

Media discourse and news frames on political corruption in Spain

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Abstract: Corruption cases are increasingly recurring in the Hispanic American press. The present article studies, from the standpoint of the interpretative responsibility of journalism, the editorial framework of one of the leading newspapers in Spain. From a qualitative methodology such as Discourse Analysis, this paper responds to the objective of “analyzing the media treatment of political corruption in Spain, through the analysis of the headlines of *El País* and *El Mundo* (newspapers with the highest circulation and the largest number of readers in the country).” Among the results, it is worth highlighting a personalization of the treatment of processes and events of corruption, omission responsibilities by the power structures, as well as some editorial bias as regards the nominalization of the different political parties involved in the current topics covered. The main conclusion of this research is the urgent need to encourage a type of press that favors an interpretative contribution, which allows citizenship to understand and comprehend corruption.

Key words: discourse, corruption, politics, treatment, mass media.

Resumen: Los casos de corrupción son cada vez más recurrentes en la prensa hispanoamericana. El presente artículo estudia, desde el prisma de la responsabilidad interpretativa del periodismo, el encuadre noticioso y editorial de uno de los diarios referente en España. A partir del Análisis del Discurso (AD), esta investigación ha respondido al objetivo de analizar el discurso mediático sobre la corrupción política en España, por medio de la exploración de los titulares de *El País* y *El Mundo*, los dos diarios con mayor tirada y número de lectores en España. Entre los resultados cabe destacar una personalización del tratamiento de los procesos y eventos de corrupción, una des-responsabilización de las estructuras de poder, así como cierto sesgo editorial respecto a la nominalización de los diferentes partidos políticos implicados en los temas de actualidad cubiertos. La conclusión fundamental del estudio es la necesidad urgente de incentivar un tipo de prensa que favorezca un aporte interpretativo de calidad en la ciudadanía ante los casos de corrupción.

Palabras clave: discurso, corrupción, política, tratamiento, medios de comunicación de masas.

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Introduction

In recent decades, political corruption has barged in the political agendas of European and Latin American countries, thus evincing it is a mayor problem for democratic societies. For that matter, in 2016 Spain beat its national record as a corrupt nation with 58 points in the ranking of countries perceived as corrupt, according to Transparency International data (2016). The “Gürtel case”, the Palma Arena case, Caja España, Bankia, Tarjetas Black, Filesa, GAL, the training courses of Andalusia, Pujol case are a list of prosecuted causes and macro-causes, which in the Spanish context are enormous and difficult to accept as isolated events. This way, a state of social unrest is generated, since the problem has become the second for the Spanish society, in spite of being still immersed in the wake of the economic crisis. For that matter, 47,5% of the Spanish thinks that the second largest problem in Spain is corruption after unemployment, which is the first according to the Barometer of February 2016, Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS, 2016) (see figure 1¹).

Furthermore, the sociologic study above (CIS, 2016) warned about the increase in the citizens’ concern in the face of the escalation in the number of cases and media coverage of corruption.

The concern as regards corruption and fraud grows eight points in relation to January’s survey (from 39,2% to 47,5%), while unemployment remains stable. Even, 15,4% considers that corruption affects them personally, more than four points than the previous survey. The absence of a government only concerns 1,4% of the Spanish, a similar percentage to the unrest caused by Catalonia independence (*El País*, 2016).

However, in spite of the apparent “trend” of “political corruption”, truth is, it is neither a new tendency nor proper to a particular society (Pérez, 1995). Moreover, it reaches both the public (González, 1999) and private spheres (Hodgson and Jiang, 2008). A number of traditions and epistemological approaches have defined corruption in various manners. Some authors considered this a conceptually empty fuzzy phenomenon (Hodgson and Jiang, 2008); while others have proposed typologies of corruption in function of its level or scope, “political, economic, administrative” (Boehm and Graf, 2009) or have defined important differences as regards with other phenomena such as “clientelism” (Caciagli, 1996; Corzo, 2002; Rehren, 2000).

With regard to its main causes, these can vary in function of the context of the country. Kauffman (2000) states that corruption is intimately connected

1 Figures and tables are at the end of the article in Annex, (Editor’s note).

to the development level of the country: wages, excessively protectionist policies, lack of liberties, the role of institutions such as police, or the poor functioning of the market or judiciary may affect it.

At present, occidental democracies present corruption as the cause of corrupting individuals and institutions, as if it were a “mortal cancer” without a cure (Pérez, 1995). And it is that the consequences of corruption have dire consequences, deteriorate the essence of democracy (Barreiro and Sánchez-Cuenca, 2000) and make politics lose its credibility or cause climates of instability difficult to overcome. Moreover, the political parties’ discredit from corruption, puts the citizens’ political predication at risk (Pérez and López, 2014; Ordóñez, 2012). In point of fact, in the contexts where there have been notorious scandals, citizens end up considering that it is a universal tendency, impossible to fight, which eventually generates apathy and disinterest (Laguna, 2013).

The opinion that governments do not solve this growing problem has become the usual (Muñoz-López-Carmona, 2012), clearly related to the increase in the number of scandals. In these contexts, citizenship distances from politics and its main actors, which ends up producing disinformation that fosters low participation, generating more corruption in the process. As expressed by Hodgson and Jian (2008), the loss of democratic morality makes it easier for totalitarianism to appear.

Additional to the democratic discomfort generated and the negative impact on society and citizenry, admittedly, corruption also causes negative consequences on the economy. The most deregulated countries are more unstable, since there are no regulations that control corruption and this ends up causing serious problems for the market (Hodgson and Jiang, 2008). All in all, corruption is detrimental for the economy, as it impacts on the human development index (Akçai, 2006; Quizilbash, 2001). Also, as indicated by Mauro (2002), it affects economic growth and generates inequalities, for example, in incomes; it influences early dropping out of school or causes lower foreign investments, if the most significant effects are mentioned (Larrú, 2009).

In this vein, the role of the mass media is key. There are numerous argumentators that endorse the paramount importance of communicative potential in issues of especial social relevance. Corruption’s news coverage is a good element to measure the quality of the democratic systems as regards dictatorships, as indicated by Castells (2003). This because the “free expression in the media is the only possible way to curb the arbitrariness of those in charge of governing” (Martínez-Gallego, 2013: 100). This way,

the media should work as monitoring agents. This sort of statements drink from classic reflections as regards the social role of the media and contest the validity of the Watch-dog theory. Are the media the sentinels of democracy? Or, in reality, nowadays, there are no mediators between institutions and society?

The classic theory that defines the press as the institutions' watch-dog has now become the intellection pill, a grossly schematic crystallization of thought, which serves, among other things, to legitimize certain professional actions totally unacceptable. I believe, however, that the basic substrate of this thesis is still valid (Martínez-Albertos, 1994: 3).

Both Martínez-Albertos' (1994) and Schiller's affirmations, for whom the media work as the system's enforcement arms, distinguish the media change from the vigilant periphery to the very core of power, evincing how the media story turns into a mediation and configures quotidian reality.

Authors such as Martínez-Albertos (1994) have defended, for some decades now, that the media are the system's "controllers", which exercise the tyranny of power (Martínez-Albertos, 1999). However, others have considered that it is not information or communication which invigilate power, but it is power itself and is atop the system's pyramid (Labio-Bernal, 2006; Reig, 1998 and 2007).

Neither can "the public awareness of corruption scandals and the judgments society produces in this regard are mediatized" be overlooked (Martínez-Gallego, 2013: 104), which means that the media built stories on corruption and its consequences with a determinate symbolical value. As indicated by Canel and Sanders (2005 and 2006), the treatment of the parts of the process, such as the coverage of the accusation or the accused's reaction, are stereotyped schemas or micro-narrations that tend to repetition.

Furthermore, the media, beyond monitoring the politicians' work, should respond to a "democratic moral", as deemed by Pérez-Tapias (1995). How could it be made? In short, showing what a politically healthy system is and evincing what is not right or fair. Albeit most of the times, this moral logic is not the prevailing one, owing to the mercantilist structure of the large conglomerates. For that matter, the "spectacularization" of corruption cases (Martínez-Gallego, 2013) due to the dramatic overload in the news which configures their interpretation ends up prevailing (Hierro, 2014; Martínez-Gallego, 2013; Zamora and Marín, 2010 and 2011).

Because of this, corruption may be understood as an interpretative phenomenon (Sola-Morales and Rivera, 2017: 649). It is worth bearing in mind that frames are structures of meaning that make the interpretation of

the world easy for the individuals and help them locate and contextualize (Entman, 1993; Goffman, 2006; Reese, 2001; Scheufele, 1999; Tankard, 2001). Entman (1993) defines framing as a selection of aspects of reality so as to make it more comprehensible. This way, a problem is better described and it is given a concrete interpretation or assessment. This process is quite evident in news treatment, as it hierarchizes and selects, omits or silences, evaluates and categorizes the characters depicted (Sola-Morales, 2014: 133).

In this regard, the news or media frames would be the “socially shared organizational principles that are the symbolic and significant structure of the social work” (Sola-Morales, 2014: 132); this is to say, they offer a schema to understand and judge the world. Hence, “the effect of news framings on the people does not come from stressing certain aspects of a topic, but from invoking schemas that influence on the interpretation of the information received (Aruguete and Zunino, 2010: 42).

With the purpose of finding out what the media treatment in this structural conflict is, which is present at a varying degree in all democracies, the present article analyzes the news coverage of the newspapers *El País* and *El Mundo*, both paid and printed, with the largest readership in Spain, thereby the opinion leaders in printed press.

In order to find out the media treatment of this topic, a critical discourse analysis of the news headlines tagged as “political corruption” over the months of November and December 2016 will be carried out. It is worth remembering that Critical Discourse Analysis, CDA, began with *Language and Control* (1979), Roger Fowler’s *et al.* work, and was continued with the classic studies on discourse and power by Fairclough (1989), as well as works by Kramarae, Wodak or Van Dijk (Sola-Morales, 2012): the authors above have been taken as this article’s theoretical-methodological horizon.

The present empirical research focuses on three fundamental discursive aspects: firstly, the characters (their role and characterization); secondly, discursive strategies (using Van Dijk’s (1980) terminology); these are implicit in the media discourse produced by the approach of a particular medium. And thirdly, in the (implicit or explicit) presence of the main political parties in the headlines.

Objectives and hypothesis

The main objective is to explore what the journalist discourse on political corruption in Spain is. To do so, the headlines of *El País* and *El Mundo*, are analyzed over two months (November and December 2016). The specific objectives are:

- Find out the role and categorization of the people in the analyzed headlines.
- Explore what the discursive strategies utilized by the newspapers under analysis is in the coverage of various corruption cases.
- Detect the presence of various political groups in the journal coverage of *El País* and *El Mundo*.

The research hypothesis is as follows: the analyzed headlines are starred by corrupt people (culprits and villains). However, they overlook the “corruptors” (who might be the system or political parties); this way, the responsibility of political groups and enterprises are lessened, as individual subjects are blamed.

Sources and methodology

In order to empirically deepen into the media framing of political corruption in Spain, a qualitative critical discourse analysis of the news headlines published by *El País* and *El Mundo* between November and December 2016 has been carried out. Two months were taken to produce an illustration of the proposal in this first stage of research in view of carrying out in the future the analysis of an entire year, the detailed breakdown of various cases and the possible comparison between countries.

Sample

The sample comprises 331 headlines: 158 from *El País*, and 173 from *El Mundo*. It is worth pointing out that both Spanish papers have a different editorial line: *El País*, belonging to *Grupo Prisa*, is progressive and may be catalogued as “center-left”; *El Mundo*, of *Grupo Unidad Editorial*, may be considered “right”. It is necessary to underscore that in this research a thorough analysis of the headlines has been carried out, since this sort of corpus is suitable for the study of framings (Gallardo-Paúls and Enguix, 2014). The headlines, as it is known, work as activators of the process of textual understanding; for that matter, they remit to an activity of attentional focusing (Jorques, 2000: 97). In this sense, they have an essential role in the reading process. If the headline or other paratextual (such as graphs) or visual elements (such as image) do not attract the attention of the reader, the whole item might not be read.

In like manner, it is enough to indicate that even if there are numerous sorts of headlines, in the context of this journalist study we have found,

fundamentally, informative headlines, which point at the macrostructure of the news item, summary or meaning, and appealing headlines that intend to catch the readers' attention by means of various strategies.

Analysis tools

As regards the methodological tools, an analysis format was developed for the critical discourse analysis, as theoretical-methodological approach over the line proposed by one of its main proponents: Van Dijk (1980, 1990 and 1991), which has allowed deepening around three axes related to the research's three specific objectives:

1) To analyze the role of the people –an essential characteristic of CDA– and their characterization, the following categories were defined: corrupt or corrupter; victim, hero or villain, replicating the methodological strategy of a previous work by Sola, Morales and Rivera (2017). Specifically, two sort of characters were defined: on the one side, specific people: those with a name and a surname are Bárcenas, PP, Barberá, Rajoy, Bustos or Correa, for instance. These people in particular appear in the headlines as subjects of the described action.

On the other, abstract characters such as the system (defined as the legal apparatus and institutional relations), enterprises (private sector), government (executive), political parties, society (citizens), justice and judges, police or corruption. This analysis of abstract characters, as concluded in Sola, Morales and Rivera (2017), gives an account of omitted information or the emphases as regards the interactions and contexts in which concrete characters act. These two aspects: omissions and emphases are crucial in CDA.

The strategy was developed as follows: in the first place, each of the items was given four differenced roles (corrupt, corruptor, other and not mentioned). The value "corrupt" represents the subject or institution that performs a corruption act. "Corrupter" refers to those who corrupt. "Other role" refers to cases different from the one proposed, and "not mentioned", which means it is not any of the roles above. Secondly, it was ascertained if each of the characters analyzed in the papers —*El País* and *El Mundo*— were portrayed as victims, heroes or villains. This analysis was undertaken by means of the configuration of the discourse of such headlines on the people, which implied a critical standpoint by the codifier, who observed the people in the discourse according to the categories previously defined categories.

2) In order to examine the discursive strategies underlying in the selected headlines, four fundamental rhetoric strategies were defined in order to allow finding out the form of the discursive coverage of corruption. When speaking of the textual strategy, one has to bear in mind that headlines perform a semantic, informative role, which summarizes and advances the meaning of the news item; and the other pragmatic, which orients its sense or interpretation. It is clear that on many occasions headlines only reproduce or “copy” the texts from press agencies, in such manner that the very task of the headline becomes a framing activity, as it is chosen which to report out of a battery of news items. Well now, the analysis proposed does not focus on this aspect, which can be very well considered implicit to the extent that they end up orienting or directing the interpretation of the news items in an indirect manner. For that matter, if elements are added or omitted or nuances are profiled, the sense of this sort of items ends up varying.

For example, corruption may be catalogued as a felony or as a usual and common pattern which everyone (citizens and institutions) unwittingly follows. Indeed, to understand what the news or media framings transmitted to the readers are, it is fundamental to question which the rhetorical strategies—intentional or not—that appear in the main papers’ headlines are.

The categories were the same used in Sola, Morales and Rivera (2017): a) mitigation or attenuation of the illocutionary force: b) idealization or positive overvaluation: c) omission or absence of relevant information; and, d) polarization, contraposition between “we” and “others”. All of them strategies that CDA studies and that directly influence on the understanding of the discourse.

3) The presence/absence of political parties in the coverage by the studied paper was structured on the basis of the following categories, defined by the number of political parties with parliamentary presence in the Congress of Representatives in Spain for 2016: Partido Popular (PP), Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), Podemos, Ciudadanos, Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC), Democràcia i Llibertat (DL), Partido Nacionalista Vasco (EAJ-PNV), Partido Demócrata Europeo Catalán (PdeCat), Compromís, Euskal Herria Bildu (EH Bildu), Unión del Pueblo Navarro (UPN), Coalición Canaria (CC), Foro de Ciudadanos (FAC) and Nueva Canarias (NC).

In this case, the studio was aimed at giving an account as regards a reference to political parties in the headlines, either explicit, by means of names or acronyms, or implicit, referring to the related issue or a character of the party accused of corruption. This stage allowed carrying out a comparison

between the two heads, so as to find out whether there is political / ideological intentionality that heeds the media's editorial line; namely: if *El País*, "pro-PSOE", has taken cases of political corruption of PSOE, PP or other parties; and if *El Mundo*, "pro-PP", has focused on reports about cases of corruption in PP or opposition parties.

Results

Role and characterization of the characters

In the light of the character analysis, it was evinced that *El País* focuses its journalistic discourse regarding corruption on the "corrupt" (69%) not so much on the "corruptors" (1%), and it also focuses on specific people (70%) rather than on the abstract (30%). Besides, the abstract characters are more ambiguous as regards their role, since many of them do not have one in the headline (13%) (see figure 2).

In the case of *El Mundo*, the distribution is very similar. The corrupt (60%) were mentioned in most of the discourses, while the corruptors appeared as testimony (6%). Likewise, it focuses on specific people (80%) rather than on the abstract ones (20%) (see figure 3).

In this sense, both newspapers convey the idea that corruption embodies into specific people, directly pointing out the culprit or responsible with a name and surname, underscoring a position or placing the subject of the action within a political party. In order to analyze the people represented, the same stated variables were utilized. However, in order to explore the narrative elements expressed by the drafters of the headlines, four new values were introduced (hero, villain, victim and not mentioned). This categorization had as a goal to describe the news item from the assessing of the characters, which identify with institutions or subjects defining in corruption cases.

As regards, the characterization of people, the broken-down results of the roles are presented below (not mentioned, victim, hero, villain) and the specific people analyzed (Bárcenas, PP, Barberá, Correa, Bustos, Pujol, Granados, Chávez, Foreigner and other) and the abstract ones (system, firms, society, government, justice, police, parties). The data showed how the selected specific people take the role of "villains" most of the times (n=125, in *El País*; and, n= 66 in *El Mundo*) (see tables 1 and 2).

On the contrary, the abstract characters —more numerous in *El País* (n= 57) than in *El Mundo* (n=23)— are characterized as "heroes" (n=27, in *El País*; and, n= 8 in *El Mundo*) mostly (see tables 3 and 4).

Discursive strategies

As regards the media discourse and the intentions of *El País* and *El Mundo*, in figure 5 it is shown how the analyzed headlines created a very particular vision on the corruption cases, using diverse rhetoric strategies (see figure 5).

Significant differences were found between the headlines. In *El País*, they present a discursive stance strongly marked by polarization. Out of the total 158 headlines, this strategy was found in 92 cases; it was followed by idealization, with 30 cases; and finally, mitigation and omission (16 and 20 cases, respectively). Polarization positioned corruption in the media agenda as a struggle, opposition or confrontation between an “us” (the good citizen and the good governments) and a “them” (the corrupt, the bad ones).

The discourse was strongly marked by the duality between judges or police (with neither name nor surname) and the corrupt (culprits with a name and a surname). In *El Mundo*, idealization (70 cases) was the strategy of choice, followed by polarization (55 cases) and mitigation (44); omission only was noticed in 8 of the studied headlines (173).

Presence of political parties in headlines

The results from the analysis of the presence / absence —explicit or implicit— of political parties in the headlines showed that the journalistic discourse of *El País* focuses on specific people (and essentially on the “villains”, as evinced) and only marginally on political parties. Out of the 14 parties with presence in the Spanish representative house (see figure 6) for the reference year, 2016, only two of the main ones are explicitly referred in the pool of analysis. We have to stress, though, that the presence of one (PP) is divergent from the other (PSOE) (see figure 7).

The distribution of parties in the headlines is also diverse: while *El País* refers more often to PP, *El Mundo* refers more often to PSOE as subject to corruption, even though PP follows closely. In short, *El País* refers to 19 cases regarding PP and only two to the main opposition party, PSOE. The case of *El Mundo*, there were 24 references to PSOE and 21 to PP. Far from analyzing the presence of more news items on PP (for which the repetition of the items would have to be approached, not the topic, the timely data gathering date, etc.) or PSOE, it is interesting indeed to notice the proportionality of party representation. More so, in the light of the data, it may be stated that the cases of corruption of PSOE are infra-represented in *El País*.

As regards the use of the acronyms in the headlines, both news papers refer to PP, directly, in a larger number of times. In *El País*, the acronym PP appears 23.7% of the times; while those of PSOE appear 5.2% in the items related to corruption in which the party is involved. For its part, in *El Mundo*, the acronym of PSOE appears in 2.4 of the items, while PP in 57.1% of the headlines referred to corruption.

Conclusions

This research supports on the analysis of 331 headlines (158 in *El País* and 173 in *El Mundo*) has as a main conclusion the existence of a very homogenous discourse on corruption in both newspapers.

In the first place, from the analysis on the people it may be concluded that in the headlines of both newspapers the media discourse on political corruption focuses on specific people, who are mainly corrupt and villains. The headlines on corruption are focused on denouncing the corrupt (the different protagonists of the corruption cases) and obviate the corruptors (the political system or parties), which ultimately are the responsible of corruption acts. More so, the studied sample offers a narration in which the villains seem to be the only culprit. In this way, both *El País* and *El Mundo* by and large omit any sort of link between corruption and political parties or financial groups.

Only in four occasions —out of the 173 analyzed— did *El Mundo* publish a reference to a firm or sphere of power as protagonist and responsible for a corruption case. Moreover, the solution seemingly proposed by the newspapers, according to the dispute between the people, is that villains have to be arrested and tried. On the face of it, it seems as though the conflict is not systemic but from conjunctures. The story reduces to a recount of isolated individuals disconnected from the system, regulations or laws. Crime, therefore, is shown decontextualized only focusing on the culprits —villains— and in the good work of law-enforcement officials —mostly heroes—.

Secondly, in the light of the obtained results, it may be concluded that the most recurrent discursive strategies in the newspapers were polarization, in the case of *El País*, and idealization, in the case of *El Mundo*. Neither strategy develops or shows data nor analyzes the actual causes for corruption. While polarization is focused on confrontation and conflict between good and bad people, the idealization of the good work of agents of order and the Government, corruption is still unexplained to the readers. There are no

connections between relationships between the people and the context or system and very poor and simplified information is produced. The reader may question certain political actors they will see as “culprits”, however they hardly go beyond that or reflect on the relationships of those with the structures underlying the law, government and firms.

In the third place, the analysis of the presence/absence —implicit or explicit— of political parties in political corruption headlines has showed significant differences between the newspapers. Moreover, it may be concluded that *El Mundo* relates much more clearly and directly corruption and political parties than *El País*. In the case of *El Mundo*, there is about the same number of headlines dealing with corruption cases of PP as PSOE; however, *El País* does not seem to report on many of the cases related to PSOE. This might mean a bias related to its editorial line.

As regards the analysis on the parties’ acronyms in the headlines in dealing with news on corruption, it was verified there are no significant differences between both newspapers’ headlines. In both cases it may be said there is no reiterated use of news partisanship; this is to say, there is no generalized use of political parties in the headlines, either because responsibilities/authorships are subsumed into the names given to their causes and macrocauses (it is not necessary to underscore PP in an item on “Gürtel case”) or because they focus more on specific people and villains than on the structure and abstract people, continuing in this manner a discreet policy of personification and individualization of corruption before systemic analyses.

It is worth pointing out certain editorializing in the use of party referents, as no proportionality is noticed in the mentions to PP and PSOE in the headlines, being distinguishable a greater presence of the headlines with explicit references to PP in both newspapers. Since *El Mundo* opts more often to connect corruption and parties, and by using acronyms more commonly in relation to the cases, it may perhaps mean an intention to denounce.

The analyzed headlines have only focused on certain aspects of corruption: people, their roles, the strategies and the presence / absence of political parties in the content of the news items —which the headlines refer to— and the headlines. This phenomenon evinces there is still major challenges to develop a more specialized journalism in this regard. In the same manner, it is worth underscoring the biased information the citizens receive.

Obviating the relationship between a specific corrupt individual and a more abstract one prevents identifying or properly dimensioning this

scourge; this is the same as overrepresenting certain political parties further from the editorial line, as corruption mirages are created, which in spite of being based on reality, lead to a progressive distortion of it from the principle of intentional repetition.

The particular treatment that comes from the analysis of headlines therefore focuses on individual subjects' bad practices overlooking the endemic nature of this problem. The risk of having a press like the current one leads to the repetition of the same mistakes which thus far have taken for granted that the role of the media is to propose visions or values.

To sum up, it seems as if *El País* and *El Mundo* have taken a simplifying and biased road as regards the contexts in which there is political corruption, with no depth in their analyses. This way, it is important to assert the need to promote a more critical approach to corruption. In the current Spanish scenario, in which every month there is a new corruption case or political scandal, it is unavoidable to propose information coverage with quality interpretative keys that allow the citizens to develop critical thinking.

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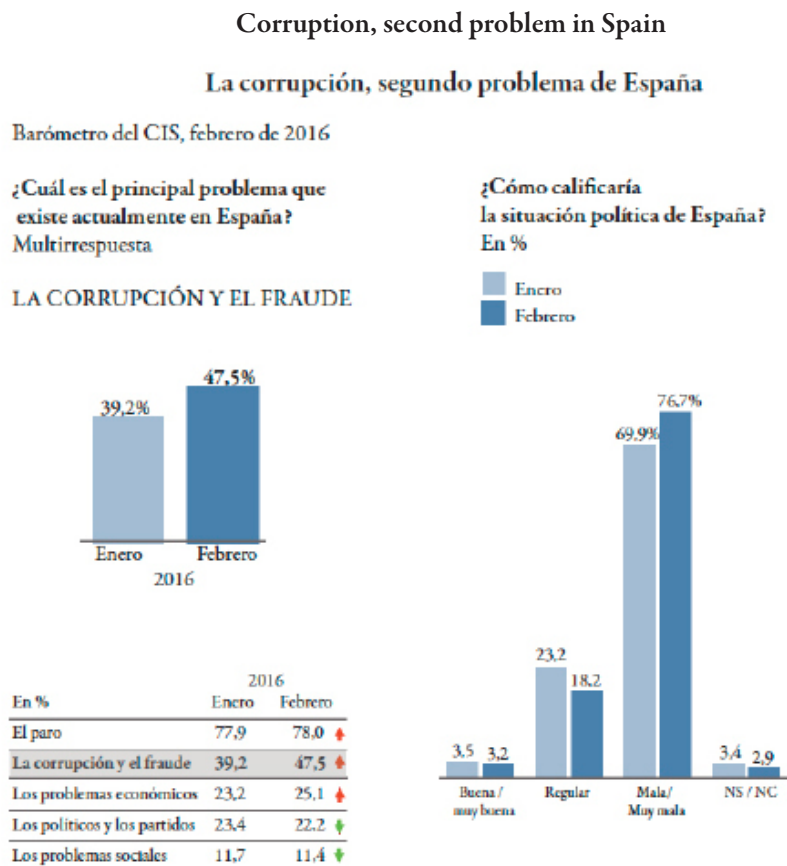
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Annex

Figure 1

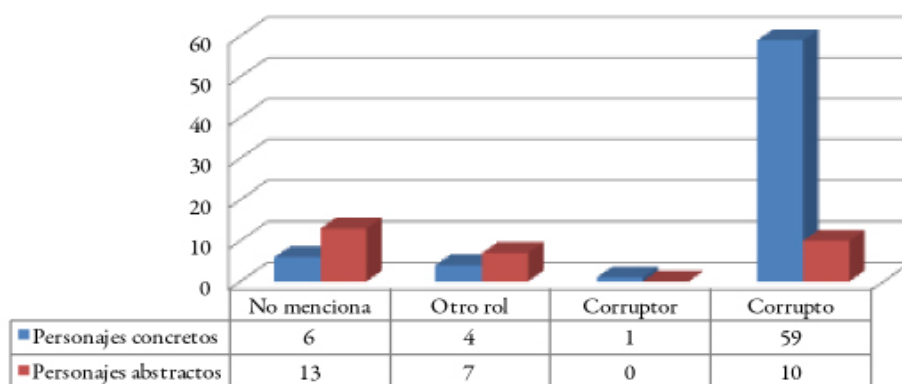


FICHA TÉCNICA. 2478 entrevistas a españoles de ambos sexos de 18 y más años en 256 municipios y 46 provincias. Cuestionarios mediante entrevista personal en los domicilios. Error muestral: para un nivel de confianza del 95.5% (dos sigmas), y $P=Q$, el error real es de $\pm 2,0\%$ para el conjunto de la muestra. Fecha de realización: del 1 al 11 de febrero de 2016.

Source: Graph published in *El País*, in CIS (2016).

Figure 2

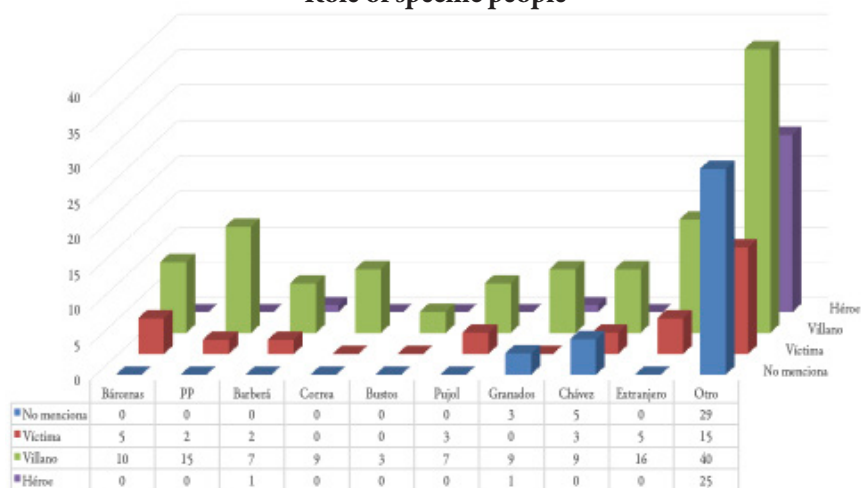
Sort of characters



Source: own elaboration.

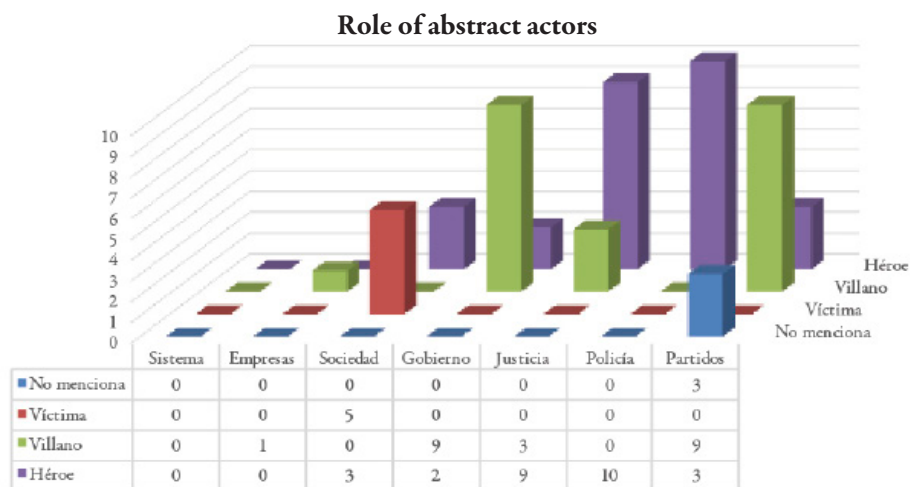
Figure 3

Role of specific people



Source: own elaboration.

Figure 4



Source: own elaboration.

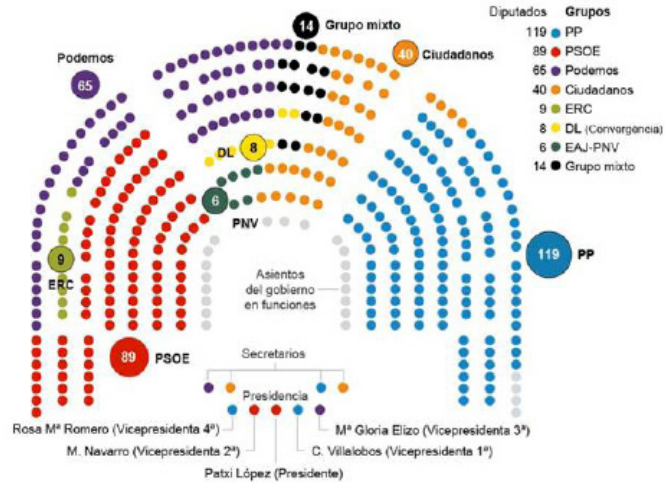
Figure 5



Source: own elaboration.

Figure 6

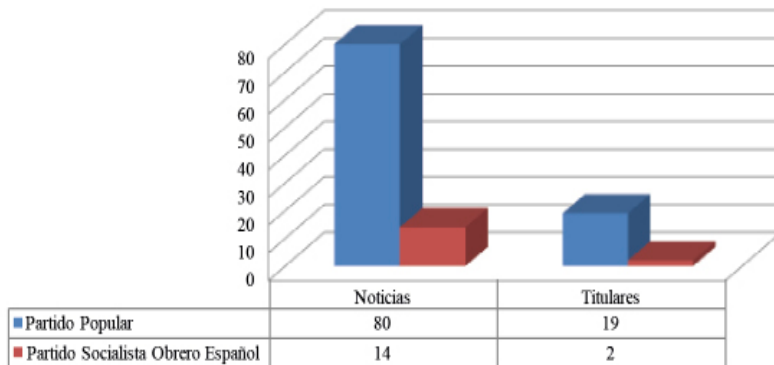
Spanish government 2016



Source: *El País* (2016).

Figure 7

Presence of political parties in the headlines



Source: own elaboration.

Table 1

Role of specific people in *El País*

	Bárceñas	pp	Barberá	Correa	Bustos	Pujol	Granados	Chávez	Foreigner	Other	TOTAL
Not mentioned	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	0	29	37
Victim	5	2	2	0	0	3	0	3	5	15	35
Villain	10	15	7	9	3	7	9	9	16	40	125
Hero	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	25	25
											222

Source: own elaboration.

Table 2

Role of specific people in *El Mundo*

	Bárceñas	pp	Barberá	Correa	Bustos	Pujol	Granados	Chávez	Foreigner	Other	TOTAL
Not mentioned	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	5	7	15
Victim	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	15	21
Villain	1	1	0	0	1	3	9	1	3	48	66
Hero	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	44	50
											152

Source: own elaboration.

Table 3

Role of abstract actors in *El País*

	System	Firms	Society	Government	Justice	Police	Parties	Total
Not mentioned	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Victim	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	5
Villain	0	1	0	9	3	0	9	22
Hero	0	0	3	2	9	10	3	27
								57

Source: own elaboration.

Table 4

Role of abstract actors in *El Mundo*

	System	Firms	Society	Government	Justice	Police	Parties	Total
Not mentioned	2	0	2	2	1	0	0	7
Victim	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Villain	1	3	0	2	0	0	0	6
Hero	1	1	2	2	2	0	0	8
								23

Source: own elaboration.

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