

How legacy media set the tone? assessing negativity bias and agenda-setting in Honduran front pages

¿Cómo los medios tradicionales definen el tono? Evaluando el sesgo de negatividad y establecimiento de la agenda en las portadas en Honduras

Mario Cerna^{*1,2}, Natalie Acosta^{3,4}, Eunice López², Pablo Moncada², Carolina Lanza², Katerine Bonilla²
Francis Padilla², David Ortiz²

¹ The University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, United States of America.

² Centro Universitario Tecnológico (Ceutec), Universidad Tecnológica Centroamericana, Tegucigalpa, Honduras

³ Comunicaciones Estratégicas, Tegucigalpa, Honduras

⁴ Honduras Verifica, Tegucigalpa, Honduras

Abstract / Introduction. This study examines how agenda-setting and negativity bias are reflected on the front pages of six Honduran legacy mass media outlets: 4 newspapers, 1 television, and 1 radio. **Methods.** This quantitative content analysis evaluated 166 front pages and 1,121 headlines, published during January 1 to 31 of 2024. An Excel document was created for data collection with four main categories: Thematic of headlines, front page hierarchy, type of headlines, and editorial tone. **Results.** Only 3% of the headlines were positive news, and 25% were negative (related to crimes). Moreover, 44% of the primary headlines were for political topics. In addition, 70% of the 1,121 headlines evaluated had a neutral tone. **Conclusion.** This suggests a dominant narrative's focus on negative news (fear) and political issues, simultaneously, with apparent objectivity and balanced presentation of news through the neutral tone in 7 out of 10 headlines evaluated. Future research may attempt to explain the intentions behind legacy media's prioritization of narratives about crime and politics rather than others, such as health, education, or poverty. It would also be relevant to examine whether the objectivity in the neutral tone responds to criticisms that have grown over the last decades against legacy media, especially for its historical ties to economic and political power groups, and their distinctive role in the democratic ecosystem.

Keywords: Bias, Global South, Legacy media, Mass media, News

Resumen / Introducción. Este estudio examina cómo se refleja el sesgo de negatividad y cómo se establece la agenda mediática en las portadas de 6 medios de comunicación tradicionales en Honduras: 4 periódicos, 1 televisión y 1 radio. **Métodos.** Se evaluó 166 portadas y 1,121 titulares, del 1 al 31 de enero de 2024. Para la recolección de datos, se creó un documento Excel con cuatro categorías principales: temática de los titulares, jerarquía de las portadas, tipo de titulares y tono editorial. **Resultados.** Sólo el 3% de los titulares eran noticias positivas y un 25% negativos (relacionado a delitos y crímenes). El 44% de los titulares principales correspondían al ámbito político. Además, el 70% de los 1,121 titulares evaluados tenían un tono neutral. **Conclusión.** Esto sugiere una narrativa dominante en los titulares centrada en noticias negativas (miedo) y política, simultáneamente, con una aparente objetividad y presentación equilibrada de las noticias a través de un tono neutral en 7 de cada 10 titulares evaluados. Futuras investigaciones podrían explicar las intenciones que subyacen a la priorización de los medios tradicionales de las narrativas sobre crimen y política en sus portadas, en lugar de salud, educación o pobreza. También sería relevante examinar si la objetividad en el tono de los titulares responde a las críticas que han crecido en las últimas décadas contra los medios tradicionales, especialmente por sus vínculos históricos con grupos de poder económico y político, y su rol en el ecosistema democrático.

Palabras clave: Medios de comunicación de masas, Medios heredados, Noticias, Sesgo, Sur global



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License. BY, NC.

Received: April 15, 2025 / Accepted: June 27, 2025 / Published: June 28, 2025

Corresponding author: mcernapalacios@crimson.ua.edu

Citation: Cerna, M., Acosta, N., López, E., Moncada, P., Lanza, C., Bonilla, K., Padilla, F., Ortiz, D. (2025). How legacy media set the tone? Assessing negativity bias and agenda-setting in Honduran front pages. *Innovare, Revista de Ciencia y Tecnología*, 14(1), 1-6.
<https://doi.org/10.69845/innovare.v14i1.473>

INTRODUCTION

Legacy Honduras's mass media ecosystem operates under concentrated corporate ownership with strong economic and political ties. Studies on the Honduran mass media

ecosystem report that a few powerful entities hold concentrated ownership, as Lumsden (2003) and Vodolazsky (2020) noted. The government has also made efforts to keep media channels, including newspapers, radio, and television. During the last decade, a notable emerging movement of nontraditional mass media, digital natives, has

also entered the media ecosystem. Capitalizing on technological advances, Honduras' legacy media have tried to adapt their content and formats, such as front pages, to gain audiences on digital platforms. Franklin (2013) highlights that appropriating this visual structure of front pages helps keep audiences engaged. This study aimed to document how television and radio also interact with their audiences through daily front pages in the digital environment. This decision is aligned with Barnhurst, K. G., & Nerone, J. (2001)'s principle that front pages are used from legacy media to ubiquitously convey news in a hierarchical way, but also as symbolic representations of what matters in society. Moreover, Thurman & Hermida (2010) establish that front pages offer relevance logic in users' perceptions.

News orientation considers the usage level, motivation, and interest in news in a single measure (cf. McLeod & McDonald, 1985; Shehata et al., 2022). People with a high level of news orientation are avid news consumers and highly reliant on and interested in news. The need for orientation influences agenda-setting effects, particularly for issue salience (Matthes, 2008), and this can also shift in newspapers during election periods (Barclay & Venkat, 2014). This highlights the complex interplay between news orientation, audience preferences, and societal factors in shaping media content and consumption.

Honduras legacy mass media ecosystem

The legacy media is described by Newman, Dutton, and Blank (2012) as the traditional channels that have dominated the media ecosystems: television, radio, and newspapers. Some critics raised red flags regarding the risks of legacy mass media power concentration in Honduras. This criticism became stronger during the last two decades, arguing that the 2009 coup d'état against former president Manuel Zelaya, and the reelection of former president Juan Orlando Hernández in 2017, were two breaking points. Espinoza-Vasquez (2018) stated that the 2009 coup d'état marked a turning point for audiences to consume more news information from social media and alternative mass media.

The concentration of power in the legacy mass media in Honduras is strongly related to the economic and political interests of the mass media owners (Sosa, 2014). Ahead of this situation, in 2013, the government approved a telecommunications law to reduce the monopoly in the ecosystem. The intention was to offer more mass media channels to the communities. Sosa (2014) highlights that the legacy mass media owners weakened this initiative. Some research suggests that restricting the opening of the media ecosystem limits the range of perspectives and weakens media independence. Lupien (2013) and Rockwell and Janus (2003) sustained that corporate interests shape editorial content, while market dynamics that favor privatization (Vodolazsky, 2020), which reinforce a system oriented toward profit rather than public service.

Robles Rivera (2021), in the research "Media Capture Strategies in Central America" reaffirms that the economic and political structures keep capturing Honduras' legacy media. This study reveals that mass media are used to gain economic favor through advertisement, financial incentives, and political spaces, especially when owners feel vulnerable.

Guerrero and Ramírez (2015) warn that these ties, combined with weak legislative frameworks (Espinoza Hulse, 2019; Guerrero & Ramírez, 2015), permit direct and indirect forms of censorship.

Moreover, parallel phenomena could play a fundamental role in the way news are constructed and presented to the audience, such as challenging working conditions and safety concerns. These harmful conditions created a hostile environment that led to self-censorship among journalists Lumsden, (2003). In Honduras, 101 journalists were killed during the last two decades (Conexihon, 2024). Undoubtedly, all these situations play a critical role in the dynamics of legacy media, how they orient the news, and how they define agenda-setting.

Agenda setting theory

The agenda-setting theory posits that media influence public perception of issue importance (W. Blood, 1982; Maxwell McCombs & Dixie Evatt, 1970). Research has expanded to include six areas: cognitive effects, sources of media agenda, policy agenda, contingent conditions, second-level effects, and social media (W. Wanta & Mariam F. Alkazemi, 2017). The theory suggests media affects what we think about and how we understand public issues (M. McCombs et al., 2004).

Studies have shown that increased media coverage of a nation correlates with public perception of its importance, while negative coverage influences negative perceptions (W. Wanta et al., 2004). Agenda-setting examines media content, news gathering techniques, and the extent of media influence on audience perceptions (P. Edgar, 1980).

This theory remains vital in understanding Honduras' media landscape in shaping public opinion, especially from the social and political perspective. In the Honduras' mass media ecosystem, how the media decides what is relevant on the front pages could play a fundamental role. Since Honduras faces challenges such as persistent violence, media conflicts, social protests, and neoliberal measures (Eugenio & Iglesias, 2014), the agenda setting becomes relevant for this study. The importance and influence of the news orientation is not new.

For instance, a study developed in 1990 (Shim & Salmon, 1990) reveals that the way journalists, editors, and coordinators from newsrooms orient the content affects audience preferences and perceptions in the face of societal issues. Nowadays, the rise of new dysfunctional phenomena such as disinformation, hate speech, and discrimination makes it more relevant. For instance, Verifica (2024) revealed that during 2023, 30% of their fact-checking (disinformation) pieces in Honduras came from media outlets.

Negativity bias

Another crucial theoretical concept is negativity bias, which is one of the most noticeable features of news reporting. Negativity bias is a well-documented psychological tendency in news. According to cultivation theory, this bias can foster anxiety about societal issues among news audiences (Kim Andersen et al. 2024). In this

regard, they coined the “Scary World Syndrome” in their study about News Orientations, Negativity Bias, and the Cultivation of Anxiety. They suggest that term as an updated option of the “Mean World Syndrome” coined by Gerbner (1980).

Negativity bias has been identified as a core psychological mechanism when individuals process information such as news: “There is evidence of this negativity bias—or, more broadly, the relative strength of negative over positive—throughout psychology” (Soroka & McAdams, 2015, p. 2). Negativity increases physiological arousal, perceptions, attention, and learning (van der Meer et al., 2020, p. 943), and audiences react emotionally more strongly to negative news (Soroka & McAdams, 2015). Han Rosling was known for criticizing the news media’s tendency to focus too much on bad things without allowing space for all the progress and good things that, in general, characterize the world.

Newsrooms have good reasons for prioritizing negative news stories, as research shows that people pay more attention to negative information (Soroka & McAdams, 2015; Soroka et al., 2019). At the same time, the negative news bias has potential adverse—and largely unintended—consequences for both audiences and society more broadly. Research shows that news consumption has adverse effects on psychological outcomes, such as causing anxiety and lowering mental well-being (Boukes & Vliegenthart, 2017).

Experimental research on constructive journalism also shows that exposure to negative, problem-focused news engenders negative emotions, leaving the public feeling depressed, disengaged, and disempowered (Hermans & Gyldensted, 2018; McIntyre, 2019; McIntyre & Gyldensted, 2018; Meier, 2018; Parks, 2019).

Negativity bias in the news can, in turn, induce people to tune out from the news altogether (Toff & Nielsen, 2022), causing or exacerbating problems both for the news media (loss of audiences) and for society (less knowledgeable and engaged citizens) (Skovsgaard & Andersen, 2020). Negativity bias is considered a universal feature of the news media logic (Esser et al., 2016).

The current study

There is little evidence of studies on negativity bias and agenda-setting in Honduras’ mass media ecosystem, nor in the framing and hierarchical relevance of the headlines on the front pages of mass media in Honduras. The few research studies on the mass media ecosystem in Honduras underline the need to go deeper into research on the dynamics of news generation and consumption. That is why this study takes a small step towards filling the gap, by asking the following research questions:

RQ1: To what extent does negativity bias influence the front pages in Honduran legacy media outlets?

RQ2: How do Honduran legacy media prioritize the headlines’ position on their front page?

RQ3: What is the predominant editorial tone of legacy media front-page headlines?

METHODS

We conducted a purposive quantitative content analysis of front pages from six Honduran legacy mass media outlets to answer the research questions outlined above. The six legacy media include four newspapers: El Heraldo, La Prensa, La Tribuna, and El País; one television channel: Hable Como Habla (HCH); and one national radio: Radio Cadena Voces (RCV). The front pages evaluated were published during January 1 and January 31, 2024. A total of 166 front pages were collected from their websites, open (Facebook, X, Instagram) and closed (WhatsApp and Telegram) social media channels.

Coding scheme and variable descriptions

For this study, we used a deductive literature approach, considering the principles of agenda-setting and negativity bias, described in previous sections, to establish a coding scheme that allows to measure the data we collected as best as possible to answer our research questions.

Thematic of headlines: Eleven categories were defined following the news classification models of Esser et al. (2016); and Soroka and McAdams (2015): politics, crime, health, economy, education, social events, sports, international, health, business, positive news, and national coverage.

Front page hierarchy: Four categories of headline positions were described following Barnhurst & Nerone’s (2001) model of symbolic hierarchy of social relevance: primary, secondary, tertiary, and quaternary.

Type of headlines: Following the affective and ideological news coverage model of Andersen et al. (2024), two categories of headline type were delineated: positive and negative news. After the first pilot test to perform the consistency self-assessment, it was decided, to avoid broad interpretation of coders, to redefine as “negative” only headlines related to crime such as robberies, rapes, homicides, femicides, drugs, accidents, tragedies and assaults. Positive headlines included those promoting a success story, a case of outstanding entrepreneurship, an anonymous hero, and others similar. General news was excluded from these two types of categorizations because they were evaluated according to their editorial tone as described below.

Editorial tone of headlines: Following Andersen et al.’s (2024) affective and ideological news coverage principles, three categories of editorial tone on headlines were defined: in favor, against, and neutral.

Intercoder reliability

Six coders, from Centro Universitario Tecnológico (CEUTEC) Journalism students, carried out the coding process. First, a pilot test of a codebook was run. The author trained the six coders. Thereafter, a pilot test was conducted with 1.5% of the sample (n=2) that were randomly selected to perform a consistency self-assessment.

The level of agreement did not reach the expected result in the first and second attempts. Krippendorff’s Alpha was

calculated in a third attempt, and the level of agreement between coders was a value of $\alpha = 0.89$. According to Krippendorff's (2004) this score or threshold of $\alpha \geq 0.80$ is necessary to indicate that the reliability of coders is ideal for our research. The coding process took place in five weeks. Throughout this process, all coding actions were systematically documented in an Excel document to allow a reflective record of the data analysis and, above all, to make the mechanisms for monitoring the interpretation of the data transparent.

RESULTS

RQ1: Asked about how negativity bias influences the front pages in Honduran legacy media outlets. Findings from our data indicate that only 3% ($n=32$) of the headlines were positive news. El Heraldo included 12 positive headlines, La Prensa 7, El País 6, HCH 3, La Tribuna 3, and RCV 1. Nevertheless, the 25% ($n=283$) of the headlines were negative, meaning crimes. The media outlet with the most crime headlines on its front page was Hable Como Habla (HCH), with 90, while La Tribuna was in second place with 74. For full details, see Fig. 1.

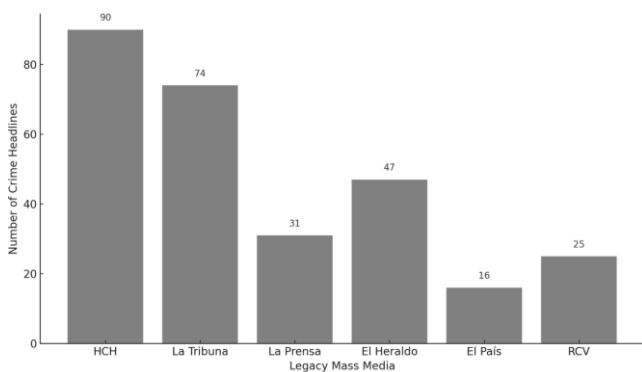


Figure 1. Number of crime headlines on the front pages of six legacy media in Honduras during January 2024.

RQ2: Asked about how Honduran legacy media prioritize the news' position on their front page. The data indicates that besides crime news is predominant on front pages, they are mostly distributed in secondary, tertiary, and quartile positions. Political news receives the most prominent position on the front pages. The 44.6% ($n=74$) of the primary (main) headlines were from the political arena.

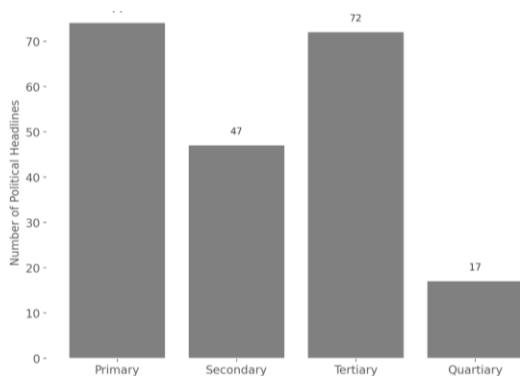


Figure 2. Summary of the position on 210 political headlines on the front pages of legacy media in January 2024

From the 1,121 headlines evaluated, the 20% ($n=210$) were political content and the ones that received the better hierarchy places in the front pages, as shown in Fig. 2. Radio Cadena Voces was the media that had the highest number of political headlines in its front pages, with 60, La Prensa published 52, El Heraldo 49, El País 27, La Tribuna 15, and HCH 7.

RQ3: Asked about the predominant editorial tone of legacy media front-page headlines. This study evaluated 1,121 headlines, see Fig. 3. The findings hold that 70%, meaning 7 out of 10 headlines, used a neutral tone to structure the headlines, meaning not in favor (used of qualifying adjectives) or against (disqualifying adjectives, criticizing). This analysis includes all the thematic headlines: politics, crime, health, economy, education, social events, sports, international, business, positive news, and national coverage.

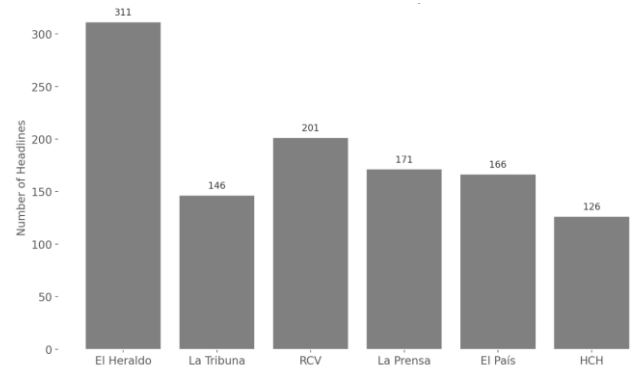


Figure 3. Summary of the headlines analyzed per mass media outlet.

In the data collection process, 20 front pages were missing because they were unavailable online. The media that could not be documented were El País' 7 front pages, La Prensa's 6, El Heraldo's 4, and La Tribuna's one front page. HCH did not publish front pages on Sundays.

DISCUSSION

This study examined how negativity bias and agenda-setting influence the front pages in six Honduran legacy media outlets, how they prioritize the headlines' position on their front pages, and the predominant editorial tone in front-page headlines. The main findings demonstrate that one out of four (25%) headlines during January 2024 were negative, including content about robberies, rapes, homicides, femicides, drugs, accidents, tragedies and assaults. In contrast, only 3% of the headlines were about positive news. These findings suggest that negativity bias plays a dominant role in editorial decisions when content is defined and prioritized as relevant and agenda-setting on their front pages. This aligns with Soroka and McAdams (2015) argument that negative news increases attention from audiences, compared with positive news. It could also provoke more cognitive and emotional responses. McIntyre, K. (2019) highlights that exposure to negative news can provoke a depressed and powerless feeling in the audience. Andersen et al. (2024) affirm that repeated exposure to negative news could foster "Scary World Syndrome", meaning viewing the world from a distorted reality.

Another relevant result of this study is that the political headlines occupied the most relevant hierarchy position, primary (prominent) headlines on the front pages, with 44%. This confirms Barnhurst, K. G., & Nerone, J. (2001) statement affirming that political news is more salient when making editorial decisions. They highlight that front pages are not neutral agents and, on the contrary, frame politics as a dominant issue. It is also a sign that the editorial decisions align with the agenda-setting principles that point out the role of mass media in determining how issues are perceived in the public opinion sphere. As explained in the literature review, Honduras' mass media ecosystem operates under the umbrella of power relations with economic and political actors, which could also be related to these findings.

Our findings also hold that 70% of the headlines used a neutral tone. This high percentage can be explained from various points of view. First, this could be a strategy to promote a sense of objectivity. Esser et al. (2016) affirm that neutrality is used for legacy media in sensitive political environments. It must be noted that Honduras had two recent political crises, the 2009 coup d'état against former president Manuel Zelaya, and the re-election of former president Juan Orlando Hernández, both of which have exacerbated and generated strong criticism against the legacy media and the political power behind them.

Meanwhile, Boukes and Vliegenthart (2017) warn that neutral tone is not the same as impartiality or balance. They argue that legacy media can be neutral but simultaneously could shape perception in a very subtle way, meaning mass media could develop a parallel agenda to focus on shaping perceptions through positioning and frequency rather than using negative or positive words or particular language around an issue. This is relevant since, as happened in 2013, legacy mass media could be interested in keeping a close media ecosystem to reinforce monopoly and dominant narratives.

These results suggest a patterns on how the Honduran legacy media define crime and political issues as the most relevant for audiences. At the same time, they evoke a subtle neutral tone in their headlines, presenting themselves as balanced and objective. Future research may attempt to explain the intentions behind legacy media's prioritization of narratives about crime and politics rather than others, such as health, education, or poverty. It would also be relevant to research whether the objectivity in the neutral tone responds to criticisms that have grown over the last decades against legacy media, especially for its historical ties to economic and political power groups, and their distinctive role in the democratic ecosystem.

CONCLUSION

From a general perspective, this research offers a theoretical implication by extending the analysis on the negativity bias and agenda-setting, which are poorly explored in this region of the Global South. From the local and national perspective, this study offers a very particular snapshot of how editorial decisions are made in these six Honduran legacy media. It also provides evidence of practical implications on how media define mediatic agendas through their front pages. Undoubtedly, limitations such as the study's

time frame (front pages for one month) and the sample (six media outlets) could limit the generalizability of these results and practices. Additionally, it is relevant to mention that the new players in the ecosystem, such as the digital native and non-traditional media, were not included in this study. Therefore, it is suggested that future research should expand this analysis by considering a longer time frame and including digital native and alternative media. On the other hand, it would be relevant to research the impact of these editorial decisions, such as framing and positioning political news as more prominent and crime or negative news as the most frequent on front pages, on the attitudes, feelings, and decisions of Honduran audiences.

Acknowledgment

To CEUTEC Journalism Career, for its openness and facilitation of the space to work with its students.

Authors contributions

All authors participated in the research, working on the manuscript, and approved its final version.

Conflicts of interest

The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

Financing

None.

Use of AI

Minimal. Grammarly was used to review the grammar and punctuation of the manuscript.

REFERENCES

- Andersen, K., Djerf-Pierre, M., & Shehata, A. (2024). The scary world syndrome: News orientations, negativity bias, and the cultivation of anxiety. *Mass Communication and Society*, 27(1), 91–115.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2023.2297829>
- Barclay, S., & Venkat, A. (2014). Newspaper coverage of elections: A comparative study. *Journalism Studies*, 15(3), 321–338.
- Barnhurst, K. G., & Nerone, J. (2001). *The form of news: A history*. Guilford Press.
- Blood, D. J. W. (1982). Public opinion and the press. *Media Studies Review*, 6(2), 15–22.
- Boukes, M., & Vliegenthart, R. (2017). How news consumption stimulates political interest: A content-based approach. *Journalism Studies*, 18(10), 1296–1316.
- Conexihon. (2024, January 29). 101 periodistas y comunicadores sociales asesinados en Honduras. *Conexihon*.
<https://conexihon.hn/2024/01/29/101-periodistas-y-comunicadores-sociales-asesinados-en-honduras/>
- Edgar, P. (1980). Media and public understanding: Agenda-setting in the news. *Communication Research*, 7(4), 451–467.
- Esser, F., Steppat, D., & Brosius, H. B. (2016). Negativity in political news: A review of concepts, operationalizations and key findings. *Journalism*, 17(8), 989–1006.

- Espinoza Hulse, A. (2019). Media laws and censorship in Honduras. *Latin American Journal of Media & Society*, 11(2), 145–162.
- Espinoza-Vásquez, A. (2018). Medios alternativos y cambio en el consumo informativo en Honduras. *Comunicación y Sociedad*, 31(2), 99–116.
- Eugenio, M., & Iglesias, J. (2014). Honduras: Crisis política y neoliberalismo. *Revista de Estudios Latinoamericanos*, 28(1), 201–225.
- Franklin, B. (Ed.). (2013). *The future of journalism: Developments and debates*. Routledge.
- Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., & Signorielli, N. (1980). The "mainstreaming" of America: Violence profile no. 11. *Journal of Communication*, 30(3), 10–29. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1980.tb01987.x>
- Guerrero, M. A., & Ramírez, M. (2015). Media capture in Latin America: Ownership, concentration and government control. In J. Elías & M. Álvarez (Eds.), *Media power in Latin America* (pp. 65–92). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hermans, L., & Gyldensted, C. (2018). Constructive journalism: An introduction and practical guide. *Journalism Practice*, 12(6), 660–672.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Lumsden, M. (2003). Media and conflict in Central America: Press freedom and journalist safety. *Latin American Perspectives*, 30(6), 28–44.
- Lupien, P. (2013). The privatization of the media and democracy in Honduras. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 38(1), 25–46.
- Matthes, J. (2008). Need for orientation as a predictor of agenda-setting effects: A review of research. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 20(4), 440–453.
- McCombs, M., & Evatt, D. (1970). The agenda-setting function of the press. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 34(4), 501–516.
- McCombs, M., Shaw, D. L., & Weaver, D. (2004). *Setting the agenda: The mass media and public opinion*. Polity Press.
- McIntyre, K. (2019). Solutions journalism: The effects of including solution information in news stories about social problems. *Journalism Practice*, 13(1), 16–34. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2017.1409647>
- McIntyre, K., & Gyldensted, C. (2018). Do readers really want "good news"? *Human Communication Research*, 44(3), 263–288.
- McLeod, J. M., & McDonald, D. G. (1985). Beyond simple exposure: Media orientations and their impact on political processes. *Communication Research*, 12(1), 3–33.
- Meier, K. (2018). Engagement in journalism: An analysis of constructive news content. *Journalism Studies*, 19(10), 1326–1343.
- Neuendorf, K. A. (2017). *The content analysis guidebook*. Sage.
- Parks, P. (2019). Journalism and the psychology of fear. *Nieman Reports*, 73(2), 28–34.
- Robles Rivera, F. (2021). Élités y estrategias de captura de medios en América Central. *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, 83(1), 9–40. <https://doi.org/10.22201/iis.01882503p.2021.1.58983>
- Rockwell, R. J., & Janus, N. (2003). *Media power in Central America*. University of Illinois Press.
- Shehata, A., Hopmann, D. N., & Nord, L. W. (2022). News orientations and selective exposure: A cross-national study. *Journalism Studies*, 23(5–6), 765–784.
- Shim, M., & Salmon, C. T. (1990). The agenda-setting function of the media: Testing the validity of the theoretical assumptions. *Journalism Quarterly*, 67(4), 785–792.
- Skovsgaard, M., & Andersen, K. (2020). News fatigue: Causes and consequences of news avoidance. *Journalism Studies*, 21(4), 469–486.
- Soroka, S., & McAdams, S. (2015). News, politics, and negativity bias. *Political Communication*, 32(1), 1–22.
- Sosa Iglesias, J. E. (2014). Honduras: Entre criminalidad, enfrentamiento mediático, protesta social y resultados electorales cuestionados. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 34(1), 203–219.
- Thurman, N., & Hermida, A. (2010). 'Gotcha' journalism: Tabloid news in the digital age. *Journalism Studies*, 11(4), 530–546. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616701003638441>
- Toff, B., & Nielsen, R. K. (2022). The changing role of journalism and trust in news: New insights from the Reuters Institute. *Reuters Institute Report*.
- van der Meer, T. G. L. A., Kroon, A. C., & Verhoeven, J. W. M. (2020). Explaining negative news dominance: The role of affective and cognitive reactions. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 97(4), 941–961.
- Verifica. (2024). *Reporte anual de desinformación 2023*. <https://verifica.hn/reporte2023>
- Vodolazsky, E. (2020). Media privatization and editorial independence in Honduras. *Media & Democracy*, 13(2), 53–74.
- Wanta, W., & Alkazemi, M. F. (2017). Agenda-setting research in the 21st century. In M. McCombs (Ed.), *Setting the agenda for the media* (pp. 91–113). Wiley-Blackwell.
- Wanta, W., Golan, G., & Lee, C. (2004). Agenda setting and international news: Media influence on public perceptions of foreign nations. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(2), 364–377.