

# EVICCTIONS AND HEALTH IN THE SPANISH DIGITAL PRESS: ANALYSIS OF COVERAGE AND NEWS TREATMENT

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## **Abstract**

The crisis in Spain has had a great impact in the media, as well as in the scientific community. Evictions, in particular, have received extensive media coverage. Two objectives have been established: first, to carry out an analysis of the journalistic coverage of evictions in the digital written press in the 4 most widely-read online newspapers; second, to analyse the news treatment in these publications by studying the relationship to health issues established in them. A total of 3345 news items were located in the study period. The record by newspaper and by month showed two news spikes linked to “exceptional” events. The main issues on which most of the news items on evictions concentrated were “people affected” (49%), “politics” (39%) and “activist movements” (33%). The study showed wide coverage of the subject of evictions in the Spanish digital press, but few references to health.

## **Keywords**

Media, Evictions, Health, Press, Digital Press, News, Spain

Título: Análisis de las noticias sobre desahucios en los medios de comunicación digitales en España

## **Resumen**

La crisis en España ha tenido un gran impacto en los medios de comunicación, así como en la comunidad científica. Los desahucios, en particular, han recibido una amplia cobertura en los medios de comunicación. Se han establecido dos objetivos: en primer lugar, realizar un análisis de la cobertura que los medios de comunicación hacen sobre el tema “desahucios” a través del registro y análisis de las noticias publicadas en la prensa digital de más audiencia en España; segundo, analizar el tratamiento que hacen los medios en relación con las cuestiones de salud. Se identificaron un total de 3345 noticias en el período de estudio. El registro por periódico y por mes mostró dos picos de noticias vinculados como eventos "excepcionales". Los principales temas en los que se concentraron la mayoría de las noticias sobre desahucios fueron “personas afectadas” (49%), “política” (39%) y “movimientos activistas” (33%). El trabajo mostró una amplia cobertura del tema desahucios en la prensa digital española, pero pocas hacían referencia a la salud.

## **Palabras clave**

Medios de comunicación, Desahucios, Salud, Prensa, Prensa Digital, Noticias, España

## 1. Introduction

Both in Spain and in other affected countries, the relationship between economic crisis and health has been widely studied, highlighting the correlation with increased mortality, (Ferrando et al., 2018; Laliotis et al., 2016) decline in public health (Merzagora et al., 2016; Ruiz-Pérez et al., 2017) and deterioration of lifestyles. (Colell et al., 2015)

Since the onset of the crisis, one of the most problematic phenomena that has arisen in Spain has been the process of eviction, which is hardly mentioned in the context of the crisis in other countries. In Spain, several studies have analysed the impact of evictions on the physical and mental health of those affected, revealing that difficulties in paying mortgages increased the risk of major depression by 11% (Valiño, 2015) and produced an increasing deterioration in health as the process advanced. (Vásquez-Vera et al., 2017) Moreover, people affected by evictions were 13 times more likely to suffer from perceived poor health, more cardiovascular disease or higher tobacco consumption. (Bolívar Muñoz et al., 2016)

From its inception, **the crisis in Spain has had a great impact in the media, as well as in the scientific community. Evictions, in particular, have received extensive media coverage**, mainly as a result of the various public pressure groups created in connection with them. (Valiño, 2015)

In this context, reporting of evictions by the media has put their social responsibility to the test, in the sense of the responsibility to inform the public objectively of what has happened, as well as providing a truthful, rigorous and, in short, journalistic interpretation of the origin, causes, development and consequences of news events. (Lowrey et al., 2007; Santos, 2012)

According to agenda-setting theory, the media have the ability to select and highlight certain topics and omit others. Under this theory, it is the media that provide indications of the importance of the topics on the daily agenda through positioning of news items, size of headlines, length or frequency, among other things. This determines the importance of events and puts them at the centre of attention of public opinion. (McCombs, 2006) Framing theory is a second stage of agenda setting; it argues that the public's perception of social events is conditioned by the process of subjective reconstruction of reality performed by the media (Rabadán, 2010). Thus framing, context and focus are organising principles, tools that go beyond the dictates of a particular thematic agenda and suggest how to think about and how to evaluate the topics presented. (Scheufele, 2000) Framing is the process by which the content of the discourse is organised. (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007) A key factor in this connection is the hierarchy of news values applied to the information, taking this, according to the concept of relevance, to mean the "visibility of the information based on its position, its size, its arrangement in relation to other types of information or its greater frequency of coverage". (Amadeo, 2008; Poliszuk, 2016)

The press is an important element which influences both the transmission and the dissemination of knowledge, and therefore analysis of the press in relation to health is an important tool for identifying what kind of information is most present in the media and how it is framed. Analyses of the press related to infectious diseases have been identified, focusing on perception of risk, epidemics or vaccinations, (Husemann and Fischer, 2015) medical errors (Mira et al., 2010) and some specific crises. (De Brún et al., 2016)

The object of this paper is firstly to analyse the journalistic coverage of evictions in the digital written press in the four online newspapers with the largest circulation and readership in Spain, and secondly to analyse the news treatment in those publications (using the approach of agenda-setting and framing theories), emphasising the relationship to health topics established in them. This study was carried out within the framework of a research project on evictions and health. (Suess Schwend, 2017)

## **2. Material and Methods**

A cross-sectional descriptive study was designed in two phases, corresponding to the research objectives: analysis of coverage and analysis of news treatment.

### **1. Analysis of journalistic coverage**

In this first phase, data collection was conducted using online search and recording of the total number of news items published, by newspaper and date. The media selection according to the data obtained through the 3rd Wave of the General Media Study (EGM) of 2012 (“Entrega de resultados EGM 3ª ola 2017,” 2017), the analysis on the consumption of the media in Spain carried out by the Association for Media Research of Communication (AIMC). Also according to the data obtained by the OJD Interactiva of 2012, (Office of Justification of the Dissemination of media of our country) (“Medios Digitales «OJDinteractiva Auditoría Medios Online,” n.d.) and were contrasted with the data published on the studies of audiences of online media, Panel Nielsen of 2011 (Internet, n.d.) and ComScore of February 2012 (“2012 Mobile Future in Focus,” n.d.).

The media selected in this way were *El País*, *El Mundo*, *ABC* and *20 Minutos*. The analysis period was 15 May 2012 to 15 May 2013, from 6 months before to 6 months after the publication of Royal Legislative Decree 27/2012 of 15 November 2012 on urgent measures to reinforce the protection of mortgage debtors.

For the search strategy, the “search by keywords / date” option was used, with the terms “evictions” OR “eviction”. News items were also identified through the (thematically related) special sections of each newspaper.

### **2. Analysis of news treatment**

For this second phase a random sampling was performed by date and newspaper. The distribution (allocation) of the sample was proportional to the strata defined by cross-classification of the newspaper and month variables. All the news items were saved for later study, with the object of avoiding any changes during the analysis period.

A quantitative and qualitative analysis of the selected news items was performed, including a review of the identifying fields (title, date of publication and newspaper), the descriptive fields (author, genre, section, length and illustrations) and the content fields (main subject-matter, presence of health topics in the news item, type of health problems, deterioration of the health problem, lifestyle, relationship to social vulnerability of those affected, presence and types of spokespersons, presence of words liable to cause alarm or stigmatise people), as well as interactivity (comments).

A descriptive analysis of the categories established was carried out according to the objectives, by means of an analysis questionnaire designed using the LimeSurvey tool. To cross-check the results we used multiple lines of sight directed towards the same point at different times and in different spaces, constantly comparing the data, which were analysed separately and collated by the researchers. They were also cross-checked by being reviewed by external researchers.

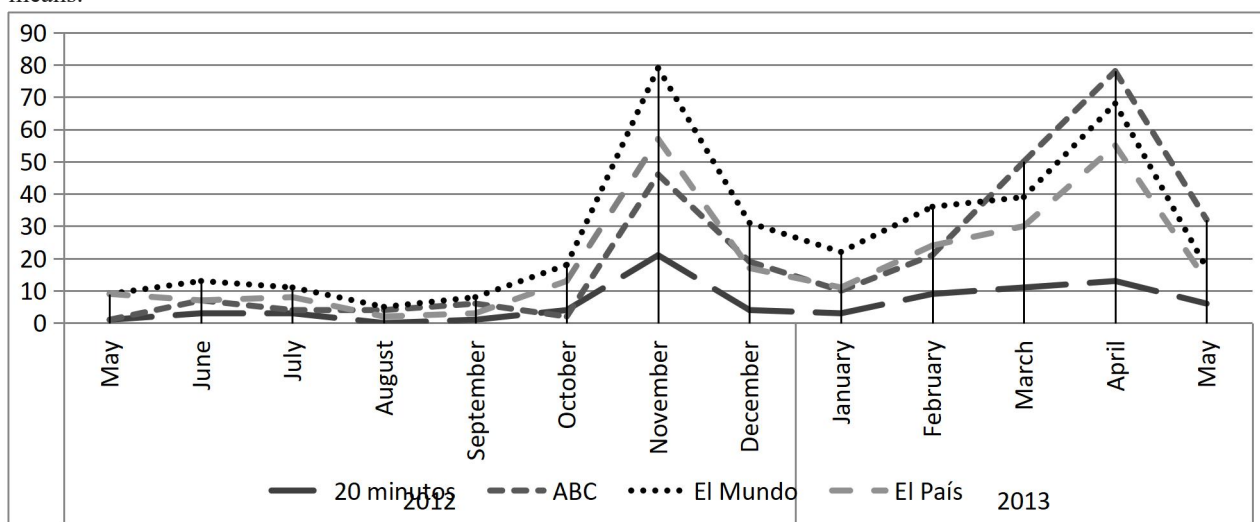
Finally, a descriptive analysis was performed for the variables studied, including frequencies for the qualitative variables and average and range for the quantitative ones.

### 3. Results

A total of 3345 news items were identified in the period studied. The distribution of news items per newspaper was very similar in *El Mundo* (37%), *ABC* (28.9%) and *El País* (28.9%) and much lower in *20 Minutos* (8.20%).

The record by newspaper and by month showed two news spikes associated with “exceptional” events: November 2012 (3 suicides) and April 2013 (1 suicide and doorstep demonstrations at politicians’ homes). Moreover, an upward trend was observed in the two spikes. It is also worth emphasising that most of the news items recorded were published during the last six months of the analysis, after the publication of Royal Legislative Decree 27/2012, of 15 November 2012 (Graph 1).

Graphic 1. Analysis of coverage. Frequency of publication of news about evictions by date and means.



For the second objective, 997 news items were selected, of which 964 were analysed (96.69% of the sample), because of losses of information due to the ephemeral nature of the digital press (expired links or limited access) or incomplete questionnaires.

Table 1. Topics and characteristics of the news items published

Main topic of content	N	%
Laws	231	24%
Politics	378	39%
Economy	293	22%
Justice	205	21%

Activist movements	317	33%
People affected	481	49%
Health	48	5%
<b>Is reference made to the social vulnerability of those affected?</b>		
Yes	301	31%
No	653	68%
<b>Is reference made in the news items to health problems of those affected?</b>		
Yes	113	12%
No	851	88%
<b>What type of health problem?</b>		
Mental health	16	14%
Medication	3	3%
Suicide	65	58%
Not specified	12	11%
Disability	5	4%
Neurological disease	2	2%
Pregnancy	2	2%
Cancer	2	2%
Lung disease	2	2%
Other diseases (Alzheimer's, diabetes, kidney disease, etc.)	4	4%
<b>Did the health problem precede the eviction process or did it appear during the process?</b>		
Preceding	13	12%
Simultaneous	61	54%
<b>Did the health problem get worse during the process?</b>		
Yes	65	58%
No	3	3%
<b>Is reference made in the news items to changes in the lifestyle of those affected?</b>		
Yes	31	3%
No	933	97%
<b>Lifestyle changes</b>		
Diet	20	65%
Physical activity	2	6%
Sleep / rest	7	23%
Tobacco, alcohol, other drugs	2	3%

As regards the content of the news items (as shown in Table 1) the main topics on which most of the items on evictions concentrated were people affected (49%), politics (39%) and activist movements (33%).

In only 5% of the items published was health the main topic, and only 12% referred to the subject of health at all. In other words, 88% of the news items on evictions made no reference to the health of those affected, although social vulnerability did appear as a significant topic in the news items published (31%) and was related to issues such as family situation (27%), age (20%), migration (14%), unemployment (12%) or disability (10%).

In the news items in which some reference was made to health, the issues most commonly mentioned were suicide (58%) and mental health (14%). In 54% of these published items on eviction and health it was established that the health problem arose at the same time as the eviction process, and 58% stated that a deterioration had taken place in the state of health.

As shown in Table 2, the spokespersons in the news items analysed were mostly institutional representatives (38.9%), political figures (34.4%) and activists (33.7%), along with a very low proportion of scientific spokespersons (6.2%).

Table 2. Main spokespersons in news items on evictions.

Spokespersons	20 Minutos	ABC	El Mundo	El País	Total	%
Judicial	17	34	41	48	140	14.5%
Political	14	81	140	97	332	34.4%
Scientific evidence	3	14	22	21	60	6.2%
Institutional	28	97	139	111	375	38.9%
Economic	8	17	31	28	84	8.71%
People affected	23	78	67	86	254	26.3%
Mutual support groups	34	73	114	104	325	33.7%

The study made it possible to identify the types of framing and the hierarchy of news values that the media used to lend significance to the news and attract the attention of the public, through factors such as the section, authorship or illustrations.

The position of the news items in the sections of each newspaper showed a geographical rather than thematic perspective: regional (29%), national (14%), politics (14%), opinion (8%), economy (7%) and society (5%).

In all, 49% of the news items were covered by a journalist who signed them with his or her own name, 39% were attributed to an agency and 17% to the newspaper itself. *El País* was the newspaper that gave most coverage of its own to news related to evictions, with 82% of the news items signed by a journalist. At the opposite extreme was *20 Minutos*, with only 19% of the items receiving its own treatment.

Regarding the genre of the news items, a total of 531 were news reports (55%), compared to 328 published items (34%) belonging to the interpretative genre, that is, items that took a broader approach and gave more space to the author's interpretation, including commentary-reports (21%), interviews (2%) and features (11%). Only 11% were opinion pieces.

Finally, 65% of the published items included some kind of illustration (48% with photographs and 15% with videos). As for the subjects of the illustrations, the highest proportion was devoted to activism (29%), followed by political figures (26%) and people affected (25%).

A very high degree of interactivity was observed in the news items on evictions. At least 81% of the items were shared on social media or received some comment. Of the 964 items, 452 contained a total of 1569 links to other news articles or sections of the newspaper, with an overall average of 1.62 links per item for all items. The social media most frequently used were Facebook and Twitter.

#### 4. Discussion and Conclusions

This study enabled us to identify the media agenda of the leading Spanish digital newspapers with respect to the topic of evictions before and after the decree on urgent measures to reinforce the protection of mortgage debtors. In addition, it identified and analysed the types of framing which the media used to lend significance to these published news items and which, according to framing theory, could influence public perception.

Coverage of evictions by the media followed a similar course to the crisis itself: great public concern manifested in social demonstrations and actions by pressure groups. One of the consequences of evictions was the suicide of people who had been or were in the process of being evicted; (Fowler et al., 2015; Rojas and Stenberg, 2016) indeed, suicide became the first cause of mortality during the crisis. (Merzagora et al., 2016) In this way, suicide, a taboo subject in the media, entered the Spanish media agenda through evictions at the end of 2012, when several suicides began to be reported in various autonomous communities. (Chavero, 2014) From these events onwards, everything to do with evictions aroused greater interest and received more coverage. Evictions thus became a prime media topic, as they fulfilled some of the 10 main newsworthiness factors: subject-matter, human interest, spectacular nature of the events, etc. (Young et al., 2008) So the news spikes we detected showed a clear correlation with the dates of suicides, but also with the dates of activist and political reactions such as doorstep demonstrations at politicians' homes and reactions to these.

Most of the items published during those news spikes did not focus on suicide from a health or public health perspective but set it in the context of the political and activist reactions (statements or doorstep demonstrations directed at politicians) which those suicides aroused, underlining the dominant perspective of activism in the press during the crisis. (Bennett and Segerberg, 2011)

In general, this study makes it clear that there was a patent lack of a health-related or public health-related approach in news items published on evictions, despite the fact that, as the study shows, the main subject-matter of the news items was information on those affected (49%) and 31% referred to their social vulnerability.

The explanation for this could be the fact that the majority of spokespersons were institutional representatives or pressure groups of people in the process of being evicted, who emphasised the need to stop the evictions by means of economic and political measures. This discourse was repeated by those affected. And all this, combined with the lack of scientific spokespersons, may explain the absence of analysis of the vulnerability in health terms of people affected by mortgage enforcement processes.

The study also made it possible to identify the types of framing and news relevance that the media used to attract public attention, through factors such as the section, authorship or illustrations. Bearing in mind that all four newspapers have specific sections on Health, it is notable that practically all the news items were located outside this section, accentuating the regional and political perspective. In a similar vein, only half the items were signed by a named professional, whilst 39% were attributed to agencies and 17% to the newspaper itself. In the first case, the newspapers showed more obvious interest in the subject by devoting more resources than when the news item came from an agency, in which case it was simply copied and reproduced. The same is true of illustrations: their presence attracts the reader's attention and therefore lends significance to the information. (Mattouk and Talhouk, 2017)



A limitation of the study that can be identified is the search strategy, which may have had an influence, as an external factor. In this regard, important differences were identified in the effectiveness of the search engines in the digital versions of each newspaper, as well as in the archive system for each published item.

In conclusion, **the study shows extensive coverage of the topic of evictions in the Spanish digital press, but few references to mental and physical health in these published items.** Although the suicides that occurred in association with eviction processes gave rise to news spikes, the framing of this subject was more political and social and much less health-related in its emphasis. This was reflected in a low degree of social awareness of the health situation of people undergoing eviction processes and the need for strategies to tackle it.

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