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**Representations of Sexual Offending:
The British Press, Public Attitudes and Desistance from Crime**

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Abstract

The relationships between the media, public attitudes and crime are complex. There is some evidence to suggest that public interaction with press reports about sexual crime may have some effect on wider societal attitudes. With this in mind, 543 articles from eight of the ten most-read British national newspapers were examined in terms of (a) their representativeness about crime rates, and (b) their linguistic properties. A control sample of articles about immigrant groups was included in this analysis in order to establish how offender populations were described in comparison to another negatively-stereotyped population.

Key results include a nine- and two-and-a-half-times over-representation of sexual and violent crime, respectively, and a four-and-a-half-times under-representation of acquisitive crime within press articles compared to official crime statistics. Linguistically, sexual crime articles comprised angrier and more emotionally negative tones than stories on violent crime, acquisitive crime, and immigrant groups, respectively, and this trend was observed in both tabloid and broadsheet newspapers. An analysis of the headlines of sexual crime articles found clear differences between tabloids and broadsheets with regard to the descriptors of those perpetrating sexual crimes.

These findings are analysed within the social, political, and legal contexts of news reporting, with cognitive dissonance theory being offered as one social psychological framework for understanding the purpose of sexual crime reporting. The implications of such misrepresentative news reporting on sex offender reintegration and desistance from crime are discussed, and possible avenues for future research are suggested.

Keywords: sex offending, public attitudes, cognitive dissonance, moral panic, desistance, newspapers

Introduction

Research into media representations of crime typically falls into one of two categories: the influence of popular media in relation to causing criminality (e.g. the effect of violent video games or movies), or the role of the news media in informing and maintaining public knowledge and attitudes toward the issue of crime. The former category has been the focus of research within ‘media criminology’, with Greer (2010) bemoaning a lack of understanding of the processes of news production, comprehension, and impact within the academic literature. As such, this area of research is the topic of investigation within this thesis, with a particular emphasis on the ways in which the British press report on sexual crime.

The national press have been cited as agenda setters of both political and public discourse in the UK (Alibhai-Brown, 2013), and this influence is especially noticeable in the area of criminal justice. Press articles on ‘holiday camp prisons’ and ‘soft justice’ are now commonplace, and this has coincided with the coalition Government announcing its plan to be “*Tough, but Intelligent*” (Cameron, 2012) on crime. In recent times, high-profile incidents of historic sexual abuse have been in the headlines, and sentences that have been passed in these cases have been promoted as examples of the aforementioned ‘soft justice’, despite the respective guidance against which these cases are tried. In response to public unrest at sentencing in relation to sexual crime, the UK Sentencing Council recently released a consultation document advocating longer sentences for these offences – a document that was hailed as a victory in some areas of the national press.

Sexual crime in the national British press

McCartan (2004) surveyed public attitudes and knowledge about paedophilia within two British cities and found that, contrary to expectations, respondents were relatively accurate with knowledge around the prevalence and practices of paedophiles (although the precise definition of

‘paedophilia’ is still widely debated; see Henley, 2013). However, McCartan found that attitudes toward this group of offenders were extremely negative, with only 21% believing paedophilia was treatable, and 58% classifying paedophiles as ‘evil’. The conclusions drawn from these findings were that, whilst public knowledge about paedophilia was accurate, public attitudes were hostile. McCartan cited a moral panic within the mainstream media as the reason for this.

The notion of moral panics, as described initially by Stanley Cohen (1972/2002), refers to how phenomena that threaten some societal norms are disproportionately amplified. They are suggested as reasons for outward expressions of aggression, hostility, and skewed public attitudes toward topics that are viewed as deviant. In the traditional sense, a moral panic consists of five key aspects (Ben-Yehuda and Goode, 1994; see Table 1). Recent examples of issues that could be classified as moral panics include allegations about the ‘islamification of British values’ and European Union expansion. Both of these issues have attracted substantial attention in recent times, and have led to the establishment of the *English Defence League* and the *UK Independence Party*, thus creating for them a sense of political legitimacy. Critics of moral panic theory suggest that the concept is overused, and replaces rigorous research with a catch-all approach to societal responses to deviance (Hall, 2012).

The abduction and murder of schoolgirl Sarah Payne in the year 2000 by a previously convicted child sex offender was a watershed moment for the press in relation to its coverage of sexual crime. The now-defunct *News of the World* reacted to public anger by printing the names and approximate locations of people who had previously been convicted of sexual offences against children, intensifying the public’s feelings about the relative riskiness of a group that they simply labelled as ‘paedophiles’. There has been a noticeable shift in the amount of public hostility aimed at this group since the Sarah Payne case, with her mother, Sara, now leading *The Sun*’s crusade for tougher anti-paedophile laws.

Soothill and Walby (1991) describe the processes of both the printed and television news media in “seeking out the sex fiend” (pg. 34), citing how serial sexual crimes against strangers tend to receive most coverage by newscasters. This is in direct contrast to empirical data showing that 70-90% of sexual crime is perpetrated by somebody known to the victim (Lieb, Quinsey and Berliner, 1998; Radford, Corral, Bradley, Fisher, Bassett, Howatt and Collishaw, 2011).

Table 1
The Five Characteristics of a Moral Panic

Characteristic	Description
Concern	topic is identified as an issue that could threaten the social norms and general order of a society
Hostility	those involved with the phenomenon are treated in a hostile way, with clear divisions being created; press reporting of the issue becomes polarised
Consensus	widespread agreement that the phenomenon, is a clear threat to the norms of society; ‘moral entrepreneurs’ become vocal public figureheads, speaking out against those involved with the issue
Disproportionality	the response to the identified issue is disproportionate to the harm that the issue causes society
Volatility	the panic is over in a relatively short time period, and is replaced by the next issue identified in the media as a cause of social concern

The reasons for the disparity between the characteristics of ‘newsworthy’ sexual offending and the realities of this crime type are numerous, but one legislative issue considered to be important is that of anonymity, which is granted to those who make allegations of sexual abuse but not those who are accused. Within this legal context, newspapers choose to present cases whereby the offender and victim have no previous association, meaning that the perpetrator can be named without indirectly revealing the identity of the victim. This style of

reporting is a tangible example of what Foster (1996) calls the pathological public sphere, within which it is claimed that we are “overrun by voyeurs and exhibitionists” (pg. 51).

In addition to Soothill and Walby’s (1991) analysis, Greer (2003) looked at newsroom-level motivations to report sexual crime, which were dominated by corporate gain. This work suggested that newspaper interests when reporting (sexual) crime are related to popularity and profiteering, as opposed to representativeness, accuracy, and informed public debate. However, this previous work neglects to investigate how these newsroom processes translate into specific media content.

Harper and Treadwell (2013) offered an account of the ways in which the British press use carefully selected (and often ‘celebrity’) commentators in order to acquire public support for their “propaganda-laden messages on crime and punishment” (pg. 217). They cited *The Sun*’s ‘Sun Justice’ campaign as a prime example of this, which is headed by Sara Payne (the mother of Sarah Payne) and Shy Keenan (a survivor of childhood sexual abuse). Harper and Treadwell proposed that press reporting of sexual crime is based on a combination of punitive ideology and misrepresentations, arguing that a more forceful ‘public criminology’ effort is needed to better engage the public with empirical research findings.

Preliminary benefits of informing the public about the realities of the criminal justice system have been shown through an initial evaluation of the “*You Be The Judge*” campaign (Cuthbertson, 2013). This Ministry of Justice initiative allows users to hear the full evidence of a case online and then pass whatever sentence they deem most appropriate from a list of options. Pre- and post-activity ratings were taken in relation to users’ thoughts on sentencing policy, with 69% of users who started with the opinion that sentencing was “too lenient” finishing the task thinking it was “about right”, with a further 10% judging it as “too harsh” after hearing the evidence. These findings appear to directly contradict press sentiment about ‘soft justice’, and serve as an example of the press’ influence over public discourse on crime policy.

Press reporting and attitudes toward sexual crime

There is a public desire for both strict punishment and effective treatment of those convicted of sexual crime (West, 2000), although press attention has been focused on the desire for punishment. The European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) recently ruled that convicted sex offenders should be given the opportunity to apply for their name removed from the sex offenders register if they feel that they have been suitably rehabilitated. This was met with political and public condemnation, and allowed the press to lament over the three ‘hot topics’ of the moment – sexual crime, the European Court, and perceived abuses of human rights law.

Brown (1999) reported that the public are generally supportive of the community rehabilitation of people convicted of sexual crimes. This type of sentencing option, when coupled with some form of punishment (such as a period of incarceration), was seen as an effective resettlement strategy for reducing sex offender recidivism. However, support for community programmes was reduced when respondents were asked to endorse plans to launch a programme in their own area.

Hogue (1993) devised the attitudes toward sex offenders scale (ATS) by adapting Melvin, Gramling and Gardner’s (1985) measure of attitudes toward the general prison population. He found that attitudes became more positive as the individual became more involved with sex offender rehabilitation, with subsequent studies showing long-term improvements in attitudes (or, as a minimum, improvements in confidence in working with sex offenders) as a result of specialised training (Craig, 2005; Hogue, 1995).

ATS studies with general public samples have uncovered significantly more hostile attitudes than those expressed by criminal justice system personnel (McAlindon and Shewan, 2004; see Table 2). Additionally, a number of ATS studies have examined student attitudes (Harper, 2012; Kjelsberg and Loos, 2008) which are consistently at around the same level as prison officers in Hogue’s (1993) original study. This may be indicative of students’ higher education level than the general public, but distance from working directly with the sex offender

population. Harper (2012) found that those on forensic psychology undergraduate degrees did not differ in their ATS scores to students of other disciplines. This supported claims by Hogue (1995) that specialised training programmes (as opposed to courses on general criminal deviancy) are important in addressing stereotypical thinking about sex offenders. Harper concluded that something other than the students' education was mediating attitudes, with the assertion being that this was the national news media.

Table 2

ATS Scores by Respondent Group (from Hogue, 1993)

Respondent Group	Average ATS Score
Sex offenders	99.1
Psychologists/Probation	90.7
Prison officers (involved in treatment)	80
Prison officers (not involved in treatment)	71.5
Police officers	62.6
Students*	73-74
General public**	52-55

Note: scores range from 0-144; high scores indicate positive attitudes

* student scores taken from Harper (2012) and Kjelsberg and Loos (2008)

** general public scores taken from McAlindon and Shewan (2004)

Evidence for this proposed relationship between news consumption and ATS scores was provided by Hogue and Smith (2008). They investigated respondents' perceptions about the disappearance of Madeleine McCann and asked who they believed most likely to be responsible – Kate McCann (Madeleine's mother) or a sex offender. ATS scores were found to be able to predict judgements of guilt, with those expressing more punitive attitudes being more likely to form the judgement that a sex offender was probably responsible for Madeleine's disappearance. A further analysis of the data found that ATS scores were mediated by newspaper consumption, where those who exclusively read broadsheet newspapers expressed significantly more positive attitudes toward sex offenders than those who read broadsheets *and* tabloids, tabloids only, or no newspapers, respectively.

It is also argued that individual events covered by the news media potentially impact on public perceptions about the relative riskiness of community-based sex offenders. McAlindon (2007) found that 47% of the public thought that it was unacceptable for those with sexual convictions to be in the community (rising to 70% for those who victimise children). Given that these findings are at odds with Brown's (1999) findings, which were largely supportive of community rehabilitation, one explanation for this apparent attitudinal shift is the national press' coverage of the Sarah Payne case (and associated campaigns to change community notification laws). If this case-specific effect of the press on public attitudes is true, then examining the strategies used by newspapers to report sexual crime (and exploring the functions that this reporting might serve) becomes even more important as a result of the recent Jimmy Savile scandal.

Public attitudes and sex offender recidivism

Willis, Levenson and Ward (2010) suggest that negative public attitudes toward sex offenders could act as a hindrance to long-term desistance from crime by reinforcing some of the risk factors that make recidivism more likely. This occurs by attitudes blocking opportunities for effective reintegration following a period of incarceration, such as preventing the ex-offender from obtaining suitable housing or gaining productive employment.

Maruna, LeBel, Naples and Mitchell (2009) advocate the 'Pygmalion effect', whereby social stereotyping has a substantial effect of the individual who is subject to the stereotype, so much so that they adopt the identity attributed to them by the wider community. This concept is related to Maruna's (2001) work into ex-offender identities. He claimed that former offenders adopt one of two identities upon their release from custody: (a) a redemption identity, or (b) a condemnation identity. Individuals within the first group are said to actively try to make amends for the crimes that they have committed, and strive to become active members of their respective communities. However, those in the second group feel condemned, and will take on the role of

the stereotypical ‘bad guy’. They believe that nobody wants them to succeed, contributing to feelings of helplessness and an increased risk of recidivism. Within the context of Willis, Levenson and Ward’s (2010) concerns, the condemnation identity could be encouraged by punitive public responses to offender populations.

The present study

This study investigated the ways in which the British printed press reports on crime, with a particular emphasis on sexual offences. It aimed to answer three key questions about the practices of the press:

- How representative are the British printed press about the rates of criminality in the UK?
- What are the linguistic properties of the British printed press’ reports of crime?
- Are there differences between newspapers depending on the type of crime being described?

Three offence types were chosen for analysis, namely sexual crime, violent crime, and acquisitive crime. For the purposes of the present study, particular offenses were used to operationalize the terms ‘sexual crime’, ‘violent crime’ and ‘acquisitive crime’, being:

- Sexual crime: rape; sexual assault; child molestation
- Violent crime: murder, manslaughter, ABH, GBH
- Acquisitive crime: robbery, theft, burglary

An analysis of the ways in which the press reports on immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees (from here referred to as ‘immigrant groups’) was also conducted in order to act as a control sample. This aimed to examine how the perpetrators of crime were described in

comparison to another negatively stereotyped population (see KhosraviNik, 2010 and Allen and Binder, 2013 for analyses of the linguistics of press reports on immigration).

The present study hypothesised that:

- Crime stories would be comprised of significantly more negative emotional and anger-related language, but less positive emotional language, than articles on immigrant groups;
- Sexual and violent crimes would be significantly over-represented within the sample of newspaper articles when compared with official crime statistics;
- There would be a trend in the use of negative emotional language and anger-related words, with sex crime articles comprising of most negative emotion and anger, followed by articles on violent crime, acquisitive crime, and immigrant groups;
- There would be a higher proportion of negative emotional language than positive emotional language in articles about all subject groups;
- Tabloid newspapers would use significantly more negative emotion and anger, but less positive emotion, in articles about sexual crime than broadsheet newspapers;
- The headlines of articles about sexual crime would predominantly be comprised of offensive descriptions about perpetrators.

Methodology

Sources

The 10 most popular UK newspapers by print circulation were selected as target publications for analysis, meaning that results could be generalised as widely as possible within a British context. As of July 2012, these publications were *The Sun*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror*,

Daily Express, Daily Star, Daily Telegraph, The Times, Financial Times, i, and The Guardian.

Readership figures and proportions of market share are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

The Top 10 British Newspapers by Print Circulation and Market Share (Press Gazette, July 2012)

Publication Title	Print Readership	Market Share
The Sun	2,583,552	30.2%
Daily Mail	1,939,635	22.6%
Daily Mirror	1,081,330	12.6%
Daily Express	602,482	7%
Daily Star	602,296	7%
The Daily Telegraph	574,674	6.7%
The Times	400,120	4.7%
Financial Times	297,225	3.5%
<i>i</i>	272,597	3.2%
The Guardian	211,511	2.5%
Total	8,565,422	100%

Articles were sourced through the LexisNexis online database between 1st August 2012 and 30th November 2012. The LexisNexis database is a comprehensive library of press articles, and allows users to search using keywords, and narrow their results by date and publication. *The i* and *The Financial Times* were not archived in the library at the time of data collection and so were not included in the study.

The key phrases used to restrict the number of articles resulting from searches were:

- Sexual crime: “guilty” OR “convicted” AND “rape” OR “molest*” OR “sexual assault”
- Violent crime: “guilty” OR “convicted” AND “murder*” OR “kill*” OR “attack*”
- Acquisitive crime: “guilty” OR “convicted” AND “burgl*” OR “theft” OR “robb*”
- Immigrant groups: “immigrants” OR “asylum seekers” OR “refugees”

The use of an asterisk after words like “molest*” ensured the inclusion of a number of potentially relevant phrases, such as ‘molestation’, ‘molested’ and ‘molester’. Articles with ‘high similarity’ (as determined by the LexisNexis software) were condensed into one result, reducing the likelihood of duplication. This approach follows previous linguistic research into press reporting styles (Allen and Blinder, 2013; Gabrielatos, Costas and Baker, 2008).

Inclusion criteria

In order to be considered eligible for the present study, articles pertaining to criminal offences had to have been written about specific individuals who had been convicted of one of the target offences. These criteria eliminated cases of ‘trial-by-media’, whereby publications printed stories referring to particular people accused of committing offences before being tried in a Court of Law (see Greer and McLaughlin, 2012). This led to the exclusion of articles written on the case of former children’s television presenter, Jimmy Savile, as he cannot be formally tried for the allegations that have been made against him. Articles written about immigrant groups had to refer to the immigrant population and its impact, positive or negative, on UK society.

Final sample

Taking these criteria into account, a final sample of 543 articles ($M = 67.88$ per publication) were found. This figure comprised 81 articles on sexual crime ($M = 10.13$ per publication), 300 articles on violent crime ($M = 37.50$ per publication), 73 articles on acquisitive crime ($M = 9.13$ per publication), and 89 articles on immigrant groups ($M = 11.13$ per publication). A breakdown of exact figures for each article type, by publication, is provided in Table 4, with a list of all of the articles included in the analysis included in Appendix 1.

Table 4

The Number of Articles Sourced from Each Newspaper, by Article Subject

	Sexual Crime	Violent Crime	Acquisitive Crime	Immigrant Groups	Total
The Sun	27	83	14	12	136
Daily Mail	5	19	12	14	50
Daily Mirror	23	69	8	6	106
Daily Express	2	29	9	24	64
Daily Star	4	23	6	9	42
The Daily Telegraph	9	41	18	15	83
The Times	8	25	4	7	44
The Guardian	3	11	2	2	18
Total	81	300	73	89	543

Analysing newspaper content

Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count software (LIWC; Pennebaker *et al.*, 2007) was used to analyse the specific linguistic properties of the articles included in the present study. LIWC allows written texts to be analysed in relation to their linguistic characteristics, and examines texts in relation to 68 distinct variables (see Appendix 2). These range from descriptive statistics such as overall word counts and average sentence lengths, to thorough analysis of the components of the text, including the use of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and different emotional tones. Texts are analysed through the reading of digitised documents, with results being converted into a format that is readable by data analysis software.

Data are presented as either raw figures (e.g. word counts, average number of words in a sentence), or percentages (e.g. the proportion of words that equate to expressions of anxiety, or that are adjectives or pronouns), depending on the category. The internal reliability of each

category is generally good (average Cronbach's Alpha score = .83; range .28-.98), and findings using LIWC have been used in a range of contexts, most successfully by examining a potential link between mood and the linguistic properties of creative writing by mental health patients (Pennebaker and Francis, 1996; Pennebaker, Mayne and Francis, 1997).

Given that popular punitiveness is cited as a key driver of the general public's thinking about crime and punishment, three linguistic variables were identified for in-depth analysis, namely negative emotion, positive emotion, and anger. Negative emotion and anger within press articles were postulated as potentially providing the basis for punitive thinking styles, but it was also considered that the existence of positive emotion could mediate any impact of punitive reporting, hence its inclusion in the analysis.

Word cloud software (www.wordle.net) was used to examine the frequency of different descriptors of sexual offenders within newspaper headlines. Word clouds are visual displays that depict material according to the frequency of its use. For example, a word that is used ten-times more often than another within a text will be presented as ten-times the size within the word cloud. These displays provide a clear overview of the predominant themes and phrases within a text and are increasingly used by advertising companies, who examine search engine data when helping organisations design their websites. Word clouds for the whole sample, tabloid, and broadsheet headline descriptors were made to identify any group differences. Descriptors in these word clouds were weighted by the print readership of the newspaper to which they came from, allowing social impact to be assessed. A small focus group ($N = 6$) was involved in a rating exercise to judge the offensiveness of various words that were present within these word clouds.

Ethics

As no contact with conventional ‘participants’ was required, no contentious ethical issues were associated with the present study. Approval to carry out this study was sought, and granted by the University Of Lincoln’s ethics committee on 4th July 2012 (see Appendix 3).

Results

Analysis of newspaper reporting was conducted in two distinct ways: (a) representations of crime rates within the national British press, and (b) the linguistic characteristics of press articles about sexual crime.

Representations of crime rates

Sexual crime made up 18% of the collected sample of articles on crime, with violent and acquisitive crimes accounting for 66% and 16% of articles on crime, respectively. Compared to the latest available official crime statistics (Ministry of Justice, 2012), this signifies a nine-times over-representation of sexual crime, an almost two-and-a-half-times over-representation of violent crime, and a four-and-a-half-times under-representation of acquisitive crime.

Table 5 displays recorded crime figures for this period, along with the representations of crime rates, broken down by offending category, within the sample of articles collected. Projected crime rates based on media representations are also provided. The differences between official and represented crime rates were statistically significant for each crime category (sexual crime: $t(80) = -46.91, p < .001$; violent crime: $t(299) = -109.58, p < .001$; acquisitive crime: $t(72) = 35.56, p < .001$).

Table 5

*The Representations of Crime in the National British Press Compared with Official Crime**Figures*

	Recorded Crime		Crime Articles in		Projected Crime
	Figures	%	Study Sample	%	Figures*
Sexual crime	52,178	2%	81	18%	506,317
Violent crime	747,448	27%	300	66%	1,856,492
Acquisitive crime	2,013,241	72%	73	16%	450,058
Totals	2,812,867		454		2,812,867

Note: * 'Projected Crime Figures' are calculated based upon weighted newspaper coverage of each crime category

An analysis of the press' coverage of crime rates within the context of both (a) the four most-read and the four least-read newspapers (by print readership, see table two, and (b) tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, revealed that this trend of over/under-representations of sexual, violent, and acquisitive crime was consistent throughout the whole of the national press, with no publications deviating from these observed crime rate representations.

Linguistic properties of newspaper articles

Negative emotion

Negative emotion made up 5.3% of all articles on crime, compared with 2% of articles on immigrant groups. This difference was found to be significant ($U = 11,120, p = .001$). With regard to subgroups of articles, negative emotional words made up 6.2% of articles about sexual crime, 5.6% of articles on violent crime, 2.9% of articles on acquisitive crime, and 2% of articles about the effects of immigrant groups. The differences between these groups was also found to be significant ($H(3) = 245.14, p < .001$). Post-hoc Mann-Whitney U analysis showed that the difference in the use of negative emotion within articles on sexual crime and violent crime was

significant (corrected $p = .035$), as were differences between articles on sexual crime and acquisitive crime and immigrant groups (both $p < .001$). Full details of linguistic properties of the collected sample of articles are presented in table six.

Tabloids and broadsheets did not significantly differ in their use of negative emotional language in articles on sexual crime ($U = 4472, p = .18$). A significant main effect of ‘publication’ was found ($H(7) = 16; p = .02$). Post-hoc Mann Whitney U tests on all possible interactions found that this effect was attributable to inflated use of negative emotion by *The Sun* and the *Daily Star* publications. The linguistic properties of sex offender articles are presented in table seven.

Positive emotion

Positive emotional words made up 1.3% of articles about crime, compared with 2% of articles about immigrant groups. This difference was non-significant ($p > .05$). In relation to subgroups of articles, 1.1% of articles about sexual crime, 1.3% of articles on violent crime, 1.4% of articles on acquisitive crime, and 2% of articles about the effects of immigrant groups were comprised of words pertaining to positive emotion. The differences between these groups were found to be significant ($H(3) = 33.6, p < .001$). This significance was found to be between articles on sexual crime and immigrant groups, only ($U = 118.5, p < .001$).

Tabloids and broadsheets did not significantly differ in their use of positive emotion in articles on sexual crime ($U = 443.5, p = .09$). No significant differences in the use of positive emotion were found when comparing individual newspapers ($H(7) = 6, p = .52$).

To examine whether any negative emotion within press articles could be mediated by the presence of positive emotion, ratios of positivity-negativity were calculated based upon crime and immigrant group articles, subgroups of articles (sexual crime, violent crime, acquisitive crime and immigrant groups), newspaper type (tabloids and, broadsheets), and individual publications. There was a significant difference in the proportions of positivity and negativity in

all groups compared, with the exception of articles about immigrant groups (see Table 6 and Table 7).

Anger

Anger-related words made up 3.5% of articles on crime, compared with 0.7% of articles about immigrant groups. This difference was found to be significant ($U = 3250.5$; $p < .001$). In relation to subgroups of articles, 4.3% of stories on sexual crime, 3.8% of articles on violent crime, 0.8% of stories about acquisitive crime, and 0.7% of reports about immigrant groups were comprised of words relating to anger, with the main effect of this linguistic category being statistically significant ($H(3) = 280.81$, $p < .001$). Post-hoc Mann-Whitney U tests on all possible interactions found a significant difference between the use of anger-related words in articles about sexual crime compared with violent crime ($p < .05$), acquisitive crime ($p < .001$) and immigrant groups ($p < .001$).

Tabloids and broadsheets did not significantly differ in their use of anger-related words in articles on sexual crime ($U = 482.5$, $p = .23$). Significant differences were found between individual newspapers in their use of anger in articles about sexual crime ($H(7) = 18$; $p = .01$), with this difference being attributable to angrier reporting by *The Sun* and the *Daily Star*.

Table 6
The Use of Negative Emotion, Positive Emotion, and Anger in Newspaper Articles

	Negative Emotion	Positive Emotion	Positivity : Negativity Ratio	Anger
All Crime	5.3%	1.3%	1 : 4 *	3.5%
Immigrant Groups	2%	2%	1 : 1	0.7%
Sexual Crime	6.2% ^a	1.1% ^a	1 : 6 *	4.3% ^a
Violent Crime	5.6% ^b	1.3% ^a	1 : 4 *	3.8% ^b
Acquisitive Crime	2.9% ^c	1.4% ^a	1 : 2 *	0.8% ^c
Immigrant Groups	2% ^c	2% ^a	1 : 1	0.7% ^c

Note: those with different superscripts differ at the $p < .05$ level
 * $p < .01$

Table 7
The Use of Negative Emotion, Positive Emotion, and Anger in Newspaper Articles about Sexual Crime

	Negative Emotion	Positive Emotion	Positivity : Negativity Ratio	Anger
Tabloid	5%	1%	1 : 5 *	3.1%
Broadsheet	4.3%	1.3%	1 : 3 *	2.7%
The Sun	7.1%	1%	1 : 7 *	5.2%
Daily Mail	4.4% ^a	1%	1 : 4 *	2.8% ^{a, b}
Daily Mirror	5.6% ^{a, b}	1%	1 : 5 *	3.6% ^{a, b}
Daily Express	6.9%	0.3%	1 : 23 *	5.6%
Daily Star	7.4%	0.5%	1 : 15 *	6.1%
The Daily Telegraph	4.9% ^{a, b}	1.3%	1 : 4 *	3.1% ^{a, b}
The Times	6.6%	1.3%	1 : 5 *	4.7%
The Guardian	5.7% ^b	1.5%	1 : 4 *	4.4%

Note: a = significant difference from *The Sun*; b = significant difference from the *Daily Star*
 * $p < .01$

Descriptions of sexual offenders

The headlines of the articles depicting sexual crime were analysed to investigate the ways in which those convicted of sexual offences were described. Of the 81 sex offender articles, 33 (41%) of the headlines made reference to either ‘monster’, ‘fiend’, ‘beast’, ‘paedo’, or ‘pervert’. Additionally, another 13 articles referred to either ‘rapist’ or ‘molester’.

Other headlines referred to either the gender of the offender (e.g. ‘man’; 9 articles), the relationship between the offender and the victim (i.e. ‘dad’, ‘brother’ or ‘cousin’; 3 articles); the ethnic origin of the offender (i.e. ‘asylum seeker’; 3 articles), or the occupation of the offender (i.e. ‘builder’, ‘boxer’ or ‘karate instructor’; 12 articles). The remaining 8 headlines named the offender explicitly within the headline.

By weighting the headlines from sexual crime articles by each newspaper’s print circulation, it was possible to use ‘word clouds’ in order to establish the prominence of particular words or phrases used within sets of text. Word clouds for the descriptors of sexual offenders (see Figures 1 and 2), as stated in newspaper headlines, revealed a substantial effect of the tabloid press. Key phrases that had particular prominence in headlines of the tabloid sexual crime articles included “beast”, “monster” and “perv”, whereas the most offensive words used in headlines of broadsheet articles about sexual crime were “paedophile” and “rapist”.

These word cloud findings indicated clear differences between the overt descriptions of sexual offenders between tabloids and broadsheets. Words prominent within tabloid articles were viewed as more offensive than those expressed within broadsheet headlines. The reasons provided by the focus group included that phrases such as “monster” implied some form of abnormality on the part of the perpetrator, whereas ‘paedophile’ and ‘rapist’ were legally and scientifically valid terms.

Discussion

The present study investigated the ways in which the national British press report on crime compared with immigration and different subgroups of crimes, namely sexual, violent, and acquisitive crimes.

All six original hypotheses were broadly supported, with sexual and violent crime being subject to nine-times and two-and-a-half-times over-representations (when compared to official crime statistics), respectively. Crime articles consisted of more negative and angry, but less positive, language than articles on immigrant groups.

Sexual crime was described in significantly more negatively emotional and angry ways than violent crime, acquisitive crime, and immigrant groups, respectively. However, the opposite trend was observed in relation to the use of positive emotion. Tabloids and broadsheets did not significantly differ in their use of negative emotional language, positive emotional language, or anger within the main body of articles on sexual crime. However, substantial differences in the use of negative descriptors of sexual offenders were found between the two newspaper types, with tabloids being more overtly offensive. Articles on all crime categories consisted of higher proportions of negative emotion than positive emotion, but articles on immigrant groups comprised identical levels of positivity and negativity. Individual newspaper differences between the use of negative emotion or anger-related language were attributable to more negative and angry reporting styles used by *The Sun* and the *Daily Star*.

Political representations of sexual crime

It is important to appreciate the political landscape within which press reporting of sexual crime takes place. For instance, there is an ongoing public debate about the treatment of sexual abuse victims within the British criminal justice system at present (see BBC News, 2013; Hewson, 2013), with ‘victims-versus-offenders’ being a common theme in many of these discussions (Henley and Drake, in press). Additionally, the current British Government continue to advocate

the '*Tough, but Intelligent*' message, advocating a rehabilitative drive in conjunction with tougher sentences and harsher prison conditions.

The issue of anonymity

It was observed that distinct groups of 'sex offenders' are being manufactured within the headlines of sexual crime articles. These can be categorised as: (a) 'monsters', 'perverts', and 'beasts', (b) those in positions of trust, (c) celebrities, and (d) others. The 'others' category is generally depicted as 'Man convicted of...' or outlines the offenders' relationship to the victim.

By predominantly using the monster caricature, it is easy for newspapers to present an image of 'the sex offender' in a general sense, which is proposed as a strategy that is both misleading and dangerous. When considering the issue of relatedness, Radford *et al.* (2011) estimated that as much as 90% of all sexual abuse of children and young people is carried out by somebody known to the victim, with a large proportion of this offending taking place within the child's own home. Within the present study, only three of the headlines accompanying sexual crime articles cite any form of familial relationship between the offender and the victim. Even when articles are analysed in full, just 33% of stories refer to sexual offences where the offender was known to the victim.

Anonymity laws are almost certainly responsible to some extent for such a difference in rates as observed in the present study. Risking the mental health of victims of sexual crimes by potentially revealing their identities is not something that any national newspaper would (or should) do, and as such it appears that they report on crimes whereby the offender and victim are not related, such as to protect the identity of victims whilst maintaining an ability to display the names and photographs of convicted offenders to an increasingly voyeuristic general public.

Saving face? Tabloid and broadsheet differences

Substantial differences were observed between the practices of tabloid and broadsheet publications. Tabloids were found to be hostile within both headlines and the main text of articles

about sexual crime, whilst broadsheets expressed less emotion within headlines, but linguistically were found to be no different to tabloids within the main body of articles.

These findings call into question traditional ideas of the differences in journalistic style between tabloids and broadsheets. The common perception is that tabloid publications have a greater emphasis on sleaze, scandal and sensationalism than their broadsheet counterparts, but the findings here suggest no significant linguistic differences between the two with regards to articles on sexual crime. This is suggested to be indicative of the prevailing opinion of this type of offending, with even those titles who are historically the in-depth, fact-based providers of news being afraid to challenge popular sentiment.

It is argued that the key factor behind this finding is that newspapers – even prominent broadsheets – do not wish to engage in evidence-based reporting of such a contentious issue, fearing that their position may be misconstrued as condoning sexual crime. This type of response was apparent when *The Guardian* published its article “*Paedophilia: Bringing dark desires to light*” (Henley, 2013), which was promptly denounced by celebrity commentators in *The Sun* newspaper as “pro-paedophile propaganda” (Payne and Keenan, 2013). An alternative explanation could be that journalists, despite their position as society’s informers, are still members of the public, and as such are liable to hold their own views and attitudes toward the topics that they write about. Despite writing for a broadsheet publication, it is plausible that journalists hold punitive views about the issue of sexual crime, and that this translates into the linguistic characteristics of articles.

With regard to the headline findings, the differences in the use of offensive language may be more indicative of tabloids’ and broadsheets’ corporate aims. Broadsheet editors are not likely to want to alienate their traditional clientele, being those comprising the middle-classes, by becoming associated with what would traditionally be classified as ‘tabloid-style’ journalism. This overt rationality through headlines allows broadsheets to appear professional and thorough in their approach on a superficial level, whilst still incorporating popular sentiment within the main bodies of articles on this controversial issue.

Theorizing the purpose of sexual crime reporting

With crime stories making up around 65% of all newspaper reporting (Carrabine, 2008), and given that the present study reveals such an emphasis on sexual crime within this subset of articles, it appears that the ‘sex sells’ theme infiltrates all areas of society. Foster’s (1996) idea of the pathological public sphere is just one way of theorizing why sexual crime makes up such a large proportion of news stories. Related to this idea of the voyeuristic and exhibitionist society, it is important to take account of the competitive nature of the prevailing neoliberal environment within which we live. Young (2011) makes reference to ontological insecurity at the individual level. Within this context, people are constantly comparing themselves to others and attempting to form a socially-acceptable, competitive identity. In this sense, the press’ negative reporting of sexual crime (particularly that which makes use of language such as ‘monsters’ and ‘beasts’) provides a clear framework for ‘us vs. them’ styles of thinking.

These delineations between the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ could be suggested as a society-wide manifestation of a fundamental attribution error, where the so-called ‘law abiding majority’ ignores the fact that sex offenders come from a range of background and instead considers specific aspects of perpetrators’ personalities as driving their offending behaviour. The continuation of the type of press reporting uncovered in the present study also resonates with the *uses and gratifications* theory of press reporting, which assumes that audiences actively seek out information to reinforce existing views (Gerbner and Gross, 1976).

These ideas can also be conceptualised using Festinger’s (1957) cognitive dissonance model. As Brown (1999) suggests, there is an undercurrent of support for the community rehabilitation of sex offenders. However, whilst the public acknowledges the importance and potential efficacy of these kinds of schemes, they are unwilling to support them in their own communities. Drawing on the caricatured press image of ‘the sex offender’ to rationalise their objection to locally-based rehabilitation schemes, it is possible to alleviate any feelings of dissonance. The press are therefore suggested as a remedy of cognitive dissonance, which is

politically-driven by a fusion of the rhetoric around the ‘rehabilitation revolution’ with individually held punitive attitudes about sexual crime.

Public attitudes, ex-offender reintegration, and desistance from crime

It is important to note the potential negative impact that punitive press reporting (and associated public attitudes) may have on the post-custody reintegration of people with sexual convictions. Willis, Levenson and Ward (2010) state that negative public attitudes toward this group hinders the reintegration process, meaning that opportunities for obtaining suitable housing and gaining employment are limited. These are prominent factors within the criminological literature associated with the process of desistance from crime, and it is therefore suggested that media content and public attitudes form part of a society-fulfilling prophecy (see Figure 3), where the ‘once a sex offender, always a sex offender’ stereotype is not only accepted, but indirectly promoted. Not only does this prophecy potentially contribute to the maintenance of an offending cycle, and to the continued curtailment of the civil liberties of ex-offenders (even after formal criminal sanctions have been completed), it also helps to reinforce the feelings that resolve the public’s feelings of cognitive dissonance between political rhetoric and personal attitudes toward offender rehabilitation.

Maruna *et al.*’s (2009) work into the Pygmalion effect provides useful context for this theory. By reporting in ways that hinder the reintegration process and treats ex-offenders in ways akin to them being second-class citizens, it is little surprise that many adopt a condemnation identity. It is argued that blocking opportunities for housing, employment and successful relationships (through, for example, new community notification procedures) facilitates the activation of certain risk factors for sexual offending (e.g. rejection, poor self-esteem, and intimacy deficits; Marshall and Barbaree, 1990; Ward and Siegert, 2002), and makes recidivism increasingly likely. When recidivism does occur, this is reported in support of the law-abiding community’s original concerns about community-based ex-offenders, reduces the dissonance associated with non-support of community rehabilitation schemes, and reinforces the society-wide prophecy.



Figure 3. The proposed society-fulfilling prophecy of press content, public attitudes, and sex offender reintegration/recidivism

Sexual crime as a moral panic?

The findings of the present study may be indicative of what McCartan (2004) would have classified as ‘moral panic’, with newspapers amplifying the issue of sexual crime, and promoting the seemingly untreatable nature of the perpetrators of such offences. Whilst some of Ben-Yehuda and Goode’s (1994) defining features of moral panics do apply to the phenomenon issue of sexual crime, it is unclear whether the concept is applied properly in this case. The ‘panic’ about sexual crime has been stable within the public’s consciousness for decades, with only the inception of increasingly social mass media outlets making the issue more widely publicised. It is clear that the concern around sexual crime will not ‘go away’ like a fashion trend, and so the volatility principle of moral panic is not satisfied. Furthermore, sexual crime is a serious criminal offence, and so its increased visibility and reporting does not constitute a threat to social norms – a concept that forms the very basis of the traditional definition of ‘moral panic’.

What is definitely present, however, is hostility and consensus. It appears that hatred of those who commit sexual crimes is now the norm. This is evident through the findings of the

present study, where it was found that anger and negative emotional language is used in relation to sexual crime across the entire spectrum of the British press. It is therefore argued that the current consensus and hostility toward those who commit sexual crimes is not due to the issue being a moral panic, but rather that there is currently no alternative to this ideological position within mainstream public debate, with those advocating for less hostility (even when these arguments are based on sound scientific research) being accused by many as being complicit in, or supportive of, the perpetration of such offences (see Harper and Treadwell, 2013).

Wilson (2011) argues that crime researchers should address this by being more open about their work. This drive for a ‘public criminology’ campaign (Loader and Sparks, 2012) is based on the belief that engaging with the realities of criminality (as opposed to the stereotyped, scandalised, and often polarised versions of such issues that are promoted through a variety of media sources) breeds understanding and rationality. The hope is that this rationality translates into reformed public attitudes about crime (and the people who engage in it) and leads to measured, evidence-based strategies to reducing rates of both first-time and repeated criminality.

This type of work is becoming increasingly mainstream, with academic criminologists now hosting television shows and contributing articles to national magazines and newspapers. However, this approach to research dissemination and public engagement needs to become more ‘joined-up’ if it is to make any real impact within the public sphere. This type of campaign has to involve some willingness on the part of the media to engage the public in a better-informed debate on the nature of crime. Whilst some broadcasters have done this, these have typically been on the smaller subsidiary channels of the BBC, or have been aired in twilight slots with substantially lower viewing figures than programmes aired slightly earlier. The findings of the “*You Be The Judge*” evaluation provide a useful context to the argue the potential effectiveness of a more high-profile public criminology approach, and should form the basis of any campaign to increase the profile of this approach to research dissemination.

Limitations and future directions

Given the quantitative nature of this study, it is not possible to make concrete suggestions about exactly how the linguistics of crime reporting translate into public attitudes toward the sex offender population, or their subsequent opportunities for reintegration. However, previous research can help to infer what the effects of punitive press reporting may be. For these kinds of links to be fully and empirically conceptualised, future studies should adopt mixed-methods designs, incorporating interviews with both producers and consumers of media messages, and former offenders, to assemble a deeper understanding of the press' influence in relation to the society-fulfilling prophecy that is tentatively advocated here. Additionally, this study exclusively focused on the national British press. This limits the generalizability of the findings somewhat, in that it is possible that local news reports on crime have different linguistic properties, or that public engagement with local news differs from engagement with national news. This is another potentially fruitful area of investigation for future studies to explore.

Recently there has been a shift in the ways in which the public consume the news. Newspapers are being exchanged for online and increasingly social platforms, where news can be read, shared, and debated in real time with potentially anybody else in the world. Thus far the academic literature on the relationship between crime and the media has been slow to investigate how this consumption shift enables the rapid and widespread exchange of information and ideas. The potential effects of this explosion in the accessibility of crime news in terms of individual and society-wide cognition are numerous, and this is a theme that also needs careful and thorough consideration.

Conclusions

Over-representations of sexual crime feed into the public's thinking (and subsequent political discourse) about the most appropriate responses to this kind of offending. The extent of these over-representations, in conjunction with hostile reporting strategies adopted by newspapers, leads to the conclusion that punitive reactions to sexual crime are exaggerated by press reporting.

That is not to say that negativity is not pre-existing within public thinking, but rather the press enhances societal negativity toward this offender population, in line with Gerbner and Gross' (1976) *uses and gratifications* theory of audiences.

Tabloid and broadsheet approaches to sexual crime are proposed as politically-driven, with tabloids acting as expected with populist and offensive-sounding headlines. In comparison, broadsheets use less offensive headlines than tabloids, but equal amounts of hostility within the main body of articles. This enables them to maintain an outward appearance of balance and rationality whilst not facing any backlash from the tabloids for condoning sexual crime.

The combination of widespread hostility and press influence on public policy is proposed as a society-fulfilling prophecy, with these factors hindering the reintegration prospects of people with sexual convictions. When former offenders do progress to commit further crimes, this is seen as evidence for the press' (and, by extension, the public's) original views, and enhances the prophecy still further. This has another function, in that this reduces the state of cognitive dissonance brought about by the simultaneous political rhetoric of the 'rehabilitation revolution' and individual-level punitiveness about sexual crime.

It is argued that the best way to tackle this issue is to develop a stronger public engagement programme from within the academic community. It is not enough to produce journal articles and present to like-minded peers at professional conferences, but evidence from empirical studies must be shared in more open ways within the public sphere. These discussions need to occur within a mass media context, as described in relation to the drive for an increasingly public criminology. Press support for such a campaign will undoubtedly be required to have optimum impact, but quite how this can be achieved is still an unanswered question.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: List of Articles Included in Analysis

Sex Offender Articles

- 1/8/12 – “Man jailed for raping teenage girl” – The Daily Mirror (pg.7) – 111 words
- 1/8/12 – “Sex beast magician gets 6 yrs” – The Sun (pg.6) – 162 words
- 3/8/12 – “Facebook rapist” – The Daily Mirror (pg.29) – 370 words
- 3/8/12 – “22 years for child sex gang brute” – The Daily Express (pg.9) – 131 words
- 3/8/12 – “Paedo rape gang daddy rants at 22-year stretch” – Daily Star (pg.11) – 361 words
- 3/8/12 – “Rochdale gang ringleader gets 22 years for raping Asian girl” – The Guardian (pg.10) – 515 words
- 3/8/12 – “Rochdale sex gang leader is jailed for ‘years of rape’” – The Times (pg.14) – 313 words
- 7/8/12 – “20 years for rape pair” – The Sun (pg.15) – 69 words
- 9/8/12 – “Brothers guilty of grooming troubled girls to sell for sex” – The Times (pg.12) – 587 words
- 13/8/12 – “Fury over Tyson gig” – Daily Star (pg.24) – 42 words
- 13/8/12 – “Rape aid fury over Iron Mike chat visit” – The Sun (pg.17) – 134 words
- 16/8/12 – “Cage fighter is jailed for raping teen” – The Daily Mirror (pg.9) – 133 words
- 16/8/12 – “Sex fiend is snared by sick abuse snaps” – The Sun (pg.31) – 231 words
- 20/8/12 – “Cousin in boy rape” – The Sun (pg.9) – 89 words
- 30/8/12 – “Freed sex fiends face lie detector” – The Sun (pg.11) – 509 words
- 30/8/12 – “Four years for asylum sex menace” – The Daily Mirror (pg.13) – 148 words
- 31/8/12 – “‘Psycho’ sex attack” – The Sun (pg.42) – 101 words
- 31/8/12 – “Paedo beaten up by fellow inmate” – The Daily Mirror (pg.27) – 371 words
- 1/9/12 – “Sleeping bag perv” – The Sun (pg.15) – 90 words
- 3/9/12 – “Paedophiles aged just 10” – Daily Mail – 168 words
- 4/9/12 – “Sex monsters on the loose” – The Daily Mirror (pg.2) – 296 words
- 14/9/12 – “‘Castrate me’ plea by rape monster” – Daily Star (pg.29) – 119 words
- 18/9/12 – “Paedophile stole clothes from neighbour’s child” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.11) – 82 words
- 19/9/12 – “Hooker’s fiend caged 8yrs on” – The Sun (pg.12) – 154 words
- 22/9/12 – “Sex beast migrant caged” – Daily Star (pg.27) – 232 words
- 25/9/12 – “Girl diary nails perv” – The Sun (pg.28) – 72 words
- 27/9/12 – “Lover’s DNA traps rapist” – The Daily Mirror (pg.23) – 84 words
- 27/9/12 – “Builder jailed for rape committed in 1980” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.2) – 115 words
- 27/9/12 – “DNA from boyfriend jails rapist” – The Sun (pg.17) – 111 words
- 28/9/12 – “127 warnings” – The Daily Mirror (pg.15) – 607 words
- 28/9/12 – “Sick rapist sang nursery rhyme” – The Daily Express (pg.5) – 173 words
- 28/9/12 – “2 raped by freed sex killer” – The Sun (pg.37) – 113 words
- 28/9/12 – “Life sentence for rapist on murder parole” – The Times (pg.13) – 212 words

5/10/12 – “Sex nurse guilty” – The Sun (pg.9) – 72 words

6/10/12 – “Long sentences for brothers who revelled in power of ‘using and abusing’ young girls” – The Times (pg.16) – 614 words

13/10/12 – “The asylum seeker who posed as a taxi driver to rape girl” – Daily Mail – 568 words

13/10/12 – “Beast guilty of knife rape hell” – The Sun (pg.28) – 205 words

14/10/12 – “Sex fiend whips girl” – The Sun (pg.26) – 57 words

20/10/12 – “Barker’s fugitive son jailed at last over child porn” – Daily Mail – 574 words

20/10/12 – “Barker’s son missed parents’ deaths on run over child porn” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.11) – 413 words

23/10/12 – “Schoolboy sex beast” – The Daily Mirror (pg.1, 6) – 579 words

23/10/12 – “Freed paedophile posed as babysitter on Gumtree to prey on young girls” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.17) – 517 words

23/10/12 – “Lad, 16, jailed for rape of girl, 15” – The Sun (pg.12) – 129 words

25/10/12 – “1949 child sex beast faces jail” – The Daily Mirror (pg.5) – 179 words

25/10/12 – “Man, 78, convicted of rapes dating back to 1949” – The Guardian (pg.14) – 520 words

26/10/12 – “Scouting pervert is jailed for 3yrs” – The Sun (pg.33) – 98 words

27/10/12 – “Child rapist jailed over oldest offences ever heard in Britain” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.10) – 371 words

27/10/12 – “Man jailed for child sexual abuse six decades after his first crime” – The Guardian (pg.16) – 762 words

27/10/12 – “Drunk mum’s sex attack on teens” – The Daily Mirror (pg.22) – 186 words

29/10/12 – “Glitter arrested, now who’s next?” – Daily Mail – 628 words

6/11/12 – “Rapist dad is caged” – The Sun (pg.18) – 461 words

6/11/12 – “Boxer guilty of rape” – The Times (pg.26) – 43 words

7/11/12 – “Footballer rape ruling” – The Times (pg.15) – 60 words

8/11/12 – “Two guilty of van gang rape” – The Sun (pg.12) – 161 words

13/11/12 – “Caught on camera, the rapist posing as a good Samaritan” – Daily Mail – 349 words

13/11/12 – “Led away and raped” – The Daily Mirror (pg.18) – 151 words

13/11/12 – “Chef helped woman home only to rape her” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.2) – 115 words

15/11/12 – “Porn con monster faces jail” – The Sun (pg.17) – 140 words

16/11/12 – “Rape paedo gets 14 yrs” – The Sun (pg.34) – 197 words

20/11/12 – “Karate instructor who molested girl spared jail” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.2) – 133 words

20/11/12 – “Jail 20 yars on for canon demoted over abusing boys” – The Times (pg.6) – 202 words

21/11/12 – “Death saves perv priest” – The Daily Mirror (pg.18) – 101 words

21/11/12 – “Perv cleric dies before he can be sentenced” – The Sun (pg.21) – 133 words

22/11/12 – “GAA sex abuser a ‘monster’” – The Sun (pg.23) – 123 words

22/11/12 – “Beast sir gets 3yrs” – The Sun (pg.37) – 84 words

23/11/12 – “Facebook pervert gets 4mths jail” – The Daily Mirror (pg.20) – 366 words

23/11/12 – “Pervert, 41, groomed girls by posing as 20” – The Daily Mirror (pg.7) – 508 words

23/11/12 – “Sikh priests jailed for prostitute rape” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.20) – 325 words

23/11/12 – “Beast says the web made him rape kid” – The Sun (pg.37) – 168 words

24/11/12 – “Paedo takes secret to the grave” – The Daily Mirror (pg.4-5) – 1164 words

24/11/12 – “Perv guilty of abusing and grooming girl, 12” – The Daily Mirror (pg.13) – 323 words

24/11/12 – “‘Babysitter’ who answered Gumtree ads was known paedophile who went on to abuse girls” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.7) – 368 words

24/11/12 – “Woken up and raped by burglar out on bail” – The Sun (pg.4) – 251 words

24/11/12 – “Gumtree kid rapist given life” – The Sun (pg.18) – 142 words

24/11/12 – “Babysitter planned to abuse and murder girls” – The Times (pg.41) – 717 words

29/11/12 – “Vile and wicked.. Tweed caged for child sex” – The Daily Mirror (pg.25) – 627 words

29/11/12 – “Rugby ace Tweed a ‘vile, wicked’ paedo” – The Sun (pg.24) – 215 words

30/11/12 – “Man guilty of sex abuse” – The Daily Mirror (pg.7) – 78 words

30/11/12 – “Sex attacker Lyons to walk before appeal” – The Sun (pg.24) – 237 words

Violent Offender Articles

1/8/12 – “Mum hammers lover to death” – The Sun (pg.21) – 320 words

1/8/12 – “Mother and children plot to murder her abusive partner and hide his body” – The Times (pg.12) – 543 words

1/8/12 – “Kill my hubby and I’ll sleep with you” – Daily Star (pg.21) – 224 words

1/8/12 – “Life for wife who lured husband’s killers with sex” – The Daily Express (pg.28) – 374 words

3/8/12 – “Killer of widow, 79, gets life” – The Daily Express (pg.7) – 137 words

3/8/12 – “28yrs for widow’s ‘ashes in bag’ killer” – The Sun (pg.11) – 133 words

3/8/12 – “Drunk brute terrorised five women” – The Sun (pg.29) – 367 words

4/8/12 – “Killer parents thought more for their reputation than their daughter” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.11) – 786 words

4/8/12 – “Jailed for life – parents who killed their daughter because she was too Western” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.6-7) – 832 words

4/8/12 – “Parents jailed for life over Shafiea murder” – The Guardian (pg.15) – 683 words

4/8/12 – “Shame on you – Shafiea parents given life for honour killing” – The Sun (pg.14-15) – 1449 words

7/8/12 – “Parents jailed for battering daughter just because she had a black boyfriend” – Daily Mail – 668 words

7/8/12 – “Beaten by mum and dad for having black boyfriend” – The Daily Mirror (pg.14) – 501 words

7/8/12 – “Parents beat daughter and lover” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.12) – 236 words

7/8/12 – “Jailed ... Parents who beat up their daughter, 17, for having a black boyfriend” – The Daily Express (pg.19) – 430 words

9/8/12 – “25 yrs for bride Anni killer who says her husband helped him” – The Daily Mirror (pg.15) – 616 words

9/8/12 – “Nightclub thug bit off man’s ear” – The Daily Mirror (pg.31) – 254 words

9/8/12 – “Hitman targets rival but kills his best pal” – Daily Star (pg.23) – 227 words

9/8/12 – “25 yrs for bride Anni murderer” – Daily Star (pg.15) – 253 words

9/8/12 – “Hitman admits his role in Dewani ‘carjack’ murder” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.15) – 542 words

9/8/12 – “Car gunman kills his passenger by accident” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.10) – 170 words

9/8/12 – “Second man jailed for murder in Dewani case” – The Guardian (pg.13) – 553 words

9/8/12 – “Footy yob locked up” – The Sun (pg.21) – 85 words

9/8/12 – “Husband paid us £1,000 to kill his wife on honeymoon, killer tells court” – The Times (pg.23) – 456 words

11/8/12 – “Heart scare killer Tobin back in jail” – The Daily Mirror (pg.24) – 141 words

11/8/12 – “Fiend’s ‘heart attack’” – Daily Star (pg.22) – 64 words

11/8/12 – “Teenager jailed for stabbing foster carer to death” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.17) – 350 words

11/8/12 – “Seven years’ custody for boy who stabbed foster carer to death” – The Times (pg.14) – 394 words

14/8/12 – “Son’s brutal slaying of a BBC veteran” – The Daily Mirror (pg.29) – 150 words

14/8/12 – “Son killed mum for moving out” – The Daily Mirror (pg.26) – 188 words

14/8/12 – “School row stab thug behind bars” – The Sun (pg.25) – 333 words

16/8/12 – “Britain’s voodoo killers” – Daily Mail – 2195 words

17/8/12 – “Pole in Muslim assault” – Daily Star (pg.8) – 104 words

16/8/12 – “Knife revenge of a jilted lover” – Daily Mail – 451 words

18/8/12 – “Hotel killer who hid in bed is jailed” – The Daily Mirror (pg.25) – 218 words

18/8/12 – “Care worker hit patient, 90” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.7) – 81 words

18/8/12 – “Life for killer who hid in victim’s bed for two days” – The Daily Express (pg.25) – 462 words

18/8/12 – “Wife burned cheating husband to death” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.15) – 251 words

18/8/12 – “Life for bed kill” – The Sun (pg.30) – 77 words

20/8/12 – “Evil Brady shows why Britain must bring back hanging” – The Daily Express (pg.12) – 861 words

21/8/12 – “Five yrs for beating sex swinger girl” – The Daily Mirror (pg.27) – 150 words

21/8/12 – “Ugly attack” – Daily Star (pg.25) – 59 words

21/8/12 – “Neil Heywood’s killer is spared execution” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.13) – 756 words

21/8/12 – “Ripper-obsessed boy, 18, jailed after attacks” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.2) – 124 words

21/8/12 – “Killer tried to blame victim’s son” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.9) – 487 words

21/8/12 – “‘Sadistic’ model in orgy fury gets 5yrs” – The Sun (pg.28) – 150 words

21/8/12 – “Blood brother” – The Sun (pg.4-5) – 695 words

21/8/12 – “Yob’s throat-cut attack on his ex” – The Sun (pg.21) – 230 words

21/8/12 – “Family friend convicted of beating pensioner to death” – The Times (pg.14-15) – 667 words

23/8/12 – “Life sentence for farmworker who killed Terre’Blanche” – The Guardian (pg.26) – 577 words

24/8/12 – “Stephen Lawrence killers are refused leave to appeal” – Daily Mail – 429 words

25/8/12 – “Sane... The pitiless killer of 77 people” – The Daily Mirror (pg.13) – 517 words

25/8/12 – “Guilty of 6 killings at BBQ” – Daily Star (pg.15) – 100 words

25/8/12 – “Family’s pain over killings verdict” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.14) – 193 words

25/8/12 – “Surely nobody can believe that this murderer is sane” – The Daily Express (pg.16) – 226 words

25/8/12 – “Jilted dad who killed six is guilty of manslaughter” – The Daily Express (pg.40) – 390 words

25/8/12 – “Builder convicted of knife massacre” – The Guardian (pg.16) -233 words

25/8/12 – “Deluded, defiant, evil... but not mad” – The Sun (pg.4-5) – 1138 words

25/8/12 – “Man who killed 6 cleared of murder” – The Sun (pg.18) – 153 words

25/8/12 – “Builder who killed six is guilty of manslaughter” – The Times (pg.13) – 84 words

27/8/12 – “Brady: I’m still on top of the ratings after 40 yrs” – The Daily Mirror (pg.16-17) – 1337 words

29/8/12 – “Wicked, savage, and senseless” – The Daily Mirror (pg.19) – 467 words

29/8/12 – “Comb killer is named” – Daily Star (pg.21) – 92 words

29/8/12 – “Girl who killed her rival with a pintail comb as deadly as a stiletto is jailed” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.11) – 289 words

29/8/12 – “Rapist jailed for 12 years on fatal attack on woman that treated him like a grandson” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.11) – 295 words

29/8/12 – “Girl gets life for Afro comb murder” – The Daily Express (pg.15) – 198 words

29/8/12 – “Life sentence for girl, 16, who murdered rival with afro comb in row about boys” – The Times (pg.5) – 525 words

31/8/12 – “I’m so sorry I’ve taken her away from you all...” – The Daily Mirror (pg.27) – 567 words

31/8/12 – “Nurse who killed daughter jailed” – The Daily Express (pg.27) – 165 words

31/8/12 – “Car thief who ran over pensioner outside his house is jailed for life” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.6) – 415 words

4/9/12 – “Handyman to appeal conviction for killing widow” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.14) – 169 words

4/9/12 – “16yrs for ‘animal’ dad killer” – The Sun (pg.20) – 156 words

5/9/12 – “Mother jailed for killing daughter to appeal” – The Guardian (pg.10) – 229 words

5/9/12 – “Kill mum appeal” – The Sun (pg.9) – 93 words

6/9/12 – “Cop killer O’Shea loses High Court bid” – The Sun (pg.10) – 116 words

7/9/12 – “Thud admits killing shop theft hero” – The Daily Mirror (pg.15) – 131 words

7/9/12 – “Man hit noisy neighbour who disturbed son’s study” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.16) – 172 words

7/9/12 – “Stab thug dad jailed for attack at school” – The Sun (pg.7) – 135 words

8/9/12 – “PC punched pregnant ex to make her lose their baby” – Daily Mail – 363 words

8/9/12 – “Caged – PC Evil” – The Daily Mirror (pg.20) – 438 words

8/9/12 – “999 chief is a killer” – Daily Star (pg.17) – 75 words

8/9/12 – “Footballer murdered his girlfriend, 15, in fit of jealousy” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.13) – 418 words

8/9/12 – “Ambulance service boss hid murder conviction for 17 years” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.17) – 319 words

8/9/12 – “10 years for PC in bid to kill his unborn baby” – The Daily Express (pg.24) – 302 words

8/9/12 – “Footballer pleads guilty to girl’s murder” – The Guardian (pg.18) – 281 words

8/9/12 – “10 yrs for copper in ‘miscarry’ punching” – The Sun (pg.15) – 205 words

11/9/12 – “Waiter’s killer seeks review of case” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.12) – 195 words

12/9/12 – “Lodger gets life for sex rival killing” – The Daily Mirror (pg.19) – 115 words

14/9/12 – “Man killed with fridge” – The Daily Mirror (pg.25) – 83 words

14/9/12 – “Mobster is booted from UK” – The Sun (pg.26) – 135 words

15/9/12 – “You may never be released” – The Daily Mirror (pg.19) – 403 words

15/9/12 – “Dredd artist stabbed cop” – The Sun (pg.28) – 114 words

18/9/12 – “Eight years for the cheating wife who used drugs bought online to abort baby two days before it was due to be born” – Daily Mail – 755 words

18/9/12 – “8 years for killing her baby at 39wks” – The Daily Mirror (pg.27) – 620 words

18/9/12 – “Terminator mum jailed eight years” – Daily Star (pg.21) – 235 words

18/9/12 – “Mother who aborted baby in final week ‘robbed him of life’” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.5) – 614 words

18/9/12 – “Jailed, mother who aborted baby week before due date” – The Daily Express (pg.7) – 611 words

18/9/12 – “Mother given eight years for aborting full-term baby” – The Times (pg.5) – 726 words

20/9/12 – “Soldier gets 28 years for stabbing ex” – The Daily Mirror (pg.13) – 118 words

20/9/12 – “Killer jailed for washing line attack” – The Daily Mirror (pg.22) – 115 words

21/9/12 – “Ex-lover guilty of killing husband” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.2) – 84 words

21/9/12 – “Ploughing job jailed” – The Sun (pg.25) – 82 words

21/9/12 – “Killed and dumped in river” – The Sun (pg.43) – 144 words

22/9/12 – “Motorist hits lady driver, 81, in the face for going at 5mph” – Daily Mail – 363 words

22/9/12 – “Laundrette shotgun killer jailed for life” – The Daily Mirror (pg.6) – 240 words

22/9/12 – “‘Wife share’ jilted killer given 22yrs” – The Daily Mirror (pg.26) – 149 words

22/9/12 – “Husband’s killer given life” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.8) – 68 words

22/9/12 – “Boy, 15, given life for knife murder of schoolboy” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.6) – 74 words

22/9/12 – “Motorist hits woman, 81, for driving at just 5mph” – The Daily Express (pg.9) – 386 words

22/9/12 – “Laundry killer gets 16 years minimum” – The Sun (pg.4) – 124 words

22/9/12 – “Brick kill job gets 32 years” – The Sun (pg.14) – 102 words

22/9/12 – “Killer, 15, given life” – The Sun (pg.18) – 82 words

22/9/12 – “Baseball bat killer is jailed for 14yrs” – The Sun (pg.19) – 127 words

25/9/12 – “Jailed for life, Husband and the in-laws who held bride down and suffocated her” – Daily Mail – 695 words

25/9/12 – “Avril killer decides not to appeal” – The Daily Mirror (pg.16) – 144 words

25/9/12 – “Four get life for exorcism killing” – The Daily Mirror (pg.26) – 172 words

25/9/12 – “Family jailed for ‘evil spirit’ murder of wide” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.2) – 101 words

25/9/12 – “Convicted killer wants his freedom” – The Sun (pg.21) – 121 words

25/9/12 – “Wife kill 4 get 56yrs” – The Sun (pg.4) – 69 words

27/9/12 – “Convicted murderer is set free” – The Sun (pg.20) – 128 words

27/9/12 – “Sex swap wife killer 24yrs jail” – The Sun (pg.31) – 118 words

27/9/12 – “Briton murdered wife” – The Times (pg.15) – 90 words

28/9/12 – “Monster who raped 6 times in just 7 months; Jill murder history of violence” – The Daily Mirror (pg.4-5) – 712 words

28/9/12 – “Monster of Melbourne” – The Sun (pg.4-5) – 737 words

29/9/12 – “Life for uncle in party murder” – Daily Star (pg.11) – 218 words

29/9/12 – “Brother admits killing soap actor” – The Guardian (pg.21) – 242 words

3/10/12 – “22yrs for stab yob” – The Sun (pg.21) – 65 words

3/10/12 – “Laundry killer set to appeal sentence” – The Sun (pg.25) – 128 words

4/10/12 – “Police killer jailed over lover attack” – The Daily Mirror (pg.22) – 136 words

4/10/12 – “Murder by bottle yob” – The Daily Mirror (pg.22) – 130 words

4/10/12 – “Jack stab kill yob faces life” – The Sun (pg.31) – 162 words

6/10/12 – “Double killer Stewart appeal delayed” – The Daily Mirror (pg.22) – 354 words

6/10/12 – “Jailed... Torture gang’s ‘Mr Big’ with a baby face” – The Daily Express (pg.41) – 309 words

6/10/12 – “Yob killed woman in £10 loan row fight” – The Sun (pg.19) – 121 words

9/10/12 – “Woman gets 4yrs for bottle slashing” – The Sun pg.19) – 119 words

10/10/12 – “Riot thugs who shot at police chopper jailed for 64 yrs” – The Daily Mirror (pg.25) – 239 words

10/10/12 – “Tot drugged with heroin” – Daily Star (pg.21) – 145 words

10/10/12 – “Two guilty of attacks on police during riots” – The Times (pg.15) – 100 words

11/10/12 – “Drunk dad crack his tot’s skull” – The Daily Mirror (pg.13) – 438 words

12/10/12 – “Bra knife killer’s jail” – The Sun (pg.9) – 88 words

13/10/12 – “It was murder” – The Daily Mirror (pg.16) – 358 words

13/10/12 – “Jail for dad who gave tot heroin” – The Daily Mirror (pg.19) – 128 words

13/10/12 – “‘Carer’ jailed for pouring boiling water on man, 61” – The Daily Express (pg.13) – 400 words

13/10/12 – “42-year-old guilty of mum-of-one murder” – The Sun (pg.14) – 122 words

13/10/12 – “Kill mum jailed” – The Sun (pg.8) – 72 words

13/10/12 – “Ex-fiance jailed for cleaver attack” – The Times (pg.42) – 84 words

16/10/12 – “Call girl who kicked a client to death is jailed for 3 years” – Daily Mail – 228 words

16/10/12 – “Teen gets 2 years jail for killing abuser” – The Daily Mirror (pg.8-9) – 716 words

16/10/12 – “Escort jailed over death of client, 69” – The Daily Mirror (pg.15) – 138 words

16/10/12 – “Footballer admits assault on police” – The Daily Express (pg.7) – 208 words

16/10/12 – “Killer vice girls caged” – The Sun (pg.8) – 71 words

16/10/12 – “William kill pair face life” – The Sun (pg.26) – 142 words

17/10/12 – “Knife killer teen filmed face stamp” – The Daily Mirror (pg.10) – 145 words

18/9/12 – “Knife nut snapped his victim on phone” – The Sun (pg.27) – 117 words

19/10/12 – “Beaten bus mum’s killer is locked up” – The Daily Mirror (pg.14) – 149 words

19/10/12 – “Violent mark of thug dad” – Daily Star (pg.37) – 283 words

19/10/12 – “Jealous boyfriend killed woman for getting an MOT” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.13) – 304 words

19/10/12 – “Killers who threw naked friend into river jailed for life” – The Times (pg.18) – 128 words

20/10/12 – “How many others did cabbie kill?” – Daily Mail – 622 words

20/10/12 – “Cabbie gets life for club girl’s murder” – Daily Star (pg.15) – 407 words

20/10/12 – “Cab beast on prowl for prey” – The Sun (pg.6-7) – 1047 words

20/10/12 – “Drinking pal killer gets 8yrs” – The Sun (pg.32) – 149 words

21/10/12 – “Football thug boasts on net” – The Daily Mirror (pg.19) – 249 words

21/10/12 – “I’ve got away with it” – Daily Star (pg.8-9) – 1079 words

23/10/12 – “Leeds supporter jailed for attack on Kirkland” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.9) – 420 words

23/10/12 – “Goalie attack thug is jailed” – The Daily Express (pg.22) – 139 words

25/10/12 – “Victoria station trial” – The Guardian (pg.10) – 623 words

25/10/12 – “Final conviction over rush hour killing” – The Times (pg.3) – 600 words

26/10/12 – “Man admits killing mum” – The Daily Mirror (pg.14) – 71 words

27/10/12 – “I’m delighted those animals will rot in jail” – The Daily Mirror (pg.4-5) – 989 words

27/10/12 – “Cruel dad is jailed after killing son, 5” – The Daily Mirror (pg.32) – 110 words

27/10/12 – “Glass in face killer is jailed” – The Daily Mirror (pg.25) – 77 words

27/10/12 – “Man who tortured son to death jailed for life” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.6) – 156 words

27/10/12 – “Evil carers caught on TV jailed for reign of cruelty” – The Daily Express” (pg.13) – 392 words

27/10/12 – “Train kill bid brute gets 5yrs” – The Sun (pg.24) – 162 words

27/10/12 – “Twin jailed for beating his ‘bully’ brother with a plank” – The Times (pg.24) – 185 words

30/10/12 – “30 years for crazed dad who killed 6” – The Daily Mirror (pg.8) – 142 words

30/10/12 – “Slasher jailed” – The Daily Mirror (pg.20) – 107 words

30/10/12 – “Polish builder jailed for Jersey knife killings” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.2) – 125 words

30/10/12 – “Killer bid to gouge out perv’s eyes with spoon” – The Sun (pg.21) – 206 words

30/10/12 – “Devil woman” – The Sun (pg.15) – 143 words

30/10/12 – “Motor maniacs” – The Sun (pg.9) – 340 words

31/10/12 – “Mother with postnatal depression killed babies over fears they would be taken” – Daily Mail – 704 words

31/10/12 – “Man admits to killing kickboxing champ Niall” – The Daily Mirror (pg.20) – 382 words

31/10/12 – “Stomp killer read femme fatale book” – The Daily Mirror (pg.26) – 144 words

31/10/12 – “I was a good mum, I never meant this to happen” – The Daily Mirror (pg.25) – 391 words

31/10/12 – “Killer stabs jailed paedo” – The Daily Mirror (pg.15) – 59 words

31/10/12 – “Kid killer caged” – Daily Star (pg.21) – 89 words

31/10/12 – “Woman who smothered her babies says: I’m a good mum” – The Daily Express (pg.22-23) – 570 words

31/10/12 – “‘Good mum’ admits killing her two babies” – The Guardian (pg.11) – 682 words

31/10/12 – “Killed for beer spill” – The Sun (pg.20) – 93 words

31/10/12 – “Lover, 16 killed kid” – The Sun (pg.4) – 92 words

31/10/12 – “‘Loving mother’ who killed her children” – The Times (pg.3) – 680 words

1/11/12 – “Mum leaves her baby in pram to kick and stamp on stranger in race attack” – Daily Mail – 600 words

1/11/12 – “Free! Race attack pram mum caught on CCTV” – Daily Star (pg.15) – 190 words

1/11/12 – “Murderer is freed after three years” – The Daily Express (pg.10) – 189 words

1/11/12 – “Drunken mum’s vile race attack” – The Daily Express (pg.13) – 309 words

1/11/12 – “Kill bid on rape fiend” – The Sun (pg.24) – 72 words

1/11/12 – “Mother left baby in pram to launch racist attack” – The Times (pg.17) – 319 words

2/11/12 – “Old rage pensioner” – The Sun (pg.13) – 247 words

3/11/12 – “God hating killer will die in prison” – Daily Mail – 951 words

3/11/12 – “Christian slayer” – The Daily Mirror (pg.14-15) – 526 words

3/11/12 – “Life for vicar’s killer” – Daily Star (pg.8) – 142 words

3/11/12 – “You will die in jail, judge tells Christian-hating double killer” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.17) – 638 words

3/11/12 – “‘I hate God’ killer to die in jail” – The Daily Express (pg.37) – 385 words

3/11/12 – “Man given life term for sadistic murders of vicar and retired teacher” – The Guardian (pg.7) – 532 words

3/11/12 – “Caged for 91 injuries boy killing” – The Sun (pg.33) – 93 words

3/11/12 – “Why was he free to kill?” – The Sun (pg.13) – 502 words

3/11/12 – “Telly thug killed tot for crying” – The Sun (pg.41) – 146 words

3/11/12 – “Drifter who killed vicar and retired teacher will die in jail” – The Times (pg.21) – 731 words

3/11/12 – “Girlfriend’s two-year-old boy was beaten to death” – The Times (pg.41) – 155 words

5/11/12 – “Thug who slashed 3 Argie rugby aces” – The Sun (pg.23) – 318 words

6/11/12 – “Life for rat-catcher who shot colonel dead on his doorstep” – Daily Mail – 508 words

6/11/12 – “Coke driver killed chef” – The Daily Mirror (pg.29) – 79 words

6/11/12 – “Midsomer murderer” – The Daily Mirror (pg.15) – 482 words

6/11/12 – “Cocaine ‘voices ordered’ murder” – Daily Star (pg.9) – 179 words

6/11/12 – “Rat catcher killed his friend to cover up the ‘Midsomer murder’” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.13) – 523 words

6/11/12 – “Colonel’s gun killer at door gets 32 years” – The Daily Express (pg.30) – 249 words

6/11/12 – “Gunman caged on colonel hit” – The Sun (pg.4) – 137 words

6/11/12 – “Coke car murderer” – The Sun (pg.9) – 89 words

6/11/12 – “Harrison will fight jail blow” – The Sun (pg.9) – 305 words

6/11/12 – “Life for ‘hitman’ who shot a colonel on his doorstep” – The Times (pg.15) – 357 words

7/11/12 – “Man jailed for killing dad of two” – The Daily Mirror (pg.15) – 102 words

7/11/12 – “Killer on cocaine gets life” – Daily Star (pg.21) – 129 words

7/11/12 – “‘Limbs in loch’ killer awarded £4,800 by EU court for appeal delays” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.8) – 359 words

7/11/12 – “Life for cocaine driver who killed a young dad” – The Daily Express (pg.28) – 209 words

7/11/12 – “Beggs in £5k court delay win” – The Sun (pg.17) – 133 words

9/11/12 – “5 years for wife who glassed girl chatting to her husband” – The Daily Mirror (pg.27) – 269 words

9/11/12 – “Repentant killer helps body hunt” – The Daily Mirror (pg.9) – 140 words

9/11/12 – “Hunt for body as repentant killer turns to God” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.18) – 238 words

9/11/12 – “Nine years for wife who killed husband with scissors in row” – The Daily Express (pg.27) – 384 words

9/11/12 – “Killer’s cash ‘distasteful’, says Salmond” – The Times (pg.20) – 190 words

10/11/12 – “Valentine’s thugs avoids jail for beating lover” – The Daily Mirror (pg.25) – 324 words

10/11/12 – “Life for reveller who slashed man’s throat at Jessie J concert” – Daily Mail – 391 words

10/11/12 – “Jessie J gig killer jailed” – The Daily Mirror (pg.29) – 87 words

10/11/12 – “‘Rage’ baby killer jailed” – The Daily Mirror (pg.33) – 84 words

10/11/12 – “Killer to bid for mental tests appeal” – The Daily Mirror (pg.14) – 103 words

10/11/12 – “Killer at Jessie J gig locked up for 14yrs” – Daily Star (pg.16) – 133 words

10/11/12 – “Naked man attacked neighbour with fork” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.6) – 60 words

10/11/12 – “Art director killed father with beer bottle in row at bar” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.7) – 449 words

10/11/12 – “Monster who made ex watch as he killed her sister is jailed” – The Daily Express (pg.28) – 272 words

10/11/12 – “Life for Jessie J club killer” – The Daily Express (pg.24) – 225 words

10/11/12 – “Man jailed for bottle murder at Jessie J gig” – The Guardian (pg.16) – 309 words

10/11/12 – “Breivik: Coffee is tepid & I’ve no moisturiser” – The Sun (pg.22) – 247 words

10/11/12 – “Boot job ducks jail for attack” – The Sun (pg.20) – 116 words

10/11/12 – “‘Thrill kill’ maniac is given life” – The Sun (pg.16) – 111 words

10/11/12 – “Kid killer given life” – The Sun (pg.31) – 86 words

10/11/12 – “Machete monster” – The Sun (pg.15) – 543 words

10/11/12 – “Killed for no reason” – The Sun (pg.34) – 251 words

10/11/12 – “Breivik complains of cold coffee and no moisturiser” – The Times (pg.31) – 308 words

10/11/12 – “Pair jailed over murder” – The Times (pg.19) – 242 words

13/11/12 – “Jailed for ex kidnap and murder” – The Daily Mirror (pg.4) – 117 words

13/11/12 – “Rugby teen jailed over head stamp” – The Daily Mirror (pg.14) – 135 words

13/11/12 – “Bin killer gets life” – The Sun (pg.18) – 82 words

13/11/12 – “Released gaffe lag admits to killing pal” – The Sun (pg.19) – 135 words

14/11/12 – “Drunk footie ace hit ambo women” – The Daily Mirror (pg.20) – 179 words

14/11/12 – “Twitter led to miscarriage of justice, says murderer” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.11) – 120 words

15/11/12 – “Guard let train kill party girl, 16” – The Daily Mirror (pg.12) – 189 words

15/11/12 – “Teenagers murdered friend after row at party” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.9) – 379 words

15/11/12 – “Killer’s sick taunt” – The Sun (pg.35) – 82 words

15/11/12 – “Beaten to death by pals he trusted” – The Sun (pg.35) – 334 words

16/11/12 – “Maniac dad found guilty of blasting pair to death” – The Daily Mirror (pg.15) – 681 words

16/11/12 – “Guard jailed for drunken girl, 16, killed under train” – The Daily Express (pg.38) – 336 words

16/11/12 – “Guard jailed 5 years for teen train death” – The Sun (pg.37) – 192 words

16/11/12 – “Fraggle lock” – The Sun (pg.29) – 299 words

16/11/12 – “Rail guard jailed over death of teenage girl” – The Times (pg.27) – 536 words

17/11/12 – “Moffett pal: I knifed loyalist” – The Daily Mirror (pg.15) – 283 words

20/11/12 – “Drug dealer convicted on point-blank shooting of Dewani bride” – Daily Mail – 437 words

20/11/12 – “Teen admits killing girl in woodland” – The Daily Mirror (pg.9) – 141 words

20/11/12 – “OAP ‘shock’ at double murder rap” – The Daily Mirror (pg.9) – 145 words

21/11/12 – “Killer teen gets life for girl torture” – The Daily Mirror (pg.27) – 143 words

21/11/12 – “Sister –in-law killed in jealous rage” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.13) – 71 words

21/11/12 – “Sicko, 18, caged for girlfriend sex killing” – The Sun (pg.15) – 129 words

21/11/12 – “28yrs for New Year vow killer of Kirsty” – The Sun (pg.22) – 148 words

21/11/12 – “Double murderer jailed” – The Times (pg.4) – 61 words

22/11/12 – “Man convicted for second time of stabbing war hero to death” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.8) – 445 words

22/11/12 – “Evil junkie battered cabbie asleep in bed” – The Sun (pg.24) – 209 words

22/11/12 – “Killer is guilty .. For second time” – The Sun (pg.25) – 244 words

23/11/12 – “Schoolboy, 15, jailed for killing fellow pupil” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.7) – 399 words

23/11/12 – “Guilt plea for attack” – The Sun (pg.20) – 58 words

23/11/12 – “Cig burn yob guilty” – The Sun (pg.15) – 80 words

23/11/12 – “Teenage killer detained for gym attack on schoolboy” – The Times (pg.26) – 169 words

24/11/12 – “Attacker guilty” – Daily Star (pg.8) – 71 words

24/11/12 – “Man punched girl, 16” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.2) – 92 words

24/11/12 – “I said ‘I love’ and stabbed her six times in the heart” – The Sun (pg.13) – 338 words

24/11/12 – “Yob: Girl on CCTV to blame” – The Sun (pg.19) – 107 words

26/11/12 – “Religious teacher is ‘a killer’” – The Daily Mirror (pg.14) – 207 words

26/11/12 – “Sir is a killer” – Daily Star (pg.2) – 100 words

28/11/12 – “She’d seen 16 psychiatrists and 20 community workers .. still went on to kill” – Daily Mail – 667 words

28/11/12 – “Rival faces jail after tyre-iron attack” – Daily Mail – 643 words

28/11/12 – “Child slayer warned she would kill” – The Daily Mirror (pg.19) – 142 words

28/11/12 – “Teen’s knife killer begged ‘lock me up’” – The Daily Express (pg.35) – 411 words

29/11/12 – “Disgusting; O’Reilly freedom bid” – The Daily Mirror (pg.7) – 404 words

29/11/12 – “Killer in gig attack” – The Sun (pg.30) – 61 words

30/11/12 – “Secret toyboy who killed his lover’s toddler gets 5 years” – Daily Mail – 503 words

30/11/12 – “Someone will live because these two are jailed” – The Daily Mirror (pg.22) – 338 words

30/11/12 – “Drug addicted ex-para killed grandmother who tried to help him” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.18) – 425 words

30/11/12 – “Life for dad kill monster” – The Sun (pg.29) – 181 words

30/11/12 – “Out in 20 months... the grinning child killer” – The Sun (pg.25) – 304 words

30/11/12 – “Kathleen took pity on addict grandson .. and he bludgeoned her to death” – The Sun (pg.1, 5) – 305 words

30/11/12 – “Heroin addict found guilty of killing grandmother despite ‘Oscar-winning performance’” – The Times (pg.29) – 498 words

Acquisitive Offender Articles

3/8/12 – “I stole from shops to feed my five kids” – The Daily Mirror (pg.12) – 382 words

10/8/12 – “Fuming judge blasts ‘soft justice’ Britain” – Daily Star (pg.23) – 232 words

10/8/12 – “Fury of judge forced to spare crash thugs” – The Daily Express (pg. 21) – 489 words

10/8/12 – “Why can’t I jail you for longer?” – The Sun (pg.19) – 284 words

18/8/12 – “One in 5 jailed rioters freed before serving half of their sentence” – Daily Mail – 473 words

18/8/12 – “Bogus healer stole jewels” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.7) – 55 words

18/8/12 – “Worst thief fooled by rubber phones” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.14) – 184 words

21/8/12 – “Fake police stole family’s £130,000” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.2) – 137 words

22/8/12 – “Jailed, robber who attacked Harry’s friend as he chatted to Prince on mobile” – Daily Mail – 461 words

22/8/12 – “Jailed for mugging Harry pal” – The Daily Mirror (pg.12) – 235 words

23/8/12 – “How did he get £5m legal aid?” – Daily Mail – 813 words

24/8/12 – “Tycoon jailed for stealing (EURO)36.1million ‘out of greed’” – The Daily Mirror (pg.30) – 162 words

24/8/12 – “10 years for Nadir” – Daily Star (pg. 8) – 61 words

24/8/12 – “Jailed for 10 years” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.5) – 588 words

24/8/12 – “No mercy for greedy Nadir as he is jailed for 10 years” – The Daily Express (pg.9) – 841 words

24/8/12 – “Nadir gets 10 years for theft of £29m from Polly Peck” – The Guardian (pg.7) – 659 words

24/8/12 – “Drunk since age 12” – The Sun (pg.33) – 155 words

24/8/12 – “Nadir’s 10yrs” – The Sun (pg.28) – 154 words

24/8/12 – “Missing millions ‘tied up with family’” – The Times (pg.3) – 993 words

31/8/12 – “Trail of evidence” – The Daily Mirror (pg.39) – 182 words

2/9/12 – “Thief’s eBay bumper bungle” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.10) – 31 words

3/9/12 – “Shoplifter nanny left toddlers to swelter in her car” – Daily Mail – 583 words

6/9/12 – “Wicked Slovakian tore ring from strike victim’s finger” – The Daily Express (pg.4) – 434 words

7/9/12 – “Prison boss is spared jail for thefts” – The Times (pg.10) – 141 words

8/9/12 – “Thief nicked over razors” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.17) – 71 words

9/9/12 – “Burglars need proper punishments, not praise” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.26) – 829 words

13/9/12 – “Thief hid 20 mobile phones in his tights” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.1) – 213 words

14/9/12 – “Officer stole chocolate” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.2) – 54 words

14/9/12 – “Banker son robs parents” – The Daily Express (pg.15) – 160 words

19/9/12 – “Asylum seeker’s false name scam raked in £425,000” – The Daily Express (pg.25) – 505 words

20/9/12 – “Officers set trap for PC who stole from dead man” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.11) – 234 words

21/9/12 – “Undertaker stole £200 off dead woman” – The Daily Express (pg.30) – 427 words

22/9/12 – “Boob-op raider behind bars” – Daily Star (pg.28) – 141 words

22/9/12 – “Jailed, bank girl who stole £46k for boob op” – The Daily Express (pg.15) – 257 words

27/9/12 – “Raider tried to hide in coffin with body” – The Daily Mirror (pg.19) – 345 words

27/9/12 – “Ad ambush jobs caged” – The Sun (pg.30) – 119 words

29/9/12 – “Thief’s shame” – Daily Star (pg.24) – 74 words

3/10/12 – “Thief comes clean over 340 crimes” – The Daily Mirror (pg.15) – 143 words

3/10/12 – “Nurse is jailed for OAP theft” – The Sun (pg.15) – 136 words

11/10/12 – “Thief gets a choc” – The Sun (pg.5) – 89 words

12/10/12 – “Derren’s cleaning lady caged for £33k theft” – Daily Star (pg.21) – 139 words

12/10/12 – “It’s jail for Derren’s trickster” – The Sun (pg.3) – 90 words

12/10/12 – “Star’s cleaner jailed” – The Times (pg.22) – 79 words

13/10/12 – “Woman stole £1.9m from escort recruits” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.7) – 192 words

19/10/12 – “Thief’s £10,000 crime spree in City gyms” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.20) – 94 words

19/10/12 – “Lad spent thefts cash on big gift for his girl” – The Sun (pg.19) – 134 words

24/10/12 – “Off the scale: The burglar of 19 who raided 278 homes” – Daily Mail – 417 words

24/10/12 – “Thief, 19, jailed after admitting 278 burglaries” – The Daily Express (pg.28) – 469 words

27/10/12 – “Burglar’s bright idea backfires as smartphone camera films break in” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.3) – 287 words

28/10/12 – “Half of all burglars aren’t even sent to jail – even though most have 12 convictions” – Daily Mail – 648

2/11/12 – “Thieving mother kicks heroin” – Daily Mail – 686 words

3/11/12 – “Undertaker jailed for stealing purse from dead woman” – Daily Mail – 497 words

3/11/12 – “Disgraced tycoon Nadir told to pay £5m or face longer jail term” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.37) – 396 words

3/11/12 – “Nadir ordered to pay back just £5m of his £60m Polly Peck loot” – The Daily Express (pg.8) – 407 words

3/11/12 – “Body-rob man jailed” – The Sun (pg.9) – 91 words

5/11/12 – “Burglar caught after leaving shoes in house” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.15) – 176 words

8/11/12 – “Cops net fish thief” – The Sun (pg.23) – 63 words

8/11/12 – “Theft PC facing jail” – The Sun (pg.11) – 80 words

9/11/12 – “Cops jailed for stealing” – The Daily Mirror (pg.31) – 54 words

9/11/12 – “Ex-dinner lady stole £89,000 from school” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.18) – 123 words

9/11/12 – “Pupil fund thief guilty” – The Sun (pg.18) – 83 words

9/11/12 – “Dinner lady cooked books to steal £89k” – The Sun (pg.43) – 227 words

10/11/12 – “Tears of a conwoman” – Daily Mail – 515 words

13/11/12 – “Thieves stole Moore sculpture for £46” – The Times (pg.14) – 122 words

14/11/12 – “Post office thief says she threw cash away” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.2) – 123 words

15/11/12 – “Teenagers set free over theft that led to officer’s death” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.9) – 427 words

17/11/12 – “Tycoon stashed stolen money in Jersey” – The Guardian (pg.13) – 141 words
 21/11/12 – “Burglar escapes jail” – Daily Mail – 460 words
 21/11/12 – “Do your chores or go to prison” – Daily Star (pg.21) – 247 words
 22/11/12 – “Cowboys in £600k scam” – The Daily Mirror (pg.33) – 85 words
 24/11/12 – “The cancer conwoman” – Daily Mail – 574 words
 27/11/12 – “Love rat thief who charmed his way into homes of women” – Daily Mail – 672 words
 27/11/12 – “FF man avoids jail over theft” – The Sun (pg.4) – 88 words

Immigrant Groups Articles

1/8/12 – “Refugee a rioter” – Daily Star (pg.17) – 55 words
 1/8/12 – “Judge jails refugee who ‘repaid Britain’ by joining riot mob” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.8) – 165 words
 1/8/12 – “Polygamy costs us £10million a year. How can this be?” – The Daily Express (pg.14) – 861 words
 1/8/12 – “‘Grateful’ illegal in shop riot” – The Sun (pg.19) – 123 words
 2/8/12 – “Sudan refugee chases Olympic dream” – The Daily Mirror (pg.11) – 232 words
 2/8/12 – “Ex-war child in marathon” – The Sun (pg.9) – 148 words
 5/8/12 – “Migrants’ £1m kids” – The Sun (p.31) – 73 words
 5/8/12 – “Athens evicts immigrants” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.28) – 42 words
 6/8/12 – “Mo’s giant strides from war zone into the hearts of a nation” – Daily Mail – 1506 words
 6/8/12 – “1 in 4 Polish claim dole” – The Daily Mirror (pg.2) – 53 words
 6/8/12 – “Illegal migration fears as fewer fake passports are detected” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.12) – 195 words
 6/8/12 – “At last... refugees on £3,000-a-week benefit are kicked out of £1.2m home” – The Daily Express (pg.16) – 470 words
 7/8/12 – “Illegal migrants deported amid fears of invasion” – The Times (pg. 27) – 351 words
 7/8/12 – “Greece’s purge on illegal immigrants” – Daily Mail – 364 words
 7/8/12 – “Doctors oppose immigrant ban” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.14) – 74 words
 10/8/12 – “France banishes gypsies” – Daily Mail – 468 words
 10/8/12 – “Asylum seeker rioter given free £3m home” – Daily Star (pg.19) – 382 words
 10/8/12 – “Gypsies evicted in dawn raid” – The Daily Express (pg.26) – 279 words
 10/8/12 – “Britain can’t celebrate the Mo Farah factor yet” – The Times (pg.18) – 725 words
 14/8/12 – “What is it to be British? Now we know...” – The Times (pg.17) – 1125 words
 15/8/12 – “Family from hell’ refugees who trashed £1.2m home” – Daily Mail – 400 words
 16/8/12 – “Remind me again WHY we have to house this family” – The Daily Express (pg.12) – 851 words
 16/8/12 – “Refugees made our lives hell too say neighbours” – The Daily Express (pg.9) – 537 words
 17/8/12 – “‘Hell’ refugees can stay in £1.2m home they trashed” – The Daily Express (pg.13) – 643 words
 17/8/12 – “Refugees who trashed £1.25m house get the boot” – The Sun (pg.23) – 251 words
 19/8/12 – “Sofa, Mahmoud has failed as Brit citizen” – “The Sun (pg.13) – 557 words

20/8/12 – “Our special white cliffs” – The Guardian (pg.20) – 634 words

25/8/12 – “Now crack down on health tourists abusing our NHS” – The Daily Express (pg.16) – 869 words

27/8/12 – “Britain must make life much harder for illegals” – The Daily Express (pg.12) – 222 words

28/8/12 – “Jailed... Illegal who used benefits to fund bomber” – The Daily Express (pg.2) – 398 words

28/8/12 – “Asylum seeker who funded bomber jailed for seven years” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.2) – 540 words

28/8/12 – “Bogus asylum seekers who funded bomber is jailed” – The Times (pg.5) – 339 words

31/8/12 – “Quarter of Britain’s babies are born the foreign mothers” – Daily Mail – 628 words

31/8/12 – “2,800 face threat of deportation” – Daily Mail – 642 words

31/8/12 – “25% births by migrant mums” – Daily Star (pg.2) – 158 words

31/8/12 – “Immigration is not just a numbers game” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.19) - 458 words

31/8/12 – “Quarter of babies born in Britain in 2011 were to foreign mothers” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.6) – 164 words

31/8/12 – “1,300 migrants a day pour in” – The Daily Express (pg.1) – 678 words

31/8/12 – “Migrant total falls” – The Sun (pg.15) – 66 words

4/9/12 – “Visa ‘chaos’ let 50,000 bogus students enter Britain” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.1-2) – 690 words

4/9/12 – “Our immigration system gets rid of the wrong people” – The Daily Express (pg.14) – 872 words

6/9/12 – “Act now... Or say goodbye to the Britain we know” – Daily Mail – 760 words

7/9/12 – “Migrant chaos looms, warns top Tory” – The Daily Express (pg.34) – 480 words

7/9/12 – “Bordering on breakdown” – The Sun (pg.12-13) – 1447 words

12/9/12 – “Immigrants in deprived classrooms” – The Daily Mirror (pg.29) – 112 words

12/9/12 – “Our sick welfare system rewards foreign scroungers” – The Daily Express (pg.12) – 913 words

13/9/12 – “Britain ‘offers rich pickings’ for foreign criminals” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.18) – 564 words

14/9/12 – “Sharia marriages for girls of 12 and the religious courts subverting British law” – Daily Mail – 1381 words

17/9/12 – “Public ‘growing less tolerant of mass immigration’” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.8) – 239 words

17/9/12 – “Voters want a cut in migrants” – The Sun (pg.2) – 317 words

21/9/12 – “Latvian single mother of 10 on £34,000 benefits says: Now find me a bigger house” – Daily Mail – 606 words

21/9/12 – “There is no excuse for not deporting illegal immigrants” – The Daily Express (pg.12) – 874 words

24/9/12 – “Youth can bring end to racism” – The Daily Mirror (pg.24) – 111 words

26/9/12 – “Migration fuels 4m rise in population over the last 10 years” – Daily Mail – 541 words

27/9/12 – “Population up 1,000 every day” – Daily Star (pg.2) – 244 words

28/9/12 – “45,000 more Poles come to work for UK!” – Daily Star (pg.2) – 152 words

5/10/12 – “Miliband fear over low-skill migrants” – The Daily Express (pg.2) – 263 words

5/10/12 – “Too many unskilled migrants, says Miliband” – The Times (pg.17) – 500 words

7/10/12 – “When will our politicians realise that it’s not racist to actually do something about immigration?” – Daily Mail – 1168 words

10/10/12 – “Labour used migrants to keep wages low” – The Daily Express (pg.5) – 284 words

13/10/12 – “Loony EU: Let all migrants have benefits” – Daily Star (pg.2) – 167 words

13/10/12 – “Migrants must get benefits, orders EU” – The Daily Express (pg.1) – 539 words

13/10/12 – “Doctors ordered to treat foreign health tourists” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.7) – 386 words

17/10/12 – “One in four UK births to immigrant women” – The Daily Express (pg.15) – 374 words

24/10/12 – “Foreign families rake in benefits” – The Daily Express (pg.1) – 596 words

24/10/12 – “£36.6m in child benefit paid for children overseas” – Daily Mail – 727 words

24/10/12 – “£36m for EU kids” – Daily Star (pg.2) – 52 words

24/10/12 – “£36m handouts sent to foreign children” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.10) – 216 words

26/10/12 – “A quarter of babies in the UK are born to migrant mothers” – Daily Mail – 530 words

26/10/12 – “Immigrants drive baby boom with one in four born to foreign mothers” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.8) – 504 words

27/10/12 – “Migrant’s ‘L’ dodge” – The Sun (pg.4) – 82 words

28/10/12 – “Britain prepares for new wave of EU immigrants” – The Daily Telegraph (pg. 1, 4) – 1179 words

29/10/12 – “Hideously diverse Britain: Where’s our Ellis Island?” – The Guardian (pg.15) – 357 words

1/11/12 – “Migrant cap is ‘barrier to growth’” – The Times (pg.4) – 501 words

2/11/12 – “Migrant cap will hurt Britain says aide to ‘open door’ Blair” – The Daily Express (pg.47) – 288 words

9/11/12 – “Quarter of suspects arrested in London are from overseas” – The Times (pg.20) – 385 words

12/11/12 – “Jobless migrants from Romania and Bulgaria face NHS hospital ban” – Daily Mail – 525 words

12/11/12 – “I can’t halt immigrants” – Daily Star (pg.2) – 217 words

12/11/12 – “EU rules change will bring more migrants” – The Daily Express (pg.2) – 406 words

12/11/12 – “Britain powerless to stop EU immigrants coming in, says May” – The Daily Telegraph (pg.8) – 521 words

13/11/12 – “Prepare for new Eastern European immigrant influx” – The Daily Express (pg.12) – 881 words

15/11/12 – “EU wants migrants to take our jobs” – The Daily Express (pg.1) – 731 words

16/11/12 – “Migrants’ lorry hell” – Daily Star (pg.31) – 69 words

17/11/12 – “Abu may snigger but we get the last laugh” – The Daily Mirror (pg.13) – 611 words

19/11/12 – “Muslim leaders must re-brand religion for 21st Century Britain” – The Sun (pg.8) – 745 words

22/11/12 – “Border shambles puts UK in danger” – The Sun (pg.2) – 301 words

27/11/12 – “NHS is free for all immigrants” – The Sun (pg.2) – 516 words

28/11/12 – “GPs told to treat all foreigners for free” – The Daily Express (pg.2) – 350 words

29/11/12 – “Each refugee costs State (EURO)12k a year” – The Daily Mirror (pg.6) – 163 words

Appendix 2: Linguistic Properties Analysed by LIWC Software

<i>Category</i>	<i>Abbrev</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Words in category</i>	<i>Internal Consistency (Alpha)</i>
Linguistic Processes				
Word count	wc			
words/sentence	wps			
Dictionary words	dic			
Words>6 letters	sixltr			
Total function words	funct		464	0.97
Total pronouns	pronoun	I, them, itself	116	0.91
Personal pronouns	ppron	I, them, her	70	0.88
1st pers singular	i	I, me, mine	12	0.62
1st pers plural	we	We, us, our	12	0.66
2nd person	you	You, your, thou	20	0.73
3rd pers singular	shehe	She, her, him	17	0.75
3rd pers plural	they	They, their, they'd	10	0.5
Impersonal pronouns	ipron	It, it's, those	46	0.78
Articles	article	A, an, the	3	0.14
Common verbs	verb	Walk, went, see	383	0.97
Auxiliary verbs	auxverb	Am, will, have	144	0.91
Past tense	past	Went, ran, had	145	0.94
Present tense	present	Is, does, hear	169	0.91
Future tense	future	Will, gonna	48	0.75
Adverbs	adverb	Very, really, quickly	69	0.84
Prepositions	prep	To, with, above	60	0.88
Conjunctions	conj	And, but, whereas	28	0.7
Negations	negate	No, not, never	57	0.8
Quantifiers	quant	Few, many, much	89	0.88
Numbers	number	Second, thousand	34	0.87
Swear words	swear	Damn, piss, fuck	53	0.65
Psychological Processes				
Social processes	social	Mate, talk, they, child	455	0.97
Family	family	Daughter, husband, aunt	64	0.81
Friends	friend	Buddy, friend, neighbor	37	0.53
Humans	human	Adult, baby, boy	61	0.86
Affective processes	affect	Happy, cried, abandon	915	0.97
Positive emotion	posemo	Love, nice, sweet	406	0.97
Negative emotion	negemo	Hurt, ugly, nasty	499	0.97
Anxiety	anx	Worried, fearful, nervous	91	0.89
Anger	anger	Hate, kill, annoyed	184	0.92
Sadness	sad	Crying, grief, sad	101	0.91
Cognitive processes	cogmech	cause, know, ought	730	0.97
Insight	insight	think, know, consider	195	0.94
Causation	cause	because, effect, hence	108	0.88

Discrepancy	discrep	should, would, could	76	0.8
Tentative	tentat	maybe, perhaps, guess	155	0.87
Certainty	certain	always, never	83	0.85
Inhibition	inhib	block, constrain, stop	111	0.91
Inclusive	incl	And, with, include	18	0.66
Exclusive	excl	But, without, exclude	17	0.67
Perceptual processes	percept	Observing, heard, feeling	273	0.96
See	see	View, saw, seen	72	0.9
Hear	hear	Listen, hearing	51	0.89
Feel	feel	Feels, touch	75	0.88
Biological processes	bio	Eat, blood, pain	567	0.95
Body	body	Cheek, hands, spit	180	0.93
Health	health	Clinic, flu, pill	236	0.85
Sexual	sexual	Horny, love, incest	96	0.69
Ingestion	ingest	Dish, eat, pizza	111	0.86
Relativity	relativ	Area, bend, exit, stop	638	0.98
Motion	motion	Arrive, car, go	168	0.96
Space	space	Down, in, thin	220	0.96
Time	time	End, until, season	239	0.94
Personal Concerns				
Work	work	Job, majors, xerox	327	0.91
Achievement	achieve	Earn, hero, win	186	0.93
Leisure	leisure	Cook, chat, movie	229	0.88
Home	home	Apartment, kitchen, family	93	0.81
Money	money	Audit, cash, owe	173	0.9
Religion	relig	Altar, church, mosque	159	0.91
Death	death	Bury, coffin, kill	62	0.86
Spoken categories				
Assent	assent	Agree, OK, yes	30	0.59
Nonfluencies	nonflu	Er, hm, umm	8	0.28
Fillers	filler	Blah, I mean, youknow	9	0.63

Appendix 3: Ethical Approval for Research



Lincoln, 4-7-2012

Dear Craig Harper,

The Ethics Committee of the School of Psychology would like to inform you that the minor modification to your project "to investigate the media reporting of sexual crime" has been:

- approved
- approved subject to the following conditions:
- invited for resubmission, taking into account the following issues:
- is rejected. An appeal can be made to the Faculty Ethics Committee against this decision (cawalker@lincoln.ac.uk).
- is referred to the Faculty Ethics Committee. You will automatically be contacted by the chair of the Faculty Ethics Committee about further procedures.

Yours sincerely,

Emile van der Zee, PhD

Chair of the Ethics Committee of the School of Psychology
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Appendix 4: SPSS Output Tables

LIWC Data – Differences Between Subgroups – Whole Sample

Descriptive Statistics

ArticleType		N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Crime	posemo	431	.00	6.67	1.2550	1.00614
	negemo	431	.46	14.29	5.3378	2.13739
	anger	431	.00	11.69	3.4509	1.98982
Immigrant	posemo	83	.00	4.64	2.0155	1.17105
	negemo	83	.00	5.80	2.0366	1.10772
	anger	83	.00	2.46	.6924	.61093

Test Statistics^a

	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	11120.000	2670.000	3250.500
Wilcoxon W	104216.000	6156.000	6736.500
Z	-5.478	-12.281	-11.815
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000

a. Grouping Variable: ArticleType

Descriptive Statistics

ArticleSubtype		N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Sex Offender	posemo	79	.00	2.68	1.0511	.80582
	negemo	79	2.23	12.59	6.1511	2.09448
	anger	79	.65	9.63	4.3399	1.96634
Violent Offender	posemo	287	.00	6.67	1.2771	1.01024
	negemo	287	1.83	14.29	5.6561	1.89241
	anger	287	.50	11.69	3.8006	1.66704
Acquisitive Offender	posemo	65	.00	4.43	1.4051	1.17178
	negemo	65	.46	8.26	2.9443	1.50167
	anger	65	.00	4.96	.8266	.97609
Immigrant	posemo	83	.00	4.64	2.0155	1.17105
	negemo	83	.00	5.80	2.0366	1.10772
	anger	83	.00	2.46	.6924	.61093

Sex Offender-Violent Offender

Test Statistics^a

	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	10027.000	9832.500	9547.000
Wilcoxon W	13187.000	51160.500	50875.000
Z	-1.579	-1.806	-2.149
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.114	.071	.032

a. Grouping Variable: ArticleSubtype

Sex Offender-Acquisitive Offender

Test Statistics^{a,b}

	posemo	negemo	anger
Chi-Square	33.593	245.140	280.809
df	3	3	3
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.000	.000

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: ArticleSubtype

Sex Offender-Immigrant Groups

Test Statistics^a

	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	1709.000	176.000	118.500
Wilcoxon W	4869.000	3662.000	3604.500
Z	-5.266	-10.396	-10.597
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000

a. Grouping Variable: ArticleSubtype

Violent Offender-Acquisitive Offender

Test Statistics^a

	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	8763.500	2092.000	888.000
Wilcoxon W	50091.500	4237.000	3033.000
Z	-.765	-9.767	-11.394
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.444	.000	.000

a. Grouping Variable: ArticleSubtype

Violent Offender-Immigrant Groups

Test Statistics^a

	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	7473.500	833.000	440.000
Wilcoxon W	48801.500	4319.000	3926.000
Z	-5.182	-12.908	-13.367
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000

a. Grouping Variable: ArticleSubtype

Acquisitive Offender-Immigrant Groups

Test Statistics^a

	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	1937.500	1661.000	2692.000
Wilcoxon W	4082.500	5147.000	6178.000
Z	-2.941	-4.005	-.021
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.003	.000	.983

a. Grouping Variable: ArticleSubtype

LIWC Data – Sex Offender Articles

Group Statistics

	Tab_Broad	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
posemo	Tabloid	59	.9546	.77891	.10141
	Quality	20	1.3360	.83626	.18699
negemo	Tabloid	59	6.3029	2.15722	.28085
	Quality	20	5.7035	1.87644	.41958
anger	Tabloid	59	4.4849	1.98440	.25835
	Quality	20	3.9120	1.89583	.42392

Test Statistics^a

	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	443.500	472.000	482.500
Wilcoxon W	2213.500	682.000	692.500
Z	-1.660	-1.330	-1.212
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.097	.183	.225

a. Grouping Variable: Tab_Broad

Descriptive Statistics

Newspaper		N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Daily Telegraph	posemo	9	.00	2.65	1.3344	.84630
	negemo	9	3.62	6.75	4.8767	1.13793
	anger	9	.90	5.25	3.0967	1.28674
The Guardian	posemo	3	.75	2.47	1.4900	.88476
	negemo	3	5.34	6.04	5.7300	.35679
	anger	3	3.95	4.87	4.3633	.46705
The Sun	posemo	26	.00	2.68	1.0012	.93345
	negemo	26	3.80	12.59	7.0792	2.22469
	anger	26	2.66	9.63	5.1915	1.86135
The Times	posemo	8	.00	2.33	1.2800	.91773
	negemo	8	4.04	11.63	6.6238	2.48871
	anger	8	1.62	9.30	4.6600	2.49391

Descriptive Statistics

Newspaper		N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Daily Express	posemo	2	.00	.67	.3350	.47376
	negemo	2	4.00	9.79	6.8950	4.09415
	anger	2	4.00	7.22	5.6100	2.27688
Daily Mail	posemo	5	.59	1.31	.9800	.29597
	negemo	5	2.58	6.77	4.4080	1.75628
	anger	5	.65	4.22	2.8160	1.67864
Daily Mirror	posemo	22	.00	2.23	1.0291	.71410
	negemo	22	2.23	9.78	5.5709	1.63836
	anger	22	1.04	7.64	3.6364	1.58053
Daily Star	posemo	4	.00	.80	.5200	.37274
	negemo	4	6.05	10.08	7.3550	1.84102
	anger	4	3.98	9.30	6.0825	2.40655

Daily Express-Daily Mail

Test Statistics^b

	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	1.000	3.000	2.000
Wilcoxon W	4.000	18.000	17.000
Z	-1.549	-.775	-1.162
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.121	.439	.245
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.190 ^a	.571 ^a	.381 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Express-Daily Mirror

Test Statistics^b

	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	8.000	20.000	10.000
Wilcoxon W	11.000	273.000	263.000
Z	-1.469	-.209	-1.253
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.142	.835	.210
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.181 ^a	.877 ^a	.261 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Express-Daily Star

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	2.500	3.000	4.000
Wilcoxon W	5.500	6.000	14.000
Z	-.705	-.463	.000
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.481	.643	1.000
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.533 ^a	.800 ^a	1.000 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Express-Daily Telegraph

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	1.500	6.000	2.000
Wilcoxon W	4.500	51.000	47.000
Z	-1.772	-.707	-1.650
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.076	.480	.099
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.073 ^a	.582 ^a	.145 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Express-The Guardian

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	.000	3.000	2.000
Wilcoxon W	3.000	9.000	8.000
Z	-1.732	.000	-.577
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.083	1.000	.564
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.200 ^a	1.000 ^a	.800 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Express-The Sun

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	15.500	26.000	22.000
Wilcoxon W	18.500	377.000	373.000
Z	-.959	.000	-.357
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.338	1.000	.721
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.381 ^a	1.000 ^a	.762 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Express-The Times

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	3.500	7.000	5.000
Wilcoxon W	6.500	10.000	41.000
Z	-1.179	-.261	-.783
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.239	.794	.433
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.267 ^a	.889 ^a	.533 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Mail-Daily Mirror

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	52.000	36.000	44.000
Wilcoxon W	67.000	51.000	59.000
Z	-.188	-1.186	-.687
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.851	.236	.492
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.880 ^a	.257 ^a	.524 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Mail-Daily Star

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	2.000	2.500	2.000
Wilcoxon W	12.000	17.500	17.000
Z	-1.960	-1.845	-1.960
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.050	.065	.050
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.063 ^a	.063 ^a	.063 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Mail-Daily Telegraph

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	17.000	19.000	22.000
Wilcoxon W	32.000	34.000	37.000
Z	-.733	-.467	-.067
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.463	.641	.947
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.518 ^a	.699 ^a	1.000 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Mail-The Guardian

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	5.000	3.000	2.000
Wilcoxon W	20.000	18.000	17.000
Z	-.745	-1.342	-1.640
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.456	.180	.101
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.571 ^a	.250 ^a	.143 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Mail-The Sun

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	62.000	20.000	25.000
Wilcoxon W	413.000	35.000	40.000
Z	-.163	-2.417	-2.149
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.870	.016	.032
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.897 ^a	.013 ^a	.031 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Mail-The Times

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	17.000	9.000	11.000
Wilcoxon W	32.000	24.000	26.000
Z	-.439	-1.610	-1.317
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.661	.107	.188
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.724 ^a	.127 ^a	.222 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Mirror-Daily Star

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	23.500	15.000	14.500
Wilcoxon W	33.500	268.000	267.500
Z	-1.462	-2.061	-2.097
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.144	.039	.036
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.150 ^a	.039 ^a	.032 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Mirror-Daily Telegraph

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	81.500	70.500	81.000
Wilcoxon W	334.500	115.500	126.000
Z	-.763	-1.240	-.783
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.445	.215	.433
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.453 ^a	.219 ^a	.453 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Mirror-The Guardian

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	24.000	28.000	19.000
Wilcoxon W	277.000	281.000	272.000
Z	-.754	-.418	-1.171
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.451	.676	.242
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.497 ^a	.723 ^a	.273 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Mirror-The Sun

Test Statistics ^a			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	274.000	169.000	147.000
Wilcoxon W	625.000	422.000	400.000
Z	-.251	-2.421	-2.876
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.802	.015	.004

a. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Mirror-The Times

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	73.000	70.000	68.000
Wilcoxon W	326.000	323.000	321.000
Z	-.705	-.844	-.938
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.481	.399	.348
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.504 ^a	.420 ^a	.368 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Star-Daily Telegraph

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	8.500	2.000	3.000
Wilcoxon W	18.500	47.000	48.000
Z	-1.468	-2.469	-2.315
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.142	.014	.021
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.148 ^a	.011 ^a	.020 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Star-The Guardian

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	2.000	.000	3.000
Wilcoxon W	12.000	6.000	9.000
Z	-1.414	-2.121	-1.061
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.157	.034	.289
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.229 ^a	.057 ^a	.400 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Star-The Sun

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	37.500	41.000	41.000
Wilcoxon W	47.500	392.000	392.000
Z	-.901	-.671	-.671
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.367	.502	.502
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.391 ^a	.536 ^a	.536 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Star-The Times

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	9.500	13.000	9.500
Wilcoxon W	19.500	49.000	45.500
Z	-1.106	-.510	-1.106
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.269	.610	.269
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.283 ^a	.683 ^a	.283 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Telegraph-The Guardian

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	12.000	7.000	5.000
Wilcoxon W	57.000	52.000	50.000
Z	-.277	-1.202	-1.572
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.782	.229	.116
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.864 ^a	.282 ^a	.145 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Telegraph-The Sun

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	90.500	47.000	43.000
Wilcoxon W	441.500	92.000	88.000
Z	-1.012	-2.642	-2.793
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.312	.008	.005
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.323 ^a	.007 ^a	.004 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Daily Telegraph-The Times

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	34.000	18.000	20.500
Wilcoxon W	70.000	63.000	65.500
Z	-.193	-1.732	-1.492
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.847	.083	.136
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.888 ^a	.093 ^a	.139 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

The Guardian-The Sun

Test Statistics ^b			
	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	26.000	25.000	30.000
Wilcoxon W	377.000	31.000	36.000
Z	-.945	-1.003	-.645
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.345	.316	.519
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.389 ^a	.350 ^a	.563 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

The Guardian-The Times

Test Statistics^b

	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	9.000	12.000	10.000
Wilcoxon W	45.000	48.000	46.000
Z	-.612	.000	-.408
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.540	1.000	.683
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.630 ^a	1.000 ^a	.776 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

The Sun-The Times

Test Statistics^b

	posemo	negemo	anger
Mann-Whitney U	84.500	83.500	84.000
Wilcoxon W	435.500	119.500	120.000
Z	-.802	-.832	-.812
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.423	.405	.417
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.436 ^a	.413 ^a	.436 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Newspaper

Comparisons of Positive/Negative Emotion Use

Paired Samples Test

Newspaper	Paired Differences						t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference						
				Lower	Upper					
Daily Express	Pair 1	posemo - negemo	-2.08898	2.78298	.36231	-2.81423	-1.36373	-5.766	58	.000
Daily Mail	Pair 1	posemo - negemo	-1.86047	2.10227	.32059	-2.50745	-1.21348	-5.803	42	.000
Daily Mirror	Pair 1	posemo - negemo	-3.88980	2.43187	.24198	-4.36988	-3.40972	-16.075	100	.000
Daily Star	Pair 1	posemo - negemo	-4.10400	3.56050	.56296	-5.24270	-2.96530	-7.290	39	.000
Daily Telegraph	Pair 1	posemo - negemo	-2.48351	2.66460	.30366	-3.08830	-1.87872	-8.179	76	.000
The Guardian	Pair 1	posemo - negemo	-2.41778	2.89455	.68225	-3.85720	-.97835	-3.544	17	.002
The Sun	Pair 1	posemo - negemo	-4.68200	2.67732	.23043	-5.13774	-4.22626	-20.319	134	.000
The Times	Pair 1	posemo - negemo	-3.27707	2.61341	.40815	-4.10197	-2.45218	-8.029	40	.000