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**A Critical Analysis of the Media Representations of Venezuelan Immigrants,
Refugees, and Asylum-Seekers (Venezuelan IRAS) in Peru**

By:

Emily G. Espinoza-Lewis

A Major Research Paper

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

Through the Department of Communication, Media and Film

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The Degree of Master of Arts at the

University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

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and Asylum-Seekers (Venezuelan IRAS) in Peru

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February 9, 2022

Author's Declaration of Originality

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Abstract

The Venezuelan migration phenomenon is currently the second-largest external displacement crisis worldwide. As the number of Venezuelans leaving their country has risen, migration policies in Latin American countries have become more restrictive. In Peru, the second-largest recipient of Venezuelans and the largest host of Venezuelan asylum-seekers worldwide, the securitization of migration policies started in August 2018 with a passport requirement for Venezuelans, and intensified in June 2019 with another, yet virtually unreachable requirement: the Humanitarian Visa. Utilizing media-framing theory and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this study analyzed the media discourse built by *El Comercio* newspaper between April 1 and June 30, 2019. CDA was performed on a total of 63 news stories of different journalistic genres, and findings are consistent with the academic literature pertaining to the media representations of immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers around the globe. Overall, there is a tendency to frame Venezuelans negatively, portraying them as threats and accusing them of Peru's structural flaws. In addition, specific findings suggest a lack of rigour in the journalistic practices of *El Comercio* as well as larger discursive strategies involving political purposes.

Keywords: CDA, framing, immigrants, news, Venezuela

Dedication

I dedicate this paper to my family: Gabriela (*mamá*) and Ramón (*papá*), migrants in your own country, your hard work and passion for social justice have made me the person who I am today. Ramón (*hermano*), a citizen of the world in your own kind, you have opened paths for me in many ways. I am forever grateful and proud of you.

This work also goes to the immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers around the world: your courage and resilience are acknowledged.

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I. Introduction

In October 2021, the United States expelled approximately 4,600 Haitian asylum-seekers, forcing them to return to Haiti and live amidst an extreme political crisis. At the same time, in Lebanon, Syrian refugees started to pull their children out of school, reduce the number of meals, and work longer hours to merely survive (Siegfried, 2021). The number of Afghan refugees in neighbouring countries also rose to more than two million (BBC News, 2021). Finally, in November of the same year, thousands of refugees from the Middle East, encouraged by the Belarusian government to reach the European Union through Poland, ended up being trapped in freezing conditions in the Belarus-Poland border (Neuman, 2021).

Migration phenomena constitute one of the defining features of the 21st century (Esses et al., 2013), and forced migration in particular “can be considered one of the most pressing contemporary political issues of our age” (Leurs & Smets, 2018, p. 11). In the global context of such concerning events, South America is not an exception. With roughly 5.4 million Venezuelans now living abroad, the Venezuelan migration phenomenon has become the second largest external displacement crisis worldwide (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNCHR], 2020). As the number of Venezuelans leaving their country has been increasing dramatically over the past five years, the initial ‘welcoming’ and ‘generous’ migration policies from Latin American host countries have gradually become more restrictive (Selee et al., 2019; Freier & Castillo Jara, 2020). In countries such as Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, and Peru, governments have increased their levels of securitization and Venezuelans have been criminalized by politicians and mass media (Villanueva, 2018; Freier & Parent, 2019; Freier & Pérez, 2021).

Due to the significant growth in the number of Venezuelan immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers (henceforth, Venezuelan IRAS),¹ and the political shift on migration control and criminalization of Venezuelan people in their host countries, this study offers a critical analysis of *El Comercio* newspaper, the most powerful news network in Peru in terms of concentrated economic power. Peru, the second-largest recipient of Venezuelans and the largest host of Venezuelan asylum-seekers worldwide, was the first country in the region to create a specific permanence permit for Venezuelan immigrants. However, in 2019, the government imposed two requirements for Venezuelans who wish to enter Peruvian territory: a passport and a ‘Humanitarian’ Visa. Additionally, in 2019, the Peruvian Ministry of Justice and Human Rights (MINJUSDH) found that national media outlets often highlighted the nationality of Venezuelan criminals, or suspects, even when this information was irrelevant to the incidents being reported (as cited in Freier & Pérez, 2021).

Scholars specialized on the criminalization of immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers (henceforth, IRAS²) have theorized that negative framing is one of the ways in which host countries tackle the uncertainty of big migration phenomena (Esses et al., 2013). In fact, political and media discourses which explicitly or implicitly include portrayals of IRAS as ‘threats’ have been analyzed and categorized as part of punitive turns (Domenech, 2017), processes of crimmigration (Stumpf, 2006; Brouwer et al., 2017) and

¹ In an effort to include the different migratory statuses of Venezuelans residing in Peru, as well as to advocate the necessity of their prompt legal recognition as refugees, this study refers to the Venezuelan people currently living in Peru as either (1) Venezuelan immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers, or (2) Venezuelan IRAS (this acronym, which was built for this study, stands for immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers). This last category is oftentimes preferred for the purposes of a more effective narrative flow.

² This study also uses the acronym IRAS for people who have emigrated from and to other countries and hold those migratory statuses.

moral panics (Cohen, 2011; Brouwer et al., 2017; Tosh, 2019). Likewise, more scholars have started to focus on migration phenomena in the Global South due to the recent widespread practices of migration control and surveillance such as the ones adopted in Latin America.

Thus, not only does this study seek to contribute to the nascent literature on South-to-South migration, but also to offer a critical view as a means of promoting change in the political and cultural practices of host countries. This view is the result of a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) performed on a sample of 63 news stories published by *El Comercio* between April 1 and June 30 of 2019.³ This study is divided into seven sections. After this first section, section two consists in a brief chronological description of Venezuelan migration in Peru between 2017 and 2021; section three reviews academic literature pertaining to the portrayal of IRAS around the globe; section four explains the concept of media-framing as theoretical framework; section five describes the methodological approach as well as key aspects of *El Comercio* and the data collection process; section six discusses the findings and results; and, finally, section seven includes conclusions and recommendations for further research.

II. Venezuelan Migration in Peru Between 2017 and 2021

According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), throughout 2017, most of the people emigrating from Venezuela were young men with high levels of education, mostly single and traveling with passports (as cited in Freier & Castillo Jara,

³ The 63 news stories of this sample were originally published in Spanish. Thus, considering language as a cultural practice, the author has translated words, phrases, and extracts to English keeping in mind their original use and meaning.

2020). In January of that year, under the government of former president Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, Peru was the first country in Latin America to approve the guidelines for a Temporary Permanence Permit (PTP in Spanish). This document was granted for one year and authorized Venezuelans to work, pay taxes, and have access to healthcare (Freier & Parent, 2019).

In 2018, however, Peru started to adopt restrictive measures towards Venezuelan migration. In August, the country's government, under the presidency of Martín Vizcarra, announced a passport requirement for Venezuelan citizens who wish to enter Peruvian territory. Alongside this measure, the Peruvian government shortened the PTP's term: applications were accepted only until December 31, 2018, and the deadline for entry into the country was set for October 31 of the same year. Later, in 2019, under the premise of promoting an 'orderly' and 'safe' migration, Martín Vizcarra announced the implementation of a Humanitarian Visa, which began to take effect on June 15 of that same year.

By the end of 2019, the socio-economic profile of Venezuelans entering Peruvian territory showed an increased vulnerability. According to the IOM, 58 per cent of them were women, most of whom were travelling with their children and looking to reunite with their partners (Aron Said & Castillo Jara, 2020). Moreover, that year humanitarian staff reported an increase in the number of teenage girls, including pregnant teenage girls, crossing borders alone or with people who were not their direct relatives (Women's Refugee Commission [WRC], 2019).

Throughout 2020, Peru's emergency responses to the COVID-19 pandemic strengthened the securitization of migration governance, leading to further legal and socio-economic exclusion of Venezuelan IRAS in the country. Such responses were "contingent and crisis-driven" and imposed "temporal limitations that often selectively exclude migrants based on legal status" (Vera Espinoza et al., 2021, p. 1). At the same time, despite the decline in the link between Venezuelan immigration and crime, xenophobic reactions in 2020 intensified as Venezuelan IRAS in Peru were publicly framed as a "crisis" within the sanitary crisis (Freier & Vera Espinoza, 2021, p. 2). For example, they were accused of spreading the SARS-CoV-2 virus:

It is not just the Venezuelan government who identified returning Venezuelan migrants as particular carriers of the virus. Media coverage in Brazil, Colombia, Chile, and Peru blamed Venezuelans for not isolating or for spreading the virus (Mazza, 2020, pp. 3-4).

Contrary to what may have been expected, Peru's punitive turn has not stopped the rise in the number of Venezuelans entering the country. On one hand, Venezuelans have been further pushed to leave their homes in Venezuela due to the deterioration of living conditions. A nationwide study found that, in 2017, 80 per cent of Venezuelan households were food insecure, and that interviewees had lost each an average of 11 kilograms in one year (Proyecto ENCOVI, 2018). On the other hand, despite its name, the Humanitarian Visa has created an insurmountable barrier to legal entry for most IRAS (Freier & Castillo Jara, 2020). The required documents, a passport and certified criminal records, are virtually impossible to get in Venezuela, and without a visa, Venezuelans who cross Peruvian borders are left in a legal limbo, excluded from society, and at high risk of exploitation and

abuse (Centro de Investigación de la Universidad del Pacífico [CIUP], 2019; Amnesty International, 2020).

The increasing socio-economic vulnerability of Venezuelans arriving in Peru has contributed to the narrative of Venezuelan immigration as a problem and to the validation of the aforementioned security policies⁴ based on migration control (Aron Said & Castillo Jara, 2020). Furthermore, the negative framing of Venezuelan IRAS, often fueled by both politicians and mass media, has led to growing xenophobic sentiments among Peruvians, who perceive Venezuelans not only as a threat but also as a burden on public services (Freier & Castillo Jara, 2020).

III. Literature Review: Immigrants, Refugees, and Asylum-Seekers (IRAS) as ‘Threats’

Mass media play a crucial role in framing public policy and discourse about IRAS not only by disseminating policy messages but also by promoting particular positions on migratory topics (Esses et al., 2013). In fact, media can oftentimes exploit the uncertainty generated in public opinion by large migratory phenomena, thus contributing to a “crisis mentality” in which IRAS are represented as “enemies at the gate” (Esses et al., 2013, p. 519). By presenting studies analyzing media from the United States, Norway, and Canada, Esses et al. (2013) contend that such crisis mentality happens predominantly in Western

⁴ According to Huysmans (2000), security policy refers to a specific policy of “mediating belonging” (p. 757). In other words, a security policy perpetuates or changes political integration and criteria of membership through the identification of threats. Moreover, in security practices, the political and social identification of a community and its way of life develop in response to an existential threat, including an “invading enemy” (p. 757).

countries. At the same time, Leurs and Smets (2018) have pointed out that recent migration studies have been shaped by the refugee crisis in Europe.

As the crisis mentality involves the portrayal of IRAS as threats, the term “crimmigration” has recently become more popular among scholars specialized on legal matters (Stumpf, 2006). As such, Brouwer et. al (2017) have stated that the criminalization of “unauthorized migrants” rests on a discourse of IRAS being involved in “issues of crime” (p. 101). Therefore, crimmigration is the result of reinforcing interactions of political, public, and media discourses in which the ‘migratory threat’ is progressively built (Brouwer et al., 2017). Regarding media discourses, Fleras (2011) has stated that “news media coverage is prone to paradox” and that a disproportionate amount of negative coverage links immigration to “illegality, crisis, controversy, and government failure,” which in turn increases public hostility and distrust (p. 145).

Closely related to crimmigration is the concept of moral panics, first introduced in 1972, by Stanley Cohen. Essentially, moral panics involve a “condition, episode, person or group of persons [emerging] to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests” (Cohen, 2011, p. 1). Similarly, Krzyżanowski (2020) has stated that moral panics occur when crisis imaginaries are agent-centered, which means that discourses point out specific subjects or phenomena as the cause of present crises. Regarding media discourse in particular, mass media journalism is one of the active participants within the feedback loop of moral panics. In addition, one defining characteristic of moral panics is that such active participants, the producers of discourses, exaggerate a particular concern, therefore promoting or validating “highly disproportionate” actions (Brouwer et al., 2017, pp. 102–103).

Immigration has probably been the most common object of many social and political imaginaries and the target of many national as well as cross-national moral panics (Krzyżanowski, 2020). This theory formulation has been used in different studies about media representations of IRAS. Tong and Zuo (2019) have shown that for more than five years following the Arab Spring and prior to the referendum, British right-wing newspapers *Telegraph* and *The Sun* generally followed traditional public norms to mark IRAS as “illegal, deviant ‘folk devils’ who threatened the health and welfare of British society” (p. 463). Moreover, these newspapers gradually expanded and projected such frames to the European Union (EU), associating it with moral panics over IRAS, and thereby “othering” them as a danger to the UK’s national security and stability.

Benson (2013) concludes that, although dominant frames regarding IRAS vary over time and across types of media outlets, most news items mention multiple frames rather than just one. The author identifies four frames that portray IRAS as a threat: 1) the “jobs” frame accuses them of taking jobs from or lowering the wages of national workers; 2) the “public order” frame emphasizes law-breaking of any kind by IRAS, as well as the health or environmental threats posed by unlimited immigration; 3) the “fiscal” frame is concerned with the costs to taxpayers of public services, such as healthcare and education, offered to IRAS; 4) the “national cohesion” frame portrays cultural differences stemming from migratory phenomena as a threat to national unity and social harmony (pp. 6-7).

More recent studies have demonstrated that immigration also remains the key focus of contemporary right-wing populist discourses (Wodak & Krzyżanowski, 2017; Krzyżanowski, 2020). Ruth Wodak (2015) contends that this phenomenon reveals itself as a politics of fear in which right-wing populist parties use ethnic, religious, linguistic, or

political minorities as a scapegoat for most current problems. Consequently, these groups are perceived as dangerous and as a threat ‘to us’, to ‘our’ nation. Similarly, Wodak and Krzyżanowski (2017) have explained that the increase in migration within Europe after 1989 eventually provided right-wing political parties with opportunities to use anti-immigration and xenophobic rhetoric as the central issue on their agendas, which remains a successful means to mobilize voters around the globe.

In the Global South, the focus of media studies on IRAS has shifted towards the analysis of the representations of Venezuelan migration and Venezuelan IRAS in host countries. Ramírez-Plascencia (2020) concludes that Mexican media shaped public opinion using headlines which typically highlighted a partial view of events, often even exaggerating the potential causalities or hypotheses that could be deduced from the facts in the lead paragraph. According to the author, Mexican media emphasized criminal incidents that involve the participation of Venezuelans living in the country but gives “limited coverture” to the “abuses or criminal actions” towards them (p. 1177). Similarly, Echeverri et al. (2020) have found that there was an abundance of negative framing of Venezuelan migration within published news stories and photographs in two Colombian on-line news outlets.

Freier and Pérez (2021) have noted that Venezuelan IRAS in Peru believe their experiences of xenophobic discrimination in everyday life are caused by a growth in negative representations of Venezuelans within national news media, and in political discourses and actions. According to Bahar et al. (2020), the increasingly common narrative about Venezuelan IRAS being the cause of higher crime rates in the communities where they live is “simply misplaced” (p. 2). The authors carried out a data analysis from

the three countries with the largest number of Venezuelans, including Peru, and concluded that they commit substantially fewer crimes than the native born, relative to their share in the overall population.

To summarize, academic literature shows that mass media around the globe tend to frame IRAS as threats, which contributes to their ‘othering’ as well as to crisis mentalities, processes of crimmigration, and moral panics in the countries that host them. While scholars have mostly analyzed these phenomena in the Global North, there is gradually more literature pertaining to migration crises in the Global South, including Venezuelan IRAS in Latin American countries. This nascent literature is consistent with findings stemming from media analyses of other migration phenomena insofar as mass media in Latin American host countries also tend to publish news stories with a negative framing in which Venezuelan IRAS are the enemies, particularly when it comes to issues of crime.

IV. Theoretical Framework: Media-Framing and the Construction of Reality

Because the words frame, framing, and framework are commonly used outside academic discourse, Entman (1993) aimed to identify common tendencies among the different uses of these terms, thus providing a more accurate and universal understanding of them. For the author, to frame involves to select “some aspects of perceived reality” and to make that information more salient “in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p. 52). In general, text-producers can make pieces of information more salient “by placement or repetition, or by associating them with culturally familiar

symbols” (p. 53). However, not only are frames defined by what they include, but also by what they background and/or omit.

For Entman (1993), the notion of framing also implies that “the frame has a common effect on large portions of the receiving audience, though is not likely to have a universal effect on all” (p. 54). Notwithstanding, he stated that frames organize the belief system of an individual or social group, and that they are closely related to categories, scripts, or stereotypes that represent “mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ processing of information” (p. 53). As such, his statements are consistent with Goffman’s (1974) framing theory, in which frames, or schemata of interpretation, do not address the structure of social life, but that of the perceived experiences individuals have as part of their lives in society. For this author, frames are “general aspects of human cognition of the social” as well as attempts to convey the ways in which events or phenomena are organized (Crook & Taylor, 1980, p. 234).

News and Media-Framing

The concept of news has been relevant for the development of framing theory and one of the main foci of media-framing. According to Gitlin (1980), there are three common ways of conceiving news: 1) the journalist-centred approach explains news as a product of “professional news judgments,” in which one extreme sees journalists as autonomous and objective professionals, and the other sees journalists as “ideologically biased”; 2) the approach that conceives news as a social construct highlights the human agency of news, stressing the inertia and habits of news organizations; and, finally, (3) the event-centred approach states that news reflect the “actual nature of the world” (pp. 249-250). However,

the author explained that although each of those approaches has something to contribute to the theory of media-framing, they all “fall short of completeness” (p. 251).

Gitlin (1980) thus proposed a more ample theory, which includes both the framing process and the relationship between news media and social movements:

[A]n approach attuned to the particular procedures of journalism, yet sensitive to the fact that journalism exists alongside —and interlocked with— a range of other professions and institutions with ideological functions within an entire social system [...] [A]n approach which is both structural and historical —that is, which can account for regularities in journalistic procedure and product, yet which at the same time can account for historical changes in both (p. 251).

As the author explained, this media-framing approach not only considers news and its frames, but also social movements and their identities, goals, and strategies.

Gitlin’s (1980) proposal is closely related to Gramsci’s (1992) concept of ideological hegemony, which serves as the “systematic engineering of mass consent to the established order” and is achieved through the penetration of a ruling class’s ideology into the common sense and social practices of subordinated classes (Gitlin, 1980, p. 253). For Gitlin, the media elite seeks to perpetuate the political-economic system because their power and prestige come from, and depend on, that system; therefore, the members of this elite are committed to their own economic and political interests. According to the author, such media elite applies a “strategy of neutralization,” which means that news stories include oppositional forces as competing media-frames, to maximize their audiences and thus profits, legitimacy, and reputation (Gitlin, 1980, p. 259). Regarding the legitimacy of

media outlets, he explained that part of it relies on conceding permissions of “reliable routines of objectivity” and that such routines sometimes result in the “entry of challenging social movements in the public ideological space” (p. 259).

Tuchman’s (1978) study on the processes of news making is consistent with Gitlin (1980) as both authors go beyond the analysis of journalists and news media organizations and their influence on the production of news. As such, the former explained that news is (1) “an institutional method of making information available to consumers,” (2) “an ally of legitimated institutions,” (3) a product of a social institution and social relationships, and (4) a “product of cultural resources and active negotiations” (Tuchman, 1978, pp. 4-5). In addition, Tuchman described that the “news frame” is like any other frame; it “delineates a world” and thus “may be considered problematic” (p. 1). The view through a news frame, or a window, as she put it metaphorically, depends on various factors: “[W]ether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or a backyard (...)” (p. 1).

Entman’s (1993) contribution to media-framing theory is also consistent with both Tuchman (1978) and Gitlin (1980) insofar as media-frames are the “imprint of power” and register the identity of actors or interests that compete to dominate the news story (Entman, 1993, p. 55). As Entman described, the fact that media-frames highlight some aspects of reality while backgrounding other elements might lead audiences to have different reactions; therefore, politicians seeking the population’s support are compelled to compete over media-frames not only with other politicians but also with journalists and media outlets. Furthermore, he theorized four main functions of media-frames: 1) to define problems by determining a “causal agent” and their actions in terms of costs and benefits

which are usually measured according to “common cultural values”; 2) to diagnose causes by identifying “the forces creating the problem”; 3) to make moral judgments by evaluating the causal agents and their effects; and (4) to suggest remedies by offering and justifying certain treatments as well as by predicting their effects (p. 52).

Media-Framing Today

The sociological works of Goffman (1974), Tuchman (1978), Gitlin (1980), and Entman (1993) are widely acknowledged as foundational to a media-framing approach (Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Borah, 2011). These authors emphasized the influence of the structural qualities of news as genre as well as the influence of external factors such as continuous interactions between journalists and elites and social movements (Vreese, 2005). However, while a variety of scholars have drawn on the sociological foundations discussed above, they have tended to miss the importance of political and social contexts, thus simplifying the concept of media-framing by referring to it as purely content presentation styles (Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Borah, 2011).

As a response to the lack of critical media-frame analysis today, Carragee and Roefs (2004) promote re-assessing such sociological foundations by conceiving news as a forum for “framing contests” and by exploring its media-frames in the contexts of political and social power:

News stories, then, become a forum for framing contests in which political actors compete by sponsoring their preferred definitions of issues. A frame’s ability to dominate news discourse depends on complex factors, including its sponsor’s economic and cultural resources, its sponsor’s knowledge of journalistic practices,

these practices themselves, and a frame's resonance with broader political values (p. 214).

Consistent with these authors, Fleras (2011) emphasizes the concept of dominance, arguing that news is part of a "discursively constructed discourse in defence of a dominant ideology" (p. 142).

Fleras's (2011) explanation of the way in which news media work is especially consistent with Gitlin's (1980) media-framing approach in terms of the influence of ideological hegemony and the resulting conflicts within those organizations. On one hand, Fleras states that ideologically driven news media reinforce ideas and ideals that draw attention to some aspects of reality as "natural and normal," but frame others as "irrelevant or inferior" (p. 142). He argues that reality is framed and that, ultimately, news media decide which stories are newsworthy taking into consideration the industry's standards rather than the impact, importance, or scope of the event or phenomenon. On the other hand, the author also states that "news media coverage is prone to paradox" (p. 145), which is consistent with Gitlin's theorization of legitimacy and the strategy of neutralization.

Regarding this, Gitlin (1980) stated that the "code of objectivity and balance" pulls an organization, and thus its news media coverage, in conflicting directions, "at one moment toward the institutions of political and economic power, and at another toward an alternative and even, at times, oppositional movements, depending on political circumstance" (p. 259). Similarly, drawing on Goffman's (1974) ideas, Gamson (1985) highlighted the ambiguity of the media-framing process by explaining its "locus of potential struggle" and argued that, while cultural analysis reveals that reality is framed,

the audience is comprised of “active processors” and “may decode [events] in different ways” (p. 615).

V. Methodological Approach: Critical Discourse Analysis

This study’s primary data was based on a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of 63 news stories published in the digital version of *El Comercio* newspaper between April 1 and June 30, 2019. These news stories are related to two topics: Venezuelan migration and Venezuelan IRAS in Peru. On one hand, the decision to use online news stories as a study sample resided in a matter of accessibility and in the fact that such content is oftentimes accessed easily and shared instantly by the audience (Ramírez-Plascencia, 2020). On the other hand, the parameters were chosen to coincide with the announcement of the new visa requirement on Venezuelan citizens that wish to enter Peruvian territory. The new policy was announced on June 6, 2019, and took effect nine days later, on June 15. However, for the purposes of this analysis, it was relevant to go back two months and review the progression of the discursive mechanisms/strategies of *El Comercio* to see if they aligned with the agenda of the Peruvian government.

Principles of CDA and Huckin’s (1997) Model

CDA encompasses a range of approaches stemming from key principles: the meaning and purposes of discourse, and the importance of social context. For Fairclough (2003), discourse is “any spoken or written language use conceived as social practice” (p. 71). Simultaneously, discourse is considered the larger discursive unit of text as well as the basic unit of communication (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). By revealing the hidden messages of dominant discourses, CDA scholars aim to shed light on the way dominant forces in a

society represent reality and how these representations favour their interests (McGregor, 2004). In fact, such scholars support counterhegemonic resistance and encourage social transformation.

Within CDA, media discourses are analyzed as “site[s] of power, of struggle and also as [sites] where language is apparently transparent” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 5). Moreover, they are structured by dominance, and, at the same time, their dominance structures are legitimized by the ideologies of powerful groups. Through the analysis of case studies, CDA scholars therefore seek to challenge the view that regards media as neutral institutions in society. Finally, to be considered “fully critical,” CDA scholars analyze the time frame and broader context in which their study sample was produced (p. 3).

In order to analyze the discursive mechanisms of *El Comercio* newspaper, this study used the two-stage CDA model developed by Huckin (1997). While the first stage is comprised of a general reading of the text as if carried out by a typical reader, the second stage involves critically analyzing the text on different levels (from text-level to word-level features), visualizing how it could have been built differently, and mentally comparing it to similar texts. Given the fact that “textual manipulations have their most powerful effect” when the text is considered as a whole, this study’s analysis has followed six text-level components divided into four categories: 1) genre/genre manipulation; 2) framing/common media-frames; 3) foregrounding, backgrounding, and omission; 4) register/discursive differences (p. 81).

Determining the genre or type of text and observing how its form and content follow the genre's conventions constitute the first step in Huckin's (1997) CDA model. Through this process, the analyst can find how particular pieces of information, or their omission, serve the purposes of the text-producer. By knowing the genre of a text, the analyst is also able to find if the text-producer has pushed the boundaries of the genre's conventions, which results in a manipulation of the genre itself. Notwithstanding, to fully explain the text-producer's perspective, the analyst is required to analyze the second component, framing, and find the common frames within the text. Consistent with Huckin, Chong and Druckman (2007) state that framing refers to the process by which people develop a "particular conceptualization of an issue" or "reorient their thinking about an issue" (p. 104).

Regarding the third and fourth components, foregrounding and backgrounding, the first one refers to how the text-producer is giving prominence to some information within the text, such as the use of a particular headline and/or lead paragraphs. In turn, backgrounding refers to how such text-producer is de-emphasizing other details. In addition, the fifth component, omission, is the "ultimate form of backgrounding" whose potency consists in leaving important information out of the text so it cannot be scrutinized by the audience (Huckin, 1997, p. 82). Finally, the use of the sixth component, register/discursive differences, can be exploited to manipulate the reader. Examples of discursive differences at a text-level include shifts between formal and informal language, as well as the use of particular "voices" (Huckin, 2002, p. 9).

El Comercio Newspaper

The selection of the digital version of *El Comercio* (elcomercio.pe) was based on three factors: readership, prestige, and economic power. According to SimilarWeb (2021), a tool for web analysis, the digital version of *El Comercio* occupies the first place in the category of top websites of “News and Media” with the most web traffic in Peru. Second, due to its more than 180-year trajectory, which makes it the oldest newspaper of the country and one of the first newspapers published in Spanish worldwide, *El Comercio* has an important place within public discourse; it is one of the main informative references used by power and political spheres and by a variety of media outlets to establish their ideological positions, whether approving or critical (García Llorens, 2012).

Third, between August 2013 and June 2021, El Comercio Group, owner of *El Comercio*, controlled 80 per cent of the print media in Peru, a situation that exceeds all concentration limits in the markets of other Latin American countries (Salazar, 2021).⁵ Additionally, as of today, El Comercio Group owns different newspapers and their digital versions; is a majority stockholder, with 70 per cent of the assets, of two major Peruvian TV broadcasters; is partnered with RPP, another major Peruvian news outlet, to sell joint online advertising; and is involved in other economic activities. According to an official file from the Supreme Court of Justice of Lima (*Expediente N°35583-2013*, 2021), El Comercio Group owns 27 companies/businesses within the real estate, the entertainment industry, education, among other sectors.

⁵ In August 2013, El Comercio Group bought 54 per cent of the assets of another major Peruvian news outlet, Epsilon Group. However, in June 2021, the Supreme Court of Justice of Lima cancelled such acquisition as an attempt to prevent further concentration of power among media organizations in Peru.

Data Collection

Three steps were taken to obtain the study sample. The first step was comprised of a search of news stories on www.elcomercio.pe. Due to the lack of a news archive similar to the Canadian Major Dailies, which is accessed through ProQuest, it is likely that the study sample did not include all the news stories published within the aforementioned parameters. In order to tackle this limitation, several keywords in Spanish were applied: *migración* (migration), *migración venezolana* (Venezuelan migration), *crisis migratoria* (migration crisis), *venezolanos* (male Venezuelans), *venezolanas* (female Venezuelans), *migrantes* (migrants), *extranjeros* (male foreigners), and *extranjeras* (female foreigners). Furthermore, a second search which used the same keywords was performed in Google. This search was performed as follows: “elcomercio.pe” + “keyword”. After the two search processes were carried out, there was a total of 63 news stories. Finally, the third step of this data collection involved the organization of the links of the news stories in an Excel document which contained three sheets, one for each month: April (12 news stories), May (15 news stories), and June 2019 (36 news stories).

VI. Analysis and Discussion of Results

On April 18, 2019, during the Mass of the Lord’s Supper, the archbishop of Trujillo, the capital of the Peruvian region “La Libertad,” cleaned and kissed the feet of six Venezuelan children (Aurazo, 2019a). This religious event, covered and published one day later by *El Comercio* newspaper, is consistent with one of the main traits of the media discourse analyzed in this study. In Catholicism, the practice of foot washing symbolizes “the humility and selfless love of Jesus” (Britannica, 2020, para. 1). In this way, the media

coverage of this rite is an example of the media-frames constructed by *El Comercio* newspaper within its discourse on Venezuelan migration and Venezuelan IRAS in Peru. Specifically, it illustrates how the newspaper framed the Peruvian government's attitude towards such migratory crisis throughout April 2019.

Being the most powerful religious institution in Peru for more than four centuries, the Roman Catholic Church has a strong liaison with the Peruvian government as well as a significant influence in the political affairs of the country. Thus, considering the little secularization of the Peruvian state (Mosquera, 2021), it is not surprising that the media-frame of 'generosity' towards Venezuelans IRAS also included Catholic authorities. This example is also consistent with Cohen's (2011) definition of moral panics, whose nature "is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media" and in which "the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people (...)" (p. 1). Finally, since the media-frame of 'generosity' is present within various news stories of this study's sample, it ends up reinforcing the political discourse of the time in which not only Peru had been generous towards Venezuelans, but also acknowledged as such by international organizations and powerful countries like the United States (El Comercio, 2019c, 2019e).

Despite the media coverage highlighting the 'generosity' of the Peruvian government, especially towards the most vulnerable people among Venezuelan IRAS in Peru, the Venezuelan children (El Comercio, 2019e; Aurazo, 2019a; El Comercio, 2019a), news stories published in April 2019 also highlighted the shortcomings of the Venezuelan migration crisis (Alayo Orbegoso, 2019a; Macera, 2019; El Comercio, 2019f). This is mainly the case throughout the end of that month, and could be seen, as it will be described

later in further detail, as the beginning of a more evident negative framing within this study's sample. In both May and June of that same year, issues of crime are more salient, including references to the number of Venezuelans in Peruvian prisons (Bedoya, 2019), and Venezuelan IRAS as suspects or perpetrators of thefts, drug trafficking, and murder (El Comercio, 2019k).

In fact, the number of news stories related to issues of crime raised from two in April to five and six in May and June, respectively. The most critical timeframe in terms of references to delinquency or crime coincides with the presidential announcement of the Humanitarian Visa; from June 1 to June 14, six out of 15 news stories (40 per cent) cover or refer to such topics. In the latter half of that month, issues of crime stop being foregrounded, and attempts at more 'neutral' coverage are found frequently. While such attempts also appear before June 14, they are not a trend, but exceptions within the negative framing of Venezuelan IRAS by *El Comercio*. As such, in contrast to the first two and a half months analyzed in this study, the last half of June shows an evident critical political stance towards the government of Martín Vizcarra, particularly through the publication of opinion columns written by three researchers from CIUP, the research center of Universidad del Pacífico.⁶ Alongside with the aforementioned results, findings related to those opinion columns are described in the following sections.

Genre and Genre Manipulation

Informative/Hard News Genre

⁶ Universidad del Pacífico is a Peruvian university whose main campus is in Lima, Peru's capital city.

Except for seven pieces (roughly 11 per cent of the total sample), the news stories published between April 1 and June 30, 2019, belong to one genre: informative/hard news. This means, by convention, that text-producers are expected to omit their “evaluative meanings or attributions” (Lueck et al., 2015, p. 615), deliver accurate and objective representations of the facts, and, therefore, build a text that has a purely informational value (Melo & Assis, 2016). However, consistent with media-framing theory, the CDA approach conceives informative news as a product of social, political, and economic influences (Lueck et al., 2015). Thus, Huckin (1997) explained that the use of “loaded words,” a deviance of the expected “neutral, objective language,” is one of the ways in which text-producers manipulate the informative/hard news genre (p. 82).

Such genre manipulation is present in a news story published on April 29. Mostly constructed as a report, it summarizes the results of an opinion poll conducted by *El Comercio* and the Peruvian branch of the market research multinational Ipsos between April 10 and April 12, 2019. The headline asserts that 67 per cent of the people who live in Lima disagree with Venezuelan migration in Peru. Moreover, the author included references of Peru as “our territory,” used colloquial metaphors to suggest that migration is seen negatively by most Peruvians, and reported that “barely” 23 per cent of the respondents saw Venezuelan migration in Peru as beneficial (Alayo Orbegoso, 2019a, paras. 2, 8). These types of loaded words, as defined by Huckin (1997), carry a negative connotation and reinforce the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ relationship between Peruvians and Venezuelans.

According to Dijk (2001), the polarization of ‘us’ (ingroups) and ‘them’ (outgroups) is one of the strategies used by text producers to either emphasize the ingroup’s

positive attributes and the outgroup's negative attributes, or, conversely, de-emphasize the ingroup's negative traits and the outgroup's positive traits. At the same time, the author stated that the “positive self-presentation and negative other presentation” strategy uses both implicit and explicit information (p. 9). Considering this, the news story published on April 29 includes three rhetorical strategies that are characteristics of a biased discourse: specific choice of words, such as “our territory;” metaphors, such as “to not see [migration] with good eyes”; and hyperboles, such as “migration wave” (Alayo Orbegoso, 2019a, paras. 2, 4).

The polarization of ‘us’ and ‘them’ through the use of the possessive pronoun ‘our’ is also present in other news stories, such as one published on May 23. The author of this text used ‘our’ next to ‘country’, thus reinforcing the ‘otherness’ of Venezuelan IRAS in Peru. In addition, she highlighted the difference in salaries between Venezuelans and Peruvians to explain the impact of the former in the Peruvian labour market. According to the author, a rise in the number of Venezuelans of working-age entering Peru, who on average had been earning 35 per cent less than Peruvians, was reducing the probability of Peruvians to have a stable job and income, especially affecting those who were under 39 years old and had “low levels of education” (Maza, 2019, para. 6).

In addition, several news stories, such as one published on June 6, include the metaphor “exodus” and/or the hyperbole “migration wave”:

The Venezuelan exodus, of some 3.5 million migrants [...] is a consequence of the prolonged economic and political crisis that the country governed by Nicolás Maduro is experiencing. [...] Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, and Brazil are the countries

that have welcomed the most people in this migratory wave, which is considered, by the United Nations Agency for Refugees, as the largest movement of people in the recent history of Latin America (El Comercio, 2019i, paras. 14-15).

This rhetorical strategy is consistent with the findings of Eberl et al. (2018) and Smith and Deacon (2018), who stated that one of the sources of negativity in media reporting about migration crises has to do with media outlets often portraying IRAS negatively as “masses,” “hordes,” or by referring to them in terms of natural disasters and “water-themed” metaphors.

Narrative Journalism

A second example of genre manipulation is present in a news story titled “Venezuela’s Growing Exodus: This is the Profile of Migrants | REPORT” (Alayo Orbegoso, 2019b). In this case, genre manipulation resides on telling the audience, through the story’s headline, that the text belongs to the informative/hard news genre and reporting subgenre, when, in fact, it includes elements of narrative journalism. The stylistics of this genre include an omniscient narrator as well as techniques related to the Social Realist movement⁷ (Roberts, 2013).

Essentially, to illustrate the profile of Venezuelans in Peru, Alayo Orbegoso (2019b) uses the story of Alexander, a young man who had recently arrived in Peru and had “high hopes” of operation “Freedom”⁸ (para. 1):

⁷ Social Realism is an artistic movement or trend that emerged in America in the early 1930s and whose purpose involved critical comments on the sociopolitical context of the time (Britannica, 2015).

⁸ According to the text, Venezuelan IRAS in Lima were going to gather in Lima’s historical downtown to support such operation, led by Juan Guaidó in Caracas (Venezuela), with the purpose of defeating the regime of Nicolás Maduro.

“I did not hesitate for a moment: first Venezuela, then earning money. I came running because it seems that now there is a light at the end of the tunnel,” [Alexander] said. He arrived in *our capital* [emphasis added] a year and a half ago, after traveling by bus for almost a week. Despite the *hard journey* [emphasis added] that meant crossing Colombia and Ecuador to Peru, *he does not lose faith in returning* [emphasis added]. And Operation [Freedom], still with no resolution in sight, *keeps his illusion alive* [emphasis added] (para. 2).

The use of evaluative attributes, such as “hard journey,” and the narrative technique of the omniscient narrator, illustrated by “he does not lose faith in returning” and “keeps his illusion alive,” show that the author is using elements from the narrative journalism genre.

On one hand, due to its compelling techniques, narrative journalism enables authors to engage with the audience (Harbers & Broersma, 2014). On the other hand, due to the use of elements from Social Realism, it serves as a critique of a particular socio-political context. Therefore, despite the compelling and political nature of the news story regarding the profile of Venezuelan IRAS in Peru, the inaccuracy of categorization and presentation of genres suggests a lack of rigour within the journalistic practices of *El Comercio* newspaper.

This study’s sample also includes another news story that belongs to the narrative journalism genre. Constructed as a human-interest story, the piece titled “Carla Was a Teenager From a Good Family, and I Had to Teach Her How to Practice Prostitution” was authored by Velandia (2019), a BBC correspondent in Cucuta, a Colombian city on the border with Venezuela. In addition to the use of emotional language, an attractive lead, and

several direct quotes from the story's main subject, this news story shows two peculiarities: it is the only fully human-interest story within this study's sample, and it was published on *BBC News Mundo* on April 25, and then published on *El Comercio* one day later.

The fact that *El Comercio* used a news story originally published by *BBC News Mundo* might respond not only to political purposes, but to a commercial strategy. According to Abbott (2019), the value of online human-interest stories resides in three factors: they are read faster, shared more than other subgenres, and generate more website traffic. In other words, the commercial value of this type of news story is closely related to how people are prone to engage with emotional content (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020).

Opinion Genre

Of the other six news stories that do not belong to the informative/hard news genre, five were published in June 2019. The remaining story of such group, titled "Historical Change and Adequate Responses," was published on April 7 and belongs to the opinion genre. Constructed as an editorial, it primarily argues that Venezuelan migration in Peru poses an enormous challenge for the country, positing that the influx of Venezuelans is surpassing public management capacities and is impacting the labour market. According to the text's producers, the Peruvian government should "handle" Venezuelan immigration without triggering "xenophobic sentiments" or "informality;" similarly, they stated that an adequate response is one that uses immigration to "strengthen the multicultural country in which we already live" (El Comercio, 2019b, para. 8).

Another editorial was published two months later, on June 8, only two days after former president Martín Vizcarra announced the Humanitarian Visa as the new

requirement for Venezuelans who wish to enter Peruvian territory. The text seeks to question both the presidential announcement and the nature of such migratory requirement by stating that the Peruvian government’s rationale of “taking actions to improve and guarantee the safety of Peruvian citizens” is “precarious” (El Comercio, 2019i, para. 4). Moreover, that it is “equally worrying” and “unhumanitarian” that president Vizcarra announced the Humanitarian Visa requirement during the expulsion of Venezuelans with criminal records who had entered Peru with false documents (para. 5).

The populist trait of such announcements and the misuse of the term “humanitarian” by the former Peruvian president were also criticized in the four opinion columns published in that same month. As an example, the piece titled “Risks of Migratory Control,” published on June 8, calls the new visa requirement a “control policy with a human face” and highlights its negative consequences, including a spike in irregular immigration and in the number of Venezuelans with criminal records and a potential risk for public health (Freier, 2019, para. 1). Similarly, the column published on June 15 states that requesting visas for people who should be recognized as refugees is not the solution to Peru’s increasing informality:

Instead of closing doors, this migration can open the space for a deeper —and deeply necessary— discussion about the labour situation of most Peruvians. How do we move towards *formality* [emphasis added]? The current decision of the Peruvian government to request visas to people [...] who should be legally recognized as refugees [...] will not solve structural issues (Pérez, 2019, paras. 7-8).

The critical stance within that last editorial piece and those four opinion columns suggests the possible existence of a larger discursive strategy built by *El Comercio*. In other words, due to their ‘oppositional’ nature, these pieces might go beyond a strategy of neutralization, which is often used by media outlets to maximize audiences (Gitlin, 1980), or beyond new attempts at ‘objectivity’ and ‘balance’ by the newspaper as a media organization. As mentioned above, such pieces were published after the presidential announcement of June 6; the editorial and first opinion column were both published on June 8, and the other three opinion columns within a span of ten days, from June 15 to June 25. Furthermore, the opinion columns were all written by researchers from the same institution, CIUP, the research center at Universidad del Pacífico. Finally, the Register/Discursive Differences subsection of this study provides further evidence for this argument.

Framing/Common Media-Frames

The first common media-frame, presented in this study as the victim-and-saviour dichotomy, is mostly found in April 2019, and consists in the portrayal of Venezuelan IRAS as victims and of some international organizations and countries as saviours. According to Eberl et al. (2018), the victimization frame is a common finding in media research about immigration. In addition, these authors have stated that the degree in which journalists emphasize such victimization may depend on two factors: how much access they have to the victimized group and the political preferences of their media audiences.

The victim-and-saviour dichotomy is first illustrated in a news story published on April 4, which states that the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) was showing

“special concern” towards the vulnerable situation of Venezuelan migrant children (El Comercio, 2019a, para. 6). Similarly, a news story published on April 30 highlights how UNICEF framed Peru’s actions towards Venezuelan migration as a “reference” in the region (El Comercio, 2019e, para. 3):

UNICEF Regional Director, Maria Cristina Perceval [...] highlighted the actions of the Peruvian State and different institutions to guarantee the rights of migrant children and adolescents. She added that this constitutes a reference in the region [...] “Where many see a bureaucratic act of document delivery,⁹ we see a human action that changes lives because it allows the regularization of migratory status, family reunification and access to services and rights. For this reason, our recognition goes to those who make it possible, and to Peru, which thus reminds the region that the rights of children and adolescents have no borders,” she said (paras. 3-4).

The victim-and-saviour dichotomy was further reinforced when the article describes UNICEF’s framing of Canada’s involvement: “Perceval also thanked the Canadian Government for its solidarity and its contribution of \$5,000,000 Canadian dollars to the Project Integration of Venezuelan Girls, Boys and Adolescents in Peru” (para. 5).

Another commonality found throughout this study belongs to the “Good Guys vs. Bad Guys frame” (Huckin, 1997, p. 82). A news story published on April 13 illustrates this point by emphasizing a rather black-and-white view of Venezuelan migration, in which Venezuelan president Nicolás Maduro is the only cause of the national crisis, and by

⁹ She might be referring to the Temporary Permanence Permit (PTP).

portraying the international community as the opponents of Maduro’s regime and therefore the ‘saviours’ of the Venezuelan people. Specifically, the text includes direct quotes by former American Secretary of State, Michael Pompeo, thanking the Peruvian government for “recognizing the interim government of Juan Guaidó” and blaming Nicolás Maduro “himself” for the “refugee exodus in the region” (El Comercio, 2019c, paras. 2, 6). This finding coincides with the results of Mustafa and Pilus (2020) as it focuses on the ‘successes’ of specific governments, such as those of Peru and the United States, while also highlighting the shortcomings of Maduro’s regime in Venezuela.

A third common media-frame promotes looking at the Venezuelan migration as one of the biggest challenges for Peru, positing that the influx of Venezuelan IRAS creates enormous economic pressure on the system and contributes to a growth in insecurity. The following extract, written by Bloomberg Agency and published by *El Comercio* on May 22, portrays Venezuelans as a ‘threat’ to the Peruvian workforce:

Many [Venezuelans] have found work as shop assistants, waiters, or security guards in Lima, often displacing the local workforce. *The people who are most vulnerable to losing their jobs to migrants* [emphasis added] are those employed in service industries, as well as workers with the lowest qualifications and younger than 39 years of age, the Central Bank said (Bloomberg Agency, 2019a, para. 4).

This is consistent with Benson’s (2013) “jobs” frame, which explains that IRAS are often accused of taking jobs from or lowering the wages of national workers. In addition, a news story published on June 30 includes Benson’s (2013) “fiscal” frame:

Countries that host [Venezuelans] must have money for healthcare and education, and international aid is nowhere near covering their costs. *That is causing budget problems* [emphasis added] in Colombia and Peru, where the influx has been greater. Additionally, *there are signs of rejection in many countries as newcomers compete for job openings* [emphasis added] (Bloomberg Agency, 2019b, para. 3).

Framing Venezuelan IRAS as a threat to the Peruvian workforce and public administration/services is closely related to a fourth common media-frame involving the portrayals of Venezuelans as criminals. This finding is consistent with the processes of crimmigration, moral panics, and Benson's (2013) "public order" frame. As such, *El Comercio* tends to use the increasing negative opinions among Peruvians as a premise for arguing that one of the most important negative effects of Venezuelan migration is a higher number of crimes in the country. This fallacious reasoning could be summarized as follows: because negative opinions towards Venezuelans have increased, then crimes perpetuated by Venezuelans must have increased, too.

As an example, the report on El Comercio-Ipsos poll highlights that 54 per cent of the people who disagree with Venezuelan migration in Peru believe that Venezuelans increase the country's rates of "delinquency" and "criminal activities" (Alayo Orbegoso, 2019a, para. 5). Moreover, in this study, Benson's (2013) "public order" frame is reinforced by the number and frequency of news stories of Venezuelans being crime suspects or criminals. While the first appearance of this frame takes place in April, it is far more frequent throughout the first half of June; in fact, from June 1 to June 14, five out of 15 news stories (roughly 33 per cent) involve news of Venezuelans being crime suspects or criminals.

Foregrounding, Backgrounding, and Omission

The ‘negative impacts’ of Venezuelan migration in Peru, which consist of the aforementioned ‘threats’ to the Peruvian workforce, public administration/services, and public order, are among the two most common foregrounded ideas within this study’s sample. For example, headlines published in late April assert that Venezuelans are surpassing the labour capacity of Peru and aggravating informality (Macera, 2019; El Comercio, 2019f). Moreover, the trend of headlines highlighting negative effects, which starts on April 29, with the publication of the report on El Comercio-Ipsos poll, continues throughout May and June. In May, four headlines that mention either the Venezuelan migration or Venezuelan IRAS in a negative tone (roughly 27 per cent of that month’s sample)¹⁰ also mention issues of crime, including an attempt of aggravated theft (El Comercio, 2019g) and statistics regarding the growth in the number of Venezuelans in Peruvian prisons (Bedoya, 2019).

In contrast, only one headline (roughly 7 per cent of May’s sample) specifies a potential ‘positive effect’ regarding the Venezuelan migration in the country; specifically, it asserts that the arrival of Venezuelans could reduce the price of food products (Bloomberg Agency, 2019a). Finally, six headlines (roughly 40 per cent of May’s sample) mention Venezuelans, Venezuelan migration, or migratory topics in a tone that, at first glance, could be read as neutral.

¹⁰ Two of these headlines do not mention a particular nationality, but instead the word “foreigners” (‘extranjeros,’ in Spanish). However, due to the socio-political context, it is very likely that the audience understands that the newspaper is referring, in fact, to Venezuelan people. In addition, this nationality is indeed mentioned within the subheading or lead paragraph, which is also part of the foregrounding strategy.

In June, while there are also five headlines that mention either the Venezuelan migration or Venezuelan IRAS in Peru in a negative tone (roughly 14 per cent of that month's sample), not all of them mention issues of crime. In addition to the first two headlines, which portray Venezuelans as either criminals or suspects of crime (El Comercio, 2019k, 2019l), two other headlines describe how Venezuelans are creating a congestion on the border between Ecuador and Peru (El Comercio, 2019p) and blocking Peru's border with Chile as a protest against the migratory restrictions taken by the Chilean government (El Comercio, 2019q). Furthermore, while there are 17 headlines that mention Venezuelans or Venezuelan migration in a "neutral" way, if a word-by-word analysis is performed, such tone tends to be less neutral and more negative in roughly 24 per cent of those headlines due to the emphasis on both the number of Venezuelans and the magnitude of certain events.

This last finding connects the portrayal of Venezuelan IRAS as threats to a second foregrounded idea within this study's sample, which pertains to the magnitude of the Venezuelan migration in Peru illustrated by the total number of Venezuelan IRAS in the country. However, rather than being highlighted in the headline, this number often appears in either the first (the lead) or second paragraphs. Additionally, in one story, Venezuelan IRAS are also referred as the "big mass of people who has entered the country" (Macera, 2019, para. 1). As Brouwer et. al (2017) argued, framing IRAS as criminals, in addition to a strong focus on numbers, serves as a "powerful catalyst" for demonstrating an "efficient governance," which ultimately results in "repressive and punitive policies with an intense focus on control" (p. 113). This argument is illustrated by the following extract regarding the presidential announcement of the Humanitarian Visa as the new requirement for

Venezuelans who wish to enter Peru: “Vizcarra justified [the Humanitarian Visa] after witnessing the expulsion of 50 Venezuelans with police records who entered [the country] with false documents” (El Comercio, 2019j, para. 2).

In contrast to the two foregrounded ideas of this study’s sample, *El Comercio* tends to background the ways in which the Peruvian government is tackling, or could tackle, the causes and consequences of the Venezuelan migration crisis. This practice extends to such a degree that, rather than providing explanations of effective migration programs and policies, there are only brief and vague descriptions of potential solutions within the last paragraphs of several news stories. For example, the following extract mentions that a policy regarding the inclusion of Venezuelans would increase Peru’s productivity:

The president of the [Peruvian] Central Reserve Bank, Julio Velarde, pointed out that it is necessary to incorporate Venezuelans to increase the country’s productivity, and that what has been lacking is “*a policy that really takes advantage of this migration and prevents even the most dangerous or undesirable people from arriving*” [emphasis added] (Macera, 2019, para. 13).

While it could be argued that the content regarding the incorporation of Venezuelan IRAS to the labour market is positive and thus works in favour of a more ‘neutral’ coverage, it is important to underscore that the headline, subheadline, and lead paragraph of that news story include references of Venezuelans “surpassing” the capacities of Peru’s formal labour market and public services (para. 1).

In addition, the following extract from another news story states that the Peruvian government was combatting the regime of Nicolás Maduro through the Lima Group (Grupo de Lima,¹¹ in Spanish):

Colombian president, Iván Duque, said that “it will be difficult” for migration to diminish while Nicolás Maduro remains in power. He stressed that President Martín Vizcarra maintains the fight against the so-called dictatorship through the Lima Group, led by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Néstor Popolizio (El Comercio, 2019h, paras. 6-7).

Again, stating within the last paragraphs of the news story that there is a Lima Group, without explaining its characteristics and duties, is not only a vague but also a backgrounded idea that is thus easy to miss.

A common trait of this study’s sample in terms of strategies of structure (foregrounding and backgrounding) does not only include such backgrounded and vague descriptions of potential solutions. In fact, the omission of specific efforts from organizations and governments towards the protection and inclusion of Venezuelan IRAS in Latin American host countries is evident. For example, some of the questions that the authors of the chosen news stories do not answer are the ways in which the Peruvian government and Lima Group are “putting pressure” on the Venezuelan government (El Comercio, 2019c, para. 8) as well as the specific actions that the United Nations is taking towards the Venezuelan migration crisis (El Comercio, 2019d, para. 9).

¹¹ Grupo de Lima is an intergovernmental organization formed in 2017, comprised of 12 countries, and whose main goal is to find solutions to end the crisis in Venezuela.

Register/Discursive Differences

While there are register/discursive differences within this study's sample, there are two trends that are (1) consistent with the CDA approach and (2) logical in terms of the characteristics of *El Comercio*'s media discourse analyzed thus far. The first trend applies to those news stories published between April 1 and June 14 and consists in giving a direct voice to official sources only. People who are quoted directly in such news stories held different degrees of authority according to their position or role of the time, representing and/or working within governments and government institutions (El Comercio, 2019c, 2019f; Bedoya, 2019; El Comercio, 2019h, 2019i), international organizations (El Comercio, 2019a, 2019e), academia (Rojas Sánchez, 2019; Garvan, 2019), or the Roman Catholic church (Aurazo, 2019a).

The selective use of these voices to legitimate points of view and make certain information more significant constitutes a mechanism of manipulation (McGregor, 2004), and is arguably an abuse of power (Ezzina, 2021). This is particularly illustrated in a news story published on June 14 and a few hours before the Humanitarian Visa requirement took effect. According to the text, until 12 p.m. of that day, 2,057 Venezuelans had entered Peru (Aurazo, 2019b). However, only Peru's Superintendent of Migrations, Roxana del Águila, is quoted directly three times in the text. Her quotes serve to highlight the efficiency of the Peruvian government, the prevention of "delinquency" as the main reason for the visa requirement (para. 5), and the acknowledgement of the "drama" that Venezuelan children are suffering (para. 6).

The importance and scope of the aforementioned event required the publication of a variety of sources, but most importantly, it required the direct voices of the main subjects of the story, the Venezuelan people who were trying to enter Peru. While giving a direct voice to Venezuelan IRAS is not the trend throughout the first two and a half months of this study's sample, there are a few cases in which they are also included (Velandia, 2019; Meza, 2019; Alayo Orbegoso, 2019b). Regarding indirect quotations of Venezuelan IRAS, such information tends to be backgrounded in the texts. For example, the following declaration is quoted indirectly and structured as the last paragraph of a news story pertaining to a murder in the Peruvian region of Arequipa:

Venezuelan NGO's spokesman, Randy Oliveros, apologized to the people of Caravelí on behalf of all Venezuelans living in Arequipa. He regretted that a few of his fellow nationals make his entire community look bad (El Comercio, 2019j, para. 9).

Finally, it is relevant to underscore the attempts at obtaining the 'other side of the story,' the one told by Venezuelan IRAS in Peru, within the second half of June (Aurazo, 2019c, 2019d; Parra, 2019; El Comercio, 2019r). As illustrated by the following quote extracted from a piece regarding a protest on the border between Peru and Chile, highlighting the direct voices of Venezuelans puts a 'human face' on the story:

"They won't let me pass, I have been here for three days, I don't have any money left. I am in need, I need to be there (Chile), I am going to work there, not to commit a crime" (El Comercio, 2019r, para. 6).

These attempts add further evidence to the argument presented within the Genre and Genre Manipulation subsection, suggesting that the critical political stance of the news stories published by *El Comercio* throughout the second half of June 2019 might belong to a larger and different discursive strategy.

VII. Conclusions and Recommendations

The findings of this study are consistent with the academic literature pertaining to the media representations of IRAS around the globe. Overall, *El Comercio* tended to frame Venezuelans negatively, portraying them as threats and accusing them of Peru's structural flaws, such as the existence of limited public services and capacities and high rates of 'informality' (i.e., a limited number of jobs within the formal labour market and, in turn, an overwhelming incidence of precarious self-employment). In addition, specific findings suggest a lack of rigour in the journalistic practices of such newspaper. Among those findings are (1) a tendency of framing Venezuelans as criminals or suspects of crime, (2) the lack of contextual explanations, and (3) different examples of genre manipulation. Other findings, such as the frequency of 'oppositional' editorial and opinion pieces (i.e., texts with an abrupt and evident critical political stance), published right after the presidential announcement of the Humanitarian Visa, suggest the possibility of a larger discursive strategy which goes beyond attempts at a more 'neutral' news coverage.¹²

Within the main findings of this study is also the reinforcement of the dehumanization of Venezuelan IRAS in Peru through the use of discursive mechanisms. Among these are (1) specific rhetorical strategies, within the genre manipulation

¹² For further details regarding this conclusion, see the recommendation for further research.

component, (2) the “public order” threat frame, within framing, (3) headlines highlighting issues of crime, within foregrounding, and (4) a tendency of not giving a “voice” to all the subjects involved, within register/discursive differences. Furthermore, the negative framing within the media discourse of *El Comercio* is part of the feedback loop of crimmigration processes and moral panics, which serve to justify, in a large extent, security policies and thus punitive turns.

Finally, some of the discursive mechanisms found within this study, such as foregrounding issues of crime, also suggest the existence of a commercial strategy. As Fleras (2011) argues, dominant contemporary narratives focus on human-interest stories which involve drama and spectacle, law enforcement, and policy makers at the expense of digging into the explanation of the “contextual dynamics” that drive or force the movement of people in search of escape or opportunity (p. 145). In terms of backgrounding and omission, the fact that hard news stories omit important information in a genre that is supposed to inform and educate the public gives, according to Huckin (1997), “ample reason to raise suspicions about the real interests” of the news media outlet (p. 87).

From early 2018 to late 2020, Peru’s Executive and Legislative government branches were involved in a three-year ‘battle’. The impact of such political context on the response of the Peruvian government towards Venezuelan migration and Venezuelan IRAS has been studied as one of the main contributing factors to Peru’s punitive turn. Thus, the first recommendation for further research pertaining to the media discourse built by *El Comercio* on Venezuelan migration and Venezuelan IRAS in Peru would involve, particularly, the study of El Comercio Group’s response to the political context and power struggle of those years in Peru.

A second recommendation would contemplate carrying out comparative research involving two or more local newspapers with high rates of readership in addition to *El Comercio* (e.g., *La República*). While findings from such comparative research could potentially strengthen the conclusions of this study, they could also reveal specific differences worthy of exploring. Finally, a third recommendation would also involve comparative research, but at a cross-national level within the Latin American region. Thus, it could potentially offer similarities, yet, at the same time, certain differences according to the local contexts in which news is produced and distributed. As such, these recommendations not only seek to disclose the media discourse strategy of *El Comercio* towards the Venezuelan migration phenomenon, but also to contribute to the promotion of the current debate regarding the purposes and strategies of mass media outlets as institutions embedded in the political-economic system of our era.

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Appendices

News stories published in April 2019

(Total: 12)

Newspaper	Link	Date	Headline
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/mundo/venezuela/venezuela-millon-ninos-necesitara-ayuda-crisis-social-economica-unicef-noticia-nndc-623671-noticia/	April 04	Un millón de niños necesitará ayuda por la crisis en Venezuela, según Unicef
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/opinion/editorial/editorial-cambio-historico-respuestas-altura-noticia-624193-noticia/	April 07	Editorial: Cambio histórico y respuestas a la altura
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/mundo/actualidad/presidente-martin-vizcarra-reunira-mike-pompeo-palacio-gobierno-noticia-nndc-626359-noticia/	April 13	Pompeo: "Estados Unidos felicita al Perú por su generosidad con venezolanos"
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/mundo/venezuela/han-ido-migrantes-han-abandonado-venezuela-noticia-627854-noticia/	April 18	¿A dónde han ido los migrantes que han abandonado Venezuela?
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/la-libertad/trujillo-arzobispo-realizo-lavado-pies-seis-ninos-venezolanos-semana-santa-noticia-628047-noticia/	April 19	Trujillo: arzobispo realizó el lavado de pies a seis niños venezolanos por Semana Santa
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/mundo/venezuela/crisis-venezuela-carla-adolescente-familia-buena-me-toco-ensenarle-prostituta-desesperacion-venezolanos-frontera-colombia-noticia-629713-noticia/	April 26	"Carla era una adolescente de familia buena y me tocó enseñarle a prostituirse"
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/lima/sucesos/67-limeños-acuerdo-inmigracion-venezolana-peru-noticia-630720-noticia/	April 29	El 67% de limeños no está de acuerdo con la inmigración venezolana al Perú
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/lima/sucesos/denuncian-peruanos-venezolanos-atenden-policlinico-lima-titulo-medicos-colegiatura-noticia-nndc-630723-noticia/	April 29	Denuncian que peruanos y venezolanos atienden en policlínico de Lima sin título de médicos
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/campana-promueve-buen-recibimiento-peruanos-ninos-adolescentes-venezolanos-noticia-630985-noticia/	April 30	Campaña promueve buen recibimiento a niños y adolescentes venezolanos
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/economia/peru/migracion-venezolana-desbordando-capacidad-laboral-peru-venezuela-juan-guaido-nicolas-maduro-noticia-622332-noticia/	April 30	Migración venezolana ya está desbordando la capacidad laboral del Perú
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/junin/huancayo-convocan-marcha-venezolana-apoyo-juan-guaido-noticia-631242-noticia/	April 30	Huancayo: convocan a marcha venezolana en apoyo a Juan Guaidó
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/economia/peru/mtpe-venezuela-ministra-agrava-informalidad-mercado-laboral-ingreso-venezolanos-peru-noticia-nndc-631181-noticia/	April 30	MTPE: Ingreso de venezolanos está agravando informalidad en mercado laboral

News stories published in May 2019

(Total: 15)

Newspaper	Link	Date	Headline
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/venezolanos-migracion-venezolana-peru-fenomeno-historico-e-inedito-nicolas-maduro-juan-guaido-leopoldo-lopez-noticia-ecpm-631190-noticia/	May-01	¿Por qué la migración venezolana es un fenómeno histórico e inédito en el Perú?
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/exodo-creciente-venezuela-perfil-migrantes-informe-noticia-632311-noticia/	May-04	El éxodo creciente desde Venezuela: este es el perfil de los migrantes INFORME
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/piura/piura-sentencian-extranjero-robar-celular-anciano-noticia-nndc-632939-noticia/	May-06	Piura: sentencian a extranjero por robar celular a un anciano
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/lima/sucesos/inpe-poblacion-venezolana-prision-sextuplico-ano-infografia-noticia-ecpm-631252-noticia/	May-07	INPE: población venezolana en prisión se sextuplicó en solo un año INFOGRAFÍA
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/economia/peru/30-crecimiento-pea-explicado-migracion-venezolana-noticia-633544-noticia/	May-09	Empleo en el Perú: Demanda laboral se dinamiza
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/lima/policiales/mininter-jejecuto-segunda-expulsion-venezolanos-antecedentes-policiales-video-noticia-nndc-634299-noticia/	May-10	Mininter expulsó a un segundo grupo de extranjeros con antecedentes policiales VIDEO
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/economia/peru/venezolanos-peru-banco-central-reserva-venezuela-migrantes-venezolanos-ayudan-banco-central-reserva-inflacion-noticia-637582-noticia/	May-22	Llegada de migrantes venezolanos podría reducir precio de alimentos fuera del hogar
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/economia/peru/venezuela-venezolanos-peru-migrantes-venezolanos-ganan-35-peruanos-promedio-noticia-637983-noticia/	May-23	Migrantes venezolanos ganan 35% menos que los peruanos en promedio
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/martin-vizcarra-ponderado-efecto-real-migracion-venezolana-noticia-nndc-639116-noticia/	May-27	Martín Vizcarra: “No se ha ponderado efecto real de migración venezolana”
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/arequipa/arequipa-asesinan-pareja-productores-pisco-caraveli-noticia-639550-noticia/	May-28	Arequipa: asesinan a pareja de productores de pisco en Caravelí
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/lima/policiales/migracion-delincuencia-debate-abre-inseguridad-calles-noticia-ecpm-639572-noticia/?ref=ecr	May-29	Migración y delincuencia, un debate que se abre por inseguridad en las calles
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/madre-de-dios/rescatan-13-victimas-explotacion-laboral-trata-bares-puerto-maldonado-noticia-639950-noticia/	May-29	Rescatan a 13 víctimas explotación laboral y trata en bares de Puerto Maldonado
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/economia/peru/competitividad-son-fortalezas-aranceles-bajos-politicas-migratorias-flexibles-migracion-venezolanos-informal-ecpm-noticia-639875-noticia/	May-30	¿Son fortalezas del Gobierno los aranceles bajos y políticas migratorias flexibles?
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/arequipa/arequipa-cuarta-region-pais-mayor-numero-venezolanos-noticia-640539-noticia/	May-31	Arequipa es la cuarta región con mayor número de venezolanos
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/economia/peru/consumo-privado-impulsaria-crecimiento-economico-2019-2020-ecpm-noticia-640102-noticia/	May-31	IPE: Consumo privado impulsaría el crecimiento económico en el 2019

News stories published in June 2019

(Total: 36)

Newspaper	Link	Date	Headline
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/lima/callao-capturan-extranjero-acusado-ahorcar-pareja-encuentra-base-datos-interpol-noticia-nndc-640929-noticia/	June 02	Capturan a extranjero acusado de ahorcar a su pareja y buscado por feminicidio
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/lima/policiales/olivos-intervienen-14-venezolanos-urbanizacion-trebol-noticia-nndc-641012-noticia/	June 02	Los Olivos: autoridades intervienen a 14 venezolanos en la urbanización El Trébol
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/lima/policiales/puente-piedra-detienen-sujeto-pistola-chaleco-policia-video-noticia-nndc-642321-noticia/	June 06	Puente Piedra: detienen a sujeto con una pistola y un chaleco de policía VIDEO
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/venezuela-peru-solicitara-visa-venezolanos-15-junio-informa-prensa-internacional-fotos-noticia-nndc-642622-noticia/	June 06	Perú solicitará visa a venezolanos: así informa la prensa internacional
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/son-paises-cuyos-ciudadanos-requieren-visa-entrar-peru-noticia-ecpm-642553-noticia/	June 07	Estos son algunos países cuyos ciudadanos requieren de visa para entrar al Perú
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/economia/peru/sunafil-empresas-podran-contar-20-trabajadores-venezolanos-extranjeros-noticia-nndc-642806-noticia/?ref=ecr	June 08	Sunafil: Empresas podrán contar con solo un 20% de trabajadores venezolanos o extranjeros
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/opinion/editorial/editorial-1-humanitarios-noticia-642956-noticia/	June 08	Editorial 1: ¿Humanitarios?
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/opinion/colaboradores/riesgos-control-migratorio-feline-freier-noticia-642930-noticia/	June 08	Riesgos del control migratorio, por Feline Freier
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/mundo/venezuela/venezuela-exigira-visa-peruanos-quieran-ingresar-territorio-noticia-643044-noticia/	June 09	Venezuela anuncia que exigirá visa a los peruanos que quieran ingresar a su territorio
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/lima/miraflores-conductor-persiguió-delincuentes-le-robaron-ovaló-higuereta-logro-atraparlos-noticia-nndc-643475-noticia/	June 10	Miraflores: conductor persiguió a delincuentes que le robaron y logró atraparlos
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/economia/peru/sunafil-cerca-40-mil-venezolanos-formalmente-peru-noticia-ecpm-644140-noticia/	June 11	Venezolanos representan el 0,96% de los trabajadores formales en el Perú
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/economia/peru/informal-crece-formal-zona-urbana-noticia-venezolanos-peru-ecpm-644231-noticia/	June 12	Empleo informal crece más que el formal en la zona urbana: ¿a qué se debe?
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/mundo/latinoamerica/venezolanos-congestionan-frontera-ecuador-colombia-llegar-peru-venezuela-fotos-noticia-nndc-644928-noticia/	June 13	Venezolanos congestionan frontera de Ecuador para intentar llegar a Perú
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/tumbes/venezolanos-peru-encuentra-cebaf-horas-pedido-visa-noticia-ecpm-645355-noticia/	June 14	Venezolanos en Perú: así se encuentra el Cebaf a pocas horas del pedido de visa
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/lima/policiales/victoria-detienen-sujeto-agredio-policia-intervencion-video-nndc-noticia-645143-noticia/	June 14	La Victoria: detienen a sujeto que golpeó a policía durante intervención VIDEO
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/venezuela-podran-tramitar-venezolanos-visa-humanitaria-entrar-peru-noticia-ecpm-645177-noticia/	June 15	Venezolanos deberán cumplir estos requisitos para obtener la visa humanitaria

El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/mundo/latinoamerica/peru-exige-visa-pasaporte-venezuela-ecuador-activa-plan-posible-crisis-humanitaria-migrantes-noticia-nndc-645618-noticia/	June 15	Ecuador activa plan ante posible crisis humanitaria por migrantes venezolanos
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/opinion/colaboradores/migrantes-e-informales-leda-perez-noticia-ecpm-645404-noticia/	June 15	Todos (casi) somos migrantes e informales, por Leda Pérez
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/sunedu-descarta-facilidades-registro-titulos-venezolanos-noticia-645828-noticia/	June 16	Sunedu descarta facilidades para el registro de títulos a venezolanos
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/tumbes/cientos-venezolanos-aguardan-ingreso-cebaf-tumbes-pese-restriccion-noticia-645854-noticia/	June 16	Cientos de venezolanos aguardan su ingreso en el Cebaf de Tumbes pese a restricción
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/tumbes-escenario-migracion-venezolana-restricciones-noticia-ecpm-646134-noticia/	June 17	Tumbes: este es el escenario de la migración venezolana tras las restricciones
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/tumbes/venezolanos-visa-optan-presentar-solicitudes-refugio-entrar-pais-noticia-ecpm-645951-noticia/	June 17	Venezolanos sin visa optan por presentar solicitudes de refugio para entrar al país
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/tumbes/semana-entraron-tumbes-10-mil-venezolanos-peru-migraciones-noticia-646348-noticia/	June 18	El fin de semana entraron por Tumbes más de 10 mil venezolanos
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/chile-niega-ingreso-migrantes-venezolanos-pais-video-noticia-nndc-647641-noticia/	June 20	Chile niega ingreso a migrantes venezolanos en la frontera con Perú VIDEO
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/visado-humanitario-genera-confusion-venezolanos-consulados-peruanos-noticia-647595-noticia/	June 20	Visado humanitario genera confusión entre venezolanos en los consulados peruanos
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/economia/peru/ministro-economia-migracion-venezolana-impacto-positivo-noticia-ecpm-647799-noticia/	June 22	Ministro de Economía: Migración venezolana también tiene impacto positivo
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/opinion/colaboradores/venezolanos-migraciones-son-agua-feline-freier-noticia-ecpm-648015-noticia/	June 22	Las migraciones son como el agua, por Feline Freier
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/mundo/actualidad/personas-numeros-venezuela-cambia-mapa-migraciones-acnur-refugiados-noticia-648403-noticia/	June 23	"Somos personas, no números": Venezuela cambia el mapa de las migraciones
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/tacna/venezolanos-bloquean-carretera-conecta-tacna-arica-video-noticia-nndc-648232-noticia/	June 23	Venezolanos bloquearon vía Tacna-Arica en protesta a la medida de Chile VIDEO
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/opinion/columnistas/venezuela-migracion-venezolanos-peru-pais-sangres-ignazio-ferrari-noticia-ecpm-648873-noticia/	June 25	Perú, ¿país de todas las sangres?, por Ignazio De Ferrari
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/tacna/tacna-mil-venezolanos-peru-tramitan-visa-consulado-chile-venezuela-noticia-ecpm-649561-noticia/	June 26	Tacna: más de mil venezolanos tramitan visa en el consulado de Chile FOTOS
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/economia/peru/colapso-sector-empresarial-venezuela-ecpm-noticia-640870-noticia/	June 27	¿Cómo sobreviven las empresas privadas en la Venezuela de hoy?
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/migracion-venezolana-venezolanos-visas-humanitarias-entregado-peru-venezuela-noticia-ecpm-650246-noticia/	June 29	Migración venezolana: ¿cuántas visas humanitarias ha emitido Perú?
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/peru/venezolanos-peru-balance-migracion-venezolana-venezuela-noticia-ecpm-650141-noticia/	June 30	El 95% de migrantes venezolanos se quieren quedar en el Perú
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/economia/peru/sunafil-obligaciones-deben-cumplir-empresas-contraten-extranjeros-venezolanos-noticia-ecpm-649148-noticia/	June 30	Sunafil: ¿Qué obligaciones deben cumplir las empresas que contraten extranjeros?
El Comercio	https://elcomercio.pe/economia/mundo/migracion-venezolana-chile-beneficia-peru-colombia-noticia-649919-noticia/	June 30	Migración venezolana: cómo y por qué Chile se beneficia, pero Colombia y Perú no

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