and the extent to which this is manifested in and can be challenged by media representation (Manning, 2001).Thus, focusing on the issue of transitional justice enables an analysis of how competing narratives were manifested in the media across the context of democratisation and, so, what this can tell us about how the media performs its democratic roles during the period.

Second, as the thesis focuses on civil society, an issue rooted in civil society was also a core consideration. The role of civil society in pushing for transitional justice in Uruguay was enabled by the state's passive response in the early return to democracy. As discussed in the introduction to the thesis, the Uruguayan government's tactic of implementing the Expiry Law to effectively shut down legal actions "displaced the issue into the realm of public debate and culture...It shifted the initiative to civil society" (Roniger, 2011a, pp. 698–699). Later, scholars note that the failure of the 2009 plebiscite had the counterintuitive effect of once again placing impunity "squarely on the public agenda and reinvigorated civil society mobilization" (Burt, Amilivia and Lessa, 2013, p. 14). Thus, in the context of the *justice cascade* predicted by constructivists who saw a largely top-down dissemination of human rights norms in new democracies (Sikkink, 2011), research into the process in Uruguay has instead found evidence of a "bottom up" process. Some scholars argue that civil society played a pivotal role (Burt, Amilivia and Lessa, 2013), while others emphasise the importance of favourable changes in the judiciary and government (Roniger, 2011b; Skaar, 2013). Thus, civil society organisations have played an important role in the campaign for transitional justice in Uruguay, giving rise to a reasonable expectation that they – and their demands – may appear in media coverage.

Third, the field of transitional justice extends across the period of democratisation. Initial research on transitional justice characterised historic human rights abuse as a problem discreetly dealt with in the early return to democracy (Huntington, 1991). However, it is now widely acknowledged that transitional human rights issues are contested and addressed in different ways and at different times (Garreton, 2004). This understanding of transitional justice has been conceptualised as the "justice cascade" (Lutz and Sikkink, 2000; Sikkink, 2011). This understands transitional justice as a process that may be addressed using various tools over an open-ended period of time. While the theory is somewhat focused upon the moves towards prosecutions in the 2000s, its analysis is not limited to this. While early work emphasised the responses of prosecutions or impunity, transitional justice is now understood to encompass truth commissions, reparations and institutional reform. In addition to this, complimentary

approaches have seen an increased focus on the inclusivity of transitional justice, especially for women and marginalised groups.

Thus, transitional justice offers an issue case study that remained "live" from the point of the return to democracy and well into what might be termed the consolidation phase of democratisation. The so-called "third wave" of democratisation featured the emergence of various other social issues linked to parallel processes of globalisation, such as the human rights conferences of the 1990s catalysing the women's movement (Waylen, 1993). From a purely practical perspective, these 'new' causes did not span the full period of democratisation and so were discounted on the basis of being unlikely to yield a consistent sample. However, a more substantive consideration is that authoritarian era human rights abuses are in a way the *only* human rights issue during democratisation. Scholars have drawn a distinction between these "new" human rights causes and the "old" human rights causes rooted in authoritarian era (Panizza, 1995). In this way, human rights violations committed during the dictatorship are virtually synonymous with the term human rights and as such effectively constitute a special case of rights in the region. In the context of Uruguay, the state response of impunity, discussed in the introduction to this thesis, has represented a problem for both sides of the political spectrum and so is relevant to broader debates around the democratisation process and the left turn. Even after the election of the centre-left *Frente Amplio* government, which had initially stated its commitment to justice over impunity, "neither the first nor second *Frente Amplio* government took the lead on promoting accountability for dictatorship-era crimes" (Burt, Amilivia and Lessa, 2013, p. 17).

3.1.2 Uruguay as a single country case study

The rationale for choosing Uruguay as a case study for this project was based on a combination of features of transitional justice in the country and characteristics of the media system. Uruguay is a small country that has attracted little scholarship in comparison to its neighbours in the Southern Cone, Chile and Argentina. As detailed in the media section of the literature review, Uruguay has a long and rich tradition of the

printed press – essential as the content analysis would be based on newspaper articles both to ensure consistency of medium over time and due to newspapers continuing to be the agenda setters for broadcast media in many countries (a detailed discussion of this is in the next section on building the content analysis). It also shares the general characteristics of other countries in Latin America in terms of high market concentration, journalistic practices and strong press partisanship and so has comparative worth with both neighbouring South American and Latin American countries.

Beyond these general considerations, Uruguay has two features which are unusual in the region in terms of media and democracy and therefore key for the purposes of exploring the aims of this thesis. Firstly, media repression during the military dictatorship has been described as the most totalitarian-like in the region for the level of control achieved by the regime (Lessa, 2010). Scholars have partly attributed this to the small size of the country (ibid). Just as each citizen of the country was categorised for perceived level of dissent, so was it relatively easy for the regime to monitor the few opposition newspapers that survived via ad hoc phone calls rather than specific rules regarding what could and could not be published (interviews with journalists, 2016). However, this level of control was also enabled by the regime inheriting an already depleted and repressed left-wing press. The coup of 1973 was preceded by the 1969 Security Measures Act by Pacheco which significantly weakened 70 years of press freedom. This was then further decimated to "absolute control" during the authoritarian period proper (Faraone 2003: 237). In this sense, in Uruguay media repression was a two-step process.

On the other hand, certain features of the media landscape also show significant changes that have taken place since the return to democracy and which are associated with media democratisation. In terms of early media reforms, the country's experience of liberal democracy in the years preceding authoritarianism meant that only "legal, institutional, and economic fine-tuning" was seen to be necessary during re-democratisation, though the military later posed obstacles to this (Faraone, 2003, p. 233). In addition to this, just after transition there was a significant change in the

external plurality of the media with the launch of a daily newspaper to rival the right-wing *El País*, which survived the dictatorship and is associated with the right wing *Partido Nacional* or *Blancos*. *La República* was established in 1986 and began an informal association with the *Frente Amplio* party, a coalition of parties ranging from centre-left to Communist that was banned during the regime but re-established itself during transition. A surge in new publications in new democracies is noted in the literature as an important force for democracy as censorship laws are lifted (Voltmer, 2013). Furthermore, in the broader media landscape a series of more substantial reforms have been introduced since the election of the *Frente Amplio*. In 2007, a radio law was introduced that ring-fenced one-third of frequencies for community organisations, while 2008 saw a freedom of information law passed and libel and contempt laws dropped. Most recently, the Broadcasting Communication Services Law (LSCA) was passed on 13th December 2013, which aims to reduce the concentration of media ownership. This has been considered a model for media reform in the region by organisations such as Reporters Without Borders, and noted by academics for its involvement of both the media and civil society actors in its formation (Waisbord, 2009b). Combined, these factors indicate a trajectory of democratisation of the media. However, they are what have been termed *formal* rather than *substantive* indicators. The latter is what the thesis will explore.

3.2 Mixing methods: Combining measurement with context and explanation

This section explains the rationale for the mixed methods approach and goes on to explain how quantitative and qualitative content analysis and qualitative interviewing were combined. Triangulation offers a way of corroborating findings in order that "the biases of any one method might be cancelled out by those of the others" (Seale, 1999, pp. 472–473). In practice, this meant that the findings of the content analysis could be compared with data from interviews on issues such as the actual and perceived level of media access for civil society organisations and editors' perception on which sources they routinely consulted. In this way, triangulation served two purposes. First, it enabled a deeper probing of instances where, for example, content analysis data did not agree with interview data. To develop the example above, if civil society actors did not

believe they gained access when content analysis data gave evidence to the contrary, why was this? This methodology improved the explanatory power of the data and, by virtue of this process, fulfilled the second function of triangulation in improving the robustness of the thesis. Content analysis served as a "check" on interview data and vice versa. Thus, the approach contributed to a far more "accurate and comprehensive account" than would have been possible with a single method (Deacon *et al.*, 2007, p. 33).

Content analysis is a well-established method in qualitative and quantitative media analysis for analysing large quantities of text. It generates a "big picture" (Deacon *et al.*, 2007, p. 119) of features in media coverage, using a systematic but flexible system of coding. Given its standardised measurement, it is particularly useful for longitudinal research such as this project, in which comparison and patterns across time are paramount. In addition to this, it is particularly used as a method to "compare the differential presence of social and political groups in media coverage" (Deacon *et al.*, 2007, p. 123). Therefore, in the context of this project, content analysis enables the analysis of the media access gained by civil society actors to the mainstream press over a significant period of the democratisation process. The development of different variables in the coding frame also enables the measurement of the *quantity* and *quality* of access, which was important for drawing out a more nuanced picture of representation. However, for all its advantages, content analysis is not an explanatory method. In other words, "it is difficult to ascertain the answers to 'why?' questions through content analysis" (Bryman, 2008, p. 291). Further to this, although it is broadly considered a reliable method, given its transparency and replicability, results could be interpreted in different ways, thus a second method enabled a degree of triangulation. To gather data to answer the second research question, various options were possible. Content analysis is highly suited to combination with other research methods – both quantitative and qualitative (Hansen and Machin, 2013, p. 85). Thus, some scholars have combined it with qualitative data analysis and focus groups to respond to the explanatory requirements of research questions (Philo, Briant and Donald, 2013), while others have carried out qualitative interviewing (Fenton, Bryman and Deacon, 1998). The latter was selected as the best option for this project.

The combination of content analysis with qualitative interviewing is an established yet relatively uncommon approach to convergence in media research, particularly in the context of research on media in Latin America (a recent exception being Hughes and Mellado (2015)). Qualitative interviewing enables the collection of in-depth, rich data in specific social, political, or geographical contexts. Unlike questionnaires or surveys, it enables specific questions to be investigated – via an interview guide – without limiting the discussion to discreet responses (Deacon *et al.*, 2007, pp. 390–1). This was especially important given the relatively unexplored case of Uruguay and the aforementioned lack of empirical research on source-media relations in Latin America. In this way, qualitative interviewing enabled a structured but responsive and flexible approach to collecting data to position the content analysis findings in the context of the journalistic culture, stage of democratisation and other political events. These features clearly outweighed any practical concern of time or travel that can be disadvantages of the method. However, it is also clear that interviewing reveals a deep subjectivity in the responses (Hansen and Machin, 2013, p. 46). It was anticipated that this would be an inevitable outcome of interviewing journalists and civil society activists on a highly controversial issue such as transitional justice. However, there could also be more nuanced influences on the responses, such as journalists giving "professional" explanations (Mellado *et al.*, 2012) and the historical nature of some of the questions. The problem this posed was addressed in two ways. First, by ensuring that multiple interviewees were asked the same questions on key points enabled a level of comparison of responses (ibid.) and, as discussed previously, my mixed methods allowed some triangulation with content analysis to reveal any inconsistencies.

Over and above this methodological rationale, the mixed methods approach addressed and was a logical consequence of a broader methodological concern discussed in the preceding chapters. The thesis embraces the shift towards de-Westernisation of media research with its concomitant project of increasing empirical research in other regions. As has been observed elsewhere, this dovetails with the shift in media democratisation literature towards exploring and accounting for the role of the local context in shaping normative expectations.

3.3   Collecting data and interviewing: Fieldwork in three stages

The process of data collection was largely shaped by the fact that newspaper articles spanning the period of democratisation under study (1989-2012) were not available digitally. Therefore, while sufficient articles were available to conduct a pilot content analysis, most data collection took place in Montevideo. Three fieldwork trips took place on the following dates: 22nd October-10th November 2014; 6th June-4th July 2015; and 27th August –9th September 2016. The first fieldwork trip was a three-week pilot exercise, which was important for two reasons. Firstly, it enabled a scoping exercise of civil society organisations and the current media landscape in Uruguay. Secondly, it was an opportunity to begin interviewing in Spanish and making contacts that could be built upon and maintained for future fieldwork. Before departure, I sent several emails to transitional justice organisations and the retired media academic Roque Faraone, who at that point had been the only source of scholarship on media in Uruguay available in the UK for several years. Two interviews were confirmed pre-departure and the others arranged upon arrival, with still more "snowballing" based on tips and recommendations (a detailed account of interviewing follows in the next section). This was my first introduction to the tendency for interviewees to recommend that I called on arrival rather than arrange a time in advance, as well as the first of what would become frequent assurances that finding interviewees would be easy because everyone knows everyone in Uruguay. This did not prove to be the case and I conducted six interviews of around one hour during this trip (details in Appendix 4). This first trip was also an opportunity to gather publications from the main transitional justice organisations as well as books by Uruguayan publishers that were not available in the UK.

The subsequent two trips were focused around two objectives: firstly, collecting articles for the content analysis and, after that, conducting follow-up or new interviews to triangulate the content analysis findings. The collection of articles represented a key methodological issue. One of the advantages of content analysis is its efficiency, particularly given the possibilities for computer-assisted analysis (Bryman, 2008).

However, given the particular time frame across which this project focuses, the collection and analysis of digitised news articles was not possible. Research into the accessibility of the publications was carried out at an early stage of the project. At that time, an initiative was under way to digitise Latin American newspapers, primarily at North American universities, but this had yet to expand to Uruguay or beyond the 1800s. Enquiries to the British Library in London confirmed that they had stocks of *El País*. On the basis of this, I travelled there in order to access microfiche copies of articles to conduct the pilot content analysis. However, while ordering the microfiche from the newspaper service at the library it became clear that some items, including crucially those around the 1989 plebiscite, were lost in storage. As mentioned previously, the newspapers are available on *LexisNexis* (*El País*), and *NewsBank* (*La República*). However, these dated back only to 2005 for both newspapers. Therefore, it was decided that rather than use a composite of digital copies gathered in the UK and hard-copy articles gathered in archives in Montevideo, the whole sample would be collected from hard copies from the *Biblioteca Nacional de Uruguay (BIBNA)* in Montevideo. This entailed reading newspapers one by one in order to identify articles that fulfilled the selection criteria set out in the content analysis code book. It also meant that a keyword-based search – as is standard procedure for content analysis of digitised articles - would not be possible. However, an additional benefit of manual collection was that it enabled more qualitative details of the coverage such as photographs and any campaigning materials to be noted.

Thus, the focus of the second fieldwork trip, in 2015, was to collect newspaper articles from the archives of *El País* and *La República* from the National Library in Montevideo. At the point of selection, each article was handwritten into a list with data including publication, date, page, abbreviated headline, and any notes, in order to be able to properly categorise the articles as well as match them with images upon my return to Glasgow. This was vital as I returned with more than 1,000 images to be assessed, categorised and coded. Some of the images scanned by the library service were not clear enough to discern a date on the articles – this is where the handwritten record became vital. A total of 497 articles were selected for the content analysis. The process of analysing the articles and entering them in SPSS was carried out from September 2015 to early 2016. As is common with content analysis, the process became quicker with

time and practice (Deacon *et al.*, 2007, p. 130).

3.3.1   Interviewing during the third fieldwork trip

As noted above, interviews were more exploratory during the first trip and more interrogative in the third. This latter round of interviews took place after the content analysis was complete and this enabled direct questioning about the data collected, in some cases also in relation to interview data gathered in the first round.

A semi-structured approach was used for several reasons. Semi-structured interviewing is recommended where the investigation of a particular topic is based upon but not limited to finding particular data. For this reason, it has been described as "conversation[s] with a purpose" (Lindof, 1995, p. 164). In practice, this means that an interview guide is used to provide a basic framework for the interview that reflects specific questions of the thesis, but sections of the interview may also be more exploratory and flexible – in response to unexpected answers, the use of more open questions or due to little being known about a particular phenomenon. Thus, while some of my questions would be based around particular features of the content analysis, I would also ask for general reflections on topics. An example of the former was "the analysis showed that few sources are used in each news article – what do you think are the reasons for this?". An example of the latter was "how would you describe the relationship between the media and civil society in Uruguay?" and depending on responses follow-up questions would probe differences over time.

The format of semi-structured interviewing had benefits beyond methodological considerations. Firstly, the use of an interview guide helped overcome any initial difficulties with language – not only for clear comprehension during the interview but also to reduce any confusion that might disrupt its flow. Maintaining rapport is a vital skill in conducting qualitative interviews. Second, the interview guide ensured that key questions were addressed in case the interview went off-track. This helped to maintain

a balance between more direct and open-ended parts of the interview. Third, the more conversational tone of the interview helped to "encourage interactive dialogue" between myself and the interviewees (Deacon et al. 2007: 65). This was important because interrogating the importance of context and the various nuances of media access required eliciting detailed responses that might best be encouraged in an informal, conversational manner. For example, some of the journalistic practices I asked about are not broadly considered "good" journalism. Due to this, it was more comfortable raising points that might go against a journalist's identification as a professional in a more conversational way as it was less confrontational and, in turn, the interviewee may be less likely to be defensive.

For both trips, interviewees were identified in various ways. In the case of civil society organisations, most of the main human rights organisations were already familiar through my knowledge of scholarship on transitional justice in Uruguay. Therefore, representatives from such organisations were identified via their organisational web pages and contacted directly. Further recommendations came from other researchers with extensive fieldwork experience in the country. Developing a list of potential journalist interviewees was a different process. By the 2016 trip, some had been identified by bylines I had noted in the content analysis, because I wanted to be able to ask journalists who had reported on the *Marchas* and plebiscites about their experience of doing so. However, as is common in fieldwork research, journalists were mainly identified by snowballing – that is, I built a list of potential interviewees on the basis of recommendations made by interviewees (Bryman, 2008). One problem of this approach was that it limited the extent to which I could be strategic with the selection of journalists for interview to ensure they had worked in journalism during particular periods of time. Unlike representatives at civil society organisations, who were "lifers" in the organisations and could discuss changes over the years, it was more difficult to build an overlapping chronological set of interviewees about the media. Journalists had typically worked at different publications over the period and, naturally, did not take a broad overview of the industry in the same way as representatives at human rights organisations engage with the trajectory of the issue they campaign on. Indeed, for the representatives at *Famidesa* and *SERPAJ*, transitional justice is their life's work. This difference in focus was interesting because it clearly shaped how each group perceived

media access.

A basic interview guide was taken into all interviews, and was occasionally added to on the basis of interesting points raised in previous interviews that either warranted corroboration or development. In most cases the interviewees chose the venue, whether in their office or café of their choice – partly a function of my being a visitor and partly deliberate to enable them to feel most comfortable (Deacon et al. 2007: 69). All interviewees read an English or Spanish information sheet about the project, which they were encouraged to retain, and signed a consent form giving me permission to use their responses. One interviewee gave verbal permission as the interview was via Skype. In the weeks following the final fieldwork trip and second round of interviews, one interviewee asked that specific sections of the interview would not be used in the thesis and these sections were deleted in the transcription. All interviews were recorded on a digital recorder and the files were stored securely on a password-protected computer. Interviewing in a second language was difficult and tiring. This was largely because the semi-structured approach involved processing information while either formulating a follow-up question or deciding to move on, which is mentally exhausting in one's native language. Interviews were transcribed either by me or by a transcription service upon my return from fieldwork. They were analysed in the original Spanish and translated for quotation in the thesis.

In practice, the interviews with civil society organisations were more formal than those with journalists. On reflection, this may have been for a number of reasons. First, journalists are generally used to being in interview situations, if not themselves being the subject of questioning. Second, as a former journalist I decided to mention my previous career to media interviewees but not civil society interviewees. This typically took the form of observing at the beginning of the interview that I knew how strange it must be to be the interviewee for once and not the interviewer. My rationale for this decision was partly as a way to build rapport, which is a consideration for interviewing any group, and that positioning myself as a former member of the in-group might open up the dialogue. This proved to be the case and potentially overcame barriers of not being Uruguayan, or a native Spanish speaker, though the precise influences on

interviewer-interviewee dynamics are difficult to isolate.

The process of interviewing in the third stage presented different opportunities for operationalising the triangulation of findings. The first was to phrase questions to include the content analysis results – for example, to firstly explain the data on source use and go on to ask specific questions about practices. In the case of *El País,* clear results on the amount of coverage of both the plebiscites and *Marchas* meant I was able to directly ask why there was very little coverage of both case studies and, perhaps on the basis of this direct and evidenced inquisition, receive a full and frank response. Another was bringing my laptop to the interviews and showing interviewees examples of articles. This was particularly useful in jogging the memories of retired journalists who had worked at the newspapers during the early return to democracy. In this case, it had an additional outcome of shifting the tone of the interview to reveal their perception of journalism as very tightly bound up with ideology and their experience of living under and resisting a military regime, in a way that younger journalists did not and indeed could not. This led to conversations about what it meant when younger journalists called themselves "professional". In the case of civil society organisations, I was able to ask questions on their assertions in 2014 that they received "no access" by sharing the data on the access they had gained. This led to a more nuanced conversation about what they had meant in 2014 and, in turn, what they understood to constitute media access in the context of the Uruguayan press.

3.4   Building the content analysis: Capturing quantity and quality of access

This section sets out the key processes in designing the content analysis and gives a rationale for the code book – the key features of which are explained below. It firstly explains the *population* of the content analysis and then goes on to explain the process of developing the two-level coding frame. In content analysis, the population is the "body of media or communications content" (Hansen and Machin, 2013, p. 93) to be analysed. Following Berelson (1952), this can be broken down into the following three levels: the selection of newspapers; the sample of issues or dates; and the selection of

articles. These are explained in turn below.

First, newspapers were selected for the content analysis. Although the broadcast media dominate Latin America in terms of reach and access, newspapers are often the agenda-setters for broadcast news (Bonner, 2009). Further to this, they tend to be denser in context and information relative to the transience of broadcast news and are often available in archives. The selection of newspapers or the universe of content for the study were *El País* and *La República*. These were selected for the following reasons. In the first instance, they represent different types of publication both in standing and editorial position. *El País* survived the authoritarian period by conforming to the censorial instructions of the regime. Founded by the *Blancos* party, it is considered the "traditional", "Uruguayan" newspaper, embodying Uruguayan newspaper norms and culture (Albarran, 2009). On the other hand, *La República* was established in the early return to democracy. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this is important as it represents a key feature associated with media democratisation identified in the literature – the increase in publications in new democracies in response to the lifting of censorship and other means of media repression. In other words, the increase in external plurality. This is highly relevant to measuring access because media diversity is strongly associated with more democratic media representation, though this is rarely tested empirically. In terms of editorial position, *El País* is located to the centre-right and *La República* generally to the centre-left, although the forthcoming data chapters will indicate that this shifted somewhat across the period. Importantly for this project, these positions were magnified on the issue of transitional justice. *El País* supported the Expiry Law and *La República* campaigned against it (interviews with journalists, 2016; see also data on editorial position in forthcoming data chapters). Thus, the combination of newspapers enabled the consideration of editorial position in shaping media access for civil society actors.

In addition to this, both newspapers were the biggest selling in the immediate return to democracy and this market share was roughly maintained up to a point during the course of the project (Faraone, 2003; Albarran, 2009). This was particularly important as although democratisation offers an opportunity for the newspapers to grow, it can also

be a competitive environment and so identifying newspapers which were both high in readership – and so in potential influence – as well as maintaining this across the 23-year period of the study was vital. Further to this, their respective positions in the market also meant that they were available in the *Biblioteca Nacional de Uruguay* (BIBNA) in hard copies. Availability and accessibility is a more technical consideration but nevertheless "in practice often one of the most decisive factors… particularly where a retrospective analysis is contemplated" (Hansen and Machin, 2013, p. 94).

The second level of the *population* of the content analysis is the sample frame, or the sample of issues and dates. Sampling, as outlined in the table below, was directed by the identification of key events in the history of the campaign for transitional justice in Uruguay. As explained in the introduction to this thesis, two of the highest profile of these were the two plebiscites called to nullify the *Ley de Caducidad* and the public demonstration the *Marcha del Silencio*. The key features of each of these strategies for the purposes of the content analysis are summarised in Table 3.1, below.

As it shows, the fundamental considerations for their selection were threefold. Firstly, it was important to capture the temporal nature of the research questions. Thus, the annual event of the *Marcha* over a significant period of time (1996-2012; where the sample ends – the *Marcha* itself continues) enabled year-on-year comparison over time, or a *continuous* sample. On the other hand, the two plebiscites offered *snapshots* at different points in the democratisation process – the first very early in the return to democracy, 1989, and the second well into what may be described as the consolidation or mature transition stage in 2009. These constitute two different ways to measure and draw comparisons over time and, as such, may elucidate different dimensions of the process of democratisation, the media and transitional justice. Secondly, an additional *technical yet decisive* feature is that as high-profile events they are likely to attract significant media attention around specific dates and therefore are likely to generate a sample. This was confirmed during the pilot content analysis using a small sample of articles searched for using both the *LexisNexis* (for *El País)* and *NewsBank* (for *La República)* databases in the summer of 2014. This indicated coverage in both newspapers of the 2009 plebiscite and the *Marcha* post-2005 (the date from which

digital records are available – this is discussed in the next section on the collection of data). Finally, the association of specific dates with the events meant they could be quite easily searched for. The sample was taken from two weeks either side of the event itself. This was important in gathering a "reasonably representative" sample that accommodates different news cycles and other influences on coverage patterns, rather than one based on bias or assumptions of the researcher (Hansen and Machin, 2013, p. 95).

Table 3.1: Characteristics of content analysis case studies.

Case study	Time period	Type of strategy	Forum
Plebiscites on the Expiry Law	"Snapshot" 1989 and 2009	Institutionalised democratic mechanism	'Formal political activity'
Marcha de Silencio	Continuous 1996-2012	Annual public protest/demonstration	'Demonstration or public protest action'

Third, the plebiscites and *Marchas* constitute substantially different strategies of the campaign for transitional justice in Uruguay and therefore may be expected to capture different dimensions of media access. A different way of understanding this is that they represent different *fora* for representation in the media – one being reporting on "formal political activity" and the other on a "demonstration or public protest action" (Hansen, 1991). This has been highlighted in research on civil society and the media which finds that unofficial sources are more likely to gain a higher quality of access in articles focusing on their demonstrations and other tools of advocacy rather than more routine political news (Anderson, 2003). However, the forum of protest "carries considerably less legitimacy in Western democracies than the forum of 'formal political activity..'" (Hansen and Machin, 2013, p. 102). Thus, the combination of cases enables

the comparison of media access in different types of coverage.

The third and final component of the population of the content analysis is the selection of articles or criteria for inclusion. The criterion for selection was that the article must focus on either the plebiscites or the *Marcha* on the date of the event or two weeks either side of it. The plebiscites were held on 16th April 1989 and 29th November 2009, while the *Marcha* has taken place annually on 20th May since 1996. The focus was deduced from the article headline and introductory paragraphs. Articles that referred to the events in a "subsidiary" way (Deacon and Golding, 1994) were not included.

3.4.1 The coding frame

The coding frame is in Appendix 3. This section explains the two levels of the content analysis and the variables used in coding. Answering the research questions of the thesis required two kinds of data, and two units of analysis, from the content analysis – one to discern broader patterns of access and journalistic routines that could influence access and the other to collect data specific to how sources appeared in the articles. Therefore, a two-level coding frame was developed. The first level took the article as the unit of analysis; the second level the source as the unit of analysis. Every article meeting the criteria for selection was coded at the first level. Where an article referred to at least one source, it progressed to the second level of analysis.

A key issue was defining what would be included as a *source*, which in effect meant deciding a threshold for the measurement of access. Sources can be defined as "[t]hose individuals or organizations passing information through a channel" (Sigal, 1973, p. 121). While this is a very basic definition, it would entail a source being a named person or organisation with a view or information being attributed to it in order to be counted. However, previous studies have shown that source use can be a useful indicator of journalistic practices, specifically linking the number of sources consulted to the range of views and depth of information reported (Tiffen *et al.*, 2013). In addition to this, only

appearing rather than gaining access can indicate a very low quality of access (Hughes and Mellado, 2015). Therefore, the appearance in an article was also counted and, so, a "source" for the purposes of the content analysis was defined *as a person or organisation either quoted in an article or named as appearing at an event being reported on.*

Variables used in both levels were: case number (or unique identifying number); date; publication; article type (news, editorial, opinion). The first three of these are standard and basic variables for any content analysis and enable effective data organisation as well as comparison across broad categories. The latter variable of article type was necessary to differentiate articles where one source or author is typical (i.e. editorials and opinion columns) from news reports, yet still be able to include both types of articles in order to assess the overall valence and amount of coverage. Beyond these, the level one and two variables for both samples are summarised in Table 3.2 and explained in detail below.

Table 3.2: Summary of variables for levels one and two of content analysis

Level one variables (unit of analysis = article)	Level two variables (unit of analysis = source)
Headline	Source type
Valence	Name
Main theme	Quote type
Total number of sources	Source role
Photo	Notes
Notes	

The categories unique to level one or "article" level are as follows.

Headline: This was recorded in a string – or text – variable.

Valence of the article: In the context of this project, this was the position of the article on the issue of transitional justice. This was determined by the contents of the article and was recorded as "for"; "against"; "balanced; or "not clear". Issue valence is important for gauging editorial position and the impact this might have on media access for particular groups of sources.

Theme of the article: This was recorded for thematic analysis. Thematic analysis involves identifying perspectives in a public debate and then identifying how these are manifested in themes in news coverage. This can indicate a higher quality of access for a particular group of sources, as through gaining media access they are better able to represent their perspective on the debate. Themes were developed on the basis of literature on transitional justice in Uruguay and, so, represent the core narratives of the debate in the country and the wider literature. The first theme was: "Truth, justice and never again". This theme is associated with the movement for transitional justice in Uruguay and beyond and is equivalent to the "ethics" position identified by de Brito (Barahona de Brito, 1997). This stands in contrast to the second theme of "transition over", associated with forward-looking politics, equivalent to the "state" and "politico-statist" position described by Garreton and de Brito, respectively (1997; 2004). These positions were discussed in more detail in the introduction to this thesis. The third value is "game", which applied where the issue was not substantially discussed and instead was referred to as a source of conflict between political parties, or tit-for-tat between campaigns.

The total number of sources: this was recorded numerically. This was in order to

determine any pattern of journalistic routines around source use that are relevant to explaining source access. This can be done by calculating the mean number of sources per article to use it as a proxy for internal pluralism (Tiffen *et al.*, 2013) and depth of coverage, or as an indication of "greater discursive capacity" (Ericson, Baranek and Chan, 1991, p. 183). That is, the greater number of sources, the more likely the article is to include a range of views and a deeper level of context.

At the second level of the analysis, the focus was on sources. If an article contained one source or more, it would be analysed for a number of additional variables. An important consideration in developing these variables was to enable the assessment of both quantity and quality of media access. Key influences in shaping this level of the analysis came from Ericson's detailed work on source types in the media in crime coverage in the UK during the 1990s (1991). The second level variables were as follows:

Type of source: A range of source types was developed during the pilot. It was decided early on that civil society source types would be disaggregated in the initial data collection and later grouped using an SPSS function to enable the analysis of the broader groups of "official" and "unofficial" sources that reflect the terminology of much literature on source-media relations. The decision to record individual civil society source types was made in response to considerations regarding the heterogeneous nature of civil society and inequalities therein (Manning, 2001; Cottle, 2003) as well as the shifting landscape of civil society in the return to democracy (Baker, 1999). Source types were categorised as follows: politician; military; trade union; NGO; academic; legal; judiciary; church representative; family of the disappeared; member of the public; and anonymous.

How quoted: This variable was important for indicating the quality of access gained by the source. The variables were developed around the principle that direct quoting is the highest quality of access as it allows the source to represent themselves (Hughes and Mellado, 2015). The variables are: direct individual; first person; press release; publication; paraphrased; placard; and reference only.

Source role: This variable was included in order to measure the quality of access gained by sources. This is drawn from the work of Deacon & Golding (1994) and highlights the concept of source credibility for determining who will be deemed a reliable or trustworthy contributor to the debate. The role of advocate positions the source as having an overt interest in a debate. Thus, they are represented as having a degree of bias that compromises their credibility and reduces their status as sources. On the other hand, arbiters are presented as "professionals who are approached by journalists to evaluate assertions and interpretations made by advocates in a political debate" (ibid. p. 171). In this way, arbiters have higher source credibility and are presented as giving a disinterested overview or explanation of a debate.

3.4   Conclusion

This chapter has explained the methodology developed in order to answer the two-part research questions of this thesis, particularly the single case study research design focusing on Uruguay's transitional justice campaign and the mixed-methods approach developed in response to the different kinds of data required. The triangulation of content analysis and semi-structured interviews was also highlighted. The following three chapters will present and analyse the findings that resulted from this research design.

Chapter 4: Gaining access to political news: Civil society actors in coverage of the plebiscites against the Expiry Law (1989 and 2009)

4.1   Introduction

This chapter examines the first of the two case studies of this thesis - the plebiscites of 1989 and 2009 on the Expiry Law or *Ley de Caducidad*. As explained in Chapter 1, the Expiry Law constituted the single biggest legal and political obstacle to prosecutions for crimes committed during the dictatorship in Uruguay (Skaar, 2013). Plebiscites instigated by anti-impunity groups took place on 16th April 1989 and 25th October 2009. The Expiry Law was upheld with 52 per cent support in both years. This case is important for the aims of this thesis because it enables a focus on source access to political news. It also offers a "snapshot" of access at two different points in the democratisation process. On the other hand, the following chapter examines coverage of the annual *Marcha del Silencio*, which, as explained in the methodology chapter, enables the examination of protest coverage, which is treated differently in scholarship on source-media relations, as well as a continuous case given that the march has taken place annually since 1996.

Given this different perspective, it is important to highlight the conceptual framework of this chapter. Political news generally refers to reporting on events emanating from political institutions, such as day-to-day government business, policy developments and elections. A central question in source-media relations is the flexibility or otherwise of source access. Scholarship on access to political news is unanimous that official sources will almost always dominate as they are perceived to be more credible (Manning, 2001). Further to this, the ability of sources to access news is often explained in terms of the resources they have. These include credibility, authority, reliability, accessibility, and the extent to which they are perceived as media-friendly (i.e. the ability to give soundbites or concise quotes) (Davis, 2000; Thrall, Stecula and Sweet, 2014). Unofficial voices or civil society groups are generally considered to be hampered by their lack of resources (Goldenberg, 1975; Gitlin, 1980). A key concept for analysing this is the

indexing hypothesis (Bennett, 1990). As detailed in Chapter 2, this articulates that where there is elite consensus on an issue, news coverage will represent this and so the range of sources gaining access to the media will be narrow. On the other hand, where there is perceived to be a lack of elite consensus, the range of views represented in the media will increase, thereby presenting an opportunity for a wider range of sources to gain access.

To briefly re-cap on the methodology for this case study, it includes a content analysis of news articles, opinion columns and editorials from the newspaper coverage of both plebiscites. As detailed in Chapter 3 (Methodology) and in the coding frame in the Appendix 3, the sample included articles which focused primarily on the plebiscites and were published two weeks either side of their dates. The two-level content analysis measured features of the articles and the sources. The total sample for this case study was 327 articles.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. The first section explains findings on the quantity of media access gained by civil society and official actors. The second explains findings on the quality of access. The final section looks at newsworthiness and valence. Overall, the chapter finds that the quantity and quality of media access for civil society actors does improve between the first and second plebiscite. However, this is compromised by two important features. First, the proportional increase in access corresponded with a significant drop in newsworthiness; in other words, in a variation on the indexing hypothesis, civil society actors gained more access when elite actors were silent on the issue. Second, these voices were largely excluded from *El País*.

4.2   Identifying and explaining general patterns of source access

This section will focus on answering the first research question of this thesis: does media access for civil society actors change across democratisation? In this section, civil society and official sources are grouped. While the importance of disaggregating types of

sources has been discussed in Chapter 3 (Methodology), overall patterns of civil society and official sources establish broad patterns of access and enable comparison with other studies that do not disaggregate types. A breakdown of types of sources will follow in section 4.3. This enables more detailed analysis of factors relevant to the Uruguayan context.

This section is structured as follows. Firstly, the balance of civil society and official sources is discussed for each plebiscite. Secondly, this data is broken down by newspaper to establish if editorial position or other practices raised in the previous section affected these broad patterns of media access. Overall, the findings are that while official sources dominated coverage in the 1989 plebiscite, civil society actors gained more access in 2009.

4.2.1 Comparing the access of official and civil society sources in 1989 and 2009

The proportion of access for groups of actors for the 1989 and 2009 plebiscites are shown in Figures 4.1 and 4.2, below. Here, the unit of analysis is the source and whether or not a source was present or absent. As discussed in the Methodology Chapter, the civil society group comprises NGOs, INGOs, families of the disappeared, members of the public, lawyers, academics, and church representatives. The official source group comprises politicians, members of the judiciary, and the police. As can be seen, in 1989 official voices dominate in while civil society actors gain significantly less access. The picture changes in 2009, with civil society actors gaining the most access.

FIGURE 4.1: SOURCE ACCESS TO COVERAGE OF 1989 PLEBISCITE (N=372)

Other source types
9%

Military
5%

Media
5%

Civil society
24%
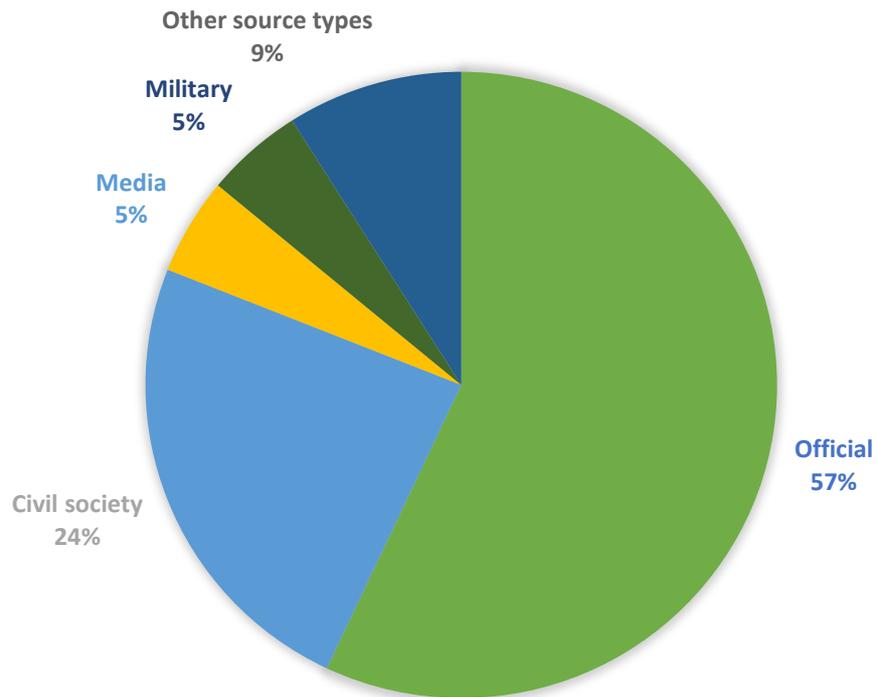
Official
57%

FIGURE 4.2: SOURCE ACCESS TO COVERAGE OF 2009 PLEBISCITE (N=124)

Other source types
10%

Media
4%

Official
36%

Civil society
50%
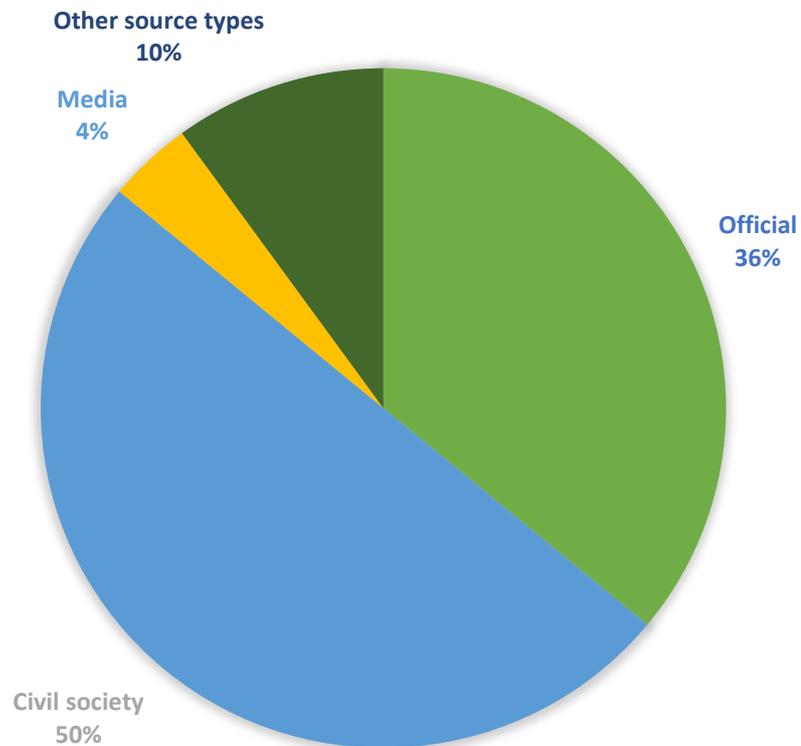
The prevalence of official sources in 1989 gives expression to what is frequently stated in scholarship on the media in Latin America and beyond: official sources dominate. This is to be expected both based on empirical Western scholarship in mature democracies (Ericson, Baranek and Chan, 1989; David Deacon, 1996) and Latin American scholarship on journalistic norms before and after the authoritarian era (Waisbord, 2000; Hughes and Mellado, 2015). As the dominance of official sources is generally also found to apply in protest coverage, it is perhaps not a surprise that it applies to coverage of an issue pushed onto the political agenda by civil society actors. Thus, the findings are somewhat to be expected.

At the same time, the proportion of access for civil society actors may be considered high in a post-authoritarian environment. By way of comparison, a recent study in Chile found that "civil society organisations or movements" gained 11 per cent of access to news articles about protests (Hughes and Mellado, 2015). This was attributed to post-authoritarian marginalisation of civil society and the emphasis of liberal democracy on electoral and party politics. However, there are important differences with the Chilean case that may illuminate the Uruguayan case. While the Chilean research spanned 1990-2005, within this range it also focused on upon coverage of student, environmental and indigenous protests from 2006-2011. This range of issues and the organisations supporting them is more fragmented than that of transitional justice, in which almost every citizen in post-transition societies has an interest. Scholarship is clear that resource rich groups are more likely to gain access than resource poor (Goldenberg, 1975). As described in Chapter 1, the campaign against the Expiry Law comprised a range of civil society actors and derived social capital from its associations with leading intellectuals and emerging politicians. This resource, in the absence of campaign representatives at senior government levels, may have translated into source credibility.

The significant increase in civil society access to the coverage of the 2009 plebiscite indicates, *prima facie*, that access to the media for civil society actors became more democratic over the period.

4.2.2 Comparing the access of official and civil society sources by newspaper

Breaking down source access data by newspaper is important as media democratisation literature highlights the role of increased media diversity as a mechanism for improving the media access for different groups in society. This section will consider whether the patterns of access already established hold across the traditional *El País* and the post-transition start-up *La República*. The former supported the Expiry Law and the latter campaigned against it – the question of how this influence coverage amount and valence is discussed in section 4.5. This section addresses only the balance of official and civil society sources.

Figure 4.3, below, breaks down the proportional (%) access gained by sources to the 1989 plebiscite coverage. It shows that civil society actors gained more access to *La República* – almost 25 per cent more than in *El País*. Therefore, it is clear than *La República* played a significant part in the overall access of civil society actors to overall media coverage of the plebiscite in 1989. Though official voices still dominate, with 47 per cent of all access to its coverage, civil society sources gained 30 per cent. Compared to the 6 per cent access gained by civil society actors to *El País* in the same year, this suggests that civil society sources have a better chance of gaining access to new publications.

Moving on to the coverage of the 2009 plebiscite, Figure 4.4 shows that the increase in access for civil society actors was manifested across publications – with 50 per cent access to coverage in *El País* and 64 per cent in *La República*. In turn, the proportion of access for political actors is reduced in both publications. This adds weight to the previous indication that media access for civil society actors may indeed broadly increase across democratisation.

Figure 4.3: Source access to 1989 coverage by newspaper (N=372)
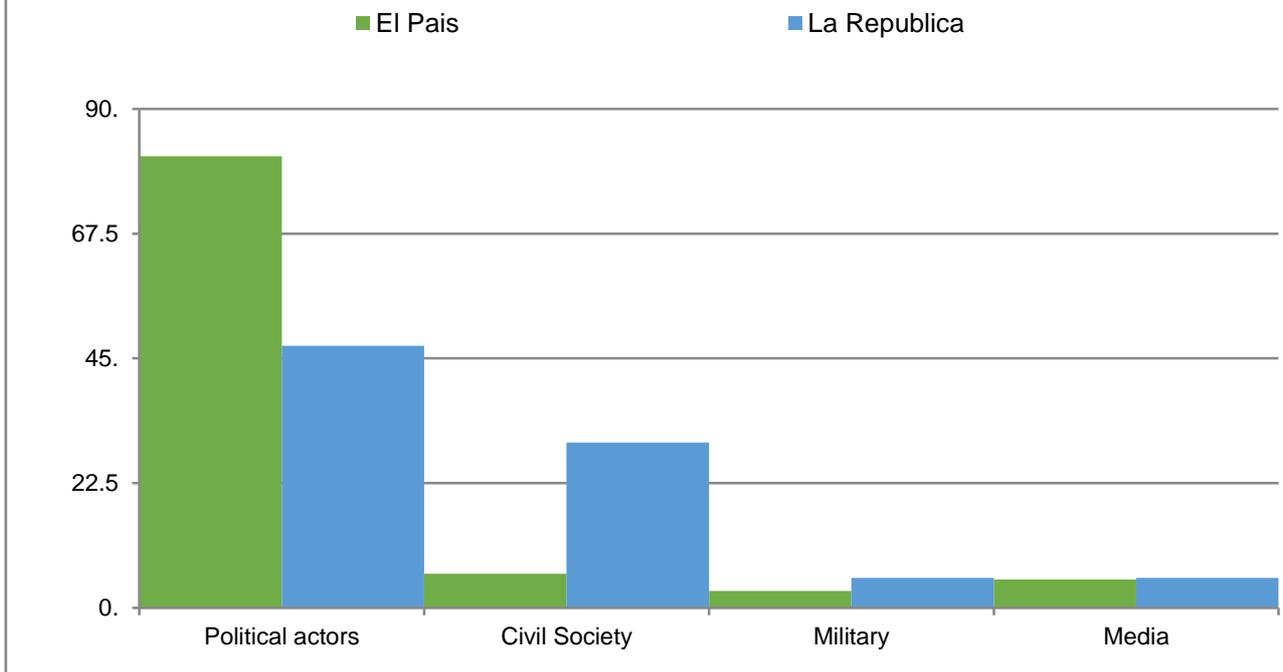
Figure 4.4: Source access to 2009 coverage by newspaper (N=124)
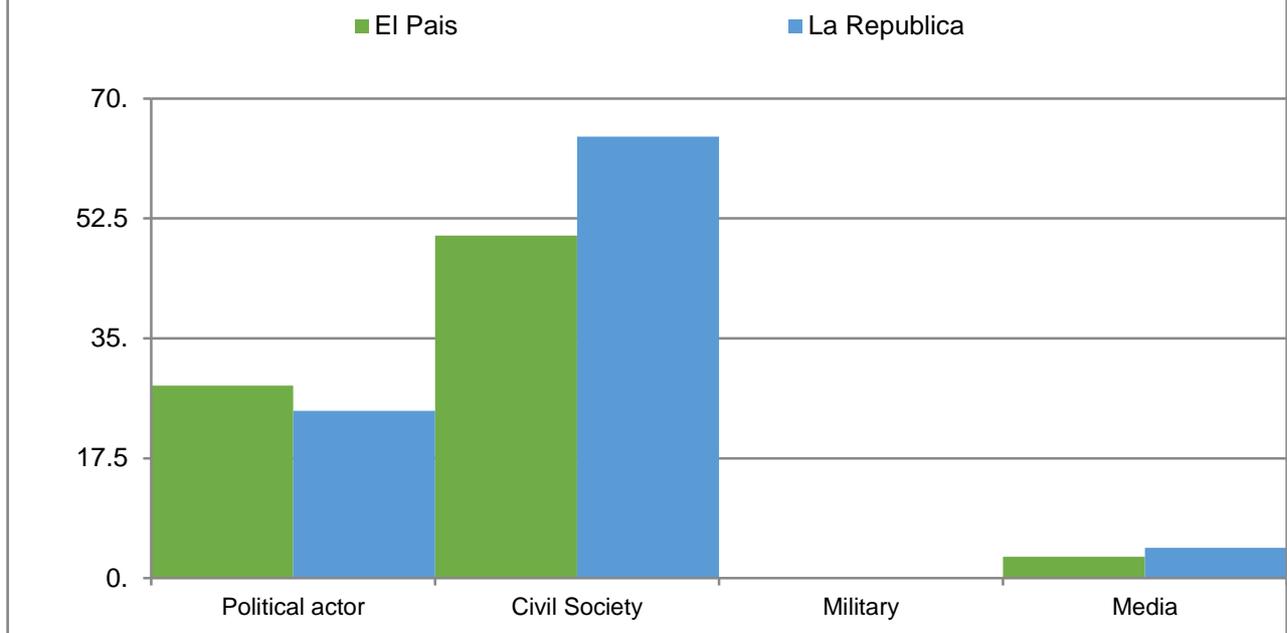
4.3 Changing patterns of source access over time

This section focuses on how source access changes over time. A broad picture of this was sketched in section 4.2, finding that political sources gained more access to coverage in 1989 while civil society sources gained more access in 2009. As discussed in greater depth in Chapter 3 (Methodology), the analysis in this section disaggregates particular types of civil society and official sources for two reasons. Firstly, as Deacon warns, aggregating such sources as "unofficial" and "official" obscures important differentiations and mutations (Deacon 1996). Secondly, the process of democratisation is a fluid one in which the status of many actors is in flux. Democratisation occurred at the same time as other processes such as NGO-isation and globalisation, which had consequences for the status and organisation of civil society actors (Pearce, 1997; Baker, 1999; Cox, 2006b). While these shifts have been well-documented in social movement and civil society scholarship, they have yet to be captured in media research. This section begins by looking at media access for different types of civil society sources, then official sources. It develops the differentiation between newspapers by looking at how access varied by publication.

4.3.1 Patterns of access for civil society sources

Figure 4.5, below, details the amount of media access gained by different types of civil society sources as a proportion of the overall access for civil society sources for each year. It shows two significant patterns in access. Firstly, that media access remained stable for NGOs and trade unions. Secondly, that it increased for families of the disappeared and lawyers. These will be discussed in turn.

Firstly, the access for NGO and trade union sources is stable in both plebiscites. NGOs gained 37 per cent of civil society source access to the 1989 coverage and 34 per cent in 2009, respectively. This is the highest share of access of any other civil society group. Meanwhile, trade unions gained 11 per cent of civil society source access in both years. That both types of source maintained the ability to gain access across the 20-year period

is perhaps not surprising given that they are the instigators and protagonists of the anti-impunity movement in Uruguay. As discussed in Chapter 3 and briefly discussed earlier in this chapter, the ability of sources to access news is often explained in terms of the resources they have. These include credibility, authority, reliability, accessibility, and the extent to which they are perceived as media-friendly (i.e. the ability to give soundbites or concise quotes) (Thrall, Stecula and Sweet, 2014). Unofficial voices or civil society groups are generally considered to be hampered by their lack of resources (Goldenberg, 1975; Gitlin, 1980).

Figure 4.5 Civil society source access, 1989 and 2009 (N=151)
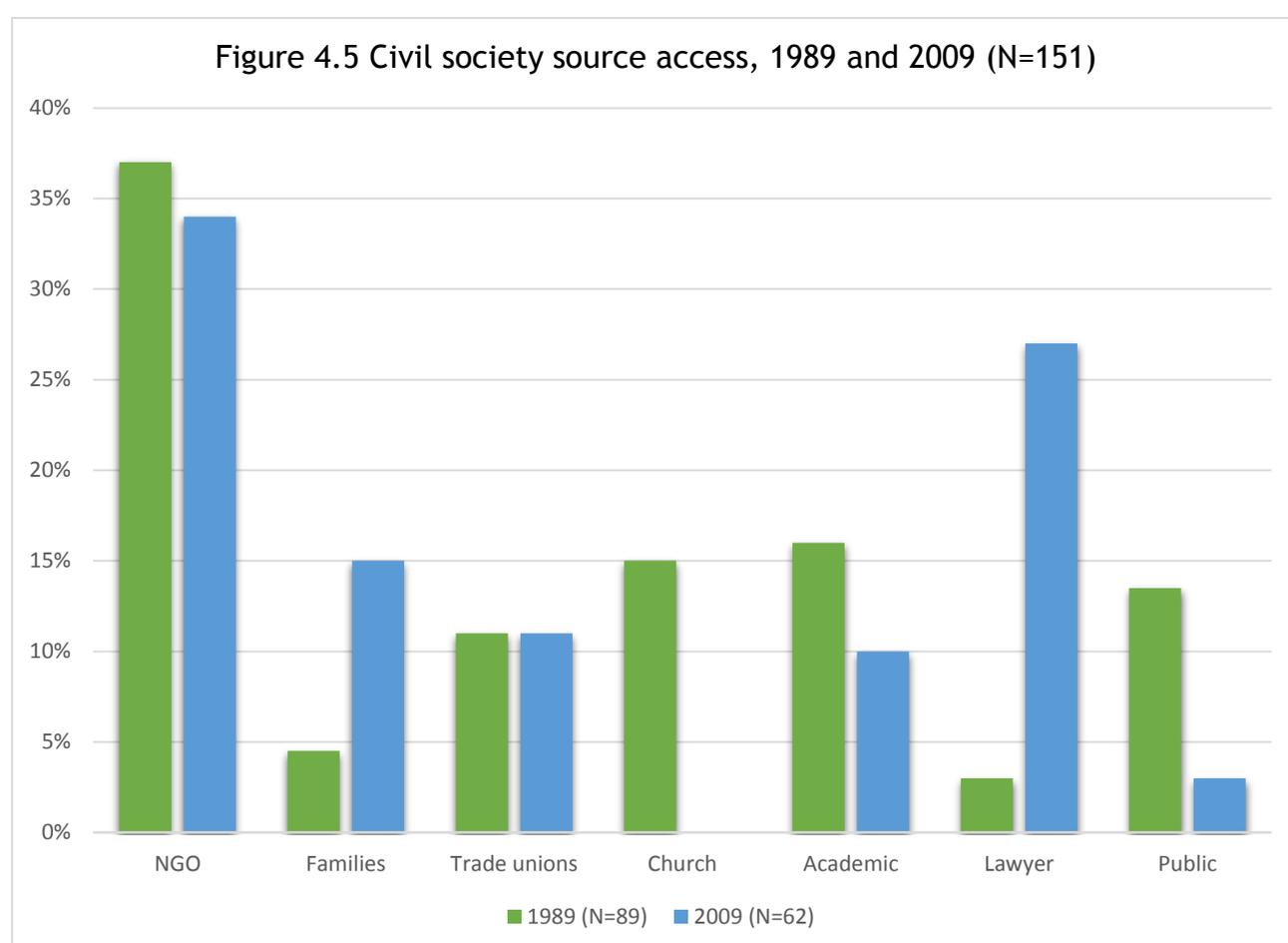
Assessed in these terms, the NGOs working on the anti-impunity campaign in Uruguay are variably resourced. As discussed in Chapter 1, human rights organisations did not emerge in Uruguay until seven years into the authoritarian regime. This was later than in neighbouring countries and has been attributed to the severity of repression in the country as well as the church being unable to act as a protected institution through

which to funnel external financial support (Dominguez, 2001). NGOs in Uruguay therefore emerged later and in difficult financial circumstances. The NGOs central to the campaign against the Expiry Law have been the same throughout the period under study: *Famidesa* (Madres y Familiares Uruguayos Detenidos Desaparecidos) established in 1983 and *SERPAJ Uruguay* (El Servicio Paz y Justicia Uruguay) established in 1981. The *Comision Nacional Pro Referendum* (National Commission for the Referendum; hereafter CNR) was also central in bringing about the 1989 plebiscite.

While material resources have been limited, particularly in the years leading up to the 1989 plebiscite, they have been able to derive credibility and authority from other sources. For instance, *SERPAJ* was responsible for publishing the first account of human rights abuses during the dictatorship – *Uruguay Nunca Mas: Human Rights Violations, 1972-1985* in 1989. This was published without the backing of the government at the time and as such lacked official authority, receiving less attention than equivalent publications in neighbouring countries (Skaar, 2011). Nevertheless, in the context of an unresponsive government, the publication conferred a degree of expertise on the issue. *SERPAJ* Uruguay also belongs to a network of organisations across Latin America and as such can draw on resources from other chapters. On the other hand, *Famidesa* derives authority from its role as representative of the families of the disappeared. Further to this, both organisations work with human rights lawyers and have associations with *Frente Amplio* politicians who were emerging in 1989 and more firmly established by 2009. This recalls the previous characterisation of the campaign as being resource rich. It is made up of a variety of actors including political and professional figures in addition to activists, while also benefitting from the moral authority that comes with representing the families of the disappeared.

Similarly, while trade unions gained less access, the PIT-CNT, the national federation of trade unions, has played a fundamental role in the campaign against the Expiry Law and more broadly for campaigning for human rights. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, trade unions in Uruguay fulfil a broad remit and the PIT-CNT has been deeply involved in the anti-impunity campaign since its inception (interview with trade union official, 2014). The consistent share of access of NGOs and trade unions as sources on the issue – that is,

organisations or institutions – suggests that the mechanism observed elsewhere of de-emphasising the collective nature of issues by using individuals as sources, particularly members of the public, is not practice in the reporting of political news in the Uruguayan press (Philo et al, 2014). Indeed, the corollary of this tendency towards institutionalisation may be the comparatively low level of source access for families of the disappeared and public; again, the families of the disappeared represented through organisation rather than high profile as in Argentina.

Moving on to those types of civil society source that gained more access to coverage over time, the most significant change is the increased access of lawyers – from 3 per cent in 1989 to 27 per cent in 2009. This is related to the announcement by the Supreme Court of Justice (SCJ) on 19th October 2009 – just six days before the plebiscite – that its judges had found the Expiry Law unconstitutional. This announcement was made in concluding its deliberations on the *Sabalgasaray* case. The case concerned Nibia Sabalgasaray, a 24-year-old teacher and member of the Union of Young Communists in Montevideo. She was arrested by military officers on the 29th of June 1974 and later died of asphyxiation by torture (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 1982)[1]. Her sister, Estela, brought the case in September 2004. The following year, in a move that characterised his approach to the problem of the Expiry Law, then-President Tabaré Vázquez permitted the case to proceed given that two civilians were present at her arrest and the Law did not grant amnesty to civilians. Sabalgasaray was represented by Mirtha Guianze, a criminal lawyer specialising in human rights abuses during the authoritarian era, who had links with *SERPAJ* and *Famidesa*. In 2008, Guianze argued that the military officers should be prosecuted via an unconstitutionality appeal. The declaration that the Expiry Law was unconstitutional was made on the on the grounds

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[1] At 3am on the 29th of June 1974, three men in military uniform and two civilians arrived at the boarding house of Nibia Sabalgasaray, asked about her political beliefs and arrested her. Ten hours later, the manager of the boarding house received a telephone call informing them that Nibia had committed suicide and her body should be collected from the Military Hospital. The original autopsy, which found death by hanging, was contradicted by a second which found asphyxiation by torture (IACHR 1982:161-162).

that it was against the rule of law and separation of powers, reinforced by previous declarations by the IACHR, UNHRC and an Argentinian case. This was upheld unanimously by the five judges of the SCJ, a traditionally conservative institution.

On the day of the declaration, both newspapers reported that the SCJ would be making the announcement that afternoon. The article in *El País*, trailed on the front page and continued on page 9, noted the coincidence of the announcement with the plebiscite in its introduction: "Six days until the national elections together with a plebiscite seeking to derogate the rule, the minister of the SCJ Jorge Chediak Bevará will this afternoon announce a resolution that will establish the illegality of the Expiry Law" (*El País,* 2009: 9). The article was accompanied with a photograph of a protest against the Expiry Law; however no civil society sources were used in the text. An article the following day also emphasised the proximity of the judgment to the plebiscite in its introduction, and was accompanied by a panel noting a march that would take place that evening in support of the derogation of the law in the plebiscite. In *La República,* the announcement was also linked with the plebiscite but in less sceptical terms: "Tomorrow the five judges of the [SCJ] will declare the unconstitutionality of the infamous law; within 168 hours of the Supreme Court, the public will annul it" (*La República,* 18th October, front page). On the 21st October, most of the front page was occupied with photograph of the march that took place on the day of the announcement.

In this way, the 2009 plebiscite constituted an opportunity for legal sources to gain access. Lawyers were victims of repression during the dictatorship; if they represented victims of human rights abuses they were assumed to have ideological sympathy with them rather than a professional relationship (Dominguez, 2001). However, their status changed over the period of authoritarianism and across the return to democracy. This reflects both broader changes in civil society (Milton, 2005) and the increased judicialisation in the region (Domingo, 2016). Consequently, their expert status as legal professionals may not have guaranteed them credibility as sources, particularly in the early period of the return to democracy. At the same time, the 1989 plebiscite preceded the point at which the "justice cascade" began in earnest. However, substantial legal

progress began to be made with the victory of the *Frente Amplio* in 2005[2]. From 2006, trials in Uruguay began under the shadow of the Expiry Law. Lawyers thus gained an increasingly loud voice in the anti-impunity campaign, which their increased access reflects.

Of course, in this analysis this increase is limited to the very particular dynamic of the 2009 plebiscite and its near-coincidence with the SCJ's announcement. Moreover, it is necessary to contextualise the increased access of lawyer sources alongside an additional shift in source access – that of the proportional increase of judicial sources to the overall access of official source. Figure 4.6, below, reflects that the judiciary did not have a voice in the 1989 plebiscite but had established one by 2009 – gaining 31 per cent of official source access to coverage. In this way, official sources led the way.

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[2] Law 17,894 (2005) established the legal category of "absent due to enforced disappearance"; reparations laws were enacted in 2006 and 2009; Vázquez excluded the high profile Gelman and Michelini and Gutiérrez Ruiz cases from the Expiry Law; other cases excluded from the law from 2005 included crimes committed by high-ranking military and police officers during the dictatorship, crimes committed outside Uruguay, and the illegal appropriation of children (a draft interpretative law setting out these and other exemptions was dropped after a lack of support from other political parties and the military)

Figure 4.6: Official source access, 1989 and 2009 (N=258)
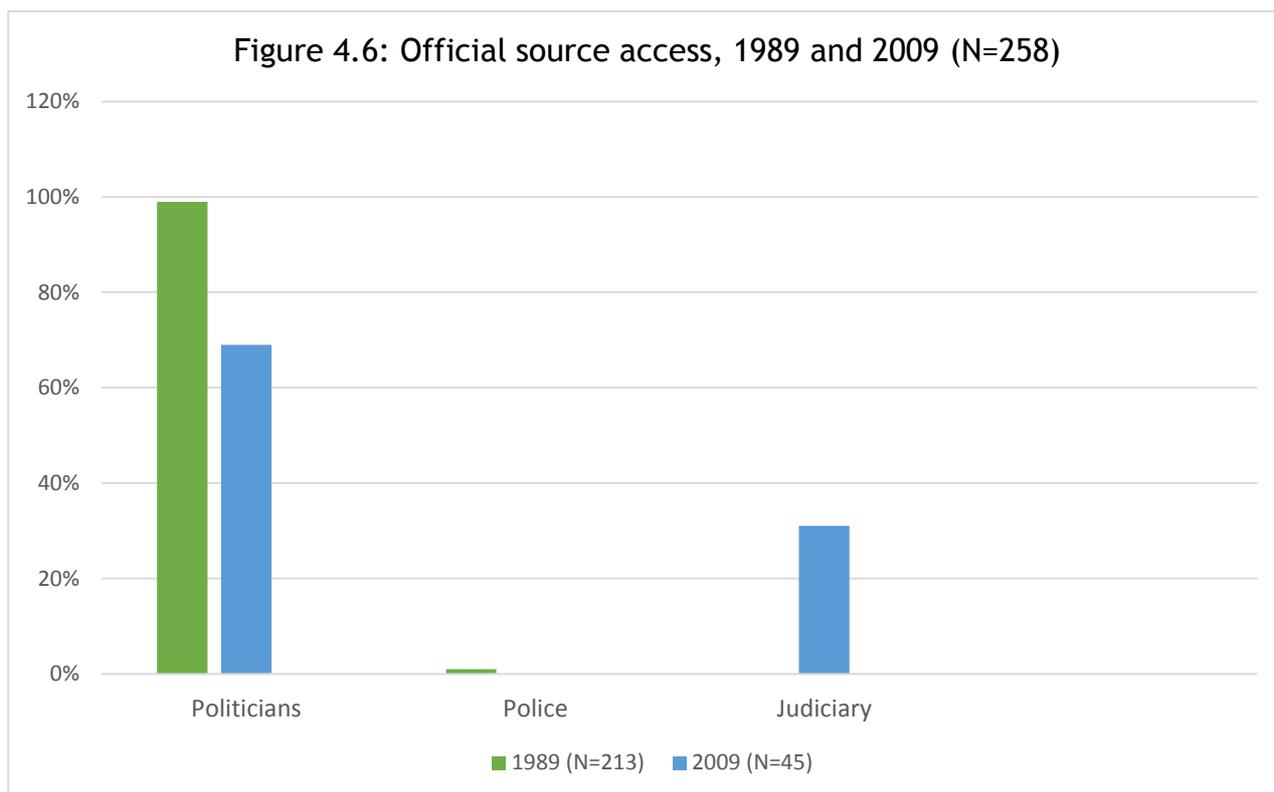
As discussed in Chapter 2 (Literature Review), a central question in the scholarship on source-media relations has for many years been the degree of fluidity in source hierarchies and, therefore, the range and possibility of competing narratives or primary definitions about an issue (Schlesinger, 1990; Cottle, 2000; Manning, 2001). It has been noted that this dynamic is relevant to democratisation, which is associated with a degree of flux in social and political relations. This fluidity of media access is important as a mechanism for increasing the plurality of representation in the media, at a time in which different groups may be winners and losers in the transition. Therefore, intervention of the SCJ is evidence that source access is flexible under certain conditions (Davis, 2000). One of the key points is that while this boosted the coverage of the issue and enabled certain civil society sources to gain access to articles about the SCJ announcement in the context of the impending plebiscite, the shift was nevertheless prompted by an official source, perhaps better here understood as a powerful institution. This suggests that official sources may be better able to disrupt usual patterns of source access. At the same time, the declaration of the SCJ was not entirely dissociated from civil society - the criminal lawyer representing the Sabalgasaray family had close associations with organisations including *SERPAJ* and *Famidesa*. Therefore,

beyond divisions of official and unofficial, it may be relevant to raise again the way in which source access may be influenced by deign of having poor or rich resources, which indicate inequalities in civil society (Goldenberg, 1975).

4.3.2 Differences in source access by newspaper

This section continues the differentiation in coverage in *El País* and *La República* by focusing on how access for sources differed at each newspaper. The previous analysis of access for official actors vis a vis civil society actors found that the latter gained proportionally more access to *La República* in the 1989 coverage but this proportionally increased for both newspapers in 2009.

Figures 4.7 and 4.8, below, show the proportion of the overall access of civil society source access by newspaper. *El País* featured very few civil society sources. The newspaper quoted only five NGO sources in its coverage of both plebiscites. Similarly, the newspaper quoted only two trade union sources. The first, in 1989, was quoted in an article criticising the use of trade union funding of the campaign to annul the Expiry Law. In addition to this, two relatives of disappeared persons were used as sources, no churches in 1989, and only one member of the public. Combined, this constitutes a pattern of routinely neglecting to use civil society sources.

Figure 4.7: Civil society source access to 1989 plebiscite by newspaper (N=82)
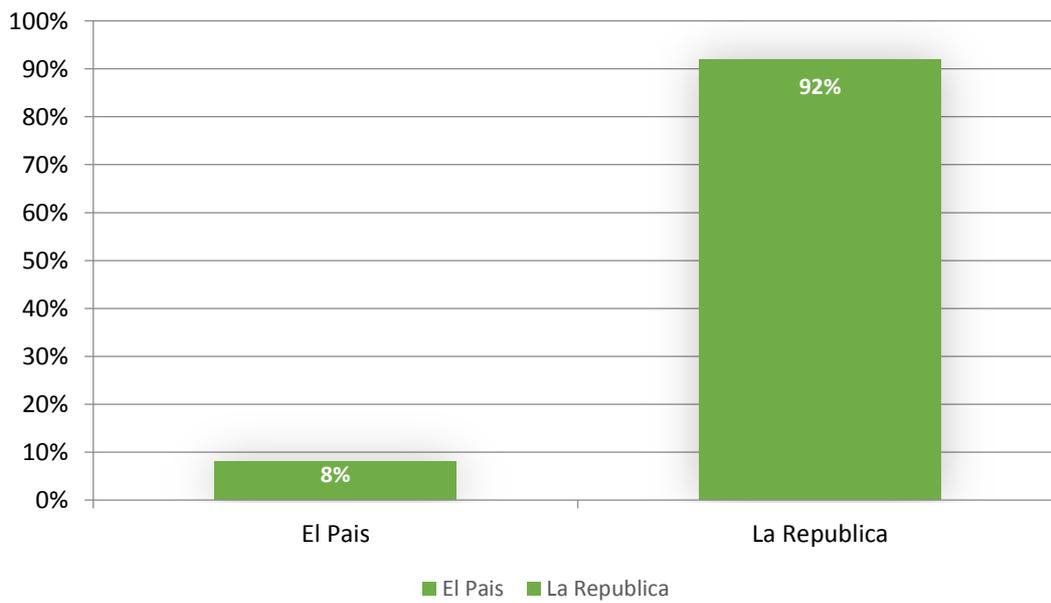
Figure 4.8: Civil society source access to 2009 plebiscite by newspaper (N=62)
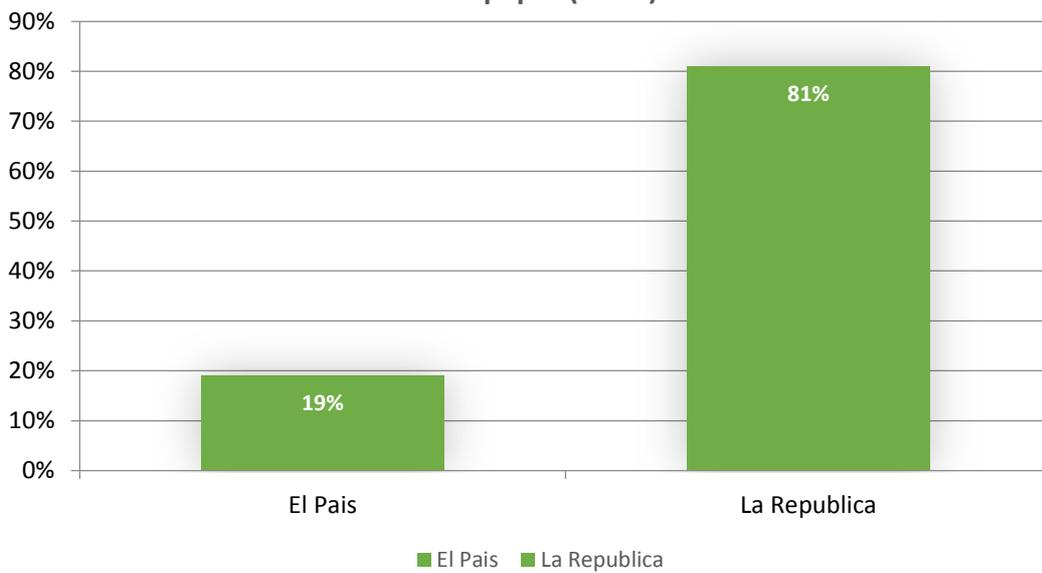
Scholarship on source credibility differentiates between *visceral* and *discretionary* practices regarding source selection (Reich, 2011). The former explains source selection as a subjective, biased process; the latter as a necessary procedure by which journalists ensure the reliability of information they publish. However, while those groups not used as sources correspond with those groups censored and repressed during the regime – trade unions, churches, human rights organisations and academics – they also correspond with groups traditionally opposed to the political party aligned with *El País*, the *Blancos*. Thus, I would argue that their inability to gain access to the newspaper is due to partisan reasons rather than a hangover of practices from the authoritarian era. This is explored in interview findings in Chapter 6.

4.4   Quality of media access

The previous sections focused on the *quantity* of access gained by sources. This section moves on to discuss findings regarding the *quality* of access. In this distinction between quantity and quality of access (McQuail, 1992), whereas quantity refers to the frequency with which sources appear in the media and how much newsprint or airtime they occupy, quality refers to the depth of representation. In the context of collectives of civil society actors campaigning for a political goal, this effectively means gaining sufficient access to enable the communication and contextualization of this demand. Thus, the distinction is important because when civil society actors are advancing their goals they often rely on gaining representation in the media; that is, quality of access is necessary for the achievement of the functions of civil society (Brysk, 2000).

The way in which sources appear in the media and the views attributed to them are important determinants of the quality of access they receive. In terms of the type of quoting, if a source is quoted directly – that is, in their own words – then this constitutes a high level of representation, as the source is representing their own position. Further still, if a source is quoted on the basis of their perceived expertise rather than opinion then this adds to their credibility. Measuring quality of access through content analysis

alone is not possible. As Tiffen et al caution, "content analysis can only… provide proxy indicators of news quality" (2013, p. 5). Yet scholarship offers various methodologies to elucidate different dimensions of quality of access, as explained in the Methodology chapter. Thus, various measures were used as part of the content analysis to characterise the way in which sources were presented.

This section is structured as follows. The first part shares findings on how sources appear, or the way in which they are quoted, which is a useful indication of quality of access. The second develops this by discussing findings regarding which sources are presented as advocates and which as arbiters, drawing upon Deacon and Golding's categorisation (Deacon and Golding, 1994). This relates to the credibility of sources – the higher implied credibility, the greater quality of access. The final part shares the findings of a thematic analysis, which indicates which viewpoints gained overall access to the plebiscite coverage.

4.4.1 General patterns of source citation

As part of the second level of the content analysis, each source was coded for the way in which they were cited. As explained in greater depth in Chapter 3 (Methodology), these categories were: direct; first person (i.e. author of an article); paraphrased; publication; and reference only. In terms of characterising these in terms of which is a better quality of access, being quoted directly constitutes direct access to the media, while paraphrasing compromises this through being mediated by a journalist. At the bottom of the scale, appearing in an article by reference only is not considered substantial enough to be defined as quality access (Hughes and Mellado, 2015).

The key finding of the content analysis is that of the total sources in coverage of both plebiscites (N=500), 66 per cent were direct quotes by individually named sources. In many cases, particularly with politicians, these direct quotes can run for paragraphs

without much intervention from the journalist and were also used in headlines. For example, an article in *El País* before the 1989 plebiscite was headlined "Medina: 'Peace and the dignity of the army are at stake'" (2nd April 1989). This is not to say, however, that all actors had the same quality of media access. As shown in Figure 4.9, below, when this overall figure is broken down by source type across the total coverage, 75 per cent of official sources (N=258) were quoted individually and directly, compared to 56 per cent for civil society sources (N=151). This suggests that official sources gained a better quality of access. At the same time, in disaggregating this data by year there is an improvement between 1989 and 2009.

Figure 4.9: Direct quoting as proportion of overall quoting in 1989 and 2009
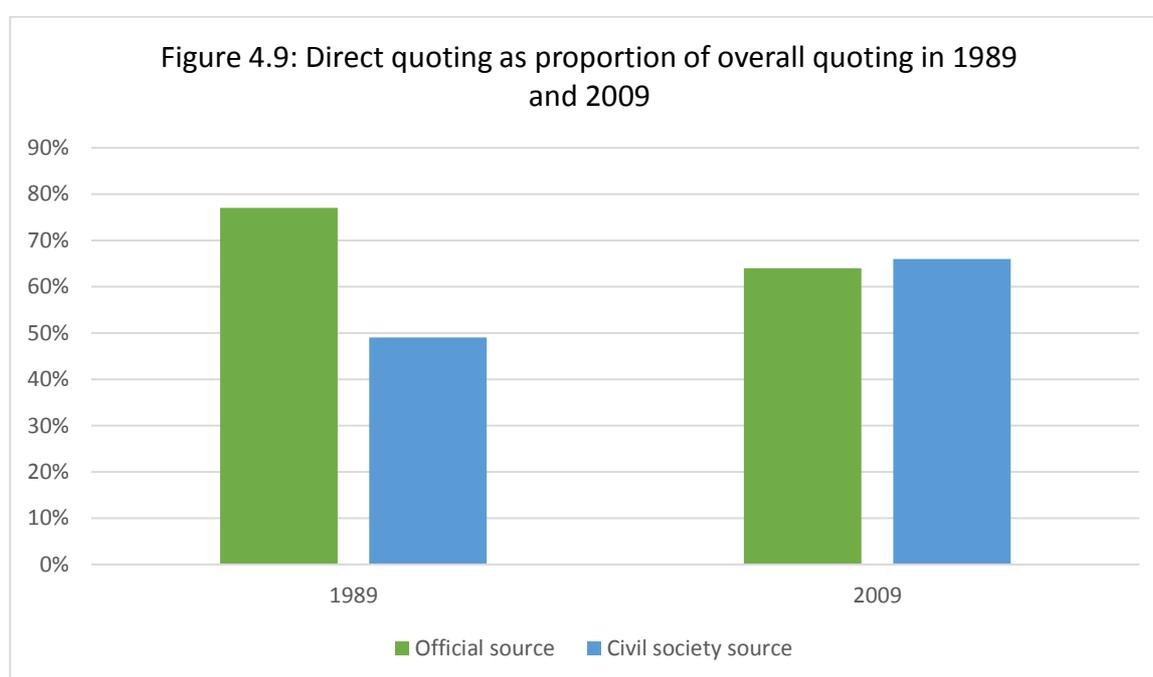
The figure shows that official sources were quoted directly more than civil society sources in 1989 by a difference of nearly 20 per cent. However, in 2009 civil society sources had caught up with official sources. This indicates a better quality of access for civil society actors later in democratisation. Bearing in mind the shift in source access towards lawyers in the civil society category established in the previous section, this may have been linked to the perceived credibility of that specific source. Paraphrasing was relatively low in both groups – with 11 per cent for each. There was a difference in the overall figures for reference only, with 6 per cent of the overall number of official

sources appearing in this way compared to 12 per cent of civil society. Overall, both these figures are relatively low.

Overall, there is a tendency towards a declaratory style of journalism, defined in the introduction to the thesis, which means the possibility for sources to gain access through direct quotations is high; however, this practice does not necessarily produce the depth of representation associated with it. The presentation of direct quotes reduces the possibility of including deeper contextual information associated with more representative coverage. In this way, the declarative style of journalism may be linked with a more episodic or event-driven type of coverage than thematic, which sets social issues in a broader political framework (Iyengar, 1991).

4.4.2 Source roles: advocate and arbiter

Using Deacon and Golding's conceptualisation (1994), sources were coded as either arbiter or advocate in the content analysis. As described in the Methodology chapter, the distinction between the role of arbiter and advocate articulates the way in which some sources have the role of giving an authoritative overview of an issue and others have the role of expressing a particular position. This is based on research that indicates journalists perceive sources from institutionalised bodies to be disinterested experts who have the authority and unbiased vision to interpret events (Greenberg, 2004). The role of arbiter confers an expert status on sources, which means they are better able to shape how the issue is represented. As part of the second level of the content analysis, sources were coded as advocate for, advocate against, arbiter or not clear. This analysis was based on the view expressed by the source in the article as a whole as either making a demand or offering an interpretative account of the issue as it stood at that point in time.

As Figure 4.10 shows, the first finding is that there was a high level of advocates across the board. This is particularly the case in 1989, where the majority of official and civil

society sources played advocate roles in the coverage. Taking place in the wake of the return to democracy, the first plebiscite was highly controversial and contested; the polarising nature of the issue is reflected in the polarisation of sources as advocates either for or against. Indeed, the figures for official and civil society sources appearing as arbiters – 10 per cent for both groups in 1989 – mainly comprised articles published after the result of the plebiscite, where there was a noted shift towards analysis and summing up "what it all meant" for the new democracy and, indeed, how democracy would be defined. However, interviews with journalists, discussed in Chapter 6, indicated that characteristics associated with the arbiter role are generally not associated with daily newspapers in Uruguay – rather, deeper and broader authoritative analysis is the remit of the news weeklies such as *Brecha* and *Busqueda*. This dovetails with the findings in section 4.3 that characterised the style of journalism in the daily newspapers as declarative, favouring direct quoting over contextual depth.

Figure 4.10: Role played by sources in 1989 plebiscite coverage

Figure 4.11: Role played by sources in 2009 plebiscite coverage
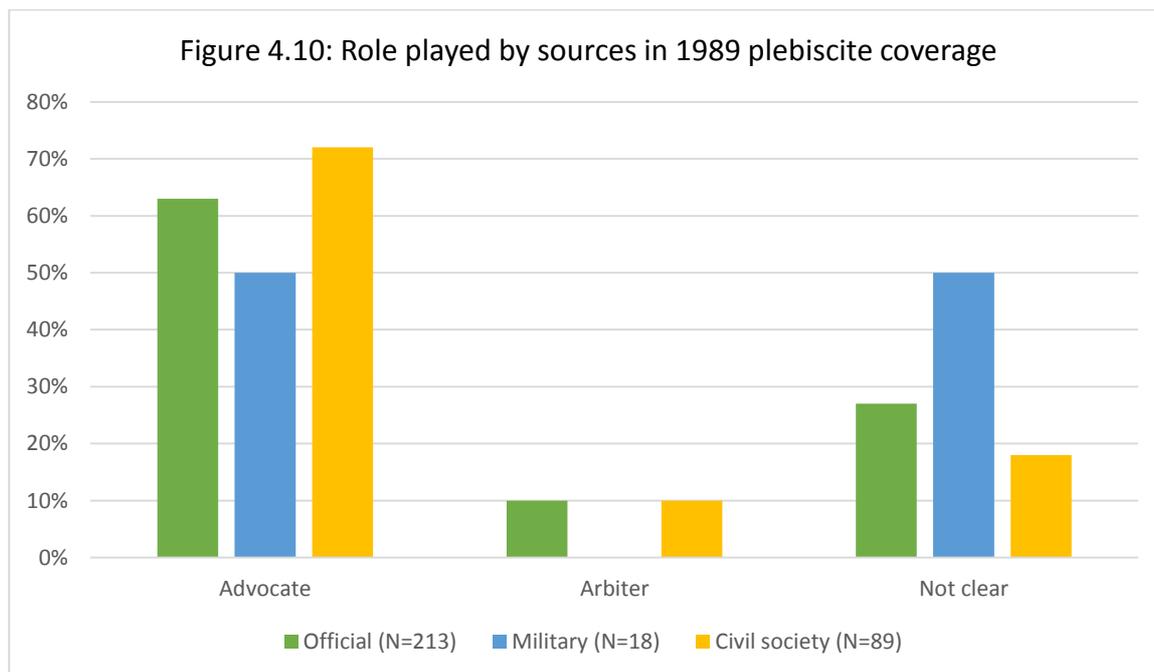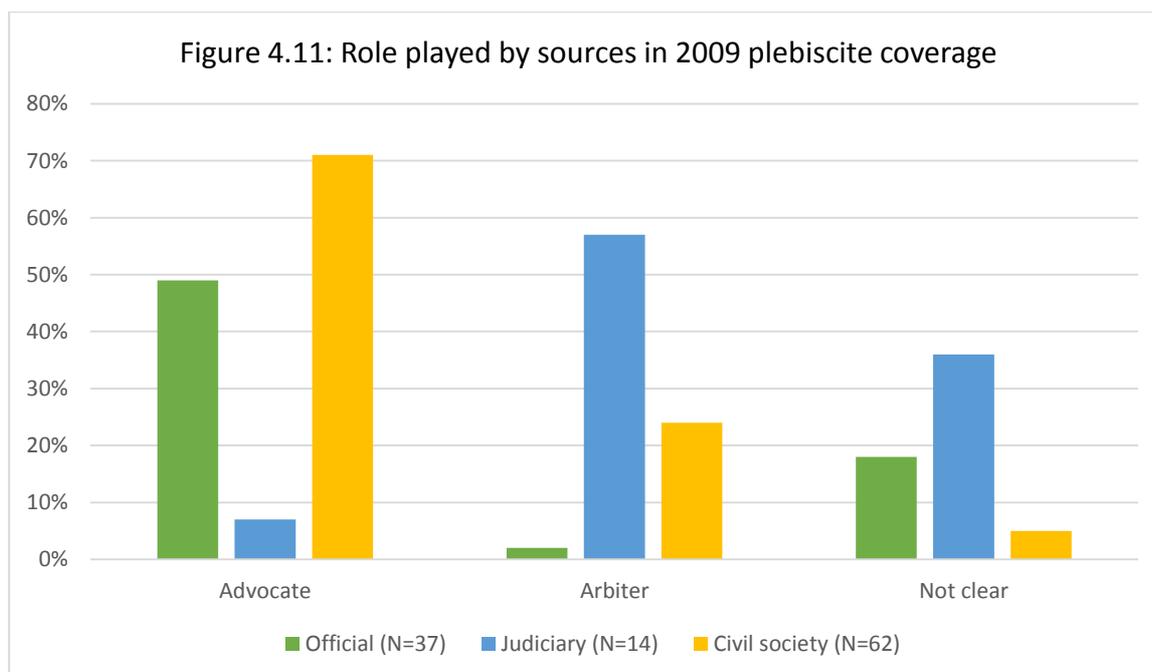
Turning to the roles played in the 2009 plebiscite, Figure 4.11 shows that 57 per cent of judicial sources played an arbiter role. This was during the spike in access for judicial sources that accompanied the declaration by the SCJ that the Expiry Law was unconstitutional. As previously discussed, this demonstrated a degree of flexibility in source access described by much current scholarship on the sociology of the media. The ability of the SCJ to intervene in the coverage in this manner was previously linked to its high status as a key executive institution in Uruguay, though its role in dealing with human rights violations developed over the course of democratisation. It therefore had a high level of source credibility and other resources, which are manifested in its arbiter role. These features were illustrated by the specialised knowledge of the SCJ in this case, which was responded to in the coverage with panels explaining the complex background to the ruling; these had the dual effect of both reinforcing the expert status of the SCJ and, so, justifying its presentation by the newspaper as an arbiter. Only one source overtly questioned the authority of the SCJ – the former president Sanguinetti. He had been interviewed on *Canal 10* television channel and described the announcement as "a political act" and "a political interference in the process", which represented an attempt to align the Court with the civil society campaign against the law (no byline, *La República*, 21st October, 2009: p. 7). As if to symbolise the marginalisation of this kind of overt discourse so long after the return to democracy, it was embedded as a small article as the centrepiece of a full-page article with the

children of the disappeared – *Hijos* – discussing their perception of the ruling (ibid.).

Figure 4.11 also indicates that the majority of civil society actors again played advocacy roles – 71 per cent. This lends support to their association with representing a particular ideological standpoint or demand and as such are not considered credible authorities on an issue (Deacon and Golding, 1994). This was reflected in some interview data discussed in Chapter 6, where NGOs were deemed untrustworthy by journalists due to their perceived self-interest. Within this perspective, the role of such interventions in the political agenda is considered an illegitimate source of political power on the basis of their having received funding from external donors.

The roles played by specific civil society sources are detailed in Table 4.12. It shows that certain groups *only* appear as advocates – namely trade unions and members of the public. As discussed previously, trade unions in Uruguay have a broad remit and have a distinct section that works on human rights issues; however they also have strong links with the *Frente Amplio*. It was previously established that trade union sources gained most access to *La República*, the publication most sympathetic to them, the *Frente Amplio* and the anti-impunity campaign – yet as trenchant campaigners they are not perceived as experts. This dovetails with Western research that finds that trade unions are useful sources in conflictive stories, where they fulfil an advocate role, but this precludes them from the arbiter role (Deacon, 2003). Members of the public are generally not considered arbiters as they are used for providing a human interest angle rather than providing knowledge.

Table 4.12: Advocate and arbiter roles played by civil society groups, 1989 (N=88) and 2009 (N=62)

	Advocate 1989/2009		Arbiter 1989/2009		Not clear 1989/2009	
Trade Union	11%	11%	-	-	-	-
Church	5%	-	1%	-	9%	-
Academic	10.5%	6.5%	5%	3%	1%	-
Lawyers	3.5%	13%	0	11%	-	3%
NGO	28.5%	27.5%	3%	5%	5%	2%
Public	11.5%	3%	-	-	2%	-
Families of disappeared	3%	10%	-	5%	1%	-

Most other civil society sources played the advocate role the majority of the time. It was previously established that NGOs were the civil society source that gained most overall media access. As Table 4.12 shows, in the overall source access for civil society sources, NGO sources played advocate roles 28.5 per cent and 3 per cent arbiter in 1989 (N=88), while in 2009 27.5 per cent advocate and 5 per cent arbiter (N=62). The various resources of the main anti-impunity NGOs were discussed in a previous section – these highlighted features such as the knowledge subsidy of *SERPAJ* and the representative function of *Famidesa*. Nevertheless, they broadly remained advocates.

The exception to this pattern is lawyer sources in 2009. Again, these spiked alongside

judicial sources when the SCJ declared the Expiry Law unconstitutional within days of the plebiscite and thus became bound up in its reporting. As Table 4.12 shows, 11 per cent of civil society access to the 2009 coverage was constituted by lawyer sources playing an arbiter role (N=62). In the coverage, lawyers were quoted to give context to and explain the ruling as well as to give an individual response to the development. The former involved sharing expertise and professional authority, while also constituting a factual endorsement of the SCJ's findings. As discussed previously, lawyers were regarded as ideologically biased during authoritarianism and in the early return to democracy (Dominguez, 2001). While the content analysis data indicates a shift away from this, there were nevertheless indications that this association persists. This can be illustrated with a comparison of the coverage in *El País* and *La República* the day after the ruling, 20th October.

There were similarities. The coverage in both was led with a photograph of Mirtha Guianze, the criminal lawyer who is most identified with bringing human rights cases on behalf of the families of the disappeared. Moreover, the main articles in both newspapers focused on the ruling itself and quotes from the judgment. But in *El País,* a secondary article focused on "The legitimacy of the criminal prosecutors" – namely Guianze – in using the unconstitutionality claim in the Sabalgasaray case. Next to this, a short column announcing a march by *La Coordinadora Nacional por la Anulacion de la Ley de Caducidad* in the wake of the SCJ ruling, noting the link of the organisation to the PIT-CNT. Guianze was not herself quoted. While ostensibly a straightforward account of the SCJ's ruling, this must be interpreted in the context of the findings of the content analysis up to now. That is, the editorial line of *El País* was explicitly opposed to prosecutions for human rights abuses and civil society actors gained little access to this title, particularly trade unions. While explicitly describing the SCJ's ruling as "political" as Sanguinetti did, may have been considered too much of a throwback to transition-era discourses, subtly suggesting that the SCJ ruling embodied political bias was not. Therefore, these features had the effect of indirectly delegitimising the SCJ, as was the case in Gitlin (1980). This is brought into sharper focus when compared with *La República.* Its coverage included a panel quoting Guianze, in which she congratulated the SCJ for its "independence", adding: "The ministers have demonstrated that they are at a very good level and are studious, and it is Uruguay's honour to have a Court such as

this". Its panel addressing the legitimacy of the action is headlined with the more positive: "Criminal prosecutors are legitimate". The editorial position of the respective newspapers was therefore important for the way in which this intervention was represented and, so, affected media access.

Overall, then, civil society sources struggled to gain access as arbiters of the transitional justice debate, despite their expertise. While lawyers did manage to play a greater proportion of arbiter roles in the 2009 coverage, it is important to note that this was enabled by the intervention of the official voice of the Supreme Court.

4.4.3 Thematic analysis

The third and final measure of quality of media access was a thematic analysis. This has been described as the process of "establish[ing] what perspectives there are [in public debate], and then examin[ing] how they appear as themes in news accounts" (Philo, Briant and Donald, 2013, p. 29). The objective of this process is to establish which themes dominate coverage and which are marginalised. As described in more detail in Chapter 3 (Methodology), perspectives on approaches to transitional justice in the literature broadly represent the two competing narratives of the impunity question – the logic of "ethics" and the logic of the "state" (Barahona de Brito, 1997). The former is associated with civil society groups campaigning against impunity and the latter with the initial response of the state, which shifted over time. Initial themes were derived from scholarship on the Uruguayan transition and the history of the anti-impunity campaign (Roniger 2011; Lessa 2013; Skaar 2007; Finch 1985; Barahona de Brito 1997; Gillespie 1986). While these are broad thematic categories, they were differently manifested in articles. They were joined by a third category of "game", which was used to categorise articles that reported on the mud-slinging between campaigns rather than dealing with substantive arguments for or against. Thus, Figures 4.13 and 4.14, below, gives the broad categorisation for both plebiscites while the discussion unpacks the sub-narratives associated with them.

Figure 4.13: Themes in 1989 coverage (N: 273)

Ethics State Game Not clear
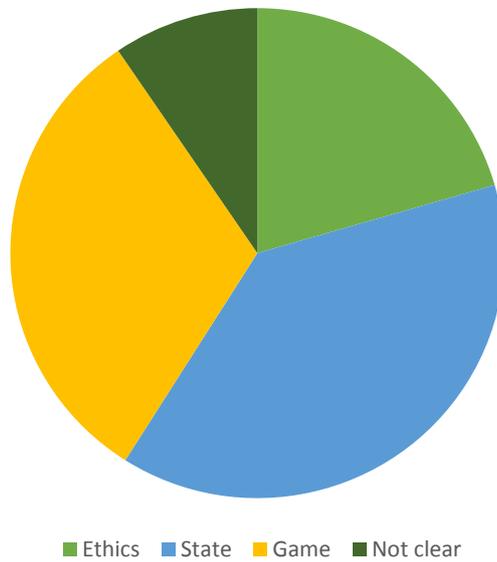
Figure 4.14: Themes in 2009 coverage (N=54)

Ethics State Game Not clear
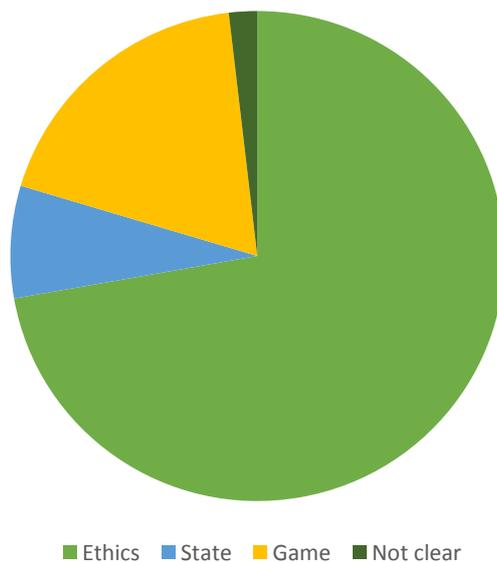
Comparing the charts, it is clear that the state theme declined over time, which dovetails with the increase of civil society access during the 2009 coverage.

In the 1989 coverage, the "state" theme was articulated in a number of ways. It was most frequently associated with notions of the transition being over (often expressed as an instruction to *"dar la pagina" or* "turn the page*" which evokes the broader *status quo ante* quality of the transitional approach) and national reconciliation being the priority – with the implication that addressing human rights violations was incompatible with this. *El País* featured this theme almost exclusively. On 18th April 1989, the title published the following quote given by President Sanguinetti at a press conference: "Yesterday, at half past six in the evening, when the ballot boxes were closed, the transition in Uruguay ended". A less frequently emphasised dimension of this theme was the invocation of fear of returning to military regime. A recurrent phrase in both newspapers was whether each side would "adhere to the ballot box" and each side both sought and gave assurances that it would – simultaneously signaling the democratic integrity of the process while creating an atmosphere of uncertainty.

The "ethics" theme was in 1989 expressed chiefly through the expression "truth, justice and never again" or *"verdad, justicia y nunca más"*, which is synonymous with the campaign against impunity across Latin America, both for dictatorship era crimes and more recent events. Unsurprisingly, this theme was raised repeatedly by civil society groups, trade unions, sympathetic politicians from the *Frente Amplio* and in the editorials and opinion columns of *La República* in 1989. The theme is closely associated with memory and usually included biographical information about those who had disappeared or been killed. In 2009, the unanimous declaration by the Supreme Court of Justice of Uruguay just days before the 2009 plebiscite that the Expiry Law was unconstitutional brought about a significant shift in patterns of source access. The "ethics" theme in 2009 was more frequently expressed through the argument that the Expiry Law, and so impunity, was unconstitutional. Though this is part and parcel of the spectrum of transitional justice, it is qualitatively different to the message of the civil society-led campaign, which continued to be focused on truth and justice.

4.5   Explaining patterns of access: Newsworthiness and valence

The amount of coverage given to an issue or event may be influenced by news values, journalistic practices and editorial position, as well as the relative importance of other events and issues (Shoemaker *et al.*, 2001). As these will have the effect of expanding or contracting opportunities for sources to gain access, newsworthiness and editorial position are important broader explanatory factors for media access.

In terms of newsworthiness, Figure 4.15 shows there is a significant difference in coverage between the 1989 plebiscite (N=273) and the 2009 plebiscite (N=54). This represents a decrease in coverage of 80 per cent between the initial plebiscite just four years after the return to democracy and the second plebiscite 20 years later. This indicates a significant drop in newsworthiness and, so, a contraction in opportunities for media access.

Figure 4.15: Amount of coverage of plebiscites (N=327)
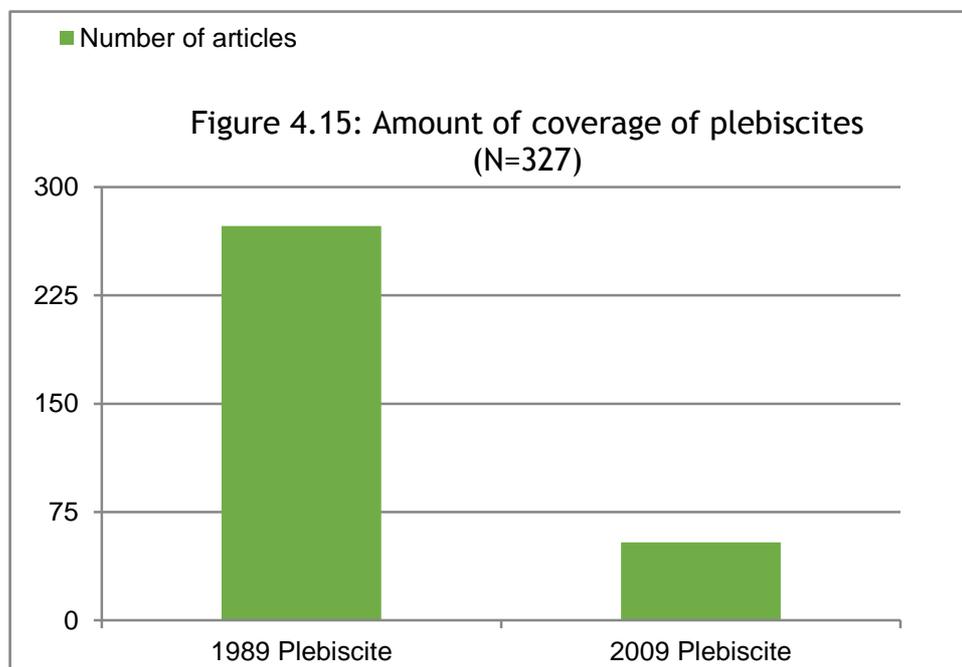
In terms of how this breaks down by newspaper, Figure 4.16, below, shows that there were significant differences in the amount of coverage. *La República* featured 2.5 times more articles than *El País* in the four-week period of the sample for the 1989 plebiscite.

However, both newspapers followed the overall pattern of a great reduction in newsworthiness over time. There was 76 per cent more coverage of the 1989 plebiscite in *El País* than in 2009 (N=18/77). There is a greater drop in coverage in the figures for *La República* – 82 per cent between the 1989 to the 2009 plebiscites (N=37/196).

Figure 4.16: Coverage by year by newspaper, by number of articles (N=327)
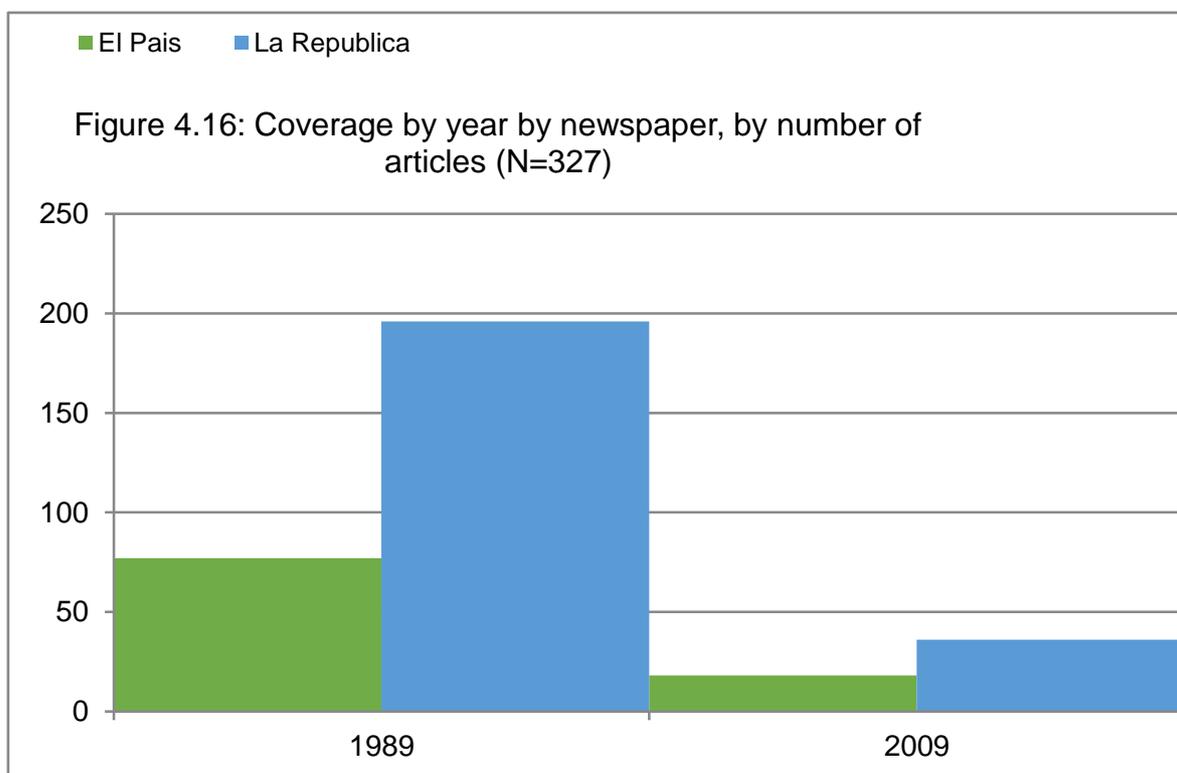
The different editorial positions of *La República* and *El País* on the human rights question has already begun to be established. The content analysis coded articles for the position they took on each plebiscite – positive/for; negative/against; balanced; or not clear. The findings are detailed in Figures 4.17 and 4.18, below. Overall, the 1989 coverage showed greater polarisation in positions on the issue. As Figure 4.17, below, shows, in 1989, 65 per cent of the coverage in *El País* was identified as against/negative. By comparison, coverage in *La República* was 58 per cent for/positive; 9 per cent against/negative; and 12 per cent balanced (N=196). Although the latter is more balanced, overall this data clearly indicates that the editorial positions of each newspaper were reflected in the way the plebiscite was covered.

Turning to coverage in *La República,* which featured 2.5 times the coverage of the 1989 plebiscite than did *El País*, it can be observed from Figure 4.17 that this newspaper, which was only founded in 1986, represented a wider range of views than its traditional counterpart. This is further evidence that an increase in media diversity early in democratisation can be important for improving media access.

Figure 4.17: Position of coverage of 1989 plebiscite in El País and La República (per cent) (N=273)
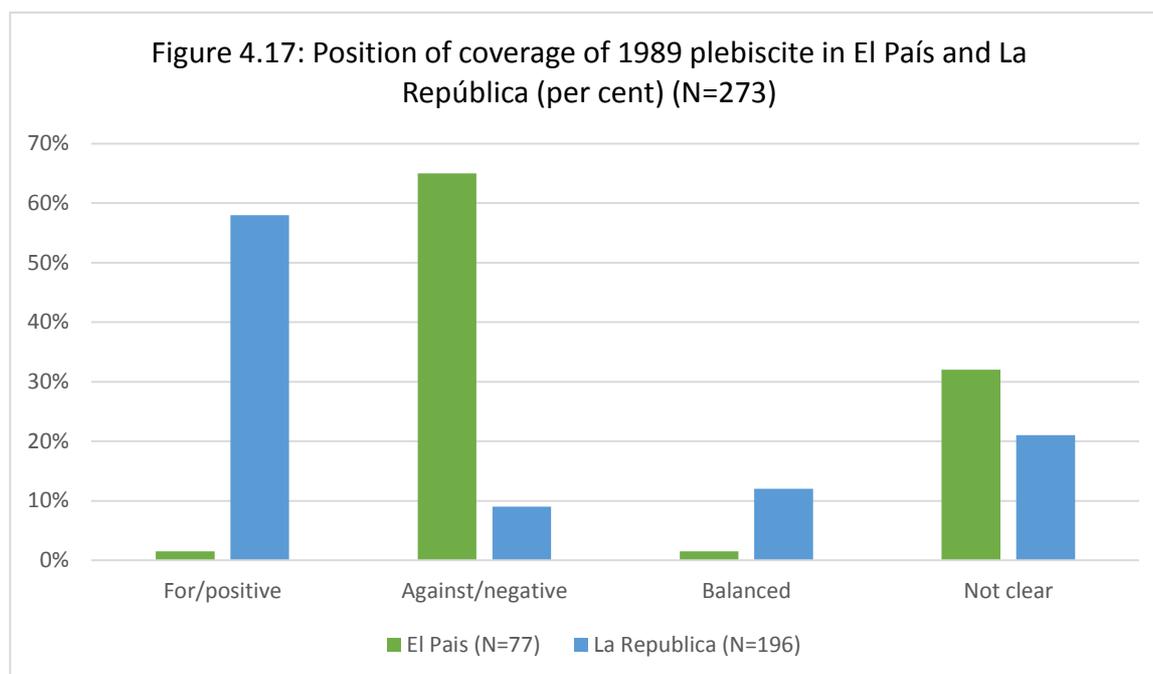
Moving onto the coverage in the 2009 plebiscite, Figure 4.18, below, shows the position of the coverage in the two newspapers. It must be restated that *La República* featured 50 per cent more coverage of this plebiscite than *El País*, but that there was an overall 80 per cent drop in coverage compared to the 1989 plebiscite. The data in Chart 4 shows that while *La República* intensified its position on the issue in the 2009 sample, *El País* shifted to running more articles that expressed a positive perspective on the nullification – 44 per cent for or positive about the nullification of the Expiry Law and 17 per cent against. In effect, its coverage became more balanced.

Figure 4.18: Position of coverage of 2009 plebiscite in El País and La República (per cent) (N=55)
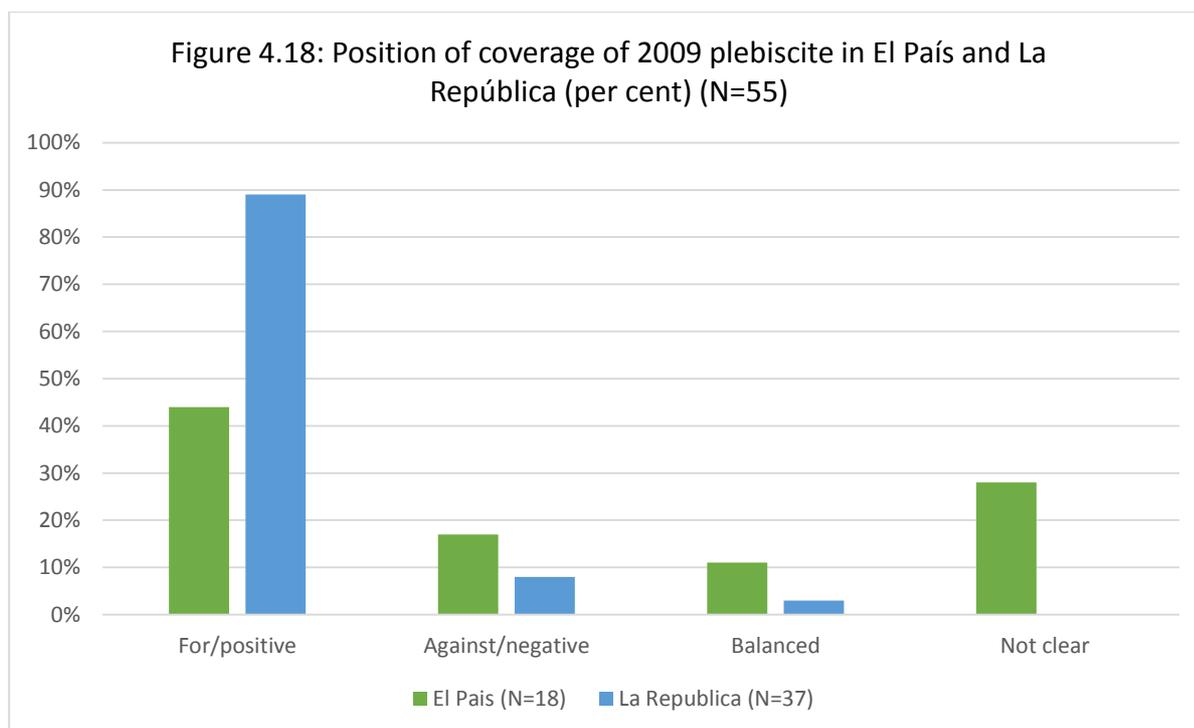
On the other hand, while the editorial position of *La República* remained favourable to the nullification of the Expiry Law, the reduction in coverage of the 2009 plebiscite lends support to the view of interviewees in Chapter 6 that it became more closely aligned with the *Frente Amplio* once the party took power in 2004. As a result, its coverage reflected the approach of a partisan press rather than its previous campaigning on behalf of the campaign for transitional justice. Again, this gradual alignment of new publications into prevailing media-state relations is in line with the media democratisation literature (Voltmer, 2013). The impunity case gives an insight into how this dynamic affects how key transitional issues are dealt with in the press and – crucially – how this translates into media access. As the introduction to this thesis explained, the success of the *Frente Amplio* raised expectations that human rights abuses would be addressed and progress was made during the first administration of Tabaré Vazquez. However, the party did not take a position on the 2009 plebiscite when Jose Mujica was its presidential candidate on the election of the same day. Therefore, the comparative contraction in coverage may have reflected the way in which the issue was excluded from the electoral agenda of the *Frente Amplio.* According to the theory of indexing, this absence of official interest in the issue will be accompanied by low newsworthiness (Bennett, 1990).

4.6   Conclusion

This chapter analysed source access for civil society actors in newspaper coverage of the plebiscites on the Expiry Law in 1989 and 2009. This contributed towards addressing both research questions of this thesis, which are: Does media access for civil society actors change during democratisation? What factors help to explain this?

In terms of findings relevant to the first research question, it established the following. Firstly, although official political sources dominated the 1989 coverage, when the issue was a high priority on the political agenda, the quantity of access for civil society actors did improve in the 2009 coverage, when elite disinterest in the plebiscite appeared to constitute an opportunity for NGO and trade union sources. The intervention of the SCJ also led to an increase in lawyer sources, which had not appeared in the 1989 plebiscite. These improvements were limited to *La República,* as civil society actors gained very little access to either the 1989 or 2009 coverage in *El País.* In terms of the quality of access for civil society actors, a greater proportion of civil society actors were quoted directly in 2009 than in 1989. However, there was a general declaratory style of quoting in articles which limited the range and depth of information and context given in articles. Moreover, findings on the roles played by sources and a thematic analysis indicated that although the "ethics" theme moved to the fore in 2009, overall civil society sources gained a low quality of access as they consistently played the role of advocates.

In terms of answering the second research question, it argued that several contextual conditions and shifts influenced changes in source access patterns. Firstly, the establishment of *La República* created a clear opportunity for civil society actors to gain media access, which highlights the importance of new media outlets in early democratisation for improving the representation of groups in society as well as the fluidity of media access. However, it was observed that this opportunity was reduced by 2009, by which point the newspaper had become more closely aligned with the *Frente Amplio* government. This plebiscite coincided with the presidential election campaign of Jose Mujica, who was widely perceived to be in favour of impunity. Despite this, civil

society actors were still able to gain access to *La República* in ways that are quantitatively and qualitatively different to the more traditional *El País*.

Overall, the findings show that there was some increase in quantity and quality of access over time, however this was compromised by the fact that coverage was significantly lower in 2009 due to *La Republica* increasingly following the *Frente Amplio* line on transitional justice and the coincidence of the plebiscite with the presidential election. These factors highlight the importance of the return to "politics as usual" for media access.

Chapter 5: Gaining access to protest coverage: Civil society actors in coverage of the *Marcha del Silencio* (1996-2012)

5.1   Introduction

This chapter examines the coverage of the *Marcha del Silencio* from its inaugural year in 1996 to 2012 as the second case study for media access for civil society actors across democratisation. As discussed in the Methodology chapter and reiterated in Chapter 4, the *Marcha* presents a different type of case to plebiscites in two key ways. Firstly, they involve different *fora* for reporting and, so, access: specifically, the plebiscites are categorised as "formal political activity" and the *Marchas* as "demonstration or public protest action" (Hansen, 1991). Secondly, the plebiscites sampled key events at two points during democratisation, thereby constituting a "snapshot" sample of early and mature transition, whereas the *Marcha* enables year-on-year analysis.

Given this different context for reporting, this chapter develops a conceptual framework around the media and demonstrations. Public protests or demonstrations are a key strategy of social movements and the way in which these are reported in the media is the focus of a specific body of literature. A range of factors can influence whether or not a protest gains coverage. These include organisational factors (Shoemaker *et al.*, 2001), news values (Harcup and O'Neill, 2001), the perceived interests of the audience or market, and the editorial position of media outlets. While the literature cited above is based on the analysis of newspaper coverage in Europe and US, there is some evidence that it is also applicable to the Latin American context (Schwarz, 2006; McPherson, 2012). Scholarship on the "protest paradigm" is also relevant. It articulates that the greater degree of spectacle and drama featured within a protest or demonstration, the greater the likelihood of coverage and - frequently - negative coverage (Chan and Lee, 1984). While this was for a time understood to be the default setting for media coverage of protests, it has more recently been broadened to acknowledge differences between protest tactics, issue, country contexts and different media (Boyle, McLeod and

Armstrong, 2012). Thus, certain protests may succeed in gaining political legitimacy through how they are covered by the media (Weaver and Scacco, 2013).

These issues are relevant to normative accounts of the democratisation of media. Explicit discussion of the role of the media in reporting protests during the authoritarian period is wholly located in scholarship about the part played by the media in bringing about transitions to democracy. This is discussed in terms of the "witnessing" role of the media, which can bring legitimacy to the demands of protesters by covering their demonstrations and reporting their demands (Bennett, 1998). However, it is not mentioned in scholarship on the later stages – either early transition or consolidation – even though it is now widely accepted that dictatorship-era issues are not neatly resolved at the point of return to electoral democracy. This may be due to the general emphasis on the role that the media ought to play in supporting the nascent, possibly unstable democracy, with which reporting dissent may be considered incompatible. However, Voltmer's concept of *political culture* comes close to suggesting the media may have a normative role to represent participatory forms of democratic life. This involves "cognitive mobilization, indicated by interest in public affairs and political knowledge, the willingness to participate in political life, the sense of civic competence and the belief that citizens can have an impact on the course of politics, and finally support of democracy both as it actually exists and as a general ideal" (2013, p. 109). However, as discussed in Chapter 2, this formulation does not explicitly refer to participatory politics that may challenge the new democracy.

Therefore, the following examination of the case of the *Marcha,* as a protest that challenged the state, will both find out what the media actually does regarding reporting of protests during democratisation, while comparing this to expectations in wider media-movements literature. The methodology for the analysis of the *Marcha* is similar to that of the plebiscites. It analyses every news, opinion and editorial article selected from newspaper coverage in *El País* and *La República* a week before and a week after the march (13th-27th May) each year, from 1996 to 2012. The criterion for selection was that they focused on the *Marcha,* as indicated by their headline and main body of the article. The specific relevant features of the content analysis are outlined in

the sections that follow. The overall sample of articles for this case study was 170. There was significantly more coverage in *La República* than *El País;* 126 and 44, respectively.

The chapter will proceed as follows. The first section is a broad analysis of the quantity of media access gained by official and civil society sources. The second section focuses on differences in media access among civil society sources. The third section examines the quality of access, by looking at how sources were quoted, the roles they played, and a thematic analysis. The fourth section examines the degree of newsworthiness of the *Marcha* by year and by newspaper, including the tone of the coverage. The fifth concludes, highlighting the main findings: that civil society actors gained access while the transitional debate was off the political agenda (that is, until the election of the *Frente Amplio* in 2004), but that overall the quality of this access was mixed and there was no progressive improvement over time. Furthermore, the amount of coverage of the *Marcha* was overall low.

5.2   Quantity of access for official and civil society sources

As explained in detail in the Methodology chapter, source access for specific types of actor was measured in the second level of the content analysis. Sources were categorised as: politician, judiciary, police, military, NGO, trade union, church, families (of the disappeared), member of the public, media, legal, academic, and other. As per the previous chapter, for the purposes of broad analysis in this section, these categories have been aggregated into "civil society" and "official" groups. To create the general category of "civil society", the following source types were grouped: NGOs, church, academic, lawyers, trade unions, members of the public and families of the disappeared. The relative access of official and civil society actors as a group is explained overall and over time, then by newspaper.

Figure 5.1, below, breaks down the total number of sources (N=726) in all of the *Marcha* coverage by source type. The figure shows that in the overall coverage of the *Marcha,* civil society sources gain a similar, and in fact higher, amount of access - at 50 per cent - as official sources (45 per cent). The "other" category represents the combined source access of media, and anonymous/not clear. This is unexpected both in the context of post-authoritarian media (Hughes and Lawson, 2005) and most Western scholarship on protest coverage already cited. It indicates that civil society sources successfully gained a significant degree of access to the media overall. Further to this, it contrasts with the findings on overall access to the media coverage of the plebiscites, which was dominated by official actors. This indicates that the *fora* or context for reporting is important for civil society actors to gain access to the media. In other words, access is contingent. Figure 5.2, also below, shows how this source access breaks down by year and gives a more nuanced picture. For clarity, this chart shows only official sources of the politician type and civil society sources, which dominated coverage each year (politicians constituted 318 of the 326 official sources cited overall). The other types of source are excluded. In general, it can immediately be seen that civil society sources do not consistently gain more access than official sources - rather, the access fluctuates year by year and intensifies after 2004. This is the year that the *Frente Amplio* was elected to government, raising expectations that transitional justice would return to the political agenda.

Figure 5.1: Official and civil society source access to overall coverage of the Marcha (1996-2012) (N=726)
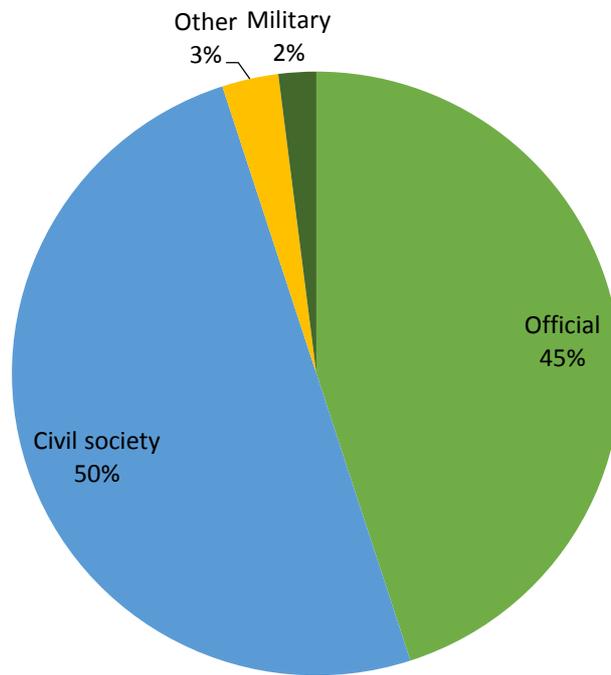
Figure 5.2: Politician and civil society sources over time (N=726)

Why is this and what does it mean? I would argue that though transitional justice was a *tema pendiente* or pending issue that had become marginalised on the public and political agenda, the *Marchas* were high profile, well-attended events in central Montevideo and therefore newsworthy; thus, the media 'had' to cover them. In the absence of politicians' interest in the issue, particularly during the pre-*Frente Amplio* marches, the pressure to produce an article made it more likely for civil society sources to be consulted. In this sense, the balance of sources may represent more of a hierarchy of *preference* than credibility, per se – that political sources are favoured given the close relationship between the state and media, but it is not fixed (Schlesinger, 1990). While the first period of coverage (1996-2003) saw a sustained proportional increase in representation of civil society source access, the later period indicates greater competition for access at a time that is more politically auspicious for change. In terms of the expectations of media democratisation, the press can broadly be considered in this period to be representing organised voices of dissent in the consolidation phase of democracy.

In terms of how this is manifested across newspapers, the proportional representation of politicians and civil society actors is fairly even. The overall coverage in *El País* comprises 55 per cent civil society actors and 38 per cent politicians (N=113), while that of *La República* comprises 51 per cent civil society actors and 45 per cent politicians (N=613) (again, the remainder comprises marginally represented categories: other, anon, media, military and judiciary). This is a surprising finding for *El País,* as civil society sources gained very little access to it in the plebiscite coverage. Figures 5.3 and 5.4, below, show how this breaks down over time. Interestingly, both show greater access for civil society sources pre-2004, after which there is greater fluctuation with official sources. This indicates that the dynamic of preferred sources described above is common to journalistic practices at both publications. Overall, neither shows a progressive *increase* in media access for civil society actors across democratisation. Rather, as will be explained in more detail below, the shift in pattern was prompted by a change in government and its effect on the political agenda.

Figure 5.3: Politician and civil society sources in *La República*, N=602
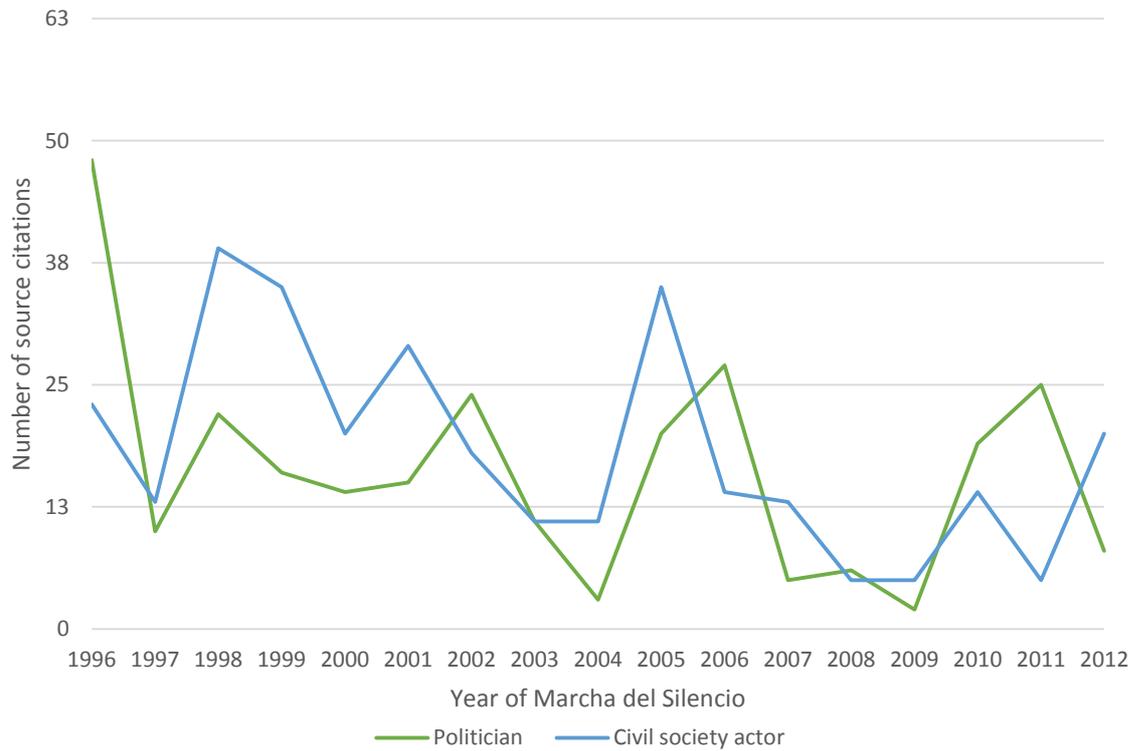
Figure 5.4: Politician and civil society sources in *El País*, N = 109
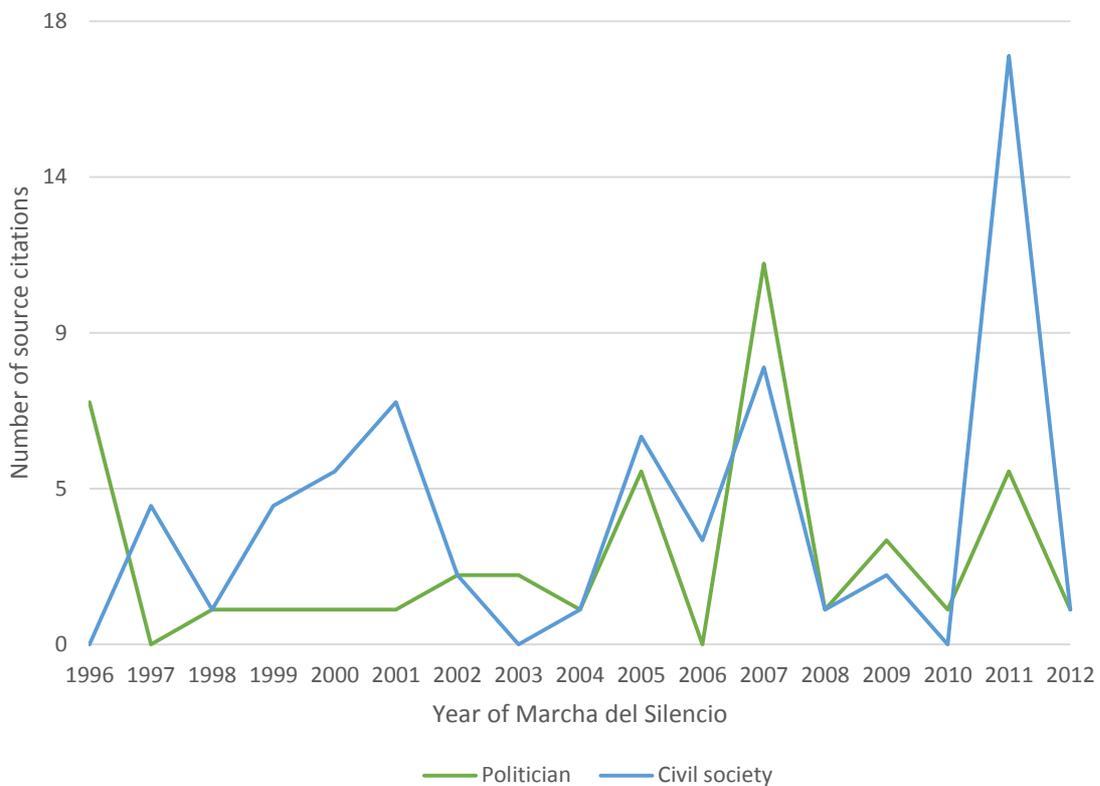
5.3   Quantity of access among types of civil society actor

Civil society actors have up to this point been aggregated to show general patterns of access. This section will look more closely at which civil society actors gain access to the media and whether this changes over time. As stated in the previous chapter, Deacon (1996) warns against aggregating all non-politician sources as unofficial as this obscures differences and mutations within civil society. In the context of Latin America during democratisation, there have been significant shifts in civil society over the period (Baker, 1999; Milton, 2001). The way in which these may have influenced media access during the period has yet to be captured empirically. This section draws upon the second level of the content analysis, which recorded characteristics of individual sources in *Marcha* coverage. As was the case in the analysis of the plebiscite coverage, civil society sources were coded as: NGO, trade union, church, academic, lawyer, member of the public, or families of the disappeared. This section first looks at the overall access of types of civil society actors, then breaks this down over time and finally by newspaper.

Figure 5.5: Type of civil society source access (N=366)
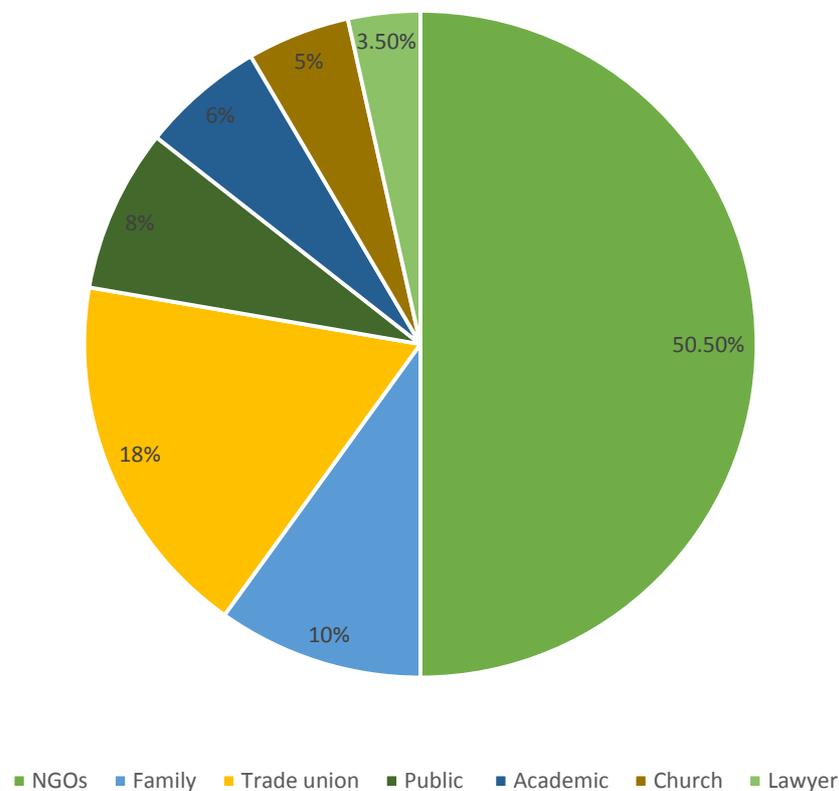
As Figure 5.5, above, shows, the overall coverage of the *Marchas* was dominated by NGO sources, who gained 51 per cent of the overall source access of civil society actors. This mirrors the findings of the types of civil society source that gained access to the plebiscite coverage. As explained in Chapter 4, the growth of NGOs in Uruguay around the issue of impunity during democratisation occupied the political space vacated by the inaction of the Sanguinetti administration. This accompanied the broader NGO-isation observed during democratisation in Latin America (Alvarez, 1999). As organised entities, NGOs are associated with having greater resources to drawn upon in order to access the media than more loosely-assembled social movements (Thrall, Stecula and Sweet, 2014; Powers, 2015). In the case of the *Marcha,* the demonstration was organized by the NGO *Famidesa*, which holds a press conference each year to announce the annual slogan. As noted elsewhere, *Famidesa* and *SERPAJ* have a number of resources – although not necessarily financial - derived from strong links with high profile family members of the disappeared, lawyers and *Frente Amplio* politicians. *SERPAJ* in particular has recognised expertise in the subject, which can make it more legitimate as a source for the media. The organisation published the first unofficial *Uruguay Nunca Más* account of human rights violations during the dictatorship, in the absence of any government-led initiative to do so. These features will be addressed in greater depth in Chapter 6.

The second highest share is trade unions, with 18 per cent of the overall source access. Trade unions have traditionally been very strong in Uruguay (Cassoni, 2000). As will be described in Chapter 6, Uruguayan trade unions have a broad remit that includes not only representing and negotiating on behalf of their members but also campaigning on broader political issues (interview with civil society organisation representative, 2014). The country's national federation of unions, the PIT-CNT, has campaigned for transitional justice since the return to democracy. It formalised its role in supporting members who wished to pursue criminal proceedings for human rights violations by establishing the network *El Observatorio Luz Ibarburu* in 2012, which comprises 16 organisations. The previous chapter indicated that the overt political associations of trade unions with the left wing in general and the *Frente Amplio* in particular affects their ability to access certain sections of the media, with only two trade union sources in all the *El País* coverage of the plebiscites. This is not commensurate with the significant role played by trade unions in taking action on transitional justice in Uruguay.

Overall, there is a clear tendency for *organised* civil society, NGOs and trade unions (the latter with the exception of *El País)*, to gain more media access – this could also be understood as constituting a hierarchy of credibility *within* civil society sources. This holds across time. In Tables 5.6 and 5.7, below, the data is presented by dividing it into two phases of *Marcha* coverage: 1996-2003 and 2004-2012. As will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter, these two periods are significantly different political environments, as the *Frente Amplio* won the presidential election in 2004 and its leader had indicated that the party would address transitional justice. Additionally, the tables indicate that level of media access for non-NGO civil society access generally varies from one year to the next. This can be seen in the rise and fall in access of previously discussed categories of individuals such as families of the disappeared – not quoted at all in four years – and members of the public, but also in institutional sources including academics and the church. This gives further illustration of the flexibility of source access described in the previous section.

Table 5.6: Civil society access to Marcha coverage by type, 1996-2003

	1996 (N=23)	1997 (N=17)	1998 (N=41)	1999 (N=38)	2000 (N=24)	2001 (N=35)	2002 (N=20)	2003 (N=11)
NGO	17%	35%	56%	42%	58%	54%	40%	82%
Trade union	35%	23.5%	29%	18%	4%	11%	10%	9%
Church	-	23.5%	7%	10.5%	-	6%	-	-
Academic	17%	6%	5%	-	4%	6%	-	9%
Lawyer	-	-	-	5%	4%	3%	5%	-
Public	9%	12%	-	13%	12.5%	3%	25%	-
Family	22%	-	2%	10.5%	17%	17%	20%	-
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5.7: Civil society source access to Marcha coverage by type, 2004-2012

	2004 (N=12)	2005 (N=39)	2006 (N=15)	2007 (N=21)	2008 (N=6)	2009 (N=7)	2010 (N=13)	2011 (N=21)	2012 (N=21)
NGO	33%	54%	73%	71%	33%	71%	85%	33%	48%
TU	25%	7.5%	-	9.5%	17%	29%	-	52%	19%
Church	-	7.5%	7%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Academic	17%	7.5%	7%	5%	-	-	7.5%	-	9%
Lawyer	-	13%	-	5%	-	-	-	-	-
Public	-	7.5%	-	-	17%	-	7.5%	10%	19%
Family	25%	3%	13%	9.5%	33%	-	-	5%	5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Overall, then, organised civil society – principally NGOs and, to a lesser extent, trade unions – gain media access across democratisation. The *Marchas* are large-scale public events attended by thousands of members of the public and typically all the families of the disappeared; as such, reporters have access to many voices but the organisers of the campaign are favoured. This indicates a hierarchy of credibility within civil society sources, with organisations considered more credible, available and authoritative than individuals or other groups – either on the basis of credibility associated with knowledge, status of actors or the moral authority derived from representing the families of the disappeared. These questions are discussed in the context of interview findings in Chapter 6. However, it suffices for now to observe that NGOs working in transitional

justice in Uruguay are able to gain media access due to a range of resources. Beyond this, interviewees describe civil society in Uruguay as highly structured and institutionalised (interviews with journalists and civil society representatives, 2014 and 2016). Therefore, just as the partisan media reflects the strength of political parties in the political culture of the country, there is also evidence that the media reflects broader social relations. This expresses the way in which media access cannot be considered in isolation from wider power relations. Indeed, the "haves" and "have nots" in a given society may find these relative positions reflected in their ability to gain access to the media.

5.4   Quality of media access

Up to now, this chapter has addressed quantity of access. This section will consider the *quality* of access. Thus, it is firstly helpful to return to the question of what is meant by quality of access. Scholars working on source access make a useful distinction between *coverage* and *access* (Ericson et al. 1989:5) in the context of how media report on protests. Coverage is roughly equivalent to a *quantity* of coverage - a certain amount of space and time in a newspaper or broadcast report. On the other hand, access means a degree of *quality* - or "context to reasonably represent the authority of their office" (ibid.). In terms of a campaign or social movement, this can be understood as the context in which to situate their demands and, ideally, embed these in deeper contextual information. On this definition, quality of access refers to a deeper level of representation and greater amount of information - with the latter possibly dependent upon the former. It also implies that the sources are representing themselves - that is, being quoted directly, either in speech, from a publication, as the *authorities* of their political position. On the other hand, scholars have equated sources appearing in articles by "reference only" with passivity, i.e. the individual as an *actor* in the article rather than a *source* (Hughes and Mellado, 2015).

Therefore, one way of capturing the quality of access is to measure how each source appears in an article. That is, to measure how sources are quoted or mentioned. Thus, the second level of the content analysis required named individuals and organisations to be coded for the way in which they appeared in the article. The categories for this were: direct individual or organizational quote; paraphrased; first person (i.e. author of a newspaper article or opinion column); quote from press release or publication; quote from placard; and by reference only. In addition to this, sources were categorised by the role they played – either an advocate or arbiter, which can indicate the authority of the source and, thus, a higher quality of access (Deacon and Golding, 1994). Finally, a thematic analysis shows which broad themes of the debate on transitional justice in Uruguay, explained in the Methodology and Chapter 4 as the "ethical" and "state" positions, gained most access in *Marcha* coverage.

This section will proceed as follows. Firstly, it looks at patterns in overall source quoting. Secondly, source quoting by official and civil society actors, including a breakdown of types of civil society actor. Lastly, the measures of whether a source is presented as an advocate or arbiter and a thematic analysis.

5.4.1. General patterns of source citation

Figure 5.8, below, gives the proportions of types of citing. As can be seen, most sources in articles about the *Marcha* were mentioned by reference only. The figure of 42 per cent (N=726) can be compared with the figure for the plebiscite reporting of 9 per cent (N=512). As indicated previously, citing by reference only is linked both to the lack of opportunity for self-representation and to providing contextual information, which can be enabled by direct quoting. That is, it constitutes a very low quality of access. As discussed in the literature review, these are critical issues for civil society groups advancing demands via the media as they can lead to increased mobilisation and the legitimation of their cause (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993). In this sense, the tendency towards reference only citation suggests *coverage* rather than access, to use the distinction made at the beginning of this section.

Figure 5.8: Type of source access in overall coverage (N=726)
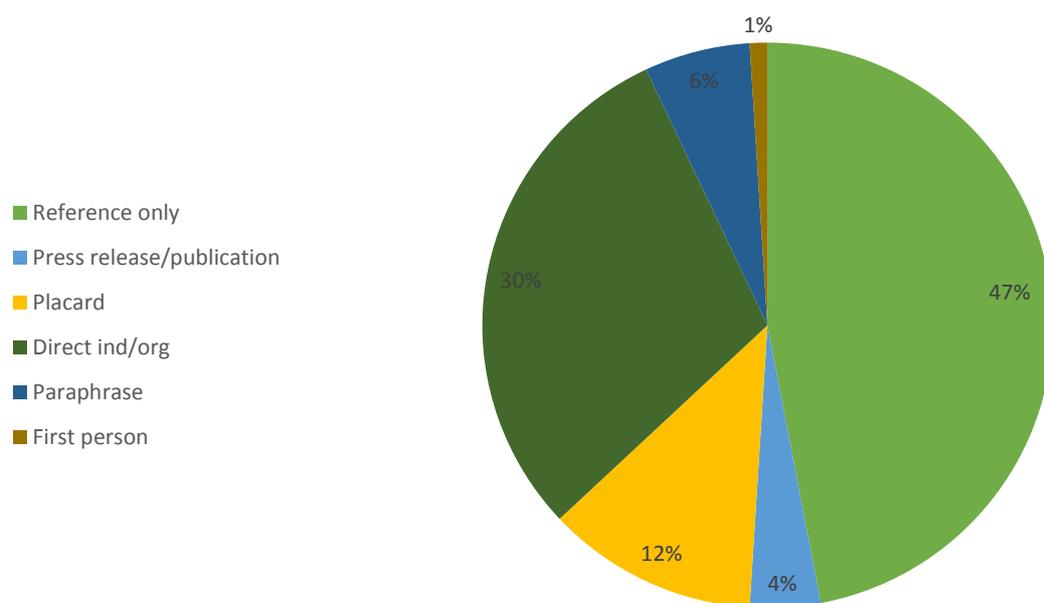
A qualitative reading of the articles on the *Marcha* shows that this tendency to cite sources by reference only formed part of a template for reporting. That is, that owing to the repetition of the march each year, the way in which it was reported became routinised. This can have the effect of similar coverage being reproduced year after year as journalists become familiar with the style of reporting, either by directly referring to previous cuttings or otherwise being aware of how this is to be done (Kitzinger, 2000). In the case of the *Marcha,* this template was noted to include a "news in brief" announcement of the slogan of the year (the most overtly political dimension of its repertoire) in the days before the march. The report of the march itself would often include an introduction focusing on the solemnity of the repertoire. For example, a typical report of the *Marcha* in *La República* - where as previously noted, the march consistently gained more coverage - begins with an emphasis on the memorial dimensions of the demonstration.

> In total silence and with the respect of those who were not marching but who were gathered on the side of the avenue, the mobilisation gained momentum until the silence was interrupted when we passed in front of the Montevideo Town Hall. There, they began to hear two voices that read out the list – in alphabetical order – of the names of the little more than two hundred disappeared: 'Present!' (La República, 21/05/2006: p. 2)

Again typically, this is followed by noting the organisers and a list of high profile people or organisations in attendance – as indicated by the findings on sources appearing by reference only, this could be an extensive list. In longer articles, a varying number of interviews with people in attendance is also included. The high level of noting attendees by reference only played an important role in this form of reportage. Overall, this template represents a descriptive rather than substantive focus on the *Marcha.*

In terms of direct quoting, accounting for 30 per cent of the type of access overall, it can first be noted that coverage of the march expressed different source access

characteristics than that of the plebiscites, where direct quoting accounted for 66 per cent of the overall figure (N=512). This suggests that the reporting of formal political processes and protests involve different journalistic practices. That is, the *fora* are relevant to explaining both quantity and quality of media access. On the other hand, it is important to note the figure of 12 per cent for quoting of placards, as it indicates that the annual slogan of the *Marcha* was reported. This figure does not include the number of times the slogan appeared in photographs accompany the reports and was used in full or in part in headlines and sub-headlines, which it frequently did. As the crystallisation of the movement's demands, the communication of this is vital. In the case of the *Marcha* it is further amplified by the singularity of its message; though this is also perhaps necessitated by other, muted, features of its repertoire. As mentioned previously, the slogan for each year is decided by the organisers and announced at a press conference two days before the march. Therefore, there is a high degree of clarity about the message of the protest. Over time, there has not been significant deviation from the principle message of truth and justice, as Table 5.9 demonstrates.

	Table 5.9: Official slogan of *Marcha del Silencio* by year
1996	*Verdad, Memoria, y Nunca Más* / Truth, Memory, and Never Again
1997	*Queremos la Verdad* / We Want the Truth
1998	*Solo la Verdad nos Hará Libres* / Only the Truth Will Set us Free
1999	*¿Qué Falta a Nuestra Democracia? Verdad.* / What Does our Democracy Lack? Truth.
2000	*¿Dondé Estan? ¡La Verdad es Posible y Necesaria!* / Where are They? The Truth is Possible and Necessary.
2001	*Sin verdad secuestrada, sin memoria prohibida*/ No truth hijacked, no memory forbidden
2002	*Sin ocultamientos ni amenazas; verdad, memoria y nunca más*/ No concealment or threats; truth, memory and never again
2003	*Hoy más que nunca, nunca mas* / Today more than ever, never again
2004	*Verdad, justicia, memoria y nunca más. Por Michelini, Gutierrez Ruiz, Barredo y Whitelaw* / Truth, justice, memory and never again. For Michelini, Gutierrez Ruiz, Barredo and Whitelaw.
2005	*Para el pasado: Verdad; en el presente: Justicia; por siempre: Memoria y Nunca Más* / For the past: Truth; in the present: Justice; forever: Memory and Never Again.

2006	*Basta de Impunidad: Justicia para los Crímenes de Lesa Humanidad* / Enough impunity: Justice for Crimes Against Humanity.
2007	*Donde estan? La verdad sigue secuestrada. Nunca más terrorismo de estado*/Where are they? The truth is still hijacked. State terrorism: Never again.
2008	*Exigimos verdad y justicia*/We demand truth and justice.
2009	*Elegimos verdad, justicia, memoria y nunca más*/ We demand truth, justice, memory, and never again.
2010	*Sin la verdad y sin la justicia, no hay reconciliación* / Without truth and justice, there is no reconciliation.
2011	*Verdad y Justicia derecho de todos, responsabilidad del Estado* / Truth and justice: a right for all, the responsibility of the state.
2012	*Los vamos a encontrar: Por verdad y justicia*/We will find them: For truth and justice.

Turning to the question of how overall sources are quoted over time, Table 5.10, below, gives the proportion of type of source quoting from 1996 to 2012. It shows that the convention of a high level of citing by reference only holds across the period. On the other hand, the proportions of direct quoting fluctuate widely from year to year. Direct quoting has already been defined as the *most democratic* form of quoting, insofar as it enables members of social movements or protests to represent their position. That it does not increase during 1996-2012 indicates, once again, that there does not appear to be a progressive process of democratisation of reporting practice.

Table 5.10: Type of citation by year (N=726)

	Direct	Paraphrase	Placard	Reference only	First person	Publication	Total
1996	26%	6%	5%	47%	5%	11%	100% (N=87)
1997	22%	6%	9%	56%	-	6%	100% (N=32)
1998	33%	3%	6%	56%	-	2%	100% (N=66)
1999	22%	-	22%	49%	2%	5%	100% (N=59)
2000	27.5%	2.5%	22.5%	37.5%	-	10%	100% (N=40)
2001	27%	6%	10%	54%	-	4%	100% (N=52)
2002	37.5%	10%	10%	39.5%	-	2%	100% (N=48)
2003	42%	-	8%	42%	-	8%	100% (N=24)
2004	18%	-	12%	53%	-	18%	100% (N=17)
2005	18%	6%	7%	67%	-	2%	100% (N=67)
2006	39%	-	13%	48%	-	-	100% (N=46)
2007	61.5%	15%	13%	10%	-	-	100% (N=39)
2008	85%	-	15%	-	-	-	100% (N=13)
2009	38.5%	8%	15%	38.5%	-	-	100% (N=13)
2010	22%	11%	11%	44%	2%	8%	100% (N=36)
2011	24%	17%	9%	50%	-	-	100% (N=54)
2012	15%	3%	24%	55%	3%	-	100% (N=33)

Finally, Figure 5.11 shows the type of source citation by newspaper. *La República* shows a lower proportion of access by direct quoting access and a significantly higher proportion of citing by reference only than *El País*. Chapter 1 set out *La República*'s strong support of the anti-impunity campaign, though the intensity of this declined between 1989 and 2009. Despite this, the quality of media access was *less democratic* than in *El País*. This indicates that the quality of access may be related to journalistic practices rather than a sympathetic editorial position.

Figure 5.11: Proportion of type of source citation by newspaper

Quote type	El País	La República
Direct individual/org	36%	28%
Paraphrased	23%	4%
Placard	17%	11%
Reference only	20%	52%
First person	1%	1%
Press release/publication	3%	4%
Total	100% (N=113)	100% (N=613)

5.4.2 Patterns of source citation across official and civil society actors

Figure 5.12, below, gives overall proportions for the way in which the official and civil society sources were cited. As established in the previous section, the three main types of citing are direct, by banner and by reference only. The figure does not include the

categories of first person as this constituted only 1 per cent of all source quoting [3]. The high level of citing sources by reference only in coverage of the march has already been noted as a key feature of its reporting. Figure 5.12 shows that this style of quoting was used across official and civil society sources, with official sources appearing in articles by reference only more than civil society actors – 58 per cent compared to 36 per cent. While this practice has been associated with a template for reporting the march and a lower level of representation, this figure indicates that its use was not related to differentiating between civil society actors and official actors. That is, it may have been peculiar to the march, but generally not to the type of actors. Direct quoting was also distributed fairly evenly across both official and civil society sources – with 45 per cent and 52 per cent, respectively. Finally, it is perhaps to be expected that only civil society sources were cited with reference to the placard they were holding. In sum, the distribution of types of citation across broad categories of source does not indicate any significantly different treatment of sources.

Figure 5.12: Type of citation of official and civil society sources (N=726)
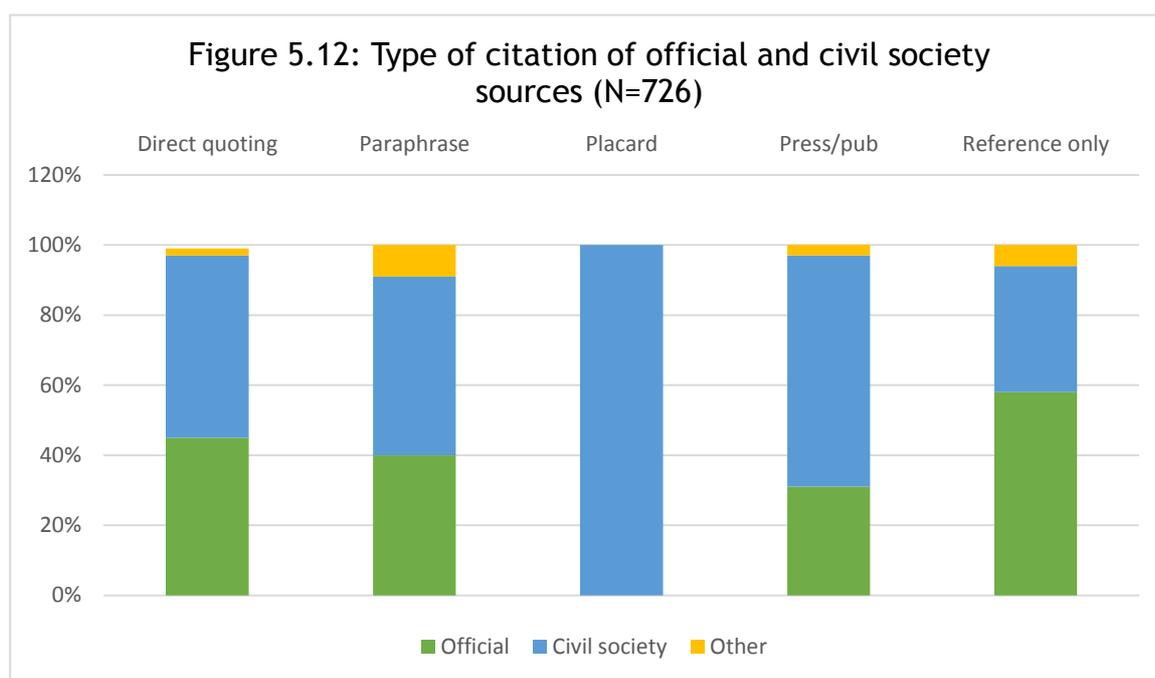
Turning to how these types of citation of official and civil society actors fared over time, Tables 5.13 and 5.14 indicate the proportions of types of access by official and civil society sources, respectively.

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[3]– it has been excluded in order to simplify the diagram but is included in the more detailed Figure 5.13, in the following section.

Table 5.13: Proportion of type of citation of official sources by year (N=326)

	Direct	Paraphrase	Reference only	Publication	First person	Total
1996	36%	4%	45%	11%	4%	100% (N=55)
1997	22%	11%	77%	-	-	100% (N=9)
1998	33%	-	63%	4%	-	100% (N=24)
1999	6%	-	94%	-	-	100% (N=18)
2000	13%	-	80%	7%	-	100% (N=15)
2001	18%	6%	76%	-	-	100% (N=17)
2002	38.5%	15.5%	42%	4%	-	100% (N=26)
2003	61.5%	-	38.5%	-	-	100% (N=13)
2004	25%	-	50%	25%	-	100% (N=4)
2005	7.5%	7.5%	85%	-	-	100% (N=27)
2006	37%	-	63%	-	-	100% (N=27)
2007	62.5%	18.75%	18.75%	-	-	100% (N=16)
2008	100%	-	-	-	-	100% (N=7)
2009	20%	-	80%	-	-	100% (N=5)
2010	24%	14%	62%	-	-	100% (N=21)
2011	22%	3%	75%	-	-	100% (N=32)
2012	11%	-	78%	-	11%	100% (N=9)

Table 5.14: Proportion of type of citation of civil society sources by year (N=366)

	Direct	Paraphrase	Placard	Reference only	Publication	Total
1996	9%	13%	17%	48%	13%	100% (N=23)
1997	29%	6%	18%	35%	12%	100% (N=17)
1998	34%	5%	10%	51%	-	100% (N=41)
1999	32%	-	34%	26%	8%	100% (N=38)
2000	33%	4%	37.5%	12.5%	12.5%	100% (N=24)
2001	31%	6%	14%	43%	6%	100% (N=35)
2002	35%	5%	25%	35%	-	100% (N=20)
2003	18%	-	18%	46%	18%	100% (N=11)
2004	16.6%	-	16.6%	50%	16.6%	100% (N=12)
2005	26%	2.5%	13%	56%	2.5%	100% (N=39)
2006	47%	-	35%	18%	-	100% (N=17)
2007	62%	9%	24%	5%	-	100% (N=21)
2008	65%	-	35%	-	-	100% (N=6)
2009	57%	-	29%	14%	-	100% (N=7)
2010	23%	8%	30%	8%	23%	100% (N=13)
2011	28%	38%	24%	10%	-	100% (N=21)
2012	14%	-	38%	48%	-	100% (N=21)

The tables give richer expression to the earlier finding that the type of citation varies by year for both groups of sources – official and civil society. For official sources, reference only is consistently the main type of citation; however this ranges from a low of 18.75 per cent in 2007 to a high of 94 per cent in 1999. The proportion of direct quoting varies in relation to this, again showing no clear pattern of increase or decrease across the period. In the case of civil society sources, in Figure 5.14, the distribution of type of citation is similarly one of fluctuation. The proportions of the main three types of citation – direct, placard and reference only – vary from year to year. Overall, then there is no overall improvement in the quality of access for either group that parallels the consolidation of democracy nor the shift to a *Frente Amplio* government. This is interesting because an improvement in quality of access would be expected both on the basis of normative scholarship on media democratisation and the more favourable political climate.

Moreover, in terms of differences in quality of access for particular types of civil society actor compared to types of official actor, Table 5.15, below, shows that with the civil society group disaggregated, politicians gained the majority of access through direct quoting, which is considered the highest quality. On the other hand, NGOs gained most access via quoting of placards and press releases or other publications. With regard to the former type of citation, the text of placards frequently appeared in the headline, or appeared in the main photograph on front page, which amplified their presence. Regarding reference only, the table indicates that a significant majority of this kind of citation was politicians (56 per cent).

Indeed, when politicians were cited by reference, their presence was amplified. References to politicians were foregrounded in headlines and photographs of articles in both newspapers during the second period of coverage (2004-2012). This was to indicate the presence or absence of key *Frente Amplio* figures and thus acted as a proxy for whether the government would be tackling the impunity issue. Interview data in Chapter 6 indicates that 2005 was singled out as the year in which civil society sources noted a

change in access in *El País* (interview with civil society organisation representative, 2016). The coverage of the 2005 march was even pre-empted in 2004 by a report in *El País* that "Vazquez will attend next year's *Marcha del Silencio*" (21/05/04). In the days leading up to the march in 2005, it was previewed with an article titled "Vazquez to attend the *Marcha del Silencio*" (19/05/05). The day after the march, the headline reads: "In silence, Vazquez is just another protester in the march for the disappeared" (El País 21/05/05). In *La República* the same year, an article on the day of the march was headlined "Vazquez will take part in the *Marcha* today" (20/05/05: 4). The presence of Vasquez was particularly meaningful in 2005 because he was the first serving president to attend the *Marcha*. This was noted in the coverage: "For the first time since the return of democracy, the march will be attended by a serving president" (La República, 2005: 4). Thus, although appearing in articles by reference only constitutes poor representation, in the context of the impunity issue in Uruguay, particular references carried significant symbolic weight.

Table 5.15: Quality of access by source type in overall coverage (N=723)

	Direct (N=217)	Paraphrase (N=43)	First person (N=7)	Placard (N=84)	Publication (N=32)	Reference only (N=343)
Politician	45%	35%	43%	-	31%	56%
Judiciary	-	5%	-	-	-	1%
Police	-	-	-	-	-	0.5%
NGO	24%	16%	14%	69%	50%	15%
TU	10%	25%	-	4%	6%	8%
Church	3%	-	-	-	3%	3%
Academic	1%	7%	-	7%	3%	3%
Lawyer	4%	-	-	-	-	1%
Families	6%	-	-	1%	3%	6%
Public	5%	2%	-	19%	-	0.5%
Other/anon	1%	5%	14%	-	3%	1%
Journalist	-	-	29%	-	-	1%
Military	1%	5%	-	-	-	3%

5.4.3 Quality of access: Advocate and arbiter

As described in the Methodology chapter and reiterated in Chapter 4, the second level of the content analysis included a variable for whether a source was portrayed as an advocate, arbiter or not clear. This draws on Deacon and Golding's research on the coverage of the Poll Tax in the UK press (Deacon and Golding, 1994). In this study, the

category of "advocate" was applied where a source was portrayed as communicating a demand in a clearly partisan manner. The category of arbiter was fulfilled where a source was portrayed as an authority on an issue, able to contextualise it and situate it in a broader landscape of meaning. The distinction is useful because it indicates sources that are enabled to impart 'authoritative' meanings or interpretations of a social or political issue. They are therefore accorded a higher degree of source credibility.

Figure 5.16: Advocate and arbiter roles of civil society sources (N=366)
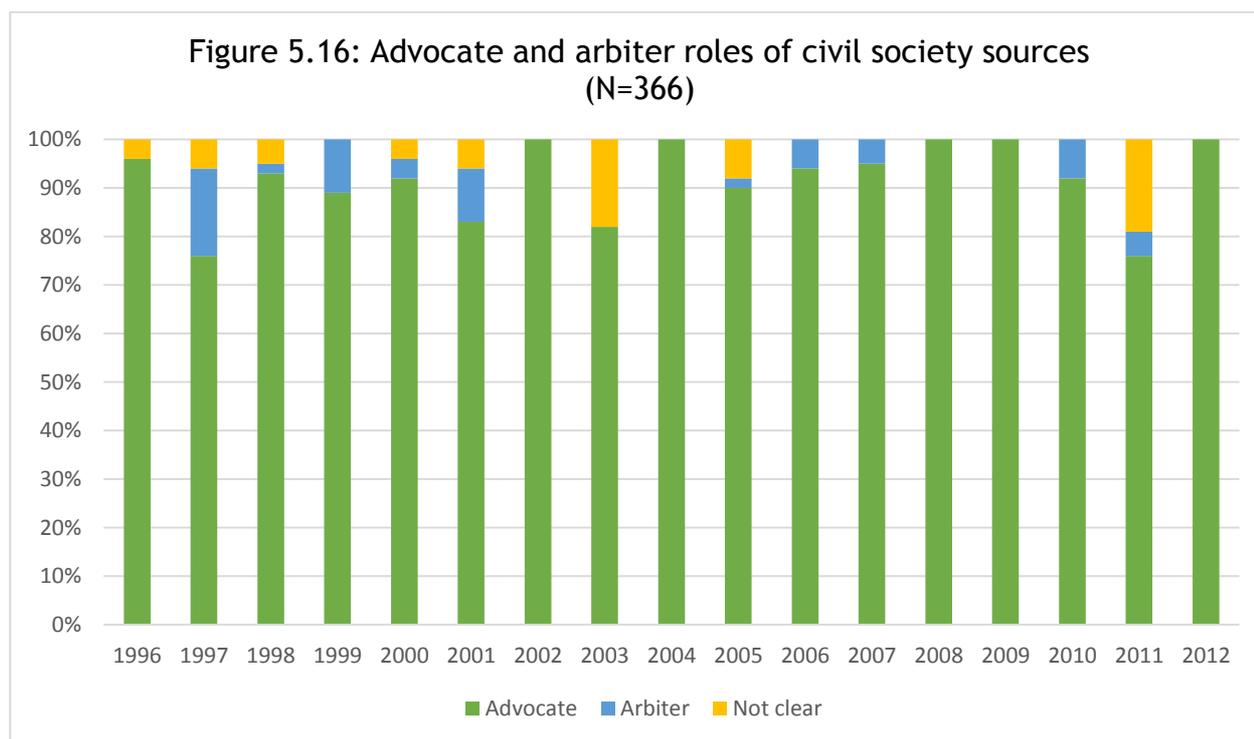
Figure 5.16, above, gives the proportion of civil society sources appearing as either advocate, arbiter or unclear. As it clearly demonstrates, 80-100 per cent of civil society sources appeared as advocates in articles. The rare exceptions were in which civil society sources appear as arbiters were churches (six from 1997-1999); NGOs (four in 2001, one in 2010 and one in 2011); and lawyers six times, five of these in the 2000s. The literature suggests (see Chapter 2) that appearing as advocates constitutes a lower quality of access as the source is not being presented as a neutral over-seer of the issue in question. However, the prevalence of NGO sources and trade unions, which make up the majority of civil society sources in *Marcha* coverage, have already been noted to provide a high information subsidy in the transitional justice debate in Uruguay. This was developed partly in response to the government's early inaction on the issue and

slow release of secret records of the regime, which led to *SERPAJ* publishing the first *Nunca Más* truth report. Similarly, these groups have authority that derives from their representation of the families of the disappeared and close associations with lawyers (the latter group considered partisan during authoritarianism and in the early period of transition but gaining credibility during the democratisation process). The representation of civil society sources as advocates is discussed with reference to interview findings in Chapter 6. Though some journalists viewed them as credible sources, others considered them lacking credibility because they represent a particular interest or were able to gain political influence due to financial resources rather than elected office. This skepticism of civil society sources may explain why they consistently play the role of advocates - with the low quality of media access this entails – in spite of their expert status.

5.4.4. Thematic analysis

The third and final measure of quality of media access was a thematic analysis. The unit of analysis here is the entire article. As noted in the previous chapter, this has been described as the process of "establish[ing] what perspectives there are [in public debate], and then examin[ing] how they appear as themes in news accounts" (Philo, Briant and Donald, 2013, p. 29). The objective of this process is to establish which themes dominate coverage and which are marginal. As described in more detail in Chapter 3 (Methodology), early but enduring perspectives on approaches to transitional justice in the literature broadly represent the two competing narratives of the impunity question – the logic of "ethics" and the logic of the "state" (Barahona de Brito, 1997). The former is associated with civil society groups campaigning for transitional justice and the latter with state narratives that the transition was over and new democracies were incompatible with addressing past human rights abuses. Articles were categorised as representing one of these two themes, or a third category of "game", which was used to categorise articles that reported on the mud-slinging between campaigns rather than dealing with substantive arguments for or against.

Figure 5.17, below, indicates that the majority of articles about the *Marcha* represented the "ethics" theme. That is, the message of truth, justice, memory and never again was successfully represented in coverage of the *Marchas*. This implies a high quality of access that was maintained year upon year – indeed, the "state" narrative was largely confined to the first year of the *Marcha*. This suggests that civil society groups had better opportunities to gain quality access that enabled them to represent their perspective on issues through protest and demonstration rather than through formal political mechanisms. That is, the *fora* matters for media access for civil society actors and demonstrations can be an effective way to gain attention for issues that have been sidelined by hegemonic state narratives and marginalised in the public sphere by the media following the political agenda. The fact that these actors were seen as having legitimacy is an important factor in this.

Figure 5.17: Thematic analysis of overall Marcha coverage (N=170)
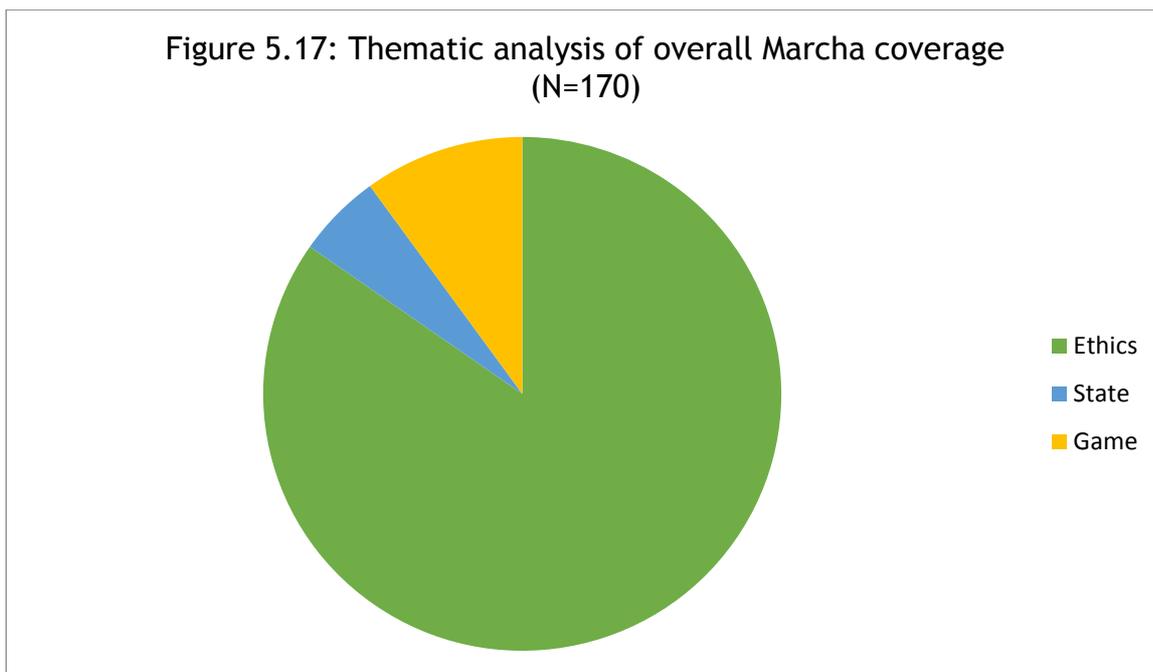
5.5   Explaining patterns of access: Newsworthiness and valence

This final section examines the newsworthiness and tone of *Marcha del Silencio*
coverage. As discussed previously, the gatekeeping function of the media is important
for media access – if an issue is not considered newsworthy, there is little chance of
sources gaining access. Of particular importance for this case study, marches and
demonstrations constitute a strategic action for groups in civil society. This section
considers whether the *Marcha* succeeded in one of these strategies, namely, gaining
media exposure for the issue that may have translated into access for civil society
sources. This section firstly addresses total coverage from 1996 to 2012 to identify broad
patterns in coverage. It then disaggregates this by newspaper and finally breaks down
the valence, or positive/negative, coverage by newspaper.

Figure 5.18, below, shows the overall coverage by year. One general characteristic can
be noted at the outset - the *Marcha* received some coverage in each of the 16 years
analysed, though this was not a large amount of coverage (N=170 in sixteen years). This
represents a mean of five articles per newspaper per year. While negative coverage is a
problem for social movements attempting to gain media access via demonstrations or
protests, no coverage at all is also a way in which civil society actions can be silenced
and delegitimized (Gitlin, 1980). This was not the case for the *Marcha,* therefore there
was an opportunity for access for civil society actors each year. Beyond this, two distinct
periods can be discerned and will be discussed in turn. First, the highest level of
coverage was in 1996 - the year of the inaugural *Marcha* – which was followed by a
steady decline in coverage from 1997 to 2004. Secondly, the period from 2005 to 2012
was marked by fluctuating coverage. These demarcations align with political periods
introduced in the previous chapter, there denoted by the 1989 and latterly the 2009
plebiscite. Here, the first period (1996-2003) is that of the administrations of the
Partido Nacional. As described previously, this was characterised by inaction and the
narrative of the transition being over. The latter period (2004-2012) aligns with the first
and subsequent administrations of the *Frente Amplio,* which marked a dramatic political
development for the left in Uruguay. These political changes were reflected in the

degree of newsworthiness as the coverage followed, to an important extent, the political agenda. Newsworthiness of the *Marcha* for each of these periods will now be discussed in turn.

Figure 5.18: Amount of coverage of the Marcha, 1996-2012 (N=170)
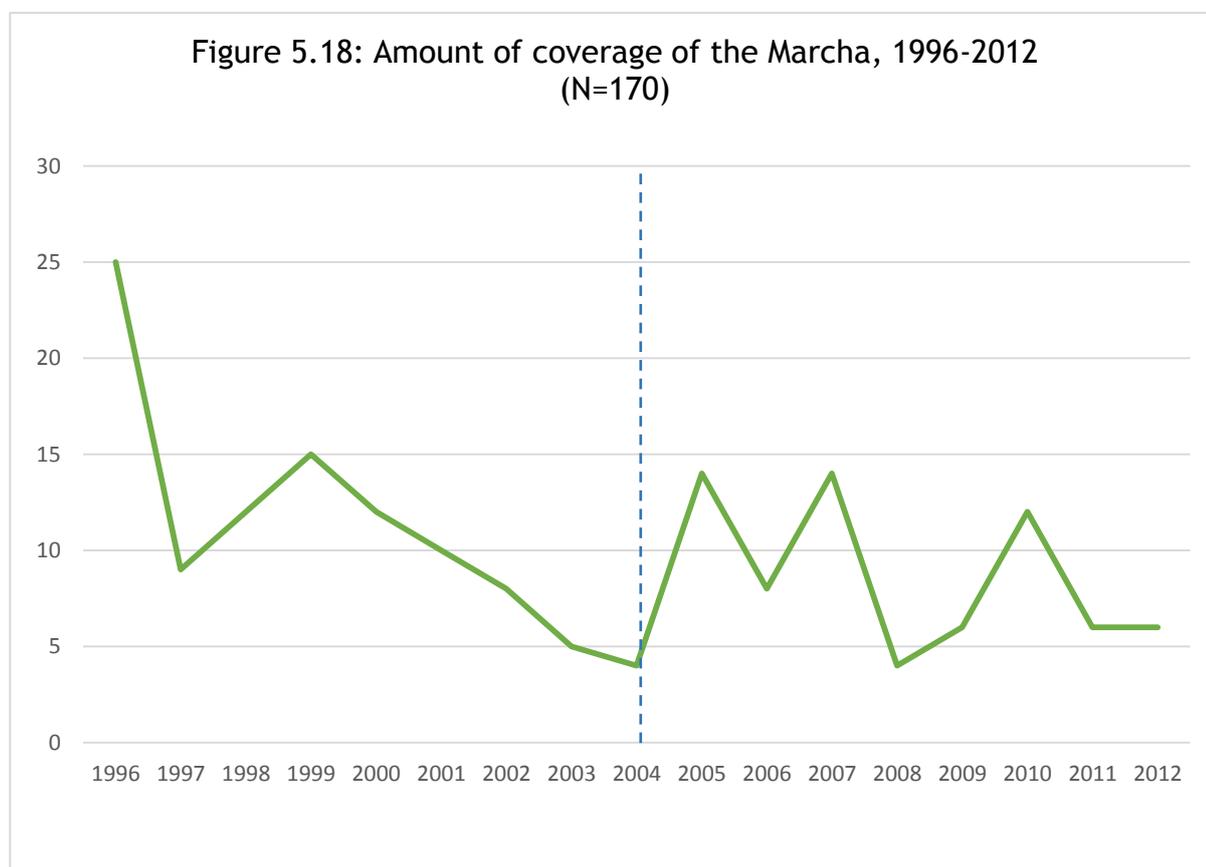
The first section (1996-2003) is characterised by high coverage in the first year followed by steadily declining coverage. That the first *Marcha* attracted a comparatively high level of coverage – 67 per cent more than in the next highest year - can be explained by its satisfaction of several news values. Firstly, it was not only an event, but a new and novel event in a country that had not seen significant demonstrations since the return to democracy. The route of the *Marcha* has varied slightly over the years but each year includes many of the main roads in central Montevideo, principally *Avenido 18 de Julio*. Secondly, it was also potentially a source of conflict. As discussed in the previous chapter, the plebiscite of 1989 was considered by elite actors to have resolved the question of impunity through a public endorsement of the *Ley de Caducidad*. These

included President Sanguinetti, who was serving his first period of office when the plebiscite took place and his second period of office when the first *Marcha* took place. Through its slogan, *Truth, Justice, Memory and Never Again,* the *Marcha* indirectly contested both the public endorsement of the Expiry Law and the state narrative of the transition being over, which included the Expiry Law as the correct response to human rights abuses. Thirdly, while groups in civil society are frequently considered "resource poor" (Goldenberg, 1975) and, so, find it difficult to attract media coverage, the *Marcha* was initiated by a range of actors of varying status and resources. The inaugural demonstration was announced by Rafael Michelini - son of Zelmar Michelini, whose assassination the march commemorates. As well as being one of the *familiares,* Rafael had by that point served on the Montevideo City Council, been elected to government and formed his own breakaway party, *Nuevo Espacio* (since 2001, part of the *Frente Amplio* coalition). His brother, Felipe, followed a similar path. Some scholars have personally credited them with returning the issue of impunity the public agenda (Lessa, 2013). Thus, several of the founders of the march had a degree of political status that increased its newsworthiness by association. As developed in the previous chapter, the transitional justice campaign did include marginalised groups but it was not limited to them, particularly given the involvement of politicians, lawyers, and trade unions with strong associations with the *Frente Amplio*. Given these resources, the campaign's position within the distinction between communication "haves" or "have nots" varied during democratisation (Golding and Murdock, 1991). This is discussed in more detail, with reference to the perspective of civil society organisations, in Chapter 6.

The subsequent decline in coverage from 1997 to 2004 - with the exception of a spike in coverage in 1999 - parallels the period in which the impunity issue was on the "sidelines of the public agenda" (Roniger & Sznajder 1998: 209-210). This was noted in the previous chapter on plebiscite coverage in the context of the low level of coverage of the 2009 plebiscite compared to the 1989 coverage. In short, the result of the 1989 plebiscite was interpreted as a public endorsement of the Sanguinetti administration's narrative of national reconciliation and the end of the transition (Panizza, 1995). Thus, despite its resources outlined above, the transitional justice campaign became less newsworthy as it was not considered to be in the interest of the public at large and

there was elite consensus that the human rights question had been settled. The coverage of the *Marcha* adds weight to this analysis. Beyond this, other factors relating to journalistic routines may also have influenced its newsworthiness. As will be discussed in Chapter 6 with reference to interviews with journalists, as an annual event with a defined structure, the *Marcha* had declining currency in one of the most newsworthy aspects of demonstrations - their spontaneity, singularity and unpredictability.

Despite this decline in coverage, the numbers of NGOs campaigning for truth and justice increased during the period (Lessa, 2013). By the early 2000s, the re-emergence of the issue onto the regional and international judicial arena had also begun (Lutz and Sikkink, 2000; Sikkink, 2011). This was reflected in increasing news coverage of, for example, excavations, legal challenges and new information about the disappeared, which were noted during the article collection stage for the content analysis but fell outwith the criteria for selection. However, it did not translate into greater representation of the public demonstration led by the civil society organisations that had pushed for many of these developments. Rather than representing the issue "from below", then, the media followed the political and public agenda – which parallels findings in the previous chapter on the coverage of the plebiscites.

Using the language of the public sphere, there seems to have been a co-existence of apparently acquiescent and antagonistic publics. To make sense of this, Dahlgren's distinction between a "common domain" and "advocacy domain" of the public sphere (Dahlgren and Sparks, 1991) is particularly useful. On this understanding, the common domain comprises those interests and issues that concern the majority of citizens. In this context, this common domain may be aligned with the outcome of the 1989 plebiscite. The advocacy domain comprises interests that concern smaller or marginalised groups of citizens. Media coverage here aligns to public interest as defined in the common domain; the advocacy domain comparatively marginalised at this stage - despite the transitional justice campaign having significant resources. In terms of the media democratisation literature, this approach dovetails with the ascribed normative role of the media to support new democratic institutions (Voltmer, 2013) by supporting early

transitional, state-led narratives of national reconciliation, bolstered by the result of the 1989 plebiscite. Though this distinction can be applied – as Dahlgren intended – to any democracy, it can be argued that in the context of a return to democracy, particularly a pacted transition as in Uruguay, a media that represents the common domain of the public sphere may be problematic for deepening of democracy.

The second period corresponds with the point at which the *Frente Amplio* won the 2004 election, taking office in March 2005. As Figure 5.18 shows, during this period – from 2004 to 2012 – there was a general trend of slightly increased, though fluctuating, coverage. This period corresponds with a return to the question of how to deal with past human rights violations to the political agenda. President Vazquez had indicated prior to taking office that he intended to tackle impunity and by 2009 had exempted 45 cases from the Ley de Caducidad using presidential decree (Skaar, 2013). High profile cases being reported in the media included those of former dictator Bordaberry and Juan Carlos Blanco, charged with crimes against humanity in November 2006. These developments had two effects relevant to newsworthiness. First, it became a topic in the government's agenda. This was crucial because research across cases has found this increases newsworthiness, and even more in the context of a press system defined in the Introduction to this thesis as focused on elite political actors, which was linked to the strong tradition of partisan journalism in Uruguay. Secondly, the issue returned to the public agenda in a broad sense - "(t)he public sphere thus became an arena of struggle over the memory of the authoritarian repression, its meanings and human costs, and the ways in which these should be interpreted and remembered or forgotten" (Sznajder and Roniger, 1997, pp. 141–142). This shift in the political agenda expanded the scope of perceived public interest in the issue, no longer restricted to the advocacy domain. Rather than the 1989 plebiscite defining the public position on the issue, the seismic political shift signified by the election of the *Frente Amplio* consigned the first plebiscite to the past and re-opened impunity as a legitimate public debate. Thus, this initial mapping of issue coverage has established two broad patterns – the first demonstrating the low position of the impunity question on the public and political agenda following the result of the 1989 plebiscite; the second demonstrating the shift in the political agenda brought about by the success of the *Frente Amplio* in 2004, which

returned the issue to the public agenda. The following section considers whether these patterns held across newspapers and editorial positions.

Moving on to coverage by newspaper across time, Figure 5.19, below, breaks down the number of articles published each year by *El País* and *La República*. Examining the newsworthiness of the march by newspaper is important because news values and editorial positions may vary. As previously established, *La República* and *El País* had different editorial positions regarding the question of impunity at the point of transition and this translated into patterns of source access, with civil society actors gaining very little access to *El País* in plebiscite coverage though a greater proportion in *Marcha* coverage.

**Figure 5.19: Coverage by newspaper, N=170**
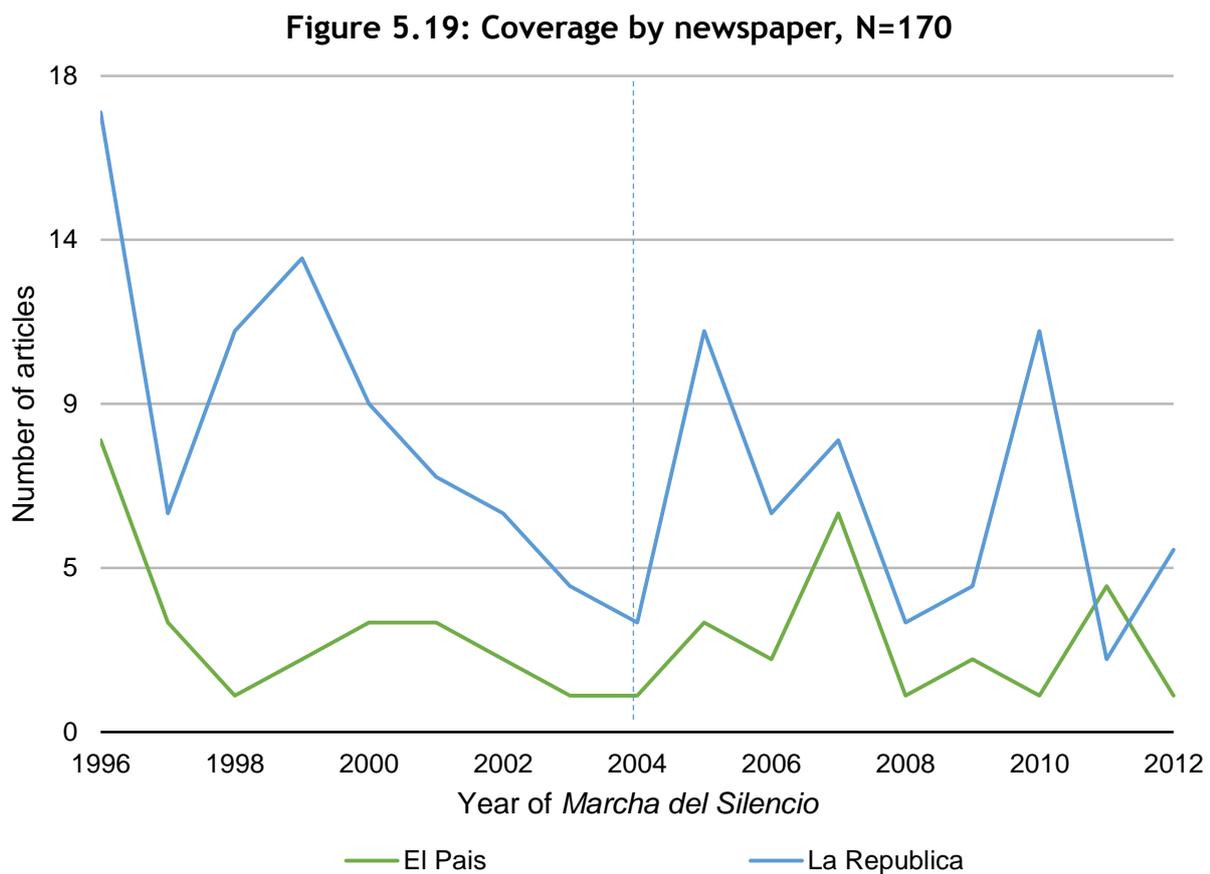
Figure 5.19 shows two key findings. Firstly, that coverage of the *Marcha* is almost without exception higher in *La República*. Given the relative editorial position and the findings in Chapter 4, this is perhaps not surprising. The proportional difference varies between years, ranging from a low of 29 per cent more in 2007 (with 6 articles in *El País* and 8 in *La República)* to a high of 116 per cent more in 1998 and 2010 (with one article in *El País* and 11 in *La República* for both years). Secondly, that, quantity of coverage notwithstanding, the overall pattern of coverage is similar for both newspapers. That is, the two periods of coverage identified in the previous section – 1996-2003 and 2004-2012 – hold across newspapers. This differs from the pattern established in Chapter 4, which found pronounced differences on the amount of coverage given to the plebiscites. This suggests that the both newspapers responded to the perceived political and public agenda on the impunity question – represented by the chilling effect of the 1989 plebiscite result. This is not surprising in *El País* but is an additional indication – given similar findings for the 2009 plebiscite compared to the 1989 plebiscite in the previous chapter – that *La República* had by this point lost some of its earlier zeal for the transitional justice campaign. This growing conformity of radical new newspapers is predicted in the literature as market pressures and party politics return to "normal" (Randall, 1993). In terms of media access, one effect of this process is a narrowing of perspectives represented in the media. Therefore, gaining media access can become more difficult for groups campaigning during the process of democratic consolidation – precisely the period where democratic practices are expected to become embedded and the press more representative.

In addition to newsworthiness, the content analysis also covered the tone of coverage. Figure 5.20, below, shows the findings regarding the positive, negative or balanced reporting in the overall sample. This was found to be significant in the previous chapter, with the tone of the 1989 plebiscite having a significant effect on the amount of coverage. During the content analysis, each article was coded as either being "positive/favourable" towards the *Marcha*, "negative/unfavourable" to the *Marcha*, "balanced" or "not clear". This categorisation was decided on the basis of the article as a whole. As the chart below shows, the key finding is that almost all the articles about the *Marcha* were positive. Indeed, 89 per cent of the articles were coded as positive or

favourable (N=170). Only 4 per cent of the coverage was coded as negative or unfavourable and most of these (5 out of a total 7) were published in the week before the first march took place, in 1996.

Figure 5.20: Position of article, total coverage 1996-2012 (N=170)

89%

5%

2%

4%

■ Negative ■ Positive ■ Balanced ■ Not clear
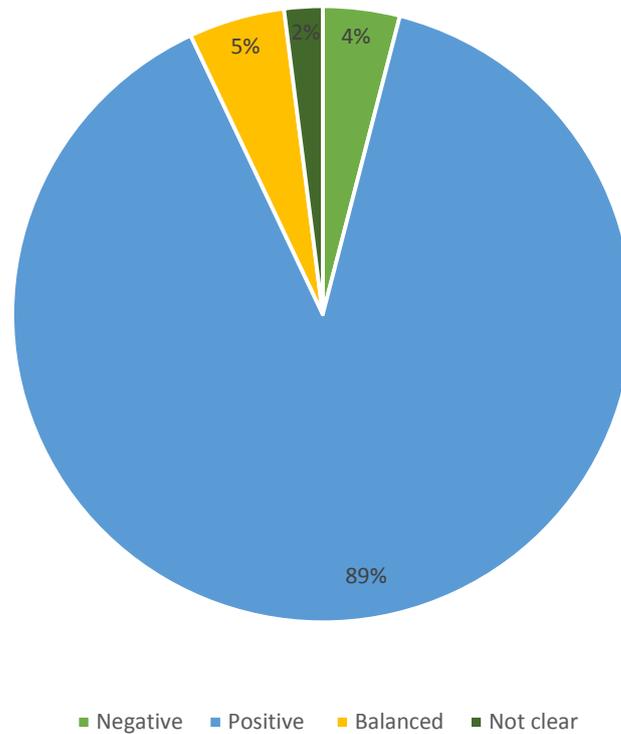
These findings correlate with those of the thematic analysis in the previous section. Again, they indicate that the *fora* is important for media access. The communication of the perspective of the transitional justice campaign and the reporting of this in a positive tone indicates a high quality of media access. In the context of democratisation, demonstrations are a vital way to gain media access for marginalised voices. Yet this is rarely discussed in normative accounts of duties of the media during the period, as the focus is generally on the formal political process and elected representatives, i.e. the procedural aspects of democracy.

The findings are also relevant to the "protest paradigm" discussed at the beginning of this chapter. It holds that coverage of protests frequently delegitimises the social or political demands of the group organising the protest (Lee, 2014). Recent scholarship has problematised the blanket application of this approach and indicates that in certain contexts the protest paradigm may not be relevant. The *Marchas* received consistently positive coverage from 1997 onwards. That is, although the issue of impunity continued to be a controversial and divisive one in Uruguay, this was not represented in coverage of the *Marcha* whether the issue was on or off the political agenda.

The positive reporting of the *Marcha* may be explained with reference to the repertoire of the *Marcha* as silent procession with its demand of "truth, justice and memory" articulated via a banner rather than more confrontational chants. Thus, the *worthiness* of the march (Tilly, 2004) as an act of remembrance with the families of the disappeared in attendance, and photographs of their relatives held aloft, endows it with moral weight that modulates the fact that it is simultaneously an act of protest and articulation of a demand. This potentially neutralises the confrontational element of the protest. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, these features may explain why journalists do not associate the march as being "against the government" (interview with journalist, 2016) though the silence is partly symbolic of government inaction and it is only the government that can satisfy the demand for truth and justice. In this sense, the quasi-memorial character of the march and its low-key repertoire (perhaps an indication of what an interviewee described the "Uruguayan" disapproval of attention-seeking being reflected in the practices of civil society organisations, interview 2016), may have prevented the *Marcha* being reported negatively but also muted its force as a political statement.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has contributed to the analysis of the research questions of this thesis through analysis of the coverage of the *Marcha del Silencio* from 1996 to 2012. These research questions are: does media access for civil society actors change across democratisation? What factors help to explain this?

The key finding was that the overall coverage for the *Marcha* was low – with 170 articles published in the two newspapers over the 16-year period, representing an average of five articles per newspaper per year. This suggests that annual demonstrations may not be an effective way to gain a large amount of media coverage; reasons for this are explored in Chapter 6. However, in terms of the proportional access of civil society actors vis a vis official actors, the *Marchas* featured better access for civil society actors. This included access to *El País,* though overall there was less coverage here than in *La República.* In this sense, the *fora* of coverage for civil society actors is important for media access – simply put, they gain a higher quantity of access in protest coverage than political news.

This highlights the importance of the media's reporting of demonstrations during democratisation, especially for campaigns that may be excluded from the transitional political agenda. This also dovetails with findings for the coverage of the 2009 plebiscite in the previous chapter, in which elite disinterest in the plebiscite constituted an opportunity for civil society sources to gain access. As such, this presents a different phenomenon to the indexing hypothesis prediction that elite conflict is an opportunity for other actors to gain coverage (Bennett, 1990). Here, elite indifference and passivity constitutes an opportunity. Despite this overall increase in quantity of access compared to the plebiscites, the *quality* of access was mixed. This was largely due to reporting practices around protests and civil society actors. Citations of sources by reference only reduced the opportunities for the context of the issue to be represented, while civil society actors were continually represented as advocates rather than arbiters.

I would argue that there is something of a trade-off of visibility over substantive access for groups in civil society. While the transitional justice campaign has been variably resourced over the period of democratisation – with the coming to power of the *Frente Amplio* representing a particular boost via supporters who then became part of the government – the conversion of these resources into quality media access appears largely contingent upon the wider political agenda and the media following this. This close articulation of the media agenda with the political agenda during democratisation is then a substantial obstacle for media access for marginalised groups pushing for the deepening of democracy. It is not insurmountable and depends on the fora and reporting practices, but it is an important obstacle.

Furthermore, the findings also show that there is not a change over time consistent with the thesis that media access will be democratised along with political consolidation. Instead, the quantity of access fluctuates year to year and, as discussed above, is strongly influenced by the political agenda and shifts in party politics.

Chapter 6: Explaining media access during democratisation

6.1   Introduction

The previous two chapters explained findings based on coverage of the plebiscites and *Marchas*. This chapter explains these by examining interview findings and incorporates selected relevant content analysis findings from both case studies. In this sense, although the research questions of this thesis are intertwined, this chapter feeds more into an analysis of the second research question concerning the *factors that may help explain changes in media access for civil society actors across democratisation*. The chapter principally draws on qualitative interviews with journalists and civil society actors, and in line with the mixed methods approach, I also introduce content analysis to give context and triangulate the analysis.

The case studies elucidated important dimensions of media access for civil society actors during democratisation. Patterns in the quantity and quality of access and influences on this were identified on the basis of qualitative and quantitative content analysis. This chapter takes this analysis further by incorporating the views of journalists whose decisions and practices shape media access and the civil society organisations that wish to gain it. This is important for the following reasons. Firstly, as mentioned above, this additional methodological tool improves the explanatory power of the findings and enables triangulation. Second, the exploration of perspectives on media access and the practices that shape it within the Uruguayan context is an important way in which this thesis engages with the debate on de-Westernisation of media research. Third, insofar as media access is one way in which the relative power of elites and marginalised groups is both expressed and challenged, capturing this dimension is vital for a full-blooded analysis. Specifically, it enables engagement with fundamental questions of media access. What kind of access do civil society organisations seek in order to work towards their goals? Do journalists think in terms of representing a range of voices when

approaching sources?

The chapter is structured in three sections. The first explains broad dynamics of media access and how this is perceived by civil society organisations and journalists. The second focuses on specific reporting on transitional justice. The third examines broader journalistic practices and the process of professionalisation of journalism during democratisation as potential drivers for more democratic reporting. The fourth explains the main findings. Overall, the chapter finds that dynamics of media access are linked to wider "haves" and "have nots" of political power in society and, for this reason, civil society organisations wish to gain a high quality of media access in order to surmount these. Further to this, it finds that although there was a process of professionalisation during democratisation that might have led to more democratic practices around access, source practices continue to be rooted in partisan reporting and skepticism of non-official sources.

6.2 Perceptions and dynamics of media access for civil society actors

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, investigating perceptions and dynamics of media access enables a more complete analysis of the case studies of this thesis as well as a more contextualised understanding of the journalistic beliefs and practices that shape it. Critically, it also enables a better understanding of what kind of media access is valuable to civil society actors – that is, what quantity or quality of media access enables them to achieve their goals.

In contrast to accounts of the relatively free access between journalists and government ministers across democratisation, as described in Chapter 1, representatives at the principle transitional justice organisations said that they typically gained little or no access to the media (interviews, 2014 and 2016). However, the previous two chapters demonstrated that civil society sources did indeed succeed in gaining access to coverage of both the two plebiscites and each year of the *Marcha del Silencio*. When this was raised with interviewees in the 2016 fieldwork, it led to deeper discussion of what media access meant to organisations working in transitional justice. Two key factors emerged. First, it meant gaining access to particular publications – specifically *El País*. Second, it meant gaining a depth of discussion. Both these factors underpin a notion of media access for civil society organisations as operationalising "strategic and definitional power" (Cottle, 2000). That is, the organisations value and, so, define media access in terms of the extent to which it furthers its aims and communicates the rationale for the political changes it seeks. Therefore, this places a high demand on the *quality* of access gained during democratisation. This is precisely the type of access that civil society actors have struggled to gain, based on the analysis of the plebiscite and *Marcha* coverage. The analysis of both cases established that civil society actors played the role of advocates rather than arbiters, and that the declaratory style of journalism reduced the likelihood of additional contextual information that would give deeper, *thematic,* coverage. In the case of the *Marcha,* the template of reporting included many actors being cited by reference only. The two factors are now discussed in turn.

Regarding the first factor, organisations conceded that their negative response to the question of whether they gained access to the press specifically meant that they did not gain access to press outwith leftwing publications. Those they frequently gained access to were typically named as the dailies *La República, La Diaria, El Popular* and the weekly *Brecha*. These have left-wing political orientations. However, the value of this access was diminished by their sympathetic political orientation, as one interviewee explained:

> But they are notoriously identified with the left, yes? They are newspapers defined as the left, so in those cases it is logical [to gain access] because they maintain an identification with that sector that is interested in solving issues of the recent past. [But] the others? No (Interview with SERPAJ representative, 2014).

That media access for a major transitional issue is considered "logical" or *expected* in some publications and not in others speaks to the extent to which the human rights question was polarised by dominant transitional narratives in Uruguay, as well as how this was manifested in partisan media. This will be returned to in a later section of this chapter. However, the substantive point regarding the type of publication that the anti-impunity organisations were able to gain access to was not a question of editorial orientation but of reach, influence, and the opportunity this gave for speaking to *elites* as well as the wider public. As the interviewee went on to describe it: *"They are not media that impact on the majority of people"* (interview with *SERPAJ* representative, 2014). Therefore, in the context of the Uruguayan mediascape, left-orientated newspapers were considered marginal and therefore less influential than "the others" – identified as *El País* and *El Observador*. As the content analysis has made clear, the civil society organisations gained little access to *El País*. In addition to this, these newspapers were those considered to be media by which organisations could *speak to* politicians (interview with *Famidesa* representative, 2014). Thus, in trying to gain media access one

of the key aims of the organisations was to communicate with the public-at-large or in Dahlgren's terms the *common domain* of the public sphere, as well as elites. Though the organisations have increasingly used social media to announce events and *Famidesa* holds a press conference to announce the slogan of each *Marcha,* they emphasise that though this helps with mobilisation for events, it is in itself not enough as social media accounts are not followed by journalists at the mainstream press (interview with civil society organisation representatives, 2014). Thus, civil society organisations clearly perceive media access as a critical way in which to engage with sectors in society from which they are disconnected. While journalists characterised Uruguay as being a small country in which they could pick up the phone and speak to a Minister, who they might later encounter in the supermarket, the perceptions of civil society organisations revealed that these were in fact privileges afforded to a select few rather than open channels of communication guaranteed by the scale of Montevideo.

The second factor regarding the way in which the civil society organisations defined media access is the depth of discussion (interviews with civil society organisations, 2016). As one interviewee put it: "Impunity is not just the Expiry Law – it is a concept, a culture" (Interview with *Famidesa* representative, 2014). Thus, when organisations said they did not gain media access, they did not mean that events or announcements were not featured in newspapers, but that the deeper issues of transitional justice are not discussed in this coverage. This distinction is conceptualised in Iyengar's definitions of thematic and episodic coverage (1991). As previously discussed, episodic coverage gives little in the way of broader political context and thus implies that an issue is relevant only to specific individuals rather than systemic; on the other hand, thematic coverage elucidates the structural causes of an issue and, by implication, raises the question of, for instance, state responsibility and action. In terms of the transitional justice debate in Uruguay, episodic coverage dovetails with the state narrative of transitional justice being an artefact of the transition that continues to affect only a small number of families of the disappeared. On the other hand, thematic coverage would communicate the broader culture of impunity or "politics of oblivion" (Roniger and Sznajder, 1998) that continues to have far-reaching effects on broader Uruguayan society. The previous chapters argued that particular features of journalistic practices made thematic

coverage problematic. The content analysis indicated that a lack of direct quoting of civil society actors, a declarative style of reporting and template of *Marcha* reporting limited the extent to which deeper, contextual information could be communicated in news coverage. Interviewees linked this superficial approach to transitional justice as evidence of the media being influenced by the state's approach and resulting in a lack of investigative reporting on the issue: "The press adheres in some way to this [state narrative of impunity]. Luckily there is *CAinfo*, an organisation that enables access to information" (interview with *SERPAJ* representative, 2014). *CAinfo*, or the Centre of Archives and Access to Public Information, is a non-profit organisation specialising in human rights issues, which circulates information to civil society organisations and the public. As will be discussed later in this chapter, the task of investigative reporting has fallen to individual, freelance reporters.

In terms of characterising the broad reasons given by journalists and editors for excluding civil society voices, most can be interpreted as versions of two common features shaping source-media relations. First, some appealed to explanations that amounted to evidence of "bureaucratic affinity" with politicians (Fishman, 1980). These ranged from civil society actors being described as "less reachable" (interview with editor, 2016), to NGOs being criticised for using too much jargon and "not making themselves interesting…Some organisations are very Uruguayan – they prefer a low profile, so that's an issue" (interview with journalist 2016). In other words, most civil society actors are not considered reliable sources of media-friendly information subsidies. More broadly, they are not part of the symbiotic relationship between politicians and the media that requires that each implicitly understands what the other needs and when they need it.

The second type of explanation alluded or directly addressed a "hierarchy of credibility" of sources that journalists use as part of routines related to upholding a degree of objectivity (Tuchman, 1978). One journalist said that NGOs are "not credible" as they represent a specific perspective (interview with journalist, 2016); an accusation not levelled at politicians. Another said he had asked an NGO why they ought to have

political influence purely on the basis of having financial resources to fund campaigns (interview with journalist, 2016). This explanation represents the view of civil society actors as sources of "opinion" rather than "fact", which is related again to upholding professional principles of objectivity. This was represented in the findings in Chapters 4 and 5, which indicated that civil society sources play the role of advocates in the coverage of both the plebiscites and *Marchas*. Again, these explanations may be understood as an unintended consequence of the routinised access between journalists and politicians. However, the position of civil society actors *vis a vis* politicians dovetails with accounts of civil society demands in Uruguay being channeled through political parties, thereby indicating how broader social and political relations are reflected in media practices (Canel, 1992). If fixed, this can have the effect of reproducing rather than challenging inequalities (Hughes and Prado, 2011).

However, there are indications that there is some fluctuation in the articulation of media source use and wider power dynamics. For example, the content analysis showed that civil society actors were able to gain access where politicians were passive, and that the Supreme Court of Justice was able to gain access to coverage of the 2009 plebiscite in a way that succeeded in establishing a more legalistic dimension of *unconstitutionality* to the theme of *truth, justice and memory*. Interviewees suggested that there were no significant shifts in either expansion or contraction of access to official political sources during democratisation until very recently. Two reasons for the recent changes were put forward: one suggesting a change in status of civil society actors and another relating to reduced access to government officials. Firstly, several interviewees suggested that some NGO sources have gained more access to newspapers in the years since the Mujica administration (2010-2015), which overlaps only slightly with the time frame of this study. This was attributed to organisations being able to put particular issues on the agenda during the Mujica administration – namely the legalisation of same-sex marriage, abortion and marijuana. As one interviewee put it: "It's not that I'm encouraging reporters to engage with NGOs, it's that they have become protagonists in the social discussion. We're reflecting that" (Interview with editor 2016).

An additional explanation offered for the increasing access for civil society actors was changes related to major transformations in the industry, particularly the increase in use of the online editions of newspapers that paralleled the period of democratisation. As a result of these changes, editors can monitor web traffic and see that readers are clicking on political news less and human interest stories more. In the context of dwindling newspaper sales and pressure to win advertising, one news editor explained that he used these data to commission more "human interest" stories that appeal to readers and that this has included greater coverage of social issues in which civil society organisations have a stake (interview with editor, 2016). Secondly, interviewees described a significant shift in the high level of access that has broadly characterised state-media relations in the country since Tabaré Vazquez began his second term of government in March 2015. In contrast to the open access described previously, journalists acknowledged the increased difficulty of gaining access to figures in the current Vasquez administration (interviews with journalists, 2016). Unlike previous administrations (including Vazquez' first from 2005-2010), the government began to use in-house media teams to act as buffers between journalists and politicians, as well as producing its own video content. Civil society sources and issues related to civil society initiatives have been the beneficiary of these dynamics. However, the opening of access they have produced has been contingent upon shifts at the level of government that have altered state-media relations. In particular, the process of professionalisation of politicians is linked to reducing the access they grant to the media and centralising communications.

6.3   *Gaining access: Reporting the plebiscites and Marcha del Silencio*

This section focuses on the way in which journalists approach reporting on the plebiscites and the *Marchas,* as well as their broader views on media coverage of the campaign for transitional justice. This contributes towards explaining patterns of coverage and source access identified in the content analysis.

Journalists were directly questioned about reporting practices on transitional justice as well as specifically the *Marcha*. This broadly concerned newsworthiness and source practices. Regarding newsworthiness, the content analysis for the plebiscites indicated a significant drop in coverage between 1989 and 2009 (see chapter 4). When asked about this, three explanations were offered. Firstly, one interviewee identified the outcome of the first plebiscite as essential in understanding the decline in coverage and the trajectory of the anti-impunity campaign in general (interview with journalist, 2016). The public's endorsement of the Expiry Law in the 1989 plebiscite has been recognised as casting a long shadow over the anti-impunity campaign (Roniger, 2011b). Secondly, interviewees described the low news values of human rights issues connected to the dictatorship era. One recalled an editor of one of the quality dailies lamenting that he was "tired" of human rights (interview with journalist, 2016). Another way of expressing this is that once there had been a return to "politics as usual", addressing past human rights abuses was no longer considered an immediate political concern, contra the definition of disappearance as an ongoing crime. As one journalist put it: "human rights violations are not a policy issue" (interview with journalist, 2014). He contrasted the lack of press interest in dictatorship-era human rights issues with the coverage of abortion, same-sex marriage and decriminalisation of marijuana during the Mujica administration. The latter were characterised as relatively uncontroversial, socially progressive policies carrying none of the ideological weight or divisive potential of past human rights abuses. Lastly, it was noted that the second plebiscite coincided with presidential elections and that this would have the effect of reducing coverage (interview with journalist, 2016). This too articulates a specific way in which the resumption of "politics as usual" influences over the news agenda. Elections dominate the news agenda in a way that marginalises the politics of the transition to the politics of the new democracy, thereby reinforcing the notion that they are mutually exclusive phenomena.

Regarding sources, the content analysis of the plebiscites generally found more access for politicians than civil society actors, while the *Marcha* represented a better

opportunity for civil society actors to gain access. However, there were significant variations within this. One clear finding is the very low level of civil society sources gaining access to *El País*. When asked about this, the news editor of *El País* said that political sources are often used in *Marcha* reports because:

> Usually when you have a march like this, you find out who the heads are, the most influential figures, and they were usually these guys [politicians]. There are people who are more genuine than these guys, like this old lady Luisa Cuesta, but also they are not so articulate, they are not so reachable (Interview with editor, 2016).

This develops the point introduced near the beginning of this chapter, that civil society actors are perceived to be outwith the "bureaucratic affinity" between politicians and journalists (Fishman, 1980). This concept captures the way in which journalists and their sources share an implicit understanding of news values and reporting conventions, such as the ability to give a quote in a reportable way rather than being "not so articulate", as the editor describes above. However, it is not clear that this explanation is sufficient given the history of *El País* and its systematic exclusion of civil society voices, particularly trade unions. In this way, the vague notion of *reachability* implies a practical obstacle that obscures an ideological distance. This is an instance of the broader perception of journalists that media access is shaped by the scale of Uruguay rather than practices that embody the politics of communication in the country. That is, the political nature of media access that is clearly experienced by civil society organisations is not perceived by journalists. Indeed, civil society actors were "reachable" in some years. When it was suggested that NGOs had received access, a question based on data that showed there was *Marcha* coverage in both newspapers for almost every year of the study (1996-2012), the representative from *Famidesa* immediately replied: "Yes, in 2005" (interview with civil society organisation, 2016). The interviewee had recalled, 11 years later, the year in which *El País* gave more coverage than was usual to the *Marcha del Silencio*. He added that his organisation was able to gain access in *El País* when they criticised the *Frente Amplio* for taking

inadequate action on transitional justice. This instrumental use of NGOs to report political conflict, which is a key news value, was observed in the content analysis. Thus, the data show that civil society actors became more *reachable* when they aligned more closely to the logic of news reporting at *El País,* where there is a clear emphasis on party politics. That is, with the change of government, the civil society organisations moved closer to the "bureaucratic affinity" described above. This further demonstrates that while media-source relations can be strongly shaped by transitional ideologies and partisan media, these become eroded over time by competing pressures to cover changing governments.

A key feature of the editorial positions of the newspapers on the issue is that they were more polarised in early transition than later on. Drawing on the content analysis and interviews, the clearest articulation of this is the way in which the newspapers were positioned on the 1989 and 2009 plebiscites. In the 1989 plebiscite, *El País* supported the yellow vote, or the vote in favour of the Expiry Law, and *La República* supported the green vote, or the vote against. In-keeping with the confrontational, colourful style and left-wing editorial position of *La República,* its support for the *Voto Verde* was extensive and overt. Slogans reading "I vote for happiness. Vote green" ran across its masthead, while inside the paper a series of full-page adverts promoted the green vote alongside the newspaper logo. The campaign was attributed to the newspaper's founder and editor of the time, Fasano Mertens, described by an interviewee as "the great communicator, impeller and agitator for the 'no'" (interview with journalist, 2016). By way of contrast, *El País* ran quarter-page replicas of a yellow voting ballot over several days during the 1989 plebiscite - a comparatively formal intervention. Both newspapers featured editorials in support of the respective vote and both ran long letters to the reader from the editors setting out the position of the newspaper. Again, that of *El País* was couched in more formal language, while Fasano Mertens struck an impassioned tone in a column titled "Green is the vote the soul calls for" (La República, 15th April 1989).

During the 2009 campaign, *El País* did not feature any campaign material, while *La República* featured a more stylised "YES" (*for* the nullification of the expiry law) logo

across its masthead and a series of 'memorials' for the disappeared, stating how old the person would be and inviting the reader to celebrate with them on the day of the plebiscite. By this point, the *Frente Amplio* was in government and the newspaper had become more aligned with the party. Interviewees noted the accompanying decline in coverage of transitional justice. As an interviewee put it: "*La República* had famous front pages about human rights questions…but a change of government, a change of profile. It's natural." (interview with journalist, 2016). When this was raised with an investigative journalist closely associated with reporting on dictatorship-era human rights violations in Uruguay, his response was that human rights issues "had stopped selling" and that the editorial profile of *La República* had changed (interview, 2016). This shift in editorial profile is predicted in media democratisation literature, which describes the way in which new media outlets may initially report in a confrontational manner before adapting to the emerging new order of party politics. While this development enables the media to perform the function of providing political information that enables citizens to form electoral preferences and follow day-to-day politics, it is not clear that this is beneficial for media access for civil society actors. In Uruguay, this appears to be embodied in the change of *La República* from a campaigning, confrontational newspaper in the late 1980s to becoming more aligned with the *Frente Amplio* as it emerged as an unprecedented political force in the early 2000s. This effectively meant that the ability of civil society actors to gain access to *La República* became contingent upon the position of the *Frente Amplio* on the issue and, so, on the wider political agenda. The notion that this is a "natural" development for the media during democratisation is problematic because, based on the cases analysed in this thesis, it results in a contraction in media access for civil society actors – or an overall reduction in plurality of representation. Using the measure of *democratic media* roles, the media effectively became less democratic the more it focused on party politics and thereby narrows the boundaries of debate.

In contrast to *La República,* the editorial position of *El País* as against both referendums was rooted in the view of the families that own the newspaper. Their view was that there is a long tradition of amnesties for civil wars in Uruguay and that an amnesty for dictatorship-era crimes was therefore also the correct response (interview with editor,

2016). The current news editor confirmed that the *Marcha* has received minimal coverage in the newspaper due to this. However, as the content analysis showed, it received more coverage in 2005 due to President Vazquez attending and the editor of *El País* said he has increased coverage in the last few years (i.e. approximately 2013 onwards) because more people had been attending the march. The editor explained that he did not know why more people were attending, but the fact alone meant it merited more coverage. While this period coincided with an increase in trials – and so may be linked to the *justice cascade* – a representative from a civil society organisation indicated that a younger generation of Uruguayans have begun to campaign on the issue, thereby swelling the numbers at the *Marchas*. This perspective represents a clear shift from the loyalty to the editorial position adopted during the 1989 plebiscite and to a lesser degree in 2009. Though the newspapers have both adopted editorial positions on the impunity issue, then, neither has proven to be inflexible in light of political and market considerations. Combined with the aforementioned fluctuations in source access, this indicates that changes associated with media democratisation do occur during the period of democratisation; however they may be the outcome of the more general opening-up of politics and market that accompanies democratisation rather than of the media performance of specific democratic roles. This is an important distinction as media democratisation literature has assumed that the democratic performance of the media logically improves during the period, based on the proxies of the removal of censorship and restoration of the freedom of the press and other formal factors. It is a particularly critical point for media access because, as the cases of this thesis have indicated, both the quantity and especially a high *quality* of access relies upon journalistic practices around the selection and use of sources.

6.4   *Shaping access for civil society actors: Between partisanship and professionalisation*

This section widens the focus of this chapter to look at the influence of journalistic culture and practices in Uruguay on media access across democratisation. The key findings in this section are as follows. Firstly, although there was a process or processes

of professionalisation during the democratisation period, which may be associated with opening access and changes to journalistic rituals to some extent, the outlets remain broadly partisan. Among other effects, this means that source-media relations continue to favour politicians and issue coverage may also be broadly indexed with the party political agenda. Secondly, that specific source practices either directly or indirectly affecting access for civil society actors have been shaped by their development in the context of partisan journalism. Overall, both indicate that the quantity and quality of media access across the period under study was most significantly shaped by journalistic practices that co-evolved with a strongly partisan press. Furthermore, although there was a process of professionalisation that paralleled the democratisation process, the latter does not appear to have been fundamental to the former though may have had a catalyzing effect on processes already under way.

6.4.1 Professionalisation within a partisan framework

The introduction to this thesis described the partisan nature of Uruguay's press, which has the general effect of privileging access for politicians. While a similar privileging of official sources is found among most media systems across the world (Ericson, Baranek and Chan, 1989; Manning, 2001; Tiffen *et al.*, 2013), some countries also have a tradition of journalistic practices associated with objectivity and impartiality that may have a moderating effect on this. For example, the practice of telling both sides of the story in pursuit of impartiality acts as an access-broadening mechanism, regardless of whether it is accompanied by a desire to improve plurality. These principles are not associated with partisan journalism that characterises journalistic approaches in most Latin American countries (Waisbord, 2000, 2006). However, if partisan journalism tends to privilege access for political parties, then professionalisation and its associated practices theoretically might widen access to groups and issues that may otherwise have been excluded for partisan reasons.

Interviewees identified a process of professionalisation having taken place in the period

from the return to democracy onwards. Professionalisation was defined as "independence" or a decisive shift away from partisan journalism (interviews with journalists, 2014 and 2016). This is an important distinction given the abovementioned association of professionalisation with objectivity, especially because of the influence of US news values across many countries, despite more recent work questioning this. When questioned about this alternative definition, several interviewees explicitly stated a variation on the phrase "there is no such thing as objectivity" (interview with journalist, 2016). In this way, their understanding of professionalisation as independence is closer to an element of Hallin and Mancini's definition, namely as having "greater control over one's work process" (Hallin & Mancini 2004:34). Given the long tradition of partisan reporting in Uruguay and the legacy of censorship during the authoritarian period, it is perhaps to be expected that this control was consistently and specifically characterised by interviewees as independence *from* partisan reporting. Journalists acknowledged the historical editorial position of the newspapers they worked for, but noted that they were able to work at different newspapers without personally shifting politics, and said that they worked independently, without interference from editors.

As with the geographical explanations of access described in the previous section, journalists at right and left publications offered explanations for the beginning of the process of professionalisation that were rooted in specific changes in Uruguay. However, they perceived it as occurring at different points during democratisation. For journalists who had worked at newspapers subject to heavy censorship and shutdowns during the dictatorship, it was located at the dawn of the return to democracy. For *El País,* it was seen as part of a process of the changing of the guard when one family member took over another. These will be discussed in turn.

The professionalisation of the left press, then, was described as a response to the end of censorship. One journalist (interview, 2016) draws a line in the sand between journalism in left-wing newspapers and weeklies before and after the return to democracy.

It was reporters wanting to do something different than had been in the last ten years… The search for a different kind of journalism. There has been a professionalisation of journalism since the return of democracy. Before 1973 the press was very, very partisan, very biased to one or other party.

Another journalist interviewee (2016) echoed this desire for professional integrity, while adding a further motivation to professionalise – the sudden need to compete in a crowded market of newly-launched publications in the newly re-established democracy.

> After a decade of dictatorship, the media flourished, right? Well, many of us realised that we did not know much about how to do it. We knew something, some self-taught, studying. But it was the need to compete, to translate reality better. The desire to do things better. And also because our market was very competitive. There were many magazines, there were many weeklies, many newspapers. So it was important that the product was of great quality, or of the highest possible quality.

On the other hand, an editor of *El País* described the drivers for professionalisation as unrelated with the return of democracy. Rather, he described the generational dynamic as primary:

> This is a family company, so the changes come when there is a change of generation. When my grandfather died in 1995, my father became director and that was a big change politically for the newspaper. …It wasn't exactly at the same time as the return to democracy; it was a bit later here. It affected a lot. The big change here was that one of the families was the head of the newsroom, but in the mid-1990s there was a decision that the head of the newsroom would be someone

100per cent professional and not affiliated to any family or politically, and that the
traditional families and their political views would be constrained to the opinion
page (Interview with editor, 2016).

There is, then, a marked difference between perceptions of how professionalisation
unfolded at left and right publications – with left wing journalists and publications
appearing to move towards more independent journalism *as a response to* the period of
suppression during the military regime. In this sense, the return to democracy
represented a watershed – restrictions were lifted and so many publications had been
decimated that journalists on the left faced a choice about how to continue. On the
other hand, there was continuity at *El País,* having endured the period by ostensibly
supporting the regime, and as such the impetus for change was at least perceived to
begin internally with generational change.

Although these accounts locate the shifts to towards professionalisation as rooted in
changes within Uruguay and within a family newspaper, a broader process of
professionalisation was already underway in the region and it is unlikely that Uruguay
was an exception to this. A general, slow shift away from a partisan press had been
taking place in South American countries for several decades. Scholarship identifies a
shift away from partisan newspapers in Latin America as a process that began after the
end of WWII, with Chile, Argentina and Brazil identified as trailblazers in pursuing this
more liberal approach to journalism (Salwen and Garrison, 1991). However, this was
clearly manifested differently according to country contexts and from its inception
belied tensions between the traditional "political" or partisan journalism of the region
compared to the perceived "neutral" journalism of the United States (Jobin, 1954). In
the case of Uruguay specifically, according to Hudson et al, a decline in newspaper sales
in the 1990s led to what amounted to a "transformation" of the press (2009). They note
that in 1993, *El País* and *El Observador* underwent redesigns in consultation with
international newspaper designers and launched newsrooms in a bid to boost sales. The
authors particularly note that the 1999 elections constituted an additional turning point,
with both newspapers launching special sections for in-depth coverage that marked a

departure from declaratory "he said-she said" journalism that comprised politicians communicating with each other in newsprint (ibid.). There is evidence, then, that while specific steps towards professionalisation are anchored in the handover from one generation to another at family-owned newspapers such as *El País,* these are linked to wider dynamics. Again, the extent to which interviewees are able to perceive these broader dynamics varies. As in the case of access, explanations tend to be related to specific circumstances either in Uruguay or even within particular newsrooms. That is, despite accounts of Uruguay's intensely partisan press, regional influences via other prestige publications in Argentina and Chile – particularly given long-standing ties in the "print culture" across the Rio de la Plata (Garrett Acree Jr, 2011) – were already having an effect both on journalism norms and the market. While processes of professionalisation paralleled the period of democratisation, then, they were not rooted in the return to democracy; again, it was the general opening-up of democratisation that intensified market pressures and the influence of other newspapers in the region.

In terms of what professionalisation meant in practice, the interviewees drew a distinction between the working practices of journalists and the editorial position of newspapers. That is, professionalisation meant that journalists were able to work with increased independence from the editorial position of the newspaper; however the editorial position remained. In this sense, partisanship is still alive and well in the Uruguayan press if it is defined as "defending political or economic interests (not necessarily represented by party organisations)" (Waisbord 2006:21). One interviewee described the maintenance of an editorial position at *El País* as follows:

> We tried to keep an identity - we weren't completely impartial on everything, and I still believe it is better for readers to know where you stand. I think it's worse to be commercial and change according to your commercial interests - it's better to say what you believe but also publish things that don't agree with what you think.

The interviewee acknowledged the continued association with the *Blancos* but as discussed in the Introduction to the thesis, described the link with more distance – the position of the newspaper *coincides* with the position of the party. Similarly, the editor of a rival newspaper described the editorial position of his newspaper as providing both a commercial and ideological impetus for its existence:

> Yes, there are publisher interests and positions, especially newspapers rather than magazines, perhaps, because they are political tools, really. That is, a newspaper needs to be positioned on the political spectrum. Ours was explicit – when the government became the *Frente Amplio*, so *La Diaria* arose. We saw that there could be a daily newspaper more linked to social movements, social organizations, and the [existing] left press was to align with the government position. And we, therefore, said, 'we need this' (Interview with editor, 2016).

Since its launch in 2006, the newspaper has added a monthly magazine, *Lento,* to its output. The launch of *La Diaria* is interesting in terms of how it replaced the broader civil society-orientated position of *La República* once the latter publication became more aligned to the *Frente Amplio.* However, *La Diaria* is not mainstream and has been able to survive in the market due to basing its income on subscriptions – 80% of its revenue is through this route.

Overall, the press has professionalised up to a point in response to market pressures and other wider dynamics affecting newspapers in the region. However, the press remains partisan – both in the sense of its links to parties and, perhaps more recently as the political landscape changes, to broader political groups.

6.4.2 Source use and practices

The previous section described the broader journalistic norms of the Uruguayan press during democratisation. This section focuses on specific source practices. The relationship that journalists have with their sources is clearly key to explaining the dynamics of source use (Manning, 2001). Practices around source use have the effect of shaping quantity and quality of access for all actors. For civil society actors, they have been found to be generally problematic for both quantity and quality of media access (Ericson, Baranek and Chan, 1989; Cottle, 2003; Deacon, 2003). For the purposes of this thesis, practices including the number of sources used per story, source types and the way in which sources were typically quoted are particularly important. These were coded and recorded during the content analysis. During the 2016 fieldwork trip, by which point the content analysis was complete, interviewees were asked about these practices both for providing context in which to interpret the results of the content analysis and to establish what kind of journalism norms are typical in Uruguay and whether these have changed over time. Three particular practices are discussed in turn: the use of few sources per article; the declarative style of journalism; and the non-critical approach to source use, which includes a lack of investigative reporting.

First, interviewees were directly questioned about the practice of using a limited number of sources in stories. The total number of sources per article was recorded during the content analysis as it can indicate the range of views expressed in that article. From this can be deduced whether the style of reporting is one that encourages plurality (Tiffen *et al.*, 2013). A limited number of sources per article was particularly evident in the coverage of the plebiscites, which represented a more conventional type of political news than the coverage of the *Marcha*. The total news coverage of both plebiscites - that is, excluding editorials and opinion pieces - shows a strong tendency to use single-source stories. Nearly 65 per cent of total news coverage was single source. The coverage in *El País* showed particular use of single sources, with 79 per cent of news stories in 1989 having only one source. This number reduced to 50 per cent in its 2009

coverage. By comparison, *La República* news stories during the 1989 coverage were 65 per cent single source, with the 2009 coverage showing a marked shift towards the use of more sources per story, with 32 per cent being one source, 16 per cent two sources, and 20 per cent three sources. This indicates a shift towards source practices more conducive to a plurality of representation.

The explanations given for this source practice were rooted in dynamics between journalists and politician sources. When prompted, it was explained that there is a practice of using one source for political news because official sources often deny stories. Journalists know this and, so, deliberately do not ask for a comment on an accusation in order to publish the accusation. As one journalist described it:

> Politicians here easily deny stories. That's a problem when you're working on a story. A source gives you a story that is important, relevant, and you are certain that it's true. And it affects source number two. So the logic would be to approach source two and they deny it, so how do you publish it? So many times the journalist just doesn't call the second source, publishes it, then waits until the next day, because once it is published the source two cannot deny it. People kill stories before they are published, so the journalist waits until they can't deny it. Politicians are complicated. (Interview with journalist, 2016)

This practice is normalised across left- and right-wing publications (that is, includes the "traditional" press which is considered more professional and credible). Therefore, while journalists may favour official sources to protect their professionalism as they are considered more credible, they will also risk legal action in order to have a story at all. As an editor explained:

> I'm the head of the newsroom but since I'm a lawyer I'm also legally responsible

for the content. So, I'm the one who goes to the judge or picks up the phone when someone complains. And usually it's 'why didn't you call me yesterday before you printed this?' and I have to say: 'you are right'.

This practice indicates a degree of tension in the previously discussed supply-and-demand of official sources required for partisan media. Specifically, the issue arises when the preference for politician sources comes into conflict with the need to fill a newspaper. The practice has a second effect – once the initial story is published, it is usual for the politician or business person it concerns to respond the following day. The story may then run for several days via further single-source responses. As such, a balance of views might be then achieved over time rather than within each article. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, including different views within one article is associated with the liberal tradition of balanced reporting. It is a mechanism that is rooted more in norms about impartiality than plurality, however has a pluralizing effect. The *he-said-she-said* style of political reporting outlined above may have been developed in the context of a strongly partisan press as a way to quickly and simply cover political conflicts or discussions. However, as a habituated practice it has two effects that are harmful to internal plurality that may particularly disadvantage civil society actors. First, the phenomenon of balance-across-articles rather than the internal pluralism found in liberal journalistic traditions means that sources that may have an opinion on a view or issue are not routinely consulted to bring different dimensions to an article. In the context of a partisan press this may not be necessarily beneficial to civil society actors, however the practice of giving a 'right to reply' would have a general effect on internal pluralism. Indeed, it is the kind of practice that once established as part of the "media logic" NGOs can adapt to and pre-empt by offering quotes to journalists to broaden the scope of coverage (Waisbord, 2011b). Secondly, the routinisation of reporting on a "he said, she said" basis in a sequence of short articles across a series of days is compatible with "episodic" rather than "thematic" reporting discussed earlier in this chapter (Iyengar, 1991). That is, the more complex issues or deeper context around the topic are less likely to be explored if articles are focusing on an exchange between politicians. This particularly disadvantages civil society actors campaigning on issues where communicating the wider social, political or environmental

meaning is critical in order to win support for their demands or goals.

A second, related, feature of source use that has an important influence on the quality of media access is the style of journalism in Uruguay. It is common practice to use of direct quotes in articles, with very minimal interpretation or additional content written by journalists. This reduces the possibility of adding context or background information. This was acknowledged by all interviewees, with one describing it as a "declaratory" style of journalism as opposed to the "interpretative" style of countries such as Mexico, where it is more acceptable for journalists to put their own spin or interpretation on political events (Reyes Matta, 1981). In the liberal tradition, a declaratory style, or heavy reliance on quotes, is associated with the perceived objectivity of verbal testimonies. However, in the context of the history of strong partisan journalism in Uruguay, the practice seems more related to newspapers acting as a relatively unobstructed mouthpiece for politicians.

Interviewees offered various explanations for declarative reporting. One reason was related to the pressure of working to deadline – re-printing quotes is simply faster. The second was related to maintaining good relations with sources. If a quote was published without additional comment or analysis, then the article could not be disputed by the source. This was justified as necessary in Uruguay because of its size. As a journalist explained:

> The thing is, if you start to add a lot of literature around a quote then you have to face the source who will ask what it's all about. Journalists and politicians in Uruguay see each other every day. You go to the supermarket and the minister for something is there. I'm going to see that guy eventually or next week, and if I did something that's not OK I will need to have an answer for him. It's not that we are better than Argentinians or Mexicans, there's more of a short-term accountability here (Interview with journalist, 2016).

Again, this explanation evokes the scale of Montevideo as critically shaping journalist-source relations as well as journalistic practices – and, again, it obscures the underlying power dynamics of the relationship between journalists and their sources. Adding fact-based analysis and contextualisation of quotes to articles in a way that challenges sources or holds them to account is not the same as a journalist contributing their own opinion to a topic or indeed doing "something that is not OK". In this way, the practice of quoting sources without analysis indicates a degree of deference to official sources, expressed in the above quote as the sense that journalists are "accountable" to official sources rather than to professional standards.

A final explanation offered was that since the shift away from partisan journalism, an acute distinction has emerged between those parts of the daily newspaper where opinion and analysis are considered acceptable – that is, the opinion and editorial pages – and those where purely factual reports are now the norm – that is, the news pages. This distinct separation between the "journalism of information" and "journalism of opinion" has been linked to trust-building by Latin American media (Waisbord, 2006). Importantly, the "bracketing-off" of opinion in this way is suggested by Waisbord as recognition that newspapers are still politically partisan in the region.

Again, this creates an obstacle for quality of access. The practice of declarative reporting may have been developed in order to meet deadlines, maintain the supply-demand source relations with politicians, and follow journalistic rituals of objectivity. However, it has the effect of limiting the amount of contextual information added to news articles. The exception to this style is in the weeklies or *semanarios*, which have a long and distinguished tradition in Uruguay. Interviewees described them as serving a different function in comparison to daily newspapers:

> [They have] more opinion, more analysis. There is one, Busqueda, which I think is the best-selling. It is very professional and marks much of the agenda. It follows

news that does not appear in the dailies, perhaps. They handle many sources and make good use of the time to work the news, I think. And Brecha too. It also follows things... in fact, the last Brecha had a very interesting piece on the topic of the military archives. And that, maybe it is easier to do with the deadlines of a weekly than in a newspaper. In the daily, you have to dedicate specific resources for that, and it is more difficult. Those kinds of pieces, I think they are more for weekly than daily newspapers.

This suggests that while journalistic practices at daily newspapers may not be conducive to a high level of internal pluralism, the different styles of journalism across types of publication might mean there is external plurality across titles.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored interview findings relating to media access for civil society actors during democratisation. Specifically, it has brought together the two case studies of the thesis and enabled a wider discussion of media access and relevant explanatory factors to account for the patterns identified in Chapters 4 and 5.

It has found that dynamics of media access for civil society actors have not significantly changed over the course of democratisation. Though some very recent changes were indicated, these were generally attributable to changes in state-media relations and market pressures related to democratisation rather than a shift in the performance of democratic roles of the media. In this way, the patterns of fluctuating access for civil society actors identified in the case studies can be said to be largely contingent upon these. As discussed in the previous chapters, gaining a high *quality* of media access was a particular obstacle to the improvement of media access over time. Interview data in this chapter clarified that this is especially problematic for civil society organisations as they need this quality of access to communicate the substantive issues inherent in transitional justice. While journalists described a process of professionalisation which in their view reduced the strength of the partisan press in Uruguay, it is not clear that this process had any positive effect on media access. Indeed, overall this study finds that source practices continue to be strongly influenced by the tradition of the partisan press in their deference to and direct quoting of official sources.

Finally, the incorporation of interviewing enabled media access to be explored in a multi-dimensional way that revealed the way in which it mirrors the "haves" and "have nots" of wider society. Interestingly, this was only visible to the marginalised voices of the civil society organisations; whereas journalists conceived of access as a question of geography.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and contributions

This thesis began by stating the aim of investigating the issue of who has a voice in society, and why, during democratisation. The media plays a crucial role in democracy by providing a forum for debate, a source of information on social and political affairs, and by holding the government to account. The aims of this thesis called attention to a neglected dimension of the media during democratisation – whether civil society actors gain more access to the media and what influences this. Existing scholarship on media democratisation has emphasised the role for the media in nurturing new democracies via supporting the state. However, this literature has overlooked the way in which the media can contribute to deepening democracy by representing the political demands of groups in civil society and thereby creating a space to hold the state accountable. In addition to this, there is a lack of empirical measurement of whether the media does actually become more democratic over time and indeed how we might expect a *more* democratic media to perform.

The following research questions were posed in order to explore these points: Does media access for civil society actors improve across democratisation? What factors may help explain this? By devising a mixed-methods approach to investigate these questions, I was able to measure media access over time while incorporating contextual information and qualitative analysis to discern explanatory factors. This approach was influenced by the ongoing debate on de-Westernisation of the field of media studies.

Latin America and the "third wave" of democracies provides a fruitful testing ground for exploring how media access changes during democratisation as the region has a history of media censorship and partisanship, which have over the years combined to exclude dissident voices from debates in the mainstream media, particularly those held by civil society groups rather than political parties. The "third wave" was hoped to constitute a break from these "centuries of silence" (Ferreira, 2006) and, indeed, scholarship on

media and democratisation that bloomed during the period was optimistic about the potential for media to buttress the nascent democracies. The new democracies in the region have themselves not been free of critical appraisal, with inaction on dealing with past human rights abuses constituting a particular "pending issue" or "sticking point" during the process. It is also a question that has received very little attention from media scholars. Yet transitional justice provides a particularly interesting case for investigating media access during democratisation. The unfinished business of dealing with human rights abuses from the authoritarian era is, at least in part, due to the way in which it is contested by politicians and civil society actors, allowing for different – and competing – voices to emerge.

In this context, media access, through enabling the representation of hegemonic narratives and counter-narratives, could play a catalytic role by explaining and promoting transitional justice over impunity. This is particularly important in the many pacted democracies that emerged in the "third wave", in which the outgoing military regimes shaped the conditions of the return to electoral democracy, where impunity was staunchly upheld in the rhetoric of the transitional governments. The provision of alternative views and information on the issue could help shape public opinion and build support for processes of transitional justice to commence. However, the necessity of this examination of the dynamics of media access between official and civil society voices is not limited to transitional justice; rather, it extends to wider human rights and social justice issues in the region. The potential for representation and mobilisation continues to be relevant in the context of ongoing concerns about civil society participation in third wave democracies in Latin America. Although the "left turn" raised hopes of greater participatory politics and an improvement in state-civil society relations, the outcome of this has been mixed.

This final chapter explains the three key conclusions and contributions of the thesis. The importance of these findings for media reform and further research are discussed in each section. First, the thesis makes a methodological contribution of mixed methods and engaging with the debate about de-Westernisation of media studies. Second, it

concludes that media access does not progressively improve during democratisation; rather, it is shaped in quantity by a range of factors within the broader context of democratisation and in quality by journalistic practices that are not conducive to a great depth of representation. Third, that although the media gives some representation to groups fighting for transitional justice, the way in which the media broadly follows the political and public agenda acts as a valve on both the quality and quantity of access. Overall the thesis argues that the shifts and changes that tend to accompany the process of democratisation offer opportunities for civil society actors to strategise and organise to gain media access, while improving the quality of access rests with improving journalistic standards.

7.1 Methodological contribution: mixed methods and de-Westernisation

This thesis makes a contribution towards developing a novel methodology for research into media access that brings together quantitative and qualitative measurement over time with interviewing to explore relevant contextual factors. This was developed in order to study an established field of media studies – source-media relations – in an understudied topic and country – democratisation in Uruguay. This approach was developed in order to properly investigate the research questions of this thesis, which in seeking to ascertain an *improvement* in media access focus on both the quantity and quality of media access while discerning influences on these over the period of democratisation. Thus, while measurement was important for mapping change, the research questions also sought to capture the shifting dynamics of democratisation – political, social, and economic – as manifested in Uruguay, and the way in which these might influence media access. In addition to this, the methodological approach was influenced by the debate on de-Westernisation. This debate emerged in earnest in the wake of the "third wave" and marked a shift towards greater empirical media research not only in the new democracies of Latin America but also in Eastern Europe. Key to this debate has been the way in which it necessitates re-visiting assumptions and engaging with central questions regarding the media based on case studies and theoretical scholarship in US and Western European cases. Thus, the methodology of this thesis

embodied these twin concerns by both gathering important contextual information on the case study of Uruguay, while also engaging with broader questions about media access.

The combination of content analysis and interviewing enabled triangulation that produced a more robust analysis of key dynamics of media access. More than this, the mixed methods enabled the thesis to get to the heart of access by beginning to expose the way in which patterns of media access reflect power relations in a given society. Exploring these via interviewing revealed the way in which civil society actors perceived access as a matter of political power. Even these actors' *perception* of absolute exclusion conveyed the extent to which they see themselves as marginalised from the publications they wish to appear in. On the other hand, journalists repeatedly referred to the geography of Montevideo as explaining the open channels of communication between themselves and politicians, indicating that they did not view their decisions about source use in a political way. These insights drew the thesis away from a media-centric analysis that clarified the way in which the question of media access is part and parcel of a broader set of questions about "haves" and "have nots" in society. In this sense, although journalistic practices are important, when an editor said that source selection in his newspaper merely "reflected changes in society" he was simultaneously divesting his role of political content *and* telling the truth. The importance of journalistic practices will be emphasised elsewhere in this chapter, however the multi-dimensional approach to media access enabled by the mixed methodology has elucidated the way in which the study of media access cannot be divorced from its wider political and social context. The way in which marginalisation in society appears to *carry over* into the media is a significant source of concern if the media is to have a role, as some radical scholars believe it can, in re-configuring inequalities in society in Latin America and beyond.

As previously mentioned, this thesis also set out to contribute to the ongoing debate on de-Westernisation of media studies. This was enabled by its methodological approach, which incorporated contextual factors and local explanations via qualitative interviewing

without being limited to a hyper-local level of analysis which would limit engagement with broader questions about media access and media-source relations. In this way, features that were described as "Uruguayan" by interviewees could be disentangled from the perspective of the interviewee and placed in a broader context of scholarship on media-source relations and Uruguayan transitional politics. This enabled a robust examination of media access during democratisation in the country alongside the *possibility* of critiquing Western research. In this way, the methodology of the thesis sought to embody a critical engagement with de-Westernisation that "is guided by a hybrid, dynamic, and open vision of academic knowledge" (Waisbord and Mellado, 2014, p. 368). Indeed, the central findings of the content analysis were that the dynamics of media access in a democratising nation in Latin America are not significantly different from those observed in cases elsewhere in the world.

7.2 Patterns of media access during democratisation

A key conclusion of this thesis is that there is not a progressive improvement in media access for civil society actors across the period of democratisation – that is, it does not improve as the new democracy moves from transition into consolidation. Here, it is necessary to briefly return to the distinction drawn at the beginning of the thesis between *media democratisation* and *media democracy*. The former relates to formal changes such as the removal of censorship laws, the re-instatement of freedom of the press, and market diversity. On the other hand, the latter emphasises the extent to which the media performs its democratic roles – the 'classic three' of these being representation, information, and the 'watchdog' role of holding politicians to account. While mainstream scholarship on the media during democratisation has focused on the former type of measurement, it was observed in the introduction that while these features tend to be used as proxies for how the media actually performs, it is not clear that the assumptions hold. This particularly applies in the case of media access, where a diversity of outlets is frequently used as a proxy for plurality of representation. Therefore, the standard for measurement for whether the media has become *more democratic* in terms of media access for civil society actors is based on both an

assessment of the quality and quantity of access over time.

Rather, the *quantity* of media access fluctuates across the period and the *quality* of access was low throughout. This is important because, as discussed at the beginning of the thesis, there is a general expectation that the media will democratise alongside political democratisation. The expectation of a linear process of political democratisation has been questioned by scholarship on Latin America, which examines periods of both democratisation and de-democratisation (Cannon and Hume, 2012). Some scholars have questioned this assumption insofar as it applies to the media on the basis that the optimistic normative expectations are not grounded in empirical research (Jebril Nael and Loveless, 2013). However, there have been few empirical studies that stretch across the period of democratisation to allow a robust mapping of the performance of the democratic roles of the media. This thesis addresses this gap through its detailed content analysis of media access and plurality. This enables the testing of normative expectations of the media during democratisation. While the literature notes that these may vary according to the context, this thesis is also well placed to speak to that question given its single case study, mixed-methods approach.

With primary relevance to the first research question of whether media access for civil society actors improves across democratisation, both case studies established that the *quantity* of media access for civil society actors fluctuated across the period of democratisation and the *quality* of media access was overall consistently poor. This was evidenced by the analysis of the cases of the plebiscites on the Expiry Law and the *Marcha del Silencio,* which gave a "snapshot" and continuous measurement of media access across democratisation, respectively. Quantity of access is discussed first, followed by quality.

In terms of the quantity of access, civil society actors gained a good proportion of access to coverage of the *Marcha* each year, however the overall amount of coverage was

generally low. With regard to the plebiscites, although politicians dominated the coverage of the 1989 plebiscite - just after the point of transition - and civil society actors gained roughly equal amount of coverage 20 years later – well into the consolidation period – this was qualified by the latter receiving much less coverage and less importance on the political agenda. Thus, a phenomenon observed in both cases was that civil society actors tended to gain more access when the issue of transitional justice was off the political agenda. In other words, the elite passivity on the issue created an opportunity for civil society actors to gain access in newspaper coverage of important events. This was noted to represent a different phenomenon to the *indexing hypothesis*, which predicts that a greater range of viewpoints will be represented in the media when there is elite conflict on an issue (Bennett, 1990). In terms of gaining media access to serve the political ends of the organisations, this dynamic presents a frustrating paradox: they are more likely to gain access precisely when political actors are least likely to listen. This is a critical issue as civil society organisations made clear in interviews that a key aim of gaining media access was to speak to elites.

In terms of what factors may help to explain these findings, the quantity of access was found to be influenced by and thereby contingent upon factors related to the broader opening-out of the market and politics associated with the process of democratisation. That is, while the media may have undergone important *internal* changes such as the removal of censorship and the reinstatement of constitutional guarantees of press freedom, these were not found to explain most patterns of media access. Rather, the combination of content analysis triangulated with interview findings determined that the main factors explaining shifts in the quantity of media access was the increase in market competition, the reversion to "politics as usual" and the election of the *Frente Amplio.*

It is true that, in the immediate return to democracy, the new newspaper *La República* had a significant effect on the quantity of coverage gained by the anti-impunity campaign during the 1989 plebiscite. However, this was described as a market-driven decision in a newspaper market already occupied by outlets making the argument to the contrary. Indeed, support for the campaign did diminish as the newspaper increasingly

aligned itself with the *Frente Amplio* as the part re-emerged and gained unprecedented strength over the period. Therefore, this initial effect was to be short-lived as 'politics as usual' took over. The election of the *Frente Amplio* in 2004 represented a key influence on the newsworthiness of the *Marcha* and plebiscites in different ways. The coverage of the *Marcha* increased overall as transitional justice returned to the political agenda – both key characteristics of democratisation – however the coverage of the 2009 plebiscite was significantly lower than that in 1989, partly due to the *Frente Amplio* presidential candidate Jose Mujica side-lining the issue in his campaign and partly due to the plebiscite coinciding with a presidential election as well as an additional plebiscite.

Overall, then, the return to "politics-as-normal" had a negative effect on media access for civil society actors. This shift in the media after an initial period of renewed vigour for reporting is noted in the literature (Randall, 1993; Voltmer, 2013), however the effect of it on the democratic performance of the media is understated. On the basis of this case, a key characteristic of the consolidation stage of democratisation is also a stage in which the media access narrows to focus on party politics. This may have been particularly pronounced in Uruguay given its characterisation as a *partidocracía,* in which political parties dominate political life. As discussed in Chapter 2, one of the key concepts guiding media performance at the consolidation stage is in encouraging *political culture* (Voltmer, 2013). This captured the role of media in encouraging citizen engagement with politics, with an emphasis on electoral rather than participatory politics. In light of this, the findings of this thesis present a problem – the media does indeed encourage engagement with electoral politics through prioritising the political agenda, however in doing so it marginalises other, organised voices.

On the basis of this, I argue that the concept does not go far enough. That the media, operating during a time of "politics as usual", will focus on political parties and government business is a given – it is expected on the basis of scholarship. Although the media focusing on electoral politics and government business is associated with problems with pluralism in mature democracies, it represents a particular problem for transitional democracies – and even more so for the pacted transitions that characterise

the third wave in Latin America. This is because these transitions inherently involved the carrying over of "authoritarian enclaves" (Garreton, 2004) that are exemplified by – but by no means limited to – transitional justice. Given the nature of these as being based in tacit agreement between the outgoing regime and incoming government, it is left to civil society to contest the hegemonic narratives that accompany such enclaves. Thus, there is a basis for a more radical normative duty for the media to represent a plurality of views during democratisation which entails civil society actors being able to gain more access. This will be returned to following a discussion of findings on the quality of access.

The quality of access for civil society actors was incorporated into the content analysis as a critical measure of how democratic media access. As defined earlier in the thesis, quality of access relates to the extent to which sources are able to represent themselves and, in the case of civil society organisations seeking political change, define the issue area within which they are making their demands. This was measured in three ways: how sources were cited; what role they played; and a thematic analysis. Persistent problems with the quality of access were observed in both cases across the period and were rooted in journalistic norms. In the reporting on the two plebiscites, the practice of using a high level of direct quoting was pronounced. This was explained as part of a declaratory style of reporting common Uruguayan newspapers that is similar to the 'mouthpiece' style associated with partisan newspapers. In the *Marcha* coverage, a particular problem was the high level of citation of sources by reference only, which gave a 'who's who' of those present at the event. This constituted a low quality of access. The 'template' of the march and the use of many photographs in its coverage were explained by one journalist to be a bid to encourage people to buy the newspaper as a 'souvenir' of the march. In addition to this, civil society actors almost always played the role of advocates rather than arbiters in news coverage of both the plebiscites and the *Marcha*. This is associated with lower source credibility as it is defined by making a specific demand rather than an authoritative overview of events. An exception to this pattern was that the thematic analysis indicated that the "ethics" theme was nevertheless frequently represented over the "state" narrative. Overall, however, these different dimensions of low quality access contributed to a tendency towards *episodic*

rather than *thematic* coverage, with the latter constituting a higher quality of access (Iyengar, 1991). Indeed, interviews indicated that the inclusion of deeper, contextual information on transitional justice was deemed essential by civil society organisations in order to communicate the *culture* of impunity, beyond the removal of formal obstacles such as the Expiry Law.

Overall, then, while the quantity of access varied, there were more persistent problems with a low quality of access. Though a progressive improvement in both dimensions of media access might have been a good news story for the media during democratisation, a contingent *quantity* of media access is not necessarily bad for improved plurality of the media; however, persistent journalistic practices that result in low quality of access is problematic. Regarding the former point, the inherent flexibility of the media – the way in which it responds to wider social and political dynamics over time – and how this also affects media access constitutes an opportunity for intervention, via either media reform or through NGOs and other actors developing media strategies.

To be sure, this dimension is already being researched in two strands – both of which this thesis can speak to. As outlined in Chapter 2 of this thesis, research on the media in Latin America is moving towards civil society interventions in the media – both at the level of *media democratisation,* through the involvement of civil society groups in media reforms (Waisbord, 2009b; Mauersberger, 2015), and at the level of *democratic media*, via research on how civil society organisations are strategizing to gain access to the media in the context of low pluralism (Waisbord and Peruzzotti, 2009; Waisbord, 2011b). This thesis contributes to this movement in several ways. First, it provides impetus for this field of scholarship by evidencing that the expectations of the media during democratisation are not warranted on the basis of this empirical study – particularly during the consolidation stage. Secondly, it provides evidence for some key dynamics affecting the ability of civil society actors to gain media access and, thus, key obstacles. Thirdly, it emphasises the issue of the quality of access being a particular problem, which suggests that greater attention must be given towards how to improve journalistic standards.

7.3 Transitional justice: The media follows the state

The second key finding of this thesis relates to transitional justice and the media. Specifically, the cases analysed demonstrated that the media broadly followed the political and public agenda on transitional justice rather than the civil society movement for 'truth, justice, and never again'. These findings are important because, as was noted earlier in the thesis, media coverage of the transitional justice issue is significantly under-studied yet scholars have observed that given the "sticking point" it constitutes in the democratisation process, media explanation and promotion of transitional justice could act as a crucial catalyst in shifting public opinion (Price and Stremlau, 2012). While this invokes the roles of watchdog and information giving, this thesis clearly speaks directly to how representing the issue is fundamentally a question of media access. Thus, this thesis contributes a rare empirical case of how the media actually performs, which helps to better understand the challenges facing transitional justice campaigners and point towards opportunities.

The data demonstrate the way in which the media followed the political and public agenda rather than the growing civil society campaign on the issue. This was captured by data on the newsworthiness of the plebiscites and *Marchas*. While the 1989 plebiscite gained a lot of coverage in both newspapers, this declined significantly in the 2009 coverage. As expressed above, while this was linked to it taking place on the same day as a presidential election, it was also rooted in the way in which the loss of the 1989 plebiscite was seen to have removed the issue from the political and public agenda. In addition to this, patterns of coverage indicated that the transitional justice campaign steadily declined for the *Marcha* until the election of the *Frente Amplio* in 2004. It must be noted that *La República* was an exception to this in early democratisation, however this support tapered off as it became the *de facto* newspaper of the *Frente Amplio*. This overall pattern, then, was despite the growing civil society-led campaign against impunity, which during this time re-grouped after the failure of the 1989 plebiscite and began to build momentum, as described by the concept of the "justice cascade". Therefore, on the basis of the Uruguay case, campaigns for transitional justice cannot

count upon the media as an ally – rather, the media agenda follows the political and public agenda. This is to be expected from *El Pais,* as a newspaper that survived the military regime by abiding by censorial guidelines; however it is surprising that early support from *La* República waned. As discussed previously, the newspaper initially represented a crucial opportunity for media access for the campaign in early democratisation, lending support to the assumption that media diversity has a positive relationship with media plurality. However, this support waned over time and then contracted significantly in the 2009 plebiscite due to the contrary view of the presidential candidate for the *Frente Amplio,* Jose Mujica, whose views were not representative of the rest of the party. Thus, media access and support for a central issue during democratisation could turn on a change of leader.

This is interesting in light of scholarship on the media during the early years of democratisation. Normative literature emphasises the support of the state as a key way in which the media can support democratisation. Indeed, some theorists consider the media a potentially negative force during consolidation if it is over-critical in its reporting of government business because this may undermine the credibility of new institutions (Bennett, 1998). This thesis found that, quite to the contrary, the press gave reduced attention to transitional justice demands at the expense of critiques from civil society until the election of the *Frente Amplio* in 2004. That is, the issue was returned to the media agenda by changes at the level of elite politics rather than building momentum for transitional justice via civil society-led campaigns and, by that point, judicial progress on the issue. In this way, the return to "politics as usual" discussed in the previous section even has the effect of sidelining key outstanding issues during democratisation. In this case, supporting the state could be considered detrimental to the deepening of democracy, on the basis that claims for transitional justice are based around key democratic principles of the rule of law and pacted transitions in particular may inhibit the fulfilment of these.

However, as noted, coverage did improve with the election of the *Frente Amplio* and this was accompanied by greater access for official actors alongside those in civil

society. This articulated the way in the effects of the "justice cascade" extend to the shaping of media access, illustrating how broader phenomena related to democratisation were generally found to have more of a democratising effect on the media than the process of democratisation itself. In this way, both the lack of coverage in the early phase of analysis (1989-2003) and the later phase (2004-2012) demonstrate how the way in media access for the transitional justice campaign was contingent upon wider dynamics. The consequences of this for the possibility of the media assisting transitional justice campaigns will be returned to at the end of this section.

The second main conclusion on media access for transitional justice is that the key obstacles for civil society organisations are twofold. Firstly, they wished to gain access to the publications that enable them to "speak" to elites as this better served their strategic objectives. Interview data indicated that the mainstream establishment newspaper, *El País,* was preferred over the more sympathetic *La República* and other left-wing newspapers. This was due to the way in which media access offered the campaign an alternative to the lack of access to politicians. This raises important questions about what kinds of media reforms and projects are helpful to civil society organisations in new democracies. Several countries in post-authoritarian Latin America have independent media projects funded by international non-governmental organisations such as the Knight Foundation and the Open Society Foundations (Requejo-Alemán and Lugo-Ocando, 2014). The aim of these is to enable investigative reporting on issues that do not gain coverage in traditional, more conservative media outlets. While this is important in nurturing greater media diversity where left-wing publications have been depleted and may struggle to re-establish given high media concentration, the findings of this thesis draw attention to the importance of gaining media access to more mainstream media. This suggests that careful strategising by NGOs to target particular publications may be an important additional way of gaining coverage.

Secondly, the thesis found that though organisations needed to gain a high quality of access to avoid *episodic* coverage, they struggled to achieve this due to a combination of journalistic norms and the advocate role played by civil society sources. Organisations

campaigning for transitional justice desire a high quality of access that enables the complexity and cultural quality of impunity to be communicated. This presents a significant obstacle for transitional justice given that hegemonic narratives supporting impunity often present it as "the only pragmatic" solution for the specific circumstances of transition, rather than an ongoing, multifaceted issue.

In light of these empirical findings, the potential role for the media in promoting and explaining transitional justice is not without significant obstacles. The question of whether the media always follows the political and public agenda on such a fundamental and controversial transitional issue would benefit from further research in other countries in Latin America and beyond, because this may have been significantly influenced in Uruguay by the result of the 1989 plebiscite. This could be subject to a more refined analysis in two ways. Firstly, by assessing media access for the campaign alongside media coverage of other elements of the movement for transitional justice as expressed by the justice cascade – for example, reporting on judicial moves, excavations, and investigative reporting on previously withheld files. This would enable a wider-ranging assessment of which actors gain access to a range of media coverage on processes of transitional justice. Secondly, by comparing the media access for transitional justice with that for other human rights campaigns that emerged in the late 1990s and continue to the present day. While scholarship indicates that human rights topics share challenges in gaining media coverage, the way in which journalists interviewed for this thesis distinguished between "old" and "new" rights issues indicates that they may be treated differently. This could engage with growing momentum for research into the intersections between media and human rights, including media coverage of human rights issues (Tumber and Waisbord, 2017).

In sum, this thesis has drawn attention to the critical importance of addressing the plurality of the media – measured here through media access – in theoretical and empirical debates about media democratisation. It has found that while the quantity of access fluctuates across the period in ways that can be strategised around by civil society organisations, the quality of access represents a more persistent obstacle to

contesting hegemonic narratives of the period. This adds impetus and insight for emerging work on civil society-led media reforms in the region.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Plain language statement

Descripción del proyecto en lenguaje sencillo

¿Cambió en el acceso de los medios de la comunicación para los actores de la sociedad civil durante el proceso de democratización?

Te invito a participar en una investigación. Antes de decidir es importante que entiendas por qué la investigación está siendo llevada a cabo y cuáles son sus implicancias. Tomate el tiempo para leer la siguiente información con cuidado y hablar de ésta con otras personas si lo deseas. Por favor, pregúntame si hay algo que no está claro o si quieres más información. Tomate el tiempo para decidir si quieres participar.

Gracias por leer.

Detalles de la investigadora

Me llamo Beth Pearson. Soy estudiante de doctorado en la Escuela de Ciencias Sociales y Políticas de la Universidad de Glasgow y esta investigación va a formar parte de mi tesis doctoral.

Los detalles para contactarme son:

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Mis supervisoras también trabajan en la Escuela de Ciencias Sociales y Políticas. Ellas son Dr. Ana Inés Langer, (ana.langer@glasgow.ac.uk) y Dr Mo Hume (mo.hume@glasgow.ac.uk).

¿Cuál es el objetivo de esta investigación?

Este proyecto busca descubrir si y cómo el acceso de los medios de comunicación para los actores de la sociedad civil cambió durante el proceso de democratización en Uruguay. Se espera que esta investigación vaya a hacer una contribución a debates generales acerca de la sociedad civil, los medios de comunicación y democratización en Uruguay, América del Sur y el mundo en general.

¿Tienes que participar?

Tu participación es voluntaria y tienes la libertad a retirarte de la investigación cuando quieras sin explicar.

¿Qué va a pasar si participas?

Si decides a participar, negociaremos la forma de la entrevista más adecuada (por ejemplo en persona, por Skype, por teléfono, por correo de electrónico, o una combinación de las anteriores), y acordaremos una hora para hacer la entrevista. Transcribiré tus comentarios literalmente, los traduciré al inglés en su caso, y te los enviaré para verificar que estén bien. Estos comentarios pueden entonces ser utilizados en la tesis, junto con tu nombre y rol y tiempo de la entrevista, si está de acuerdo en ser nombrado. Estos comentarios se podrían utilizar en futuras publicaciones.

¿Será mi participación en este proyecto confidencial?

Los participantes tienen la opción del anonimato, en ese caso usaré un seudónimo y eliminaré todos datos que sirvan para identificarte.

¿Qué pasará con los resultados de la investigación?

La tesis va ser examinada para la obtención de mi doctorado a la Universidad de Glasgow. La tesis final será almacenada en la universidad y será accesible a otros estudiantes, publicada en línea o publicada como un artículo en una revista académica. Además, se puede utilizar en las futuras publicaciones.

¿Quién financia este proyecto?

Esta investigación está financiada por el Economic and Social Research Council del Reino Unido (ESRC).

¿Quién supervisa este proyecto?

Este proyecto ha sido examinado por el foro ético de la Escuela de Ciencias Sociales y Políticas de la Universidad de Glasgow. Será además monitoreado y supervisado por las Dr Ana Inés Langer y Dr Mo Hume.

Contactos para más información

Si tienes preguntas en relación de la investigación, por favor contáctame directamente a
bethia.pearson.1@research.gla.ac.uk o a mis supervisoras ana.langer@glasgow.ac.uk o
mo.hume@glasgow.ac.uk. Las dos hablan español perfectamente.

Si tienes alguna duda con relación a la ejecución del proyecto, puedes contactar al encargado de
ética del College of Social Sciences, Dr Muir Houston (Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk).

Appendix 2: Consent form (Spanish)

University | College of
of Glasgow | Social Sciences

Formulario de consentimiento

Titúlo del proyecto: ¿Cambio en el acceso de los medios de comunicación de los actores de la sociedad civil durante el proceso de democratización?

Nombre de la investigadora: Bethia Pearson

1.   Confirmo que he leído y entendido la descripción del Proyecto en Lenguaje Sencillo para el proyecto anterior y tenía la oportunidad para pedir preguntas.

2.   Entiendo que mi participación es voluntario y tengo la libertad a retirar a cualquier momento, sin explicar.

3.   Doy mi consentimiento a las entrevistas que se registraran.

(Copias de las transcripciones estarán disponibles para tu verificación a petición.)

4.   Por favor, marque tu opción preferida:

Doy mi consentimiento para ser nombrado en alguna publicación que resulta de la investigación.

Doy mi consentimiento para ser referido por organización o afiliación (omitiendo información de identificación) en alguna publicación que resulta de la investigación.

Deseo ser anónimo en alguna publicación que resulta de la investigación.   ☐

5.   Estoy de acuerdo en participar en el proyecto anterior.

_____   _____   _____

Nombre del participante   Fecha   Firma

_____   _____   _____

Investigadora   Fecha   Firma

Appendix 3: Code book

Code book: Instructions and meanings of variables and codes.

2.1 Identifier categories: SPSS sheet 1

1. Number: Each article is assigned an individual three-digit identifier number.

2. Publication: Record publication.

1. *El País.*

2. *La República*.

3. Date: Record the date of publication in the format DD.MM.YY.

4. Type of article: Record type as:

1. News.

2. Editorial.

3. Opinion.

5. Headline: Record the headline of the article in the string variable.

6. How many sources are mentioned overall? Record the total number.

7. Position of the article

Is the article broadly for or against the issue?

      1. For

      2. Against

3. Balanced

4. Not clear

8. Theme of the article. Prominent features of the article such as headline, sub-heading, first paragraph and use of particular terms should help discern this.

1. Ethics

2. State

3. Game

9. Photo

1. Yes

2. No

2.2 Variables analysing the sources: SPSS sheet 2

10. What type of sources are used? Record the type of source as explicitly indicated in the article using the definitions and coding below.

1. Government: Individuals from or spokespersons representing government at local, state or civil service level.

2. Opposition: Individuals from or spokespersons representing the opposition parties.

3. Military: Individuals from or spokespersons representing the Armed Forces of Uruguay (army, navy, or air force).

4. Trade union: Individuals from or spokespersons representing trade unions (i.e. PIT-CNT).

5. NGO: Individuals from or spokespersons representing domestic, regional or international non-governmental organisations or coalitions of non-governmental organisations.

6. Academic: Individuals from or spokespersons representing universities or academic associations.

7. Medical: Doctors, nurses or other medical experts speaking independently or representing a professional association.

8. Legal: Lawyers or spokespeople from legal organisations.

9. Judiciary: Judges and other officials of the judiciary of Uruguay.

10. Church: Individuals from or spokespersons representing churches or domestic, regional or international religious organisations.

11. Member of the public

12. Anonymous: Where a source is explicitly identified as anonymous or their identity otherwise concealed i.e. "who asked not to be named" or "a source from within the government office".

13. Others

14. Not possible to say

12. How is the source quoted? Record how the source is quoted using the definitions and coding below.

1. Direct individual: Where a source is quoted in direct speech, attributed to a named person.

2. Direct organisation: Where a source is quoted in direct speech, attributed to an organisation.

3. First person: Where a source has written an opinion column.

3. Publication or press release: Where a source is quoted by reference to a press release or organisational publication.

4. Paraphrased: Where the journalist uses their own words to describe the position or view of the source.

5. Placard: Where the journalist quotes the text on a placard to represent the view of the source.

6. Reference only: Where a source appears by name alone. This may be the case with articles speculating upon how politicians will vote on a Bill, etc.

13. Role of source:

Advocate: Where source is either explicitly identified as speaking on behalf of a campaigning organisation or is otherwise making a demand, record:

1. Advocate.

Arbiter: Where there is an emphasis on the source presenting information or expert opinion without explicitly making a recommendation, they may also refer to the activities of advocates to emphasis the differentiation, record:

2. Arbiter.

Where neither role is clear, record:

3. Not clear.

Appendix 4: Interviewees

Roger Rodriguez, freelance investigative journalist specialising in human rights issues and communication officer for *Montevideo Intendencia*, 2016

Tomas Linn, journalism lecturer and columnist, 2016

Pedro Cribari, journalist, 2016

Fabian Werner, journalist, 2014

Lucas Silva, editor of *La Diaria*, 2016

Pedro Melendrez, reporter at *El Observador*, 2016

Miguel Arregui, freelance journalist, 2016 (Skype interview, based in Brazil)

Martin Aguirre, editor of *El País,* 2016

Ignacio Errandonea, FAMIDESA, 2014 and 2016

Adolfo Garce, journalist and Universidad de República, 2016

Ariel Silva, Fundación Mario Benedetti, 2014

Raúl Oliveria, Observatorio Luz, PIT-CNT, 2014

Ana M. Aguerre, SERPAJ, 2014

Roque Faraone, retired media academic, 2014

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