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**International News from Differing National Perspectives: Spanish-speaking
Newspaper Coverage of the 2019 Venezuelan Presidential Crisis Protests**

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Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	3
INTRODUCTION	4
METHODOLOGY	7
HISTORICAL CONTEXT	10
VENEZUELA	10
What is the Crisis?	10
Economic Boom and Crisis	12
Government	13
International Relations	16
CUBA-VENEZUELA RELATIONS	17
COLOMBIA-VENEZUELA RELATIONS	19
SPAIN-VENEZUELA RELATIONS	22
NEWSPAPER BACKGROUNDS	25
ANALYSIS	28
Headlines Analysis	28
Image Analysis	33
Text Analysis	46
DISCUSSION	59
PART I	59
PART II	63
References	71
Appendix A	75
Appendix B	83

ABSTRACT

On January 23, 2019, the streets of Venezuela became flooded with protests in response to the head of Venezuela's National Assembly, Juan Guaidó, announcing his claim to the Venezuelan presidency. The protests were largely in support of his announcement, though some supported Nicolás Maduro, the president of Venezuela since 2013. This day marked the beginning of the Venezuelan presidential crisis, which left Venezuela, and the world, debating the legitimacy of each leader. This investigation focuses on how Spanish-language news sources from three different countries reported on the protests surrounding the Venezuelan presidential crisis on January 23, 2019, and how the reporting offers insight into the historical, economic, and political realities of each nation and its relationship with Venezuela.

To conduct this examination, three articles from three different countries (Colombia, Cuba, and Spain) were analyzed. Agenda-setting is the main analytical approach used throughout the investigation in order to demonstrate how each news source has the potential to influence public opinion and perception, and also how each article's content is a reflection of the nation in which it was written. Various aspects of each article were analyzed, including the headlines, images, and text.

This investigation concludes that through the content found in each of the three articles, each country's news source presents a different perspective on the Venezuelan presidential crisis, and sets an implicit agenda based on the historical, economic, and political reality of the nation in which it was written.

INTRODUCTION

In January 2019, a series of events in Venezuela captured news headlines around the world. The embattled President Nicolás Maduro faced a challenge from the head of Venezuela's National Assembly, Juan Guaidó, and Venezuelan citizens erupted into the streets in protest. Many were protesting in favor of this new leadership and against the current government, while others demonstrated their continuing support for Maduro.

The purpose of this investigation is to analyze how the protests in Venezuela resulting from the Venezuelan presidential crisis were represented and framed in international media. By comparing news coverage of this event across three different news sources, I address how agenda-setting by the news media can be detected in the news. Agenda-setting means implicitly conveying what is newsworthy and why through how news events are reported (McCombs, 2011). Specifically, my analysis compares print news sources from Colombia, Cuba, and Spain-- three different Spanish-speaking countries, each of which has strong ties to Venezuela. Each country was chosen due to their distinct historical relationship with Venezuela, and the fact that there is the potential for political, economic, and cultural impacts on each country depending on the resolution of this crisis. The overall question I seek to answer in this examination is *“How does the news coverage of the protests surrounding the Venezuelan presidential crisis by three key Spanish language newspapers in three Spanish language nations reflect the historical, economic and political reality of each of those nations?”*

In order to address this question, I use qualitative discourse analysis to examine the articles that I have chosen surrounding the protests. The goal of this analysis is to trace the connections between political, historical, and cultural relationships between countries and how

they affect news reporting, and the rhetorical methods that each media source employs to represent its country's stance on and interest in a specific issue, in order to inform or implicitly influence public thought and opinion. The agenda-setting in all of these media sources, and the perspective that they have, is almost entirely implicit. Therefore, it is best discovered through this process of comparison. The differences between each media source can suggest to the audience different realities, and also demonstrate presumed national interests.

The main analytical approach that I am using to conduct this analysis is the idea of agenda-setting in the media. This approach was formally developed by Max McCombs and Donald Shaw, and its basic claim is that the news media is able to influence how much importance is given to a topic, and how the public may think about that topic (McCombs, 2011). Often times, what the public knows and believes comes from what they learn from the media, therefore the priorities of the media can easily become the priorities of a large sector of the public. Understanding the significance of agenda-setting requires some knowledge of the concept of a need for orientation (NFO), which states that individuals have a desire to orient themselves within their world (McCombs et al., 2014). To do so, they will use media sources to provide them with the information they need to feel well-oriented, choosing what information to intake based on its relevance to the individual's life and the level of uncertainty that they feel about a topic. The agenda-setting effect is impactful due to this need for orientation that exists psychologically in individuals.

Another important point regarding agenda-setting that McCombs explains is that while the "agenda" from the media is impactful, it is not premeditated. It is a result of individual decisions made by journalists, publishers, and editors every day. Agenda-setting is created not only through what is shared by the media or what it tries to focus the public on, but also how the

public comes to understand and view the topic. This occurs due to a variety of factors such as the headlines relating to a certain topic, how much coverage it is given, and the tone of the reporting, among other things (McCombs, 2011). In my analysis, I examine multiple factors that play a role in the agenda-setting function of the media in newspapers from Colombia, Cuba, and Spain.

This investigation is relevant due to the ever-changing state of Venezuelan politics, and especially the more recent struggles in the country that have affected various sectors of society. History and politics are often studied by professionals in the field such as historians and political scientists, but the role that media plays in creating the historical narrative and determining what parts of history get remembered and how, is equally important. Additionally, media sources create a timestamp of the state of relations between two countries at any given time, which is crucial due to the ever-changing state of international relations. Therefore, by conducting this analysis an additional historical reference is created that can help exemplify the state of relations between Venezuela and Colombia, Cuba, and Spain respectively, at present.

It is important to note that this analysis intentionally omits the United States (U.S.) media perspective on the Venezuelan presidential crisis. While I acknowledge the large role that the U.S. plays in international affairs, particularly with Venezuela and the other countries in this analysis, there is value in solely focusing on these other countries without the overshadowing of U.S. influence. The U.S. is so often the focus of the analyses of international relations that it can downplay the importance of the role that other nations have as well. Additionally, this analysis is focused on media sources written for a Spanish-speaking population. While Spanish-speakers live in the United States, it is not the majority of the population. Directing the focus of my analysis specifically to Colombia, Cuba, and Spain allows for a more focused and in-depth analysis. However, the U.S. of course cannot not be entirely omitted, as the reporting of U.S.

opinion and presence as an international actor within the various media sources is unavoidable, as is the impact of each nation's relationship with the U.S. on how international news is reported. Therefore, while I am not analyzing U.S. news sources, the monolithic role that it plays in terms of its relationship and/or influence with each country that is being analyzed is certain to be present.

METHODOLOGY

I selected the newspaper with the highest circulation and/or readership in each of the three countries for this analysis. These newspapers are *El Tiempo* (Colombia), *La Granma* (Cuba), and *El País* (Spain). To conduct my research, I first compiled a spreadsheet of all news articles on Venezuela during the time period of September 1, 2019 to December 10, 2019, to discover potential news themes that could become the focus of my analysis. To find these articles, I used the official website of each news source. To ensure that no article was missed, I simply searched "Venezuela" as the key word so that I had access to all articles published regarding anything in Venezuela during the selected time frame. No opinion pieces were included in this analysis, as those offer a different set of questions to analyze that are separate from the focus of this examination, which is on news reporting.

In total, my searches identified 261 articles on Venezuela during this larger time period. I then made the decision to focus on specific events within the crisis rather than themes in an arbitrary time frame. However, given the large number of articles surrounding the crisis and my goal of doing a close analysis of a smaller number, I made the decision to focus solely on articles published on January 23 and 24 of 2019, as January 23 marks an important day in the history of

the crisis, as it was when Juan Guaidó announced his claim to the presidency. I found 74 articles¹ that fit this criteria, which resulted in filtering my results down even more to only focus on articles relating to the protests that occurred as a result of the presidential crisis during this time frame. The main reason for choosing the articles on the protests is that these articles not only offer information about the protests, but also about Guaidó's announcement, citizen opinion, and a bit of the political history of Venezuela since the crisis was still developing at that time. There were a variety of other themes present in the articles published by the three news sources at this time also, which can also be found in the tables in appendix A. Overall, these articles offer an interesting sample of information for this investigation that covers various aspects that I had hoped to focus on.

After selecting protests as the main theme for my analysis, I then chose three principal articles, one from each news source, that reported on the protests. I found that choosing only one article from each allowed for a focused examination of each news source, and made it easier to draw direct comparisons between them. As can be seen in the tables in Appendix A, there were more than three articles that discussed the protests on January 23 and 24. However, since I wanted to examine only one article from each news source, I chose each one based on the criteria below:

1. Are there images to accompany the text?
2. Is the majority of the information presented in the text describing what is currently happening? (i.e. not discussing the history of protests in Venezuela throughout most of the article)

¹ See appendix A for the timeline of articles

3. The article is about the protests as a whole, not a specific moment within them (i.e. the burning of a statue of Chávez)

This list of criteria led me to the selection of these three articles that are the focus of this analysis²:

1. *El Tiempo* - “Venezolanos se tomaron las calles para desafiar al régimen de Maduro”
("Venezuelans took to the streets to challenge the Maduro regime")
2. *El País* - “La protesta contra el régimen de Maduro se reactiva en las calles con unas marchas masivas”
("The protest against the Maduro regime is reactivated in the streets with massive marches")
3. *Granma* - “Pueblo venezolano permanece en las calles ante amenaza golpista”
("Venezuelan people remain on the streets in the face of a coup threat")

With the goal of making this analysis as clear as possible, it is broken down into sections. The three main sections are: historical context, analysis, and discussion. The historical context offers some historical background of Venezuela and the Venezuelan presidential crisis, the history of relations between Venezuela and each country involved in this analysis, and the history of the newspapers from which I am pulling articles. My purpose in including this information is to offer context and insight as to why the protests are portrayed differently by each country and news source. The analysis that follows is broken down into three sections: headlines, images, and text. This ensures that all aspects of each article are given a detailed examination.

² See Appendix B for the full text

Finally, the discussion section provides an explanation as to what can be learned and assumed from the analysis, and an answer to my overall research question.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

VENEZUELA

The Venezuelan history relevant to this discussion are the 20th and 21st centuries, as they inform the events and news coverage of January 23 and 24, 2019. This section on historical context is broken up into five parts: an explanation of the crisis, the economic boom and crisis, the government, and international relations of Venezuela.

What is the Crisis?

Above all else, the crisis in Venezuela is an economic, political, and humanitarian one. As mentioned, historical events and decisions over the last 30-40 years, as well as the growing legitimacy of the opposition based on international support, have led to the current struggles for power. The Venezuelan presidential crisis is the specific issue of both Maduro and Guaidó claiming to be the president of Venezuela. As mentioned, Guaidó announced his claim to the presidency on January 23, 2019. Maduro maintains his claim to the presidency based on the grounds that he finds himself to be the constitutional president, despite questioning of the validity of the election (“Venezuela Crisis,” 2020). Guaidó and the National Assembly argue that Maduro is a “usurper,” and that the presidency was vacant. He justified his presidential claim by citing sections of the constitution that state the leader of the National Assembly becomes president should there be a vacancy.

A specific reason that this presidential crisis arose when it did was because Maduro and his administration disqualified any opposing candidates from running against them, or unjustly arrested or exiled them (“Venezuela Crisis,” 2020). The United Nations also made the conclusion that the Venezuelan government has used fear tactics in order to retain power in the region (“Venezuela’s rulers”, 2019). This political oppression is in part why there was such outcry over Maduro’s reelection, and why Guaidó claimed the presidency. However, though Guaidó has support from over 50 countries, he has very little practical power without the military. Therefore, Maduro still reigns supreme. At the time of the conclusion of this analysis, there is still no international consensus on who is the acting president of Venezuela.

Larger than just the struggle for presidential power, Venezuela is in a general state of crisis. Though some of the issues that caused the current crisis in Venezuela have been ongoing, most of the blame is focused on the Chávez and Maduro administrations. While Chávez implemented more socialist policies with the goal of eradicating inequality, there have been severe consequences as a result. According to the Human Rights Watch 2019 report on Venezuela, shortages of food, medicine, and medical supplies, among other things, make daily life for Venezuelans a constant struggle (“World Report 2019”, 2019). The organization also noted other consequences of the crisis, such as poor prison conditions, police brutality, and major human rights violations. Due to all of these issues, a massive exodus of Venezuelans fleeing to other countries has occurred, in the “largest migration crisis in recent Latin American history” (“World Report 2019,” 2019, para. 3). Over 4.5 million have fled since 2014, and that is only by the official count. Conditions in Venezuela have not seen any improvement over the course of the crisis, and the criticism from a large portion of the international community continues. In sum, the country is suffering economically due to the drop in oil prices and poor decisions made

by political leaders. It is suffering politically because of ongoing government oppression and political discrimination. As a result, there is a humanitarian crisis that is occurring as well, due to a lack of resources and basic freedoms.

Economic Boom and Crisis

Oil has consistently been the basis of the Venezuelan economy since it was first discovered in the Maracaibo basin in 1922 (Kiger, 2019). The slogan “sembrando el petróleo,” meaning “sowing the oil,” has been used since the 1940s since oil has continued to be the main factor of the economy that is used to develop other sectors, in conjunction with mineral deposits (Martz et al., 2019). From the 1940s to the 1970s Venezuela reigned as the largest petroleum exporter in the world. Today, oil still counts for almost all of Venezuela’s export earnings, and around half of all government revenue (Central Intelligence Agency, 2018).

One event that had a major impact on the oil industry in Venezuela occurred in 1973 when the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) created an oil embargo against many Western countries due to their support for Israel during the Yom Kippur War (Smith, 2006). Since Venezuela was a founding member of OPEC, when oil prices nearly quadrupled, it was a large beneficiary. Quickly after this price increase, President Carlos Andrés Pérez nationalized the oil industry in addition to the iron ore industry in an attempt to use the profit to fund public infrastructure (Martz et al., 2019).

Though this was successful in the short term, the global recessions in the 80s and 90s greatly impacted oil prices and created severe economic problems for Venezuela, including an increase in inflation and unemployment, and a decrease in exports and gross domestic product (GDP). This led to the reopening of foreign investment in the oil sector. Additionally, in order to

solve the issue of \$33 billion in foreign debt, President Carlos Andrés Pérez accepted a bailout from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that included austerity measures that led to an increase in the price of consumer goods and public transport (“Dozens of Venezuelans,” 1989). The result was violent public protest and more government control, including the institution of a curfew and suspension of civil liberties (“Dozens of Venezuelans,” 1989). However, under the administration of Hugo Chávez, Venezuela paid off the debt in 2007 and pulled out of the World Bank and the IMF. Chávez blamed the two organizations for “perpetuating poverty,” and contributing to inflation through the economic changes that were imposed under previous agreements (“Chávez pulling Venezuela,” 2007).

Due to a culmination of economic issues in the 1990s, including the banking crisis in ‘96 and the fact that foreign investors controlled more than half of Venezuela’s banks by the end of the decade, Venezuela had the highest rate of inflation in Latin America going into the 21st century (Martz et al., 2019). There were various attempts to remedy this, including the creation of a new currency in 2008 called the bolívar fuerte. Venezuela appeared to prosper economically until 2014, when world oil prices plummeted again resulting in the GDP falling, hyperinflation, shortages in various public sectors, and political instability. Overall, the strength of a country’s economy has an impact on nearly every aspect of its success and stability, and Venezuela will continue to face challenges until its economy stabilizes.

Government

This section offers a brief explanation of the current government of Venezuela, and gives some relevant historical context to better understand how the government developed into what it is today. Currently, Venezuela is the “Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela” and became so after the adoption of the new constitution in 1999 (“Venezuela profile,” 2019). Previously it was

called the Republic of Venezuela; that began in 1953 with the old constitution and the presidency of Marcos Pérez Jiménez, though many view his presidency as a dictatorship.

There were numerous leadership changes after that, but two of the most relevant to this analysis, aside from the current presidents, are the presidencies of Carlos Andrés Pérez (1974-1979; 1989-1993) and Hugo Chávez (1999-2013). Pérez was elected for a second term in 1989 during an economic depression and, as mentioned above, took a bailout from the IMF that resulted in public outcry. Three years into his term in 1992, future President Hugo Chávez and his supporters made two coup attempts, and Chávez was thrown in prison. He was then pardoned two years later and went on to win the 1998 presidential election due to the public growing tired of the established parties and looking for social change (“Venezuela profile,” 2019). As a result, Chávez launched the Bolivarian Revolution that produced the new constitution, as well as new socialist and populist economic and social policies. He also aimed to decrease U.S. influence and was critical of its policies, while trying to gain more influence in Latin America during his presidency. In 2009, a constitutional referendum allowed for the elimination of term limits, resulting in Chávez being re-elected in 2012. However, his re-election bid did not last, as Chávez passed away in 2013 and Vice President Nicolás Maduro was elected by a narrow margin to fill his position.

Maduro essentially continued the economic policies that had been created by Chávez, but began to receive a great deal of criticism as the economy started to sharply decline during his presidency, largely due to the decrease in the price of oil in 2014. This resulted in an increase of social issues, and a lower quality of life for many Venezuelans. Due to this, a number of anti-government protests were held, one particularly large one taking place in 2016, calling for the removal of Maduro from office. The next presidential election took place in 2018 and Maduro

was named the victor, though there is dispute over the validity of this result. This led to the presidential crisis in January of 2019. The Asamblea Nacional (National Assembly) is the main body of opposition to the Maduro presidency, and declared Juan Guaidó as the legitimate president. The Organization of American States (OAS) also declared Maduro's presidency as illegitimate, along with many other countries, including the U.S., Canada, and most of Western Europe. However, many countries still support Maduro's presidency, such as Russia, China, Iran, Mexico, and Cuba among others. Maduro's government states that Guaidó claiming the presidency is a coup orchestrated by the U.S. to have more control over Venezuelan oil, but Guaidó denies the claim that his actions constitute a coup ("Canciller Arreaza advierte", 2019). The debate over this presidency is ongoing, though the military is still supporting Maduro at present, mostly due to him giving them control over lucrative industries (Specia, 2019).

The final piece of information regarding Venezuela's government that is vital to the understanding of this analysis is an explanation of its Asamblea Nacional (National Assembly). The Asamblea Nacional is the official legislative body of Venezuela that was created in the year 2000. It has 165 seats representing each state in Venezuela as well as the Capital, and is unicameral. The federal deputy of the Asamblea Nacional is Juan Guaidó, the current opposition leader that has claimed the presidency with the support of the Asamblea Nacional. However, in 2017 the Maduro administration, called for the creation of a Constituent Assembly, called the Asamblea Nacional Constituyente (Constituent National Assembly (ANC)). Its stated purpose was to draft a new constitution for Venezuela, and convened for the first time in August of 2017 despite international criticism of its legitimacy. A few days later it declared itself to be the government branch with supreme power in Venezuela, therefore banning the Asamblea Nacional (Goodman & Sanchez, 2017). The Asamblea Nacional refuses to recognize the ANC, along with

over 40 countries, as it was seen as an attempt for the government to maintain or potentially gain power (“What did Venezuelans,” 2017). At present, the Asamblea Nacional supports the opposition, while the ANC supports Maduro.

International Relations

Venezuela is a member of numerous multilateral organizations, including the Summits of the Americas, Indigenous Leaders Summits of the Americas (ILSA), the United Nations (UN) and the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Most important to note is that Venezuela was previously a member of the Organization of American States (OAS), but announced in April of 2017 the decision to leave the organization. This makes it the only country in the Americas to no longer be a member. According to the Venezuelan Foreign Minister Delcy Rodríguez, the decision was made due to the actions of foreign governments intending to interfere in state affairs, and to affect the sovereignty of Venezuela (McKirdy et al., 2017).

Leading up to this decision, various members of the OAS lobbied for the suspension of Venezuela, as they hoped it would pressure Maduro to leave office. However, when Venezuela chose to leave the organization the opposition condemned the decision (Lee & Renwick, 2020). Since Venezuela left the OAS, it has released various statements regarding its stance on Maduro’s presidency and Venezuelan affairs in general. It does not recognize his presidency as legitimate, and continues to encourage Venezuela to “allow the entry of humanitarian aid” and comply with international democratic standards (“Resolution on the Situation,” 2018). Leaving the OAS has contributed to the worsening of Venezuelan relations with the countries who remain members of the organization, and resulted in continued criticism of the current administration.

However, where Venezuela stands with the OAS is just one of many of its recent international relations issues. A major point of tension in Venezuela's international relations is the ongoing issue of disagreement over human rights abuses. An example of this is the criticism that has come from the Lima Group in recent years. It is a group made up of 13 Latin American countries and Canada, and in June of 2018 it released a statement at a Human Rights Council session criticizing the abuses in Venezuela, which in the end was supported by 53 countries ("World Report 2019," 2019). Other countries such as the U.S., Switzerland, Panama, and the European Union (E.U.) have made their views on the crisis in Venezuela clear as well, by imposing sanctions on Venezuelan officials involved in human rights abuses. Venezuela does have the support of some countries regarding this matter, namely other countries that have also been criticized for human rights abuses and/or corruption. Overall, Venezuela's relations with other countries are highly individualized based on the history of relations between the two states, with specific attention to how/if relations changed when Chávez came into power. The current crisis in Venezuela has had a large impact on its international relations and foreign policy, and the issue of it leaving the OAS and its denial of human rights abuses continue to be the largest points of conflict.

CUBA-VENEZUELA RELATIONS

The relationship between Cuba and Venezuela is a long and complicated one, beginning in the early years of the 20th century. For the purposes of this analysis, the history presented is on the last 30 years or so as it is the most relevant to the explanation of the current relationship between the two states. The strong partnership and camaraderie that exists at present is due to multiple factors, but most prominently their economic ties, ideological similarities in their leaders, geographic proximity, and shared anti-American sentiment.

The beginning of their modern relationship began to develop in the early 1990's with two important events. The first was when Hugo Chávez came into power in Venezuela, and the second was when Cuba entered into its "special period in times of peace" (Chang, 2019). Before Venezuela, Cuba's largest ally was the Soviet Union (USSR). After the USSR fell in 1991 Cuba was in need of a new ally, particularly an economic one, to help with its food and oil supply. It did not help matters that the U.S. also enacted the Helms-Burton Act in 1996 on top of the pre-existing embargo, which prevented other countries from trading with Cuba as well. Therefore, after Chávez was elected and he and Fidel Castro realized their ideological similarities, an economic relationship quickly developed between their two countries. The leaders were both seen by their supporters as leftist revolutionaries fighting for social justice and equality, and under that vision, their cooperation continued to grow.

By the end of the year 2000, Cuba was receiving over 53,000 barrels of oil a day from Venezuela and in return, Cuba was providing them with over 30,000 doctors and technicians (Erikson, 2005). Trade between the two countries continued to increase after this, with Venezuela sending over 90,000 barrels of oil a day to Cuba by 2005 (Erikson, 2005). In 2007 the two countries began a joint venture to refurbish a Cuban oil refinery, with Venezuela's state-owned petroleum company, *Petróleos de Venezuela S.A.*, ending up with 49% ownership. However, in 2017 Venezuela had to pull out of the partnership due to its economic crisis and the debts it owed to Cuba (Marsh & Parraga, 2017). Nevertheless, strong economic ties were built in the early to mid-2000s between the two countries, enough so that they also began to rely on each other as allies regarding security. In 2002 there was an attempted coup on Chávez, after which Venezuela began to rely on Cuba for security since it was well-versed in dealing with domestic dissent (Chang, 2019). All of this led to their relationship growing stronger and stronger over

time, until the death of Chávez and the peak of the Venezuelan crisis. The personal relationship between Castro and Chávez was the catalyst for much of Cuba-Venezuela relations, and after his death the relationship did not continue with exactly the same ease. Venezuela's exports to Cuba dropped by \$4.5 billion between 2014 and 2016, and Cuba's to Venezuela dropped by nearly \$2 billion (Frank, 2017). In addition to this, the Asamblea Nacional voted to cut its oil supply to Cuba in 2019, stating that it could save \$2,585,000 each day ("Guaidó: con corte de envío," 2019).

Needless to say, relations between the two countries are not as strong as they used to be. However, Cuba does acknowledge Chávez's successor, Nicolás Maduro, as the legitimate president of Venezuela. Overall, the two countries both continue to share a common enemy in the United States, share resources, and have similar political ideologies (under Maduro). They maintain an alliance and typically support one another on the international stage.

COLOMBIA-VENEZUELA RELATIONS

The independent histories of Colombia and Venezuela are deeply intertwined, which has resulted in their continually intense relationship. Until 1830, they were both a part of one country called "Gran Colombia," along with Panama and Ecuador ("Gran Colombia," 2016). The two countries now share a border that is 2,219 km long, which makes each other's presence impossible to ignore and the cause of constant interaction. In terms of relations from the 20th century onwards, their relationship has been defined by territorial disputes, migration patterns, and an ongoing struggle between cooperation and diplomatic crises.

A few maritime border disputes occurred in the early 20th century, but one of the more recent conflicts that caused tensions between the two states occurred in 1987. Colombia had a

frigate called *Caldas* in disputed waters, claiming the territory to be its own and refusing to leave upon Venezuela's request (Mora & Vargas, 2011). This resulted in Venezuela sending F-16 fighter jets to force Colombia to leave, which almost escalated to physical conflict, but the dispute was eventually resolved through diplomatic measures. After this, conflicts between the two countries only escalated.

A major issue that the two countries ran into beginning in the mid-1990s, was violence on the border resulting from guerilla group attacks. One of these occurred in February of 1995, when the National Liberation Army (ELN), a Colombian guerilla group, staged an attack on a military post that resulted in the deaths of 9 Venezuelan marines (Mora & Vargas, 2011). In 1998, ELN assaulted a town near the Colombian border, and then continued on to Venezuela. The constant guerilla attacks by Colombian guerilla groups became a large issue for the two countries to deal with, as it also caused many Colombians to migrate to Venezuela due to safety concerns. During this time period in the 1990s, Colombians made up 77% of immigrants in Venezuela (Kurmanaev & Medina, 2015).

However, the migration issues involving Venezuela and Colombia did not end or begin there. Colombians had been mass-migrating to Venezuela since the 1970s due to civil conflict, and were drawn to Venezuela due to its proximity and economic opportunity (during oil booms) (Dreier, 2017). There was even more incentive to migrate to Venezuela in the late 1990s and early 2000s due to the social programs put into place by Chávez to support immigrants. Colombians were offered residency, and the right to vote among other services. However, once the economy began to suffer again in the early to mid-2010s, Venezuela could no longer provide many of the promised services to immigrants. This then led to a number of Colombians migrating back to Colombia as Venezuela entered into a recession in 2014-15, as the inflation

rate was rising and socioeconomic conditions worsening. On August 19 of 2015, President Maduro closed two border crossings to Colombia after three Venezuelan soldiers were allegedly injured by Colombian militias in a shoot-out that occurred during an anti-smuggling operation (Pons, 2015). Maduro claimed that this was for the safety of the Venezuelan people, and also began an intense crackdown on Colombian immigrants. This marked a historical change in Venezuela's handling of immigrants. By September 15 of 2015, almost 24,000 Colombians had been deported or chose to return to Colombia after August 19 of that year ("Colombia: Humanitarian Snapshot," 2015).

Currently, a different migration pattern is occurring. Venezuela reopened its border in July of 2016, allowing Venezuelans to cross into Colombia on certain days ("Venezuelans cross," 2016). Due to the worsening of the crisis in Venezuela, over 200,000 Venezuelans entered Colombia that month alone. Throughout the rest of the year, thousands more Venezuelans continued to emigrate to Colombia. From 2016 until the end of 2019, it is estimated that more than 4.6 million Venezuelans have fled the country ("Venezuelan Migration," 2019). Not all Venezuelan migrants and refugees are going to Colombia, but it receives the largest number of them, with Peru and Ecuador being the other main destinations. As of 2019, It is estimated that about 4,000 Venezuelans cross the Colombia-Venezuela border on a daily basis (Janetsky, 2019). The issue of an overwhelming number of Venezuelans immigrating to Colombia is one that has yet to be resolved. Due to the geographic proximity of the two nations, it is something that will likely continue to be an issue as Venezuela remains in crisis.

The ideological differences between the two country's governments have impacted their relationship as well. Colombia maintains a conservative ideological base at present, while Venezuela is on the other end of the spectrum, operating under a socialist regime. These

differences in political ideologies have caused diplomatic tension between the two nations, but Colombia has also used some of Venezuela's shortcomings as ammunition within its own domestic political agenda. The dangers of the ideology of "castrochavismo" has been frequently discussed in Colombia in recent years, particularly before important elections. Castrochavismo describes the proximity of the relationship between Venezuela and Cuba, and is often used in Colombia as a negative term to describe the dangers of Venezuela and Cuba's political ideologies, and that they are a danger to democracy in Colombia and Latin America ("Qué es cierto," 2016). The use of this term certainly heightens tensions between Colombia and Venezuela, but also is supportive of the agenda of conservative leaders in Colombia. Therefore, the Colombian government outwardly opposes the Maduro regime, and the differences in the two country's political ideologies play an important role in Colombia's domestic politics as well.

At present, diplomatic ties between Venezuela and Colombia have been cut. Maduro announced his decision to cut ties On February 23, 2019, closing all embassies and consulates (Romero, 2019). Colombia's right-wing president and U.S. ally Ivan Duque, announced that Colombia does not recognize Maduro as legitimate president of Venezuela on the same day that Guaidó claimed the presidency ("Colombia recognizes opposition," 2019). Due to the numerous issues that the two countries have encountered with each other as of late, an end to this freeze on diplomatic relations is not yet in sight.

SPAIN-VENEZUELA RELATIONS

Spain's relationship with Venezuela largely differs from that of Colombia and Cuba, due to the geographical distance between the two countries, as well as the fact that the history of Spain as a colonizer in South America has had lasting impacts. Colonization impacts nearly every facet of society from language and culture to political structure. It also often is not a

bloodless process, and therefore the history of the relationship and conflict between Spain and Venezuela is likely always in the back of Venezuelan's minds. However, what Spain's relationship with Venezuela has in common with that of numerous other countries is that it became much more complicated after Chávez came into office. Therefore, the subsequent explanation of the history of the relationship between the two countries is focused on the last 20 years or so.

The problems that ensued under Chávez's presidency regarding the relationship with Spain started early on, with Venezuela accusing Spain of supporting the attempted coup of Chávez in 2002. Shortly after, the Spanish government also encouraged Chávez to not follow political models similar to that of Cuba, and Chávez saw this as an interference in internal politics, which further worsened relations. However, there was a period of new cooperation between Spain and Venezuela after 2004, when the new leader of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, became Spain's new Prime Minister. The two leaders announced a new era in their bilateral relations, and began to create more economic ties by signing various commercial and energy agreements. They also signed an agreement regarding the sale of airplanes and ships from the Spanish military to Venezuela. However, the U.S., leader of NATO, of which Spain is a member, opposed it in 2006, which suspended the contract.

An especially low point in the relationship between the two states occurred at the 2007 Ibero-American Summit when King Juan Carlos said to Chávez "por qué no te callas?" ("Why don't you shut up?") ("Shut up," 2007). Chávez had been criticizing former Prime Minister Aznar and calling him fascist on numerous occasions. At this point in time Aznar had a close relationship with U.S. President George W. Bush, likely contributing to this claim by Chávez.

This resulted in a tensing of relations, and there was no apology from either party. Chávez stated after the fact that he feels he does “not offend by telling the truth” (“Shut up,” 2007).

Another major point of conflict occurred in 2010 when former Spanish Prime Minister José María Aznar accused the Venezuelan government of supporting an allegiance between the ETA, a Spanish terrorist group, and the Colombian FARC guerilla. It was eventually resolved when a joint statement by both leaders was released condemning terrorism, but Venezuela still does not comply with extradition requests for assumed members of the ETA (Cuevas, 2013).

At present the relationship between Venezuela and Spain is less turbulent than in the past, though it is difficult to know what the future will hold for these two countries. Spain, like many of its allies, supports Guaidó as the legitimate president of Venezuela. Depending on the resolution of this presidential crisis, relations are likely to be affected.

The last piece of context regarding Spain that is important to this analysis is the influence that the U.S. has over Spain. While I mentioned before that U.S. media sources are intentionally not being analyzed, there must be acknowledgement of U.S. influence and mention in this analysis at times. The primary reason for the additional U.S. influence over Spain in comparison to the other two countries, is the fact that both the U.S. and Spain belong to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This means that they continue to rely on military cooperation, a matter of high importance that results in both countries wanting to maintain good relations with each other. Additionally, there is a great deal of economic ties between Spain and the U.S. In 2016, there was over \$105 billion in investment flows between the two countries, and there is over \$40 billion in annual trade (Mix, 2018). Overall, Spain and the U.S. have interests that are deeply intertwined, something that is important to note in this examination.

NEWSPAPER BACKGROUNDS

In order to make the most accurate observations throughout my analysis of articles, it is important to have an understanding of the history of each newspaper and what they currently represent in the countries in which they are published. To obtain the most comprehensive overview of each paper, I am going to explain the history, circulation, ownership, ideology, and values of each. Every one of these elements is essential to understanding why each paper is publishing these articles in a different way, whether the difference lies in the content, style, headlines, or images (or any combination of these) present in the article.

El Tiempo is the oldest of the three papers. It is based in Bogotá, Colombia, and represents a Colombian perspective in this analysis. This paper was started in 1911, and until 2007, its main shareholders were members of the Santos Calderón family. This is particularly interesting, as two members of this family ended up being the president of Colombia at different times, while one was also vice president. In 2007, the main shareholder became Spanish media group Grupo Planeta, until 2011 when Luis Carlos Sarmiento Angulo bought the newspaper (“Sarmiento ya es dueño,” 2012). It is interesting to note that Sarmiento Angulo is the richest man in Colombia, and owns one of the most important business groups in Colombia, Grupo Aval. This group includes companies in many areas of the economy, such as energy, construction, mining, tourism, and media. This plays into the ideological base of the newspaper, as it could be argued that due to Sarmiento Angulo’s business interests the newspaper has more conservative-leaning articles published that support economic interests of Grupo Aval or its closely associated business partners. Additionally, when the newspaper was founded, the intention was to support the ideas and initiatives of Republicans (Cabrera, n.d.). However, the newspaper claims that it is ideologically center, so the ideology of the paper is somewhat

dependent on perspective. Perhaps the best interpretation of the newspaper's ideology is that is most closely aligned with capitalism in general, advocating for private enterprise and the free movement of goods, capital, and services, and not with a centralized, government-controlled economy, such as the one found in Venezuela.

El Tiempo is one of the oldest newspapers in Colombia, and also has the highest circulation of any newspaper in the country. On average it has about 1.2 million readers a day, in a country of over 49 million ("El Tiempo," n.d.). Therefore, it can be confirmed that this newspaper is widely circulated within the country, and is an important news source for many Colombians. Another aspect that I found important to mention in the background of each paper was the values that they claim. In the other two newspapers that I was examining I was able to find more information from the news sources themselves about their "values" or "mission," but *El Tiempo* does not provide this information on its website. Due to this, I am unable to make an accurate statement about what the newspaper aims to provide to its readership outside of my personal observation of its articles. However, the lack of content regarding the newspaper's values and mission is still noteworthy, as it creates a potential ambiguity regarding *El Tiempo's* core purpose.

The second newspaper that I am analyzing is *El País*, based out of Madrid, Spain. This paper was first published in 1976, six months after the death of Francisco Franco (former dictator of Spain). It is recognized as the first pro-democracy newspaper after his death, and has a progressive and liberal ideological base ("El País," 2017). It was created and is still currently owned by a Spanish media conglomerate named PRISA. PRISA also owns two other Spanish newspapers, *Diario AS* sports newspaper and *Cinco Días* economic newspaper ("Spain - newspapers," n.d.). As of 2012, it also holds 50% interest of *El Huffington Post*, the Spanish

version of *The Huffington Post*. What is also of particular interest to this analysis is that the majority of PRISA (51%) is owned by Liberty Acquisitions Holdings, which is a U.S. hedge fund. This also has an effect on what type of news is being reported and how, particularly with relation to the U.S. (Pastor, 2013).

According to PRISA, while *El País* is the second-most circulated paper in Spain, it has the most readership in Spain as well as internationally with over 65 million readers, and is also one of three Madrid dailies to be considered a national newspaper (“El País,” n.d.). This suggests that the news presented by *El País* is widely read and known throughout the country. As previously mentioned, this paper is known to have a more liberal ideological base, which appears to be confirmed by the values and mission section of the newspaper’s website. It describes itself as a “liberal, independent, socially committed, European and Latin American journal,” and mentions multiple times that it is an “advocate for democracy,” is based on liberal principles, and is “committed [to] the protection and defense of the democratic and legal order enshrined in the Spanish Constitution” (“El País - código ético,” 2019). All of this to suggest that this paper is adamantly pro-democracy, liberally-based, and anti-totalitarian rule.

The final paper that I am analyzing is *Granma*, based in Havana, Cuba. This paper was first established in 1965, after the Cuban Revolution, and was a merger of two different previously-existing newspapers, *Revolución* and *Hoy* (“¿Quiénes somos?,” n.d.). *Granma* was created to be the official news outlet of the Partido Comunista de Cuba (PCC), which is the governing political party in Cuba. Therefore, the ownership of this paper is unique in comparison with the previous two papers, as it is owned by the Cuban government and quite directly portrays the government’s ideologies and stances on newsworthy events. While I was unable to find the exact number of readers for *Granma*, it is undeniably well-circulated as it is the main newspaper

from the Cuban government and therefore the most accessible source of news. I can personally attest to the expansiveness of its circulation as well, as during my time studying in Cuba and traveling throughout the country, *Granma* was always the main source of news and could be found in nearly every household.

While the fact that *Granma* is owned by the government makes it clear that the newspaper has a strong socialist ideological base, this is also confirmed by statements made on its website. It is stated that its aim is to promote the principles and ideas of the Revolution, and that it is loyal to the PCC and its ethical principles among other things (“¿Quiénes somos?,” n.d.). Therefore, this paper is the most representative of the opinions of the government in its home country of all the news sources that I am analyzing. What is stated in its articles is an accurate representation of the Cuban government’s stance on certain issues, and definitely applies in the case of the Venezuelan presidential crisis as well. Overall, while the other two papers may have indirect or coincidental influence from the government or other organizations, this paper has undeniable government influence and affiliation that is taken into consideration during my analysis.

ANALYSIS

Headlines Analysis

The headlines of the three articles in this analysis play an important role in understanding how each article is framing the protests, and what agenda they each seek to promote.

Headlines are the first, and potentially the only, part of an article that the public will read. This makes them one of the most important aspects to consider in terms of what the public takes away

from the news that they read. Communication scholar Dr. Zizi Papacharissi effectively explains that headlines are a “crucial part of how news turns into a story” (2019). Meaning that a headline will have a significant effect on how the story is retold or explained to others, effectively impacting the public’s knowledge or understanding of a topic.

Another reason that an analysis of the headlines is vital to this examination is because they have long been a form of “clickbait,” always stating either the most shocking part of the story, or what the article wants you to remember. Therefore, the headlines of the articles in this examination will be helpful in determining what each news source finds important for the reader to remember. Finally, there is emotion present in headlines that shapes how the public may feel about a story as well. Reading the news is not solely an “information seeking process,” but also a social and emotional one (Papacharissi, 2019). If a certain emotion is expressed in a headline through word choice, it may impact the emotion that a reader feels towards the topic. All in all, headlines frame, contextualize, and direct the story within each article. They are intentional, memorable, and often emotional. My analysis of the headlines in the following three articles demonstrates how each story is being framed, and how it relates to the perspective of each country and news source.

Headlines:

El Tiempo - “Venezolanos se tomaron las calles para desafiar al régimen de Maduro”

("Venezuelans took to the streets to challenge the Maduro regime")

El País - “La protesta contra el régimen de Maduro se reactiva en las calles con unas marchas masivas”

("The protest against the Maduro regime is reactivated in the streets with massive marches")

Granma - “Pueblo venezolano permanece en las calles ante amenaza golpista”

("Venezuelan people remain on the streets in the face of a coup threat")

As I observe throughout most of my analysis, the perspective in the headlines from *El Tiempo* and *El País* tend to have a lot more in common with each other than they do with the one from *Granma*. This can be seen mostly through the stance that their headlines seem to suggest, as well as the emotion and word choice that are used. Regarding the protests, both headlines report there being marches “contra” (against) Maduro, or to “desafiar” (challenge) his regime. While these are both factual claims, it suggests support of these protests. The use of the words “desafiar” and “contra” is direct and strong, and by including Maduro’s name in the headline it singles him out directly, when simply saying that the protests were against the current government may have been less emotional.

In specific regard to the emotion demonstrated in these headlines, I again look to word choice. In both news sources, I recognize tones of anger, resentment, and determination. In the *El País* headline, the words “se reactiva” (reactivates) are used. While this is factual, it highlights the fact that these protests have occurred before, and that the resentment that many Venezuelans feel towards the Maduro regime is strong and enduring. Without the inclusion of this word the headline still would have worked by replacing it with a neutral verb such as “occurs” or “begins,” but it would not carry the same sense of determination as it does with the word “reactivates.” In the *El Tiempo* headline, it is necessary to again look at the use of the word “desafiar.” Using a word like “challenge” implies that one side views the other as having done something wrong, and is willing to put up a fight to change it. It is a word that carries emotional

weight, and also suggest determination as it implies that the Venezuelan people are done with waiting for change, and are now demanding it.

The final word choice used by both sources that I find to be particularly important and demonstrative of the emotion in each, as well as their perspective, is their emphasis of a large community presence. In *El Tiempo*, the group of people that are involved in the protests are simply described as Venezuelans. While an accurate description, it does not specify the number of Venezuelans. By saying Venezuelans as a general statement, the reader likely perceives the headline to infer that most Venezuelans are out protesting. If the headline was more definitive in the number of protesters, by saying something like “small/large groups of protestors,” or “Venezuelans in the neighborhoods of Caracas,” it could affect the perception of the number of Venezuelans involved. However, the more important point to make is that by saying “Venezuelans,” it is implied that there is unity among citizens, coming together against a common enemy. This creates an image of strength and solidarity among the protestors. Similarly, *El País* used the word “masiva” (meaning mass, as in “mass demonstration”) to describe the marches in Venezuela. This is not necessarily demonstrative of the size of the protests, but again rather the idea that Venezuelans are coming together to work towards a common goal. By both headlines using word choice that emphasize the unity of the people and the community within each country, it not only shows that the articles are trying to highlight the amount of resistance there is to the Maduro regime, but also the anger and resentment that must be present in order for there to be such a resistance and so many people united in achieving the same goal.

While the headlines from *El Tiempo* and *El País* shared many characteristics, the headline from *Granma* on the topic of the protests was entirely different in stance, if not also in emotional appeal and depiction of “a people” in the streets as the result of the announcement.

The stance that their headline suggests is of support, but of support for Venezuelans defending the Maduro regime rather than the protestors of it. This can clearly be inferred by the use of the words “amenaza golpista” (coup threat) to describe the situation in Venezuela. Given Cuba’s history with international intervention in its politics and political leaders, particularly from the U.S., the implicit threat of force from outside governments if their preferred political candidates do not prevail would easily leave Cubans weary of potential coup threats. Therefore, including these specific words in the headlines serve as a warning of potential international intervention, and as a statement of support for Maduro’s regime.

Though the perspective of this headline does vary greatly from the other two, the mention of community is still very much present. Using the words “pueblo venezolano” (“people of Venezuela”) implies that a large group of Venezuelans are resisting this “attempted coup,” and defending their country against a threat. However, it is slightly different in connotation than simply saying “Venezuelans,” like the headline from *El Tiempo*. Saying “Venezuelans” casts all Venezuelans in the same light, with no class differentiation. The use of “pueblo venezolano” does not have the same effect, as the word “pueblo” is typically associated with the working class, the sector of society that Hugo Chávez and Maduro purport to defend against the excesses of capitalism and the corruption of plutocrats. The use of “pueblo” does not negate the fact that *Granma* is describing Venezuelans as united, but it makes the distinction that it is the proletariat uniting in support of a “populist” leader.

Additionally, the emotion found in this headline is similar to the other two, but showing the emotions of anger, resentment, and determination for a different cause. The word “permanece” (“remain”) seems to represent a feeling of resistance, as well as strength. There is an implication that the people protesting the opposition have been doing so for a while, and will

continue to do so indefinitely. This offers a feeling of strength regarding Maduro's regime and his supporters, and a continued support that he will have from them as well as from Cuba. The word "permanece" also signals to the reader that nothing has changed. Through the use of this word, there is an implication that Venezuelans are again in the streets protesting for what they have always protested for, a leader that works for the proletariat. This signifies that this is the same group of people that demanded change in the late 1990s and supported Chávez when he came into power, and that their beliefs and support have not changed since then. They still support this regime, just as they did then, even with a new president in charge. It also does not offer any differentiation between the protestors, therefore framing the protests to only include this group, who is against the people involved in the coup threat. Overall, the headline in this *Granma* article demonstrates a strong support for the Maduro regime and creates an image of strength surrounding it, while clearly disapproving of anyone attempting to interfere with his government.

In sum, analyzing the headlines of these three articles offers insight into the perspective of each article, the agenda that it is presenting, how it may be framing the article, and the emotion that may be present throughout. Since the headline is the first thing that the reader views, and may be a determinant of whether or not they choose to read the article, the words used in the headline represent what is most important to communicate from the perspective of each newspaper. However, accompanying this headline is also often an image, which is the focus of the next section of analysis.

Image Analysis

Visual perception theory states that people are inclined to believe what they see, not what they know. Even if the viewer knows it cannot be true for one reason or another, the

phenomenon of “seeing-is-believing” is prevalent (Newton, 1998). This makes the images that are presented in newspaper articles all the more meaningful, as the reader may be more inclined to believe the words presented in the article if there is a powerful image alongside it.

Additionally, it has been proven that when reading an article, people are more drawn to the photos than they are the words *and* tend to remember them better (Newton, 2001). This means that the words in the articles may sometimes be remembered as supplementary to the image, rather than the image supplementary to the words. It also could suggest that people may focus solely on the images, and gloss over or disregard the words in the article altogether. While the purpose of this analysis is not to study how people interpret and view images in comparison to words within articles, I find these points important to note as they stress the importance of including the images in this analysis.

Finally, it is important to realize that just as with any other medium, complete objectivity in the taking of a photograph is unattainable. While some ethical standards are in place for photojournalists to follow in terms of being as truthful and objective as possible (i.e. no staging photos), there will always be some sort of bias or subjectivity in the taking of the photo—even in whether to take a photo, from what viewpoint, and with what subject and framing the photo. There is also the editorial process of selecting a photo to accompany an article and captioning it. However, a photo always gives the viewer minimally a “piece of the truth,” so they still always offer validity in that sense (Newton, 2001). Additionally, I would like to acknowledge the bias that I have in this analysis, as it is true also that we “tend to see only what we look for” when viewing images and to have our interpretation conditioned by our experience with visual images (Newton, 2001). However, I made every effort to analyze the images from a variety of perspectives in my examination process.

Selected Photos:



Photo #1 - Granma

No caption



Photo #2 – El País**Caption: “Un grupo de gente, durante el acto de Juan Guaidó”****“a group of people during Juan Guaidó’s act”****Photo #3 – El Tiempo****Caption: “Así luce la avenida Francisco de Miranda, uno de los puntos de congregación de los manifestantes en Caracas”****“How the avenue Francisco de Miranda appears, one of the gathering points for demonstrators in Caracas”**

Each article that I am analyzing contained minimally one photo, while one of the articles had an entire gallery of photos representing the protests. There were a variety of subject matters present throughout the photos, such as crowd shots, focused individual shots, items burning, and a police presence. However, the one that I chose to focus on were the crowd shots. This is due to the fact that I found them to relate the most to the content of the articles, and they also offered

the most in terms of aspects to analyze. In the individual analysis of each photo, I look at a number of the following elements: how the photo is framed, the point of view from which the photo was taken, the emotion in the photo, how wide or narrow the shot is and the focus of the shot, if the subjects appear to know they are being photographed, the background of the photo, the subjects and objects within the photo, the accompanying caption, and finally what the overall message of the photo is (a sum of all the aforementioned elements).

Another important reason for choosing to analyze the crowd shots was the fact that it was the only type of image present in all three articles. This is likely due to the fact that highlighting the number of people present is particularly important in the reporting of protests. Therefore, if only one photo is given, as is the case in the *Granma* and *El País* articles, having the photo be of one of the crowds is to be expected and also verifies the substance of the article. Before getting into the analysis of how and why the photos were taken, and what message they are sending, I want to examine the subjects and/or objects that are present in each photo. The photo that offers the most to discuss on this topic is the photo from *Granma*. Since this photo is quite close up, there is a lot of detail offered to the viewer. The people within the photo appear to be supporters of Maduro, as most of them are either in government uniforms of some kind, or wearing red. Understanding the significance of the color red is important when looking at this photo, as it is often associated with Hugo Chávez and the revolution. Therefore, by wearing red the protestors are showing their support for Maduro and his regime, and their lack of support for Guaidó and the people protesting in favor of him. The object/symbol that is most important to this photo is the painting of Chavez and part of the phrase “hasta la victoria siempre” (“all the way to victory, always”). I explain the significance of this in greater detail in the background section of this

analysis, but it is important to note its presence when examining the identity of the subjects in the photo, and how these two aspects align.

The next photo is the one from *El País*. Many more people are in this photo than in the one from *Granma*, and many hold symbols of their support. The Venezuelan flag is held by many in this photo, and due to the signs in support of Guaidó that are also present, it can be assumed that the flag is a symbol that his supporters have chosen to utilize to demonstrate their solidarity. A flag is arguably the most important symbol of national unity and cultural hegemony. The colors in the flag are also representative of the anti-Maduro cause. Yellow for wealth, blue for courage, and red for independence from Spain. It is also an important identifier of Venezuela that could never be changed by Maduro or Chávez, when they were able to change other things like the Constitution, the name of the country, and the currency. The use of it demonstrates the importance of the flag as a symbol for the anti-Maduro cause.

The main sign that is featured in this photo is also of importance, as it again clearly demonstrates support for Guaidó, with his name the feature point of the sign. The words used (“de La Guaira para el mundo, Guaidó pa’ encima” (“from La Guaira city to the world, Guaidó to the top”)) are particularly important, as Guaira is a different city in Venezuela, and the sign seems to imply that this particular protester traveled to Caracas in order to protest. This demonstrates how important these protests are to Venezuelans, and the effort that they are willing to put in to participate. Two smaller signs are also visible in the photo that read “Maduro usurpador” (“Maduro usurper” (of power)), casting Maduro as an illegitimate leader, and “Soy maestro y estoy que... Sin nosotros no hay educación. Sin educación no hay esperanza. Sin esperanza no hay nada” (“I am a teacher and I feel... Without us there’s no education. Without education there’s no hope. Without hope there’s nothing”). This sign is representative of how the

education system has deteriorated under Maduro, and how this has resulted in feelings of hopelessness and desperation in Venezuelan teachers. All of the messages on these signs clearly represent the dissatisfaction that the protesters feel towards the Maduro regime, and their desire for change.

Finally, the photo from *El Tiempo* is quite similar to the photo from *El País*, and does not offer much more to discuss that was not already present in the previous photo. Again, a large group of protestors gathers in support of Guaidó, as can be seen from the large Venezuelan flag that is the main focus of the picture. The size of the flag is significant, however, as it makes a big statement in terms of their support of Guaidó, and requires a large group of people to keep it up. This flag appears to be at the front of the crowd, with everyone facing towards it, and it is unclear what is in front (the bottom edge of the photo) of this massive crowd of people. It seems to be a representation of the sentiments of the entire crowd, and undoubtedly the focal point of this image. The subjects and objects/symbols in all three photos are one of the most important aspects of analysis, as they play a great deal into understanding the meaning of the photo, and why the photographer chose to take the photograph. They continue to be brought up throughout the rest of my examination of images, though are discussed more in relation to the perspective of the photographer.

The second aspect to consider in these photos is the viewpoint from which the photo is taken. The *Granma* photo is again unique in this aspect, as the photographer appears to be at eye-level with the subjects. The photographer may even be a part of this crowd, as the subjects seem aware of his/her presence. Contrastingly, the photo from *El Tiempo* is taken from high above the crowd, potentially from a nearby apartment or even a drone. The subjects are likely not aware of the photo being taken, though it is difficult to tell since the camera is so far away from their

faces. It also appears to not show the entire crowd, as the people at the edge of the frame are not entirely captured and there is no space to spare between any of the subjects. The photo from *El Pais* is similar, though not quite as extreme in terms of angles and the number of people visible. The photographer still seems to be on higher ground than the subjects, but not by much. This could mean he/she is on a stage in front of them, though he/she could also be simply standing on a random object that puts them slightly above the crowd like a curb or a car. It is difficult to tell if the subjects know that they are being photographed, as the photographer is too far away to be able to see what their eyes are directed at. However, like the *El Tiempo* photo, it seems that not the whole crowd is pictured as many people are half-captured at the edges of the photo. The perspective from which all of these photos were taken could be due to a variety of factors, including how many people the photographer wanted to include in the shot, whether or not they wanted to highlight the emotion of the subjects, and perhaps even where they happened to be when the opportunity for the photo arose. A final important aspect to note regarding the viewpoints of all three photos is that they align with the purpose of each headline. Every headline was discussing the size of the protests, who was protesting, as well as the emotion involved. Through the chosen viewpoints of each image, all of the aspects presented in the headlines are reaffirmed.

Another element to discuss in these photos is the width and depth of the frame. The photo from *Granma* is a tight shot, showing only a small group of people at eye level with the camera, which limits the depth of field visible. This is quite striking when compared to the other two photos, as they show much larger groups of protesters. This choice was potentially made so that the individual subjects could be showcased more, or because the photographer wanted to frame the photo with very specific subjects/objects within it. It is impossible to know from the *Granma*

photo if there are just as many people in this group (the people in support of Maduro), as there are in the other two photos. These two other photos are both wide shots taken from perspectives higher than the crowd, showing massive crowds that both appear to be watching someone on a stage, though we cannot see who this person is. In the photo from *El País* it is probable that it is Guaidó as stated by the caption (“Un grupo de gente, durante el acto de Juan Guaidó” (“a group of people during Juan Guaidó’s act”)), and in the photo from *El Tiempo* it could also be him as these protestors seem to be supporters of his, but it is impossible to know for sure. In all three photos, the choice that the photographer made in how many people to include in the photo may be representative of which side of this crisis they support, and how they want to portray the number of people on each side, or the aspects of the event that they find important to highlight.

Regarding the emotion in all of these photos, it is difficult to make a direct comparison as the emotion in the *El Tiempo* photo cannot easily be determined since the photographer was so far away from the subjects. Therefore, my focus is on the photos from *Granma* and *El País*. In the *Granma* photo the subjects represent a few different emotions. I think the primary ones are excitement and support, while the other emotion that is present but not quite as striking is that of simply being content and/or focused and serious. The latter is seen in the expressions of the people on the right side of the photo, that don’t appear to be showing much emotion but still looking in the direction of the camera. The subjects that show the emotion of excitement and support are on the other side of the photograph, and many of them have their hands in the air and appear to be cheering. There is also one person giving a “thumbs-up” with their hands above their head, furthering the assumption that positive emotions are represented by many people in this photo. The more animated people in this photo are likely demonstrating these positive

emotions due to their support for Maduro, but they could also possibly be trying to amplify them even more if they are aware of the photo being taken.

In the photo from *El País* it is difficult to sense the emotion of individual people as most of their faces are out of view, but the general emotion of the crowd is more easily analyzed. A large number of people have their hands in the air, some even clapping or waving flags, which projects a feeling of support and excitement, similar to the photo from *Granma* (though the subjects are likely supporting different things/people). As mentioned before, it is possible that the photographer is taking this photo from a stage, which could mean that the subjects are showing these positive emotions in support or anticipation of the appearance of Guaidó. Overall, the emotion in these photos is not necessarily something that the photographer can control, as the subjects are the ones that embody all of the emotion. However, the photographers are likely more inclined to take the photo in the first place if the subjects are more animated and demonstrating a strong emotion.

Another important piece of this analysis is the backgrounds that are found in each photo. Similar to the emotion section of the analysis, I am focusing on the photos from *Granma* and *El País*, as the photo from *El Tiempo* does not have an easily determined background due to the subjects taking up the entire photo. The background of the photo from *Granma* very much aids in setting the tone of the photo. On the wall behind the subjects there is a painting of Hugo Chavez in uniform, and part of the phrase “hasta la victoria siempre” (“all the way to victory, always”). This message is extremely relevant in this photo, as the subjects in the photo are the supporters of the Maduro regime, and therefore also probably the Chavez regime before him. The combination of the subjects and their background create a very strong pro-government (meaning pro-Maduro) atmosphere. Other than the wall with this pro-government image and

slogan, the background does not offer the viewer too much more information. It looks like this group of protestors is simply on an average street in Caracas, and it would be difficult to gather much more detail about their location. In the photo from *El País*, it is even more difficult to gather much information about the background, because there is very little to be seen besides the people in the photo. In the background there appears to be either a shop or a house, so the protestors must be in either a residential or a shopping area. Though the caption (“Un grupo de gente, durante el acto de Juan Guaidó” (“a group of people during Guaidó’s act”)) tells us that the photo was taken during Guaidó’s announcement, the viewer would still not know exactly where this was unless he/she had prior knowledge of the location of the event. All in all, this background does not offer much information for the viewer in comparison to the rest of the photo and the caption, whereas the photo from *Granma* adds a lot to the overall feeling of the image.

Though I have previously briefly touched on a few captions, I feel it’s important to do a specific analysis of them (or the lack thereof). To begin, I found it interesting to note that the photo from *Granma* did not have a caption. After looking at a random selection of about 10 articles on all topics from *Granma*, I found that they had captions more often than not, but there were still some without. While it is impossible to know for sure what the omitted caption means or even if it was intentional, it does raise questions about what the photograph seems to show. Without a caption, there is no way to know when, where, or why the photograph was taken. The photo is presented in this article about protests, but there is a possibility that it was taken at a different time or for a different purpose.

The other two photos, however, did include captions. The photo from *El País* had the caption “Un grupo de gente, durante el acto de Juan Guaidó.” This caption is straightforward,

simply stating that the photo is a group of people, during Guaidó's announcement. However, the choice to use the word "grupo" (group) seems to be an understatement. The group of people is quite massive, so using a word such as "multitud" (crowd, multitude), may have felt more accurate. The word "grupo" downplays the number of people there, though because the viewer is likely basing his/her opinion of the number of people more off of the photo than the caption, it probably would not have too large an impact.

Finally, the caption for the photo from *El Tiempo* is "Así luce la avenida Francisco de Miranda, uno de los puntos de congregación de los manifestantes en Caracas" ("How the avenue Francisco de Miranda appears, one of the gathering points for demonstrators in Caracas"). This caption also appears to be pretty straight-forward, without many words of emotion and simply describing the scene. However, it does offer a lot more information about what is happening in the photo, and where it is taking place. Before reading the caption, it is difficult for the viewer to know if the subjects are at an event, or simply just in a part of the protests. The caption suggests through the words "puntos de congregación" ("gathering points") that the photo is of one of the main areas where the protests were taking place. We also know that the subjects are demonstrators due to the word "manifestantes." The caption also gives the viewer a bit more detail about the location than the image can alone, stating that it was taken on Francisco de Miranda avenue. While this likely is not meaningful to someone who is not familiar with Caracas, it would be very meaningful to someone who is. Interesting to note is that Francisco de Miranda was the great "libertador" before Simón Bolívar, even sometimes referred to as his inspiration. Both are considered bastions of American independence, potentially making the location of these protests more noteworthy to the photographer, and something he/she wanted to highlight to the reader. Additionally, it provides some point of reference if the viewer sees this

location mentioned later in the article, or in a different article about these events. The captions in the photos from *El País* and *El Tiempo* are helpful to give context to the viewer, and make clear some of what the photos represent. The lack of caption in the photo from *Granma* makes understanding the photo a bit more difficult, but it also lets the photo speak for itself and may have been intentional.

Taking into account all of the observations made in the analysis of these photos, I am going to conclude with summarizing what the message of each photo may be, based on my analysis. The *Granma* photo clearly appears to be sending a message of support for the Maduro regime, as well as the Revolución Bolivariana and Hugo Chávez. This is demonstrated by the people and background that the photographer chose to showcase, as well as their emotion. It also seems that the photographer was trying to focus more on the individual protestors in support of Maduro, rather than a large group of them. As mentioned in the analysis of the headline for this article with regards to the use of “permanece,” *Granma* does not offer differentiation between the protestors. It rather emphasizes that there are two factions rather than two groups of protestors: 1) the protestors (i.e. the unchanged people of Venezuela, the “pueblo que permanece”) and 2) those who threaten the people with a coup. Their expressions are celebratory and convey a certainty of being in the right and being victorious. Note also that the image reinforces the alignment between the Chávez/Maduro government of Venezuela and the Cuban Revolution. The image of pro-government supporters at a rally, celebrating their participation, and complete with the very familiar slogan and iconic image of a charismatic leader in the background is instantly recognizable to Cubans, since their own frequent pro-government rallies are presented in exactly the same way. Overall, the image demonstrates support for Maduro

specifically, and also sends a message to Cuban readers that this socialist, revolutionary government should be supported.

The messages being conveyed by the photos in *El País* and *El Tiempo* are much different than that conveyed by *Granma*. They both demonstrate the large support that Guaidó had during these protests, and focused on the large number of people present rather than individuals and specific emotion. This was likely done to emphasize the strength behind Guaidó's announcement, and to try and show that there were more Venezuelans in support of Guaidó than there were in support of Maduro. They also both showcased the flag, which again supports the idea of Venezuela as a whole being more in support of Guaidó, since the flag can be interpreted as a representation of the whole country and a symbol of the anti-Maduro cause. Overall, the choices made in the taking of all three photographs were clearly intentional, and effectively demonstrated a perspective either in support of Guaidó, or in support of Maduro.

Text Analysis³

The final section of this analysis is an examination of the text within each article. While I have previously analyzed text located within the headlines and captions of the articles, the body text offers more detailed information regarding the news being shared, and there is a significant amount to analyze in terms of the intent of the article and what agenda-setting is present. Therefore, I am examining a variety of textual elements, such as the layout and organization of the article, the inclusion or exclusion of information, how quotes are used, the development of the story past the headline, and how different players that are important to the story are

³ See Appendix B for full text of articles

represented and described. This section has less of an emotional focus than the previous sections and more of a political one, as the main text is not aimed at gaining the reader's attention as much as the headlines and photos, and can demonstrate more of the underlying interests and perceptions of each country/news source.

To best focus this section of analysis, I use two questions to guide the discussion of each article. The questions are as follows:

1. What is the news focus of each article?

Though all the articles cover the protests in Venezuela on January 23, the information that they deem newsworthy about the events, or the information presented that goes beyond the topic of the protests varies for each one.

2. How is the news focus supported or communicated in the article?

Important elements of this question include who/what is being included/excluded in the article, and who/what is foregrounded or backgrounded.

The first article that I am analyzing is “Venezolanos se tomaron las calles para desafiar al régimen de Maduro” (“Venezuelans took to the streets to defy Maduro’s regime”) from *El Tiempo*. The analysis will begin with the examination of the “what is the news focus?” question, which also allows for a summary of the article. As with most news articles, this one begins with a few sentences that give the reader the basic information that they need to know about what happened. As it continues though, more details are shared and it is easier to understand has been deemed newsworthy about the event, that is outside the basic information that is shared by

almost every news source. This is the information that I am referring to when discussing the “news” or “newsworthy information” in each article.

The news that I found to be highlighted in this article is the international reaction to Guaidó’s claim to the presidency, the economic crisis in Venezuela, and Guaidó’s need for military support. The first mention of international reaction and involvement in the presidential crisis comes right after the introductory portion of the article that explains that there are protests and gatherings happening due to Guaidó’s announcement. In this mention, the U.S., E.U., and various Latin American countries are stated to have considered Maduro’s government illegitimate. It then goes into further detail, specifically with U.S. opinion, by quoting Vice President Mike Pence as well as Sen. Marco Rubio (R-FL). They both reiterate the stance that Maduro’s government is illegitimate, and that they support the protestors. There is also a quote from Maduro in this section that details his response to Pence’s statement, where Maduro accuses the U.S. of giving orders for a fascist coup d’état in Venezuela. The word choice in this article is particularly interesting, as it creates the picture that Colombia may agree with the U.S. response and anti-Maduro sentiments. For example, when a quote from Maduro is presented, the quote is attributed to the “socialist president.” This seems a particularly pointed description and it is used twice in this article. In the context that it was used it was obvious that it was Maduro being quoted, which makes it appear that the word “socialist” was used as a potentially negative descriptor. Given the anti-socialist sentiments that exist in both the U.S. and Colombia, socialist is not a word that is taken lightly or well-received by many.

Finally, the international community is discussed once again at the very end of the article in the last sentence. The Organization of American States (OAS) is mentioned, stating that it has also declared Maduro’s presidency illegitimate and will be meeting in the near future to discuss

the events happening in Venezuela. By ending the article with this, the last thing that the reader is reminded of is the stated illegitimacy of Maduro's regime, and that a large part of the international community stands by Guaidó. Overall, the inclusion of this international reaction to the protests in the article is potentially representative of Colombia's solidarity with the U.S. and OAS response, and an attempt to demonstrate the strong international support behind Guaidó.

Following the international section of the article is a section on the economic crisis in Venezuela. It is found underneath the subheading "¡Esto no funciona!" ("This does not work!"). The subheading alone is representative of negativity surrounding Venezuela's recent economic decisions. The first half of the first sentence in this subsection is also bolded, which does not occur in the other subsections, therefore accentuating the statement that Venezuela is in its worst crisis in modern history. Within this topic there are also a few statistics provided, detailing the extent of the crisis. For example, it states that over 2.3 million Venezuelans migrated to other Latin American countries due to the economic collapse. This not only demonstrates that there is a humanitarian issue in Venezuela, but also that it is affecting nearby countries. Finally, the article includes a quote from a citizen in this section that claims the reason they are marching is due to the awful economic conditions. They state that "no hay luz, no hay transporte, el dinero no alcanza" ("there is no light, there is no transportation, money does not go far"). The use of this quote strengthens the reality of the severity of the economic crisis, and also adds some emotion to the story. It also addresses the specific issue of hyperinflation, as it is clear from the quote that money in Venezuela does not buy much, as it has little purchasing power. The inclusion of this section overall is interesting, as the economic crisis is not the immediate reason for the protests, but rather the long-term issue that has caused many Venezuelans to lose faith in Maduro and

gladly accept a new president. This offers the reader more of an explanation for why the protests are happening, and purposefully or not, serves to further weaken the image of Maduro.

The final subsection of this article highlights the military and the necessity of its support. The section is titled “Los militares, la clave” (“The military (or “the men in the military”), the key”). “Los militares” is a bit of a touchy word, as it has two slightly different connotations. The main word for the military is “ejército,” so the use of “los militares” is potentially more of a reference to specific members of the military. Based on the fact that the article goes on to discuss a small number of rebellious soldiers acting out against Maduro, and the discontent and disunity within the armed forces, this is likely the case. A number of specific events and statistics are mentioned, such as when 27 soldiers stole weapons and called on Venezuelans to leave the streets during the protests for their safety. They were arrested soon after, which proves to be a common theme for soldiers that take action against Maduro since it is also mentioned that 180 were arrested in 2018 under suspicion of conspiring against the government. It is interesting that the article chooses to again focus on historical events, which may give readers the impression that Maduro’s support is weaker than it appears, as the military is where he holds most of his power currently. The words “socialist president” are used once again in place of Maduro’s name, and the word “usurper” is also added to describe him. This word can also be seen on one of the signs in the image included in the article. Again, these are words that carry quite a heavy negative connotation, and certainly do not represent support for Maduro. It seems that these three different news themes presented in the article, that are outside of the basic facts about the then current protests, support an image of strength behind Guaidó and reveal the errors and weaknesses of Maduro.

The second article that I am examining in this section of analysis is “La protesta contra el régimen de Maduro se reactiva en las calles con unas marchas masivas” (“Protest against the Maduro regime is reactivated in the streets with massive marches”) from *El País*. The information that was deemed newsworthy and was included in this article revolved around the history of protests in Venezuela and the magnitude of the protests, and also the failure of social programs in Venezuela. While the first few sentences of the article are similar to the first few in the *El Tiempo* article, the word choice almost immediately creates a transition into the first newsworthy topic represented in the article. The protests are described as a “reactivation” of the protests that occurred in 2017, from the so-called “resistance.” There is a continued emphasis of the previous protests that have happened against Maduro, seemingly signaling support for Guaidó and criticism of the Maduro regime, similar to that represented in *El Tiempo*. By immediately providing the reader with background information on the protests, rather than first detailing the current happenings within the protests, the article encourages questioning of the current regime by showing its longstanding opposition. This is even further demonstrated by the mention of the 150 deaths occurring in the previous protests in 2017, signaling the dedication that the opposition has to the fight against Maduro, and that the violent actions against them from Maduro supporters are resulting in deaths. Another way in which the article emphasizes an image of the strength and determination of the protesters is by describing the magnitude of the protests. The article claims that the protesters “desbordaron” (“overflowed”) the streets, and that it could be the largest demonstration that the country has ever seen. The combination of detailing the history of resistance to Maduro, and emphasizing the size of the protests, creates a picture of public support for Guaidó’s actions. The last large piece of news that is presented in the article is the discussion of the failure of social programs in Venezuela. There is even a subheading that

creates a transition into this section of the article, titled “Contra las ayudas falsas” (“Against false aids”). In this section, the main social program that is criticized is CLAP, which is supposedly designed to deliver food on a monthly basis to families in need. One way that this program is criticized is through quotes from Venezuelan citizens in this section, one even stating that he does not want CLAP, and does not want a bonus, but simply wants Maduro to leave. The article then offers further explanation about CLAP, explaining that only citizens that support Maduro’s government are the ones that receive benefits from the organization. The same previously quoted citizens explain that if a Venezuelan publicly demonstrates any opposition to Maduro, the CLAP box will never be received. By choosing to accentuate this social program failure under Maduro, it again encourages the reader to question the actions of him and his regime.

The final article left to analyze is “Pueblo venezolano permanece en las calles ante amenaza golpista” (“Venezuelan people remains in the streets amid threat of coup”) from *Granma*. It is important to note that due to this newspaper being a mouthpiece for the Cuban government, it is easier to assume its intentions in the writing of this article than it is with the previous two. Therefore, some more direct assumptions are made. To begin, this article offers the expected introductory information at the beginning, but the entire perspective of the article is different from the previous two articles. Instead of mainly reporting on the protests that are in support of Guaidó and against Maduro, this article discusses Maduro’s supporters congregating in the streets to “defend the sovereignty” of Venezuela. Sovereignty is a sensitive word in Cuba that has a long and complicated history, due to the consistency of U.S. intervention and the fact that it was a colony of Spain for a time. Now that the presidential crisis in Venezuela has brought up issues of sovereignty, it is understandable that it is a point of focus from Cuba’s perspective. Therefore, the information that is overall deemed newsworthy and is included in this article is

quite different in comparison to that presented in *El Pais* and *El Tiempo*. The main newsworthy information discussed in the article is the defending of the Venezuelan flag as a national symbol, U.S. involvement in the alleged coup, and a discussion of the illegality of Guaidó's announcement and the legitimacy of the Maduro regime.

The first information presented after the initial description of the pro-Maduro protesters is the discussion of the Venezuelan flag. This was particularly interesting to observe in this analysis, as the *Granma* article was the only one that did not include a photo that included the Venezuelan flag. Based on the information and photos presented across the three articles, there appears to be disagreement between Maduro and the opposition regarding what the flag represents. In this article, Maduro is quoted asking Venezuelans to defend the flag that serves as a symbol of sovereignty. However, the other articles demonstrate that Guaidó's supporters have also claimed the flag as a symbol of their position, as it is something that Maduro and Chávez were unable to change and represents unity throughout Venezuela against Maduro. By including this information in the article, *Granma* expresses an image of support for the preservation of what the flag has symbolized in Venezuela, and the government that operated under it. This is also another parallel that is being presented between Cuba and Venezuela, as the flag and other governmental symbols are extremely important in both countries. They represent the strength of the government, and encourage patriotism and pride in the homeland. In both places, propaganda featuring government officials alongside the country's flag or a patriotic quote is found all over the country. As previously mentioned, this can even be seen in the background of the photo included in the *Granma* article. Overall, the inclusion of this statement from Maduro regarding the flag represents how *Granma's* coverage emphasizes the preservation of national symbols, particularly in maintaining the flag as a symbol of support for the government.

The second piece of information deemed newsworthy enough to be included in this article is the discussion of U.S. involvement and relations. This is unsurprising due to the tumultuous relationship that both Venezuela and Cuba have had with the U.S., presenting another parallel between the two countries. While *El Tiempo* mentions a potential coup d'état orchestrated by the U.S. as well, *Granma* presents it much more factually and describes it in more detail. It claims that the U.S. imposed a coup operation so that Venezuela would be “subordinado a sus intereses” (“subordinate to its interests”). In addition to this, the article mentions Maduro ending bilateral relations with the U.S. in response to their suspected involvement and their acceptance of Guaidó's claim to the presidency. All of this information represents the strong anti-U.S. sentiments that are felt by both Maduro and the Cuban government, and the detail provided signals that *Granma* is likely in agreement with Maduro's response.

The final piece of news presented in this article is the discussion of the illegality of Guaidó's claim to the presidency, and the legitimacy of Maduro's. Due to the large opposition that Maduro was facing at the time of the protests, denouncing Guaidó as an unconstitutional leader was an attempted line of defense. The majority of the article is focused on discounting the validity of Guaidó's claim to the presidency. It is repeated that a man simply “ha levantado la mano” (“has raised his hand”) and claimed the presidency without the right to do so, and that he has no legal basis for his actions. In addition to this, the article highlights quotes from government officials that state Maduro's regime will do nothing “fuera de la constitución” (“outside the constitution”) and wants to have peaceful dialogue rather than civil war. By emphasizing everything that *Granma* sees as appropriate action by the Maduro regime, and the

potential illegality of Guaidó as president, the article and news outlet's support for Maduro is quite evident.

Besides just analyzing what news is shared within the article, and discovering what is deemed newsworthy by the journalist and the newspaper, it is important to look at how the news focus is supported and communicated. The news shared may provide a clear indication of a newspaper's stance on the subject, but the way that it communicated is what offers a clearer picture of the perspective of the article and the agenda it presents. The details in the telling of the news show what historical, political, and cultural context is relevant to the story. In sum, *how* the news is communicated in each article is what provides an explanation as to why this particular part of the news story was the focus.

The first article I am discussing in regards to how its news focus is communicated is *Granma*. As mentioned, the stance that is represented in the article is one very much in support of Maduro and his regime. Through the inclusion/exclusion of certain information and people, and the language used in the article, the perspective from which it was written is evident. Cuba is a country that has constantly dealt with U.S. intervention, particularly with politics, and has experienced a great deal of pain and loss defending its socialist values. It also experienced a revolution that greatly changed the order of the country, and respecting the revolutionary government is highly valued there. Additionally, Chávez and Maduro's regimes have provided mass aid to Cuba in the past, resulting in a high level of economic partnership between Venezuela and Cuba. This perspective is what results in the article taking a stance in support of Maduro and the Chavistas in Venezuela.

One of the ways this is communicated is by who is mentioned and/or quoted in the article, and how often. The first example of this is how the article addresses Guaidó. He is

mentioned by name only once, lessening the amount of attention given to him and emphasizing Maduro's reaction and supporters. This article is also the only one of the three that has quotes from multiple government officials of the Maduro regime, demonstrating its support for Maduro and highlighting the illegitimacy of Guaidó. Additionally, it is the only article that does not quote Venezuelan citizens. By quoting government officials multiple times, and not including citizen voices, two things are potentially represented here. One being that voices directly from the governmental body are the ones that should be primarily listened to and respected. However, keeping in mind that in Cuba the government is viewed *as* the people, with the government directly reflecting the voice of the people, the perspective demonstrated is that citizen quotes are not necessary if the government is quoted.

Another way that the news focus of the article is communicated is through specific word choice. When the article or source describes Guaidó, the description always contains words that question his legitimacy, whether they be about legality or simply to make fun of him. An example of this is found in a quote by the Minister of Defense of Venezuela, Vladimir Padrino, when he states that Guaidó's claim to the presidency was laughable and humorous. By including this in the article, it once again demonstrates the perspective that Guaidó is illegitimate and nowhere near as powerful as Maduro's regime. Another example of how word choice supports the news focus is through the repetition of the word "sovereignty." As previously mentioned, Cuba has a difficult history with sovereignty, especially in relation to the United States. Therefore, the issue of sovereignty in an allied nation is one that should be taken seriously from its point of view. The word sovereignty is mentioned four times in the article, and is one of the main topics discussed. This demonstrates that while the other articles may take the issue of there being potential corruption within a government as the main problem in this situation, *Granma*

sees the issue of sovereignty as the key problem. Overall, the news focus of the article is communicated through the people that it chose to include, and the words used to describe the protests and the crisis. It offers some explanation as to why the stance taken in the article is what it is, and helps to provide a greater understanding of the significance of what is included within the article.

The second article to be analyzed in terms of how its news focus is communicated is *El País*. As mentioned, the stance represented in the article is one that creates an image of support of Gaudó. However, the way in which this is demonstrated says a lot about its perspective. The best examples of this can be found in the people that *El País* chose to include in its description of events. Much of the article is focused on detailing various Venezuelan citizen's perspectives on the presidential crisis. There is also no mention of the international community in this article, even further representing the importance of citizen's voices and opinion rather than outside voices. Four quotes from citizens are included throughout the article, each one offering a different criticism of the government. For example, a quote from a 21-year-old student says, "Si votas o marchas contra él, olvídate de recibir la caja con los pocos alimentos. Así funciona esto, pero esta vez no nos interesa" ("If you vote or march against him, forget about receiving the box with a few food items. That's how this works, but this time we are not interested"). This quote offers both a criticism of the Maduro regime and its programs, as well as demonstrates the determination of the protesters. Keeping in mind the history of political oppression in Spain under Franco, emphasizing citizen opinion and supporting political opposition if the current government is not aptly serving its people is something that can be assumed as important to many Spaniards. All in all, *El País'* coverage gives citizens voices prominence, especially when relating to their government and the social services that it provides to its citizens.

The final article to analyze in this section is *El Tiempo*. Similar to the *El País* article, the stance of this article is in support of Guaidó. However, the news focus of the article is demonstrated through the inclusion of many voices, the way that the variety and strength of the voices supporting the opposition are represented in the article, and the discussion of migration issues. Overall, this shows the perspective that variety and strength in support is what gives power to political forces, and also that political suppression not only affects the country in which it is present, but the surrounding countries as well. The first time the variety of voices is seen is through the inclusion of various social media accounts in the reporting. Two tweets are presented, one from Resistencia 350 and one from Raylly Luján, a Venezuelan reporter. Both of them are fairly neutral in their captions, but showcase the actions of the opposition protesters. Throughout the rest of the article, a number of other voices are included, such as Guaidó, Venezuelan citizens, the international community (specifically the U.S.), and the Organization of American States (OAS). Interestingly enough, while Maduro is mentioned by name about the same number of times as Guaidó, Guaidó is quoted while he is not. This makes the presence of Guaidó much stronger in the article, as well as his message. Also, through the inclusion of the international community and a quote from Mike Pence specifically, *El Tiempo's* article is demonstrating support and agreement with these country's opinions. Considering the fact that the U.S. is quite clearly anti-socialist in the current government, including its response is a reinforcer of the perspective that Colombia may be trying to portray as well.

The final way the news focus is communicated in this article is through the inclusion of discussion surrounding migratory issues. Due to Colombia sharing a border with Venezuela, anything that occurs within Venezuela that causes its citizens to flee has a direct impact on Colombia. It is mentioned that this has led to "brotos de xenofobia" ("outbreaks of xenophobia")

in neighboring countries. Therefore, the perspective that domestic politics, specifically those that include disputes of power or political oppression, have an impact on neighboring countries is clearly represented. In sum, this article demonstrates that variety and strength in support is important, which is something that it shows Guaidó to have, and that domestic large-scale political conflict is international in its repercussions.

DISCUSSION

For the first part of this discussion, I present a brief description of some of the connections found between the three different sections of analysis for each article, and how these connections contribute to the overall agenda-setting of each news source. The second part of this discussion examines the initial research question that I aimed to answer through my investigation, and what conclusions I made regarding this initial question.

PART I

Through my analysis of the headlines, images, and text of the three articles, I saw how each of these elements had connections with the others. By looking at these connections altogether, a clearer picture of the agenda-setting present in each news source is created. The common connections made between the headlines, images, and text were primarily present in the emotion, word choice and content found in each article.

To begin, the article from *El País* (“La protesta contra el régimen de Maduro se reactiva en las calles con unas marchas masivas”) presents various connections between the three elements of analysis. As demonstrated in the analysis, the headline contains multiple words that demonstrate strong emotions such as determination and resentment through the use of the words “contra” (“against”) and “se reactiva” (“reactivate”). These emotions are even further

represented in the image and text as well. In the image, while the crowd is clearly excited, the signs that a few people are holding emulate the feelings of determination and resentment towards the Maduro regime. This is clear due to the words found in the signs, calling Maduro a “usurper” (“usurpador”), and stating the Guaidó should be going “to the top” (“pa’ encima”). In the text, the word “reactivation” is once again used, bringing attention to the determination of the protesters. Additionally, across all three elements of the article the emphasis of the size of the crowd was represented. This can be seen in the headlines when the words “marchas masivas” (“mass marches”) are used, and also in the main text of the article when the protesters are described as having “desbordaron” (“overflowed”) the streets, further emphasizing the number of protesters.

Finally, it is evident that the photo was also used as a means to call attention to the large number of protesters, as it shows a giant crowd of people in Venezuela. While there were other elements to the photos, headlines, and text that were important to the analysis as well, the focus given to the crowds aids in presenting a cohesive message throughout the article that highlights the magnitude of the protests. The emphasis on emotion and the size of the protests throughout the *El País* article is key to understanding the agenda-setting that is present. By highlighting the emotion of the protesters, the reader is encouraged empathize with their feelings, or what they have gone through that made them reach the point of protesting. Additionally, by consistently discussing the magnitude of the protests, it sends a message that a large portion of Venezuelans are in support of Guaidó. Therefore, the article encourages the reader to think of Venezuelan citizens as desperate for change, and to generally oppose Maduro. This agenda-setting is discussed in more detail later in the discussion, as it will be for the other two articles as well.

The *El Tiempo* article (“Venezolanos se tomaron las calles para desafiar al régimen de Maduro”), also presents connections throughout the headlines, images, and text of the article. They are similar to that of the *El País* article, as the connections are present mostly in the emotions of determination and resistance throughout, as well as the emphasis of the size of the protests. The emotion is again present through specific words in the headline, such as “desafiar” (“to challenge”). While the image does not offer much in terms of emotion due to the high viewpoint, the text certainly does. There are multiple words used consistently throughout the article, such as “usurpador” (“usurper” - also found in *El País*), that demonstrate the emotion of resistance to the Maduro regime. The heading title “¡Esto no funciona!” (“This does not work!”), is also representative of this emotion, due to the direct reference it makes to the failing of the current system, and the exclamation points used to create a feeling of emotional intensity.

In terms of the emphasis on the size of the protests, this is mostly seen in the image and text. The image presented in *El Tiempo* shows the largest crowd of the three articles, and makes that the emphasis of the photo rather than the emotion of the protesters, clearly attempting to highlight the size of the crowd. Additionally, within the first three sentences of the article, it is stated that “cientos de personas” (“hundreds of people”) are in the streets protesting and “han bloqueado” (“have blocked”) the streets. This again emphasizes the magnitude of the protests. Similar to the *El País* article, this article from *El Tiempo* encourages the reader to focus on the emotion that Venezuelans are bringing to these protests and why, and also the sheer number of them present that are opposing the Maduro regime. By presenting these two points throughout all three parts of the article (the headlines, images, and text), the reader is continually reminded of them which makes the agenda-setting in this article even more impactful.

Finally, the connections made throughout the three elements of the *Granma* article (“Pueblo venezolano permanece en las calles ante amenaza golpista”) are different than those made in the other two, yet are still almost as consistent. The emotion presented is once again one of resistance, but not to the Maduro regime, and rather a “coup threat.” This is represented in all three parts of the *Granma* article. First, the word “permanece” (“remain”) in the headline is representative of a feeling of resistance and determination from the Venezuelan people following Guaidó’s announcement. This is also clearly seen in the image that accompanies the article, as the emotion demonstrated by the protesters is intense and quite visible due to the viewpoint of the photo. In terms of how this was presented in the text of the article, it is most present through the repeated use of the word “defend,” particularly in reference to the sovereignty of Venezuela. By repeating this word so many times, it clearly continues the emphasis of this emotion of resistance present throughout the article.

Even more consistent throughout the article in terms of content is the reference to a “coup threat.” The headline directly states that the protests are occurring against a “coup threat”; words that are repeatedly used throughout the article. In the image within the article, the message of protesting against a coup is not quite as obvious, but the inclusion of the pro-government image in the background, as well as a few of the protesters being in uniform, continues to present the idea that the current government is defending itself against an “illegitimate” leader. Finally, the word “coup” is used four separate times throughout the article, not including the headline. This continually encourages the reader to think about the Venezuelan presidential crisis as a coup attempt, and something that Venezuela must defend itself against.

In sum, all three news sources effectively strengthened the emotion and content within their respective articles by making connections between the headlines, images, and text, and

staying consistent with their various emphases. As a whole, this aided in the understanding of what agenda-setting was present in each, and how this reflected various realities of each country in which the articles were written.

PART II

Based on the analysis that was conducted, there are two important aspects that require further discussion in order to answer my original research question:

How does the news coverage of the protests surrounding the Venezuelan presidential crisis by three key Spanish language newspapers in three Spanish language nations reflect the historical, economic and political reality of each of those nations?

These two aspects are the agenda-setting that was revealed through my analysis, and then more importantly what was revealed about each country, and its relationship with Venezuela, through that agenda-setting.

As is evident from my examination, the media is able to filter and shape reality rather than be a true reflection of it. All sources were reporting on the same events, but entirely different news stories and realities were presented. The media can influence or reinforce the public's ideas, sometimes telling us what to think, but more often what to think *about*. The two main topics that I found to be the focus of the agenda-setting in these articles were how national leaders and international leaders are viewed, and the significance of protests.

Throughout every article, it was clear that the media can influence or reinforce the public's opinion of national and international leaders. While the articles were not direct in stating who they supported and who they opposed, it was easy as a reader to end the article with an opinion about which leader should be the legitimate one, based on the realities that each article

created. For example, *Granma*'s word choice, use of images, and inclusion of pro-government (Maduro government) information and quotes resulted in an article that stresses the importance of sovereignty and respect for socialist government, which leaves the reader with an impression that the Venezuelan people support Maduro and always have. From the information presented in this article, it could be perceived that Guaidó and his supporters are strictly a coup threat, and that there is no legitimacy in their actions. *Granma* also encourages the reader to think about the role that the U.S. plays in the crisis in Venezuela. U.S. involvement is described as selfish and illegitimate, therefore presenting the readers of the article with this negative perspective regarding U.S. involvement.

Contrastingly, *El Tiempo* and *El País* encouraged readers to think about the well-being of Venezuelan citizens, the number of citizens protesting against the current regime, and the possibilities for a change in leadership. They present the idea that Maduro may not be a legitimate leader, and that his power may be wavering. *El Tiempo* also includes information about international opinion against Maduro, potentially influencing readers to see the anti-Maduro perspective as stronger since there is powerful backing behind it. *El País* does not discuss international opinions, and more so creates an emphasis on citizen opinion, encouraging the reader to think about the protests and crisis from their perspective. Regardless of what type of reality each article is creating in their discussion of national and international leaders, it is clear that the perspective they each present encourages the reader to think about the protests with certain information at the forefront of their mind.

Another example of agenda-setting present in all three articles was related to the significance of protests. Since all three articles are specifically relating to the protests that occurred as a result of the presidential crisis, it is evident that there is already some agenda-

setting from the news sources regarding what protests mean. The way that they each create a different reality surrounding the protests though, is what may impact how readers view them in this context. In *El Tiempo*, the emphasis on the deaths caused by the protests, as well as the large number of people present during them, may encourage readers to have the mindset that if this many people are willing to put themselves in a dangerous situation, what they are fighting against must be awful.

Similarly, *El País*'s inclusion of multiple citizen voices describing their terrible living conditions presents the idea of protests being a last source of hope for Venezuelans. Both of these news sources direct the reader's focus to the idea that protests are a significant event, signaling a serious national issue. On the other hand, *Granma* presents the protests in an entirely different way. There is no mention of violence, and they are described as more of a defensive reaction to a threat towards their nation. It focuses the reader's attention more towards perceived unity of Venezuelans against an illegitimate leader, and does not make the protests seem like one of the most important aspects of the crisis. Overall, each article creates a different reality surrounding the significance of protests based on how they are described, and what other information may be presented in relation to them. This potentially affects what the reader will believe and remember about the protests and the presidential crisis, and how they will continue to view news about them in the future.

Now that it has been explained how the news sources presented in this analysis influence the public through agenda-setting, it is important to understand that the media is also influenced by the environment in which it exists. Some of this environment was revealed in the historical context section of this paper, and helps explain why each media source from each different country influenced public thought differently, or created a different reality. However, after

seeing the agenda-setting of each new source in the three articles that were examined, more can be observed about the historical, economic, and political realities of each nation, and how it relates to Venezuela.

As discussed, the agenda-setting of *Granma* revealed that the information it presents is more focused on pro-Maduro, anti-U.S. and Guaidó sentiments, and highlighting national sovereignty and unity. This is due to historical, economic, and political realities of Cuba and its relationship with Venezuela. Historically, Cuba and Venezuela have a lot in common. They both experienced socialist revolutions that greatly impacted the balance of the country, through the nationalization of certain sectors of the economy and the implementation of large-scale social programs, among other things. The leaders of both of these revolutions believed it was for the good of the country, but as with any change as large as this, many disagreed. This caused lots of division and loss in both countries. Additionally, both nations have dealt with issues of sovereignty in the past, as they were both colonies at one point, and still deal with the influence of other powerful nations in their affairs.

Economically, Venezuela and Cuba again face or have faced many of the same issues. Cuba has to rely on strong diplomatic relations with nations that are large oil-producers in order to be able to afford what it needs, while Venezuela's economy is almost entirely dependent on the price of oil. If either country encounters issues with this, their economy suffers greatly. They have also both endured economic restrictions and embargos based on the political ideologies in their governments, which has had a lasting impact, particularly on Cuba over the past 60 years. Additionally, Venezuela and Cuba have a lot of political similarities and mutual interests, as they both operate under socialist governments. Relations between the two countries were particularly strong under Chávez, and there is no doubt that they are stronger under Maduro than they would

be under Guaidó. Therefore, Cuba has reason to want Maduro to stay in power, both economically and politically. Finally, Cuba's own domestic politics were clearly reflected through the agenda-setting in *Granma*. Due to Venezuela and Cuba being parallel in their political ideologies in many ways, *Granma* is able to create a certain image of events in Venezuela to benefit domestic politics in Cuba. By encouraging the reader to support Maduro, and attempting to demonstrate the unity of the "pueblo venezolano" against an "illegitimate" capitalist leader, the Cuban government is able to ensure that a positive image of socialist regimes is maintained in Cuba as best as possible. While the entire article is centered on Venezuelan events, the way it is framed and how the events are discussed is a reflection of Cuba's domestic political agenda as well.

Overall, the information and perspective that *Granma* presents relating to the protests and presidential crisis is a direct reflection of its ability to understand and empathize with Venezuela's situation. It also has a lot of interest in maintaining good relations with Venezuela, making its perspective a bit biased towards the current government. *Granma* wants the reader to focus on the positive aspects of Maduro's government, the perceived illegitimacy of Guaidó, maintaining unity in Venezuela, and also subliminally encourages continued support for Cuba's own government.

The agenda-setting presented by *El Tiempo* that encourages a positive opinion of Guaidó, and concern about the protests, is also a reflection of its own reality and how it relates to Venezuela. Historically, Venezuela and Colombia have endured a lot of conflict. While it has always existed, it has been very prominent in the years since Chávez and Maduro have been in power in terms of military and guerrilla group encounters specifically. Therefore, highlighting the unrest in Venezuela may encourage the perception that Venezuela is the cause of conflict. In

terms of economics, the success of Venezuela's economy has a direct effect on Colombia. Due to their geographic proximity, if Venezuela's economy is not doing well, Colombia will receive immigrants from there. This is already proving to be an issue, and one that concerns Colombia in terms of its economic impact. Additionally, since Colombia is currently operating under a much more free-market system and Venezuela is not, the economic relations between the two countries are not at their full potential. Due to Guaidó's promises of a more privatized economy, Colombia has something to gain from him being in power.

Finally, Colombia and Venezuela have a lot of political differences at present. Colombia is much more politically conservative at the moment, while Venezuela is on the complete opposite end of the ideological spectrum. Conservatism in Colombia has continued to thrive while Maduro has been in power, partly due to taking advantage of the political situation in Venezuela. Conservative leaders in Colombia refer to the political camaraderie between Cuba and Venezuela as "castrochavismo," and describe it as dangerous and a threat to democracy. As mentioned, this "ideology of castrochavismo" has continuously been used to instill fear in Colombian voters during crucial elections and referendums, encouraging Colombians to fear turning into "another Venezuela" (Moreno, 2018). Therefore, continuing to be critical of the political issues and unrest in Venezuela reflects the political reality of Colombia, and supports the goals of its conservative political leaders. Overall, the information that *El Tiempo* offers its readers in the article in this analysis reflects what Colombia stands to gain or lose from the result of this crisis, and its historical relationship with Venezuela. It aims to show readers that Colombia is better off than Venezuela due to its leadership, and political focus.

Finally, *El País's* agenda-setting is also representative of the unique relationship that it has with Venezuela, and how its historical, economic, and political reality plays a role in the

information that is emphasized. An important aspect of Spain's somewhat recent history is that it was ruled by the dictator Francisco Franco from 1936-1975. While Maduro would not consider himself a dictator, there are many countries and news sources that have described him as such due to suspected tampering with elections and his gradual growth of power through the elimination of certain governmental entities. Spain still vividly remembers what life under a dictatorship is like, and is unlikely to support a leader that may seem to embody similar traits.

Economically, Spain has to keep in mind its strong economic relationship with the U.S. The U.S. is more influential than Venezuela in terms of economics on an international level, therefore Spain has to be receptive of U.S. opinion regarding Venezuela, and will most likely agree with it in order to maintain the positive relationship. Since the U.S. has taken a strong position against Maduro, it is unsurprising that the information presented in the *El País* article highlights some of the failures of his system. Finally, the political relationship that Spain has with Venezuela is also complicated. Again, Spain must consider the U.S.'s stance on the presidential crisis as their political cooperation with the U.S. is vital to its security, since they are both members of NATO. Additionally, as mentioned in the historical context section of this investigation there have been a few political issues between the two countries somewhat recently, that certainly did not improve the relationship between them, but also were not so intense as to cause a major, long-standing issue 10 years later. Overall, based on the relationship that Spain has with Venezuela, and its own domestic interests, it is logical that it would present information in its news sources that does not present the Maduro regime in the best light. However, it employs language that mostly encourages readers to focus on Venezuelan citizen opinion, rather than international politics, which is a bit more of a hands-off approach than the other two countries.

As I have shown through my examination of the three articles, each country's news source presents a different perspective on the Venezuelan presidential crisis, and sets an implicit agenda based on the historical, economic, and political reality of the nation in which it was written. Though the articles do not directly tell readers what to believe, the information presented in each encourages the reader to think more about certain aspects of a news story than others, and directly influences how events will be received and understood by society. These three news sources will continue to have an impact on the perspectives of millions in regards to the Venezuelan presidential crisis, and other momentous events in Latin America, while also serving as representations of the individual realities of the countries in which they exist.

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Appendix A

The Number of Articles Published by Each Newspaper Broken Down by Theme

Name of Newspaper	Protests	International Reaction	Personal Quote	General Info	Domestic Politics	Venezuela Abroad	Total # of Articles
El Tiempo	7	15	1	14	3	2	42
El País	3	13	2	4			22
Granma	2	3	1	1	3		10
Total	12	31	4	19	6	2	74

Timeline of Articles on Venezuela Published 1/23/19 - 1/24/19

the bolded articles are the focus of the analysis

Date	Time	Paper	Headline	Theme
1/23/2019	3:17 a.m.	El País	Cinco países de la UE piden promover el diálogo en Venezuela	international reaction
1/23/2019	3:21 a.m.	El País	Gustavo Dudamel: “Venezuela vive una situación social y política inaceptable”	personal quote
1/23/2019	6:53 a.m.	El Tiempo	En Venezuela se han dado cerca de 50.000 protestas en la era Maduro	protests
1/23/2019	7:23 a.m.	El Tiempo	Maduro acusa a Pence de ordenar ‘golpe de Estado’ tras apoyo a marchas	international reaction
1/23/2019	9:07 a.m.	El Tiempo	Manifestantes prenden fuego a	protests

			estatua de Hugo Chávez	
1/23/2019	9:15 a.m.	El Tiempo	Rubio pidió reconocer a Guaidó como "presidente legítimo" de Venezuela	international reaction
1/23/2019	10:43 a.m.	El Tiempo	Estas son las claves de las protestas contra Maduro	protests
1/23/2019	11:29 a.m.	El Tiempo	Venezolanos se tomaron las calles para desafiar al régimen de Maduro	protests
1/23/2019	12:01 p.m.	Granma	Marcha Popular en conmemoración del 23 de enero	protests
1/23/2019	12:40 p.m.	El Tiempo	Trump podría reconocer a líder opositor como presidente de Venezuela	international reaction
1/23/2019	1:29 p.m.	El País	Aumentan las protestas contra Maduro en la víspera de la marcha opositora	protests
1/23/2019	2:56 p.m.	El Tiempo	¿Qué acaba de pasar en Venezuela?: claves de las marchas del #23Ene	general info
1/23/2019	3:12 p.m.	El Tiempo	Diosdado Cabello convoca a una 'vigilia' para defender a Maduro	personal quote
1/23/2019	3:23 p.m.	El Tiempo	EE. UU dice que habrá represalias	international reaction

			si Venezuela responde con violencia	
1/23/2019	3:54 p.m.	El Tiempo	¿Por qué se habla de 'presidente encargado' en Venezuela?	general info
1/23/2019	4:01 p.m.	Granma	Venezuela rompe relaciones diplomáticas con Estados Unidos	international reaction
1/23/2019	4:07 p.m.	El Tiempo	Asciende a 8 el número de muertos en protestas contra Maduro	protests
1/23/2019	4:11 p.m.	El Tiempo	Régimen de Maduro ordena acciones contra la directiva del parlamento	general info
1/23/2019	4:11 p.m.	El Tiempo	Las razones de la prudencia de Maduro frente a desafíos de Guaidó	general info
1/23/2019	5:27 p.m.	El País	El líder opositor venezolano se declara presidente interino apoyado por Trump	international reaction
1/23/2019	5:35 p.m.	El Tiempo	Cinco posibles causas que llevaron a Venezuela a la crisis	general info
1/23/2019	5:58 p.m.	El Tiempo	Grupo de Lima reconoce a Guaidó como presidente (e) de Venezuela	international reaction
1/23/2019	5:58 p.m.	El Tiempo	Nicolás Maduro rompe relaciones	international reaction

			diplomáticas con EE. UU.	
1/23/2019	6:15 p.m.	El Tiempo	¿Venezuela, con dos presidentes?	general info
1/23/2019	6:22 p.m.	El Tiempo	Duque reconoce a Guaidó como presidente encargado de Venezuela	domestic politics
1/23/2019	6:23 p.m.	El Tiempo	Rusia y Cuba respaldan a Maduro como presidente de Venezuela	international reaction
1/23/2019	6:37 p.m.	El Tiempo	Mindefensa venezolano mantiene respaldo a Maduro y rechaza a Guaidó	general info
1/23/2019	6:49 p.m.	El Tiempo	La UE da total apoyo a la Asamblea Nacional y pide elecciones creíbles	international reaction
1/23/2019	6:52 p.m.	El Tiempo	Los países que apoyan a Guaidó como presidente encargado de Venezuela	international reaction
1/23/2019	8:00 p.m.	El Tiempo	EE. UU. niega autoridad de Maduro para romper relaciones	international reaction
1/23/2019	8:10 p.m.	El Tiempo	Somos Venezuela y queremos libertad': venezolanos en Bogotá	venezuelans abroad
1/23/2019	8:28 p.m.	El Tiempo	Minuto a minuto de las protestas contra Nicolás	general info

			Maduro en Venezuela	
1/23/2019	8:56 p.m.	El Tiempo	13 muertos en las últimas dos jornadas de disturbios en Venezuela	protests
1/23/2019	9:01 p.m.	Granma	Declaración del Gobierno Revolucionario: Debe cesar la agresión contra Venezuela	domestic politics
1/23/2019	9:35 p.m.	El Tiempo	Cómo se explica el renacimiento de la oposición a Maduro	general info
1/23/2019	10:58 p.m.	El Tiempo	Hasta dónde llegará el 'presidente encargado' de Venezuela Juan Guaidó	general info
1/23/2019	11:01 p.m.	Granma	Cuba siempre apostará por la paz	domestic politics
1/23/2019	11:01 p.m.	Granma	¿Por qué Venezuela?	general info
1/23/2019	11:39 p.m.	El Tiempo	Piden a CIDH protección a Guaidó por temor a atentado	general info
1/24/2019	2:52 a.m.	El País	La oposición venezolana logra recuperar la fuerza en las calles y que se intensifique la presión internacional	international reaction
1/24/2019	2:52 a.m.	El País	Cientos de venezolanos en México piden a López Obrador que reconozca a	international reaction

			Guaidó como presidente	
1/24/2019	2:53 a.m.	El País	Casado y Rivera piden a Sánchez que reconozca a Guaidó como presidente de Venezuela	international reaction
1/24/2019	2:56 a.m.	El País	Estados Unidos reconoce a Guaidó como presidente interino de Venezuela	international reaction
1/24/2019	5:21 a.m.	El Tiempo	Consejo Permanente de la OEA hablará este jueves de Venezuela	international reaction
1/24/2019	5:23 a.m.	El País	La UE pide una salida dialogada y se reserva el apoyo a Guaidó	international reaction
1/24/2019	5:37 a.m.	El País	“Agradezco el apoyo a mi hijo”	personal quote
1/24/2019	5:39 a.m.	El País	La protesta contra el régimen de Maduro se reactiva en las calles con unas marchas masivas	protests
1/24/2019	7:35 a.m.	El País	México pide una salida negociada a la crisis de Venezuela y se desmarca del resto de potencias latinoamericanas	international reaction
1/24/2019	8:24 a.m.	El Tiempo	¿Qué opinan los migrantes venezolanos de la situación en su país?	venezuelans abroad

1/24/2019	8:50 a.m.	El Tiempo	Mike Pence llamó a Duque para darle condolencias por atentado	international reaction
1/24/2019	9:01 a.m.	Granma	Díaz-Canel condena intento de golpe de Estado en Venezuela	domestic politics
1/24/2019	10:01 a.m.	Granma	Pueblo venezolano permanece en las calles ante amenaza golpista	protests
1/24/2019	10:01 a.m.	Granma	Venezuela no está sola, su pueblo y la comunidad internacional van con ella	international reaction
1/24/2019	10:01 a.m.	Granma	Baile de máscaras en la OEA	international reaction
1/24/2019	10:38 a.m.	El Tiempo	La ofensiva diplomática de Colombia para ‘cercar’ a Maduro	domestic politics
1/24/2019	10:23 a.m.	El País	Miles de venezolanos piden a Sánchez en la Puerta del Sol que reconozca al opositor Guaidó como presidente	international reaction
1/24/2019	10:48 a.m.	El País	Pedro Sánchez llama a Guaidó y aplaude su “coraje” en la crisis venezolana	international reaction
1/24/2019	11:41 a.m.	El Tiempo	Respaldo de sectores políticos a	domestic politics

			reconocimiento de Colombia a Guaidó	
1/24/2019	12:42 p.m.	El Tiempo	Venezuela, otro motivo de confrontación entre Moscú y Washington	international reaction
1/24/2019	12:55 p.m.	El País	La crisis venezolana se cuele en el viaje del Papa a Panamá	international reaction
1/24/2019	1:42 p.m.	El País	La cúpula militar cierra filas con Maduro y denuncia un “golpe de Estado”	general info
1/24/2019	2:17 p.m.	El País	Una UE descolocada se limita de momento a pedir elecciones en Venezuela	international reaction
1/24/2019	2:52 p.m.	El País	La crisis de Venezuela expone la división internacional	international reaction
1/24/2019	3:09 p.m.	El País	Juan Guaidó, el delfín de Leopoldo López que tomó por sorpresa el mando de la oposición	general info
1/24/2019	3:28 p.m.	El País	La crisis de Venezuela estalla en Davos	general info
1/24/2019	4:11 p.m.	El Tiempo	Militares de Venezuela no aceptan a Guaidó y denuncian golpe de Estado	general info

1/24/2019	4:22 p.m.	El Tiempo	¿Por qué la Unión Europea como bloque no reconoce a Guaidó?	international reaction
1/24/2019	5:16 p.m.	El País	Los argumentos legales detrás de la batalla política	general info
1/24/2019	5:29 p.m.	El País	Las protestas contra Maduro dejan al menos 26 muertos en cuatro días en Venezuela	protests
1/24/2019	6:03 p.m.	El Tiempo	Las últimas horas de agitación en Venezuela han dejado 26 muertos	protests
1/24/2019	6:27 p.m.	El Tiempo	Así avanza situación en Venezuela después de juramentación de Guaidó	general info
1/24/2019	6:35 p.m.	El Tiempo	¿Por qué los militares aún apoyan a Maduro?	general info
1/24/2019	10:55 p.m.	El Tiempo	División internacional frente a la crisis en Venezuela	international reaction
1/24/2019	11:01 p.m.	Granma	Néstor Francia: «Vamos a dar hasta la vida por defender a Venezuela»	personal quote

Appendix B

This appendix simply includes the text of each article, and does not accurately portray formatting

El Tiempo text:

Headline: Venezolanos se tomaron las calles para desafiar al régimen de Maduro

La oposición venezolana marcha este miércoles para exigir que cese la "usurpación" del poder al presidente Nicolás Maduro, quien movilizará a sus seguidores contra lo que denuncia como un golpe de Estado en curso orquestado por Washington.

Las protestas y 'cacerolazos' han incrementado desde este lunes en vísperas de la marcha. Cientos de personas han salido a las calles de Caracas y han bloqueado vías hasta la madrugada.

Según el Observatorio Venezolano de Conflictividad Social, los enfrentamientos con la Policía ya dejan cuatro víctimas mortales, entre ellos un menor de edad, Alixon Pizani, de 16 años, quien falleció tras ser herido con arma de fuego.

Medios locales independientes registran la concentración de cientos de miles de personas que han llenado las principales vías de Caracas, quienes con banderas y carteles protestan contra el régimen.

De igual manera, miles de oficialistas se han reunido en plazas para mostrar su apoyo al gobierno de Maduro.

Bajo fuerte tensión tras el fugaz alzamiento de un grupo de militares que desató las protestas, oficialistas y opositores sostienen este miércoles su primer gran pulso en las calles luego de las manifestaciones que dejaron unos 125 muertos entre abril y julio de 2017.

Tomando impulso bajo el joven liderazgo del jefe del Parlamento de mayoría opositora, Juan Guaidó, la oposición busca superar sus fracturas y reanimar a sus seguidores, fijando una nueva hoja de ruta: "cese de la usurpación, gobierno de transición y elecciones libres". "Tenemos una cita histórica con nuestro país (...) Vamos a cambiar Venezuela, a conquistar la democracia. ¡Este es el momento!", dijo Guaidó, al llamar a la población a manifestarse en todo el país.

En la otra acera, los chavistas, que también marcharán en varias ciudades, buscan dar un espaldarazo al cuestionado segundo mandato de seis años que inició Maduro el 10 de enero, considerado "ilegítimo" por Estados Unidos, la Unión Europea (UE) y varios países latinoamericanos.

La víspera, el vicepresidente estadounidense, Mike Pence, expresó abiertamente su apoyo a las

protestas opositoras, tras lo que Maduro ordenó a la cancillería revisar los nexos diplomáticos con ese país. "Lo que ha hecho el gobierno de Estados Unidos, a través del vicepresidente Mike Pence, de dar órdenes de ejecutar un golpe de Estado fascista (...) no tiene parangón en la historia de las relaciones bilaterales", reaccionó el mandatario socialista.

Asimismo, el senador republicano Marco Rubio pidió al presidente Donald Trump reconocer a Juan Guaidó como "presidente legítimo" de Venezuela. Hasta ahora, el presidente no se ha pronunciado oficialmente al respecto.

"¡Esto no funciona!"

Las manifestaciones ocurren en medio de la peor crisis en la historia moderna del país petrolero, que sufre escasez de alimentos y medicinas y una hiperinflación que el FMI proyecta en 10.000.000% para 2019.

El colapso económico provocó el éxodo de 2,3 millones de personas desde 2015, según la ONU, el mayor movimiento migratorio en décadas en América Latina que ha dado lugar a brotes de xenofobia en países como Brasil, Colombia y Ecuador.

"Voy a marchar porque esto no funciona, no hay agua, no hay luz, no hay transporte, el dinero no alcanza. Nos engañan con una caja del Clap (alimentos subsidiados) para que estés como una oveja", declaró Carlos Muñoz, en Cotiza, barriada del norte de Caracas.

Yelitze Pariata, de 47 años y quien vive en una casa que le dio el gobierno en San Martín, centro de Caracas, dijo querer "marchar en paz para apoyar al presidente y demostrarle al mundo que el chavismo está unido".

En vísperas de las marchas, unas 30 pequeñas protestas y disturbios ocurrieron en Caracas y sus cercanías. La noche del martes en los populares barrios Catia y Petare, decenas salieron sonando cacerolas y gritando: "Que se vaya Nicolás".

Tanquetas antimotines recorrían sectores de la capital. El gobierno acusó a Pence de haber ordenado a los militares que se rebelaron el lunes entregar armas a activistas de Voluntad Popular -partido de Guaidó y del encarcelado líder Leopoldo López- para desatar el caos en las marchas.

"La violencia se la dejamos a otros. No caigamos en provocaciones", pidió Guaidó, cuyo llamado a movilizarse se extiende a los migrantes venezolanos en varios países.

Los militares, la clave

Los ánimos se caldearon el lunes cuando, en medio de llamados opositores a la Fuerza Armada para que desconozca a Maduro, 27 militares sublevados -y poco después detenidos-, robaron

armas y se atrincheraron en un cuartel de Cotiza, llamando a los venezolanos a salir a las calles.

Según expertos en seguridad, el incidente evidenció el descontento en la Fuerza Armada, considerada el sostén de mandatario socialista. Para Guaidó, quien se dice dispuesto a presidir un gobierno de transición, la sublevación militar muestra que los llamados a los militares están teniendo eco.

Aunque la justicia lo declaró en desacato y anula todas sus decisiones desde 2016, el Parlamento, que considera a Maduro "usurpador", aprobó el martes dar amnistía a los militares que colaboren con un gobierno de transición.

Si bien la Fuerza Armada dice estar unida, según la ONG Control Ciudadano unos 180 efectivos fueron detenidos en 2018 acusados de conspirar, unos 10.000 militares pidieron la baja desde 2015 y más de 4.000 desertaron de la Guardia Nacional en 2018.

La Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA), que declaró también la "ilegitimidad" del segundo gobierno de Maduro, analizará el jueves "los recientes acontecimientos en Venezuela".

El País text:

Headline: La protesta contra el régimen de Maduro se reactiva en las calles con unas marchas masivas

La oposición venezolana volvió a reactivarse este miércoles en la calle con unas marchas en las que participaron cientos de miles de personas. El poder de convocatoria de las formaciones opositoras había sufrido una larga travesía del desierto desde 2017, cuando el Gobierno convocó la elección de una Asamblea Constituyente. A partir de ahora las movilizaciones opositoras tendrán un ojo puesto en las fuerzas militares, ya que Juan Guaidó, que se proclamó presidente interino, busca despertar su apoyo despertando el descontento en sus filas.

Después de tres meses de protestas que dejaron alrededor de 150 muertos, la llamada "resistencia" se disolvió en agosto de 2017. Ese fue el comienzo del fin de la plataforma opositora Mesa de la Unidad Democrática (MUD). Este miércoles, sin embargo, los venezolanos dieron la primera demostración de fuerza en un año y medio y sus impulsores buscan ahora cómo mantener el pulso al Gobierno.

Marchas multitudinarias desbordaron las calles de Caracas desde sus cuatro puntos cardinales, conformando una manifestación que podría ser considerada como una de las más grandes organizadas jamás en el país.

Wolfgang Ferrer, un economista de 58 años, no se intimidó ante los gases lacrimógenos lanzados por decenas de militares en la plaza Madariaga de El Paraíso, al oeste de Caracas, para evitar la

concentración de los opositores. Al contrario, el manifestante sacó una cacerola y comenzó a hacer que sonara fuertemente en señal de descontento con el Gobierno de Nicolás Maduro. “Yo le hablé temprano a la Guardia Nacional, los miré a los ojos y les dije: no ven que ustedes también pasan hambre como nosotros, pónganse del lado del pueblo”, explicó.

La oposición no ha cedido ante la intimidación de los cuerpos de seguridad y grupos parapoliciales, conocidos como colectivos en Venezuela. Tras dos noches de protestas espontáneas en los barrios empobrecidos de Caracas, fuertemente reprimidas y que causaron al menos cuatro muertos, había crecido la indignación en las calles. “Yo dejé de dar clases a mis alumnos para venir a marchar porque creo en su futuro, es un sacrificio por ellos. Me vine sin nada en el estómago porque no tenemos ni qué comer, pero me vine con esperanza de que sea un paso a nuestra libertad”, aseguró Luisa Sulbaran, una maestra de Caracas. Su relato es un ejemplo de lo que es hoy Venezuela.

Contra las ayudas falsas

La Guardia Nacional impidió el paso de un gran número de manifestantes hacia el este de la ciudad. En El Paraíso, el mayor sitio de concentración del oeste caraqueño, un grupo de soldados atacó a los habitantes sin aparente motivo. Muchos regresaron a sus casas, otros evitaron salir y un número mayor consiguió tomar otros caminos para unirse a la mayor movilización de la oposición después de las protestas de 2017. “Lo que sucede es que tienen miedo que los más pobres sigan en las calles, ya nadie se deja chantajear por Maduro”, dijo Manuel Díaz, un estudiante de 21 años.

De las consignas más sobresalientes de la movilización se escuchaba “¡No quiero bono, no quiero CLAP [Comité Local de Abastecimiento y Producción], lo que queremos es que se vaya Nicolás!”. La estrategia del Gobierno chavista ha estado centrada en los últimos dos años en la entrega supuestamente mensual de una caja de comida (CLAP) y bonos equivalentes a seis dólares a muchas familias pobres.

El programa es criticado por usarse para premiar a los afectos al régimen y amedrentar a los que no comulguen con Nicolás Maduro. Es la palanca que ha utilizado el oficialismo para fidelizar los millones de votos que todavía recibe. En caso de manifestarse en contra del chavismo, la población, que sobrevive en buena medida gracias a esas ayudas, pierde todos los beneficios. “Si votas o marchas contra él, olvídate de recibir la caja con los pocos alimentos. Así funciona esto, pero esta vez no nos interesa”, agrega Díaz, que vive en el precario barrio de Antímano.

Granma text:

Headline: Pueblo venezolano permanece en las calles ante amenaza golpista

El pueblo venezolano permanece este jueves en movilización luego de la convocatoria a defender la soberanía realizada por el presidente Nicolás Maduro ante las amenazas de un golpe de Estado en la nación.

Las congregaciones se desplegarán en esta jornada, cuando se espera el anuncio del programa por el primer vicepresidente del Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela (PSUV), Diosdado Cabello, precisó el jefe de Estado.

Durante la marcha popular reunida la víspera frente al Palacio Miraflores (sede del Ejecutivo), Maduro exhortó a venezolanos a defender la bandera nacional como símbolo de soberanía, informa Prensa Latina.

«Este es nuestro norte, esto es lo que defendemos: los símbolos sagrados de una patria que se tiene que hacer respetar, la bandera tricolor de una patria hermosa que debe ondear victoriosa en los estándares de los libertadores».

Asimismo, el jefe de Estado denunció que Estados Unidos dirige una operación golpista que busca imponer un gobierno paralelo en Venezuela subordinado a sus intereses.

Las declaraciones del jefe de Estado se refieren al reconocimiento de Washington al autonombamiento del diputado a la Asamblea Nacional, parlamento en desacato, Juan Guaidó como presidente «encargado» y tratar así como ilegítimo el nuevo período constitucional de Maduro.

El Gobierno de Estados Unidos aceptó un mandatario por vías no constitucionales en el país, rechazó Maduro, a la vez que anunció el cese de las relaciones diplomáticas y políticas bilaterales.

Fuerza Armada Bolivariana confirma el apoyo al gobierno legítimo de Nicolás Maduro

En una alocución televisada en vivo para todo el país el Ministro de Defensa de Venezuela, Vladimir Padrino expresó que «sectores de la ultraderecha quieren fragmentar al país, parece un juego de niños. Algunos sectores se han apoderado del infantilismo político para decidir los destinos de la Patria».

En otro momento de la intervención dijo que «una persona llamado por motivos desconocidos ha levantado la mano proclamándose presidente, pareciera risible y jocoso, dan ganas de reír. Pero, debo alertar el peligro que esto representa para el país».

«Ayer rememorando un evento que causó desasosiego y desesperanza cuando el pueblo cayó en estado de indefensión. Ayer vimos un evento reprochable, un señor levantando la mano y autoproclamándose como presidente».

.@vladimirpadrino: Ayer rememorando un evento que causó desasosiego y desesperanza cuando el pueblo cayó en estado de indefensión. Ayer vimos un evento reprochable, un señor levantando

la mano y autoproclamándose como presidente <https://t.co/tqMKHf3oMu>
#VenezuelaYElMundoConMaduro pic.twitter.com/3mOYcId2rl

— teleSUR TV (@teleSURtv) 24 de enero de 2019

«No es la guerra civil lo que va a dividir a Venezuela. Agradecemos la buena voluntad de los gobiernos que propician un diálogo, el entendimiento y la salida constitucional», expresó Padrino acompañado por el alto mando de la Fuerza Armada Nacional Bolivariana.

«Una persona sin motivos ni basamento jurídico ha levantado la mano y se ha autoproclamado como presidente», aseveró el ministro de Defensa de Venezuela, Padrino López sobre la actuación del opositor Juan Guaidó que violó la Constitución Bolivariana siguiendo patronos "no racionales".

Aseveró que la Fuerza Armada Bolivariana de Venezuela (FANB) rechaza la violación de la legalidad en ese país y ratificó su respaldo a la independencia, soberanía y democracia del país.

Padrino López instó al diálogo político entre el Gobierno y la oposición, «porque la guerra no es nuestra opción, sino el instrumento de apátridas que no saben lo que significa».

"No es la guerra civil la que va a solucionar los problemas de Venezuela", añadió.

«No vamos a hacer nada que esté fuera de la Constitución. Agradezco como soldado los ejemplos de buena voluntad de los gobiernos que buscan equilibrio y el diálogo. No apostamos a la guerra», así culminó su palabras antes de leer la Declaración Oficial de las FANB.