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Abstract
Framing describes the process of how things are constructed and perceived through communication. Media framing refers to how things are presented when relaying information to others. Many framing techniques are used to frame news stories to influence readers, and this study explored the case of Christopher Jefferies, who was portrayed in the media as being guilty of murder, despite being innocent. This research aimed to detect what media framing techniques were used, what was focused on to sway opinions and explore why Christopher Jefferies was targeted. It looked at how the media were able to convince people of his guilt and examine biases, surrounding contexts, and psychological reasons that may have caused people to believe the media's frames. The data set consisted of four tabloids over three days and was analysed from an essentialist and a constructionist position. It used Giles and Shaw's (2009) five-step media framing method, using Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis method. The results showed several emergent themes and media framing techniques which were used to attack Christopher Jefferies' character and portray him as guilty of murder. The findings suggest this occurred because the media used sensationalism over fact to sell newspapers due to people's fascination with murder. The analysis placed the story in the context of social norms and prejudices, with further implications for the media's responsibilities, especially when innocent people are involved. Future research may wish to compare tabloids and broadsheets for the current story or explore how Joanna Yeates' actual murderer was portrayed.

Keywords: media framing, murder, bias, sensationalism, psychological reasoning, social norms. prejudices

Introduction

Framing describes the process of how things are constructed and perceived through communication. The way something is presented can affect people's judgments and influence them to make different choices even if the situations are logically equivalent (Majer, Trötschel, Galinsky, & Loschelder, 2019). One's understanding of an issue is created by what they think are the most relevant and notable aspects of it; this is called an "audience frame". A "media frame" refers to the words, phrases, images, and presentation styles that are used when relaying information to others (Scheufele, 1999). There are potentially infinite frames for every matter because there can be so many interpretations of the same issue (Chong, & Druckman, 2007).

Framing is used for many reasons. For example, if one wants to bring about change, they may frame their argument politically by accentuating inequalities and poor priorities rather than highlighting what is working well (Blackman, et al., 2012). Framing is commonly used in the news where the media present stories using "frames" to define situations in alternate ways and create different versions of an event (Goffman, 1974). This is called media framing. The frames used to approach, analyse, understand, and present a story influence the audience's judgements by diverting their attention from one aspect of an issue to another by emphasising some areas, leaving others aside and highlighting their chosen slant. Therefore, it can be argued that the news is not a factual representation of reality but rather a biased version where those painted favourably become more powerful, and the lesser favoured become weaker and less free to do or say what they want (Entman, 2007). The media can frame stories by using selective processes such as deciding which sources to use or exclude, and what information is included or omitted. These choices alter how information is interpreted and, depending on what information is used, can cause different readers to come to different conclusions about the same story.

The media may employ the use of templates or stock stories as points of reference. These are well-known events that elicit specific public opinions. The idea is that when stock stories are used, the emotions and opinions they evoke tell the audience that they should feel the same way about the current story (Kitzinger, 2000). Media framing uses specific tools to represent people, places or events etc, such as different types of language like repetition or evocative descriptions. They may use symbolic artifacts to bring about feelings of value that may be greater than the story's actual value. Patterns within the text can also be found, along with the use of spin (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). The media can adopt more nuanced techniques like metaphor, contrast or cue presentation. Presenting cues rather than explaining a version of events explicitly makes the audience process the content in relation to their own individual frames, questioning or complementing their own psychological biases (Kepplinger, Geiss, & Siebert, 2012).

It is suggested that individuals favour frames that are consistent with their values and ignore competing frames (Sniderman, & Theriault, 2004). Accordingly, people tend to buy the newspapers that support their political views and the way they think about events (Hilton, et al., 2017) because people prefer to have their own perceptions confirmed rather than challenged (Eveland & Shah, 2003). This could be why some stories are portrayed sensationally in tabloids but not in broadsheets, complementing

their readers' position. Therefore, news outlet choice can have profound implications on a person's worldview (Simmons, 2017).

If limited by time constraints, automatic processing systems cause readers to agree more easily with the messages presented, so media framing can be particularly influential if one is scanning the news quickly (Guo, Trueblood and Diederich, 2017) . The media use other techniques such as specific font choices to help with this intuitive decision-making. Hard-to-read fonts trigger deeper cognitive processing and thus modulate decision biases, so easy-to-read fonts (especially headlines) encourage agreement with the story's frame due to heuristics (Korn, Ries, Schalk, Oganian, & Saalbach, 2018). Framing effects also tend to endure beyond initial exposure if there are few to no competing frames. This could dictate future decisions about a story, or a character presented within it (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2016). Media framing can occur when stories need to be posed from political positions or set public agendas. This is because people assume that media coverage mirrors public values and norms, so the media's portrayals create and reinforce those opinions (Showkat, 2017). For example, when a selfie of Miss Israel and Miss Lebanon surfaced, the reports varied significantly depending on the nation the stories were written for; the US highlighted the controversy and defended Israel, whereas the UK covered the entire story and remained neutral (Bawazier & Nurhajati, 2018). This shows how media framing can be used to influence public opinion on topic-importance and try to convince them what they should think rather than what they do think. The media may also frame stories specifically to avoid conflicts of interest such as local versus national agendas (Gurun & Butler, 2012), or to coincide with societies' ideologies and cultural norms (Wiest, 2016), for example, in the West, societies place public responses to crime at the top of a highly politicised crime agenda (Peelo, 2006) and so write stories accordingly.

With regards to crime, the media is highly malleable regarding public narratives, and has a keenness towards violence. Homicides are arguably the most front-page worthy of all crimes, and the framing of these stories has considerable influence (Gunther, Christen, Liebhart, & Chia 2001). However, they are often reported using distorted frames which contribute to the social representation of murder. A homicide will get more press attention if it involves "perfect" victims, sensational elements, deviant features, or interest due to societal issues (Gekoski, Gray & Adler, 2012). Likewise, the circumstances of the killing, sexual homicides, or motiveless acts are also more likely to make it newsworthy. Because specific murder stories are chosen over others, the whole picture fails to be seen, leading people to have an inaccurate construction of homicide due to selection bias (Peelo, Francis, Soothill, Pearson & Ackerley, 2004). This causes the more commonplace murders, such as domestic abuse homicides, to be mostly absent from newspapers (Lundman, 2003). Common frames that are used for crises such as murder stories can be: attribution of responsibility, human interest, and morality (An & Gower, 2009), and if the media want readers to judge the accused as guilty they include more information about the culprit and the crime, to evoke an emotional response (Dumas, Lepastourel & Testé, 2014). If the media present a suspect as guilty, people are willing to accept them as such, because believing a perpetrator is not on the loose helps them to feel safe. This may be why people are sometimes willing to ignore facts and believe falsehoods presented by the media instead. Sometimes the media direct the public's

anger towards someone to help them feel more in control so they can experience psychological relief and allow social order to be restored (Ott & Aoki, 2002).

The media plays an important role in creating a person's sense of reality (Gergen, 1999), so the public often agrees with their frames. Sometimes, however, articles are not interpretations of reality, but instead are framed in such a way that cause facts to be swept to one side in favour of a fabricated narrative. This can persuade the public to believe a completely false version of events (Corner, 2017), and this is conceivably what happened to Christopher Jefferies in the case of Joanna Yeates' murder.

On Christmas Day 2010, Joanna Yeates' (JY) body was discovered. She had been murdered by way of strangulation. Following the discovery, there was substantial media interest, with rewards being offered for information, and pleas to further the investigation given at press conferences and on social networks. On 30th December, JY's landlord, Christopher Jefferies (CJ), was arrested on suspicion of murder, and despite his innocence, the media framed him as guilty. Many believed he was the murderer because of the coverage. Police were granted extensions to hold him in custody, increasing the media-hype, but he was released without charge. The actual murderer, Vincent Tabak, was arrested weeks later, and charged after two days.

Several reasons have been proposed to explain why this type of thing happens. Firstly, the public watches death and mystery as entertainment so newspapers may try to maximise their audience size and profit by indulging society's fascination with shocking events (Duwe, 2000). Also, the amount of exposure society has to violent crime facilitates and normalises the curiosity of the macabre (Miles, 2011). Therefore, it may be that the media use sensationalistic narratives with embellished or falsified details to popularise a story (Seda, 2006), and increase the sales of their papers. Blame is a strong aspect in crime cases because people have a tendency to accuse. If a person of interest is readily available to condemn, people will (Segura, 2014) and when a story's leading statement or headline blames an individual, people are likely to blame that person too (Thorley & Rushton-Woods, 2013). Regardless of accuracy, one's need to indict someone can cause them to hold incorrect beliefs that may damage the innocent (Stratton, 2015).

People are prone to psychological shortcuts so, along with the headline, the media can use photographs in news stories to help form people's opinions. However, this means impressions of a photographed person may be based on appearances alone (Human & Biesanz, 2011), and because individuals believe that beautiful is good and ugly is bad, when the media choose to use unflattering images of someone, implicit biases cause readers to attribute badness to them (Wen Wan, Peng Chen & Jin, 2017). Therefore, if these photographs are on the front pages of newspapers, negative impressions are made before the article is even read. It has been found that people tend to make similar judgements to each other about such photographed faces (Mattarozzi, Todorov, Marzocchi, Vicari & Russo, 2015), with elements such as expression and photograph viewpoint affecting them the most (Sutherlan, Young & Rhodes, 2017) so these impressions could be blanketed across a nation. People also often judge suspects more harshly if they are male and the victim is female (Rya, Greatrix & Enright, 2006), and find it difficult to change their minds after a first opinion of someone is formed. Although opinions can be updated with new

information (Brambilla, Carraro, Castelli, Sacchi, 2019), negative first impressions are much harder to alter than positive ones (Muthukrishnan & Chattopadhyay, 2007).

Previous research has looked at how different murders are portrayed in the media. Some studies explored the role of attractiveness relating to crime and the criminal justice system as well as in other domains of life (Beaver, Boccio, Smith & Ferguson, 2019). Other research has compared how the media can frame two similar-condition murders completely differently based on gender (Sternadori, 2014). There have also been studies that looked at how "being different" causes one to be persecuted because they lack the societal protection (Ralph, Capewell & Bonnett, 2016). The problem with these studies is that they were conducted inductively because the authors searched for specific differences or were testing hypotheses. The current study will come from a deductive position and rather than searching for specific elements, it will look at the articles without preconceptions. It will analyse the data to create some theories about why CJ was accused and how the media did this.

The problem with previous qualitative research is that it does not have a single approach (it can be based on grounded theory, phenomenology, ethnography, action research, narrative analysis or discourse analysis). This is problematic because flexibility can lead to inconsistency and lack of coherence (Holloway & Todres, 2003). Therefore, this study will use a tested qualitative method to investigate how the media frames this story and find what techniques are used to persuade people to believe untruths.

There are clearly many techniques the media employs to influence readers, and this report aims to explore which ones surround the case of JY's murder. It intends to detect what media framing techniques were used and what elements were focused on that may be linked to biases to sway public opinion. It will also explore why CJ was targeted, and how the media were able to convince people of his guilt. Finally, it will look at the surrounding context and psychological reasons that may cause people to believe untruths. The topic of CJ fits the study of media framing because the framing caused the facts to be so skewed that an innocent man was portrayed as guilty. The methodology fits the topic because it focuses on framing techniques and allows the exploration of the psychological features buried within the data items.

Methodology
Bias
In order to be open and transparent it should be known that the data set may be interpreted with some unknown personal bias. This can be considered if this study is ever replicated, and addresses the fact that the data set could be perceived differently by someone else. Christopher Jefferies was chosen over other characters because he took the newspapers to court to sue for libel damages. Therefore, there will be little to no analysis on how other suspects were portrayed by the media. When coding for the analysis, the importance of an idea will be determined by how prevalent it is and how often it is repeated within the data set. It should therefore be noted that a different method may then achieve slightly differing results.

Participants and Criteria for Selecting Articles
No participants were used for this report as the data was collected from public records. Data items were obtained from online newspaper archives, Nexis database, Lexis database and Google. There were several search terms (e.g.: Joanna Yeates, Christopher Jefferies, Bristol, Murder, etc), and the articles were limited by specifically chosen dates (30th December 2010 - 1st January 2011). The newspapers were chosen because they were among the tabloids Christopher Jefferies won substantial libel damages from after taking them to court over their coverage of him during the case.

Materials
There were five different newspapers the data set were acquired (The Daily Mail 2010, 2011; The Daily Mirror, 2010, 2011; The Daily Star, 2010, 2011; The Daily Express, 2010, 2011 and The Sun, 2010, 2011). These data items were taken from 30th December 2010 to 1st January 2011, and thirty-six relevant articles were identified. There were only three stories available from The Sun because many articles had been removed from media records by the courts due to the slanderous content against Christopher Jefferies. These were therefore discarded from the data set because they did not represent a complete sample from that newspaper. It was believed that if the three available articles were included, the data from them would dilute the results, giving an incomplete account of the framing.

The number of data items were narrowed down further by filtering out stories that were less so about the investigation and more so about other aspects such as Joanna's family, for example. This took the amount to twenty-one. This number was focused further by removing data items that were especially short (fewer than a couple hundred words) or were just highlights from full articles that were used in the data set. Of the remaining articles, an article from each of the chosen dates from each paper was chosen at random to have a complete overview of the story over the three days of the data set. If any dates had headlines that overtly focused on Christopher Jefferies, an extra data item was added to the data set for that day. This finalised the data set as a collection of sixteen data items. The full data set can be summarised thematically across the three days as follows:

30th December:
Five data items, two from The Daily Mirror, one from each of the other four newspapers (The Daily Mail, The Daily Star and The Daily Express), were all classed as "news" rather than opinion or commentary, for example. The data items report how Christopher Jefferies was arrested and questioned after giving conflicting information to the police about the night Joanna Yeates disappeared. The data items question Christopher Jefferies' honesty and start to investigate his character by interviewing his neighbours.

31st December:
Five data items, two from The Daily Mail, one from each of the other three newspapers compiled the data set for this date. Data items were all classed as "news", and some of which were front page stories. The reports focus on damaging Christopher Jefferies' character by using his ex-pupils' and ex-tenants' accounts (and opinions) as "evidence" to present him as having the potential to commit murder.

1st January 2011:
Four data items, one from each of the newspapers used in the data set, were all classed as "news". The data items report how Christopher Jefferies was released from police custody after having two extensions for the police to hold him longer for questioning. A second man is brought into the frame (Peter Stanley) but his presence acts to corroborate the frame that Christopher Jefferies was still guilty of murder.

Design and Analytical procedure
The Position
The media is highly influential in shaping public opinion and this research is subjective, so an essentialist position will be taken initially to explore the articles at face-value. This is so the data set can be analysed to see what has literally been written to find if there are any blatant truths to discover. However, even supposedly "neutral" informational text can have hidden biased content (Culley, Ogley-Oliver, Carton & Street, 2010). Therefore, this study will further analyse the articles from a constructionist point of view to detect whether latent beliefs, underlying themes, or opinions can be found. This will then be interpreted to find what is being said between-the-lines, and why it is relevant within a greater context. It will be kept in mind that reality is based on constructs and what one says can have several interpretations and many conclusions depending on context.

Discussion
To ensure the method had credibility and trustworthiness, it must be detailed (Nowell, Norris, White, & Moules, 2017). Therefore, it was decided that the media framing analysis would be taken from "The Psychology of News Influence and Development of Media Framing Analysis" (Giles & Shaw, 2009), which was applied by methodically working through the following five stages:

Identifying the story
The story is to be identified by pinpointing the event or "news peg". The current research's news peg was Joanna Yeates' disappearance and subsequently the discovery of her body on Christmas Day, 2010. The secondary news pegs were when Christopher Jefferies was arrested on suspicion of murder and then released. These news pegs allow the identification of articles by searching for Christopher Jefferies, Joanna Yeates, the location of the discovery of Yeates' body, and the dates.

Identifying character and agency
Identifying characters and agency is where one looks at the key people in the story. Initially one looks at the agency of the characters and observes who has done what to whom. It also notes the people who are involved, the people surrounding the story, and the people who give opinions and information about the case or the key people involved within it. In the current research the characters are often used to either move the narrative on or present a specific image of Christopher Jefferies. For example, Christopher Jefferies' neighbours tell the readers what he had apparently told the police and are used as witnesses to gain a better sense of who he is.

Narrative form and reader identification
This stage involved analysis of the narrative forms by deciding what characters the readers are asked to identify with. This is done by examining extra framing devices such as photographs, captions and headlines. The extra materials used within the articles can also be used, such as who the author uses as character witnesses and what side they are likely to be taking. For example, in the current research, the narrative form asks readers to identify with almost anyone except CJ by thoroughly besmirching his character.

Analysis of language categories
In this stage, the language is examined. This step lends itself to different techniques such as discourse analysis, content analysis, and membership categorisation (broadly, thematic analysis). The Giles and Shaw (2009) paper suggests one should draw on content analysis by counting instances of specific terms and identifying "central categories" that define the article's structure. However, this study used a thematic analysis taken from a paper by Braun and Clarke (2006) in order to conduct a more thorough examination of the text which consists of six sub-steps. The first is to familiarise oneself with the data and write down initial thoughts. The second step is to generate codes based on these thoughts, systematically coding features of the text across the entire data set and grouping them together. These judgements were based on the amount of times something appears within the text and how much a data item focused on it. The third step is to search for themes by grouping the codes into categories. The fourth step is to review these themes, check that they pair well in relation to the extracts that have been coded for and also the data set as a whole. The fifth step is to give the themes names, create specific definitions of the themes, and refine the details of them, and the final step is to finalise the investigation by selecting extracts that evidence the analysis.

In summary, this part of the analysis generates initial ideas from the structure and language in the data set, which are then coded. The codes are then interpreted by grouping them into themes. The themes will be both manifest (the literal identifications of what is said) and latent (the underlying gists). They should illustrate the overall meaning of the data.

Generalisation
Finally, the analysis will try to position the story in a broader context by studying previous media coverage, on-going debates and persistent trends surrounding the topic and the future of it.

Discussion
On 30th December 2010, Christopher Jefferies (CJ) was arrested on suspicion of murder. Despite his innocence, media framing presented him as guilty.
This research used data items from 30th December 2010 to 1st January 2011 and explored the framing techniques used, looking at why the media took such an interest in CJ, and what it was about him that caused him to be accused of murder. It also examined what the media did to portray him so badly and tried to detect any societal biases that may have helped persuade people. Further, it explored the phraseology, the surrounding context and psychological reasons that caused people to believe these falsehoods.

The news peg was CJ's arrest and the data set relied on several key characters aside from CJ and JY. It used the police to present evidence to suggest CJ's guilt, his neighbours, ex-pupils and ex-tenants promoted his guilt by spotlighting his negative traits. JY's boyfriend, Greg Reardon (GR) and her parents increased the need for justice, and Peter Stanley (PS) enhanced CJ's apparent guilt due to contrasts in their involvement. Also, a murder victim from 1974 was noted, hinting that CJ may have been involved, increasing the legitimacy to accuse him.

Rather than a narrative form, the data set followed a narrative of character assassination of CJ. Initially the media attended to his arrest but claimed he was uncooperative, and his information was dubious. Readers identified with key characters who sullied his name due to their frequent presence. After CJ's release, attention moved to PS, but the media made sure CJ was still seen as guilty. To analyse the language categories, initial thoughts from the data were grouped by features, and codes were created from their commonalities from an essentialist point of view. They were grouped into categories, allowing latent themes to emerge from a constructionist perspective. The themes were defined as: Appearance, Inappropriate Behaviours, Location, Honesty and Guilt, Class, Loner, Death, and Fall from Favour.

Theme one – Appearance
The first, and one of the most prevalent motifs in the data set, was CJ's unusual appearance. It is proposed that his appearance is what caused the media to take an interest in him, and why they were able to persuade the public of his guilt. People are prone to believe they know something about a person by simply looking at them (Shevlin, Walker, Davies, Banyard & Lewis, 2003), and the media facilitated this prejudice by focusing on CJ's unconventional image. They used unflattering photographs of him with disdainful expressions and described him as odd-looking. Captions such as "sweaty" (The Daily Mail, 31st), made readers metaphorically recoil at the thought of CJ near them. That, with the persistent comments about his age (65) caused the schema of CJ as a dirty old man to evolve (Saporta, 1991). An ex-tenant used CJ's appearance as evidence to confirm that appearance and demeanour are united by saying:

"He looks very strange as well, so it did make my wife feel uncomfortable" (The Daily Mail, 31st).

CJ's hair was a significant element of his appearance. It was said to be a "distinctive, straggly mane", evoking images of eccentricity and disarray which people judge unfavourably (Dos Santos Paim & Pereria, 2018). His hair was described in many ways throughout the data set, and it is inferred that because people believe one's appearance mirrors their character (Little, Jones, Debruine & Dunbar, 2013), the media indirectly describe CJ through its characteristics. For example, his hair was construed as "out of control" and "ungovernable", allowing the reader to associate these descriptions with his character and judge the book by its cover. Further, his hairstyling is also mentioned:

"His long grey hair, complete with a blue tint, was often combed over his head in an attempt to disguise his baldness" (The Daily Mail, 31st).

It is common knowledge what a comb-over aims to do, so this needless explanation may be to highlight that CJ is no stranger to deception and is therefore untrustworthy. Linking his image to guilt is solidified by an ex-pupil who said, "it's all

in his eyes and hair" (The Daily Star, 31st). People welcome the notion that one with a peculiar appearance is one to be wary of because judgments are prompted by superficial cues (Olivola, Funk, & Todorov, 2014), due to cognitive shortcuts. These could stem from stereotypes that are cultivated from childhood fairy tales where the wicked characters have undesirable appearances and the good ones are pleasant looking. This is echoed by a neighbour of CJ's who says:

"It's one of the problems. His appearance is unusual." (The Daily Mirror, 30th).

This reiterates that it is a bad sign if one looks odd, but also saying CJ's appearance is "one of the problems" he insinuates that CJ's problems do not stop with his image.

Theme Two - Inappropriate Behaviour
Not only does CJ look strange but he is also described as being strange, feeding beliefs that weird people "seem the type" to commit objectionable acts (Crandall, Eshleman & O'Brien, 2002). This is affirmed by a former pupil who comments on JY's murder:

"When I saw that the girl had lived in the same house as The Strange Mr Jefferies, I thought it was typical." (The Daily Mail, 31st).

There were many descriptors of CJ, with headlines actively calling him "strange" and "creepy", conjuring up images of a man akin to a pantomime villain. His behaviour, often defined as inappropriate, took up large portions of the data set. One type of CJ's behaviour was described as perverse, and his ex-students informed the readers of his past lewd conduct towards pupils. There were unignorable captions that read:

"Angry 'weirdo' had foul temper and made lewd remarks" (The Daily Star, 31st).

Sub headlines presented CJ terribly, claiming that he was "branded a sex creep" by his former pupils (The Daily Mail, 31st). With this theme, readers identify with the ex-pupils because their accounts were voluminous in the data items. Several individuals label him as "weird" and "perverse", which, due to majority influence, could incline readers to believe this (Maccoun, 2012). The data set repeatedly quotes an ex-pupil:

"He used to touch people's hands and he'd say 'oh you're very sweaty. That means you're sexually active. You've been sexually active recently'." (The Daily Mail, 31st).

CJ's perverse behaviour is also further affirmed by ex-pupils' continual reports that he "constantly" made lewd remarks. When describing how CJ taught poetry, which should be an inconsequential statement, the reports note that it was "romantic poetry" and specify that it was to "14-16-year olds". Although not overtly writing anything adverse, the decision to specify the type of poetry and ages group seems to hint that CJ had inappropriate intentions towards underaged children. These behaviours are culturally immoral, and because morality is a strong predictor of crime, readers find it easy to judge CJ as guilty (Antonaccio & Tittle, 2008). The readers are led further down this path by The Daily Star (31st December 2010):

"Christopher Jefferies, 65, loved to make lewd sexual remarks to children." (The Daily Star,31st).

The data set also used CJ's ex-pupils to paint him as someone with anger issues and violent tendencies by explaining how he had a "foul temper" and was a "stickler for discipline", suggesting that he was easily incensed:

"He used to get very angry and shout and throw books and pens across the room" (The Daily Mail, 31st).

These traits may have been leant on in hopes that they could ignite the readers' imagination about how CJ could have created acrimonious interactions with JY.

Another inappropriate behaviour that shone through was told by CJ's ex-tenants, who described his behaviour as "disturbing" and "intrusive". It is easy for readers to identify with the tenants because in 2010 many people were, or had been, under the authority of a landlord (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012).

A caption labelled "spying" could easily lead readers to believe that CJ was untrustworthy. This description also elicits the idea that he was an adverse figure who would creep around and hide in the shadows. The media used ex-tenants to increase perceptions that CJ was unsavoury by saying he was a "Peeping Tom", among other allegations and made them "feel uncomfortable" because he "always seemed to be hanging about"(The Daily Mail, 31st). It is noted that CJ would not allow his tenants to have nets up in their windows either, giving the readers cause for concern about him being a shifty character. Two former tenants even said:

"They spotted the former teacher peering into their lounge and bedroom window on several occasions." (The Daily Mail, 31st).

The audience is able to empathise with the ex-tenants' positions and it is not a stretch for the readers to believe JY (CJ's tenant) would have felt the same dislike and uncomfortableness around CJ as them. Additionally, there are several declarations that CJ would often let himself into his tenants' flats. Not only is this unacceptable, but it also allows the readers to fill in the gaps in the murder case and assume that if he would have done the same to JY. This alone adds a lot of suspicion about his actions and lays a good amount of accusatory thoughts against him.

Theme Three – Location
CJ's residential location was also a theme that was drawn from the data set. The media often informed the readers that CJ lived in the same property as JY, choosing to say CJ lived "directly above" JY (The Daily Star, 30th), rather than say they were just neighbours. It could, therefore, be interpreted that the media were insinuating that CJ had ample opportunity to commit murder if he wanted. Furthermore, the media repeated how CJ was her landlord, reminding the readers that he had keys to her flat, and after the ex-tenants' statements, the assumption was made that he would let himself into JY's flat too.

Using CJ's and JY's proximity was further used to frame CJ as guilty with the media's photograph choices. There were photographs of forensics removing evidence from the property, which could have been from any of the flats, but the media imply it was from CJ's by saying it was being removed from his residence. The photographs are further used when an image of CJ's and JY's building had a

circle specifically over CJ's flat. This image made it clear how close CJ and JY lived to each other and suggested that that was where the murder may have occurred.

Theme 4 - Honesty and Guilt
One of the largest themes that arose was that of honesty and guilt. The media used images of CJ that showed him with haughty expressions and looking away from the camera to encourage the audience to view him as untrustworthy (Sutherlan, Young & Rhodes, 2017). CJ also refused to speak to the press, so he was labelled as guilty because evasiveness indicates dishonesty (Burmeister, Fasbender & Gerpott, 2019). CJ's neighbours were used to provide them with the information CJ withheld, and invite the readers to identify with them because they were helpful. The data items also hint at CJ's guilt by asserting his comments were contradictory, claiming he "originally" or "initially" said something but then seemed unsure:

"But within hours of his version of events being made public, he appeared less certain about what had happened that night." (The Daily Mail, 30th).

By labelling his information as "his version of events" rather than "his statement", the media make CJ's account sound dubious. Furthermore, captions surrounding this specify that his comments were "dramatic claims", adding to the idea that his report was fabricated, and he was dishonest.

Many data items stressed that he was arrested just 24 hours after he made his claims (The Daily Express, 31st), placing doubt in the minds of the readers and suggesting that something in his account did not add up. Additionally, many headlines specify that he was arrested on suspicion of murder rather than just saying he was taken into custody. This, along with him being constantly referred to as a "murder suspect", emphasised the assumption of guilt. Being arrested would always hint at guilt, but the media sensationalised CJ's arrest by specifying that it was a "dramatic swoop", implying that the arrest was fast, necessary and thrilling. The audience was asked to identify with the police because they symbolised the pursuit of justice for JY. Their involvement was used to great extents to portray CJ as guilty, especially when they were granted extensions to hold him longer. The media used this to inform readers that the police got the extensions because they believe CJ to be guilty and wanted to keep him off the streets. The assumption is that an innocent person would not need extra questioning because their statement would have been enough (Skinns, Rice, Sprawson & Wooff, 2017).

The police are further used to imply CJ's guilt by updating the readers on the amount of evidence they took from CJ, making it clear that there were large quantities being removed by explicitly saying the police exited his flat with "large brown evidence bags". There were multiple photos in the data set of different forensic experts doing this, highlighting CJ's apparent guilt. The media used phrases such as "painstaking search" to describe how the forensics were conducting their business and told the readers that the police were "pulling up floorboards" (The Daily Star, 31st), making the search sound extreme. This may have guided readers to believe CJ's guilt because it was believed to be odd for the police to be so destructive to an innocent person's flat. Words such as "seize" were used, making the search sound urgent, and noted that the police took a rug which may lead readers to bring to mind classic gangster stories where dead bodies get rolled up in rugs to be disposed of. There

may also be an assumption that the media only include relevant information so CJ must have had many items of significance needing to be tested:

"Forensic teams were expected back at his own flat today after removing dozens of brown paper bags of evidence yesterday." (The Daily Mirror, 1st).

When CJ was released from police custody, the media made certain that the readers knew CJ was not being treated as a witness and continued to point the finger at him by repeatedly calling him a "suspect". They used the police's statement to reinforce how CJ had not been cleared of suspicion despite his release:

"The suspect in the murder [...] .police were quick to stress he is still a suspect [...] He has been arrested and bailed and is a suspect [...] this investigation is very much ongoing." (The Daily Mirror, 1st).

This shows that the media were specifically making sure the audience was aware that the police were still eyeing him as culpable. There were phrases surrounding CJ's release such as "dramatically freed", emphasising that readers should feel shocked at this turn of events because a guilty person should have been charged. The reports also inform the readers that there was a guard at CJ's residence after his release, omitting that the police were probably guarding JY's flat rather than CJ's to keep the crime scene untouched. However, the newspapers say they were outside CJ's flat, so the readers could assume that he was being watched because he was guilty.

"There was no sign of loner Jefferies at his property last night as a solitary police officer stood guard." (The Daily Mirror, 1st).

After CJ's arrest, the media chose to quote a resident who said:

"The community had been worried about a killer on the loose." (The Daily Mirror, 30th).

This is poignant because of the word "had". It implies that the community had been concerned, but after CJ's arrest they were no longer fearful, suggesting that they believed the police had the murderer. Additionally, weaved into the details of CJ's arrest, the mention of an unsolved murder from 1974 was centred upon, with captions hinting that these two events were related (The Daily Mail, 31st). It was made clear that the 1974 murder occurred near to the school that CJ taught in at the time, and that both she and JY were strangled. The attention to the similarities and links to CJ all directly tried to point the finger at CJ as guilty in both murders.

Moreover, the forensic team took two vehicles from outside of CJ's property, specifying that one was CJ's but did not search for the owner of the second car. This allowed readers to infer that either both cars belonged to CJ or one was of no importance, placing increased guilt upon him. Additionally, the media reported that there were maps on the back seat of CJ's car, which is a normal enough thing to find in a car, but the papers' explicit mention of their presence made their existence seem important. This could cause readers to rhetorically ask why he would need to have maps to hand, authorising one to infer that he may have used them to find a place to dispose of JY's body. Cars are also used to frame CJ as guilty when the media describe how CJ helped GR jump start his car so he could leave for the weekend.

Peter Stanley (PS), who assisted in this event was quoted several times regarding the incident:

"It was a non-event at the time, but absolutely poignant now" (The Daily Star, 1st).

PS may have been speculating that JY may still be alive if GR had not left, but the media present the episode suspiciously. Headlines focus on how JY vanished soon after GR left, sinisterly hinting that CJ wanted GR gone so JY was alone.

The inclusion of PS in the articles was highly significant to emphasise the frame of CJ's guilt. Due to the vast and various similarities between their involvement, PS should have been framed in the same way as CJ, but he was not. Both were JY's neighbours, both helped fix GR's car, both spoke with the police, and forensics took evidence from both of them, including their cars. However, the reports portray him as the antithesis of CJ. The photos of PS show him looking at the camera, apparently with nothing to hide, and being compliant with the police, whereas the photos of CJ show him with contemptuous expressions. CJ was "quizzed" by police, evoking ideas that the police were trying to catch him out, PS however "talked to detectives" and was "helping detectives", presenting him as supportive. CJ had "evidence seized", but PS had "possessions removed" suggesting that, unlike with CJ, there was no urgency and this procedure was routine rather than guilt fuelled. The police "took" PS's car whereas they "seized" CJ's, and it was noted that PS drove his car to the station, whereas CJ's was towed. "Scientists" took "items" from PS, whereas "forensics" took "evidence" from CJ, arousing the sense of criminality for CJ that was absent for PS. When PS refused to speak to the press, the media accepted it and did not ask neighbours to clarify anything, whereas when CJ refused to talk to the press, the media framed it as the actions of a guilty person. The papers refer to PS as "Mr Stanley", making him sound respectable, whereas they use CJ's full name or refer to him as "the landlord" or most commonly "suspect". Further, the media stress that PS was being treated as a witness and had not been arrested. Additionally, PS was quoted saying that CJ knew nothing about GR's trip in early items, but later reported quotes of him saying that "CJ knew GR was travelling", showing clear framing by way of lying.

Theme Five – Class
A recurrent thematic pattern of "class" was identified from the data set. The media made the readers aware that CJ was a teacher in a private school rather than state school, enhancing his prestige. They referred to him at times as a "school master" rather than a "teacher" (The Daily Express, 1st), and note that he had held leadership positions in campaigns, raising his stature. He was constantly referred to as a "landlord" highlighting his higher-class position as well as it being relevant to the case. All of these standings set him apart from the everyday person making him less relatable. The theme of class also emerged from frequent comments about CJ's affluence. The readers were informed that he owned multiple properties, one of which was in France. His car was often specifically named (a Chrysler), reminding the readers of his wealth. This was especially notable in comparison to the mention of the Volvo that was removed at the same time. His wealth threw him into the outgroup for the majority of people (Lei & Vesely, 2010) so the media may have been tapping into this to boost the disliking of him. The willingness to dislike CJ based on class allowed readers to happily accept him as guilty. In support of this

claim, the data set was from tabloids that tend to be read by those in the middle to lower classes. Therefore, the media may have exploited this theme because they knew their readers would thrive on the downfall of one from the upper class. Further, when CJ helped GR jump start his car, the media specifically stated that GR's car was placed in the gutter, but CJ's was not, using imagery to imply that CJ felt he was above and better than GR.

Theme Six – Loner
Another theme that was detected was named "loner". The media focused on how CJ was retired, an only child with no surviving relatives, and living alone. The media quote people saying CJ "is a very private person" (The Daily Star, 31st), which may seem of little importance, but they jump on this seemingly neutral information as well as many more to frame CJ as a loner.

Because of this, a sinister air of unfamiliarity surrounds his character, causing people to distrust him more (Follmer, Talbot, Kristof-Brown, Astrove & Billsberry, 2018). The title of "Loner" also taps into the fear of the unknown, evoking notions of malevolent loners from horror stories. Additionally, the media constantly informed the readers that CJ was a lone child, had no companion still, and was never married.

"Bachelor, Chris Jefferies, 65, [...] an only child who never married" (The Daily Star, 30th).

In our society, marriage seems to be something that we are expected to aspire to and if someone has never done so in 65 years then society places the assumption upon them that there must be something wrong with them (DePaulo & Morris, 2011). He was constantly called "the bachelor" with reference to his age and living alone, which, when intertwined with the ex-tenants' claims that he was a "peeping tom" and "always hanging about", caused him to be portrayed as the stereotypical "dirty old man", bringing about fear and antipathy of him (Walz, 2002).

Theme Seven – Death
The theme of "death" arises, mostly because the case was about a murder but also because it surrounded CJ. The papers said he had no surviving relatives rather than no close family, generally hinting at death because the word "survive" invited readers to assemble a twisted sense that people around him were prone to die.

The media also focused on CJ's passion for the poet Christina Rosetti but insinuated that his love for her is less than innocent.

"He idolised a poet obsessed with death" (The Daily Mail, 31st).

This sub-headline alludes to the idea that CJ was a fan of hers because he, too, was infatuated with death, and it is also specified that CJ was an expert on the macabre.

"The retired English teacher, known to pupils as The Strange Mr Jefferies and Wizard, was an expert on morbid 19th Century British poet, Christina Rossetti." (The Daily Star, 1st).

One paper even went as far as to quote some of her darker works in hopes that it would sway the readers to see links between the chosen lines and the murder of JY, and perhaps also CJ's relationship to JY.

"One of her poems, entitled "After Death", includes the line: "He did not love me living; but once dead he pitied me." [...] another poem, 'Remember', reads "Remember me when I am gone away, Gone far away into the silent land." (The Daily Star, 1st).

Without any previous knowledge of the poet, and having a willingness to believe CJ to be guilty, one may take CJ's "obsession with death" as fact and accept the implications made. However, the media were extremely specific with this frame because much of Christina Rossetti's works were not about death at all. She wrote Biblical narratives, Christmas carols, and nursery rhymes, to name but a few. However, the media narrowed her list of publications to her darker works to suit their objective and hint at CJ's dark side, framing him as the most obvious suspect.

Theme Eight - Fall from Favour
The final theme that was found was named "fall from favour". The media did not completely demonise CJ; they mention that he had been involved in good causes such as campaigning for his community. However, his good deeds were mentioned so briefly that they got washed away with the tide of slander. The media may have used CJ's prosocial behaviours to suggest that his participation were attempts to balance out his amoral behaviour and alleviate his feelings of guilt - a common behaviour in guilty persons (Donohue & Tully, 2019). However, it seems more likely that the media focused on his positive aspects with the intent to dramatically knock him down with a strong "however….", following the fall from grace narrative template.

"He even helped organise an annual charity event which senior police officers, local dignitaries and the mayor were happy to attend and endorse. [...] As one neighbour put it yesterday, the 65-year-old was a pillar of society. However, not everyone remembers him with such fondness, the man seen by some as a 'nutty professor'" (The Daily Mail, 31st).

These paragraphs were often followed by multiple paragraphs that focused purely on his bad characteristics, such as when the media noted that CJ had an unblemished record, then subtly undercut this with a neighbour's quote on CJ's intellect to imply his lack of disciplinaries were because he was smart enough to avoid detection:

"A very intelligent man, very sharp." (The Daily Mirror, 30th).

At one point, it was briefly touched upon how some ex-pupils saw CJ positively:

"...described their eccentric teacher as one of the 'luminaries' of the public school's English department who enriched their school years." (The Daily Mail, 31st).

However, the news reports hastily brushed past these pupils in favour of interviewing ex-pupils who were willing to damage CJ's reputation, describe his behaviour as despicable, and present him as a man who could be guilty of murder.

The media noted that CJ had been described as a "pillar of society" but this positive aspect was actually only used to explain why his neighbours' were shocked at his arrest. Furthermore, his neighbours' surprise was notable because the media show that, although shocked, none of them defended him or told the media that his arrest must be a mistake, and they did not question his guilt once he had been arrested:

"I'm amazed by it really but also find it quite disconcerting. He is basically a pillar of society. One of the well-known familiar locals." (The Daily Mirror, 31st).

The only time the media use a quote where someone sticks up for CJ is from PS. However, this support is undermined by the media calling PS "CJ's pal" making readers believe PS is biased, and unfortunately for CJ, PS's statement is also only a single sentence in a data set full of character assassination.

Conclusions

In conclusion, this research aimed to examine why the media took such an interest in CJ, look at what they exploited to frame him as guilty, and discover whether there are reasons why the readers accepted the media's portrayal of CJ as truth.

The research had a somewhat loaded direction because the newspapers chosen were specifically ones that CJ won libel damages from, creating a certainty of high amounts of framing. Items from The Sun (2010, 2011) were removed because many articles had been redacted due to slander, and their inclusion may have caused an incomplete analysis. Despite this, the structured method created a credible, disciplined analysis, that is transferable to other data sets. Also, as with any qualitative research, personal biases may have affected the interpretations, but the conclusions are supported with evidence to confirm and uphold the findings.

The research found that the media's frame was to label CJ as guilty, using several framing techniques, and a variety of themes were identified. The first framing technique was the use of headlines which presented a murder mystery and an unpleasant character to condemn. Captions encouraged hostile opinions to develop by describing CJ unfavourably, and photographs depicted CJ as contemptuous, forcing the belief that he was guilty and uncaring. People judge others more harshly than themselves (Polman & Ruttan, 2012), so CJ's character assassination was easily accepted. The data set favoured witnesses who detailed CJ's aversive behaviours, suggesting his capability of untoward acts now, making him unrelatable, dislikeable, and seem guilty.

The data set focused on how CJ was "weird", reiterating prejudices that if one is different, they should be treated with suspicion (Hughes, Campbell, Lolliot, Hewstone & Gallagher, 2013). CJ's positive aspects were briefly mentioned, presenting the well-known "fall from grace" story, helping readers to condemn him.

The media employed particular language, themes and phraseology to pose the story from their chosen lens. The themes unlocked the media framing devices that presented CJ as guilty. Some of the themes (CJ's appearance, behaviour, dishonesty and loner lifestyle) are found in criminal stereotypes from popular culture and crime stories, psychological-shortcuts can then to use these as reference points to label CJ as guilty (Smalarz, Madon, Yang, Guyll & Buck, 2016).

This research set out to detect any societal biases that were used to sway opinions, and puts forth the idea that people need someone to blame (Dovidio, Glick & Rudman, 2005), to feel safe (Stafford, Chandola & Marmot, 2007). Hence, people welcome accounts that convince them the culprit has been caught, regardless of truth. These scapegoats are often chosen through stereotyping (Hersh, 2013), and it is believed that the media relied on the audience's stereotyping of CJ for this. One's

features predict social outcomes (Todorov, Olivola, Dotsch & Mende-Siedlecki, 2015), so CJ's unusual countenance caused people to judge him unfavourably. Further, people believe that guilty persons are unattractive making it easy to assign guilt to the odd-looking CJ (Elliott, 2011). This may be why the media initially focused on his image. It is suggested that first impressions occur from cultural learning (Over & Cook, 2018), so this stereotype may be from fairy tales and movie references where bad characters often have strange appearances and creepy mannerisms.

Britain is highly conscious of social standing, so the media used prejudices of CJ's class to make readers - who, due to the tabloid choice, are lower class - (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007) resent him and throw him into the outgroup (Aquino, et al., 2015). Trust was thematically present because CJ's changed his story and refused to cooperate with the press, which showed him as untrustworthy, making readers question his actions. This dishonourable persona was furthered as he was portrayed as a strange loner who let himself into his tenant's flats unannounced.

The media also leant on prejudices about people who are different. Society shuns these people, and because CJ's behaviours were unconventional, he was rejected. His status as a loner and a well-known unknown is socially abnormal, so the readers were asked to query his intentions due to the fear of the unknown (Carleton, 2016). The media frequently described CJ as lewd, dirty and creepy, which opposed society's morals, making CJ an easy target to blame. The addition of CJ's apparent death-obsession increased these uneasy feelings. Additionally, it is believed that people cannot change (Maruna & King, 2009), so because CJ's past behaviours presented him as being of poor character, it was easy to accept that he surely is now too. Moreover, this belief continued after he was cleared, affecting his future life.

The analysis of the data set found several trends that can be placed in broader contexts. The broadest is that the data set is about murder which always fascinates people. Whether it is fictional Agatha Christie mysteries or non-fiction murders, people are always intrigued by morbidity. Therefore, murder stories attract people, and the more sensational the article, the more people will buy the newspapers (Grabe, Zhou, Lang & Bolls, 2000), explaining the media framing of CJ. Media framing is therefore placed in a broader debate about journalism. Many stories are available, so journalists need to write sensationally to stand out. Additionally, people tend to spend more time looking at unpleasant faces so CJ's nasty aspects may have been focused on more to boost reader ratings (Carter, Williams, Mahler & Hodgins, 2012). However, the attack journalism went too far by accusing an innocent man as guilty to the whole nation. It could be questioned as to who is liable for such an occurrence - are the media to blame because they write untruths to gain readers, or are readers to blame because they choose the more sensational stories, which informs the media of what they want. It is most likely both (Deacon, 2004), but the wider picture should look at when journalists should be accountable for their actions. The UK in particular is especially prone to favouring sensationalism over fact (Galpin & Trenz, 2018), and this is highly notable in the case of JY, which saw CJ take several tabloids to court after the conclusion of the case. It is suggested to that end, that there should lines that journalists are not allowed to cross. However, that could lead to censorship of other news, inhibiting freedom of speech (Katsirea, 2018).

Future work

Future research may wish to explore whether people who read specific tabloids are aware that the stories may be less-than-true. Further, if CJ had been charged, the Trial by Media could have impacted his defence, potentially getting him wrongfully convicted (Middleweek, 2017) so this could be a route for future studies to take. It is suggested that the media should not be permitted to name suspects until they have been convicted to avoid this. Future research could also look at whether the media has changed much in how they approach suspects since this case. It could be interesting to follow the newspapers used in the current research to see how the media treated Vincent Tabak (JY's actual murderer) when he was arrested, and also whether the media changed their journalism at all after CJ won libel damages from them. Finally, to follow the current research, one could compare this data set with a data set of the same story from broadsheets to see if there are any differences in the journalism, or whether the media as a whole presented CJ in the same way.

Acknowledgements

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