

---

**Gloria Rosique Cedillo**

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6979-7554>  
grosique@hum.uc3m.es  
Universidad Carlos III de Madrid

---

**Paz Andrea Crisóstomo Flores**

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9761-2112>  
paz.crisostomo@umayor.cl  
Universidad Mayor

---

**Submitted**

November 4th, 2020

**Approved**

July 19th, 2021

---

© 2022

Communication & Society

ISSN 0214-0039

E ISSN 2386-7876

doi: 10.15581/003.35.1.17-28

[www.communication-society.com](http://www.communication-society.com)

---

2022 – Vol. 35(1)

pp. 17-28

---

**How to cite this article:**

Rosique Cedillo, G. & Crisóstomo Flores, P. A. (2022). Analysis of COVID-19 news coverage by Televisión Española (TVE1). *Communication & Society*, 35(1), 17-28.

## Analysis of COVID-19 news coverage by Televisión Española (TVE1)

**Abstract**

This article analyzes the news coverage of the COVID-19 health crisis by Televisión Española (TVE1), to determine if this media reported the news with rigor and in accordance with journalism professional codes and best practice guidelines. For this purpose, content analysis was conducted on the universe of news stories (n=1,449) in the TVE1 daily newscast, starting with the first outbreak of the pandemic on the Iberian Peninsula on February 26, 2020, until the end of the first state of emergency on June 21, 2020. Our categories of analysis were: information sources, news frames, predominant topics, resources used for dramatic effects, and breaches of journalism ethics in reporting news. In general, TVE1 did not engage in sensationalized or dramatized news coverage, but instead attempted to transmit a message that was educational and instructional. Its policy was to provide information on measures adopted by authorities to help prevent the spread of the pandemic. Nevertheless, TVE's benevolent attitude towards the government and its policies can be observed in its news reporting, revealing a lack of impartiality and editorial independence by this media. Despite the importance of specialized and expert information in times of a pandemic, eyewitness sources were those most used in reporting news, even in economic news framing. Furthermore, these latter sources were employed

instead of expert ones, which were in fact the least used, and whose presence progressively declined during the analyzed period.

**Keywords**

**News coverage, COVID-19, public television, health crisis, public service, journalism code of ethics.**

### 1. Introduction. Chronology of a health crisis

On January 24, the TVE1 daily newscast confirmed that a new coronavirus, which at that time had already led to the death of two people from pneumonia in the city of Wuhan, China, had arrived in Europe. Eight days later, its daily news reported the first case of COVID-19 in Spain on La Gomera, one of the Canary Islands. As of that moment, TVE never ceased giving national and international coverage to this news story. On February 25, the first COVID-19 cases were detected in the Autonomous Communities of Madrid, Catalonia and Valencia, and with that, a health crisis began in Spain.

For Churchill (2000), a health crisis is an “unplanned event that triggers a real, perceived, or possible threat to the wellbeing of the public (or some segment), the environment or the affected health agency” (p. 125).

When health or survival itself is threatened by a pandemic like that of COVID-19, the role of news media is fundamental, since it can, to a greater or lesser degree, help shape a reality that might bear little resemblance to what has actually occurred. In times of crisis, the public demands and requires more information, and that information needs to be of quality (Seeger, Sellnow & Ulmer, 2003). The global scale of the health crisis has heightened the need for trustworthy and rigorous journalism that is able to inform and educate the public.

Dealing with subjects that are particularly sensitive and that have a major social impact makes it essential to have well-prepared and experienced professionals. Such professionals must be able to combine journalism ethics and professional guidelines to provide accountable and transparent news coverage, aligned with the fundamental rights of the affected, while distancing themselves from any type of interests that might enter into the realm of sensationalism.

As highlighted by Almenara (2016), journalists must bear in mind that they are entrusted with a complex task involving enormous responsibility and are faced with an experience that will not only test them professionally but also personally.

## **2. Television and public service**

In line with previous research that has signaled out television as the news media of reference in other health crises (Mondragón, 2016; Park, Boatwright & Johnson, 2019), the COVID-19 crisis has substantially increased news consumption and has brought about the return of traditional media (Carlson, 2017; Casero-Ripollés, 2020; EBU, 2020; Masip *et al.*, 2020; Newman *et al.*, 2020).

European trends reveal a reassessment of television’s public service, which translates into citizens’ trust in them during times of crises. This is particularly true in the most critical moments of the COVID-19 pandemic, when it became the prime source for the public’s information (EBU, 2020).

In the Spanish case, the coronavirus crisis has led to the greatest increase in television news consumption in its history. March 2020 recorded the most minutes viewed per person a day (284) since television audiences began to be measured (1992) (Barlovento, 2020). At the same time, the newscasts of Spain’s three communication groups –Corporación RTVE, Atresmedia and Mediaset España– registered important changes that meant an increase of 2.6 million viewers with respect to the month of February (Barlovento, 2020).

Nevertheless, television consumption does not always go hand in hand with public trust in the communication media. According to the latest report from the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), while 66% of European countries expressed trust in their public televisions, Spain is one of the exceptions to this trend (EBU, 2020). As pointed out by Bustamante (2017), the erosion of the public image, the misuse and errors in programming contents, and the decline in investment, are some of the causes for the drastic drop in the Spanish public television audience.

At the same time, the current oligopolistic television setting in Spain must be noted, where two private television operators and Spain’s public media company, Corporación Radio Televisión Española (RTVE) co-exist. This means that it is necessary for RTVE to exercise its role as state television, offering a service that ensures content plurality and quality by differentiating its programming offer. As such, it should be a point of reference that positions itself in favor of citizen rights, diversity of programming and informative pluralism, while serving to counterbalance the current corporate concentration and the lack of innovation and creativity in contents offered.

After Spain's General Law of Audiovisual Communication (Ley 7/2010, of March 31) repealed the Radio and Television Statute (Estatuto de la Radio y Televisión), which had established that radio and television broadcasting were essential public services pertaining to the state, private operators were no longer considered a "public service" offering "service of general interest." This, in effect, has exempted them from responsibility in detriment to information quality.

To the foregoing, we must add the lack of effective regulation and the absence of an independent audiovisual regulatory agency to bolster compliance with norms governing television operators.

In sum, in a sector where laxness has benefitted private operators, it is apparent that it is necessary to have a television that provides a public service to society and covers the spectrum of services that commercial television does not (Rosique, 2013).

Undoubtedly, the factors currently at play in the audiovisual setting bring to light the need for TVE to be consolidated as a model public television that advocates society's democratic values and is committed to rigorous reporting of the most important events and those of general interest.

In short, and as underlined by Caffarel (2007), if in fact all of the television models are reputable, the public model must clearly differentiate itself from those that are based on purely market principles.

### **2.1. News coverage of a pandemic**

Information for the public on health, in general, and on matters related to health risks can be problematic to cover for the different news media. According to Martínez (1994), this is due to two reasons:

Because of journalists' lack of expert knowledge and their dependency in issues that usually involve a high degree of technical complexity, and because the media's mindset, the way of doing journalism, is not always the most appropriate for producing media news content with the rigor required by these issues (p. 94).

In the face of a health crisis, the communication media have a responsibility to report news that complies with journalism standards. At the same time, the media must avoid causing alarm that a situation of this nature could generate among the public. As Costa & López (2020) observe, the media should avoid sensationalist coverage, so that, faithful to its vocation as a public service, it seeks to explain to citizens what is happening in a contextualized way and to "provide in-depth information from a critical perspective [...]" (p. 11) (Own translation).

The prevailing trends in television journalism lead us to reflect upon how information is dealt with by audiovisual professionals and companies who report the news, in which the intrinsic values of journalism should be a priority, but, instead, news is generally approached from its most sensationalist side. As stated by Aznar (2004), such matters focus attention on a journalism ethic that requires increasingly specialized forms of journalism, as well as more specific professional guidelines for dealing with sensitive matters.

When approaching news of social interest, such as a health crisis, journalistic work takes on a social role in delivering information that can be difficult to accurately and truthfully report. Studies on news coverage of other illnesses such as mad cow disease (Washer, 2006), SARS (Lewison, 2008), and Ebola (Ungar, 1998), concur in their reports of sensationalist coverage by the news media.

In addition to the good practices entailed in the journalism codes of ethics –based on the initiative of diverse collectives and entities concerned about television news reporting on sensitive issues– contributions from diverse authors have identified journalism codes of ethics as work tools for journalists. In this respect, the following summarizes the basic

features appearing in all of the professional codes of ethics compiled in our study, among which the following principles of journalism are noteworthy:

- Invoking the ideal of media social responsibility.
- Examining the ideal of journalistic neutrality: neutrality is referring to “commitment” and these guides opt for this alternative.
- Reinforcing the ideal of the journalist’s ethical commitment to truth, rigor, objectivity, plurality, checking and comparing sources, etc. (Aznar, 2004).

At the same time, other professional style guides, such as that of RTVE (2010), the Catalonia Audiovisual Council (CAC, 2001) and the Andalusia Audiovisual Council (CAA, 2010) have drawn up practical recommendations that adhere to a set of guidelines for media professionals as well as for media companies. Their objective is to guide journalistic work so that it reconciles the public’s right to information with respect for different sensibilities evoked by certain news events and for the groups involved or affected by the events, specifically:

- Taking special care with language used.
- Respecting victims’ suffering and that of their families.
- Maintaining a professional emotional distance.
- Avoiding sensationalism and dramatization.

Undoubtedly, the difficulties in regulating news media within the setting of health crises necessitate codes of ethics and application of the current regulations by audiovisual companies and their professionals, since, in cases like that of COVID-19, they demand increased stringency in journalism ethics as well as greater social commitment from news commentators.

### **3. General and specific objectives**

The general objective of our study is to analyze the news coverage by Televisión Española (TVE1) and verify if it reported news with rigor, in line with the journalism codes of ethics and in accordance with professional style guidelines. Based on that, our specific objectives are:

- O1. To determine if the TVE1 daily newscast engaged in rigorous news coverage, in line with the main codes of ethics in force and in accordance with professional style guidelines.
- O2. To make a registry of the number, type, and behavior of news sources during the period analyzed.
- O3. To describe the predominant news topics and framing.
- O4. To analyze any correlations between news topics, news framing, news sources and breaches of professional ethics.

#### **3.1. Research questions**

- RQ1. Did the TVE1 news program engage in rigorous coverage, in line with the principal codes of ethics in force and in accordance with professional style guidelines?
- RQ2. What were the predominant information sources in the news and how did they behave in the period analyzed?
- RQ3. What news topics and framing predominated?
- RQ4. Are there any correlations between the predominant topics, news framing, news sources, and breaches of professional ethics analyzed?

#### **3.2. Methodology**

In order to respond to our research questions, a content analysis was designed that took into account the universe of news stories in the TVE1 nightly newscast (9:00 p.m.), broadcast Monday through Sunday. The newscasts were viewed in their entirety, with the news story as the unit of analysis. For this purpose, newscast availability in the corporation digital registry

was first confirmed. At the same time, it was ascertained that, in the face of the grave health crisis, RTVE had modified its programming and established an occupational risk prevention plan for its staff, leading the media to forego another newscast, *La 2 Noticias*. Our analysis covered the period between February 26, 2020, and June 21, 2020, that is, starting from the first COVID-19 outbreak detected in the Iberian Peninsula up to the end of the first state of emergency.

Our study analyzed 1,449 news stories (n=1,449) from the TVE1 nightly newscasts, as this edition offers in-depth analysis of the most important news of the day (Marín, 2017), and which usually are included in the news outline from their morning and afternoon editions.

To ensure rater reliability, the news stories were submitted to a double scoring process, so that the first author independently rated a random selection of 20% of the observations (n=290). Cohen's kappa coefficient of interrater reliability (Cohen, 1960), which establishes the proportion of raters in agreement, was determined using the guidelines described by Landis and Koch (1977). The kappa coefficient strength is the following: 0.01-0.20 slight; 0.21-0.40 fair; 0.41-0.60 moderate; 0.61-0.80 substantial; 0.81-1.00 almost perfect. The data obtained in the analysis by the raters revealed a minimum value of 0.75 and a maximum of 0.83, that is, an average of 0.79. Thus, interrater reliability was substantial. Interrater discrepancies were resolved through discussion.

For the content analysis a matrix was designed which used the following ethical norms and guidelines as a reference. They include the professional code of best practices for the Catalan Audiovisual Council (2001), the professional code of best practices for the Andalusian Audiovisual Council (2010, 2019), the RTVE style manual (2010), the professional code of ethics for the Federation of Spanish Press Associations (FAPE, 2017), and the European Ethics of Journalism (European Commission, 1993). The categories for analysis were:

- Specifying the sources, including number, type and behavior in the analyzed period.
- Specifying which news framing predominated.
- Specifying which news topics predominated.
- Resources present that were used mainly for dramatic effect: post-production sound or visual effects, use of dramatic music, close-up or extreme close-up shots of individuals in situations of suffering, use of telephoto or zoom lens.
- Breaches of the RTVE professional style manual: reporting information based on speculation and conjecture, rumors, or unchecked facts about possible causes of an event that are neither valuable nor necessary for news production.

As for news sources, the following Journalism Added Value (VAP, acronym in Spanish) classification was used (Pellegrini *et al.*, 2011, pp. 43-44):

a) Official sources: institutional spokespersons who present the official version of an event. They are classified into three types:

- Governmental: individuals from a country's executive power.
- Public officials: individuals who provide information by virtue of their public position and who are not members of the executive power.
- Private officials: individuals who provide information by virtue of their position in the private sector or civil society.

b) Editorial line sources: individuals sought out by the media to complement/contextualize information. They are classified into three types:

- Experts: individuals who give their opinion by virtue of their knowledge on a given subject.
- Eyewitnesses: individuals consulted by virtue of their direct link to the news event, who give their personal opinions.
- Anonymous: individuals whose names are not revealed.

As for news framing, the categorization proposal by Idoyaga (2012) was followed. This categorization was chosen because the author's research study *Efectos del framing y*

*representaciones sociales de epidemias sanitarias: El caso de la gripe A* (2012, p. 33) establishes an exhaustive analysis of journalistic coverage by the news media together with the news framing in the area of health. At the same time, Idoyaga’s approach is based on observing and analyzing the news from the viewer’s perspective, as well as the impact of the news stories:

- Human Interest: Provides a personal side or emotional aspect to the reporting of an incident, event, or problem.
- Responsibility: The way of attributing responsibility to a government, individual, or group for causing a problem or issue or for finding a solution to a problem.
- Morality: Placing the problem or issue within a moral context or that of social or religious prescriptions.
- Economic consequences: Stating the financial consequences that a problem or an issue could have for an individual, group, institution, region, or country.

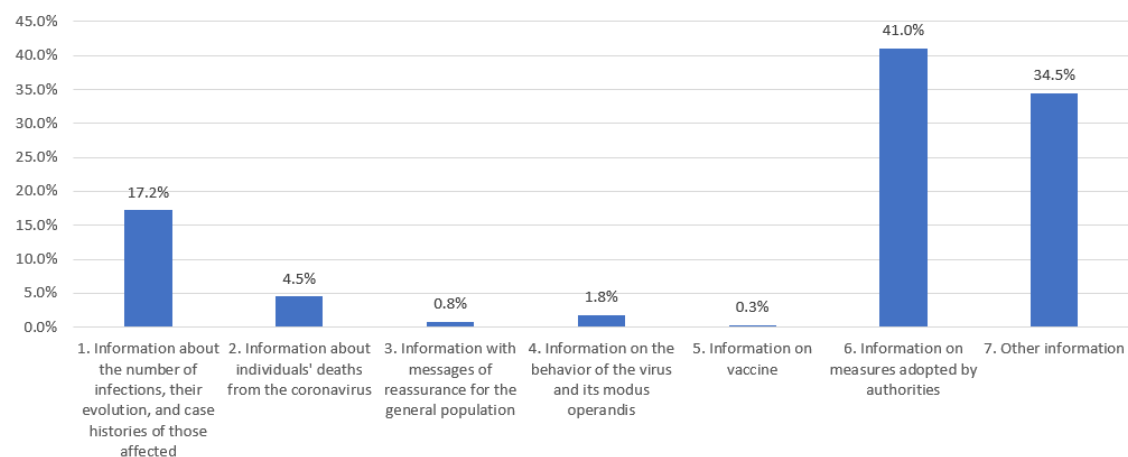
The topics analyzed likewise conform to the guidelines proposed by Idoyaga (2012):

- Information about the number of infections, their evolution, and case histories of those affected.
- Information about individuals’ deaths from the coronavirus.
- Information with messages of reassurance for the general population.
- Information about the behavior of the virus and its modus operandi.
- Information about measures adopted by authorities.
- Other information.

#### 4. Analysis of results

The predominant news topic focused on information about measures adopted by the authorities about the pandemic’s effects –ranging from restrictions on movement to regulations on reopening commercial activity (41%)–, framing it within responsibility –personal as well as at the governmental level. In second place, “other information” stands out (34.5%), such as effects on mental health or economic problems that the country could experience (Madrid’s empty streets, the odyssey of trying to get home during the pandemic, music in the pandemic, along with how other parts of the world were experiencing the COVID-19 outbreak). Information about the number of infections, their evolution and case histories (17.2%) was in third place.

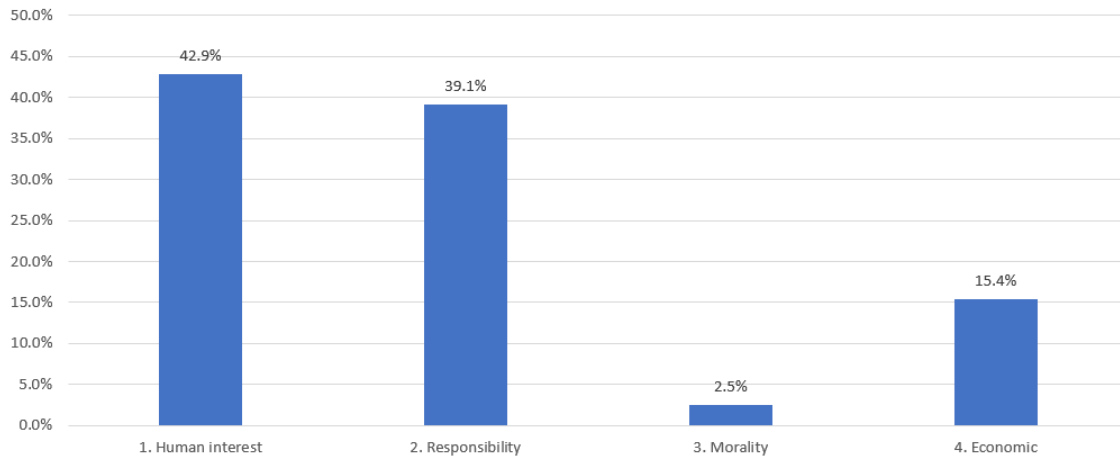
**Graph 1.** Main topic.



Source: Own elaboration.

Regarding news framing, human-interest stories were noteworthy (42.9%). These news stories feature the personal side or emotional aspect of the incident, event or problem presented; in second place are news stories in which responsibility for having caused a situation or for solving a problem is attributed to an individual or group (39.1%); followed by economic news (15.4%) in third place.

**Graph 2.** News framing.



Source: Own elaboration.

There were 1,160 (n=1,160) information sources registered in the newscasts that, following the VAP categorization (Pellegrini *et al.*, 2011), were divided into two large categories. The first one is official sources that correspond to an institutional spokesperson regarding an event. These are then subdivided into three sources: governmental, public officials and private officials.

The second categorization corresponds to editorial line sources, that is, those sought out by the media to complement/contextualize a news report. These are then subdivided into: experts, eyewitness accounts, and anonymous.

As can be observed in Table 1, eyewitness sources are prioritized in the news. This is where an individual gives a personal opinion or does so as a witness to an event. Public official sources come second, followed by governmental sources, experts, and lastly, by private officials.

**Table 1.** Information sources.

Type of source	Percentage
Governmental sources	17.16%
Official sources- public	22.67%
Official sources-private	11.29%
Expert sources	12.59%
Eyewitness sources	36%
Anonymous sources	0.26%

Source: Own elaboration.

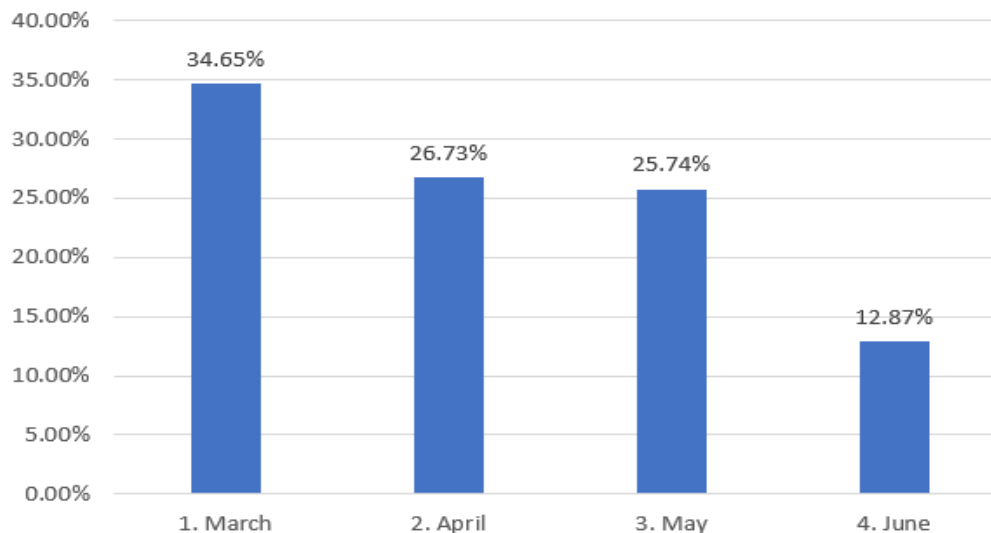
In short, the news media prioritized “the citizen’s voice” of the pandemic, with opinions ranging from people on the street to family members of those affected. This confirms that the focus was the human interest of the news story, probably to make the audience identify with it more closely or experience a sense of intimacy with the situation. It could also be due to

TVE1 feeling compelled to report on a story that other news media were also covering, despite the fact that they were presenting “information” with little or no news value.

In a similar vein, a research study on information sources carried out through surveys sent to newspaper managing editors, found that there is no journalism specialization that covers crises, disasters and emergencies, and that the use of non-official sources (victims and those affected) is prioritized over official government sources (Mayo, 2020).

Graph 3 below shows the notable decline in the use of expert sources in the news throughout the period analyzed.

**Graph 3.** Expert sources.



Source: Own elaboration.

Expert sources would have provided more credibility for viewers, being based on opinions from researchers and health experts<sup>1</sup>, while steering away from the opinions and anecdotes gathered in eyewitness accounts. In this sense, as stated by Mayo (2020) “[...] A news story can only be constructed from a balance between rigor and human interest, between the unbiased use of official and unofficial sources” (p. 9) (Own translation).

As for reporting information based on speculation and conjecture, rumors, or unchecked facts about the possible causes of the event and the presence of resources that had a chiefly dramatic effect of all the news items analyzed (n=1,449), only 15 contained some breach. The most numerous breaches or violations involved the use of close-up, extreme close-up, and zoom-in shots of those affected (n=15). These results correspond with those obtained for the correlation between these codes of ethics breaches and the news topics, since the use of such shots were concentrated in a greater proportion (50%) in news reports on number of infections, their evolution and case histories, and in second place (16.7%), in information related to deaths of individuals from the coronavirus. At the same time, and in relation to news framing, this breach stood out in the human-interest news stories at 83%.

Finally, the results obtained on correlation between news topics, information sources, and news frames have enabled us to confirm some concurrences, one of which is that the predominant sources in the topic “information on measures adopted by authorities” were mainly governmental (62.8%), followed by public official sources (54%), the same as in “responsibility” news framing (57.3% and 47.5% respectively).

<sup>1</sup> Recent studies confirm that in diverse countries there has been renewed appreciation and trust in specialized expert knowledge (Reuters, 2020).



In “economic” news framing, government sources as well as public officials were used equally in the news stories (13%), but with the eyewitness sources ahead by a slightly higher percentage (14%). This is noteworthy when we consider that economic information traditionally has been encompassed within “hard” news (Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006), that is, news on public issues that the citizens need in order to be able to function within their social reality. In the specific case of the health crisis, economic information has played a relevant role, encompassing topics such as support for small and medium businesses, employment, economic forecasts and consequences, diverse national and European initiatives, etc., and whose sources, as such, should have mainly been governmental.

As for eyewitness accounts, they predominate in “human interest” news framing (55%) and are in second place in “responsibility” (28%), since they are mainly used for obtaining the public’s opinion on the measures authorities adopted during the health crisis. At the same time, the eyewitness account sources were used in approximately half of the news for “other information.”

## 5. Discussion and conclusions

Our research study, in broad terms, has concluded that TVE1 did not engage in sensationalist or dramatized news coverage, but rather attempted to transmit a message that was instructional and educational. On one hand, and in line with other studies, (Rebolledo, 2021), the focus of the TVE1 newscast was to provide information to the public regarding measures adopted by the authorities to help prevent the pandemic from spreading. In this vein, and in keeping with other studies (Villena & Caballero, 2020), TVE1 news coverage was confined to conveying information that the government wished to transmit to its citizens. Nevertheless, it displayed a good deal of benevolence toward the government and its policies, and showed a certain lack of media impartiality and editorial independence.

As for news framing, the human interest of the news is worthy of note, in which personal stories were at the epicenter, and that appealed to emotions and raised viewer awareness. From this, we can thus deduce one of the most salient aspects of the study related to the news information sources. While the public does indeed place great trust in information coming from healthcare workers, doctors, and scientists, who are seen as the most trustworthy and highly valued by Spaniards (Newman *et al.*, 2020), our results reveal that eyewitness accounts were the sources most used in news reports, more than information from experts. This is despite the fact that the latter are essential for conveying health information in a responsible and trustworthy manner and for preventing transmission of erroneous or superficial information (Muñoz, 2012). Nevertheless, expert sources are instead in the last positions, and their use in fact declined during the analyzed period. These results are in agreement with another study that determined that healthcare professionals were not the main source of information used by journalists, in spite of the fact that the former were effectively in charge of managing the pandemic (Rebolledo, 2021). Along the same lines, further research pointed to how news coverage by TVE improved when it incorporated more interviews with experts in the field (Villena & Caballero, 2020).

With respect to “economic” framing, eyewitness account sources had slightly greater weight than did governmental sources and public sources, despite the fact that this subject, in itself, corresponded to information of special importance, being of relevance since the start of the pandemic and which should have mainly corresponded to government sources and public officials. From the foregoing, we can infer that dealing with the health crisis required fewer citizen opinions and more information from specialized sources. This is of essence and a first priority during a health crisis, especially when a publicly owned media is concerned. Furthermore, the TVE1 style guide, in its section on news production deficiencies and shortcomings, refers to the importance of avoiding eyewitness accounts with no news value

that are neither interesting nor appropriate for news, as well as their systematic use in news production.

As such, and with respect to the use of sources in TVE1 news coverage, the media's lack of impartiality can be discerned, which confirms the generalized trend in Spanish television newscasts for political and institutional figures to predominate (Díaz *et al.*, 2021; Díaz & Aparicio, 2015), and that in our study were in second place, behind eyewitness account sources.

Despite the prevalence of human-interest stories in the news and in relation to the code of ethics breaches in reporting that were analyzed, we must underline that in general the news professionals did follow ethical guidelines for avoiding sensationalist practices in news coverage. A small number of breaches were found, concentrated in news stories on the number of infections, their evolution, and case histories of the affected, and in information related to the deaths of individuals from coronavirus. This underscores the idea of the facility with which the media professionals use resources for a chiefly dramatic effect in the production of human-interest news, an issue involving the existing lack of specialization in the most important areas of health.

Along these lines, and within the limits of the present study, we should highlight the need to establish practical quantifiable parameters that would enable us to analyze more thoroughly other breaches of a qualitative nature in the news reports along with other aspects. Such aspects would include superfluous information and eyewitness accounts, lack of emotional distance by news professionals, reiterative images and sounds, and the quality of live connections.

Finally, it is necessary to promote a regulatory framework that would guarantee the political, administrative, and editorial independence of this corporation, along with professional specialization in health-related affairs, to contribute to TVE offering quality information in accordance with its public service, an issue of vital importance in the face of a health crisis.

## References

- Almenara, A. (2016). Aspectos éticos y deontológicos de la cobertura periodística de las catástrofes tecnológicas: el caso del accidente ferroviario de Santiago de Compostela (2013). *Fonseca, Journal of Communication*, 13, 187-205.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.14201/fjc201613187205>
- Aznar, H. (2004). Nuevos códigos de ética y nuevas formas de entender el periodismo. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 7(58), 669-686. Retrieved from <http://www.revistalatinacs.org/20042158aznar.htm>
- Barlovento (2020). *Cambio de hábitos y preferencias de la ciudadanía española frente al televisor por la crisis del coronavirus*. Madrid: Barlovento Comunicación.
- Bustamante, E. (2017). Televisión en España: una década perdida. In B. Díaz Nosty (Coord.), *Diez años que cambiaron los medios 2007-2017* (pp. 159-166). Madrid: Ariel.
- Caffarel, C. (2007). *Hacia la Radio Televisión Española*. Madrid: Laberinto.
- Carlson, M. (2017). *Journalistic authority: Legitimizing news in the digital era*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Casero-Ripollés, A. (2020). Impact for Covid-19 on the media system. Communicative and democratic consequences of news consumption during the outbreak. *El Profesional de la Información*, 29(2), 1-11. <https://www.doi.org/10.3145/epi.2020.mar.23>
- Churchill, E. (2000). Relaciones efectivas con los medios. In E. K. Noji (Ed.), *Impacto de los desastres en la Salud Pública* (pp. 122-131). Bogotá: Organización Panamericana de la Salud. Retrieved from <http://helid.digicollection.org/en/d/Jwho71s/5.7.html>
- Cohen, J. (1960). A coefficient of agreement for nominal scales. *Educational and psychological measurement*, 20(1), 37-46. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177%2F001316446002000104>

- Comisión Europea (1993). *Código Deontológico Europeo de la Profesión Periodística*. Strasbourg: Consejo de Europa. Retrieved from [http://www.asociacionprensa.org/es/images/Codigo\\_Deontologico\\_Europeo\\_de\\_la\\_Profesion\\_Periodistica.pdf](http://www.asociacionprensa.org/es/images/Codigo_Deontologico_Europeo_de_la_Profesion_Periodistica.pdf)
- Consejo Audiovisual de Andalucía (CAA) (2019). *Decisión 03/2019 del Consejo Audiovisual de Andalucía sobre el tratamiento informativo dado al accidente y rescate del menor que cayó a un pozo en Totalán (Málaga)*. Sevilla: Consejo Audiovisual de Andalucía. Retrieved from <https://www.consejoaudiovisualdeandalucia.es/actividad/actuaciones/decisiones/decision-32019-sobre-el-tratamiento-informativo-dado-al-accidente-y>
- Consejo Audiovisual de Andalucía (CAA) (2010). *Recomendaciones del Consejo Audiovisual de Andalucía sobre la aparición de menores en emisiones de televisión y radio relativas a sucesos luctuosos, dramáticos o relacionados con conductas ilegales*. Sevilla: Consejo Audiovisual de Andalucía. Retrieved from [https://www.consejoaudiovisualdeandalucia.es/sites/default/files/recomendaciones/Recomendaciones\\_2009\\_02\\_Hechos%20luctuosos.pdf](https://www.consejoaudiovisualdeandalucia.es/sites/default/files/recomendaciones/Recomendaciones_2009_02_Hechos%20luctuosos.pdf)
- Consejo Audiovisual de Cataluña (CAC) (2001). *Recomendaciones del Consejo Audiovisual de Cataluña sobre el tratamiento informativo de las tragedias personales*. Barcelona: Consejo Audiovisual de Cataluña. Retrieved from [https://www.cac.cat/sites/default/files/migrate/actuacions/CAC\\_Recomendaciones\\_tragedias\\_personales.pdf](https://www.cac.cat/sites/default/files/migrate/actuacions/CAC_Recomendaciones_tragedias_personales.pdf)
- Costa, C. & López, X. (2020). Comunicación y crisis del coronavirus en España. Primeras lecciones. *El Profesional de la Información*, 29(3), 1-14. <https://www.doi.org/10.3145/epi.2020.may.04>
- Díaz, R., González, J. & Aparicio, D. (2015). Parámetros de calidad en la información de televisión. La metodología del observatorio de la calidad de la información en televisión. *Ámbitos*, 30. Retrieved from <https://institucionales.us.es/ambitos/parametros-de-calidad-en-la-informacion-de-television-la-metodologia-del-observatorio-de-la-calidad-de-la-informacion-en-television/>
- Díaz, R., Sotelo, J., Rodríguez, C., Aparicio, D. & López, C. (2021). Informativos estatales de televisión en España en tiempos de Covid-19. Cambios formales, de tratamiento y de contenido. *Estudos em Comunicação*, 32, 95-135. <https://www.doi.org/10.25768/21.04.03.32.05>
- European Broadcasting Union (EBU) (2020). *Market insights. Trust in Media 2020*. Geneva: EBU. Retrieved from [https://www.ebu.ch/publications/research/login\\_only/report/trust-in-media](https://www.ebu.ch/publications/research/login_only/report/trust-in-media)
- FAPE (2017). *Código deontológico de la profesión periodística*. Madrid: Federación de Asociaciones de Periodistas de España. Retrieved from <http://fape.es/home/codigo-deontologico/>
- Idoyaga, N., Valencia, J. F., Gil de Montes, L. & Ortiz, G. (2012). Efectos del *framing* y representaciones sociales de epidemias sanitarias: El caso de la gripe A. *Escritos De Psicología*, 5(3), 31-42. <https://www.doi.org/10.5231/psy.writ.2012.0211>
- Landis, R. & Koch, G. (1977). The measurement of observer agreement for categorical data. *Biometrics*, 33(1), 159-174. <https://www.doi.org/10.2307/2529310>
- Lewison, G. (2008). The reporting of the risks from severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in the news media, 2003-2004. *Health, risk and society*, 10, 241-262. <https://www.doi.org/10.1080/13698570802160962>
- Marín, C. (2017). *El Informativo de Televisión. Producción, guion y edición audiovisuales*. Barcelona: Gedisa.
- Martínez, M. A. (1994). La información periodística en la crisis del sida. Algunos temas de interés para la investigación comunicativa. *Anàlisi: quaderns de comunicació i cultura*, 16, 89-105. Retrieved from <https://raco.cat/index.php/Analisi/article/view/41206>

- Masip, P., Aran, S., Ruiz, C., Suau, J., Almenar, E. & Puertas, D. (2020). Consumo informativo y cobertura mediática durante el confinamiento por el Covid-19: sobreinformación, sesgo ideológico y sensacionalismo. *El Profesional de la Información*, 29(3), 1-12. <https://www.doi.org/10.3145/epi.2020.may.12>
- Mayo, M. (2020). News sections, journalists and information sources in the journalistic coverage of crises and emergencies in Spain. *El Profesional de la Información*, 29(2), 1-12. <https://www.doi.org/10.3145/epi.2020.mar.11>
- Mondragón, N. (2016). Redes sociales en tiempos de riesgo: Analizando el ébola mediante Twitter. *Opción: Revista de ciencias humanas y sociales*, 11, 740-756. Retrieved from <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=31048902043>
- Muñoz, H. (2012). Sensacionalismo en la información periodística sobre el hospital Carlos Haya de Málaga: un riesgo evitable. *Revista Española de Comunicación en Salud*, 3(1), 88-93. Retrieved from [http://www.aecs.es/revista\\_3\\_1.html](http://www.aecs.es/revista_3_1.html)
- Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Kalogeropoulos, A. & Nielsen, R. K. (2020). *Digital News Report 2020*. Oxford: Reuters Institute. Retrieved from <http://www.digitalnewsreport.org>
- Park, S., Boatwright, B. & Johnson, E. (2019). Information channel preference in health crisis: Exploring the roles of perceived risk, preparedness, knowledge, and intent to follow directives. *Public relations review*, 45(5). <https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2019.05.015>
- Pellegrini, S., Puente, S., Porath, W., Mujica, C. & Grassau, D. (2011). *Valor agregado periodístico. La apuesta por la calidad de las noticias*. Santiago de Chile: Universidad Católica de Chile.
- Radio Televisión Española (RTVE) (2010). Manual de estilo de Radio Televisión Española. Madrid: Corporación Radio Televisión Española. Retrieved from <http://manualdeestilo.rtve.es/>
- Rebolledo, M., González, H. & Olza, I. (2021). Visibilidad de los sanitarios durante la crisis del Covid-19: estudio sobre fuentes y temáticas en los informativos de televisión. *Interface*, 25(1), 1-19. <https://www.doi.org/10.1590/Interface.200606>
- Reuters Institute (2020). Navigating the 'infodemic': how people in six countries access and rate news and information about coronavirus. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. Retrieved from <https://cutt.ly/ZyiISy>
- Rosique, G. (2013). RTVE ante el nuevo escenario mediático. In J. V. García (Ed.), *Concentración y pluralismo en los medios de comunicación españoles* (pp. 183-197). Tenerife: Sociedad Latina de Comunicación Social.
- Seeger, M., Sellnow, T. & Ulmer, R. (2003). *Communication and organizational crisis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Shoemaker, J. P. & Cohen, A. A. (2006). *News around the world. Content, practitioners, and the public*. New York: Routledge.
- Ungar, S. (1998). Hot crisis and media reassurance: A comparison of emerging diseases and Ebola Zaire. *British journal of sociology*, 48, 36-56. <https://www.doi.org/10.2307/591262>
- Villena, E. & Caballero, L. (2020). COVID-19 Media Coverage on Spanish Public TV. *Tripodos*, 47(2), 103-125. <https://www.doi.org/10.51698/tripodos.2020.47p103-126>
- Washer, P. (2006). Representations of mad cow disease. *Social science & medicine*, 62(2), 457-466. <https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2005.06.001>