# Television journalism, crime news and sourcing practices: Findings from Argentina

## Jornalismo televisivo, noticiário policial e usos de fontes: Achados da Argentina

■ M E R C E D E S  C A L Z A D O[a]

Universidad de Buenos Aires, Gino Germani Research Institute/CONICET. Buenos Aires City, Argentina

V A N E S A  L I O[b]

Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Institute for Research in Humanities and Social Sciences/ CONICET. La Plata – BA, Argentina

## ABSTRACT

This paper presents the results of a research project on the new modes of production of television crime news. The enquiry involved monitoring television newscasts of the five major channels in Buenos Aires City and interviews with news workers. We analyze the news content, the ways of narrating and enunciating crime news on television, the role played by the police in the structure of the news, the emergence of new sources of information and the production routines of crime news. Our findings suggest that most of the newscasts on television give prominence to crime news within their agendas and that its production and presentation has changed as the result of the spread of digital technologies as sources of information.

**Keywords:** Crime news, media, television, newscast, Argentina

[a] PhD. in Social Sciences, researcher at CONICET (National Council for Argentine Research).). Orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0211-6480. E-mail: calzadom@gmail.com

[b] Doutora em Ciências Sociais (Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina), pesquisadora do CONICET (Conselho Nacional de Pesquisa Argentina). Orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4391-3729. E-mail: vanesa.lio@gmail.com

## RESUMO

Este artigo apresenta os resultados de um projeto de pesquisa sobre os novos modos de produção de notícias policiais na televisão. A investigação envolveu o monitoramento de telejornais dos cinco principais canais da cidade de Buenos Aires e entrevistas com profissionais da notícia. Analisamos o conteúdo das matérias, as formas de narrar e enunciar as notícias policiais na televisão, o papel da polícia na estrutura das notícias, o surgimento de novas fontes de informação e as rotinas de produção das notícias policiais. Nossos achados sugerem que a maioria dos noticiários na televisão dá destaque às notícias sobre crimes em suas agendas e que sua produção e apresentação mudaram com a disseminação das tecnologias digitais como fontes de informação.

**Palavras-chave:** Notícias policiais, mídia, televisão, telejornais, Argentina

A

## INTRODUCTION

SINCE THE MID-1990S IN ARGENTINA, the question of crime and public safety has become established as a political, economic, socio-cultural and media issue. Street crime doubled at this moment, and data shows no significant reduction on this figure up to present day (Kosovsky, 2007; Ministerio de Seguridad de la Nación, 2019). According to the Argentina Ministry of Justice, the crime rate against people in 1991 was 994 per 100,000 inhabitants; in 1999, 1979; in 2003, 2362, and in 2015, 1999. The growth of crime as evidenced by the increase in crime rates has become part of the agenda of public debate since that time, reaching a peak between 2002 and 2003. After 2004, crime rates began to decline and never again reached similar levels to those at the start of the 1990s. According to the Argentine Ministry of Security (Ministerio de Seguridad de la Nación, 2019), the homicide rate in 1999 was 7.48 for every 100,000 inhabitants; in 2003, 1.93; and in 2018, 5.3, which means that Argentine rates remain the second lowest in Latin America after Chile. However, it would appear that small street crimes cause public anxiety about becoming a potential victim. According to official data, 85.1% of the Argentinian population considers that the lack of public safety is a problem of "substantial or very serious" dimensions (INDEC, 2018). The wide gap between crime rates and the sensation of vulnerability to crime provokes a constant worry among the public (Kessler, 2009).

Crime gained more and more space in the multimedia (Martini & Pereira, 2009) being seen as one of the most important issues for the population (Kessler, 2009), as sensationalism and melodrama became central elements of Argentine journalistic discourse (Ford, 1994; Sunkel, 1985). These types of media narratives expressed in a symbolic, dramatic way which reified the other as different, barbaric and dangerous (Martín Barbero, 1987). These ways of defining crime and delinquency have been used up to the present day, indeed television and radio broadcasts of Buenos Aires city prioritize police news above general information, politics and sport, as revealed by the Ombudsman for Audiovisual Communication since 2013 (Defensoría del Público de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual, 2018)[1]. The predominance of crime news and its specific characteristics should be placed in the context of a series of changes to the local and international media ecosystem.

The first transformation in the production of crime news in Argentina is related to an overall reorganization of the media. Crime news on television increased with the deregulation of media services in the 1990s

[1] The *Defensoría del Público de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual* (translated in this article as Ombudsman for Audiovisual Communication) is an organism created by law n. 26.55 Audio-visual Communication Services (LSCA), to promote the rights of listeners and viewers. Its functions include the reception of complaints from the public and periodic reports on audio-visual content of television channels in Buenos Aires City.

(Mastrini, 2005). The emergence and growth of multimedia (Becerra, 2010) meant that a news item with the same sources and approach produced in Buenos Aires City, was emitted in newspapers, radios, television and cable throughout the country. This change was also related to the emergence of cable news television that needed to produce audiovisual content for 24-hour transmission. As a consequence, each crime news item occurring in Buenos Aires City was transmitted throughout the whole day on screens all over the country.

The second transformation was more general, related to technological changes in news production and its impact on information sources. There has always been a close relation between journalism and institutional sources, specially police's sources. However, in recent years, social networks and technological devices such as mobile phones and security cameras have increased the possibilities to produce information with a different type of content, not regulated, or at least not completely, by the police forces, courts or governmental agencies.

In this article we develop the characteristics of television crime news in Argentina nowadays through the following question: How do newsroom practices shape the construction of crime news? From this main research question we also ask: What is the current position of crime news on Argentine television? What is the news-casting process which brings that information together? What are the current narrative characteristics? What sources are used? What is the role of images in this type of news?

The objectives of this work are outlined as follows: i. To evaluate the position of crime news on Argentine television and the selection processes of the editors; ii. To analyze the characteristics of crime news in this context; iii. To identify the sources used in television crime news broadcastings and observe the elements which are prioritized. We argue that newsroom practices shape the construction of crime news in two key ways: a. the technological, cultural and labor transformation that produce changes in the production of crime news; and b. the self-legitimation of the media as those who *know* about public interest based on such tools as ratings and viewers' responses and who *empathize* with the fear of the viewers.

This paper article begins with some academic debates on the analysis of crime news. Then, we outline our research methods. Subsequently, we develop the results in three sub-sections: the predominance of crime news; crime news' features, content and production routines; and sourcing practices and digital technologies. Finally, we present our conclusions, limitations and possible future challenges.

A

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Crime news appeared as a topic in social sciences in the middle of 20th century (Baker & Ball, 1969; Davis, 1952) but was established during 1970s when the issue started to be a central part of the public debate, specially in the United States and the United Kingdom (Chibnal, 1975; Cohen, 1975; Graber, 1980; Hall et al., 1975; Van Dijk, 1979).

The analysis of crime and the media have been widely studied from different perspectives, specially from the point of view of the effect on audiences (Gebner & Gross, 1976; Romer et al., 2003; Weitzer & Kubrin, 2004). Agenda-setting studies the media capacity to tematize a problem, to put on public discussions and make relevant a topic (McCombs, 1977; McCombs & Shaw, 1972). This perspective considers how crime appears as a central issue on news agendas (Alitavoli & Kaveh, 2018; Lowry et al., 2003), a process that this article will follow on Argentina's television news. Crime news are frequently thematise with some characteristics such as sensationalism, a process understood as "those content features and formal features of messages that have the capability to provoke attention or arousal responses in viewers" (Kleemans & Hendriks Vettehen, 2009, p. 229). Approaches looking at the effect of the agenda setting and the sensationalism are interesting to evaluate the impact of the information on audiences and the function of crime news. However, our research question does not concern the effects or the conduct derived from the contents of crime news, but focuses on the characteristics of audio-visual crime news and the ways that television news programs currently generate this kind of information.

We use, instead, an interpretive perspective, centered on the analysis of discourse from a culturalist point of view. The discourse caracterize and clasificate the world we inhabit (Hall, 1992). Media discourses, specifically, produce words and images to talk, think and understand social problems as "structures of interpretation" (Hall et al., 1978/2013). From the cultural studies point of view, discourse is an image, or a group of images that could produce a representation system and gives a comparison model to understand the society. A meaning depends always on the relation and comparison between different words and produce a type of knowledge related to a topic, in our case, crime, that is amplified by the media. As Stuart Hall (2013) explains: "In contemporary societies, these ideological, cultural and interpretative practices are the primary territories of the press and mass media" (p. xiii). As we explained, one of the main issues on Argentine television is crime. In this kind of situation, the media's discourse could be a central issue to develop moral panics, which means that "a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal value and interest" (Cohen, 1972, p. 28).

The concept of moral panic (Cohen, 2015; Goode & Ben Yahuda, 1994; Thompson, 1998) could help to understand the media construction of a public perception related to deviance and crime, and the relation with the sources, the "primary definers". To explain the concept of primary definers Hall et al. (1978/2013) considered the vinculation between public agencies and mass media: "In the area of crime news the media appear to be more heavily dependent on the institutions of crime control for their news stories than in practically any other area" (p. 71), such as police and justice. Nevertheless, the idea of "primary definers" could be understood as the determination of one actor (police) to another (media) (Mattelart & Neveau, 2004). We consider, instead, that police and justice are central actors in the social construction of crime, but there are some complexities to analyze the sources and their context that we will explore in this article. In addition, the type of perception which may be affected by television crime news has not necessarily been related with panic as alarm, but, in any case, the crime might be identified as a moral deviation, as we will work in this article with the extraordinary events associated with crime. Television crime news are more related than other media with the characteristic of volatility used by Goode and Ben Yehuda (1994) as one of the definers of moral panic. Big crimes, little crimes, the convergence of crime news issues on television work as signification spirals: "A self-amplifying sequence within the area of signification: the activity or event with which the signification deals is escalated -made to seem more threatening- within the course of the signification itself" (Hall et al., 1978/2013, p. 220).

The representation of policing and public safety in terms of discourse construction has been considered by numerous local studies. Many of them show changes in the generation of crime news since the beginnings of the 1990s in Argentina and the use of this topic as one of the principal on media agenda (Arfuch, 1997; Aruguete & Amadeo, 2012; Baquero, 2017; Fernández Pedemonte, 2001; Focás & Galar, 2016; García Beaudoux & D'Adamo, 2007; Lorenc Valcarce, 2005; Martini & Pereyra, 2009; Sánchez, 2014; Tufró, 2017; Vilker, 2008). Crime news in Argentina shows certain characteristics, specially the sensationalist and melodramatic aspect, that are similar in many ways to those transmitted in other Latin American countries (Bonilla & Tamayo, 2007; Lara Klar, 2004; Marroquín Parducci, 2007; Molina et al., 2014; Rey, 2005; Rey & Rincón, 2007). Some of these approaches, as well as others produced in other regions, are centered on the enunciation of the press (Cohen & Young, 1978; Howitt, 1998) and on the definition of the crime and the criminal. Some studies look at the topic in different media such as the radio, newspapers and television and show how violent crimes tend to be common in the popular press and tend

A

to be ignored in quality news reporting (Ericson et al., 1991). The popular press traditionally produces sensationalist information, although in countries such as Argentina, studies have shown that sensationalism is not restricted to the popular press, but is generated across the whole range of media, specially on television (Calzado, 2015; Martini, 2007).

Despite the growth of social media during the last decade, television is still one of the principal sources of information. The last Digital News Report published by Oxford University and the Reuters Institute (Newman et al., 2020) shows that in Argentina people took their information from varying sources: Internet (90%), television (77%), printed newspapers (30%) and radio (24%). The television runs after the Internet, but is far from obsolete, and maintains a central position in the transmission of public information.

In this context, the news media tried innovative ways and methods of organization and incorporated different sources in the construction of a criminal case. Crime news was previously constructed by data received mainly from police and judicial institutions and has been studied by looking at indexing or classification of the official sources (Calzado & Maggio, 2009; Chibnall, 1977; Lugo-Ocando & Faria Brandão, 2016). Classic field studies such as those by Hall et al. (1978/2013), Cohen (2015) y Thompson (1998) look at how moral panic is generated by the media through the "primary definers", and analyze the intervention of police and judicial sources in news agendas.

In Argentina, Caimari (2004), Gayol & Kessler (2002) y Saítta (1998) made historical studies of the printed media, and in some cases radio transmissions at the beginning of the 20th century. These works showed the historic links between the media, police and judiciary in this country as suppliers of information and as sources which defined the way to announce and to classify devious conduct. As we will present in this article, nowadays we can review a relative slide in crime news sources towards those known as private and non-professional (Acosta, 2012).

A part of this process shows a specific type of audio-visual news source: images captured by means of new technology defined as citizen's journalism (Di Próspero & Maurello, 2010) and images taken from social networks or security cameras. The developments in communication technology drove a rapid and unsettling change in journalistic practices and opened up new possibilities for newsgathering and reporting (McNair, 2005). In this context, Machill and Beiler (2009) describe how the Internet has become a key tool for journalistic research. Through observations of journalists from newspaper, radio, television and online media, the authors report that online research procedures were integrated into the overall research process, showing how

digital technologies modified journalistic routines. Although computer-aided research supplements but does not displace classical research, the source-determination process is being more and more dominated by search engines, mainly Google. During the last years, the growing presence of mobile media and social media in our daily lifetimes are transforming even more journalists' practices, influencing particularly the sourcing process (Deprez & Van Leuven, 2017).

Because of the incorporation of this sources of information we develop in this article the idea of *amplified primary definer*, where technology appears both as a competition and as a developer of police and judiciary sources of crime news. The need to analyze crime news generated by different audio-visual modes becomes evident in the light of this new setting for television and its competition with information on the Internet and new technological devices. The audio-visual studies (Silvera & Natalevich, 2012) and the construction of crime news in reality shows (Barak, 1994; Hewwitt, 1998) were widely observed in the studies, although few focused on crime news on public television. Considering this scarcity and the relevance of the crime news genre on public television in Argentina, this work seeks to contribute to studies on audiovisual journalism and the shape and significance of crime in their news.

**METHOD**

In this study we have primarily used two qualitative research tools: content analysis and interviews. Firstly, we make up a corpus of television crime news items. Secondly, we performed a series of interviews with news producers and journalists who occupied different roles of seniority within the major news channels of the City of Buenos Aires. The audiovisual corpus and the interviews were analyzed through a discourse analysis from a culturalist perspective, understanding that research is never objective but always located, which means that both analysis and interpretation were informed by our particular social positions, an historical moment and a specific social and cultural context (Saukko, 2003). We then triangulate (Piovani, 2018; Verd & López, 2008) this information with quantitative data on audio-visual news, aimed to integrate results from both approaches through a mixed-method.

The quantitative analysis was based on data from the annual reports of the Ombudsman for Audiovisual Communication of Argentina between 2013 and 2018 which monitor the contents of all broadcasted television programs. The aim of this article is to understand the meanings and characteristics of television

A

crime news, but we needed to follow the place of crime as a topic. In order to consider the relevance of crime news on television, we used an official database that has been reviewing the topics of the news programs since 2013 with an accurate thematic method that considers each topic of every television news program broadcasted from Buenos Aires City (politics, economics, environment, sports, entertainment, crime, etc.).[2]

In terms of qualitative methods, we started with content analysis. Our corpus was composed of recordings of evening news programs transmitted during the first week of October 2015 by the five major news channels (public and private) of the City of Buenos Aires (América, TV Pública, Canal 9, Telefé y Canal 13). We selected news items that were categorized as *crime and police* both as a principal topic (topic 1) and secondary topic (topic 2) according to the classification of the Ombudsman (Defensoría del Público de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual, 2018). By *topic* assignation, or *theming*, we understand a reconstructed process of news production based on a series of indicators such as its newsworthy criteria, the interventions of news presenters, the headlines, texts and sources, among others[3]. The data analyzed included 157 news items of which 98 were themed as "crime news" as principal topic and 59 as secondary topic. Two years later, during the first six months of 2017, we analyzed the evening television news again. In order to register more closely regularities and variations in the broadcastings, we design a registration and analysis tool to control our prior findings with regard to the main variables of analysis. The observations for the period in 2017 confirmed the findings in 2015 and the relevance of the results of this work.

Monitoring process required the elaboration and use of a tool to register the visual image of the news and which included the following observation variables on the announced and the announcer (Manetti, 2008): priority topics, ways of narrating, location of crime news, maps of crime, the use of images, the speakers and digital technologies. We also ask what it is that the media talks about when they talk about crime and look at news theming and at what kind of facts are included in this section. We started the observation with a list of criminal types defined by the criminal code, but leaving the analysis open to the emergence of other mediatic ways of defining crime[4].

In order to understand some of the processes in the set-up of these news stories, we interviewed producers, journalists and presenters of the newscasts. By means of a snowball technique (Marradi et al., 2018), we conducted 18 in-depth interviews, sampling as far as possible the diversity of roles within the news production and the different ownerships of both public and private stations. We

[2] The methodology of the governmental reports is available on: Defensoría del Público de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual (2013).

[3] The definition of theming and indicators can be consulted in the methodological section which is an annex to the reports (Defensoría del Público de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual, 2013).

[4] News stories themed as "crime" were classified according to: theft, organized crime/drug trafficking, gender violence, homicide, kidnapping and extortion, taking hostages, interpersonal conflicts (gang fights, car rage etc.), human trafficking, fraud, hanging and others.

also had 46 informal conversations with music producers, sound technicians, camera operators, video operators, editors and runners. The interviews and conversations were mostly held in the places where the news was being produced, although this was not always possible due to more restrictive practices in some stations and news studios. The interviews took place in 2017 -once analysis of media content phase had been completed- in news studios, in offices and meeting rooms of the channels and some took place in bars close to the television studios.

We used the method of semi-structured interviews (Piovani, 2018; Valles, 2000). Questions were asked on news selection and newsworthiness, production routines, the roles of different actors in the generation of crime news stories, the use of digital technologies in news production, ways of presenting crime news stories, perception of the type of viewers, and ways in which the information was obtained. Before and after the interviews, we were also able to observe the news studios and even the broadcastings of the newscasts, complimenting the interviews with field notes. These observations let us register the characteristics of production routines which, since they are so habitual, are often not verbalized by media agents (Cottle, 2007).

We used a discourse analysis procedure (Vasilachis de Gialdino, 1997) to articulate the content analysis of media and the interviews from six categories defined by our research objectives: i. the location and importance of crime news; ii. news selection process and presentation criteria; iii. crime news content (volatility); iv. storytelling strategies; v. sourcing process and primary definers; and vi. uses of digital technologies. With this information we reviewed the signification spirals related to crime, providing qualitative tools to understand the meaning of the quantitative data that stipulate that this topic is one of the central issues on television news in Argentina.

Who study the news as a social construction agree that there is a conventional structure of journalistic discourse (Van Dijk, 1990), which includes a series of rules and strategies in its composition. We decided not to produce a newsmaking study centralize in the gatekeepers (Lewin, 1947; Reich & Barnoy, 2020; White, 1950) because the analysis in this article articulate crime media content with the point of view of crime journalists, and it is not centered exclusively on daily journalism work and television organizations (Golding & Elliot, 1979). It is true, as Ericson, Baranek and Chan (1987) explain, that "it is the organization of news, not events in the world, which create news" (p. 345). Nevertheless, this article develops and looks for variables which help us describe the characteristics of crime news in Argentina related to some journalism routines with the purpose to understand the most recent transformations in the construction and meaning of television crime news.

A

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

According to the research objectives and the analytical categories used in this study, we present our findings in three axes. Firstly, we describe the position of crime news on the structure of Argentine newscasts, the news selection process and presentation criteria (categories i. and ii.), showing the prominence that crime news has acquired on Argentine television. Secondly, we analyse crime news' features and content, taking into account the characteristic of volatility, and describing some storytelling strategies (categories iii. and iv.). Our findings in this axis show that the purpose of crime news is not only to inform, but also to entertain, images and editorializing practices playing a central role. Finally, we describe some particular production routines related to the sourcing process, looking forward to identifying the primary defines of the crime news on television and paying special attention to the uses of digital technologies (categories v. and vi.). In this regard, we suggest that digital technologies modified journalistic routines and sourcing practices, pointing out some transformations evidenced, during the last years, in the local context of Argentine television.

### The prominence of crime news

Crime news has become prominent in the Argentina media since the end of the 1990s. From being relatively unimportant information in newspapers and television it was converted into central news (Martini, 2007) a process that one of the journalists that we interviewed explained as follows:

> *Was television news always linked to crime news?*
> No. Something happened similar to the newspapers. . . . Crime news wasn't so prominent, because people didn't like the language, they didn't like the police. They didn't think of it as crime, but like police news given by the police . . .. What has happened in this country over the last 30 years . . ..  You can see it close up [the crime]. Why? Because the quantity of crime in the population increased (Presenter and crime journalist, Canal 13).

This presenter, as well as others interviewed, explained the increase in the quantity of crime news in terms of the rise in crimes in the middle of the 1990s and, as a consequence, in the sensation of danger in the city. But currently, although there is no tangible growth in crime, the sensation of victimization remains stable in Argentina (INDEC, 2018; Kosovsky, 2007; Ministerio de Seguridad de la Nación, 2019).

The wide representation of crime news and the change from a marginal position in newscasts to a central one, as described by the reporter, has been clearly shown in the annual reports of the Ombudsman for Audiovisual Communication from 2013 to 2018. *Crime* maintained its position among the top two most presented topics, both for the quantity of news and for the duration of the news items. Looking more closely, the reports show that "Crime" was the predominant topic in quantity of news in 2013 (23.4%), 2014 (22.8%) and 2017 (28.5%); while it was in second place, after *Politics* in 2015 (22.7%) and 2016 (23.4%). As regards the duration of the news items, *Crime* items were noticeably longer, with almost a third of transmission time and the overall topic most often presented in 2013 (30.5%), 2014 (28%), 2016 (31.3%) and 2017 (39.4%). The only year in which *Politics* was more often represented than *Crime* and for a longer duration was 2015, probably due to the context of presidential, legislative and local elections, however crime news still maintained 30.6% of total transmission time. Besides its ranking position, we can also see that the ratio of this topic over the total news transmissions remained stable in both quantity and duration until 2017, when a significant increase was evidenced[5].

Another interesting data, according to the Ombudsman's report from 2013 to 2017, is that the average duration of crime news was 38% longer than the average duration of other news items. While the average news item lasted 2:11 minutes, *crime* items lasted 3 minutes. This reveals not only the visibility of crime items, but also the perceived relevance or importance. Another notable feature is the timetable of news broadcastings. Mid-day newscasts show a predominance of crime news: the monitoring reports confirm this over the five-year period for all channels, with the exception of "Public Television" (Televisión Pública -TVP- the only State channel in Argentina).

The prime-time newscasts are those which capture more viewers and there is some variation over the different channels. While América, Canal 9 y Telefé dedicated more time to general news and weather, Canal 13 and TVP gave more time to crime news. Between 2013 and 2017 the quantity of crime news presented within the newscasts increased by 47%, which means that, since the duration of the newscasts remained almost the same[6], the quantity of general news information was significantly reduced.

The predominance of crime news is not only evidenced quantitatively. The ways in which crime is presented and the position it occupies in the structure of the newscasts shows this clearly. Crime news items tend to be grouped together most frequently at the beginning of the newscast, especially on the private channels. Not only was crime news presented first, but was often prolonged for several minutes, occupying the entire first news block, and sometimes the second

[5] This increase is attributed to a modification in the structure of crime news by the only public channel in Buenos Aires City: Televisión Pública, the channel which most contributed to the positioning of *crime news* (of the total crime news, 23.8% were transmitted by the TVP).

[6] The total time monitored increased by only 6%.

block. The newscasts of the TVP were the exception until 2017. While previous to this year TVP newscasts gave little space to crime news, since 2017 crime news became as prevalent as in the private television channels and a significant 25% of all crime news was transmitted by the public channel (Defensoría del Público de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual, 2018).

Looking at production and presentation criteria, we identified two ways of grouping the news. We named the first type *chain news*, by which we mean the presentation of a set of items consecutively. The items grouped in a chain share certain characteristics, such as use of common visual sources, voice-overs, similar duration and uniform music. The chain usually takes two forms: a total chain, in which all the included news have the same theme; or a partial chain, in which crime news is predominant, but is interspersed with other topics. The chain can be short, with two or three news items, or extended, with four or more items. Secondly, we identified another type of grouped news which we named *block news, meaning* the presentation of different items around the same occurrence, showing different aspects or perspectives. For example, a news regarding a bank robbery could lead onto an item showing similar occurrences in recent months or years, and even a third one where experts look at specific features of this type of crime.

Both *chain* and *block news* are methods of structuring the newscast and are used to highlight what is considered important. In the first case, a crime news item does not become diluted by placing it with other similar items but is rather strengthened by being part of a group. In the second one, the crime news item is strengthened by the diversity of perspectives and the journalists prolonged treatment of the occurrence.

Finally, another aspect which shows the central position given to crime news is the repetition of items within the newscast. After talking about one item in the first block, it is repeated in the second or following blocks. In some cases, there is an update, in others, the same information is repeated. Here we see not so much a news block, but rather a prolonged treatment of crime news, which is presented in different blocks of the newscast in a continuous or interrupted way.

To summarize, both the analysis of the news content and the news selection process and presentation criteria described by the interviewed journalists and producers reveal a tendency to let crime dominate the news. On the one hand, we can see the prominence of crime news, and on the other, crime news appears as more than one topic, it is presented as a type of matrix which can flood no-crime news. It is this volatility aspect which we look at more deeply below.

### Crime news' features, contents and production routines

Crime news exceeds crime. Far from just relating a crime, the information tends to show and to entertain. The key, more than the fact itself, is the image as the center of audio-visual information: if there is no image, there is no news. In other words, the news is something which can be deduced and can be generated from that image. "In television, what you don't show, you don't have. That's why you need a good image, often a good image tells the story, you accompany that image," explained one of the interviewed crime journalists (Telefé). The power of the image shapes the logic of the theming of the news, and constitutes a central element in the ratings.

> Images have value, these are the ratings, the images are worth those numbers and those numbers are worth a lot of money. So I use a trivial image that gives me 2.4 points on cable television and 6.4 on Air television for example and the trivial image for me is everything. (Presenter and crime journalist, Canal 13)

The observation matrix used to analyse the contents contains a series of sub-topics which organize the news within the theme of crime news. However, an interesting data emerged from a crime news type which had not been included in the matrix: the strange and the unusual. This is probably one of the major novelties in the production of television crime news: small occurrences, not necessarily related to a type of crime of any magnitude, which are described as unusual, strange, bizarre, out of the ordinary. News coverage links these cases in some way with something deviant or risky, and from there the occurrence is themed as crime news; hence the genre has mutated and now includes something we call *colorful crime news*. For example, the story of a man who fell asleep inside his car because he was drunk was presented in terms of "*strnge*, since people were unable to wake him, and the *risk* was for his own life and perhaps that of others. Of course, the news item is only possible because there is an image available. The volatile aspect of crime news tends to grow nowadays with little visual facts in order to introduce different types of crime news everyday that disappear as quickly as a new big or little crime appears on the screen.

These types of images give crime news a sense of drama, using different kinds of old, new and different tools. Nowadays, newscasts make a "show" by means of screens like blackboards on which they present data related to context and statistics; or are used to tell the story as a sequence of events; or narrated geographically through maps. The scene or staging of the news, together with the use of images (for example of weapons or drugs), as well

A

as the reconstruction in the studio with comments from experts, crime news seek not only to inform, but also to entertain. This type of process develops an info-entertainment´s feature, the media tendency to present information as a show to hook the viewers and keep them watching the program (Berrocal et al., 2014).

The coverage even uses elements of fiction such as the editing of images, voice-overs and incidental music (which reinforces the tone which the newscast wants to give to the story: action, suspense, fear, laughter). As a result, crime news is narrated as it were an action film, with mystery, drama and even comedy to generate a *colorful crime news*.

The newscasts also use other tools such as the exhibition of objects and places; and more importantly, they look at what could possibly have happened, thus giving some form of reality to events which didn't actually happen. In addition, the presence of an expert with knowledge of a discipline or topic encourages legitimate opinion about a situation (Dodier, 2009). In this way, the *show* of crime news collaborates with the storytelling.

This combination of proceedings has the consequence of magnifying crime news. A minor event of low impact and little social relevance becomes more important by emphasizing hypothetical and entertaining elements in its narration. So the process of news-making has been altered, while traditionally news production started with an event (Rodrigo Alsina, 1989/2005), it now starts with the different possibilities of access to the event, for example by means of security cameras, messages on social networks and other audio-visual material.

The coverage of these unusual events is not infrequent. The theft of plants from a flower bed of an apartment block in the city of Buenos Aires is narrated in our corpus alongside jokes and laughter, using images from security cameras which captured the occurrence. The newscast continues with a series of other "unusual and incredible thefts" of plants, dogs and kennels. The theft is characterized as something that happens every day, that anyone could commit, even an acquaintance or a neighbor. Nevertheless, the event is represented as a "temptation", at the same time that the newscaster describes it as something extraordinary: "There are all kinds of thieves: the cunning, the violent and the bizarre", is the comment of the presenter while the images are being shown (América TV).

The news about events in which no law has been broken, but which are themed as *crime news* constitute another new and regular appearance on news casts which we call *extended narration*. This type of news item tends to transmit a message of alarm, even though the real crime was relatively

trivial, or perhaps no crime has yet been committed. The newscasts present a no-news about a non-occurrence and perform a type of clairvoyance through long debates about what might have happened if a crime had really been committed.

Nothing happened, but something could happen or could have happened. The narrative use of the conditional is embodied in this new journalistic storytelling because this kind of news is constructed on the hypothetical, about what didn't happen, distancing it from one of the primary requisites of journalism: an event happens (Clauso, 2007; Martini & Lucchesi, 2004; Rodrigo Alsina, 1989/2005). The cases are presented in terms of a future risk and approached as if the non-event had really happened. A double process is produced which not only makes the possible real (as the presenters supposed that an innocent person will be undoubtedly robbed), but also generalizes the risks, identifying the viewer as a potential victim (as the journalists stated that it could happen to anybody). By spreading rumor, fear and risk become urgent daily news.

One of the effects of this kind of news is to strengthen the sensation of victimization. The primary speaker is, in general, the citizen and neighbor who find themselves at risk. A television viewer is not only informed by the news, but is also alerted to potential threats. Crime news presenters frequently address the viewer personally. "Be very careful", they warn. The announcement advises the public to be careful of danger because "anyone might be a robber", even "a neighbor" or somebody who has known you "your whole life", as one presenter of a private channel warned. Alongside this shaping of the victim, crime news gives space to advice on prevention, usually towards the end of the newscast, in the form of a series of words of advice from experts to viewers. In this way, the news functions as a kind of behavior manual that viewers should adopt in order to avoid becoming victims.

### Sourcing practices and digital technologies

The content analysis and the interviews show a finding related to what we call a relative *sliding of crime news sources*. The classic relation between police, judiciary (as primary definers of the news) and crime journalism (Calzado & Maggio, 2009) does not disappear, but we can observe two factors which modify it. The first is regarding the negative image of the institutions connected with the politics of crime (police, judiciary, governmental institutions, security forces) which appears to diminish the importance of official sources and favor the appearance of new sources, at least at certain

times (Corbacho et al., 2015). Thus, priority is given to the statements of everyday citizens, who witness or are close to the event, neighbors who can give details of what happened. The voice of the victims and the neighbors is elevated above those of a police officer.

Even when the source is an official institution, the newscasts tend to avoid identifying the origin of the information. The news-desk takes the information, makes it its own and doesn't explain where the information comes from, with the result that a decreasing number of identifiable sources are registered over time. While in 2013 the relation was 1.12 (where 1 means a source for each news item), in 2017 this value decreased to 0.82 (Defensoría del Público de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual, 2018). Since there is less than one source per news item, this means that some news items have no (declared) sources. This data is specially relevant for crime news: between 2013 and 2017, 36.5% of news stories were transmitted without sources (Defensoría del Público de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual, 2018). This tendency could be explained by the lack of legitimacy of the institutions responsible for law enforcement, however the use of new technologies (mobile phones, social networks, security cameras) as new sources could also partially explain this phenomenon.

The capacity of the digital technologies to generate news content outside formal agencies is the second factor we identify which modifies the sourcing process. As stated by journalism scholarship, digital technologies modify not only the journalistic routines, such as the research process or sourcing practices, but also the way of telling a story:

> Journalism has become part of a wider culture of factuality, by which I mean our societies' growing fascination with the real and the actual (as opposed to the imagine and the fictional). The emerging cultures of factuality is seen in the explosion of reality TV, makeover shows and other media forms in which traditional boundaries between news and commentary, education and entertainment, objectivity and subjectivity, detachment and commitment, reportage and reconstruction are eroding. (McNair, 2005, p. 27)

Journalists tell stories but, unlike novelists or historians, journalism stories are presented to the public as factual. So, willing to present "snapshots of the real" (McNair, 2005, p. 30), technologies such as CCTV systems, smartphones and social media bring journalists the possibility of telling stories from *real* images.

In this regard, we observe that argentine television producers and journalists, avid for more content (and update of events already transmitted), search for as many multimedia sources as possible. Firstly, security cameras seem to function as a source per se, the images arriving primarily from police or other criminal institutions. Many images are those to which the journalist has access, and in criminal cases are sometimes offered by the security forces. Others are simply images from private cameras given by neighbors, neighborhood associations or private businesses.

As one of the interviewed television workers explained, the sourcing procedure is characterized by two ideals: "The first ideal is always to get a witness, and the second one is to get an image, for example security camera recordings. Sometimes you support the testimony with a photo, with a video, which makes the perfect combination" (journalist, Canal 13). The use of new technologies for the generation of contents also produces a diversification of audio-visual material and is not necessarily dependent on the presence of a journalist at the crime scene. Television news producers describe the search for images as a routine: "Mostly, when something happens, I send a field journalist to the place and I tell him 'look for a video'. This means looking for a security camera, ask the neighbors" (Producer, Canal 13).

The other major source, besides security cameras, is the use of mobile phones. The fact that the images are often imperfect, blurred, or interrupted by persons or objects crossing in front of the subject reinforces the idea of it being *real*, that it *really happened* in the here and now of news making. These sources are symptomatic of a new journalistic approach which has increased in recent years, the citizen's journalism. The newscasters ask the viewers to send in images of the current event which they themselves took. These images tend to be short fragments, which are repeated many times to emphasize the importance of this kind of audio-visual testimony. This type of content had often previously gone viral on social networks before being incorporated into the newscast or online newspapers. We have therefore seen a proliferation of *ordinary people* producing photos and videos of events taken on mobile phone cameras and other devices (Yar, 2012, p. 2) as subjects are re-made as producers of representations generated by themselves.

Social networks function as a channel of access to primary sources. In many cases it allows a direct path to the declarations of central characters by tracing their comments on Twitter or Facebook. Since such speed of access would be impossible by traditional methods, social networks have

become the most direct and immediate approach. Social networks, and particularly YouTube, allow videos constructed by newscasts to go viral together with a certain theming of comments or analysis by journalists or experts. Comments on similar events in other regions, countries or continents could also be attached to the video (without losing the predominant local flavor). Social networks more associated with the reproduction of photos, such as Facebook and Instagram, seem to function as archives where personal images of the private lives are deposited and which are used to illustrate crime news, for example showing photos of the perpetrators, previous to the event of the crime.

To summarize, the access to audiovisual material (security cameras, mobile cameras and social networks) makes for a new way to relate the facts, an aesthetic of the "real" which pretends to show *life itself* on the screens. As media products, the construction of these images attempts to show "an aesthetics of objectivity" (Gates, 2013, p. 243). For example, in the case of security cameras the presentation is based on the use of the video as evidence, and any intentional construction tends to be covered up. In aesthetic terms, video surveillance has become a part of contemporary culture (Groombridge, 2002; Lyon, 2018) due to the incorporation of security cameras to narrate crime news in what has been called "rhetoric of surveillance" (Kammerer, 2004, p. 466). Security cameras, mobile phones and social networks have become sources which narrate urban crime. Television crime news present multiple small stories, the authenticity of which is strongly anchored to the images of these technological devices in what Kammerer (2012) calls "reality television", attempting to show "life as it is" since it is based on people, emotions or events which are non-fiction (p. 103).

Finally, our findings (Table 1) show that the information produced by these new digital tools tend to make available images that enable minor events to appear as a television news. In other words, these technologies allow some events to become news, whereas this would not have been even thinkable without these images. In some cases, these visual contents are given a primary position in the newscast. A situation which brings us to look at the current tension caused by the dramatizing of crime news: between the choice of relevant news stories which are sometimes more difficult to access, or trivial situations which have audio visual material readily available (Baquerín de Riccitelli, 2008). At this point the newscasts emphasize the idea of presenting a news story exclusively to the viewers, rather than to pursue a relevant news story or a pre-existing theme.

**Table 1**

*Findings*

| Axis | Category | Findings |
|---|---|---|
| Structure of newscasts | - Time given to crime news | Predominance of crime news |
| | - Location of crime news | Block news |
| | - News selection and presentation criteria | Chain news |
| Crime news' features and content | - Crime news content (volatility) | Colorful crime news |
| | | Extended narration |
| | - Storytelling strategies | The power of images |
| | | Crime as info-entertainment |
| | | Magnifying crime news |
| | - Editorializing practices | Prevention advices |
| Production routines | - Sourcing process | Amplified primary definers |
| | - Primary definers | Relative sliding of crime news sources |
| | - Uses of digital technologies | Aesthetic of objectivity |
| | | "Real" images or Images of the real |

## CONCLUSIONS

The article presents an insight into the ways of constructing crime news on Argentine television. Using data from the monitoring of newscasts in Buenos Aires City, content analysis, as well as interviews with television employees, we identified certain regularities in the construction of crime news.

In this context, we were able to observe some ways in which crime news is shaped and transmitted and, subsequently, we elaborated new categories which aim to contribute to the field of study of the news in general and crime news in particular: chain news, block news, extended narration, colorful crime news, aesthetic of objectivity and amplified primary definer.

We describe in our third finding how some particular news stories are commonly constructed from security camera images and other common devices such as mobile phones and the social networks. The frequency with which these images are incorporated into crime news stimulated a deeper investigation into the specific content of this audio-visual material. We found that most of this kind

of material (but not all) is incorporated into crime news. Traditional crime news sourcing process has official institutions (specially the police) as primary definers; but now we identified an increasing number of non-institutional sources which are generally non-explicit. There are news items, images or contents which are even transmitted without mentioning who made or distributed them. In fact, in many cases the images are simply taken from the Internet with no identified author. We observe, in this process, an amplified primary definer: technologies introduce a new kind of crime news' source and simultaneously modify the relationship of the journalists with the police and the judiciary. Competition for ranking and exclusivity involve a permanent search for visually attractive material from both institutional and non-traditional sources which has transformed the process of production of the newscasts. Moreover, the elasticity of crime news to acquire elements of general information could explain the prevalence of crime news on the air in Buenos Aires City.

However, it should be noted that the processes outlined above in the construction of newscasts form part of wider social and cultural processes, which is linked to crime news production, but also to the demands of viewers and the editorial line of the public and private channels. It is also clear that the contents of crime news production by media companies are conditioned by geographical, socio-political and cultural contexts. This work emphasizes an analysis of the local context, although some comparisons were made with other regions.

We simultaneously studied the contents and the production routine of crime news. Although these processes must be understood as part of a network of wider social meanings, we were able to review the signification spirals related to crime, providing tools to understand the prominence of crime news on Argentine television. Finally, we consider that our findings would be strengthened by further research into the reception of crime news by viewers, which will make up for our future research. **M**

**REFERENCES**

Acosta, R. (2012). El papel de las fuentes de la comunicación periodística en la construcción social de la realidad. In C. Arrueta & M. Brunet (Eds.), *Fuentes confiables: Miradas latinoamericanas sobre periodismo* (pp. 166-188). DASS-UCSE.

Alitavoli, R., Kaveh, E. (2018). The U.S. media's effect on public's crime expectations: A cycle of cultivation and agenda-setting theory. *Societies*, *8*(3), 58, 1-9. https://doi.org/10.3390/soc8030058

Arfuch, L. (1997). *Crímenes y pecados. De los jóvenes en la crónica policial*. UNICEF.

Aruguete, N., & Amadeo, B. (2012). Encuadrando el delito: pánico moral en los periódicos argentinos. *América Latina Hoy*, *62*, 177-196. https://bit.ly/3uj9U1Z

Baker, R. K., & Ball, D. (Eds.). (1969). *Mass media and violence. A staff report to the national commission on the causes and prevention of violence* (Vol. 9). Govt. Printing Office.

Baquerín de Riccitelli, M. (2008). *Los medios, ¿aliados o enemigos del público?* EDUCA.

Baquero, R. (2017). "El crimen de Brian". La legitimación de la baja en la edad de imputabilidad en el discurso del diario *Clarín*. *Question*, *1*(56), 1-17. https://doi.org/10.24215/16696581e004

Barak, G. (1994). *Media, process, and the social construction of crime: Studies in newsmaking criminology*. Garland Pub.

Becerra, M. (2010). Las noticias van al mercado: Etapas de intermediación de lo público en la historia de los medios de la Argentina. In G. Lugones & J. Flores (Eds.), *Intérpretes e interpretaciones de la Argentina en el bicentenario* (pp. 139-165). Universidad Nacional de Quilmes.

Berrocal, S., Redondo García, M., Martín Jiménez, V., & Campos Domínguez, E. (2014). La presencia del infoentretenimiento en los canales generalistas de la TDT española. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, *69*, 85-103. https://doi.org/10.4185/RLCS-2014-1002

Bonilla Velez, J., & Tamayo Gómez, C. (2007). *Los medios en las violencias y las violencias en los medios*. CINEP.

Caimari, L. (2004). *Apenas un delincuente*. Siglo XXI.

Calzado, M. (2015). *Inseguros. El rol de los medios y la respuesta política frente a la violencia*. Aguilar.

Calzado, M. & Maggio, N. (2009). "A veces pasa como si uno dijera llueve". La naturalización mediática de la muerte de delincuentes en enfrentamientos con la policía. In A. Daroqui (Ed.), *Muertes silenciadas: La eliminación de los "delincuentes". Una mirada sobre las prácticas y los discursos de los medios de comunicación, policía y la justicia* (pp. 52-100). Centro Cultural de la Cooperación.

Chibnall, S. (1975). The crime reporter: A study in the production of commercial knowledge, *Sociology*, *9*(1), 49-66. https://doi.org/10.1177/003803857500900103

Chibnall, S. (1977). *Law-and-order news. An analysis of crime reporting in the British press*. Tavistock Publications.

Clauso, R. (2007). *Cómo se construyen las noticias.* La Crujía.

Cohen, S. (1975). A comparison of crime coverage in Detroit and Atlanta newspapers. *Journalism Quarterly*, *52*(4), 726-730. https://doi.org/10.1177/107769907505200418

Cohen, S. (2015). *Demonios populares y pánicos morales.* Gedisa.

Cohen, S. & Young, J. (1978). *The manufacture of news.* Constable.

Corbacho, A., Philipp J., & Ruiz-Vega, M. (2015). Crime and erosion of trust: Evidence from Latin America. *World Development*, *70*, 400-415. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2014.04.013

Cottle, S. (2007). Ethnography and news production: New(s) developments in the field. *Sociology Compass*, *1*(1), 1-16. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2007.00002.x

Davis, J. (1952). Crime news in Colorado newspapers, *American Journal of Sociology*, *57*, 4. https://doi.org/10.1086/220967

Defensoría del Público de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual. (2013). *Monitoreo de Programas Noticiosos de Canales de Aire de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires: "¿Qué es la 'noticia' en los noticieros?"* [Methodological document]. https://bit.ly/3t4xrTt

Defensoría del Público de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual. (2018). *Informe: 5 años de Monitoreo de Noticias (2013-2017).* https://bit.ly/3e3ibC6

Deprez, A., & Van Leuven, S. (2017). About pseudo quarrels and trustworthiness. *Journalism Studies*, *19*(9), 1257-1274. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1266910

Di Próspero, C., & Maurello, M. E. (2010). Los periodistas y las nuevas tecnologías. In L. Luchessi (Comp.), *Nuevos escenarios detrás de las noticias* (pp. 51-71) La Crujía.

Dodier, N. (2009). Experts et victimes face à fase. In S. Lefranc & L. Mathieu (Eds.), *Mobilisations de victimes* (pp. 29-36). Universitaires de Rennes.

Ericson, R., Baranek, P., & Chan, J. (1991). *Representing order: Crime, law, and justice in the news media.* University of Toronto.

Fernández Pedemonte, D. (2001). *La violencia del relato.* La Crujía.

Focás, B. & Galar, S. (2016). Inseguridad y medios de comunicación (2010-2015). *Delito y Sociedad*, *25*(41), 59-76. https://doi.org/10.14409/dys.v1i41.6198

Ford, A. (1994). Los medios, las coartadas del new order y la casuística. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, *31*, 51-63. https://bit.ly/3u63OCE

García Beaudoux, V., & D'Adamo, O. (2007). Tratamiento del delito y la violencia en la prensa. In L. Luchessi & M. Rodríguez (Eds.), *Fronteras globales, cultura, política y medios de comunicación* (pp.169-185). La Crujía.

Gates, K. (2013). The cultural labor of surveillance: Video forensics, computational objectivity, and the production of visual evidence. *Social Semiotics*, *23*(2), 242-261. https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2013.777593

Gayol, S., & Kessler, G. (2002) *Violencias, delitos y justicias en la Argentina*. Manantial.

Gebner, G., & Gross, L. (1976). The scary world of TV's heavy viewer. *Psychology today*, *9*(11), 41-45. https://bit.ly/3feUmI8

Golding, P., & Elliot, P. (1979). *Making the news*. Longman.

Goode, E., & Ben Yehuda, N. (1994). *Moral panics: The social construction of deviance*. Blackwell.

Graber, D. A. (1980). *Crime news and the public*. Praeger.

Groombridge, N. (2002). Crime control or crime culture TV? *Surveillance & Society*, *1*(1), 30-46. https://doi.org/10.24908/ss.v1i1.3392

Hall, S., Roberts, B., Clarke, J., Jefferson, T., & Critcher, C. (1975). *Newsmaking and crime*. CCCS.

Hall, S., Roberts, B.; Clarke, J., Jefferson, T. & Critcher, C. (2003). *Policing the crisis*: *Mugging, the state and law and order*. McMillan. (Original work published 1978)

Howitt, D. (1998). *Crime, the media and the law*. Wiley.

INDEC (2018). *Encuesta Nacional de Victimización 2017*. Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos.

Kammerer, D. (2004). Video surveillance in Hollywood movies. *Surveillance & Society*, *2*(2/3), 464-473. https://doi.org/10.24908/ss.v2i2/3.3389

Kammerer, D. (2012). Surveillance in literature, film and television. In K. Ball, K. Haggerty, & D. Lyon (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of surveillance studies* (pp. 99-106). Routledge.

Kessler, G. (2009) *El sentimiento de inseguridad*. Siglo XXI.

Kleemans, M. & Hendriks Vettehen, P. (2009). Sensationalism in television news: A review. In R. P. Konig, P. W. M. Nelissen, & F. J. M. Huysmans (Eds.), *Meaningful media: Communication research on the social construction of reality* (pp. 226-243). Tandem Felix.

Kosovsky, D. (2007). Delito y análisis de la información en Argentina. In G. Kaminsky, D. Kosovsky, & G. Kessler, *El delito en la Argentina post-crisis. Aportes para la comprensión de las estadísticas públicas y el desarrollo institucional* (pp. 45-74). Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Lara Klar, M., & Portillo Vargas, J. (2004). *Violencia y medios*. Instituto para la Seguridad y la Democracia.

Lewin, K. (1947). Frontiers in Group Dynamics: II. Channels of Group Life: Social Planning and Action Research. *Human Relations*, *1*(2), 143-153. https://doi.org/10.1177/001872674700100201

Lorenc Valcarce, F. (2005). El trabajo periodístico y los modos de producción de la noticia: El tratamiento de la inseguridad en la prensa argentina. *Question*, *27*, 1-22. https://bit.ly/2SkDnvf

Lowry, D., Nio, T., & Leitner, D. (2003). Setting the public fear agenda: A longitudinal analysis of network TV crime reporting, public perceptions of crime, and FBI crime statistics. *Journal of Communication*, *53*(1), 61-73. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2003.tb03005.x

Lugo-Ocando, J., & Faria Brandão, R. (2016). Stabbing news. Articulating crime statistics in the newsroom, *Journalism Practice*, 10 (6), 715-729. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2015.1058179

Lyon, D. (2018). *The culture of surveillance*. Polity Press.

Machill, M., & Beiler, M. (2009) The importance of the Internet for journalistic research. *Journalism Studies*, *10*(2), 178-203. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700802337768

Manetti, G. (2008). *L'Enunciazione. Dalla svolta comunicativa ai nuovi media*. Mondadori.

Marradi, A., Archenti, N., & Piovani, J. (2018), *Manual de metodología de las ciencias sociales*. Siglo XXI.

Marroquín Parducci, A. (2007). Indiferencias y espantos. Relatos de jóvenes y pandillas en la prensa escrita de Guatemala, El Salvador y Honduras. In G. Rey (Ed.), *Los relatos periodísticos del crimen. Cómo se cuenta el delito en la prensa escrita latinoamericana* (pp. 55-91). FES.

Martín Barbero, J. (1987). *De los medios a las mediaciones*. G. Gilli.

Martini, S., & Luchessi, L. (2004). *Los que hacen la noticia. Periodismo, información y poder*. Biblos.

Martini, S., & Pereira, M. (2009). *La irrupción del delito en la vida cotidiana*. Biblos.

Martini, S. (2007). Argentina. Prensa gráfica, delito y seguridad. In. G. Rey (Ed.), *Los relatos periodísticos del crimen*. (pp. 21-54). Centro de Competencia en Comunicación.

Mastrini, G. (Ed.). (2005). *Mucho ruido y pocas leyes: Economía y políticas de la comunicación en la Argentina 1920-2004*. La Crujía.

Neveu, E., & Mattelart, A. (2004). *Introducción a los estudios culturales*. Paidós.

McCombs, M. (1977). Newspapers vs. television: Mass communication effects across time. In D. Shaw & M. McCombs (Eds.), *The emergence of American political issues: The agenda-setting function of the press* (pp. 85-105). Meat Publishing Company.

McCombs, M., & Shaw, D. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *36*, 176-187. https://doi.org/10.1086/267990

McNair (2005). What is journalism? In de Burgh (Ed.), *Making journalists. Diverse models, global issues* (pp. 25-43). Routledge.

Ministerio de Seguridad de la Nación (2019). *Estadísticas criminales de la República Argentina. Año 2018*. Dirección del Sistema Nacional de Información Criminal. https://bit.ly/3nz4AWt

Molina, L., Pérez, M., & De La Vega, M. (2014). Un análisis sobre la inseguridad en la prensa. *Discurso y sociedad*, *8*, 234- 298. http://dx.doi.org/10.7764/cdi.45.1492

Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Schulz, A., Andi, S., & Nielsen, R. K. (2020). *Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2020.* Reuters Institute for the study of journalism.

Piovani, J. (2018). La entrevista en profundidad; Triangulación y métodos mixtos. In A. Marradi, N. Archenti, & J. Piovani, *Manual de metodología de las ciencias sociales* (pp. 215-226). Siglo XXI.

Reich, Z., & Barnoy, A. (2020). How news become "news" in increasingly complex ecosystems: Summarizing almost two decades of newsmaking reconstructions. *Journalism Studies*, *21*(7), 966-983. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1716830

Rey, G. (2005). *El cuerpo del delito. Representación y narrativas mediáticas de la seguridad ciudadana.* FES.

Rey, G., & Rincón, O. (2007). *Más allá de víctimas y culpables. Relatos de experiencias en seguridad ciudadana y comunicación.* FES.

Rodrigo Alsina, M. (2005). *La construcción de la noticia.* Paidós. (Original work published 1989)

Romer, D., Jamieson, K., & Aday, S. (2003). Television news and the cultivation of fear of crime. *Journal of Communication*, *53*, 88-104. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2003.tb03007.x

Saítta, S. (1998). *Regueros de tinta. El diario Crítica en la década de 1920.* Sudamericana.

Sánchez, M. (2014). Vivir en la inseguridad. *La trama de la comunicación*, *18*(1), 135-149. https://bit.ly/3xA4ORN

Saukko, P. (2003). *Doing research in cultural studies: An introduction to classical and new methodological approaches.* Sage.

Silvera, L., & Natalevich, M. (2012). La crónica policial en los informativos de televisión. *Revista Dixit*, *16*, 4-12. https://doi.org/10.22235/d.v0i16.340

Sunkel, G. (1985). *Razón y pasión en la prensa popular*. ILET

Thompson, J. (1998). *Los media y la modernidad*. Barcelona.

Tufró, M. (2017). Comunidades del miedo. In S. Martini & M. Pereyra (Eds.), *La noticia hoy.* (pp. 129-142). Imago Mundi.

Valles, M. (2000). *Técnicas cualitativas de investigación social. Reflexión metodológica y práctica profesional*. Prometeo.

Van Dijk, J. (1979). The extent of public information and the nature of public attitudes towards crime. In *Public opinion on crime and criminal justice: Reports presented to the thirteenth criminological research conference (1978)* (Collected studies in criminological research, Vol. 17, pp. 7-42). Council of Europe. https://bit.ly/332gs9R

Vasilachis de Gialdino, I. (1997). *La construcción de representaciones sociales: el discurso político y la prensa escrita*. Gedisa.

Verd, J., & López, P. (2008) La eficiencia teórica y metodológica de los diseños multimétodo. *Empiria. Revista de Metodología de Ciencias Sociales*, *16*, 13-42. https://doi.org/10.5944/empiria.16.2008.1388

Vilker, S. (2008) *Truculencias. La prensa policial entre el terrorismo de estado y la inseguridad*. Prometeo.

Weitzer, R., & Kubrin, C. (2004). Breaking news: How local TV news and real-world conditions affect fear of crime. *Justice Quarterly*, *21*(3), 497-520. https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820400095881

Withe, D. (1950). The gatekeeper: A case study in the selection of news. *Journalism Quarterly*, *27*(4), 383-390. https://doi.org/10.1177/107769905002700403

Yar, M. (2012). Crime, media and the will-to-representation: Reconsidering relationships in the new media age, *Crime, Media, Culture*, *8*(3), 245-260. https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659012443227