

## Actors, actants and networks. Media representation of collective action in a Peruvian socio-environmental conflict

*Actores, actantes y redes.*

*Representación mediática de la acción colectiva en un conflicto socioambiental peruano*

*Atores, actantes e redes. Representação*

*mediática da ação coletiva em um conflito socioambiental peruano*

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MARÍA MENDOZA MICHILOT<sup>1</sup>

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7293-5110>

This paper analyzes the journalistic representation of the protagonists in the Peruvian conflict of Las Bambas; it is a case study of integrated design that combines the observation of agendas and frames with the analysis of the networks attributed to actors and actants. It reaches the conclusion that the confrontation results from topics that are not necessarily socio-environmental, and that the main focus is the attribution of responsibility to the government and the community. The debate revolves around the corporate mining project, a node that concentrates the action of the parties and must be preserved in spite of everything.

**KEYWORDS:** Agenda, frames, network analysis, social conflict, Peru.

*El artículo analiza la representación periodística de los protagonistas en el conflicto peruano de Las Bambas; es un estudio de caso de diseño integrado que combina la observación de las agendas y de los frames con el análisis de las redes que se atribuyen a actores y actantes. Se encontró que la confrontación es por tópicos no necesariamente socioambientales, y que el enfoque principal es la asignación de responsabilidad del Gobierno y de la comunidad. El debate gira en torno al proyecto empresarial minero, nodo que concentra la acción de las partes y debe preservarse a pesar de todo.*

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Agenda, frames, análisis de redes, conflicto social, Perú.

*O artigo analisa a representação jornalística dos protagonistas do conflito peruano de Las Bambas; trata-se de um estudo de caso, com um desenho integrado, que combina a observação de agendas e enquadramentos com a análise das redes atribuídas a atores e agentes. Consta-se que o confronto se dá em torno de questões que não são necessariamente socioambientais, e que o foco principal é atribuir responsabilidade ao governo e à comunidade. O debate gira em torno do projeto corporativo de mineração, um nó que concentra a ação das partes e deve ser preservado apesar de tudo.*

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Agenda, quadros, análise de rede, conflito social, Peru.

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<sup>1</sup> Universidad de Lima, Peru.

[tmendoza@ulima.edu.pe](mailto:tmendoza@ulima.edu.pe)

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## INTRODUCTION

The growth of hydrocarbon and mineral extractive activities in Latin America, as well as their transport within the exploitation areas, has led to an increase in socio-environmental conflicts, especially in countries where the Andes Mountain Range crosses (Martínez Alier, 2015; Svampa, 2008). The conflict for the control of natural resources, between States, mining companies and the population (De Echave, 2002), has mobilized power structures, which are the decision makers: subaltern conglomerates, communities and individuals directly or indirectly involved in the conflict, organizations and institutions.

The work of these actors and actants, who are determining factors in the resolution of disputes, reaches public opinion through the media, which has led to further studies on their role (Reyes-García et al., 2018).

It is assumed that the press: 1) disseminates the different manifestations of contentious or coordinated collective action of social movements, i.e., the agency of groups that feel excluded from institutions and must resort to protest in demand of opportunities; 2) evidences who is who, their links and networks; and eventually their frames (Tarrow, 1997), and 3) exposes or omits other involved parties (Reyes-García et al., 2018).

To verify these roles, we analyze the representation of actors and actants in the Peruvian press regarding the socio-environmental conflict of Las Bambas, based on the analysis of the media agendas, the approaches or frames, and the analysis of the observable networks in the textual production of the news. On this indicator, it is interesting to identify the protagonists as nodes referred to in the journalistic text, the links (Latour, 2008) attributed to them with other parties involved and with the most debated topics.

The study is relevant for the following reasons: 1) Las Bambas is one of Peru's flagship projects (2003-2024), due to the investment of transnational capital, which represents approximately \$10 billion. It is also the longest conflict in the last twenty years, in comparison with those in other regions (Tambogrande and Majaz, in Piura; Yanacocha, in Cajamarca; Antamina, in Ancash; and Tintaya, in Cusco) "that have drawn the attention of national and international public opinion and that

pose a challenge to governance and democracy in the country” (Tanaka et al., 2007, p. 7); 2) the research seeks to join the work that has applied Social Network Analysis (SNA) to the textual production of news with an emphasis on actors and actants. This theoretical and methodological strategy is recognized as novel and recommendable for the analysis of topics and actors present in journalistic statements on social conflicts (Avalle, 2007). According to several scholars, it has also been subject of comments on the need for its results to be complemented by other methodologies (Dettmer, 2019; Monterrosa, 2017; Micelli, 2008; Schmidt, 2009).

### AGENDAS AND APPROACHES, ACTORS AND ACTANTS

Agenda-setting and framing theories describe processes in the message production, its processing by recipients and its effects. In this case, the approach is based on agenda-setting and frames, constructs conceptualized as linked or integrated (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

Since McCombs and Shaw (1972), the analysis of agenda-setting has allowed to reveal of what and who is being talked about, with what tones, attributes, arguments and effects, both in the media agenda and in the public agenda (McCombs, 2006; Reyes-García et al., 2018). In the evolution of the concept, other literature has shown that the media convey to audiences information about the “object” salience (first level of theory), the attribute salience of that object (second level), and the salience of the grouped relationships of objects and attributes, especially in the digital world (third level) (Valenzuela & McCombs, 2019).

The third level of the agenda is necessary here, because it sustains that the media transmit information by grouping objects and attributes, as if they were interconnected nodes (Network Agenda-Setting). This may mean that the constituent elements of the news (topics, actors, actants, approaches) are presented to the public linked together or forming networks, and that the media determine what or who is prominent or central in the news (Guo et al., 2012; McCombs & Guo, 2014).

From this point of view, the media are not neutral. The representation of social facts depends on the agendas, sources, actors and links that

stand out (McCombs, 2006), and also on framing or the process of selecting some elements of reality to connect them in a particular interpretative narrative (Entman, 1993). Thus, the representation of objects and attributes responds not only to criteria of newsworthiness, but also to the frames of journalistic organizations, their constructions and interpretations of reality (Carter, 2013), to the recognition of actors and actants (Rodríguez et al., 2022; Truchet et al., 2022), which usually do not coincide with the purposes of all those involved (Tarrow, 1997).

In these cases, Entman's (1993) characterization of framing explains that frames play four roles: they define a problem, diagnose its causes, attribute responsibility, and propose solutions. These are based on variables and categories that can be measured through content analysis –to identify common patterns or frames, and hierarchical conglomerates or clusters (Matthes & Kohring, 2008)–, such as those offered by SNA.

Agendas and framing relate to stakeholders who, within the journalistic narrative, may appear as actors and sources, or play both roles. From a sociological, anthropological and semiotic point of view, the actors are human “makers of the news”, because along with journalists they build the news agenda (agenda-building); they are protagonists of the events with similar or opposing points of view, they maintain relations of confrontation or coincidence among themselves and they hold certain quotas of power (Reyes-García et al., 2018).

In the representation of socio-environmental conflicts, other non-human entities converge: the actants (Latour, 2008). According to Actor-Network Theory (ANT), these entities and human collectives are stakeholders that play a role in the narratives linked to nature; they are part of a frame or network, which is defined in the interaction, relationship, connection or association with other networks. From this analytical framework, nature, the environment and their constituent elements are in a continuous assembly (Latour, 2008; Li, 2015); a dimension that is not always valued and that leads to ontological and even destructive distinctions (De la Cadena, 2015), but also to alliances and even socio-technical supports (Callon, 2006; Latour, 2008).

In the environmental field, some actants can change the course of actions, be triggering agents of crises or of their solution, embedded in

the worldviews of those who maintain unaccepted subsistence practices (Akrich & Latour, 1992; Truchet et al., 2022).

Precisely, SNA allows, from the contribution of Simmel and other theorists, to develop “a typology” of this social action (Núñez & Cárdenas, 2013, p. 29) of humans and non-humans interacting with each other (Kadushin, 2013), as entities of a reticulate structure. SNA is based on the premise that the relationships of the protagonists (egos) with others (alteri) are interdependent; they can be measured and represented to determine the position or centrality that these nodes occupy within a network, among other indicators (Kadushin, 2013; Requena, 1989; Wellman, 1997).

SNA is applied in this paper to analyze the “semantic networks of the news”, in order to measure the position or centrality (degree) of the protagonists featured in the journalistic text. The aim is to interpret the words and the text as a discursive reference of the meanings that the press gives to the actors and their ties, through verbal or textual data (Avalle, 2007; Lozares et al., 2002; Requena, 1989; Reyes-García et al., 2018). In the light of the ANT, the SNA allows to determine the relationship between actors and actants, as well as the associations or alliances attributed to them; or how they are “assembled”, according to the worldview of each stakeholder (De la Cadena, 2015).

## CASE STUDY

With two exceptions, recent Peruvian governments have maintained an open-door policy for mining investment; regulatory measures that have an effect on regional and municipal bodies, in the face of investors willing to negotiate (Esteban & Azamar, 2022; Hamer et al., 2021). However, their viability has been hindered and even frustrated by conflicts caused by social factors that go beyond concession contracts and even environmental concerns. This is the “social license” or the consent of communities to perform extractive activities (Wiener, 2018). In 2017, there were 169 social conflicts (120 socio-environmental), and 221 in 2022 (140 socio-environmental) (Defensoría del Pueblo, 2022).

The case of Las Bambas illustrates this situation (Wiener, 2018). The investment contributed to the growth of the mining-metallurgical

GDP and, from a social point of view, to the average annual growth of the southeastern region of Apurímac (period 2013-2022). It is estimated that the reduction of total poverty in Apurímac (from 71.4 % in 2007 to 38.7 % in 2015) (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, 2017) is due to mining and the development of social programs (Instituto Peruano de Economía, 2021; Zavala, 2023).

Starting in 2016, the copper extraction at Las Bambas began to change the productive structure of the region, becoming the main economic activity (Banco Central de Reserva, 2023; De Echave, 2020).

However, it is estimated that governance networks, or the balanced participation of all parties involved in decision making, did not prevent or reduce conflict. The issue goes beyond environmental aspects. Some decisions of the Central Government and regional authorities benefited the company, but not the population (such as the transport of copper concentrates from the mine to the southern ports: this was to be done through a mineral pipeline, but was replaced by a land mining corridor). Changes in the Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) or in the social policies that the company proposed to implement; certain welfare practices and the dismantling of State networks to socialize the benefits of the investment, have increased the lack of credibility in the State and in the companies responsible for the investment (Xtrata, Glencore and Minmetals Group-MMG) at different times (Wiener, 2018).

Between 2016 and 2020, extractive activities were paralyzed for 400 days, but despite disagreements, the high Andean communities agreed with the investment (De Echave, 2020). In the period 2021-2022, after the inauguration of a left-wing government, the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic was visible in production, economy, employment and health, as well as unmet demands over time, which led to the permanent establishment of conflict (Banco Mundial, 2021; De Echave, 2021).

## METHOD

This research analyzes the media representation of the actors and actants of the socio-environmental conflict of Las Bambas, based on the Agenda-setting and Framing theories, the ANT and the SNA. Its

specific objectives are: 1) to identify the constituent elements of the conflict agenda in the coverage; 2) to recognize the representation of stakeholders as actors and actants; 3) to determine the predominant frames, and 4) to analyze the links between actors, actants and topics that underlie the media discourse.

This is an exploratory descriptive research study of the news (records) disseminated in Peruvian media, between January 2016 and June 2022, a period of escalation of the conflict and wide repercussion in the public debate (Hervé-Huamani & Yvinec, 2022). It has an integrated design based on the technique of quantitative and qualitative content analysis. It used the nominal measurement of frequencies in the determination of topics, parties involved, number of arguments and constituent elements of the framing. Theoretically based categories and indicators were then defined on the constituent elements of the informative agenda and the characterization of the frames (definition of the problem, diagnosis, responsible parties and solutions) (Andréu, 2001; Cáceres, 2003; Entman, 1993; McCombs, 2006; Mayring, 2000; Parra-Romero, 2020; Reyes-García et al., 2018; Valenzuela & McCombs, 2019; Wodak, 2003).

The following criteria were used to select the media: they should have a national reach and a track record in the publishing market; a traditional and digital platform; and be considered influential (Mendoza Michilot, 2017).

Out of a total of 52, 15 digital platforms were analyzed, resulting in a sample of 1 403 documents, taken proportionally in relation to the total volume of publications for each medium and each year (Tables 1, 2). Once the information was organized in a database, a codebook was developed with four variables related to agenda-setting and framing, which were operationalized into a number of categories and indicators (Table 3).

SNA tools made it possible to identify the relationships attributable to actors and actants, recognized as nodes that interact through verbal or textual data (Avalle, 2007); the relationships of actors and actants with main topics (Reyes-García et al., 2018); and the centrality (degree) indicator of actors, actants and topics.

TABLE 1  
SAMPLE BY MEDIA

Media	Documents	Percentage
Press	471	33.6
Radio	97	6.9
Television	365	26
Web	470	33.5
Total	1 403	100

Source: The author.

TABLE 2  
SAMPLE BY YEAR

Years	Number of documents	Years	Number of documents
2016	218	2020	36
2017	39	2021	212
2018	19	2022	333
2019	546		

Source: The author.

TABLE 3  
CONTENT INDICATORS

	Categories	Indicators
Thematic agenda (McCombs, 2006)	Main topic	Tones
	Specific topics	Purposes
		Genres
		Sources
Stakeholders (Reyes-García et al., 2018)	Actors	Authorities
	Actants	Communities
		Investors
		State
		Government
		Others



	Categories	Indicators
Arguments (Wodak, 2003)	Responsibility Danger and threats Utility and benefits Others	
Framing (Entman, 1993)	Problem Diagnosis Responsibles Solution	Approach or frame

Source: The author.

With the software UCINET, a matrix was created for symmetric adjacency networks (for one set of entities), which analyzes the links between actors; and an asymmetric affiliation matrix (for two sets of entities, with data standardized from 0 to 1), in order to recognize the links of actors/actants to topics. NetDraw and VOSviewer software were used to visualize the results in association graphs or clusters.

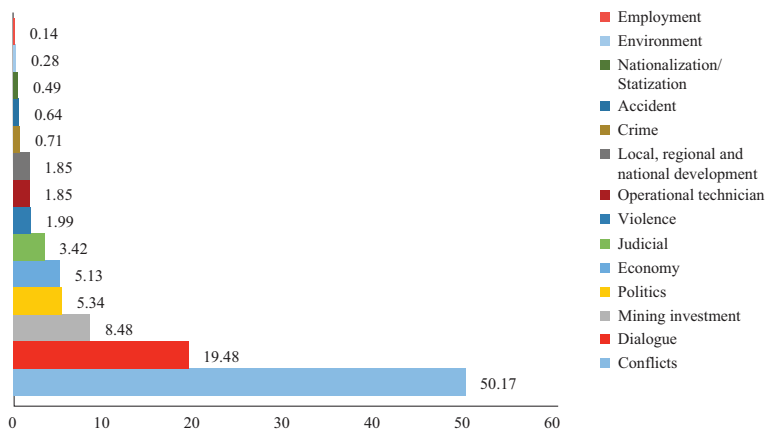
## RESULTS

### *Agenda and tones*

The informative agenda on Las Bambas resulted in 14 generic topics, each including a varied number of specific issues (Figure 1). In the context of the escalation, a police and legal agenda is observed. There is a predominance of issues related to the socio-environmental crisis or conflict (incidents, acts of protest and halted day-to-day mining activity); the search for channels of dialogue between the parties (establishment of tables of dialogue, interruption of negotiations); and issues related to investment. The reported effects on the environment are not frequent.

These topics are presented in a tone (McCombs, 2006) that is mostly negative (46.25%), followed by neutral (30.93%) and positive (22.66%). The purpose of the coverage (Parra-Romero, 2020) is more informative (52.24%) than opinion-based (18.31%); it seeks to alert (12.9%), exhort (8.19%) and propose (5.06%). Applying Wodak's (2003) characterization of dominant arguments (topoi), there is a focus

FIGURE 1  
GENERIC TOPICS (PERCENTAGE)



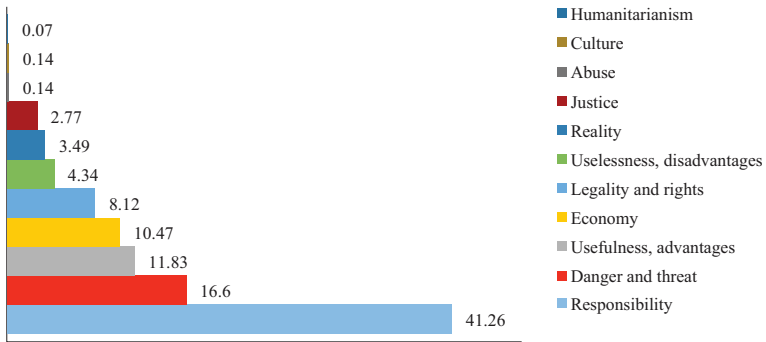
Source: The author.

on assigning responsibilities to the parties involved, the danger or threat of further social disorder, and the positive valuation of mining investment; the defense of community rights is the least prominent approach (Figure 2).

### ACTORS AND ACTANTS

The main protagonists of the media coverage (most referenced) are linked to the government and the secondary actors (less referenced) are the communities involved that live in the areas surrounding the mine. Representatives or spokespersons of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial powers, regional governments and the *Policía Nacional del Perú* (PNP) appear in the first place as official stakeholders; it is a politicized agenda. Secondly, the communities involved, their leaders and advisors (investigated by the courts for engaging in extortionist practices). In third place is civil society (spokespersons for the *Defensoría del Pueblo*, churches and experts).

FIGURE 2  
DOMINANT ARGUMENTS (PERCENTAGE)



Source: The author, based on Wodak's (2003) proposal.

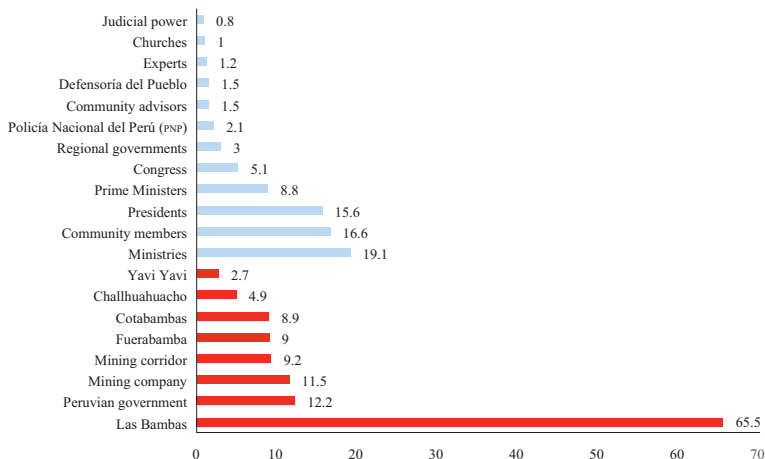
There are other entities that stand out in the journalistic text: Las Bambas (category that encompasses the activities, processes, scope and limitations in the development of the investment); the Peruvian Government and the mining companies responsible for the concession; the mining corridor; and towns in the area of influence of the mine or close to it, whose inhabitants are the protagonists of protests demanding benefits agreed upon or to be extended for their benefit (Fuerabamba, district of Challhuahuacho, province of Cotabambas, Apurimac region, and the Yavi Yavi estate, Cusco region).

A first application of the ANT allows us to identify the protagonists of the news story as actors (humans) and actants (non-humans) (Figure 3), to whom, in the news semantics, direct or indirect, close or distant, coincidental or confrontational relationships are attributed.

The aforementioned actors and actants are common protagonists in the journalistic coverage of this type of social phenomena. In this case, differences can be observed in the references and spaces assigned to each one of them, which shows an unequal protagonism. For example, with Las Bambas being the central actant in the coverage, the role of the company is less discussed.

The ANT also shows that regarding the actants of peasant communities there are no references to their competences, cultural,

FIGURE 3  
ACTORS AND ACTANTS (PERCENTAGE)



Source: The author.

social, economic and geographic considerations, nor about the impact of exploitation on the soil, air, environment and people's lives.

## MEDIA APPROACHES

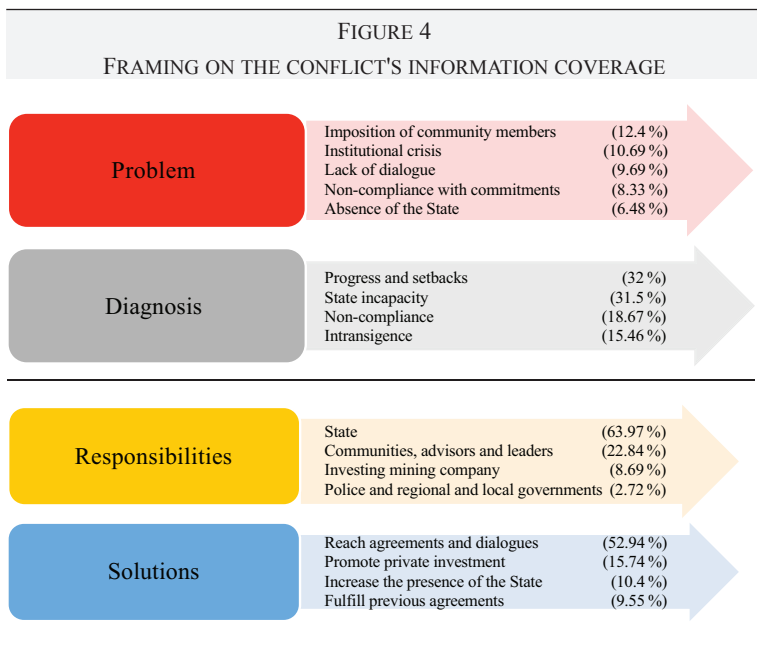
According to Entman's (1993) theoretical proposal, the root of the problem lies in the arrogant attitude of the community members, the institutional crisis of the country, the lack of dialogue, the failure of the government and the company to fulfill their commitments to the population, the absence of the State and the authorities, in addition to other 20 problematic situations (violence, ideological infiltration, unused metal prices, economic crisis, high operating costs, poor land management, prejudice against the community members, economic interests, intercultural problems, among others). These appear in two thirds of the published content; in the remaining third, no problem is identified.

Regarding the diagnosis, four issues are raised in the development of the crisis: there were progress and setbacks to establish spaces for consensus; the State was unable to resolve the crises that arose and to enforce the agreements between the population and the mining company; there was non-compliance with the initial agreements, and the intransigence of the community.

There are 14 responsible parties identified; the main one is the Peruvian government and the second is the community, its leaders and advisors. With less responsibility are the mining company, the police and the regional and local governments.

Also, 26 solutions are proposed, such as establishing channels for dialogue and reaching agreements among all parties involved; promoting more private investment due to its benefits to the economy and to the exploitation of raw materials; promoting the presence of the State, and complying with previous agreements. Other measures are not ruled out, such as relocating the communities affected by the contamination, granting economic compensation to the communities or machinery for their agricultural work, or establishing another route for the transportation of the minerals. To a lesser extent, the EIAs must be reviewed and all community demands addressed. From a safety point of view, the need to approve a potential state of emergency and the implementation of radical measures demanded by some community sectors (close the mine, change the management of the project, review the security agreements signed between the mining company and the police, return the lands that were awarded and change the chapter of the Constitution on the economy) are not ruled out (Figure 4).

This leads to the conclusion that there are four frames in the news coverage of the conflict, although the following prevails: Las Bambas mining project has suffered progress and setbacks due to the country's institutional crisis, which compromises the State, governments and other bodies responsible for the failure of negotiations, non-compliance with agreements with the community, and acts of violence. The project depends on the presence of the State.



Source: The author, based on Entman's proposal (1993).

## LINKS

The SNA reveals actors and actants in more or less key positions. Connected to Las Bambas are the investment companies (Xtrata, Glencore and MMG), the Regional Government of Apurímac, the community members, the Peruvian Government, the community of Fuerabamba, the district of Challhuahuacho, the province of Cotabambas, the Ministerio de Energía y Minas and the Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros (PCM). These nodes achieve greater centrality, i.e., they receive the highest number of associations, links or degree (close to 1), participate in the news in a prominent way and become essential protagonists. Other actors and actants are weak nodes, with little or no intermediation (Ministries of Environment and Health) (Table 4). The graph of egos and alteri shows three subgroups of highly connected nodes or clusters, as can be seen below.

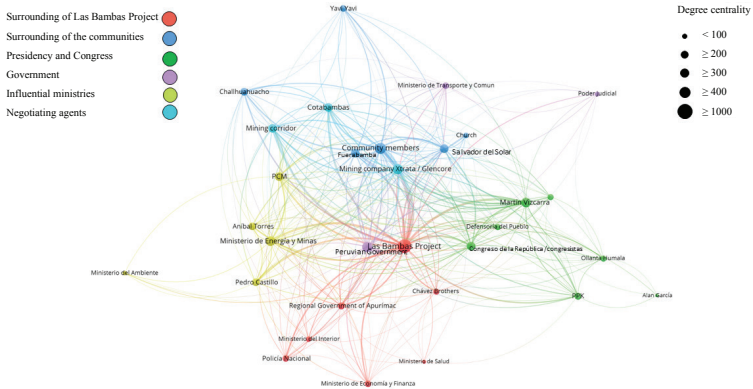
- a. *Political cluster 1*. The nodes are: former presidents during whose terms of office the investment was developed in the 2006-2020 period (Alan García, Ollanta Humala, Pedro Pablo Kuczynski and Martín Vizcarra), with both success and conflicts. These are linked to the Congress and Defensoría del Pueblo nodes. Former president Vizcarra has a higher centrality (he governed from 2018-2020), and the lowest is former president García (2006-2011 period).
- b. *Population cluster*. The nodes are: community members and residents of the area of influence of the mining company, the mining corridor, the communities of Cotabambas and Challhuahuacho (towns in Apurímac and Cusco, impacted by the investment) and the negotiator (former Prime Minister Salvador del Solar). The community members are linked to the corridor of discord and to the government spokesman responsible for the negotiations that resulted in a partial agreement (Del Solar).
- c. *Political cluster 2*. The nodes are: Pedro Castillo, the last president to be present in the debate (2021-2022), ministries, political spokespersons and negotiators of unsuccessful negotiations, and the community members (Figure 5).

TABLE 4  
CENTRALITY OF ACTORS AND ACTANTS

No.	Actor	Centrality (Degree)
1	Las Bambas	0.875
2	Mining company (Xtrata / Glencore / MMG)	0.75
3	Regional Government of Apurímac	0.688
4	Community members	0.688
5	Peruvian Government	0.688
6	Fuerabamba (town)	0.625
7	Challhuahuacho (town)	0.5
8	Cotabambas (district)	0.563
9	Ministry of Energy and Mines	0.625
10	Presidency of the Council of Ministers	0.625

Source: The author.

FIGURE 5  
NETWORKS OF ACTORS AND ACTANTS IN THE MEDIA



Source: The author.

In the coverage, the SNA also highlights references to conflict and dialogue, linked to three central topics (with close values): judicialization and politicization of protest, and investment (Table 5).

The connection of actors/actants and topics shows the close relationship of the conflict node with these actors: Governments, Presidents and former Presidents of the Republic, the President of the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Energy and Mines, the Parliament, the mining companies and the community members. It is also linked to the actant mining investment. These entities are also linked to the dialogue node which, in turn, is linked to the following actants: the mining corridor, the communities in conflict, the local and regional governments of Apurímac.

The subgroup of community members, their advisors and neighboring communities also stands out, linked to judicial issues and bodies, violence and crime. In another network, the nodes are spokespersons for the government, linked to political issues and investment.

In total, there are 12 clusters. In some, the connections describe strong links (i.e., frequent references from one node to another); in



others, there are weak links where actors, actants and topics appear on the periphery of the discussion. Important issues in the context of the conflict –such as employment and occupational accidents– are not related to the actors and actants (Figure 6).

TABLE 5  
CENTRALITY IN THE ACTOR-TOPIC RELATIONSHIP

No.	Actor/Actant	Degree	No.	Topics	Degree
1	Las Bambas Project	0.875	1	Socio-environmental conflict	1
2	Mining company (Xtrata / Glencore / MMG)	0.75	2	Dialogue	0.935
3	Regional government of Apurimac	0.688	3	Justice	0.774
4	Community members	0.688	4	Politics	0.742
5	Peruvian government	0.688	5	Mining investment	0.742
6	Fuerabamba community	0.625	6	Violence	0.581
7	Challhuahuacho district	0.5	7	Operational technician	0.484
8	Cotabambas province	0.563	8	Local, regional and national development	0.484
9	Ministry of Energy and Mines	0.625	9	Economy	0.484
10	Presidency of the Council of Ministers	0.625	10	Crime	0.258

Source: The author.



& Yvinec, 2022; Tanaka, 2007), covered by 14 generic topics, mainly in an informative manner. This brought to the table several events related to the mining project, a category that in this study encompasses all the events, activities, processes and scope of the investment reported in the press. Secondly, the work of the State, the mining company and the communities involved comes into play, linked to what could be called their governance networks (Wiener, 2018).

This agenda allows us to identify the most important actors, which are mainly governmental sources and leaders of the communities surrounding the project. However, some actors do not have a voice or lack representation in the text; this is the case of the inhabitants of the high Andean communities.

In this regard, except for some community leaders, there is no reference to empowered actors linked to the demands of the population (Pena, 2022; Rodríguez-Robayo et al., 2022). Neither to their daily experiences that are the basis for the construction of their cultural capital and worldview, which are not considered in environmental conservation policies or western investment programs (Truchet et al., 2022).

The absence of spokespersons from the mining companies in the journalistic discourse is surprising, despite the fact that they are frequently mentioned by the inhabitants. Some studies indicate that the legitimacy of investors is often dismissed by those who protest, since they argue that they do not receive the benefits they expected, or because they are the cause of the social, environmental and economic problems they experience (Avila-Calero, 2017; Fernández-Labbé, 2020). In this case, the silence of the companies could be interpreted as a factor of distancing or lack of interest in addressing the demands expressed in the public space.

ANT identifies these faceless actants or entities that, with better representativeness, could guarantee in-depth coverage, discussing, for example, issues such as factors related to the so-called “social license” (Wiener, 2018) or the socio-environmental agenda.

These presences and absences in the informative text affect or limit not only the agenda-setting, but also the framing of the conflict carried out by journalism (Entman, 1993). In this case, the measurement of problems, diagnoses, responsibilities and solutions reveals that the

informative priority is oriented towards pointing culpability, rather than analyzing causes and consequences, or warning about investment risks, in addition to proposing solutions (Parra-Romero, 2020; Wodak, 2003). Proof of this is that a third of the journalistic content analyzed does not identify a problem or minimizes it, attributing the crisis to the imposition of violent community members.

Regarding the framing, media emphasized the responsibilities of the State, the institutional crisis, the violence of the communities and the non-compliance with the agreements reached. Consequently, it can be concluded that they argued that the solution depends on these actors and actants. The SNA confirms these findings and, moreover, that the actors and actants without spokespersons are central to the news coverage, while the journalistic debate revolves mainly around the actions of the conflict, the unsuccessful search for dialogue, the judicialization and politicization of the protest.

As a conclusion, it could be pointed out that the analysis carried out shows the set of practices that can result in the textual production of news related to a complex socio-environmental conflict. Among them, the deepening of contexts, background and consequences appears as an essential function in the agenda-setting, the representation of actors and actants, as well as in its framing in the journalistic discourse.

A future study could delve into the management of these practices from a journalist-sender perspective, which this article does not address. This would verify the extent to which they depend on editorial lines (Carter, 2013), on certain power structures (Reyes-García et al., 2018) or other sources.

In terms of content, the study confirms the limitations of the information, first of all, to report on all the topics that derive from the agenda of a conflict, from the frequent attribution of responsibilities and the discrediting tone of the situation to the addressing of the consequences of the phenomenon or even the environmental issue, minimized in this case. Secondly, the limitations in the recognition of all parties involved (Espinoza, 2017): on the one hand, faceless populations to whom, however, responsibilities are attributed; and on the other hand, mining companies, referenced but absent in the journalistic debate.

These practices have their effects on the conflict frames, insofar as they condition the type of networks, relationships or associations, for example, between actors, actants and topics, that the journalist assigns, builds or articulates within the text. In this sense, as reflected by the SNA in this study, centrality falls on some protagonists or topics that acquire greater relevance than others, which receive unequal treatment or are simply not represented in their real dimension.

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## PROFILE

### *María Mendoza Michilot*

Holds a PhD and Master's degree in Sociology from the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, a Master's degree in Journalism and Digital Communication from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, and is a professor at the Faculty of Communication of the Universidad de Lima. She researches mainly journalistic media, its evolution and innovation, and its projection in the coverage of social phenomena and conflicts. She is the author of the books *Inicios del Periodismo en el Perú*, *100 años de periodismo en el Perú*, *El rostro de los diarios digitales*, among other publications.