Tabloid Journalism in Ireland and Brazil: A Comparative Analysis between an Irish and a Brazilian Tabloid

By

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Declaration:

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the program of study leading to the award of the MA in Journalism & Media Communications, is my own; based on my personal study and/or research, and that I have acknowledged all material and sources used in its preparation. I also certify that I have not copied in part or whole or otherwise plagiarized the work of anyone else, including other students.

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Abstract

This dissertation analyzes and compares Irish and Brazilian coverage of news related to urban violence from two tabloid papers, namely Ireland's *Irish Daily Mirror* and Brazil's *Meia Hora de Noticias,* over a period of three weeks, from 27th April 2018 to 18th May 2018. The aims are to verify the similarities and differences observed between the two papers selected, and to determine how the subject of urban violence is dealt with in both publications. The methodology uses both quantitative analysis and discourse qualitative analysis to achieve these aims. The analytical categories of the research included medium, date of publication, size/length of the article, classification according to genre, articles' sources, articles' subjects, news values and lexical choice. The analysis showed that the coverage of news related to urban violence in both papers was mostly similar, especially in the categories related to sources and news values. The categories of articles' subjects and lexical choice presented both similarities and differences that reflected the realities experienced by both countries on the subject of urban violence. The major differences were noticed in terms of articles' size/length. Sensationalism was present in both papers, though it was slightly more common in the *Irish Daily Mirror.* It is suggested that future research should cover a larger period of analyses and include more tabloids from both nations. In addition, it is also recommended that future research brings more cross-national studies comparing Irish tabloids with those from other countries.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Similar to Ireland, there are many tabloids and news TV programs in Brazil that rely on sensationalism, presenting topics that are usually related to urban violence and the personal life of celebrities. Those vehicles tend to present content in a biased and exaggerated form that may omit relevant facts and information from the public. The biased presentation of the yellow press and tabloids often ignores the social relevance of journalism and disrespects ethical and legal factors to expand the audience. In the case of tabloid journalism, it is constantly the target of controversy and criticism from journalists, other media professionals, politicians and academics due to legal and ethical flaws in reporting, their influence on the political opinions of many readers and for an absence of democratic functions. Such criticism reflects the growing "tabloidization" of the media, which for some scholars has led to a decrease in journalistic standards and traditions, and the replacement of "hard news" with entertainment, human-interest stories and sensationalism. In addition, the idea of "tabloidization" is partially related to a capitalistic system of production and consumption, and popular press tendencies of focusing more on selling copies of their papers rather than educating and explaining issues to their audiences. Another issue considered by the critics of tabloid journalism is the concentration of ownership and the capability of the popular press to set the agenda of a nation. However, other scholars support more positive views of the tabloid press, praising the cultural and social values of the popular media, which aside from informing citizens, allows them to participate in the public debate, contributing to the collective notion of being part of a community. For such scholars popular

journalism makes the rational public sphere more accessible to those that are usually excluded from it (Brichta, 2010).

The tabloid press tends to emphasise themes of sexual and celebrity misconduct, crime, death, disasters, morals and public policy. It has a greater commercial interest and employs colloquial language. Articles are shorter in length, less detailed and rely more on pictures. The articles are directed by market departments and are influenced by factors such as demographics and audience share (Bastos, 2016; Molek-Kozakowska, 2013). In terms of language and headlines, tabloids have a preference for negativity and revelation, since the language seeks to reveal information that might be hidden from the general public. The preference for negativity can be justified as a news value, which exposes extraordinary events that demand attention-drawing coverage (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013).

Tabloid-style practices of journalism are usually associated with sensationalism, where news is expected to engage readers emotionally instead of intellectually. Thus, information that might be considered trivial and of less importance tends to appear as a main news report. As a process, sensationalism highlights factors that lead to emotional reactions from and psychological stimulations of the audience, indicating that both the content and form of the report can be considered sensational. Sensationalism is also recognized as a popular journalistic practice that seeks to create a larger engagement with its audience, and is closer to popular culture than the traditional journalistic standards (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013).

Taking such factors into consideration, this dissertation analyzes and compares the coverage of news related to urban violence from two tabloid papers (Ireland's *Irish Daily Mirror* and Brazil's *Meia Hora de Noticias*) over a period of three weeks, from 27th April 2018 to 18th May 2018. The methodology uses both quantitative analysis and discourse qualitative analysis. This dissertation aims to fill two gaps in research: the lack of a significant amount of studies dedicated to Irish tabloids and a similar lack of researches comparing Irish tabloids with those from other countries. The research questions formulated for this study were: What are the similarities and differences observed between the two papers selected? How is the subject of urban violence dealt with in both publications?

The remainder of my dissertation is comprised by a further four chapters. Chapter two provides an in-depth analysis of the literature on tabloid journalism (highlighting its differences from broadsheet papers), the typical working values and pressures of tabloids and sensationalism. It also provides details regarding how crime and violence are portrayed by the Irish and Brazilian medias, alongside a summary of the two papers analyzed during the research. Chapter three details the chosen methodologies and analytical categories. The results are discussed in chapter four, where it is observed if the aims have been achieved and if the research questions have been answered. Chapter five, the conclusion, summarises the findings and suggests areas where more research is required.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Similar to Ireland, there are many newspapers and news TV programs in Brazil that rely on sensationalism. The topics are usually related to urban violence and the personal life of celebrities. Those vehicles take advantage of vulnerable individuals without formal education or knowledge about ethics and law in the press. Content tends to be presented in a biased and exaggerated form, often omitting relevant facts and information from the public. The biased journalism of the yellow press and tabloids ignores the social relevance of journalism and disrespects ethical and legal factors to expand the audience.

The tabloids appeal to large audiences, comprised in large parts by readers of social groups with lower incomes and educational levels. Tabloids are the targets of considerable controversy and criticism from other journalists, academics and politicians due to their legal and ethical flaws in reporting, their influence on the political opinion of readers and their traditional absence of democratic functions. There is also a trend towards an increasing "tabloidization" of the media, which for some scholars has led to a decrease in journalistic standards, journalistic quality and an increase in the disdain of reporters and editors towards ethical principles. Such views reflect major issues regarding the current structure of media industries, which are influenced by a capitalistic system of production and consumption. Nonetheless, there are other views supported by scholars of "cultural studies" that support the social and cultural values of the popular media such as informing citizens, allowing them to participate in the public debate and

contributing to the construction of a collective notion of belonging to a community (Brichta, 2010).

Considering such factors, I have decided to investigate and compare the sensationalistic journalism practices of two tabloid newspapers: Ireland's *Irish Daily Mirror* and Brazil's *Meia Hora de Noticias* (*Half an Hour of News).* My interest in developing this study comes from a lack of research dedicated to the study of Irish tabloids and the comparison of tabloid journalism between different countries, a fact that was observed during the research. Finally, the study offers an interesting framework for comparing and analyzing the journalistic systems of two countries with diversified social, historical and cultural backgrounds.

2.2 Traditional and Alternative Approaches Towards Tabloid Journalism

The traditional thinking regarding tabloid journalism is related to liberal media theories that consider journalism as essential to the existence of democracy. To scholars that defend the liberal media theories, it is only through the mass media that the democratic political debate and the democratic political life are possible. Much of this field of study and considerations about the function of media in society were influenced by the normative concept of the public sphere developed by Jurgen Habermas. Haberma's ideas are influenced by the Enlightenment and consider that the public sphere and the public discourse should be an informed and rational dialogue among equals. The media thus provides to the public both the essential information for matters of public interest and the landscape for an informed and rational debate. In the context of such ideas, entertainment can be regarded as a deviation from the main functions and roles of the mass media, because its style features, content and discourse differ from the rational discourse (Brichta, 2010).

Those democratic theories defend the idea of a "tabloidization" of the media, due to practices related to the style and content of the popular press, which lead to a considerable decline of standards and the replacement of "hard news" with entertainment, human-interest stories and sensationalism. The idea of "tabloidization" highlights issues about the organization of media industries in the context of capitalist lines of production and consumption, along popular press tendencies of focusing more on selling copies of their papers rather than educating and explaining issues to their audiences. The criticisms of the democratic theories are also valid for the issue of the concentration of ownership and the capability of the popular press to set the agenda of a nation (Brichta, 2010).

On the other hand, scholars of cultural studies share a different view of tabloid journalism. To them, culture (and thus popular journalism) is part of a vast range of social practices. To them, information and entertainment, rationality and emotion, hard and soft news are not polar opposites and can bring similar benefits to society. They believe that popular journalism can make the rational public sphere more accessible to those that are usually excluded from it. They also believe popular journalism affects social change by giving news access to larger parts of the audience, and that tabloid media fulfils important social and cultural requisites which other forms of journalism are incapable of doing (Brichta, 2010).

Such scholars argue that tabloid narratives provide a sense of national identity through their news values and textual attributes. The textual style of tabloids is related to the development of a community of readers. This can be seen through their use of certain textual devices such as the pronouns "we", "us" and "them", alongside the frequent readership address that builds a sense of proximity

between the paper and its readers. This conception of national identity in tabloid journalism is reinforced by the notion of the "other". This "other" is frequently portrayed as a type of threat or an external enemy that is dangerous to the community (Brichta, 2010).

2.3 Irish Media in the Late 20th century

In general, newspaper's traditions in Ireland were related to the political culture of the 19th century. The Irish newspapers preferred to avoid human-interest stories and instead focused on the political struggles of the time such as the Land League and the campaign for Catholic emancipation. Those papers deemed their role as essentially serious. Political topics were usually present on the front pages, though *The Independent* published some human-interest stories. Nonetheless, they were bland and echoed the paper's conservative and catholic posture. During 1995, Irish newspapers lost 7 per cent of their total market share due to competition from UK published titles. Irish newspapers held around 69 per cent of the total market share at the time. In this period, the total circulation of newspapers was declining, due to lower readership (Horgan, 2001).

The end of the 20th century saw the collapse of the *Irish Press* group. There was much speculation regarding the role of the *Independent* group in this collapse, as well as the prominent position of that group in the Irish indigenous media sector. Most of the newspapers published at the time were under the influence of the *Independent* group. At the same time, the entire print media were pressuring the government to take measures against the abundance of British print media in Ireland. Such pressures were done through the National Newspapers of Ireland (NNI). In response, the Irish government organized the Commission on the Newspaper Industry. The Commission addressed some key concerns of the

industry such as: the danger posed to the diversity of opinion caused by the collapse of the *Press* group and the growing role and influence of the *Independent* group; the dangers created by the large numbers of UK titles in Ireland; the general competitiveness of the industry; and legal and taxation matters (Horgan, 2001).

The Commission adapted most of the industry's agenda. Regarding taxation, it supported a decrease of the rate of VAT on papers. It embraced the discoveries of the 1994 Law Reform Commission report concerning defamation, proposing measures that would be beneficial for both ordinary citizens and the media in general. It accepted that though privacy was important, it could be violated in matters of public interest.The Commission also suggested some changes in capital acquisition tax (CAT) in order to protect smaller media organizations, such as those owned by families, from excessive taxation following the deaths of major shareholders. However, the Commission was unable to solve the problem of the fallen diversity in Irish newspapers, which was observed by the growth of the *Independent* group (Horgan, 2001).

The period post-1995 until 2000 saw a significant growth in the Irish economy, a reduction in the country's national debt, a rise in immigration and increasing advertisement revenue in the Irish media. Newspaper sales increased as well as the total market. Among the indigenous titles, the *Irish Sun* experienced significant growth. In the Sunday market, Irish titles were able to recover market share after 1995. The prices of Irish papers became more stable, keeping their prices steady for the majority of the 1995 to 2000 period. The end of the 20th century also saw growing competition among newspapers, which led to a new focus on exclusive stories. In the tabloid market, such stories became more

related to the personal lives of public figures than social and economic topics. The broadsheets started focusing more on the misdeeds of the government. The years of 1999 and 2000 were marked by several stories related to scandals in the planning process and questionable payments made to politicians through main business interests. This led to the establishment of many judicial tribunals, which would contribute to the development of investigative journalism. The slowness of such tribunals to deal with the growing amount of evidence led many journalists to reveal details of cases in advance (Horgan, 2001). A tendency of journalism during the 20th century was a social tendency in the West towards reducing emotional involvement in the news or emotive displays that might be considered inappropriate. It became the norm to display stable and expected emotional reactions. This behavior reflected the need to be objective and factual, since the journalist intended to portray "reality" (Peters, 2011).

Regarding recent developments in the field of journalism, we can observe a growth of emotive and more personalised styles of presentations that differ from the norm of objective journalism. This is particularly true in the case of cable news, specially in the USA, where shows such as *The O'Reilly Factor, Hannity, Larry King Live* and *Lou Dobbs Tonight,* look to build an emotive connection with their audiences, while discarding dispassionate journalism practices (Peters, 2011).

Regarding tabloids, for several years the tabloid culture in Ireland consisted of purchasing English tabloids. Ireland began publishing its own tabloids by 1973 with the foundation of the *Sunday World.* This publication was for several years Ireland's only tabloid. It was later joined by the *Star,* a paper founded to compete with the British tabloid the *Sun* and to guarantee that Tony O'Reilly's Independent

Newspapers would have a publication for each segment of the market. Throughout the years, the *Star* became an Irish tabloid with considerably less material than its sister publication in England (Foley, 1998).

2.4 The Rise of Tabloid Journalism

Tabloid journalism boomed during early 21st century, as several newspapers changed their formats from broadsheets to a more compacted and user-friendly style. This format featured fewer articles with fewer words and provided more space to images in storytelling. No hard news was featured on the front page, and more attention was given to personalized news, readers' letters and pages. In addition, themes such as housing, health and education gained more focus than in broadsheet papers (Bastos, 2016).

Regarding television, tabloidization grew in the late 1980s and the early 1990s in Western Europe due to liberalization policies, which led to a growth of infotainment and sensationalism (Arbaoi, De Swert, van der Brug, 2016).Those liberalization policies turned media systems from public institutions into dual markets (public and commercial). This transformation is considered to have been followed by the use of more commercial approaches, because of competition for advertising revenues and audience.To some scholars, such tendencies created a scenario in which news was treated as a commodity, thus losing much of its educative and informative values (Arbaoi, De Swert, van der Brug, 2016).

Tabloid journalism later transitioned to the digital media, because of the increasing integration among print and online newsrooms. Tabloid journalism in online media places an emphasis on fast content, digest-style short stories, celebrity news, blogs and a high level of dependency on visual presentation. The

overabundance of celebrity and social news, alongside the growth of reality shows and news focused on popular culture, led to a blurring of the credibility borders that separated traditional outlets from the digital media. Changes in the digitalization of the tabloid media have created new challenges for this industry. In the current period of transitional journalism practices, the impact of commercial advertisers is expected to be reduced, leading to significant modifications in the traditional business model of tabloid journalism (Bastos, 2016).

2.5 Tabloid and Broadsheet Papers

Tabloid media and tabloidization are related to the degradation of serious newsgathering and reporting correlated with the quality press. Initial incursions of the tabloid genre can be observed in the 19th century through experimental publications aimed at the popular taste, but the term gained specific application in the print media during the following century. Originally, the term tabloid is related to the paper format, which was initially printed in A1 paper and later in the smaller A3 paper. The term was later used to refer to editorial decisions that differentiate the quality broadsheet press from the popular tabloid one. During the 20th century, the term was then applied to commercial media in general. The tabloid press became associated with connecting articles and reports between economics and consumer products, and between celebrities' stories and popular culture (Bastos, 2016). The tabloids are sold in single copies from news-stands, while broadsheets tend to be sold through subscriptions. Because of this, tabloids are usually more dependent on the appeal of their stories than broadsheet newspapers (Skovsgaard, 2014). On the other hand, broadsheet papers tend to rely more on investigative approaches and in-depth coverage of

news, while adopting a more sober writing style in articles. They employ smaller headlines and longer texts, using fewer photos (Bastos, 2016).

The tabloid press usually emphasizes themes of sexual and celebrity misconduct, crime, death, disasters, morals and public policy. It has a greater commercial interest and employs colloquial language. Articles are shorter in length, less detailed and rely more on pictures. The articles are often directed by market departments and are influenced by factors such as demographics and audience share (Bastos, 2016; Molek-Kozakowska, 2013). In terms of language and headlines, tabloids have a preference for negativity and revelation, since the language seeks to reveal information that might be hidden from the general public. The preference for negativity can be justified as a news value, which exposes extraordinary events that demand attention-drawing coverage (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013).

Broadsheet and tabloid papers appeal to different audiences, with different interests. The readers of British broadsheets prefer topics related to politics and react less to articles of human interest, religion and lifestyle than tabloid readers. On average, readers of tabloids are younger and less educated. Tabloids tend to have a larger circulation than broadsheet papers. Readers of online tabloid and social media news are usually young and online tabloid readers tend to be less educated than the social media ones. Social media audiences are usually urban and more politically engaged as well (Bastos, 2016).

Social media channels such as Twitter and Facebook are very popular among adults between 18 and 29 years old. Twitter in particular attracts more urban audiences than suburban and rural residents. Both social media and the tabloid press share the similarity of the role of audience share and feedback to reports,

which are frequently driven by the readers' interest in the article's headline. A consequence of such changes is the growth of viral news sites, which feature changes in the tabloid format by publishing compilations of popular and highly clickable content, which usually have no news value (Bastos, 2016).

News values traditionally dictate which stories are chosen and how they are framed. The more values a story has, the higher the probability of it becoming news. Such values are not fixed and are changeable. The concepts of news values were first analysed by Galtung and Ruge (1965) through the article "The Structure of Foreign News". They developed a list of factors that might dictate whether or not a story is considered news. A story becomes news if it satisfies the following conditions: negativity (which is usually more frequent and unexpected than positive news), unambiguity (a clear event that can be understood without different meanings), unexpectedness (the rarity of an event), frequency (recent events), meaningfulness/cultural proximity (news that is culturally familiar to the audience), threshold (related to the intensity and size of events), continuity (continuing coverage of an event that has already been reported), composition (mixture of different types of news), consonance (the predictability of an event), references to persons (events as the results of actions by named people and the personification of events), references to elite nations (events related to global powers such as the USA and the UK),and references to elite people (events related to powerful and famous people).

2.6 Sensationalism

Sensationalism has been linked to tabloid-style practices of journalism. News items selected for articles are expected to engage readers emotionally instead of intellectually. Thus, information that might be considered trivial and of less

importance tends to appear as a main news report. Sensationalism is a process that highlights factors that lead to emotional reactions from and psychological stimulations of the audience. This indicates that both the content and form of the report can be considered sensational. Sensationalism is also recognized as a popular journalistic practice that seeks to create a larger engagement with its audience, and is closer to popular culture than the traditional journalistic standards (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013).

In an analysis of sensationalism in news media, Molek-Kozakowska (2013) observed that headlines in sensationalistic news may follow a traditional narrative structure of: initial event, exposition, complication, climax and resolution, usually in chronological order. However, the most common order followed in the sample analysed was a narrative in which the climax came before the complication. The most common order followed was: climax, complication and resolution. This structure follows the inverted pyramid order of exposing the most relevant information first. Sensationalistic headlines also featured a high number of descriptive and emotive negative labels that are presented negatively. News headlines were presented as something unexpected and extraordinary, in order to highlight emotion and interest in the story. A sense of importance was given to the headlines by using elements such as: capitals in print, through quotations of elite sources, through references of political and business sources, and by citing statistics and sums (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013).

In terms of storytelling, sensationalistic narratives use human exemplars to give concrete and emotional testimonies. Ordinary people often appear as actors, in order to comment on stories or to serve as eyewitnesses to events. In radio and television, sensationalistic reports can also employ audio-visual effects such as

music and specific camera techniques to grab the attention of the audiences. Those techniques can include fast editing pace, use of music and voice-over narration (Arbaoi, De Swert and van der Brug, 2016).

A main component of the sensationalistic press are the *"fait divers"*, in which journalists have the intention of grabbing their readers through a headline that announces an event that is expected to be recognized as something surprising and dangerous. Through *fait divers,* papers are able to publish news of different genres related to the everyday life such as scandals, violent crimes, robberies and tragedies. The sensationalistic press uses the extravagancy of the *fait divers* to create most of their headlines (Sobrinho, 1995).

Tabloid journalism can also pluralize the media-sphere, making it accessible and interesting to audiences who usually do not have access to the public sphere (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013). In addition, some cultural studie's scholars argue that tabloid journalism gives more space in the news media for everyday concerns of non-elite readers, who can be alienated by the serious press tendencies to maintain cultural hegemony (Bastos, 2016).

2.7 Typical Values and Pressures in Tabloid Journalism

Tabloid journalists present professional values that differ from the ones held by other journalists. They also experience different types of pressure at work. Traditionally, scholars agree that an important professional value of journalism is the public service norm. Other common values are objectivity, a sense of public service obligation and a role of a watchdog towards social issues. But those professional ideologies can be interpreted and negotiated according to the journalist's workplace, since such professionals rely on the organizations they

work for to obtain access to the public they need to serve. In addition, professional ideals may not be the same as the organizations' goals and objectives, particularly regarding the organizations' profit goals. The tabloids face significant pressure to sell newspapers. Another relevant factor is that tabloids rely more on the appeal of their stories to sell papers, since they tend to be sold in single copies from news-stands. As a result, if tabloids do not sell enough copies in a day, this is reflected in their sales figures during that evening (Skovsgaard, 2014).

Skovsgaard (2014) conducted a study, which compared tabloid journalists to other journalists, according to a survey of Danish journalists. The data obtained indicated that tabloid journalists are under more organizational pressure for profits than other types of journalists. Tabloid journalists are also under more influence of competition with other media than journalists who work for other organizations. As a result, tabloid journalists focus less on public service notions than other journalists. They are more profit oriented, less objective and have more of an entertainment role than their peers. The study also revealed that journalists from tabloids endorse sensationalist news values more than others, and their journalistic style is more personalized. This personalized style occurs nor only for profit reasons and audience figures, but also due to adherence to a public mobilizer role, whose main goal is to engage regular citizens in a democratic debate. Thus, the personalized style is used to make subjects related to politics and current affairs more interesting and engaging to regular citizens (Skovsgaard, 2014).

2.8 Crime and Violence in Tabloids

The fast-paced nature of journalism has frequently attracted criticism related to the ethical conduct of its professionals. This criticism is present in the

contemporary media, through the emergence of a celebrity culture and the tabloidization of the mainstream media. This style of journalism has led to a focus on crime reports, which is a genre that attracts the audience due to its emotive narratives (Rabbitte, 2012).

Crime news also satisfies a vast range of criteria that is taken into consideration before qualifying an event as newsworthy. Such criteria include: amplitude (the effect of an event); unexpectedness; negativity; personification (if an event personifies the moral state of society); meaningfulness. Because of this, the media can become a source of blame for its distorted representation of crime, leading to an emphasis on spectacular and violent aspects, which are common in sensationalistic publications (Rabbitte, 2012).

According to Galtung and Ruge (1973), once an event is turned into news, the aspects that made it newsworthy are amplified. This creates a cumulative effect of cultivating an image of society that does not correspond to reality, such as the one of a society overwhelmed by crime. More specifically, in the case of crime coverage, this means that serious crimes (which have more news values) are over-reported when compared to less-serious ones, which are more common but don't have the same number of news values. A consequence of this trend is the increasing of moral panic by the 1990s alongside a culture of fear. An effect of this fear is that society starts to misrecognize real problems and to support ineffective solutions to solve such problems. An example of this in Irish society occurred during the murders of Detective Garda Jerry McCabe and journalist Veronica Guerin, which generated an emotional outburst from political and media outlets, and was later followed by a comprehensive legislative action (Rabbitte, 2012).

According to Altheide (2002), while political and economic factors can contribute to fear in society, he considers the mass media and popular culture as the major contributors to a culture of fear. The American media uses a "problem frame", according to him, to frame and convey fear, with the intention of securing entertainment and audience satisfaction. The "problem frame" is part of the media system used in the USA, and was highly applied in the 1980s due to a growth of news outlets. It brought a collective desire to turn news and reports into something more exciting and entertaining. To him, the discourse of fear is continuous, and sources, producers and audiences support the problem frame to the point that fear becomes something expected and welcomed in the mass media (Rabbitte, 2012).

2.9 Crime in Ireland and its Representation in the Media

In general, Ireland is associated with low crime levels in the European continent. However, some elements must be considered when observing the crime statistics on the island. One of those elements is that the Gardaí records only crimes that have been reported and that such data does not consider other variables such as population change. Historically, crime levels in Ireland were considered low until the 1960s. By 1981, crime rates were deemed five times higher than in 1961. This period corresponds to the economic boom in Ireland that started in the 1960s. Despite this trend, the country continued to show one of the lowest crime levels in Europe. According to a European Union study, Ireland presented half the crime rate of the USA and about one quarter of the crime in England and Wales. The island also had one-fifth of the crime rate in comparable countries like Denmark and New Zealand. Nonetheless, public perception presents a different view. A research conducted in Ireland during the late 20th and early 21st

century showed a nation very worried about crime, in opposition to the numbers and statistics assembled by specialists. One of the reasons for this public perception was due to the media-political landscape of the late 20th century in Ireland. The media representation of crime turned Ireland into a nation obsessed with it by 1996 (Rabbitte, 2012).

O'Connell (1999) conducted a study to analyse the relationship between the media and the public perception of crime. The study discovered a tendency of national newspapers to over-report violent crimes. Consequently, the public perception of crime was uneven in comparison to the real levels of serious crimes in Ireland. The study discovered four main forms in which the media distort the representation of crime. Those forms were: bias towards peculiar and extreme crimes according to frequency; the amount of space occupied by certain stories in newspapers; reports regarding vulnerable victims and invulnerable offenders; and a bias towards pessimistic descriptions of the criminal justice system in general. To him, the reporting of violent crimes in the Irish press was so intense to the point that common crimes in the Irish press were seldom present in the official crime statistics, while common crimes in the official figures were seldom seen in the Irish press accounts of crime (Rabbitte, 2012).

2.10 Tabloids, Sensationalism and Crime Reporting in Brazilian Tabloid Media

The growth of tabloid newspapers in Brazil was in part due to the growth of literacy and income of the less well off people during the early 2000s. Such papers were aimed at those with limited access to the internet and online resources. The majority of those papers have an easier to read format and are cheaper than the older and more traditional publications. They use many puns and bad jokes and their headlines often highlight themes related to violence,

football and eroticism. Another important characteristic of such publications is the exploration of the grotesque. Some stories are reported in a way that is closer to the grotesque and the ridiculous. Through the grotesque, the tabloid newspapers in Brazil dialogue with their public through both journalism and humour. Their reports explore the harsh world of the less well off people, the personal life of celebrities and even paranormal activities, creating a spectacle that is shocking and seeks to attract the reader's attention. Those trends create a newspaper that both entertains and informs by turning facts into something grotesque and employing a reading style that is closer to novels and easier to be understood by their target audience (Paiva D. and Madruga A., 2010; Figueiredo P. and Luz C., 2010).

Among the Brazilian tabloids, one of the most enduring is the *Meia Hora de Noticias,* published in Rio de Janeiro. According to the paper website, the *Meia Hora* has around 234,253 daily readers. Of those, around 74 per cent are people with less formal education and income. Many of those readers live in the *Baixada Fluminense* or in disadvantaged communities. Since the *Meia Hora* considers those communities as strongholds for violence, the paper values this type of news, showing the everyday life of those living in such areas. The topic of violence occupies most of the space dedicated to local news, and in a sense, it is the only newspaper that brings concrete information about the *Baixada Fluminense* (Figueiredo P. and Luz C., 2010; Paiva D. and Madruga A., 2010).

Regarding its format and content, the *Meia Hora* highlights news whose headlines are in black and white or red and white. Topics related to violence, sports and entertainment occupy more space than other types of news. The first 13 to 15 pages of the newspaper have content related to job vacancies, useful phone

numbers, lottery results (the first two pages) and violence (Paiva D. and Madruga A., 2010; Figueiredo P. and Luz C., 2010). The pages related to job vacancies bring details such as the number of job vacancies, the company that is offering it, the necessary qualification for the job and information about the salary and documents required to apply for it. The pages also provide details about the number of job vacancies for each sector (commerce, construction, industry) and vacancies reserved for disabled people. There is also information containing the latest lottery results (Ellwanger, 2006).

This is followed by the sports section, which occupies approximately 11 pages and is mostly focused on football. This section also brings the column *"Gata da Hora",* with sensual pictures of female readers who support one of Brazil's football teams (Figueiredo P. and Luz C., 2010). The sports section usually brings a more personalised style. The first paragraph highlights the fan's reactions during the match. Details about the results, players, goals and location of the match are presented throughout the story, rather than in the first two paragraphs. The section is mostly focused on the four big football teams in Rio de Janeiro. Usually a single page is dedicated to each club. But the paper also provides content about the main Brazilian players who are currently playing for European teams such as Barcelona and Real Madrid (Ellwanger, 2006).

Topics about health, technology and international news occupy only one page. Three pages are dedicated to the subject of television, with guides and summaries of Brazilian soap operas. Two pages are reserved for cinemas and one for the personal life of celebrities. The *Meia Hora* has an average of 40 pages per edition (Figueiredo P., Luz C.; 2010). The health section brings general information about diseases, treatments, vaccination campaigns and free events

promoted by public and private institutions. The sources used for this sections include doctors, nutritionists and ordinary people that are experiencing problems caused by diseases. The main objective of this section is to offer guidance, solutions and medical services to readers (Ellwanger, 2006).

The pages about technology seek to provide basic information to readers on how to use computers. The same topic can be discussed from different points of view. The paper gives a preference to download free programs related to text edition, manipulation of images, music and video. The language is very didactic. The section dedicated to international news usually brings stories related to terrorism, natural catastrophes and tragedies. There is preference for news that has occurred in the USA and Europe. Stories about the Middle East, Africa or Asia are very rare. Stories with historical or political contexts such as elections or conflicts between countries are also very uncommon (Ellwanger, 2006). There is a considerable number of advertisements, mostly related to supermarkets, electronics stores and loans. The majority of those advertisements were found in the middle and back cover of the newspaper. The language used was informal. Ironies and jargons were present in the headlines but not on the news texts. Jargons and ironies were also present in the news about celebrities, television and radio. Didactic language was common in the sections about health, jobs and technology (Figueiredo P. and Luz C., 2010).

2.11 Research Gaps and Research Questions

A gap exists on the research of tabloid journalism in Ireland. There is a lack of studies comparing Irish and Brazilian tabloids. The Brazilian tabloids, including the *Meia Hora de Noticias*, are covered in a significant number of studies (Figueiredo P. and Luz C., 2010; Paiva D. and Madruga A., 2010; Sobrinho D.,

1995), but I have not observed the same amount of research dedicated to the Irish tabloids, and even less to the *Irish Daily Mirror*. There is also a lack of a significant number of studies dedicated to analyzing Irish tabloids and comparing tabloid journalism between different countries.

This dissertation aims to fill these gaps in the literature through a content and discourse analysis comparing the sensationalistic practices and specificities of tabloid newspapers from two different countries regarding the topic of urban violence. The two tabloids selected are the *Irish Daily Mirror* in Ireland and the *Meia Hora de Noticias* in Brazil. The study also aims to provide data about the differences and similarities between the papers and to analyse the way that urban violence is dealt with on both vehicles. The research was conducted over a period of three weeks, from 27th April to 18th May.

Based on the literature reviewed in this chapter, the aims of the study and the gaps on research, I turned my focus to the main questions of my study, which are:

1. What are the similarities and differences observed between the two papers selected?
2. How is the subject of urban violence dealt with in both publications?

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter details the methodology used during the research study. In order to establish a comparative study between the yellow journalism practices of the *Irish Daily Mirror* and the *Meia Hora de Noticias,* I undertook a quantitative content analysis alongside a qualitative discourse analysis. The quantitative theory was used to give examples and statistical data regarding yellow journalism practices. Such examples helped answer the research questions listed in the introduction chapter. The qualitative discourse analysis seeks to find how meaning is created and focuses on interpreting the research material. Through the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods the researcher hoped that the constraints of each method were reduced, and that the gains of both would be used in the research.

The chapter has the following structure: a summary of qualitative research; a summary of qualitative discourse analysis; a summary of quantitative research; naming of the Irish and Brazilian newspapers used in the research study; the time period in which the study was conducted; definition of analytical categories; ethical issues; limitations and challenges of the research.

3.2 Qualitative Content Analysis

The qualitative research is a research strategy that prioritizes words and data collection. It differs from the norms of the natural scientific methods and emphasizes theories based on the forms in which people interpret their social world (Rabbitte, 2012).

The qualitative content analysis observes how meaning is generated and it is focused on a careful and detailed analysis, alongside an interpretation of the researched material. Those procedures are used in the content analysis to identify certain aspects such as patterns, themes and meanings. It looks at how meaning is created, and it can be applied alongside the quantitative analysis. It looks at more than content only. Its main purpose is to apprehend the depths of the event analyzed instead of just being used to simplify statistical generalizations (Smyth, 2017; Rabbitte, 2012). Qualitative research gives more importance to the individual perspectives. It also develops patterns and common features in research. Nonetheless, it is more time-consuming than quantitative research, and it can use too much subjectivity (Rabbitte, 2012).

The qualitative content analysis can be applied in several different areas of study such as: analyzing how a text relates to others; examining the formulaic aspects of a text; in contexts that involve analysis of production; in measuring audience expectations; in determining the history and evolution of a genre; in studying symbolic and technical codes (Smyth, 2017).

3.3 Qualitative Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis was applied in this study as a form of exploring the use of language through the context of an article, its headline and the meaning that is created as a consequence. The analysis also looked at how the language used by the *Irish Daily Mirror* and the *Meia Hora de Notícias* differs in terms of the tabloid discourse. The discourse used by the media can be seen as a form of communicating systems of knowledge and power through language (Conboy, 2007). As an interdisciplinary discipline, discourse analysis assimilates content from different contexts such as the cognitive practices of production and the

reception and the sociocultural scope of communication and language use. Discourse analysis concentrates on how written and spoken texts develop knowledge, social relations, identity and power (van Dijk, 1998; Luke, 1997). It analyzes how meaning differs depending on the media texts and the types of thinking found in those texts (Matheson, 2005).

Newspapers have an influence in building and supporting societal discourses (Conboy, 2006). Nonetheless, the discourse present in news can be seen as a practice that is not neutral and which reflects social reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1966), with words, sentences and phrases acting as "constructive mediators". Also, the style and language used in newspapers are editorial strategies used in order to target a readership. The language employed is familiar to that readership, a process that aids in the creation of discourses that appeal to the readership of a newspaper (Fowler, 1991). Newspapers present a discourse and a reflection of societal discourses. Broadsheet and tabloid papers present different types of discourses, and their readers reflect the discourses that reinforce the ideologies defended by each type of paper. Tabloids tend to offer their readers a discourse that differs from the views of the political and economic classes (Connnell, 1998; Ornebring and Jonsson, 2008). According to Conboy (2006), tabloids create a discourse where topics such as nationalism, crime and the private life of celebrities have a major role, replacing traditionally more "important" topics such as politics.

3.4 Quantitative Content Analysis

Quantitative content analysis is a more systematic method than the qualitative one. It is used to develop generalizations that support a hypothesis or theory and that allow the researcher to better comprehend and explain phenomena. This

type of research identifies and counts the number of times certain characteristics are found in texts. The results obtained can offer an insight into the messages, pictures and social significances of texts (Rabbitte, 2012; Cunningham, 2014). Main interests regarding quantitative content analysis include social stereotyping, misrepresentation and the symbolic elimination of distinct groups of individuals. Quantitative research has been a main approach in social research and gives us information about different subjects in the form of numbers and statistics (Cunningham, 2012; Smyth, 2016).

The data collected is converted into numbers and statistics through the processes of measurement. The data obtained through quantitative research can also be used to measure concepts that have no measures, such as job satisfaction and people's attitudes (Smyth, 2016). Quantitative research is applied in surveys that: analyze the same materials over time with different interview samples; study the same group of people over time; analyze groups of individuals who have an event in common; study dependent and independent variables during two distinct points in time (Smyth, 2016).

This method offers several advantages to the researcher, such as: it is an inexpensive form of research; the researchers can work with themes which are current and historical; it allows to analyze the evolution of certain process over long periods; it generates numbers and statistics. Though it is a statistically reliable and less time consuming method, the quantitative research has some disadvantages. One of such disadvantage is the fact that though the method explains the way things are, it does not offer a reason for it (Smyth, 2017; Rabbitte, 2012).

Because of this, I came to the conclusion that both quantitative and qualitative methods would be appropriate to the research, as one would provide statistical data to the analysis, while the other would add greater depth to the study.

3.5 Definition of the Research Questions and Sample Selection

The chosen analysis method of this dissertation was the analysis of two newspapers. Both qualitative discourse analysis and quantitative analysis of the papers were conducted. Two tabloid newspapers were selected, one from Ireland and one from Brazil. The papers were: the *Irish Daily Mirror* and the *Meia Hora de Noticias.*

The study examined newspaper coverage of urban violent crime news and features over a period of three weeks, from 27th April 2018 to 18th May 2018. As the dissertation conducted a comparison of urban violence news between the two countries, only news related to domestic crimes in Ireland or Brazil were included in the analysis. In Ireland's case, reports about Northern Ireland were also included due to cultural and territorial proximity. Crime news registered in other countries were not included in the research.

As stated in the Introduction chapter, the research questions for this study are:

1. What are the similarities and differences observed between the two papers selected?
2. How is the subject of urban violence dealt with in both publications?

Specifically, I wanted to compare the tabloid style and yellow journalism practices of both countries based on the two papers selected, with a particular focus on stories related to urban violence, and to observe how the media of two countries with significantly different levels of daily violence reacted to this topic.

Taking into consideration the technological advancements of the industry and the way in which the stories are now consumed by the public, I have decided to use the websites of both the *Irish Daily Mirror* and the *Meia Hora de Noticias* on a daily basis for the collection of news.

Articles excluded from the sample include those not related to urban violence, such as news about sports, celebrities, tragedies caused by natural disasters and advertisings. As only news and features regarding urban violence were selected for this research, editorials, letters to the editor and op-eds were not included.

Regarding the papers selected, the *Meia Hora de Noticias* has a target audience of Rio de Janeiro's working class, who are usually readers with less formal education and lower income. The paper has an affordable price, and its articles are typically short, surrounded by pictures, tables and infographics. Stories are written in a dramatic way and have a strong appeal towards the reader's emotion. The paper also has a humorous tone, reserved for less serious news (Ellwanger, 2006).

The paper's publicity campaign is mostly focused in the exterior media. The paper invested in urban furniture, outdoors, panels, banners and stickers. The paper also adopted, during its first week of sales, a partnership with the newspaper sellers, by giving then 70 per cent of the paper's cover price, instead of the traditional 30 per cent offered by other publications (Ellwanger, 2006).

Originally, the paper was only available from Mondays to Fridays. After two months from its first publication, it became available every day, with the sports, health and television sections becoming available on Sundays. The paper sells an average of 234,253 copies per day, with Sunday being the day of lowest sales

and Monday the highest one. During its year of release in 2005, the paper sold an average of 73,399 copies per day (Ellwanger, 2006; Figueiredo, and Luz, 2010).

The UK version of the *Daily Mirror* was founded in 1903. Both the *Irish Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Mirror* are owned by the company Trinity Mirror. During December 2016, the *Daily Mirror* had an average daily print circulation of 716, 923. This circulation fell to 587,803 in 2017. Funded by Alfred Harmsworth in 1903, the *Daily Mirror* was originally a newspaper targeted towards women. It is a photo-rich tabloid that highlights sensational and human-interest stories, which frequently adopts a "common man versus bureaucracy" stance to reporting. The paper was acquired in 1999 by Trinity Mirror PLC (Ponsford, 2017; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2017).

3.6 Analytical Categories

Quantitative content analysis was applied during the defined research period to examine the number of news articles related to urban violence in the two newspapers selected for the study. This process included counting the number of articles about urban violence in both papers and determining the percentage difference in the volume of urban violence produced by the two publications during the research period. The quantitative method facilitates the drawing of inferences from the text, thus helping in the analysis of the press, which is constantly rooted in different ideologies. According to Finnegan (1998), newspapers are not written exclusively to give facts to the audience, and sources do not spring into being naturally, but are a result of their origins and are forged by the target audience.

Though the quantitative analysis offered a better understanding of the representation of urban violence articles in the papers selected, it is was not possible to obtain conclusive answers to the research questions based on numbers alone. Thus, qualitative discourse analysis was also applied in order to obtain a deeper analysis of the articles and highlight any differences in the form that stories were approached by each paper. After examining the texts selected, the content was classified according to a number of standardised categories, which helped to obtain information that offered a better insight regarding the research questions. Such standardised categories included:

- Medium: Document the news website/newspaper the texts appeared in.

- Date of publication: Day/Month/Year.

- Size/Length of the article: This item seeks to observe the attention given to articles.

- Classification according to genre: This item identifies if the article is a news report, a feature, an editorial, letter to the editor, comment or column. This research considered only news reports and features.

- Sources of the article: This item identifies if and which sources were used in the articles. This included sources such as journalists, academics, police officers, legal sources, private sources, analysts, victims, and observers.

- Subject of article: This item regards the subject theme of the urban violence story. The categories included: drugs, theft, physical assault, sexual assault, murder, among others.

- News values: This item highlights any similarities and differences between the news values in Irish and Brazilian coverage of urban violence. The headline and opening of an article can determine the news values that will

appear. The item applied the list of factors developed by Galtung and Ruge (1965) to determine if a story becomes news. The news values were determined by reading the articles and observing what values appeared in each of them.

- Lexical Choice: This item analyzed the vocabulary used in the articles. Van Dijk (2000) conducted a lexical content analysis of headlines. Through his analysis, he observed that the words used in headlines express not only the explanation of the event, but also the social and political views of the newspaper regarding this event.

The item included a distinction between words that label and describe the facts of an event and words that present judgements about the acts or perpetrators of the crimes contained in the articles. Aspects of framing were also considered in the analysis of the lexical choice. Through studying the words used in articles, it is possible to find whether or not some elements of reality are highlighted more than others. This was applied to observe the role of framing in the portrayal of urban violence by the media (Lecheler and de Vreese, 2012). It is also important to take into consideration the fact that journalists have a tendency towards stereotyping people, situations and issues. This affects the decision making process of what is considered to be newsworthy and the way news is presented (Cunningham, 2014).

3.7 Ethical Issues

As the nature and focus of my research study is mostly theoretical and doesn't involve interviewing people or developing a voluntary participation schedule,

there were no relevant ethical considerations. The same was true for the newspaper's analysis, due to the detached nature of the analysis.

3.8 Limitations and Challenges

As methods, both the qualitative and quantitative content methods used for the analysis of each article were time consuming, and analysis of the newspapers were long and challenging as each website had to be examined several times to ensure that no urban violence article was forgotten. Another challenge was translating from Portuguese to English some of the content present in the *Meia Hora de Notícias.* In addition, the findings of the study must be considered in the context of the limitations of a three-week period of study, which did not permit a long-term analysis. Therefore, the frequency of the topic of urban violence and its media coverage was beyond my control. Nonetheless, I believe three weeks a sufficient time-period to obtain conclusive results for the research questions presented.

Chapter 4: Findings and Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the findings regarding the content and discourse analysis performed to compare the similarities and differences between the two tabloids selected, and to determine how the subject of urban violence is dealt with in both papers. The use and combination of the content and discourse analysis was deemed to be appropriate as the methods balanced each other. The content analysis provided the statistical data for the results of the research, while the discourse analysis complemented these results by providing further discussion on the main topics of the research.

4.2 Content Analysis Initial Results

Over the course of a three-week period, from 27 April 2018 to 18 May 2018, a total of 276 articles under the topic of urban violence was analyzed within the two chosen newspapers. Among those 276 articles, 203 (73%) belonged to the *Meia Hora de Notícias,* and 73 (27%) to the *Irish Daily Mirror* (as seen below in figure 1 and figure 2) with the largest amount of coverage being registered on 17th May 2018. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, only news related to domestic crime was included, though in Ireland's case, news about Northern Ireland was also collected, due to the cultural and territorial proximity. News and features regarding urban violence were collected for this research, while editorials, letters to the editor and op-eds were excluded from the study.
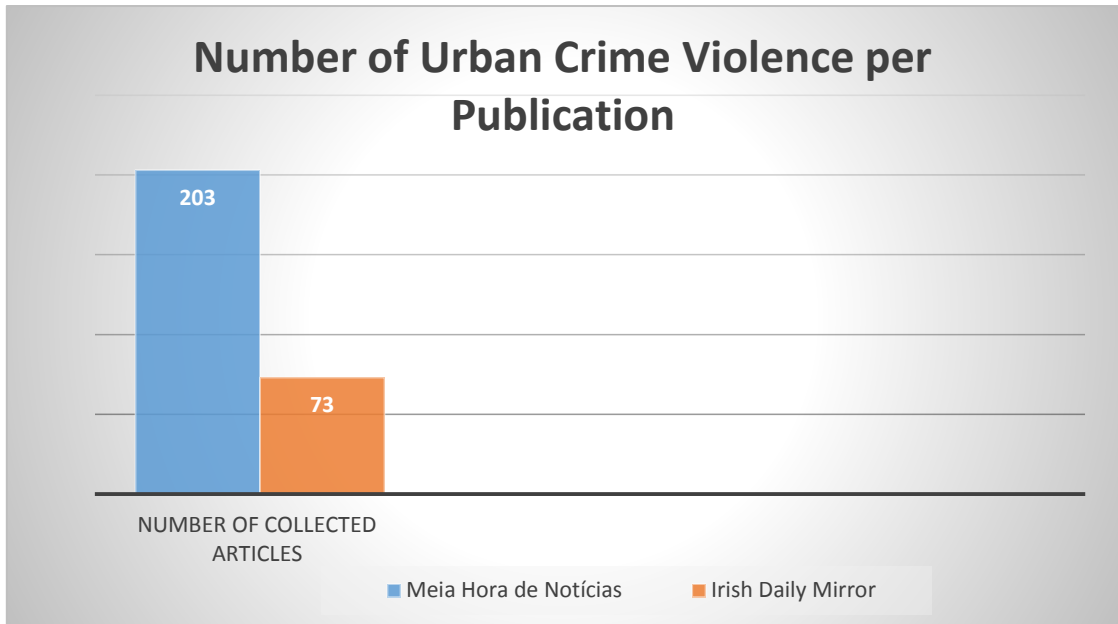
Figure 1: Number of Urban Crime Articles per Publication
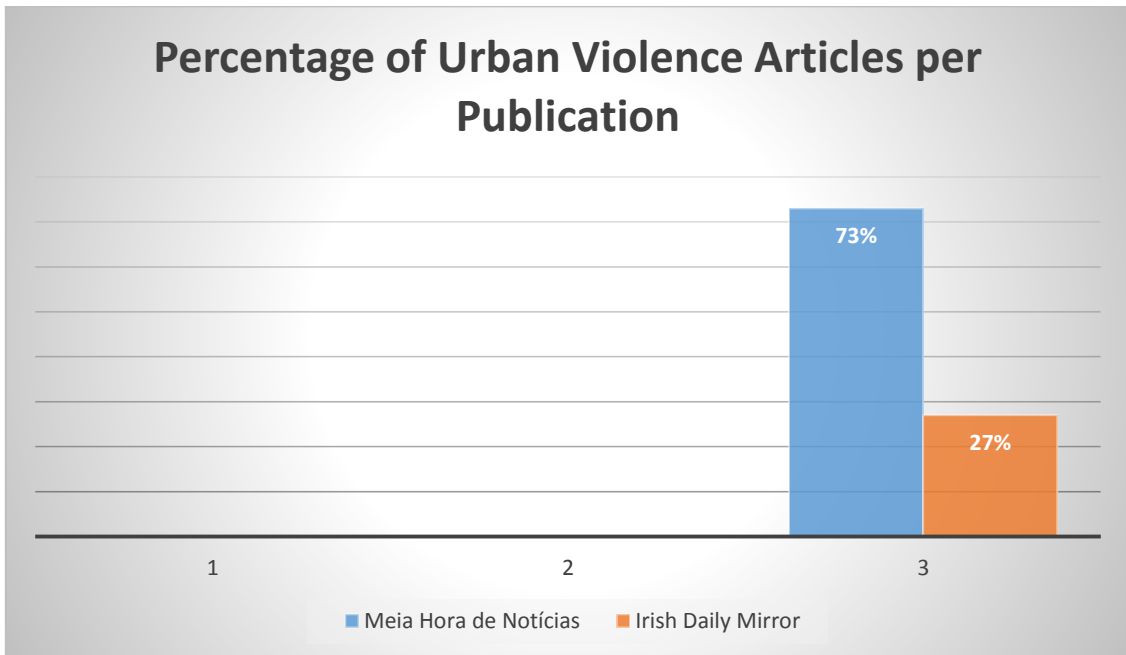
Figure 2: Percentage of Urban Crime Articles per Publication

4.3 Volume of Urban Crime News

Figures 1 and 2 reveal that of the number of urban violence articles analyzed during the period of study, the *Meia Hora de Notícias* (73%) has a considerably higher volume of such articles than the *Irish Daily Mirror* (27%). In addition, urban violence articles were observed on each day of the analysis period in the *Meia Hora de Notícias,* but the same pattern was not observed in relation to the *Irish Daily Mirror.* A possible explanation for this disparity might be the difference between the crime levels of each country. A report from Mexico City based Center for Public Security and Criminal Justices published in 2016, demonstrated that Brazil had the largest amount of cities in the world immersed in violent crimes, with a total of 22 cities on the list, though Rio de Janeiro wasn't among then. On the other hand, no Irish cities were on the list (Rapoza, 2016).

Crime rates in Rio de Janeiro have achieved a record high level in 2018 according to data from the *Instituto de Segurança Pública* – IPS (Public Security Institute). This data included crime categories such as cargo theft, motor vehicle theft, pedestrian robberies and bus robberies. Other crimes such as cell-phone and ATM robberies and home robberies also climbed to levels never recorded before (Belen, 2018). The US Department of State has evaluated Rio as a critical-threat location for crime towards official US government interests, listing violent crimes such as murder, kidnapping, armed robbery and assaults as common occurrences (OSAC, 2018).

Conversely, the US Department of State sees Dublin as a low-threat location, with a crime level that is below the US national average. Petty theft, burglary and other minor offenses are listed as common crimes. Violent crimes are considered rare, with the Garda concentrating resources against organized criminal groups,

which are usually connected with drug trafficking. Mostly due to its larger number of inhabitants, Dublin is the county with the highest number of crimes in Ireland (OSAC, 2018). Nonetheless, 2017 registered a growth in Ireland's crime rate, breaking a trend of continuous crime decline that started during the period of recession. With the exception of homicides, all the other types of crimes including sexual offenses, robbery, kidnapping, fraud and drug offences grew in comparison to 2016. The source of this data, the Central Statistics Office (CSO), has alerted that figures were made available under reservation due to the manner that crime is being recorded at the Garda's database. Reasons given by the Garda for this rise in offenses included the rebounding economy, the growing number of police officers and the increased Garda budget, which led to a larger number of Garda activities on the streets of Ireland and to a larger number of crimes being registered by the Garda. However, the CSO revealed another possible reason for the rise in criminal offenses. This reason was the fact that the Gardaí under-recorded homicides during the 2003-2016 period (Lally, 2018). Another important factor that should be considered when analyzing the crime statistics in Ireland is the fact that the Gardaí only register crimes that have been reported and often ignore other variables such as population change (Rabbitte, 2012).

The analysis of the newspapers showed that the majority of the articles (73%) (as seen in figure 3) were comprised by general reporting of events, which focused on the incidences, the investigations and in, some cases, reports from the court, most of them made before the trial and sentencing phases. Of the general reporting news, 81% came from the *Meia Hora de Notícias* and 19% from the *Irish Daily Mirror* (as seen in figure 4). Such general reporting articles provided a

summary and basic details of cases. Those findings must take into consideration the market competition, organizational pressures for profits in tabloids (which tend to be higher than in broadsheet papers), the larger entertaining role of tabloids and difficulties related to time constraints and resources (Skovsgaard, 2014).

Around 20% (figure 3) of the articles collected offered some kind of analysis and/or commentary regarding news about urban violence, and about 7% (figure 3) offered some form of investigation in relation to the content reported. Of the articles containing analysis and/or commentaries, 78% came from the *Meia Hora de Notícias* and 22% from the *Irish Daily Mirror* (figure 5). As with previous cases, most of the articles containing elements of investigations belonged to the *Meia Hora de Notícias* (70%) compared to the *Irish Daily Mirror* (30%) (figure 6). Several articles containing commentaries were infused with words and sentences that attributed certain types of moral judgements or stereotyped the individuals involved in the news. Such individuals were constantly separated between "good" and "decent" citizens (a role often associated with victims and police officers) on one side and "villains" and "evil" people (the role usually occupied by criminals) on the other. This is a common trend in tabloids and sensationalistic publications, which feature a high amount of descriptive and emotive negative labels. This is also a strategy to engage readers emotionally instead of rationally (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013). The findings corroborate the notion that though the tabloid press produces more material related to crime coverage than broadsheet publications, its coverage is frequently superficial (Bastos, 2016; Molek-Kozakowska, 2013).

Another finding regarding the volume of urban crime news is specifically related to the *Meia Hora de Notícias.* This analysis showed that of the 203 articles related to urban violence from the *Meia Hora de Notícias*, only 11% were featured on the front page of the newspaper (figure 7). This data was obtained by verifying the covers of each edition of the *Meia Hora de Notícias* from the period of 27 April 2018 to 18 May 2018 through the paper's Facebook page. Those findings suggest that despite the high amount of coverage and attention tabloids give to news related to crime and violence, most of this news is not featured on the front page. Thus, crime and violence are not necessarily a guarantee of front page presence. The urban violence reports that made the front page were associated with human stories, emotional intensity and high violence levels. Death was a common and central theme as well, and it traditionally involved feelings of suffering, pain, angst, trauma and shock. In sensationalism, death can be seen as "punitive", "sadistic" and "casual". The news selected to appear on the front page related to the topic of death was mostly punitive by portraying some form of violence or injustice being committed against a victim (Sobrinho, 1995). In addition, most of the news present on the front page featured stories that usually would not be found in the more traditional broadsheet press, as they dealt much more with local stories settled on poor neighborhoods, where the victims were mostly ordinary citizens and police officers. Such news has a greater appeal to the inhabitants of those areas, which also comprise most of the paper's target audience (Bastos, 2016).

The headlines of those news stories followed the common pattern found in tabloid journalism of presenting the climax of the news first, which is then followed by the complication and the resolution. Another pattern common to tabloids and present

in most of the news on the front page during the period of analysis was the presentation of the headlines as something extraordinary or unexpected, alongside a sense of importance that is highlighted by the use of capitals in print and frequent quotations from police officers and marshals. Quotations from victims or their families were also common in order to infuse concrete and emotional testimonies into the articles (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013; Arbaoui, de Swert and van der Brug, 2016).

Regarding the subjects of death and human related news featured on the paper's front page, most of the stories involved the killing of either civilians, police officers, or sometimes both. Examples of such stories included the killing of a young police officer in the neighborhood of Botafogo in Rio de Janeiro during an assault attempt ["Killed in Botafogo" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Thursday 18th May]. Aside from the tragic and violent death of the victim, the article brought to attention the elevated number of police officers being killed in Rio de Janeiro since the beginning of 2018. The article featured the victim's picture (Appendix 1, article1). Another example was a story featured twice in the newspaper and related to the killing of a female teenager ["Cowardice against young woman in the Ilha do Governador" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Wednesday 17th May; "Every hour three phones are stolen in Rio" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Thursday 18th May] (Appendix 1, articles 2 and 3). The first article focused on her death after having her phone robbed. The death was particularly shocking, because she was killed for irritating one of the robbers for handling a blocked phone that needed to be accessed by a password. The second article dealt with the teenager's funeral and the growing number of phones being robbed in Rio. The first article featured a photo of the teenager, while the second showed a picture of her funeral. A third example was

about a civilian being robbed as well as physically assaulted and shot ["Bums steal motorcycle and still shoot the victim" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Tuesday 16th May] (Appendix 1, article 4). The victim photographed the robbery and part of the aggression without the bandits realizing it. The article included a picture of one of the assailants. Though the victim was not killed in this case, the situation probably caught the attention of the newspaper due to the high level of aggression employed against the victim. A fourth article was about the death of a police officer during a confrontation with drug-dealers in a favela (a shantytown in or near a city) in Rio ["Police Officer killed in Rocinha" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Wednesday 10th May]. The article included a picture of the deceased officer (Appendix 1, article 5).

Another common topic amongst the news featured on the front page was related to children being involved directly or indirectly in cases of urban violence. The inclusion of such stories in the paper was likely due to the higher emotional impact caused on readers when children are victims of violence. One such example was a story featuring the killing of a prison guard in front of his nine-year-old son ["Killed in front of son" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Saturday 28th April] (Appendix 1, article 6). The article featured a picture of the prison guard. Another article was about an investigation conducted by Rio's police after a baby was injured by a stray bullet during a shooting, and the baby's health state after the child was sent to the hospital. The article featured a picture of the child being taken to the hospital ["Shot may have been fired from Fallet" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Tuesday 16th May] (Appendix 1, article 7). Curiously, the story was published in two previous editions of the *Meia Hora de Notícias,* but the previous stories were not featured on the paper's front pages.

Less common topics included a particular drama or injustice experienced by a civilian, large army operations in Rio de Janeiro, a peculiar/amusing case, information about particularly dangerous criminals, and an article related to a Brazilian celebrity. The first example is illustrated by two articles (Appendix 1, articles 8 and 9) involving a civilian that was arrested because he was mistaken for a violent drug-dealer in Rio ["Youth was supposedly arrested in dealer's place" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Monday 30th April; "The ten days that destabilized Leonardo" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Friday 5th May]. The story carries an obvious human interest here, as it involves an innocent man who had to spend several days in the violent Brazilian jails. The first article contained a picture of a protest requesting the man's release, while the second article contained a picture of the innocent man alongside his family and friends. The second example is illustrated by an article about an army operation in 11 favelas of Rio de Janeiro ["Operation in 11 favelas" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Tuesday 2nd May]. The article contains a picture of the Brazilian army in one favela (Appendix 1, article 10). The story is relevant because a significant part of the target audience of the *Meia Hora de Notícias* is comprised by inhabitants of disadvantaged communities, who are directly affected by such operations. It's also a way of the paper to show the everyday life of people in those areas and their constant struggle with violence (Figueiredo and Luz, 2010; Paiva and Madruga, 2010). The third example is observed through an article about a thief who fell asleep inside a stolen vehicle ["Thief steals cab, falls asleep and wakes up arrested" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Monday 15th May]. After being taken by the police, the thief almost fell asleep during the journey to the police station. The article included a picture of the thief (Appendix 1, article 11). Though the story deals with the subject of robbery, its

appeal comes from the amusing, humorous and unusual situation. The fourth example is found in an article about a gang of five particularly violent and dangerous criminals that robbed and injured their victims with knives instead of firearms in a neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro ["Gang of 'Olha a Faca!' terrorizes North Zone" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Tuesday 9th May]. (Appendix 1, article 12).The article has a picture of three members of the gang as well as data regarding their previous convictions and a reward for anyone who has information that helps to capture the bandits. The appeal of this article is similar to the one about the army's operation in the favelas of Rio, since it alerts readers about violent criminal acts in their city. The fifth and last example is found in an article about the stolen motorcycle of a famous Brazilian actor ["Marcello Noaves' motorcycle is stolen" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Wednesday 17th May] (Appendix 1, article 13). This was the only article related to urban violence analysed that included references to a famous person. All the others featured regular citizens and police officers. The actor's picture was featured on the paper's front page only. The article didn't include any photographs. The appeal of this news is to read about an unfortunate event that is common in the life of regular citizens, and is now happening in the life of someone rich and famous.
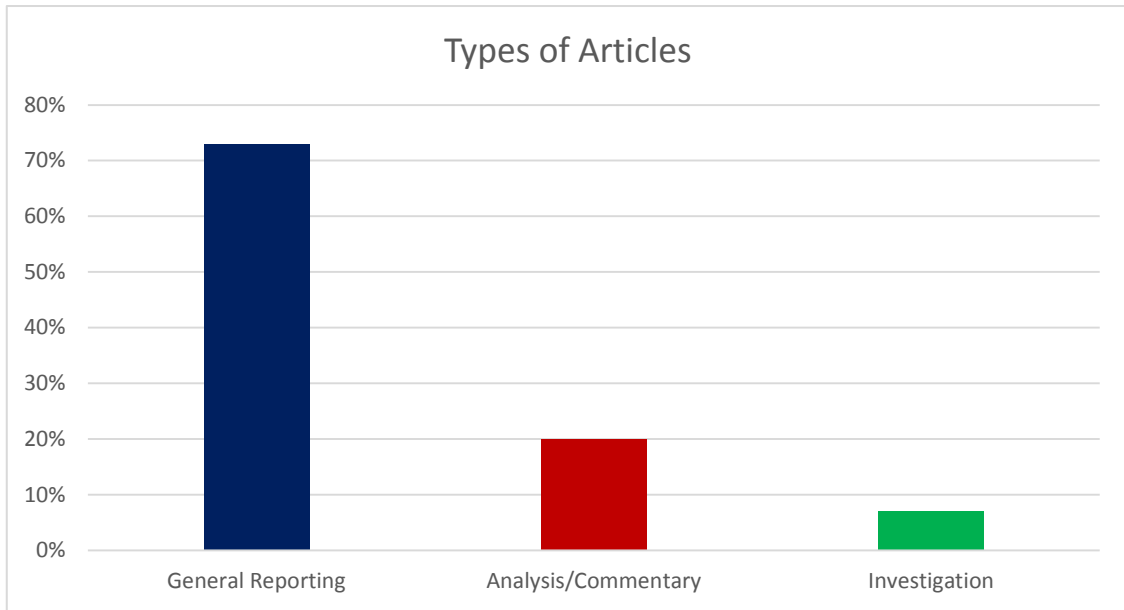
Figure 3: Types of Articles
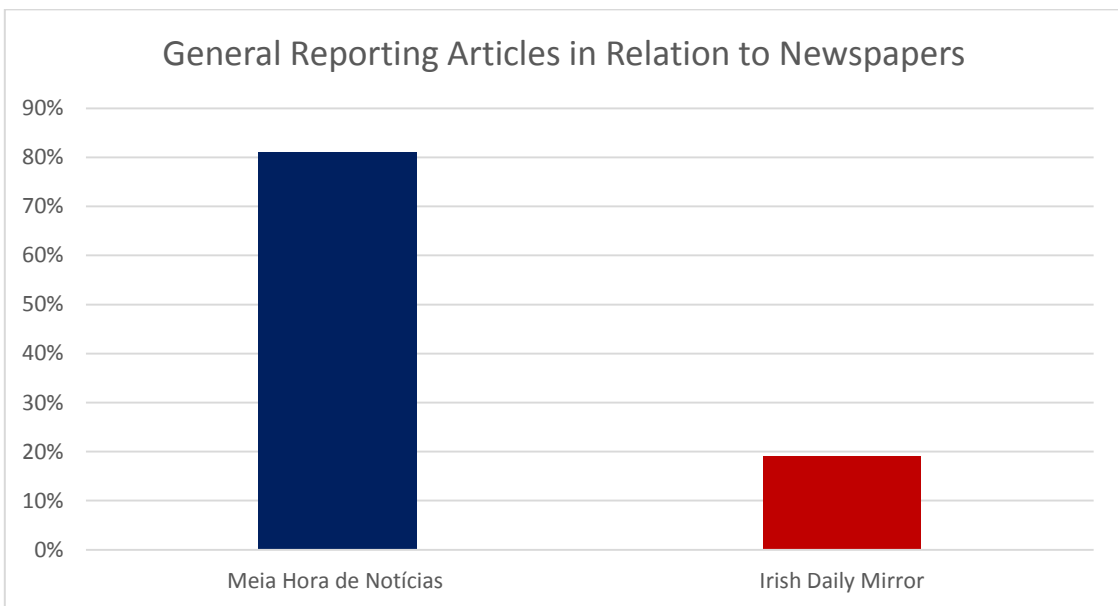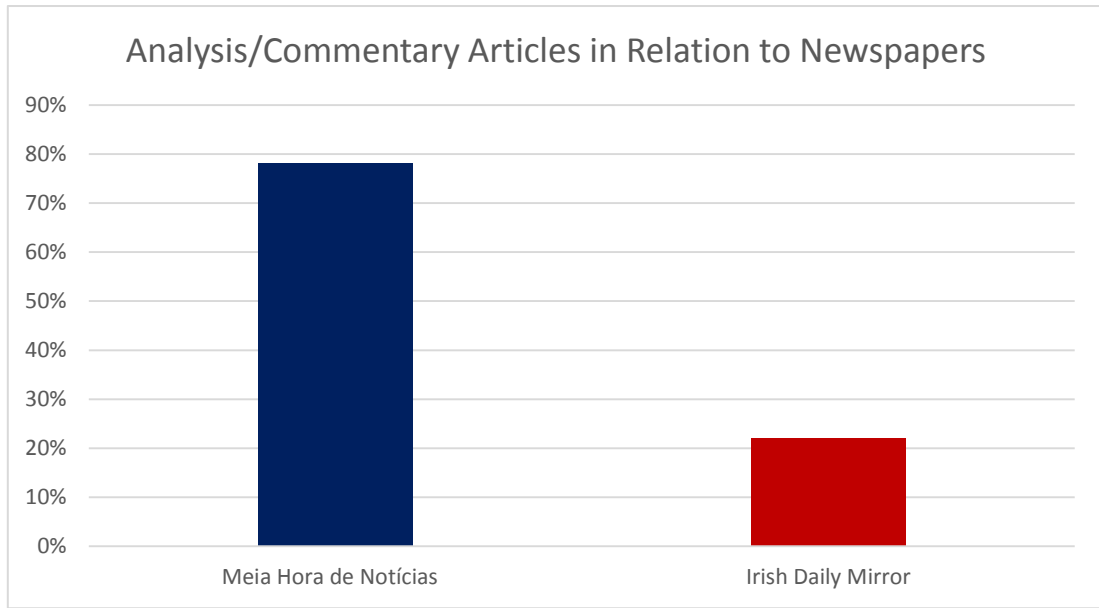
Figure 4: General Reporting Articles in Relation to Newspapers

Figure 5: Analysis/Commentary Articles in Relation to Newspapers
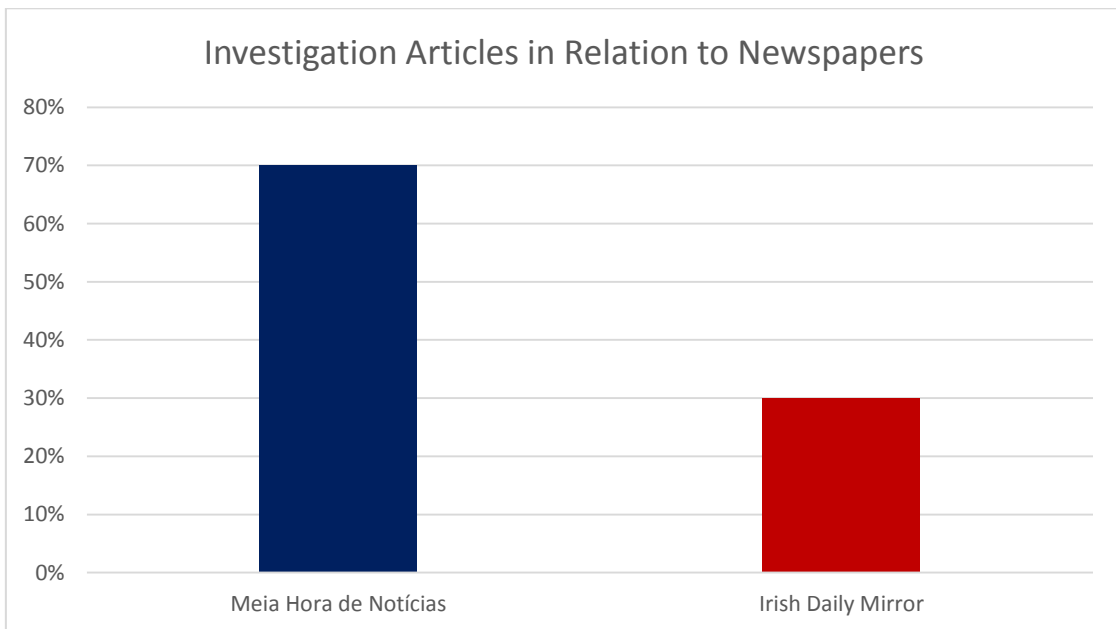
Figure 6: Investigation Articles in Relation to Newspapers

4.4 Medium, Length, Genre and Sources of the Articles

The articles were analysed according to their online versions, through the period of 27 April -18 May 2018. As it is typical of tabloids, the articles were usually short in length and size, and relied more on pictures than broadsheet papers (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013). Articles in the *Meia Hora de Notícias* had an average of one and six paragraphs, and around 100 to 400 words for each article. Headlines were usually between five to eight words. Subheadings occurred only in the larger articles, which were the ones with at least three paragraphs. Likewise, pictures were present only in the larger articles. The website made no use of videos or audios in the articles analysed, only pictures. The pictures were in most cases portraying the victim (s), the criminal(s) or the location of the event. Articles in the *Irish Daily Mirror* had an average of eight to 25 paragraphs, and around 150 to 300 words for each article. Despite the larger number of paragraphs than in the *Meia Hora de Notícias,* they were shorter, and some paragraphs were comprised of only one or two lines. The *Irish Daily Mirror* employed much more the use of quotes from sources or witnesses than the Brazilian paper. Headlines in the *Irish Daily Mirror* were considerably longer than in the *Meia Hora de Notícias,* with an average of 15 to 20 words for each headline. All articles in the Irish paper had subheadings. Pictures appeared in every article and some reports made use of videos. The pictures usually portrayed victims, criminals or locations of the event. The videos tended to show statements from official sources such as police officers, or scenes of the event recorded by observers who were present at the moment of the offense. In both cases, all articles analyzed were news reports, which suggests that urban violence is a primary source for news generation.

Of the 276 articles analyzed for the research, a total of eight categories of sources emerged from the data. They were categorized as government sources (such as police officers, military), unspecified sources (such as anonymous sources), witnesses/observers, offender/accused, journalists, legal sources (such as lawyers, justices, barristers), the victims themselves, the victim's family/friends and specialists (such as doctors that treated an injured person or scientists that shared their investigations or opinions of a particular case before, during or after a trial). Some articles presented more than just one category and types of sources, such as government officials and witnesses. Figure 7 provides a list of the coded sources and the percentage total of each source in relation to the total number of articles analyzed. Figures 8 and 9 provide the same list of coded sources and the percentage total of each source, but in relation to the number of categories found in each newspaper.

The findings observed in figure 7 demonstrate that government sources corresponded to the large majority (76%) of sources used in the articles. Among this category, police officers, the Gardaí and the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) were the most common sources of information. The armed forces, government institutions and politicians appeared to a lesser degree. Those results suggest that police officers in general are the main source of information for crime coverage in tabloid newspapers. In a distant second place came the category of unspecified sources (15%), which also included anonymous sources. The third and fourth most common sources were witnesses/observers (11%) and specialists (5%). Unspecified sources and witnesses/observers were used mostly to give additional information about the details and circumstances of crimes, and to offer a more dramatic view of the cases. Specialists appeared mostly as

sources used during trials and police investigations. The other categories, which included offender/accused (1%), journalists (2%), legal sources (2.5%) and victim's family/friends (3%), were observed in just a handful of articles, and, in some cases, only one article. Though some articles made use of more than one source, the results observed indicated that the two tabloids avoided expanding their numbers and types of sources. This trend could be a reflection of the superficiality found in most of the articles analyzed, since many then offered just a general reporting of events, instead of a detailed analysis.

The analysis of sources for each paper showed that, similar to the general analysis of sources, the categories related to government sources (*Meia Hora de Notícias* - 73%; *Irish Daily Mirror* - 84%), unspecified sources (*Meia Hora de Notícias* - 15%; *Irish Daily Mirror* - 16%) and witnesses/observers (*Meia Hora de Notícias* – 12%*; Irish Daily Mirror* – 7%). The difference of percentage observed between both papers in the category of government sources might be explained by the fact that some articles of the *Meia Hora de Notícias* did not present any kind of sources. This was common in shorter articles, that lasted around one paragraph. On the other hand, the *Irish Daily Mirror* always specified the category of their sources, even when those sources were anonymous. The percentage differences in the category of witnesses/observers is probably related to the higher number of articles in the *Meia Hora de Notícias* that used quotes from witnesses of crimes related to urban violence. Differences were also observed in the categories of specialists (*Meia Hora de Notícias* – 2%; *Irish Daily Mirror* – 13.5%), victim's family/friends (*Meia Hora de Notícias* – 2.5%; *Irish Daily Mirror* - 5.5%) and legal sources (*Meia Hora de Notícias* – 2%; *Irish Daily Mirror* – 7%). In the case of specialists, a reason for this difference is the much larger number

of articles in the *Irish Daily Mirror* that dealt with trials, which was the place where most of the specialists were featured. The *Irish Daily Mirror* also focused more on obtaining quotes from victims' friends and relatives than the *Meia Hora de Notícias,* which explains the difference in the victims' family/friends category. An explanation for the differences in the third category (legal sources) is similar to the one about specialists: the higher number of reports from the *Irish Daily Mirror* that dealt with trials, a place where legal sources such as lawyers, justices and barristers are more likely to appear and offer their professional opinions. Finally, it is interesting to observe the near absence of quotes and information obtained from the offender/accused. Only three articles used the offender/accused category in the *Meia Hora de Notícias,* while the *Irish Daily Mirror* never made use of this category in the articles analyzed.
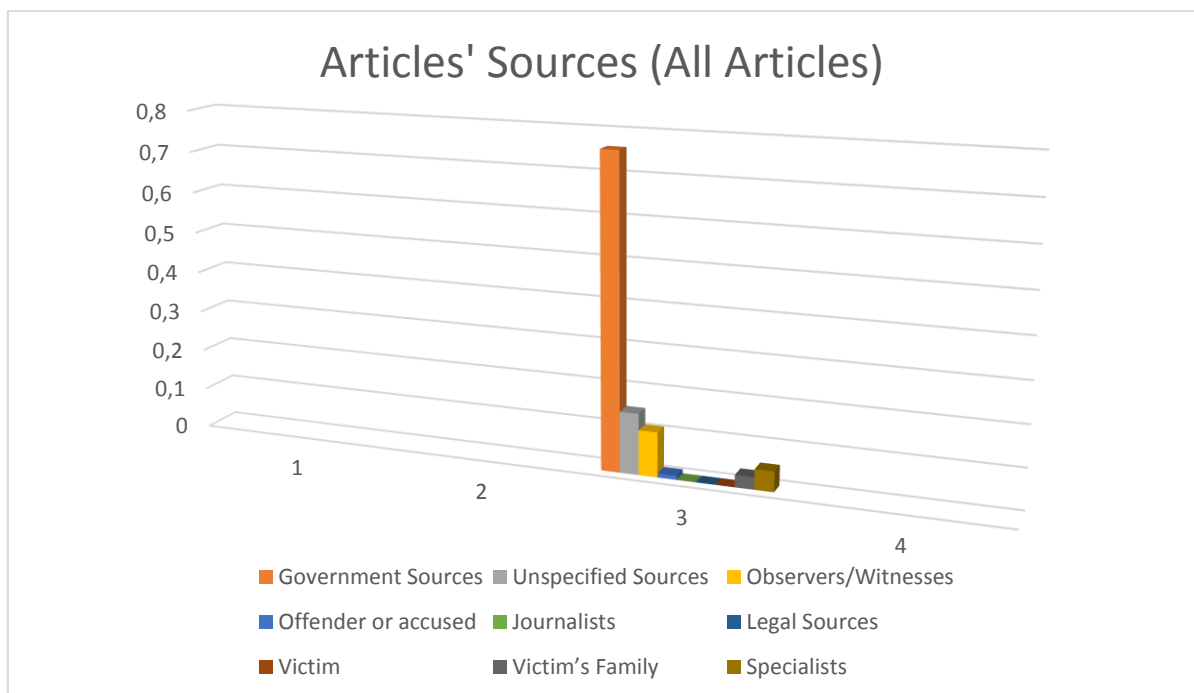
Figure 7: Articles' Sources (All Articles)
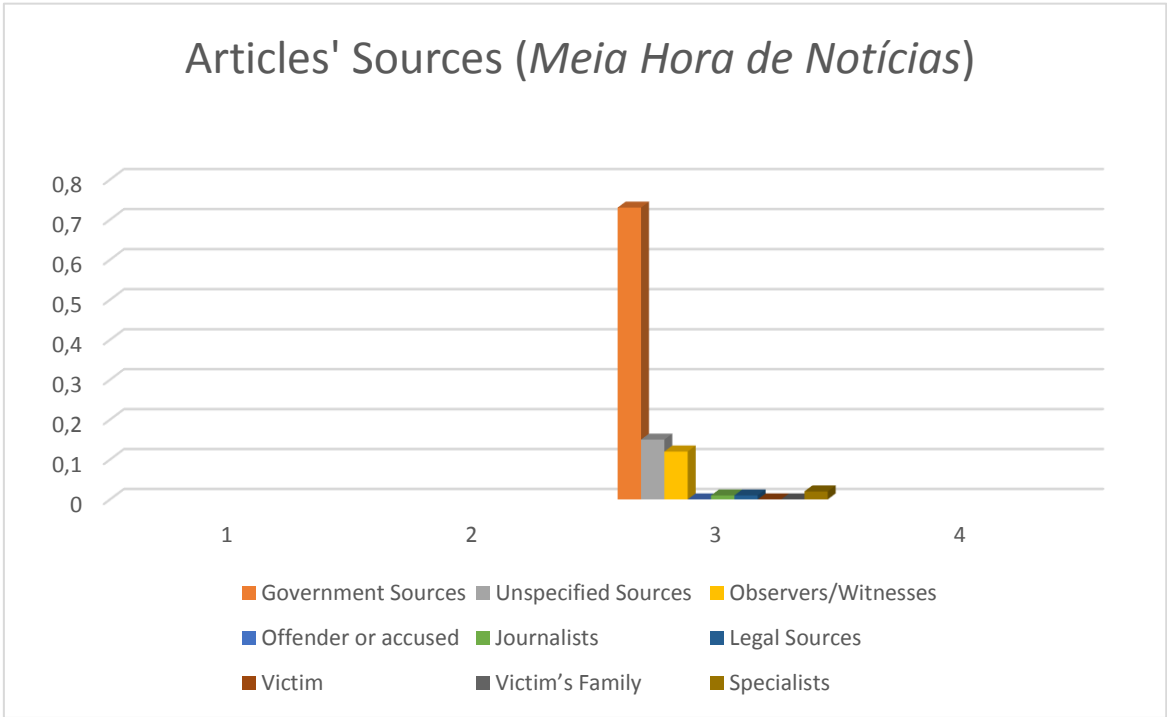
Figure 8: Articles' Sources (*Meia Hora de Notícias*)
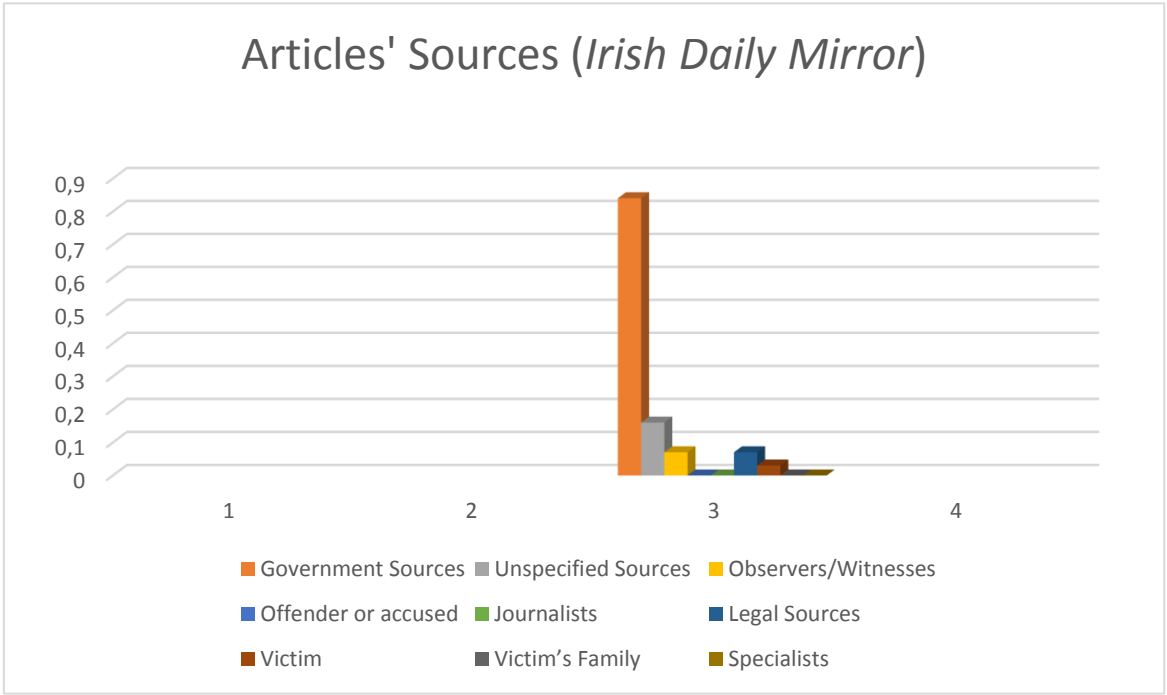
Figure 9: Articles' Sources (*Irish Daily Mirror*)

4.5 Subjects of Articles

The breakdown of the articles in terms of subjects revealed a total of 12 different categories divided according to both the nature of the offense and the main subject of the article. Some articles fell into more than just one category. The categories included: theft, murder, assault, rape/sexual offences, drug traffic, arson, shooting, prostitution/human traffic, police apprehension/operation, kidnapping/disappearances, dangerous driving and arrests. Figure 10 lists the coded categories and the percentage total of each category in relation to the overall number of articles analyzed. Figures 11 and 12 list the coded categories and the percentage total of each category in relation to the newspapers analyzed.

The results showed that murder (20%) was the most common offense reported by articles about urban violence, followed by theft (18%), police apprehension/operation (17%), assault (14%) and shooting (14%). Of the 12 categories recorded in the analysis, only five represented events of higher coverage by the media. All the others had an overall representation of less than 10%. Such results appear to demonstrate a common tendency regarding the reporting of articles about or related to urban violence, since it is possible to observe a preference towards the reporting of more violent offenses such as murder, assault, robbery and shooting. There was also a considerable emphasis on reporting about apprehensions and operations done in the police.

Another trend of tabloids observed in the articles was the preference for particularly gruesome murders (which could involve other categories like theft, assault, shooting and rape) alongside a dramatic human story (Bastos, 2016).

Such reports received more attention from the outlets, both in terms of the number of articles related to the offense, as well as the articles' sizes. Examples of those stories in the *Irish Daily Mirror* included articles about the deaths of a young woman and a female teenager ["Gardaí confirm body found in search for missing teenage girl in Lucan, Dublin", Thursday 17th May; "First pictures from scene of Sligo body find during search for missing woman Natalia Karaczyn", Tuesday 1st May] (Appendix 1, articles 14 and 15). Both stories were similar, as they initially dealt with cases of missing persons that were later revealed to have been murdered (once the respective bodies were found). Another story that received significant attention from the *Irish Daily Mirror* wasn't related to murder, but presented a particularly violent example of physical assault against a woman in Northern Ireland ["Horrific drill attack on Irish street leaves woman with 'extremely grave' injuries", Saturday 4th May] (Appendix 1, article 16). In the case of the *Meia Hora de Notícias,* a story that produced several articles was related to the investigations about the murder of Brazilian politician Marielle, who was shot and killed on the 14th of March ["Politician is accused of ordering murder", Tuesday 8th May] (Appendix 1, Article 17).

In relation to the percentage categories according to each newspaper, the patterns varied. Murder (*Meia Hora de Notícias* - 21%; *Irish Daily Mirror* - 16%) and theft (*Meia Hora de Notícias* - 18%; *Irish Daily Mirror* – 16.5%) were the highest categories in both cases. However, data diverged significantly for the offenses related to police apprehension/operation, shooting, assault, kidnapping/disappearances and rape/sexual offences. In Ireland's case the elevated number of stories on theft, assault, rape and kidnappings can be associated with data from the Central Statistics Office (CSO) that shows a growth

in the number of such offenses in Ireland. Only exception was the crime murder, whose numbers decreased in 2017, but still it was the most reported offense in the paper analyzed (Lally, 2018). In the case of the *Meia Hora de Notícias,* the elevated percentages of the "shooting" category, alongside the "murder" and "theft" ones, reflect a common reality lived in the streets of Rio de Janeiro that is in part caused by military intervention in the region alongside violent confrontations between the military police and local criminals (Milhorance, 2018; Londono, 2017). Nonetheless, it is interesting to observe the relatively high amount of reports about police apprehensions and operations in the *Meia Hora de Notícias* in comparison to the *Irish Daily Mirror,* which could indicate that the Brazilian tabloid sought to focus on the more positive side of crime-related articles by showing the achievements obtained by police officers in the region. But, at the same time, we should remember that the overall number of crimes related to urban violence was much larger in Brazil, and thus it might be logical to assume that the number of police operations in course in that country would be higher than Ireland's.
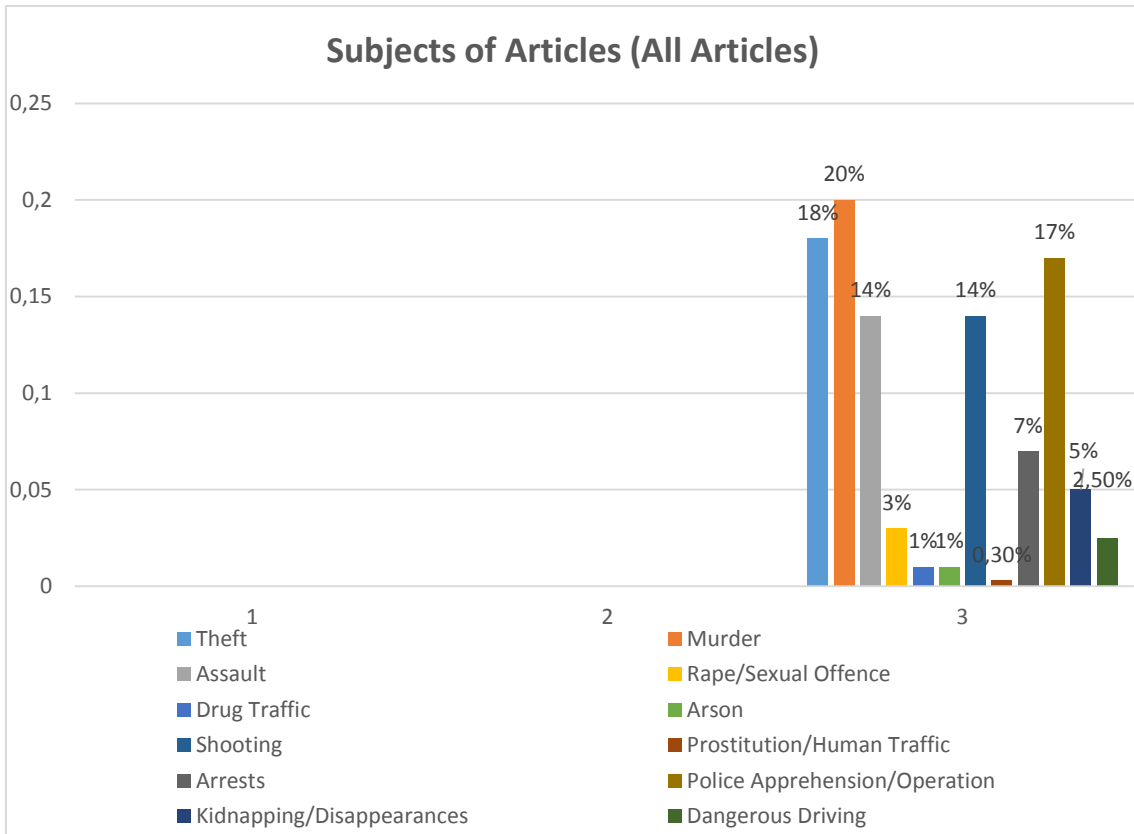
Figure 10: Subjects of Articles (All Articles)
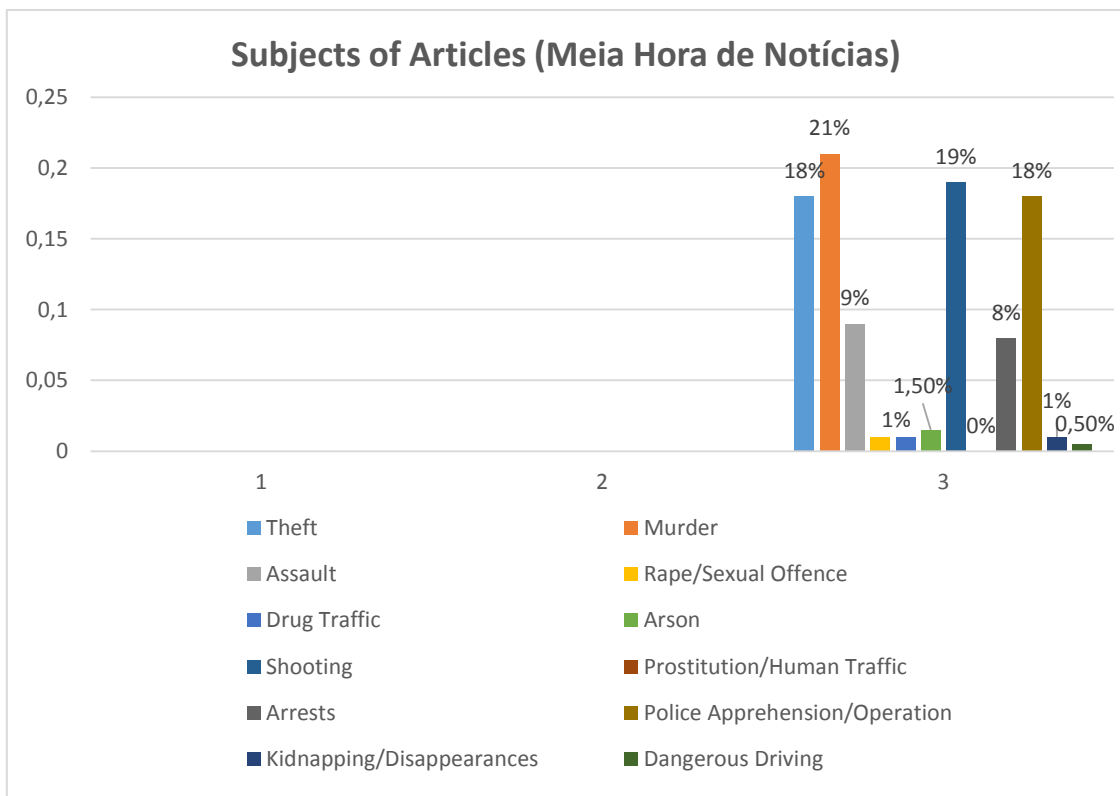
Figure 11: Subjects of Articles (*Meia Hora de Notícias*)
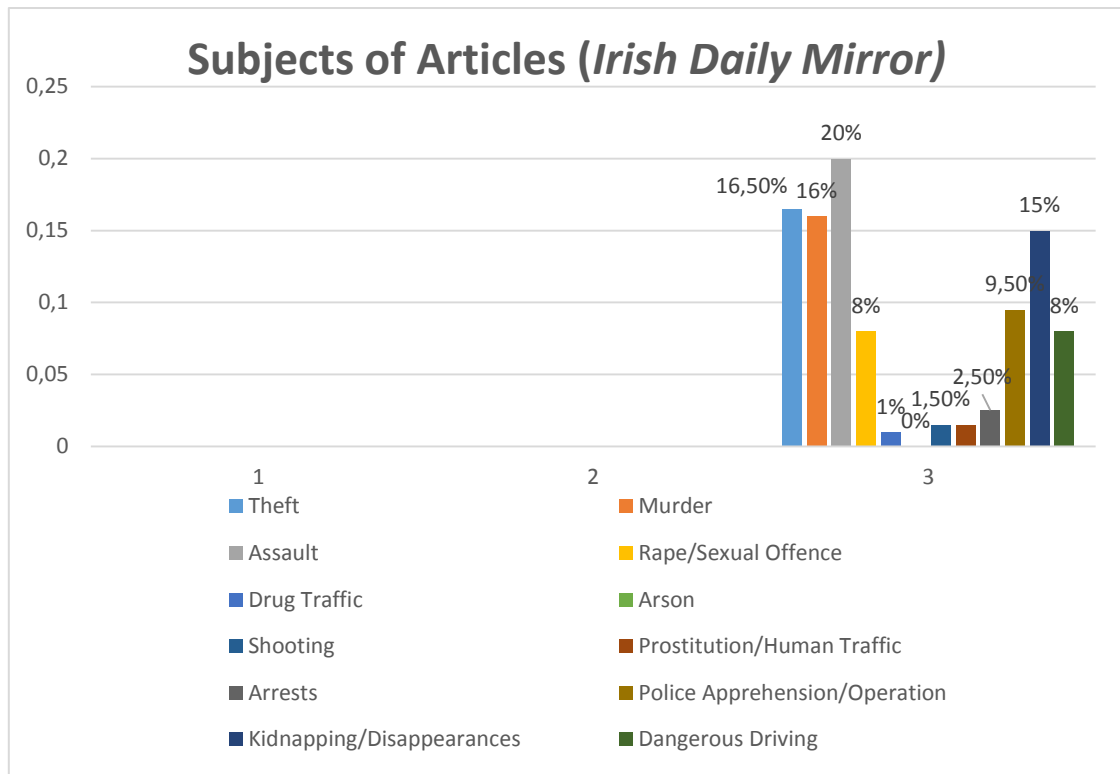
Figure 12: Subjects of Articles (*Irish Daily Mirror*)

4.6 News Values

Each one of the 276 articles were analyzed to identify the news values that were present in them. Every article presented at least two of the 12 categories of news values considered for this research. An average of four to eight news values appeared for each article. Unambiguity (86%), meaningfulness/cultural proximity (83%) and negativity (68%) were the most common values identified in both papers (figure 13), while reference to elite nations (0.8%), consonance (3.5%) and references to elite people (4%) were the least used by the publications. The analysis demonstrated that the Brazilian and Irish publications shared many similarities in relation to news values as represented by figures 14 and 15.

Unambiguity

Not surprisingly, "unambiguity" was the most common news value found. Journalists are expected to write clear and concise introductions in the most unambiguous way possible, highlighting the most important aspects of the event in the first and second paragraphs. This trend makes it logical that the majority of the articles are unambiguous in both tabloids. Another important aspect to consider that favors unambiguity is that most of the stories related to urban violence were very straightforward and could be interpreted without multiple meanings, all characteristics that turn an event more easily into news (Galtung and Ruge, 1965).

Meaningfulness/Cultural Proximity

According to Galtung and Ruge (1965), events that are closer to the cultural background of the newspaper and its target audience have higher chances of becoming news, since they are seen as more meaningful than other kinds of events. Most of the stories covered in the two newspapers showed events that corresponded to the cultural background of their readers. Almost all the news in the *Meia Hora de Notícias* and the majority of that in the *Irish Daily Mirror* reported events related to urban violence that happened in the countries of their respective publications. Most of the stories of the *Meia Hora de Notícias* focused on events that happened in the state and city of Rio de Janeiro. Very few other states or cities were featured, with São Paulo being one of those exceptions. In the *Irish Daily Mirror,* most of the national stories related to urban violence happened on Dublin. The only international news considered in the analysis regarding the *Irish Daily Mirror* was about Northern Ireland, such as "Wanted men James White and

Alexis Guesto located in Armagh following assault" [Sunday 29th April] (Appendix 1, article 18) and "Disappeared victim Seamus Ruddy was shot in the head and dumped in France" [Tuesday, 9th May] (Appendix 1, article 19), though Northern Ireland shares many cultural similarities to Ireland.

Negativity

Negative events can be considered unambiguous and consensual, and have higher probabilities of being unexpected and occur between a short period of time when compared to positive news (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). It is logical to assume that news related to urban violence is usually negative, since it is traditionally associated with violence, murder and theft. Nonetheless, it was interesting to observe that the *Irish Daily Mirror* had a considerably higher percentage of negative news in comparison to the *Meia Hora de Notícias.* A possible explanation for this difference might be the larger number of articles in the Brazilian paper that showed a more positive side to news about urban violence, by focusing on successful cases of police operations, apprehensions and arrests.

Frequency

According to Galtung and Ruge (1965), an event that occurs at a similar frequency of the news medium has a greater chance of being selected as news, when compared to a story that takes place over a long period. Frequency was an important category in both papers, though not to the extent we might have expected. Some events became news even when they presented a longer frequency than the one from the newspapers, and some stories didn't have a clear and specific time regarding when the event occurred. Stories related to

killings, thefts and assaults were more commonly found to be under the frequency category. Frequency was more common in the Irish publication.

Reference to Persons

This category is related to a form of presenting events as actions of named people and through the personalization of events. It is also a way of putting a face to an event or problem, and can be associated to human interest stories (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). Most of the individuals of this category were either the victim or the criminal/accused, such as "Timeline of events as tragic Anasta Kriegel, 14, found beaten to death at derelict farmhouse in Lucan, Dublin" [*Irish Daily Mirror,* Thursday, 18th May] (Appendix 1, article 20) and "Serial pedophile Berry Bennel being investigated over trips to Northern Ireland" [*Irish Daily Mirror,* Tuesday, 9th May] (Appendix 1, article 21). To a lesser degree, some articles had the participation of the victim's family or friends. It is interesting to observe that though tabloids are expected to be more personalized than broadsheets, this category ranked lower than expected. The *Irish Daily Mirror* had more stories under this category than the *Meia Hora de Notícias.* A possible explanation for that is the larger quantity of articles in the Brazilian tabloid featuring general statistics about crime and violence and lower amount of quotations from the different sides involved in an event.

Continuity

An event that has become news remains in the media for some time, since it has become something more familiar and easier to be understood by the reader. Continuing coverage will also depend on the level of public attention gathered by each event (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). The analysis showed that more dramatic

and shocking stories, such as the ones related to the investigations of the killing of a Brazilian politician and a woman who was attacked by a teenager using a drill ["Politician is accused of ordering murder", *Meia Hora de Notícias* - Tuesday 8th May; "Horrific drill attack on Irish street leaves woman with 'extremely grave' injuries", *Irish Daily Mirror* - Saturday 4th May], generated multiple articles.

Unexpectedness

Unexpected or rare occurrences (including those that are culturally familiar) are more likely to be selected as news (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). This category usually featured events that were both very violent and shocking, such as the murders of a young woman and a female teenager in Ireland ["Gardaí confirm body found in search for missing teenage girl in Lucan, Dublin" – *Irish Daily Mirror,* Thursday 17th May; "First pictures from scene of Sligo body find during search for missing woman Natalia Karaczyn" – *Irish Daily Mirror,* Tuesday 1st May]. The category also featured bizarre and controversial events such as an article about a thief who fell asleep, or the story about a youth that was arrested for being mistaken with a drug dealer ["Thief steals cab, falls asleep and wakes up arrested" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Monday 15th May; "Youth was supposedly arrested in dealer's place" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Monday 30th April]. The percentage was much higher in the *Irish Daily Mirror.* This difference could be explained by the significant disparities of violence levels between Ireland and Brazil. In Brazil, the number of violent occurrences is much higher than Ireland's, and Brazilian citizens might be more used to certain offenses that would be

considered much more unexpected and shocking in Ireland and other Western European countries.

Threshold

In this category, factors such as intensity, casualties and gruesomeness are considered to have a large impact on the audience, and thus are characteristics seen as worthy of news selection (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). The topic of urban violence fits into those news values as its impact can reach an entire community or nation. Interestingly, both papers showed an almost equal percentage of articles that fell into category.

Composition

In this category, an event may be included as news because of the way it fits into the general composition of a newspaper (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). On the analysis, examples of articles that could fall under the "composition" category included positive news related to successful police apprehensions/operations, brave action from a civilian ["Police praise 'brave' member of public who came to aid of stranger at Irish café incident" - *Irish Daily Mirror,* Monday, 8th May] (Appendix 1, article 22), humorous news ["Thief steals cab, falls asleep and wakes up arrested" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Monday 15th May] or articles focused in unveiling statistical data related to urban violence ["Former detective and independent Mayo councillor Christy Hyland says serial robbers and burglars should be banned from getting bail" - *Irish Daily Mirror,* Wednesday, 3rd May] (Appendix 1, article 23). The *Irish Daily Mirror* showed more articles in this category, likely due to more variety in the topics of the articles analyzed.

References to Elite People

Actions practiced by elite people, who are usually famous individuals, can be considered to have a larger impact than the actions of others. Readers can also identify with some of those actions (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). The "elite people" from the articles were mostly politicians, sports stars or TV soap stars. Many articles in the *Meia Hora de Notícias* related to this category were about the investigations regarding the murder of Brazilian politician Marielle. Other articles involved celebrities such as a Brazilian TV soap star ["Marcello Noaves' motorcycle is stolen" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Wednesday 17th May] and an American athlete ["Public Ministry denounces American swimmer Ryan Lotche" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Thursday, 11th May] (Appendix 1, article 24). The *Irish Daily Mirror* also featured news related to celebrities such as singers ["Daniel O'Donnell superfan jailed for seven years for involvement in cocaine factory", Monday, 8th May] (Appendix 1, article 25) and sports stars ["Paddy Jackson and Stuart Olding ordered to pay BBC £20,000 in legal costs after seeking damages", Tuesday, 2nd May] (Appendix 1, article 26).

Consonance and Reference to Elite Nations

Those categories were the most underused values identified during the analysis. Consonance is related to news selector capacity of predicting the outcome of an event, which creates a "pre-image" of the event, increasing its chances of becoming news. "References to elite nations" is a category which considers the actions of elite nations as having more important consequences than those performed by other countries. Definitions of "elite nations" may vary according to country (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). One article featuring mentions of an "elite
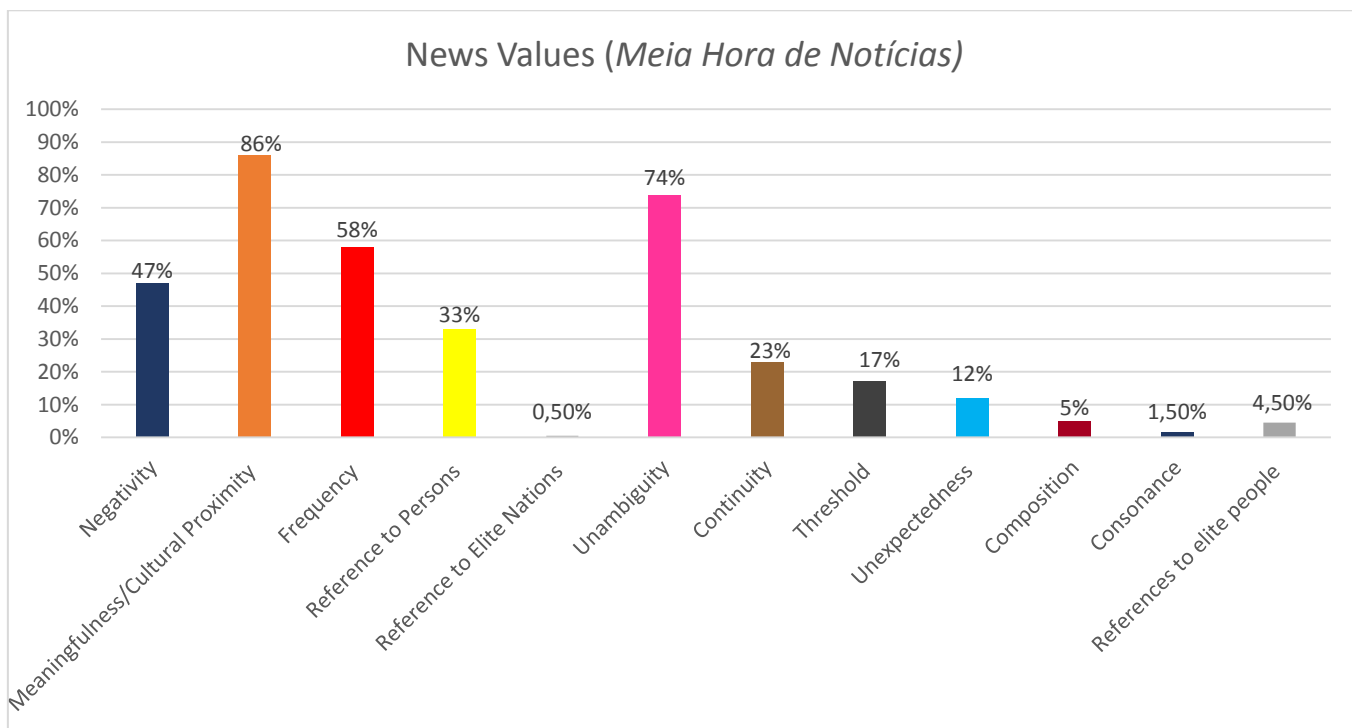
nation" was about the disappearance of a British singer in Rio de Janeiro ["Family contests police" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Monday, 30th April] (Appendix 1, article 27).
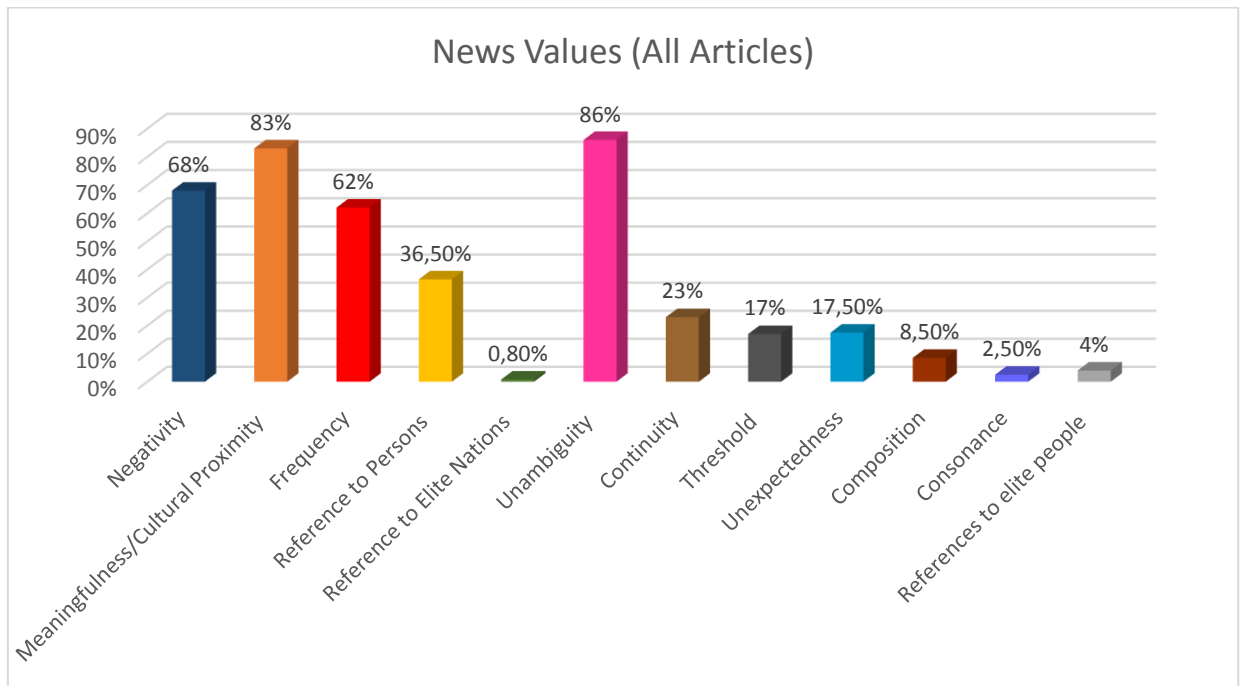
Figure 13: News Values (All Articles)
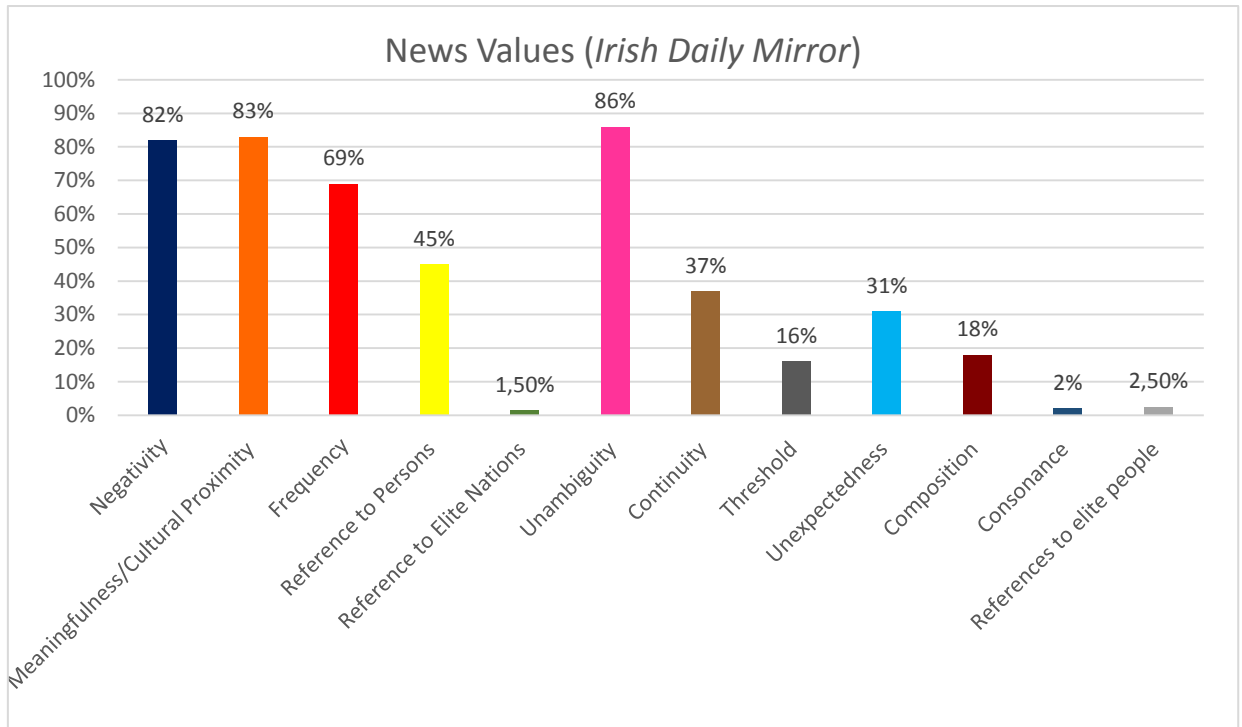
Figure 14: News Values (*Irish Daily Mirror*)

Figure 15: News Values (*Meia Hora de Notícias*)

4.7 Lexical Findings

An assessment of the words most used in the 276 articles analyzed showed a preference for the use of words such as "police", "man", "murder", "shot", "hospital", "killed", "Baixada Fluminense", "North Zone", "bandit", "victim", "theft" and "steaming" in the *Meia Hora de Notícias.* Words that described judgements towards criminals or accused individuals such as "bum", "coward", "monster" and "murderer" and words that expressed emotional states such as "panic", "terrified" and "devastated" were also employed but to a lesser degree and were mostly applied to articles related to particularly violent or shocking events. The elevated use of the word "man" was constantly associated with words such as "bandit", "killed", "shot", "theft", "victim" and "murderer". This trend demonstrates that the majority of the articles were related to males, who were the gender responsible for committing or suffering most of the offenses reported. Thus, such males were mostly either "bandits", "thieves" or "murderers" who committed crimes, or "victims" of such crimes that were "shot", "robbed" and/or "killed". Many of those victims were police officers, thus justifying the elevated use of the word "police", though this word was also used in articles related to police investigations/apprehensions and to confrontations, usually in the form of gunfights, between police officers and criminals. This data appears to corroborate the idea that journalists have a tendency towards stereotyping people, situations and issues, which also affects notions of what is considered newsworthy (Cunningham, 2014). The use of the words "Baixada Fluminense" and "North Zone" is directly related to areas with higher levels of criminality in Rio de Janeiro, and also to places inhabited by the majority of the target audience of the *Meia Hora de Notícias* (Figueiredo and Luz, 2010; Paiva and Madruga, 2010). Thus,

those are areas of interest to the paper. The word "hospital" referred to a common occurrence in most of those stories, since the wounded had to be taken to a hospital to receive proper treatment. The word "steaming" refers to a common criminal practice in Brazil, which is a method of stealing where a large group of people go to a public place in order to surprise and frighten the people there and rob them (Carneiro, 2010). A lack of formality and use of slang were common in the articles' headlines and subheadings. The slang was usually observed in the forms of abbreviations to certain neighborhoods in Rio de Janeiro or to make reference to criminals that were arrested. The lack of formality and slang can also be seen as a form of approximating the paper to the everyday language of its readers. This data resonates with the traditional argument that tabloid journalism is associated with controversial reporting and a preference for attention-grabbing headlines. Nonetheless, the lack of formality was restricted to the headlines and subheadings. The language used in the articles wasn't particularly complicated, though it was clear and concise and without slang.

In terms of the discourse used by the *Meia Hora de Notícias,* I decided to analyze a story that was featured twice on the newspaper front page. The story was chosen for its prominent position in the paper and for its emotive quality, use of attention-grabbing headlines, use of photographs and references to the suffering of the victim and their family or friends. The story selected was related to the killing of a female teenager after having her phone robbed. The death was particularly shocking, because she was killed for irritating one of the robbers for handling a blocked phone that needed to be accessed by a password ["Cowardice against young woman in the Ilha do Governador"*,* Wednesday 17th May; "Every hour three phones are stolen in Rio", Thursday 18th May]. The story

is emotionally charged in great part due to the young age of the victim and the tragic way in which her life was taken. The report also included a statement from the victim's girlfriend about the last word spoken by her, which brought more emotional appeal to the event. The story major news values here are "threshold" and "unexpectedness" which turn the event into something newsworthy and with possibilities of continuity (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). This continuity was brought in the form of an analysis dealing with the high number of phones stolen in Rio de Janeiro, which was featured in the second article. The second article also showed a photograph of the victim's funeral, highlighting the sadness felt by those present and reproducing an impactful statement from the victim's mother, that emphasized her desire for her pain not to be felt by anyone else and for justice to be brought not only to the ones responsible for the death of her daughter, but for the state of Rio de Janeiro as a whole. This statement carried even more impact because the criminals weren't located and arrested, and because the teenager's funeral was followed by a protest demanding more justice against the high criminality levels in Rio. All those factors combined, especially the emotional context, resulted in the personalization of the event. The headlines of both articles related to the story were attention-grabbing, but not particularly sensationalistic, with the exception of the word "cowardice". The articles, especially the second, presented more data than what was usually seen in other reports, though both portrayed the tragedy of the main story.

Regarding the *Irish Daily Mirror,* the words most commonly used were "burglar", "teenage", "Gardaí", "man", "woman", "PSNI", "murder", "threaten", "tragedy", "Dublin", "hospital", "court", "horrific". The paper used more words than the *Meia Hora de Notícias* to describe criminals or accused individuals. Words such as

"evil", "monster", "brute", "rapist" and "depraved" were used with relative frequency. Aside from "tragedy" and "horrific", other words used to describe feelings and emotional states including "terrifying", "frightening" and "shocking" were also employed, but less than the first two. Similar to the Brazilian paper, those words appeared more in particularly violent and unexpected stories. The words "Gardaí" and "PSNI" were used in several articles, which is unsurprising given the fact that the research concentrated on articles about urban violence, which are usually related to criminal offenses, and thus became the responsibility of the Gardaí in Ireland and the PSNI in Northern Ireland. The elevated use of the words related to both genders, "man" and "woman", demonstrated that, in most cases, the males were portrayed as the offenders and the women as the victims. The elevated use of the word "teenage" refers to the high amount of articles where teenagers appeared as offenders. To a lesser degree, teenagers also appeared as victims. The words "man", "woman" and "teenage" were frequently connected to the words "murder", "threaten" and "burglar", either as offenders or victims. Similar to the *Meia Hora de Notícias,* this information corroborates the notion that journalists have a tendency towards stereotyping people, situations and issues, which also affects notions of what is considered newsworthy (Cunningham, 2014). The use of the word "Dublin" is associated with the area where the majority of the crimes in Ireland reported by the newspaper occurred. The word "hospital", similar to the Brazilian publication, referred to a common occurrence in many of those stories, since the wounded had to be taken to a hospital to receive proper treatment. Lack of formality was common in the headlines and subheadings, though the *Irish Daily Mirror* did not use any slang in

the reports analyzed. The language used in the articles was very clear and concise, though not complicated.

In terms of the discourse used by the *Irish Daily Mirror,* I decided to analyze a story that was featured in several articles during 17 and 18 May, and was not yet concluded by the time the analysis was finished. The story was chosen for its emotive quality, use of sensationalistic and attention-grabbing headlines, use of photographs and references to the suffering of the victim. The story selected was related to the killing of a female teenager following her disappearance and discovery of her body by the Gardaí. The Gardaí believed the teenager was severely beaten and raped before being murdered ["Gardaí renew appeal for help to trace 14-year-old Anastasia Kriegel missing from Dublin", Wednesday, 17th May (Appendix 1, article 28); "Gardaí confirm body found in search for missing teenage girl in Lucan, Dublin", Wednesday, 17th May; "Gardaí investigate 'suspicious' circumstances as body of missing Dublin teen found", Wednesday, 17th May (Appendix 1, article 29); "Tragic schoolgirl Anastasia found beaten to death and naked in derelict farm house near Lucan, Dublin", Thursday, 17th May; "Timeline of events as tragic Anastasia Kriegel, 14, found beaten to death at derelict farmhouse in Lucan, Dublin", Thursday, 18th May; "Several people including two boys quizzed over tragic death of schoolgirl Anastasia Kriegel in Lucan, Dublin", Thursday, 18th May (Appendix 1, article 30); "Tragic schoolgirl Anastasia Kriegel 'killed by kids in sex attack' in Lucan, Dublin, Thursday, 18th May (Appendix 1, article 32)]. The story carries several emotional aspects, such as the young age of the victim and the particularly brutal way she was murdered. The reports emphasized several times the fact that the victim was a teenager as well as a "tragic" figure, as it is possible to observe from the headlines. The

reports included emotional messages and tributes from her secondary school and the local dance class she was a member of. Emotional statements from locals and police authorities were also reported. Though the teenager's family is mentioned several times in the articles, their reactions or statements weren't featured in the reports. All articles included photographs of the victim, while some articles featured photographs of the crime scene, the police and of locals showing their sympathy for the victim. The story major news values here are "threshold" and "unexpectedness" which turn the event into something newsworthy and with possibilities of continuity (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). Continuity can be observed through the prolonged investigations surrounding the exact circumstances of the murder and the search for the one(s) responsible for it. All those factors combined, especially the emotional and tragic context, resulted in the personalization of the event. The headlines of the articles related to the story were attention-grabbing and some were more sensationalistic, by conveying the details of the case, the tragedy and the loss of a young life. The articles presented more data than what was usually seen in other reports, though they also portrayed the tragedy of the main story.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

Tabloid journalism appeals to large audiences, and is constantly the target of controversy and criticism from journalists, other media professionals, politicians and academics due to legal and ethical flaws in reporting, their influence on the political opinions of many readers and for an absence of democratic functions. There is also a common trend today towards the "tabloidization" of the media, which for some researchers has led to a decrease in traditional journalistic standards and journalistic quality, alongside a growth in the disdain of reporters and editors towards ethical principles. Those views reflect major and common issues currently observed in the media industry, which are under the influence of a capitalistic system of production and consumption. However, there are other views regarding tabloid journalism, which are supported by some scholars. Those scholars praise the social and cultural values of the tabloids such as informing citizens, allowing them to be part of the public debate, which contributes to the collective notion of being part of a community (Brichta, 2010).

Considering those factors, this dissertation analyzed the coverage of news related to urban violence from two tabloid papers (Ireland's *Irish Daily Mirror* and Brazil's *Meia Hora de Noticias*) over a period of three weeks, from 27th April 2018 to 18th May 2018. The research was conducted through the use of both quantitative analysis and discourse qualitative analysis. This dissertation also aimed to fill two gaps in research: the lack of a large number of studies dedicated to Irish tabloids and a similar lack of works comparing Irish tabloids with those from other countries. The research questions were: What are the similarities and differences observed between the two papers selected? How is the subject of urban violence dealt with in both publications?

The analyses showed a much larger number of Brazilian than Irish articles. This is probably related to the considerably higher crime levels of this South American nation in comparison to Ireland (Rapoza, 2016; OSAC, 2018). Other reasons for this disparity included the higher number of articles about urban violence observed each day in the *Meia Hora de Notícias*, and the fact that some days of the analysis period were without any urban violence related reports in the *Irish Daily Mirror.*

Both papers mostly had articles comprised by general reporting of events, which were focused on the incidence, investigations and, in some cases, reports from the court. The articles provided a clear and concise summary of the events reported. This trend is possibly a reflection of the intense market competition and organization pressures found in tabloids (Skovsgaard, 2014). The findings also corroborate the notion that though the tabloid press produces more material related to crime coverage than broadsheet publications, its coverage is frequently superficial (Bastos, 2016; Molek-Kozakowska, 2013). The data gathered also revealed that the majority of the content covered during the analysis period in the *Meia Hora de Notícias* wasn't front-page news. The few reports that made the front page were mostly human-centric stories with high emotional intensity and violence levels. Deaths provoked by violence were a central theme in such reports, and those deaths were frequently associated with feelings of suffering, pain and trauma. The stories usually dealt with local events in poor neighborhoods and communities, and in their majority, the victims were either ordinary citizens or police officers. This focus on local stories in poor neighborhoods and communities is associated with the paper's target audience, which is comprised by many inhabitants of such areas (Bastos, 2016). The

headlines were structured in a common pattern found in tabloid journalism, which presents the climax first, followed by the complication and the resolution. Headlines were usually featured as something extraordinary, and quotations from police officers, victims or the victim's family were frequent, which is also a practice common to tabloids, since it is expected to infuse the articles with concrete and emotional testimonies (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013; Arbaoui, de Swert and van der Brug, 2016).

Aspects regarding medium, length, genre and sources of the articles showed both similarities and differences. Both papers generally had short articles in length and size that commonly relied on pictures, and all articles analyzed were news reports. The average word count per articles were mostly similar in the newspapers analyzed (100 to 300 for the *Irish Daily Mirror* and 100 to 400 for the *Meia Hora de Notícias).* Differences were observed in article size, with the Brazilian paper having an average of one to six paragraphs, while the Irish paper presented an average of eight to 25 paragraphs. Differences were also observed in the headlines and subheadings. Headlines used many more words in the *Irish Daily Mirror*, and subheadings were present in all the paper's articles. The *Meia Hora de Notícias,* on the other hand, used subheadings in just the longer articles. Those differences could be due to distinct editorial decisions and preferences in each paper. The *Irish Daily Mirror* used more photographs than the Brazilian paper, and also made use of videos in some online versions of their articles, which is something the *Meia Hora de Notícias* didn't employ in any article. This lack of resources in the online version of the Brazilian paper could be related to the fact that the majority of its target audience is comprised of people with limited access to the internet and limited digital knowledge when compared to the

realities of most Western European countries (Paiva and Madruga, 2010; Figueiredo and Luz, 2010). Regarding sources, both papers shared a preference for government, unspecified and witnesses/observers sources. The biggest difference was related to the "specialists" category of sources, which was more prominent in the *Irish Daily Mirror.* A possible explanation for this is the larger number of articles in the *Irish Daily Mirror* that dealt with court trials, which was the place where most of the specialists appeared. Generally, the *Irish Daily Mirror* featured more quotes than the *Meia Hora de Notícias.* Similarly to the differences in the size and length of the articles, the larger number of quotes in the *Irish Daily Mirror* could be a result of differences regarding editorial preferences. Though some articles made use of more than one source, the results indicated that the papers avoided expanding their numbers and types of sources. This trend could be a reflection of the superficiality found in most of the articles analyzed, since many of them offered just a general reporting of events, instead of a detailed analysis.

In terms of subjects, murder and theft were the most common offenses registered by both papers. Those are categories that are found in abundance in most tabloids (Bastos, 2016; Sobrinho, 1995). The *Irish Daily Mirror* displayed elevated numbers of offenses related to assaults, kidnappings and rape, data that is supported by the latest information from the Central Statistics Office, which shows a growth in the numbers of such crimes (Lally, 2018). On the other hand, the *Meia Hora de Notícias* had an elevated number of articles with offenses connected to shooting, data that corresponds to the current criminal reality in Rio de Janeiro (Milhorance, 2018; Londono, 2017). However, the Brazilian publication also showed many articles about police apprehensions and operations, which could

indicate that the *Meia Hora de Notícias* sought to concentrate on a more positive side of crime and urban violence articles.

The articles analysed demonstrated that both papers shared similar news values. Unambiguity, meaningfulness/cultural proximity, negativity and frequency where the most applied values, whereas references to elite people, consonance and references to elite nations were the least used. This data shows that coverage between both papers was mostly similar. The main differences observed were the news values related to negativity and unexpectedness, which were considerably higher in the Irish paper. Possible reasons for this are the higher number of articles in the *Meia Hora de Notícias* that showed positive news associated with police apprehensions and operations, and differences in the perception of violence levels between citizens from Brazil and Ireland, two countries with significant disparities in the levels of crime and violence.

The lexical analysis revealed that some words such as "man", "hospital" and references to police officers were frequently found in both publications. The elevated use of these words reflected a common trend found in many stories in both papers, in which criminals, victims or police officers were mostly men, and after a violent event had to be taken to the nearest hospital. Another common factor observed was that both publications tended to stereotype individuals, by dividing them either in the categories of good or bad people, which is a common practice in tabloid journalism and journalism in general (Cunningham, 2014). However, the use of some words varied according to the criminal realities of each country. Words such as "teenage" and "woman" were more common in the *Irish Daily Mirror,* which can be explained by the significant amount of offenses that were practiced by teenagers, and the fact that many victims in the reports

analyzed were females. On the other hand, words such as "shot" and "steaming" were more prevalent in the *Meia Hora de Notícias,* a data that is related to two very common offenses in Rio de Janeiro. The style and language found in the articles of both publications were simple, clear and concise, though the *Meia Hora de Notícias* often used slang in their headlines, something the *Irish Daily Mirror* never used. The use of slang in the headlines of the *Meia Hora de Notícias* might be understood as a form of creating a larger level of proximity between paper and audience through the use of colloquialisms that are frequently employed in the everyday language of the paper's target audience. The papers used sensationalism and words associated with feelings and emotional states mostly in reports dealing with particularly shocking or violent events, with the *Irish Daily Mirror* making more use of this technique than the *Meia Hora de Notícias,* a finding that could be related to the different perceptions of violence between both countries.

It is apparent from the analysis conducted that articles related to urban violence are a prevalent topic in both papers researched and are featured consistently in tabloids. Nonetheless, this consistency was mostly concentrated on a superficial reporting of events. Little space was given towards a deeper analysis or discussion of the events covered. Sensationalism was a common feature with language and tone being mostly the same. In terms of recommendations, it would be interesting to see similar research covering a larger period of analysis and including more tabloids from both countries. The results obtained would later be compared with those from this research. More categories could also be included. More research into tabloids in Ireland is also required, given the current lack of such material. Finally, as was noticed before, there is a lack of studies comparing

tabloids between Ireland and other countries. Cross-national studies comparing

the tabloids of Ireland with those from three or four other countries could remedy

that lack of content. Another alternative would be to compare Irish tabloids to

those from other similarly sized European nations, such as Norway and Denmark.

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Appendix 1: Articles Mentioned in Chapter 4

Article 1: "Killed in Botafogo" - *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Thursday 18 May. Available at: https://meiahora.ig.com.br/geral/2018/05/5541390-abatido-em-botafogo.html (Accessed 19 May 2018).

Article 2: "Cowardice against young woman in the Ilha do Governador" - *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Wednesday 17 May. Available at: https://meiahora.ig.com.br/geral/2018/05/5541067-covardia-contra-jovem-na-ilha-do-governador.html (Accessed 18 May 2018).

Article 3: "Every hour three phones are stolen in Rio" - *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Thursday 18 May. Available at: https://meiahora.ig.com.br/geral/2018/05/5541409-rio-registra-tres-roubos-de-celulares-a-cada-hora.html (Accessed 19 May 2018).

Article 4:"Bums steal motorcycle and still shoot the victim" - *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Tuesday 16 May. Available at: https://meiahora.ig.com.br/geral/2018/05/5540622-trastes-levam-moto-e-ainda-dao-tiro-na-vitima.html (Accessed 17 May 2018).

Article 5: "Police Officer killed in Rocinha" - *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Wednesday 10 May. Available at: https://meiahora.ig.com.br/geral/2018/05/5538983-pm-e-morto-na-rocinha.html (Accessed 11 May 2018).

Article 6: "Killed in front of son" - *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Saturday 28 April. Available at: https://meiahora.ig.com.br/geral/2018/04/5535677-morto-ao-lado-do-filho.html (Accessed 29 April 2018).

Article 7: "Shot may have been fired from Fallet" - *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Tuesday 16 May. Available at: https://meiahora.ig.com.br/geral/2018/05/5540637-tiro-pode-ter-sido-disparado-do-fallet.html (Accessed 17 May 2018).

Article 8: "Youth was supposedly arrested in dealer's place" - *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Monday 30 April. Available at: https://meiahora.ig.com.br/geral/2018/04/5536027-jovem-teria-sido-preso-no-lugar-de-traficante.html (Accessed 1 May 2018).

Article 9: "The ten days that destabilized Leonardo" - *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Friday 5 May. Available at: https://meiahora.ig.com.br/geral/2018/05/5537726-os-dez-dias-de-prisao-que-abalaram-leonardo.html (Accessed 6 May 2018).

Article 10: "Operation in 11 favelas" – *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Tuesday 2 May. Available at: https://meiahora.ig.com.br/geral/2018/05/5536509-operacao-em-11-favelas.html (Accessed 3 May 2018).

Article 11: "Thief steals cab, falls asleep and wakes up arrested"- *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Monday 15 May. Available at: https://meiahora.ig.com.br/geral/2018/05/5540321-ladrao-rouba-taxi-cai-no-sono-e-acorda-preso.html (Accessed 16 May 2018).

Article 12: "Gang of 'Olha a Faca!' terrorizes North Zone" - *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Tuesday 9 May. Available at: https://meiahora.ig.com.br/geral/2018/05/5538659-bonde-do-olha-a-faca--aterroriza-a-zona-norte.html (Accessed 10 May 2018).

Article 13: "Marcello Noaves' motorcycle is stolen" - *Meia Hora de Notícias,* Wednesday 17 May. Available at: https://meiahora.ig.com.br/geral/2018/05/5541065-moto-de-marcello-novaes-e-roubada.html (Accessed 18 May 2018).

Article 14: "Gardaí confirm body found in search for missing teenage girl in Lucan, Dublin" – *Irish Daily Mirror*, Thursday 17 May. Available at: https://www.irishmirror.ie/news/irish-news/body-found-search-missing-teenage-12551780 (Accessed 18 May 2018).

Article 15: "First pictures from scene of Sligo body find during search for missing woman Natalia Karaczyn" – *Irish Daily Mirror*, Tuesday 1 May. Available at: https://www.irishmirror.ie/news/irish-news/crime/sligo-body-missing-natalia-karaczyn-12460725 (Accessed 2 May 2018).

Article 16: "Horrific drill attack on Irish street leaves woman with 'extremely grave' injuries" – *Irish Daily Mirror*, Saturday 4 May. Available at: https://www.irishmirror.ie/news/irish-news/horrific-drill-attack-irish-street-12485768 (Accessed 5 May 2018).

Article 17: "Politician is accused of ordering murder" – *Meia Hora de Notícias*, Tuesday 8 May. Available at: https://meiahora.ig.com.br/geral/2018/05/5538590-vereador-e-acusado-de-encomendar-homicidio.html (Accessed 9 May 2018).

Article 18: "Wanted men James White and Alexis Guesto located in Armagh following assault" – *Irish Daily Mirror*, Sunday 29 April. Available at: https://www.irishmirror.ie/news/irish-news/wanted-men-james-white-alexis-12447424 (Accessed 30 April 2018).

Article 19: "Disappeared victim Seamus Ruddy was shot in the head and dumped in France" – *Irish Daily Mirror,* Tuesday, 9 May. Available at: https://www.irishmirror.ie/news/irish-news/disappeared-victim-seamus-ruddy-shot-12508043 (Accessed 10 May 2018).

Article 20: "Timeline of events as tragic Anasta Kriegel, 14, found beaten to death at derelict farmhouse in Lucan, Dublin" - *Irish Daily Mirror,* Thursday, 18 May. Available at: https://www.irishmirror.ie/news/irish-news/timeline-events-tragic-anastasia-kriegel-12554705 (Accessed 19 May 2018).

Article 21: "Serial paedophile Berry Bennel being investigated over trips to Northern Ireland"- *Irish Daily Mirror,* Tuesday, 9 May. Available at: https://www.irishmirror.ie/sport/soccer/serial-paedophile-barry-bennell-being-12505533 (Accessed 10 May 2018).

Article 22: "Police praise 'brave' member of public who came to aid of stranger at Irish café incident" - *Irish Daily Mirror,* Monday, 8 May. Available at: https://www.irishmirror.ie/news/irish-news/police-praise-brave-member-public-12499258 (Accessed 9 May 2018).

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Article 29: "Gardaí investigate 'suspicious' circumstances as body of missing Dublin teen found" – *Irish Daily Mirror*, Wednesday, 17 May. Available at: https://www.irishmirror.ie/news/irish-news/crime/live-gardai-investigate-suspicious-circumstances-12553219 (Accessed: 18 May 2018).

Article 30: "Several people including two boys quizzed over tragic death of schoolgirl Anastasia Kriegel in Lucan, Dublin" – *Irish Daily Mirror*, Thursday, 18 May. Available at: https://www.irishmirror.ie/news/several-people-including-two-boys-12556257 (Accessed 19 May 2018).

Article 31: "Tragic schoolgirl Anastasia Kriegel 'killed by kids in sex attack' in Lucan, Dublin" – *Irish Daily Mirror,* Thursday, 18 May. Available at:

https://www.irishmirror.ie/news/irish-news/tragic-schoolgirl-anastasia-kriegel-killed-12559333 (Accessed 19 May 2018).

Appendix 2: Figures from Chapter 4
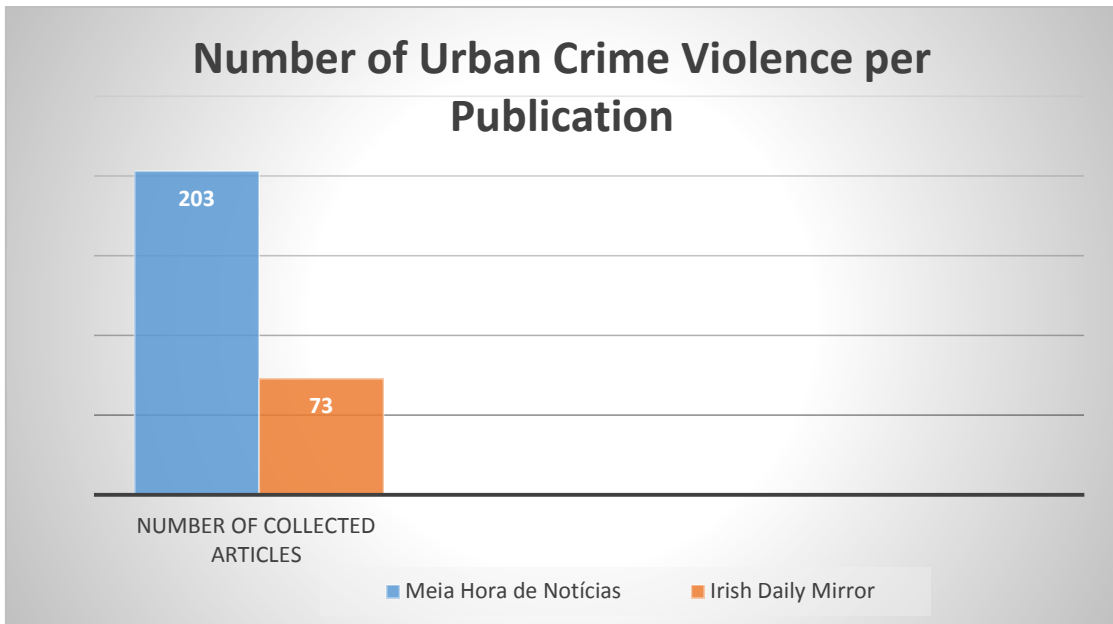
Figure 1: Number of Urban Crime Articles per Publication

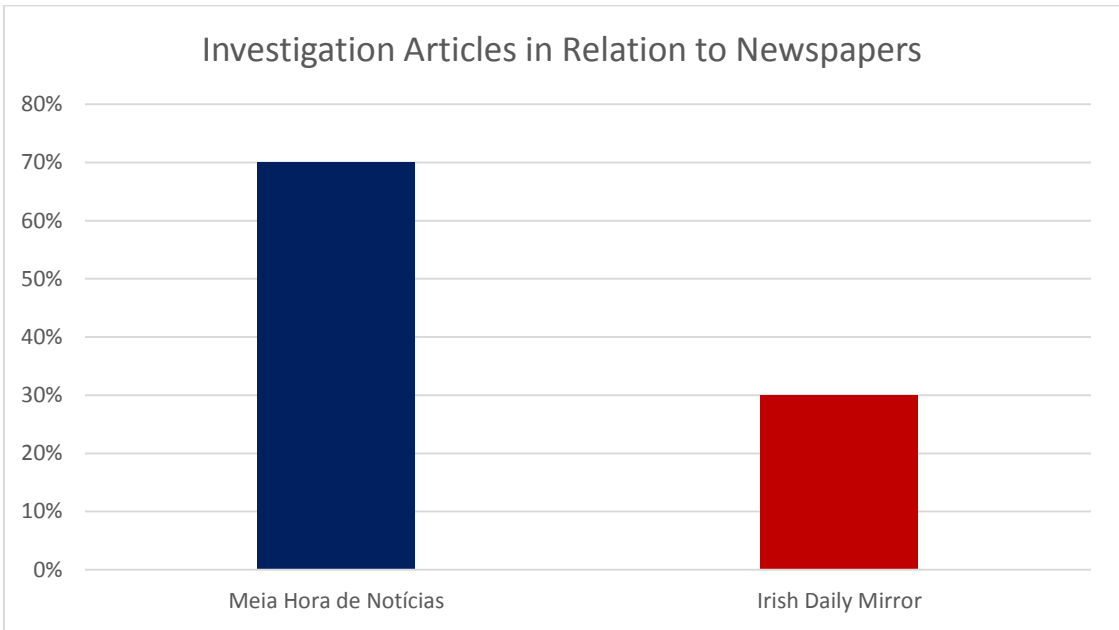**Figure 2:** Percentage of Urban Crime Articles per Publication
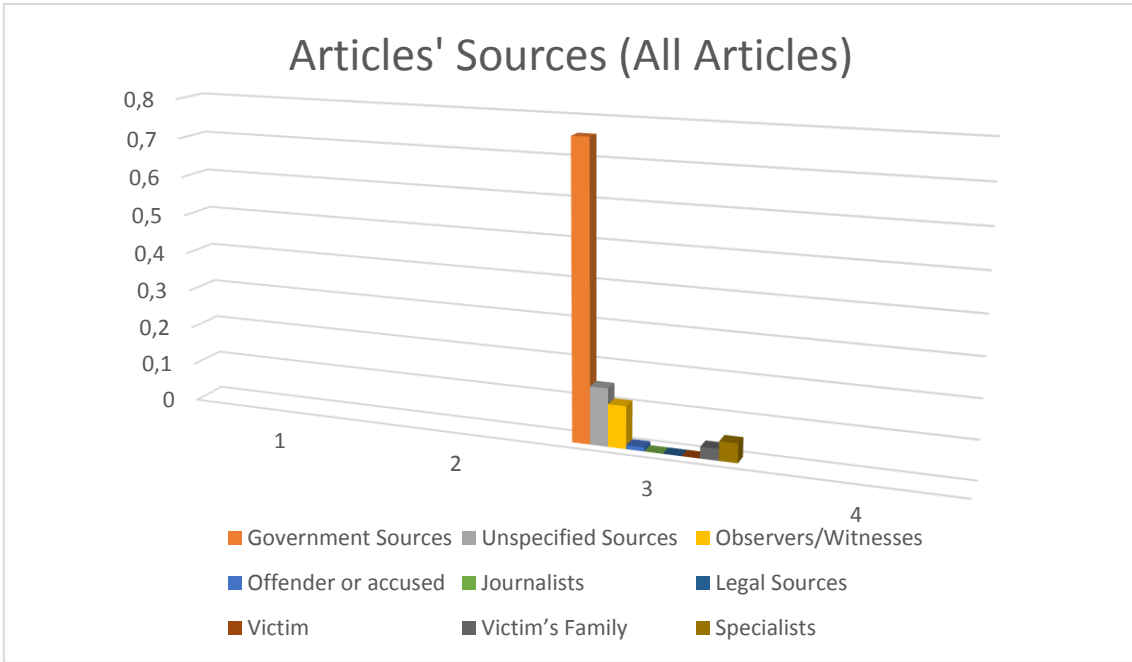
Figure 3: Types of Articles

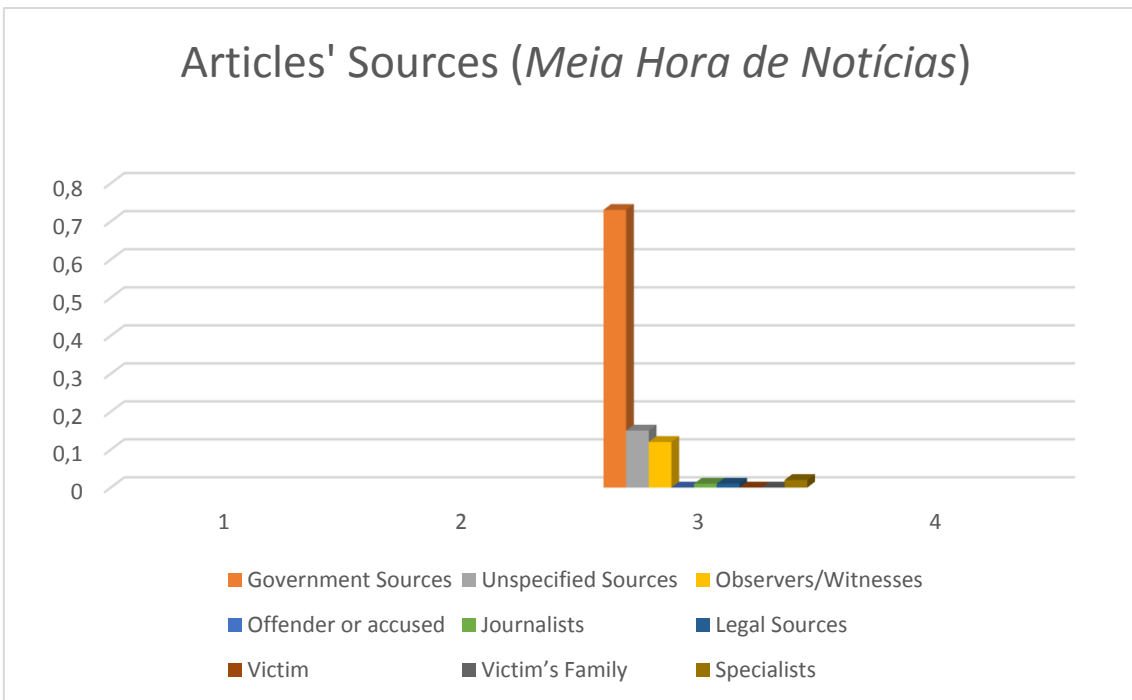**Figure 4:** General Reporting Articles in Relation to Newspapers

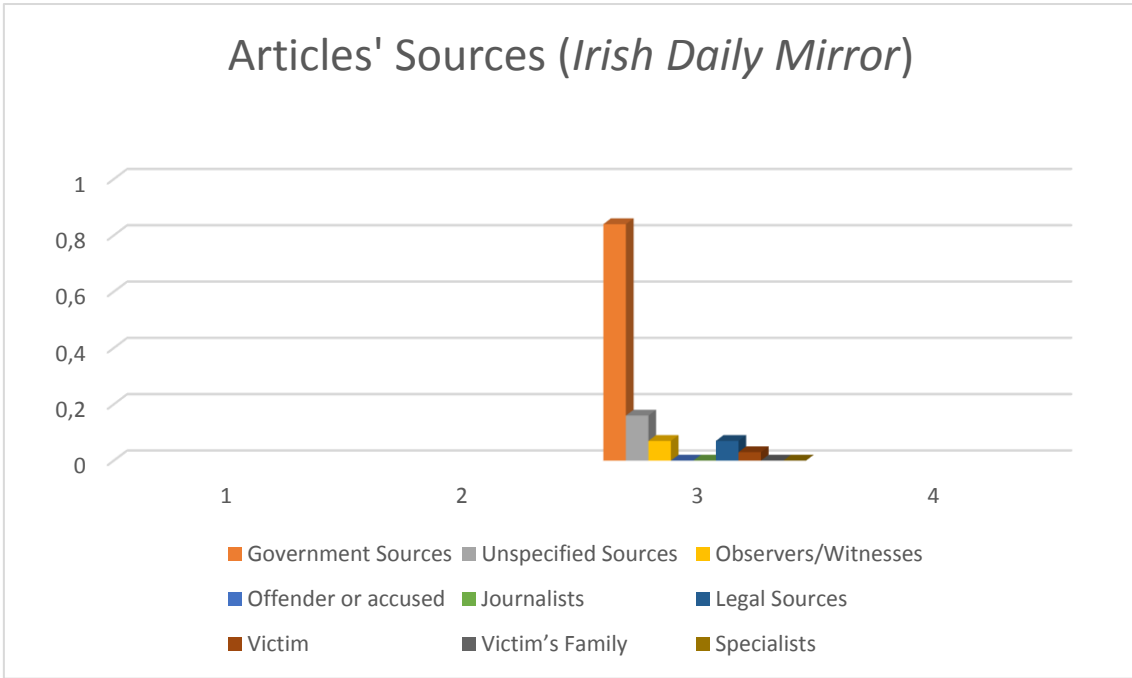**Figure 5:** Analysis/Commentary Articles in Relation to Newspapers

Figure 6: Investigation Articles in Relation to Newspapers

Figure 7: Articles' Sources (All Articles)

Figure 8: Articles' Sources (*Meia Hora de Notícias*)

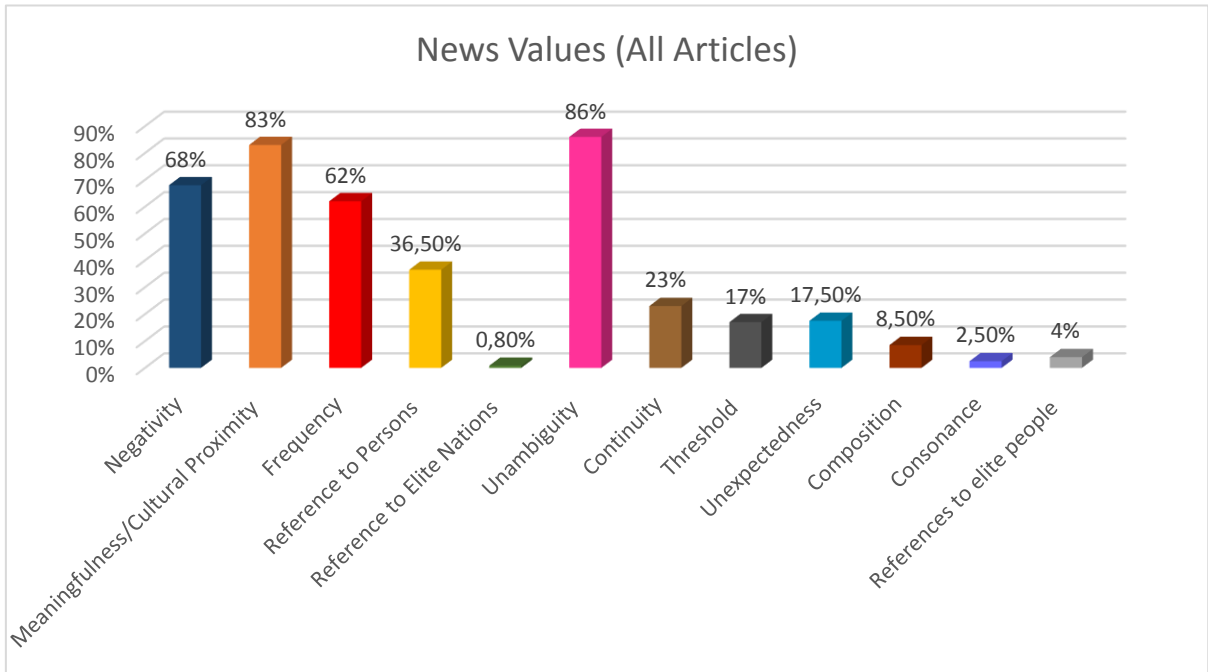**Figure 9:** Articles' Sources (*Irish Daily Mirror)*

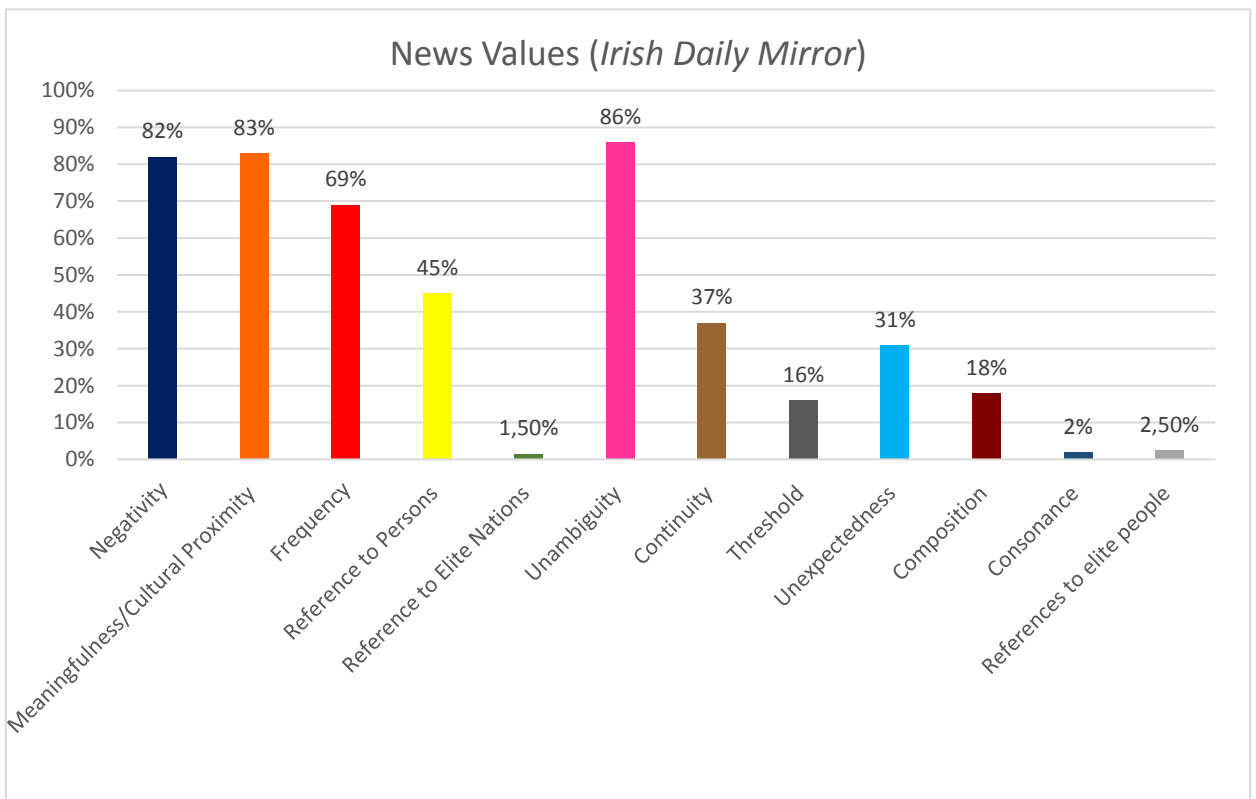**Figure 10:** Subjects of Articles (All Articles)

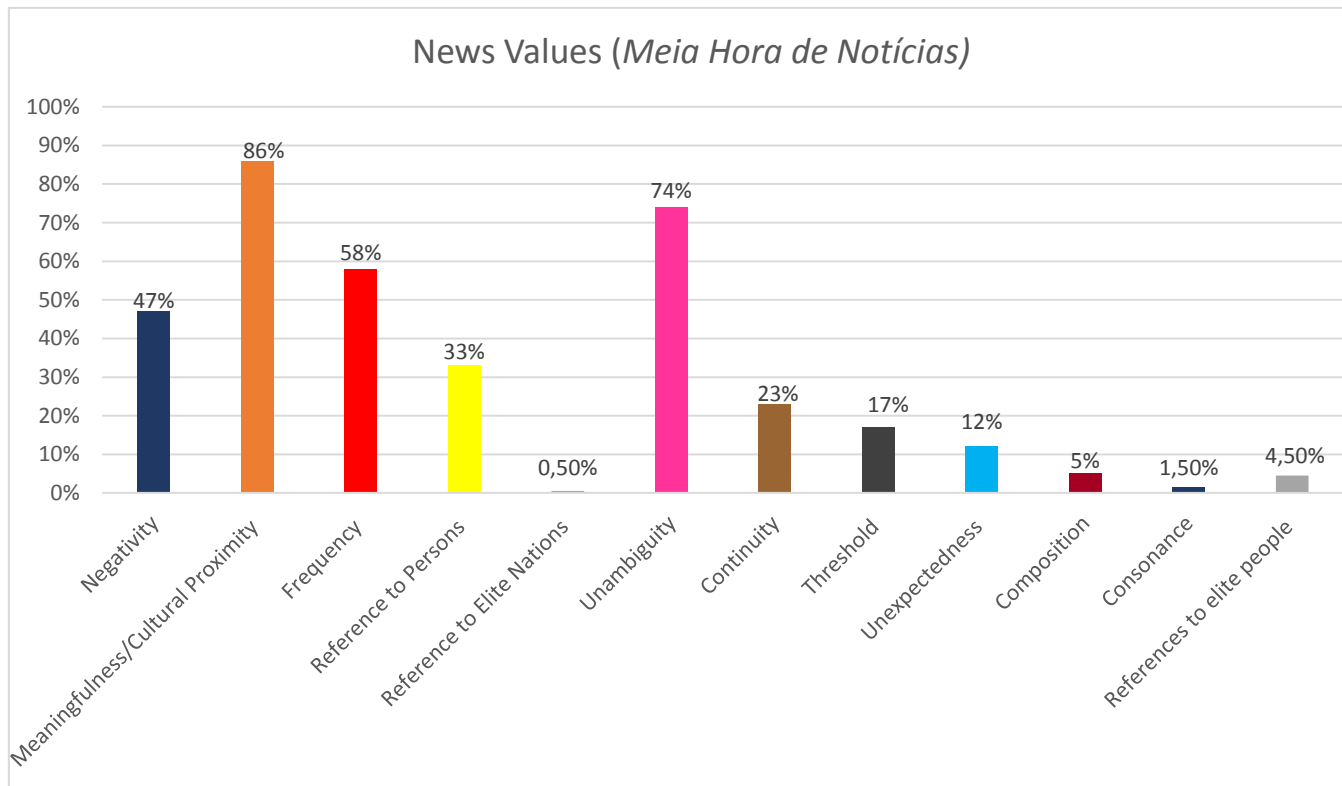**Figure 11:** Subjects of Articles (*Meia Hora de Notícias*)

Figure 13: News Values (All Articles)

Figure 14: News Values (*Irish Daily Mirror*)

News Values (*Meia Hora de Notícias*)

Figure 15: News Values (*Meia Hora de Notícias*)