



RECURRENT FRAMES IN TRUE CRIME: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE WANNINKHOF CASE Narrative Patterns in the Newspaper Story and the HBO Documentary 'Dolores'

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ABSTRACT

The true crime genre is becoming increasingly popular with different audiences, especially on-demand platforms. This popularity coincides with the revisiting of stories previously covered by the press but approached differently in true crime narratives. This study aims to identify recurrent frames in media crime narratives by comparing news reports with audiovisual true crime. First, the theoretical framework of framing applied to crime journalism narratives is reviewed. Then, using an inductive method, we observe cases and document available sources to compile reliable frames. Finally, we apply this framework to a relevant media event: the disappearance and murder of Rocío Wanninkhof. Contrasting journalistic accounts with HBO's 'Dolores. The Truth About the Wanninkhof Case' reveals overlapping approaches that are intensified in audiovisual narratives. True crime allows for the redemption of villains, reshaping initial journalistic narratives for better understanding through elaborate context and narrator changes that influence the entire narrative construction.

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1. Introduction

The true crime genre has experienced an extraordinary boom in recent years. The advent of streaming and video on demand has led to an explosion in the genre, which is currently experiencing a golden age across all platforms (Romero, 2020). Netflix achieved incredible success with *Making a murderer* (2015), which attracted more than 20 million viewers worldwide; since that success, the company has not stopped creating or buying true crime productions such as: *Amanda Knox*, *The Keepers*, *Tiger King*, *The Disappearance of Madeleine McCann*, *A Masterstroke*, etc. Netflix even has a category of series and films inspired by true crime. The same goes for HBO, which also has very popular true crime shows: *The Staircase*, *The Faceless Killer*, *Dead Mother Dearest* and *The Crime of the Century*. And the same goes for Amazon Prime: *Lorena*; *I Love You, Now Die: The Michelle Carter Case*; *Something's Wrong with Aunt Diane*, *Thought Crimes*, *Who Killed Garrett*, *My Friend Dahmer*, and so on.

In Spain, the first "great true crime series" was *What Lies Beneath* (*Lo que la verdad esconde*). *Assunta's Case* (*El caso Asunta* (2017), based on the murder of the girl Yong Fang, better known as Asunta Basterra. This was followed by other miniseries that were also very popular in the media, such as *The Wire* (*Bajo escucha*). *The Accused* (*El acusado* (2019), which tells the story of the double murder of Miguel Ángel Domínguez and his daughter: *The Alcácer Murders* (*El crimen de Alcácer* (2019), which recounts the kidnapping, rape, torture and murder of three teenagers in a Valencian town and the escape of one of the killers, Antonio Anglés; and *Lucía en la telaraña* (2021), a Russian doll-style tale with spectacular twists in the investigation.

True crime has a powerful effect on our psyche. On the one hand, evil has always fascinated us. On the other hand, watching films or series about crime increases social alarm, fear of crime and support for the death penalty (Kort-Butler & Sittner-Hartshorn, 2011; Rowe, 2013; Soto & Montoya, 2023).

For one reason or another, true crime is enjoying a moment of glory around the world. And it is doing so largely because it has been able to adopt frameworks or approaches that make it particularly attractive. In the following pages we will try to find out which are the most common frames in true crime, where they come from and how they differ from the frames of crime journalism.

2. Objectives and Methods

The main objective of this thesis is to identify the recurring frames in the media crime narrative, both in press reports and in audiovisual true crime, and to contrast these frames in order to discover similarities and differences.

This twofold primary objective is subdivided into four secondary objectives:

1. To describe the concept of journalistic framing and apply it to the coverage of notorious crimes, scandalous events and legal proceedings.
2. To identify the most common frames of journalistic reporting of media crime.
3. To confirm this list of frames in the media coverage of a relevant case: the murder of Rocío Wanninkhof in Cala de Mijas (Málaga) in October 1999.
4. Compare, in this specific case, the frames used by both the press and audiovisual true crime.

To do this, we will use a triple methodology: documentary research, to define the concept of framing and discover its application in the journalistic field; the inductive method, based on observation and available documentation, to obtain a reliable list of the frames used in the criminal story; and comparative analysis, to discover the similarities and differences between the stories in the press and those in audiovisual true crime.

3. The Framing Perspective and the Abandonment of Neutrality

3.1. Framing in Journalistic Narrative

In 1955, the anthropologist Gregory Bateson coined the term "frame" to refer to the interpretive framework through which the recipient of a message selects certain aspects of reality without considering others. In 1974, Erving Goffman published "Frame analysis: an essay on the organisation of

experience" in which he argued that frames serve as cognitive constructs that facilitate the interpretation of the social environment (Sadaba, 2001).

In the 1970s and 1980s there was a great deal of research into framing theory, particularly in the fields of linguistics and cognitive psychology. These studies overcame the objectivist theories that had dominated the approach to media activity. The pursuit of objectivity, adherence to facts and the maintenance of an aseptic approach were considered the defining characteristics of ethical journalistic practice well into the 20th century (Canel & Sádaba, 1999, p. 23).

However, the emergence of investigative journalism in the second half of the 20th century led to the establishment of additional ethical principles based on the role of the press as a watchdog against the exercise of power and its possible corruption in a democratic framework. In addition, the New Journalism movement, which emerged in the United States in the 1960s, reinforced this trend by practising a form of journalism very similar to literature. They developed a style known as "narrative non-fiction" from traditional journalistic reporting. The works of influential journalists such as Tom Wolfe, Norman Mailer, Gay Talese, Hunter S. Thompson, Michael Herr, Joan Didion, Jimmy Breslin and others transformed conventional methods of storytelling in journalism (Herrscher, 2012, p. 30).

Overcoming objectivist theories, framing has been considered the most important theoretical framework in the field of communication research in recent years, and several researchers have proposed ways to explore its impact on public communication (Sádaba et al., 2012, p. 109 and following).

One such line is to study the professional attitudes and roles that journalists adopt when reporting on issues of public importance (Canel et al., 2000). Another approach is narrative research, which focuses on how 'frames' establish narrative structures that connect and give coherence to events. Entman (2007) defines framing as "the process of selecting some elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights the connections between them to promote a particular interpretation" (2007, p. 163 ff.).

This article will focus on the frameworks that emerged from the professional attitudes of journalists covering the Wanninkhof case and the narrative construction of the story. It will then compare this process with the subsequent revision of the true crime genre as depicted in the documentary "Dolores. The Truth About the Wanninkhof Case" (HBO).

3.2. Journalistic Framing in Crime and Scandal Reporting

The Wanninkhof case was the subject of news coverage that followed the dynamics commonly observed in the media when covering public scandals. John B. Thompson, in his book "The Political Scandal", states that the coverage of these events follows a three-phase sequence. In the first, the rules are broken and journalistic or police investigations are launched. In the second, the facts are made public, leading to reactions and escalating tensions in the media. The third stage involves the outcome of the story, leading to consequences for those involved, such as indictment, prosecution or conviction (Thompson, 2001, pp. 47 ff.).

The media process begins when the facts come to light, creating a public atmosphere that includes stigmatising the person who is the subject of the information. The public then makes a moral judgement that would not be possible without the assignment of roles and labels by the media. These roles and labels are associated with the narrator's own perspective, which adopts an initial hypothesis that serves as a narrative axis for successive reports. The narrative axis supports a thesis that includes the construction of characters and the interpretation of events. In this way, a journalistic story is elaborated that adopts a dramatic axis similar to that found in classical stories or fables, with roles such as hero, villain or victim (Sánchez-Esparza et al., 2018).

This type of journalistic narrative can be analysed using generic and specific frames (Zamora and Marín Albaladejo, 2010). These frames arise from the media's selective attention to certain aspects rather than others, using patterns, stereotyped images, keywords or sources of information that reinforce certain judgements.

For example, the personification frame alludes to a single character who embodies the whole story, contributing to the dramatisation of the event. The narrative gains a greater sense of dramatic intensity by representing the different positions in the controversy through specific characters (Arroyo, 1997, pp. 342-343).

3.3. The Accounts in the Judicial Process

The media's handling of information plays a crucial role in the interpretation and understanding of events. In criminal trials covered by the media, it is the narrative approach taken by journalists that determines the social response to the facts. When a journalist reports, he or she assumes a position of power, as he or she has the ability to produce and disseminate definitive versions of the facts (Del Valle and Arroyo-Almaraz, 2011).

This process of constructing a journalistic narrative is also influenced by the working processes of news organisations and the routines associated with the profession. In addition, these narrative approaches rely on certain sources that are considered more legitimate than others. These sources provide a particular interpretation of the facts, emphasising certain aspects of the crime (Rey, 2007, p.10).

Journalists often rely on institutional sources, such as the police or the Civil Guard (Guardia Civil). In addition, those who specialise in crime reporting use sources related to the legal process, including case summaries, witnesses, officials or lawyers involved. Depending on how journalists evaluate these sources and the context in which they operate, the focus of the story may vary.

4. Recurring Frames in the Journalistic Account of Media Crimes

The analysis of the journalistic narratives constructed around media crime allows us to draw a schema of the frames or approaches most used by journalists. This scheme has been enriched by true crime documentaries or miniseries, which have widened the range of frames by combining journalism and entertainment (Romero, 2020).

Based on contributions from various sources that have analysed both crime journalism and true crime narratives, we can identify these 12 frames in the representation of criminal acts.

- a) The first three come from the scandal story, through the assimilation of the prevailing journalistic logic in this field, and have been described by Zamora and Marín Albaladejo (2010):
 1. Human interest (p. 16). A general framing of human interest is noted, offering an emotional or dramatic perspective, arousing interest in the victim, curiosity about what happened or empathy with the family.
 2. Social or public reaction (p. 19). The crime story is often conditioned by emotional components that provoke a reaction in the community; this reaction - in turn - is the object of news interest.
 3. Personification (p. 18). In these cases, a single person embodies the whole story (see also: Arroyo, 1997). For example, the personality of the victim is described in order to give the whole story more emotional power. And when the possible perpetrator appears or is discovered, this framework of personification is used again, this time by giving the character attributes that stigmatise him, presenting him as perverse, abnormal or socially maladjusted: the profile of a villain is constructed.
- b) For its part, classical narrative provides us with some typical approaches to literary narration and characterisation:
 4. The victim and the villain. In journalistic crime stories, "the narrative is filled with force by representing the positions of the controversy, embodied in concrete characters, protagonist and antagonist, hero and villain" (Sánchez-Esparza et al., 2018, p. 12). Indeed, crime fiction tends to personify the story and assign roles that authors of the Russian formalist school discovered in folk tales (Propp, 1998). Two antagonistic positions are thus played out: victim and villain, embodying good and evil. It is a clear distinction between villain and victim that underpins much of this information, as highlighted in Nora Kaplan's "Heroes, villains and victims" (2009) or in articles such as "On heroes, enemies, victims and battles in the times of covid-19" (Rojas et al, 2020). In some cases, the presentation of victims is surrounded by a poetic halo and framing (Cruz, 2021) in order to reinforce empathy.
 5. Structure in three acts and five key moments. All script and audiovisual narrative theorists have stressed that a story is complete and well-structured when it has a clearly defined beginning, middle and end; the three acts that Aristotle identified in the Poetics. More recently, however, Syd Field (1998) and Linda Seger (1991 - 2022) have drawn attention to

the two plot points that accompany, frame and contextualise the three classical acts. In particular, Seger (2022, pp. 29-58) draws attention to the five moments in the story when the plot surprises the viewer and takes an unexpected turn. These are: Trigger (event that breaks the initial equilibrium, involves the protagonist and sets the story in motion); first turning point (surprising action that ends the narrative [act 1] and directs the plot towards the conflict that will be developed in act 2), second turning point (new unexpected event that ends the development of the conflict [act 2] and directs the plot towards the climax, the central point of act 3), climax (moment of maximum tension when the protagonist and antagonist confront each other and the fate of the conflict is decided) and denouement (resolution of the conflict that leads to the end of the story). The true crime narrative is usually articulated around the "five great moments".

6. Narrator: source of information. In the journalistic reconstruction of a crime, it is essential to identify the sources. Who is the narrator, who takes the lead in the story? Is it the judge, the witnesses, the police, the prosecutor, the victim's family? They all have different interests in the construction of the story.
Moreover, the involvement of the journalist can significantly change the story. As Román et al. (2021) point out, sometimes "the journalist searches for witnesses himself: he talks to neighbours, relatives or informants who provide him with information; and it is he himself who draws up his own hypothesis and elaborates versions or rumours". However, the internal rules of the media itself often condition the elaboration of the story: "The limits of the journalistic organisation itself give meaning to the information about the crime: they give it a certain importance within the evaluation of 'newsworthiness'" (Rey, 2007, p. 10).
- c) c) Finally, the specific narrative of audiovisual true crime adds a further six approaches to the media crime narrative:
 7. Social alarm. Some authors have pointed out that the re-enactment of a crime in true crime formats tends to present a high dose of sensationalism (Wiltenburg, 2004; Horeck, 2014). It is therefore not uncommon for these stories to be told within a framework of generalised alarm, amplifying the perceived social panic of the community (Doyle, 2006: 869). Recent research, based on surveys of consumers of TV3's Crims series, has highlighted the relationship between watching true crime and an increased sense of insecurity (Mariné, 2021).
 8. Vulnerability. A fairly common element is the presence of a vulnerable victim. It is more common for an audiovisual production to be made when the victim is a young, beautiful woman. This archetype works well to attract the audience and make them feel sorry for the person. Another victim archetype is the child, especially if their image conveys innocence. This makes the victim appear more vulnerable and the crime more horrific.
 9. Morbid crime. An insistence on the morbid details of the crime is common. For the professor at Beacon University School in Leesburg (Florida, United States), A.J. Marsden [Interview on the web <https://www.huffingtonpost.es/>, June 12, 2018], 'real crimes are so fascinating because they allow us to intuit the most perverse parts of the human psyche', while for Román et al. (2021, p. 82) the explanation of morbidity lies in the fact that 'we need to understand the motivation behind such incomprehensible, heartbreaking and horrific acts of murder'.
 10. Police slowness or ineptitude. True crimes tend to dramatise the story by highlighting the perplexity, ineptitude or slowness of the police in solving the case. As Germán Rey points out, "in the reading contract (of the narrative), although it is important to point out who committed the crime and under what circumstances, it is also important to point out the responsibilities of the authorities, from the judges who, out of fear or punishment, do not enforce the laws that should be used for prevention, to the police, who should guarantee social order, to the rulers" (2007, p. 10).
 11. Fear in the neighbourhood. As a result of the horror of the crime, true crime often underlines the climate of unease and fear in the community. This helps to make the crime more dramatic.

12. Doubt about the verdict. If a trial ends inconclusively or with only circumstantial evidence, if there is uncertainty about the accused or doubt about the resolution, it is easier for the case to become a true crime because the public is waiting for a story that explains everything, that questions the official version and makes them feel like "couch detectives". Moreover, "the activism of individuals who consume true crime on VOD platforms has become particularly relevant; (because of this) hyper-connected digital communities are being created that, like amateur detectives, throw themselves into solving crimes" (Romero, 2020, p. 17).

5. Approaches in the Wanninkhof Case Account

The analysis of the approaches used by EL PAÍS - Spain's leading general information newspaper - in its coverage of the Wanninkhof case will allow us to confirm the presence of these 12 frames in the journalistic accounts of the criminal event, and to compare them with the review of frames carried out by audiovisual true crime. To do this, we will use the scheme of common frames in crime stories developed above and try to confirm which of these frames appear in the case analysed and in what form.

To carry out this analysis, we have chosen the five key moments in the journalistic narrative of the Wanninkhof case and contrasted them with the treatment of these five moments in the HBO docuseries 'Dolores'. The Truth about the Wanninkhof Case', produced on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the murder of the young woman in La Cala de Mijas (Málaga).

The first of these moments is the news of Rocío Wanninkhof's disappearance and the discovery of traces of her blood on 9 October 1999, as well as the reactions that this event provoked among those around her. The second is the discovery of her body, almost burnt, after more than three weeks of searching. The third moment was the arrest of Dolores Vázquez as a suspect in the crime, which was broadcast live on television and during which hundreds of people denounced the suspect. The start of the trial, the jury's decision and the sentence were chosen as the fourth and fifth key moments.

5.1. Human Interest, Popular Reaction, Embodiment

The first of the approaches analysed is that of human interest, which appears in each of the five key moments of the journalistic account analysed. This approach is mixed with that of popular reaction, because while the chronicles include aspects of young Rocío's 'modest' family, the girl's childhood and her parents' divorce, or her mother's work as a cleaner on the Costa del Sol, there are frequent reports highlighting the involvement of the neighbours in the search, the massive participation in acts of homage, prayer or remembrance, the massive attendance at her funeral and the support of the community, which empathised with her and condemned the cruelty of her murderer. "What is clear is that she killed the girl and deserves to be hanged", stressed one of the chronicles in El País after the arrest of Dolores Vázquez (Martínez, 2000).

This is clear in the news item 'A thousand people attend the funeral of Rocío Wanninkhof in Jaén', which includes the sentence 'On the young woman's coffin was a pink teddy bear, which accompanied her to the cemetery', and adds that 'her grave was surrounded by dozens of wreaths and bouquets of white carnations and red roses', both details that activate the focus on human interest and emotions, presenting Rocío Wanninkhof as still childlike and vulnerable, using the approach of personification. Rocío's mother and her entourage provide details about the victim or emotionally assess the events.

The report on the discovery of the body said that "dozens of friends and neighbours who had gathered at the door of the house burst into tears" and recalled that the search had involved "more than 300 neighbours for almost a month". This is another expression of the popular response.

The mother of the deceased also appears in one of the reports published at the start of the trial, holding a photograph of her daughter and asking the cameras to "pay up, even if 20 years have passed and no one will give me back my daughter" (García, 2001). These emotional components reinforce the human-interest approach and generate greater community support, which is also reflected in the news coverage of the suspect's arrest, the start of the trial and the verdict. News reports of the arrest, for example, show the shouting and booing of people outside the suspect's house, as well as the reaction of the public in the courtroom at the start of the trial and at the time of the verdict.

This emotional and human approach, and the involvement of the community, is also present in the HBO docuseries. In fact, the series begins with a voiceover by Dolores Vázquez herself, uttering words that

evoke the sympathy of the audience: "20 years ago I lost everything. My freedom, my life, my voice, even my name. I have never been the same and I never will be". These words were followed by the testimony of Alicia Hornos herself, the mother of the murdered young woman, still full of pain and bitterness over what had happened. In addition to the pain of the false killer, there is also the pain of the victim's mother and those around her. Some of the people interviewed, such as the mother of Rocío's former boyfriend, burst into tears as they recalled what had happened.

The emotional approach of human interest used in all the chapters is followed by that of popular reaction. "From the first moment, one of the things that surprised us was the mobilisation of the population," explains Javier Villanueva, one of the journalists interviewed. The spontaneous mobilisation of volunteers on horseback, in off-road vehicles and even on motorbikes is then recalled with images of all these raids.

The social reaction was also generated by the press coverage itself, from the first moment of the disappearance. The national media and television stations immediately gathered in La Cala de Mijas and gave full coverage to the search and the family's plight. "Every move you made was recorded," says Alicia Hornos, the mother of the missing woman, in the first chapter of the documentary. The media coverage increased the alarm and the involvement of the community. "The whole town of Mijas is looking for Rocío Wanninkhof," said journalist María Teresa Campos on television. "The family is desperate, they think she has been kidnapped and they are not ruling out making a deal with the kidnappers if they find her alive," said Matías Prats in another report broadcast at the time. The investigators' theory that the perpetrator could be someone in the victim's entourage added to the fear, suspicion and mistrust in the local community. "It must have been someone who knows her, because in our case there is no money, we are a modest, hard-working family," one of her aunts said on television.

The personification approach, in which the personality of one of the protagonists is presented as the incarnation of the whole story, appears several times in the press reports. In the first press report, for example, the missing person is described as a girl "with a very good and formal character" (López-Escudero, 1999), photographs of the young woman are shown, it is mentioned that she was going to enjoy the Fuengirola fair that day with a group of friends, aspects of her personality and family environment are commented on, and she is described through items of clothing or personal objects, such as her trainers, the type of clothes she was wearing or her ring.

5.2. Victim and Villain, Information Sources

The dramatic victim-villain axis present in the reports of crimes and scandals is also reproduced in the chronicles of the Wanninkhof case. The prisoner is portrayed as cold and unfeeling. It is said that "the agents did not reckon with Vázquez's cold temperament" (El País, 10-09-2000). An expression that would accompany the accused in all the reports on her trial is also repeated: "Dolores Vázquez, a close friend of Rocío Wanninkhof's mother". The sentimental relationship that the accused had in the past with the mother of the deceased, and Rocío's alleged refusal to allow her mother to return to a relationship with Dolores, became a theory about the possible motive for the murder, and the profile of Dolores as a lesbian, a possible perpetrator of a crime of passion, became increasingly strong in journalistic reports and in the theses of the Public Prosecutor's Office and the Civil Guard. Dolores was stigmatised, and in the chronicles, she took on the characteristics of a cold, cruel and vengeful villain, with a strange and homosexual personality, as opposed to a tender and vulnerable victim.

These frames of personification and the victim-villain axis are also used in the docuseries 'Dolores. The Truth About the Wanninkhof Case'. However, they are used in reverse. Two decades after the events and in the light of subsequent discoveries, the framework of the story is expanded with other versions and the profile of the accused, later declared innocent and exonerated, is redrawn.

The very title of the series makes it clear that Dolores' character sums up the whole story; indeed, she becomes the main narrator. In fact, it is she who first speaks up to explain what has happened, and it is her suffering that is at the heart of this true crime. Among the first words that come out of her mouth at the beginning of the first chapter, and which frame the entire series, are these: "I've never been the same, and I never will be. But the time has come to face so many shadows and tell my story for the first time.

Her story, told by herself, serves to rework the original narrative. The framework of personification serves to bring the audience closer to Dolores, who narrates in the first person her suffering and the damage that her unjust conviction has caused in her life. Her sisters, her lawyer, her friends and even the

victim's mother appear over the course of six chapters to recall the feelings of love and affection they had for Dolores. The empathy she now generates breaks with the stereotype of the cold and cruel villain she was given in the 1999 and 2000 chronicles. The villain becomes the victim.

The journalists interviewed share the same vision and, as they recount the events, they gradually strip Dolores of the villainous attributes that had been attributed to her. The docuseries also considers that one of these attributes was her status as a lesbian, which is valued differently in the social context of 2020.

The series uses the framework of personification and human interest, with each chapter dedicated to one of the main protagonists of the story: Rocío, Dolores, Alicia, Sonia, Tony and finally Loli. The title of the last chapter uses the diminutive form of the false accused's name, as if to conclude the series by bringing her even closer to the reader.

The narrative that brings the character closer to the audience has a lot to do with who the narrator is. The narrator sets the scene, along with the source of information used. In the case of the journalistic information analysed, the narrative is usually elaborated by the journalist based on sources from the Civil Guard (Guardia Civil) or from the victim's environment. "The Civil Guard believes" ("La Guardia Civil cree"), "The Public Prosecutor's Office considers" ("La Fiscalía considera") or "the investigators believe for sure" ("los investigadores dan por seguro") are expressions that appear in the chronicles where the disappearance, the discovery of the body, the arrest of Dolores, the beginning or end of the trial and the sentence are narrated. Dolores Vázquez's voice appears in these accounts only in the chronicles of the beginning and end of the trial, in which her statement to the jury denying her guilt and her final plea for the search for the real culprits are recounted.

On the contrary, one of the main novelties of the true crime is that the accused person, about whom an incriminating and stigmatising story has been written, is now the main narrator of the story. Secondly, the narration is led by Rocío Wanninkhof's mother, the journalists who covered the case, the lawyers, the officials and the members of the administration of justice.

5.3. Structure in Five Key Moments

For example, in the narration of one of the five key moments, that of Dolores' arrest, the series uses news reports published in the press or on radio and television to situate the viewer, but the narration is done by Dolores herself: "How do I remember that day? Like a nightmare". It is she who comments and contextualises the news of her arrest, how she was taken out in handcuffs and had to ask a neighbour to look after her sick mother. Even the images of outraged people calling her a murderer, which once served to stigmatise her, appear here as a brutal lynching.

Dolores herself appears in the series, looking sadly at the news reports about her, and the viewer sees these reports through Dolores' eyes. "It's all lies," she muses as she listens to what is being said about her. In the second chapter, 'Dolores', it is the protagonist herself who tells her story, her professional career and her relationship with Alicia Hornos. She also cries at several points and describes how she survived 18 months in prison. Her lawyer, Pedro Apalategui, also becomes a narrator, recalling the harassment by the media, the police and the judiciary.

The trial of Dolores is told through the testimonies of several journalists, Dolores' lawyer, Rocío's mother and some members of the jury, who explain how they were contaminated by the media's story. These testimonies are also told in Dolores' own words. Referring to the media's treatment of her, Dolores even said, crying, that the cameras "burned" her face and that she felt "naked, like a freak".

In another of the five key moments, that of the jury's verdict, the documentary shows the explosion of joy in the packed courtroom when the jury's decision was announced, as well as Dolores' emotional collapse, a moment that her lawyer interprets as a lynching, and which Dolores herself comments as "something I could not understand. The applause and cheering gave me nightmares". Dolores even bursts into tears when she looks back at the images of the reading of the verdict.

The last of the six chapters, entitled "Loli", begins with Dolores at home, in casual clothes, in a domestic setting, saying that she does not identify with Dolores Vázquez, Rocío's murderer. "When they say Dolores Vázquez, it seems to me that it's not me. Loli Vázquez is the person I am". Once again, it is the framework of personification and an affectionate approach to the character, who has become someone lovable and who has suffered unjustly. This last chapter is the culmination of the reframing that takes place throughout True Crime. In it, Dolores is not only the narrator, but is also interviewed by Toñi Moreno, the journalist who followed the case. "It took you 20 years to sit down and tell the truth, why now? "I need people to know a little more about the case so that it does not happen again," she replies. Dolores recounts her daily

life, her difficulties and those of her family, her unfulfilled desire to become a mother, her deteriorating health, and believes that she deserves to be forgiven.

5.4. Social Alarm, Fear in the Neighbourhood, Victim's Vulnerability

The focus on social alarm or fear in the neighbourhood is also common. For example, in one of the news reports on the search for Rocío, a member of the neighbourhood remarks: "The family is modest, this is not about money, it is the work of a madman" (García, 1999a). In other reports, neighbours ask, "if the body has already been found" and some offer rewards for information (García, 1999b). The chronicle of the funeral reads: "That those responsible for Rocío Wanninkhof's death be brought to justice. This was the wish most expressed yesterday in Arroyo del Ojanco". This frame also appears in the documentary when the young woman disappears and a pool of blood appears where the crime was committed.

The description of Rocío as a good-natured, friendly girl with a touch of romanticism makes her a victim who inspires sympathy. For this reason, the grief that she inspires in the story is all the greater, and the crime that is narrated all the more horrifying. The details in the news and in the documentary (her slippers, her photos, her memories) personalise the story for her and make her more vulnerable. One detail that everyone mentions is that a pink teddy bear was placed on her coffin at her funeral, making her seem almost like a helpless child.

The focus on vulnerability and helplessness reappears, especially in the accounts of the disappearance and the discovery of the body, but also when Dolores is arrested, when the trial begins or when the sentence is announced. In the chapter 'Rocío', the victim's personality is described through the eyes of her mother, her boyfriend's mother and other people around her.

5.5. Police Sluggishness, Morbid Crime, Doubts about the Verdict

The focus on the slowness or ineptitude of the police is particularly evident in the documentary on the search for the body, given that 24 days passed before the body was found. The journalist José Carlos Villanueva, at the time correspondent for El Mundo newspaper, appears in the documentary and recounts how the pressure on the Civil Guard's Central Operational Unit (UCO), considered "an elite unit that cannot fail", increased day by day. As the documentary recounts the funeral and burial of the young woman, the Civil Guard still had no suspects. Almost a month had passed since the disappearance.

The press reports following the discovery of the body state that the body was found not thanks to the work of the investigators, but after the Civil Guard had suspended the search. "Only two days before the Civil Guard decided to suspend the search", it was reported (Peláez & Del Río, 1999).

Also in the documentary, the former sub-delegate of the government in Malaga, Carlos Rubio, recalls that "there was a rush to close the investigation", that at one point the Civil Guard had a suspect and that they decided to inform the media that an arrest was about to take place.

A morbid approach also appears in the narration of the crime, which is activated by the narration of the discovery of the young woman's body, charred and almost unrecognisable, and by the details of the slippers, the pool of blood and the clothes found, adding a few paragraphs of context after each new event. This approach is reinforced in the documentary by the constant testimony of the forensic doctor, who reconstructs the attack from the traces of blood found and describes in detail the decomposition of the body after it was found 21 kilometres away. Other testimonies speak of the "numerous stab wounds" the young woman had received, of the beatings and of the possibility that she had been the victim of a sexual assault. These details also appear in the press reports on the disappearance and, in particular, in the chronicles of the discovery of the body. According to these reports, the body was "decomposed, skeletal, mummified and naked. It had been burned to make identification more difficult. It was found in a wild area of the club's grounds, half buried in the leaves" (Peláez & Del Río, 1999).

In the documentary, the morbid approach also appears in the portrayal of the intimate relationship between Alicia Hornos and Dolores, mainly through the testimonies of those involved, who talk about their feelings, encounters and misunderstandings. And as if it were a reality show, the documentary records Dolores' reaction to seeing the images with Alicia Hornos' statements about their relationship.

Finally, the approach that casts doubt on the verdict or the resolution of the case appears in the documentary when it recounts the moment of the trial, with the testimonies of several members of the jury who recall the media contamination they suffered, the lack of qualifications of some of them or the

way in which the majorities were obtained to convict Dolores. After the arrest of the real perpetrator of the crime, the British Tony King, the Wanninkhof family's new lawyer appeared and once again raised doubts about who could have been involved in the crime. Alicia Hornos herself, the victim's mother, claims at the end of the documentary that the perpetrator was her ex-partner, despite the second trial and the conviction of King.

Doubts about whether the jury got it right were also expressed in one of the newspaper reports of the jury's verdict, which included the words of the convicted woman: "I did not kill Rocío and I did not see her on the day of the crime. You are making a very serious mistake, don't make the same mistake again".

5.6. Summary of the Main Frames Found

Table 1 graphically summarises the main approaches found in the five key moments of the narrative of the Wanninkhof case, both in the information published in the press analysed and in the documentary series selected for this paper.

Table 1: Main approaches found in the journalistic treatment of the Wanninkhof case and its translation into the genre of 'true crime'.

Key Moments	Approaches Employees	News Pieces	True Crime
Disappearance and murder (9/10/1999)	E1. Human interest/dramatism E2. Popular reaction E8. Social alarm E3. Victim personification E5. Innocence and vulnerability E6. Victim-villain axis E9. Morbid approach E10. Vulnerability	- <u>The residents of Mijas are mobilised to find a missing girl</u> (E1, E2, E3). - <u>300 people comb the mountains of Malaga without finding any clues of the missing girl</u> (E1, E2, E8). - <u>The young woman who disappeared in Mijas was dragged into a vehicle</u> (E1, E2, E8, E3, E9).	First person accounts of the suffering of Dolores and Alicia H. (E1) News on TV news, beatings and neighbourhood mobilisation (E2 and E8). Series title ('Dolores. The truth about the W. case') and chapters ('Rocío', 'Alicia', etc.). Narration through the eyes of Dolores and Alicia (E3 and E6). The villain appears as a victim (E4)
Discovery of the body (2/11/1999)	E1. Human interest/dramatism E2. Popular reaction E8. Social alarm E3. Victim personification and their environment E5. Innocence and vulnerability E9. Morbid approach	- <u>The charred body of the young woman who disappeared in October in Mijas</u> (E1, E9) <u>was found in Marbella</u> . - <u>An unmistakable ring and two bags of Rocío's clothes</u> (E3, E9). - <u>A thousand people attend the burial of Rocío Wanninkhof in Jaén</u> (E1, E2, E3, E5, E8)	Journalists, authorities and Alicia's accounts of investigations (E10) First-person account of a romantic relationship (E1, E5 and E9) Forensic expert recounts assault through blood and body deterioration (E9)
Detention (8/09/2000)	E1. Human interest/dramatism E2. Popular reaction E3. Victim personification and their environment E9. Morbid approach E7. Villain personification	- <u>Woman arrested for the murder of a young woman in Mijas</u> (E3, E6, E7) - <u>Why did you kill my daughter</u> (E1, E3, E6, E7)? - <u>The alleged murderer of Wanninkhof maintains her innocence before the judge and does not enter prison</u> (E2, E6, E7). - <u>The judge sends the alleged perpetrator of the crime of a</u>	Review of television news to situate the viewer, but the narration is done by Dolores herself, who cries, explains and evaluates (E1, E2, E3, E6 and E7). The villain appears as a victim (E4)

Key Moments	Approaches Employees	News Pieces	True Crime
		<u>teenager in Mijas to prison</u> (E1, E2, E3, E6, E7).	
Start of the trial (3/09/2001)	E1. Human interest/dramatism E2. Popular reaction E3. Victim personification and their environment E9. Morbid approach E7. Villain personification	- <u>Wanninkhof murder trial begins</u> (E6, E7) - <u>The prosecutor in the 'Wanninkhof case' bases his accusation on the contradictions of the only suspect</u> (E1, E2, E3, E5, E7). - <u>The defendant accused of stabbing Wanninkhof denies to the jury that she killed her</u> (E1, E6, E7).	Testimonies reviewed by Dolores, as a victim of injustice (E1, E2, E3, E4 and E7). Jury's account of contamination, doubts verdict (E12) The villain appears as a victim (E4)
Verdict and conviction (September 2001)	E1. Human interest/dramatism E2. Popular reaction E3. Victim personification and their environment E6. Morbid approach E7. Villain personification	- <u>The jury finds Dolores Vázquez guilty of the murder of Rocío Wanninkhof</u> (E1, E3, E6, E7). - <u>The judge sentences the murderer of young Rocío Wanninkhof to 15 years in prison</u> (E1, E6, E7).	Verdict story (E1, E2, E3, E7, E12) The villain appears as a victim (E4)

Source: Own elaboration

6. Discussion and Conclusions

The concept of frame, often used in the study of journalistic information, is also valid for the analysis of true crime narratives. Based on the observation of cases and the literature on the subject, we have identified a list of twelve recurrent frames in the media crime narrative. Three of them come from the "scandalous story" (Zamora and Marín Albadalejo, 2010): human interest, social or popular reaction, and personification; another three come from the classical narrative: the victim-villain pairing, the structure in three acts and five key moments, and the narrator as a source of information. And six more, from the specific narrative of true crime, both journalistic and audiovisual: social alarm, vulnerability of the victim, morbid crime, police slowness or ineptitude, fear in the neighbourhood and doubt about the verdict.

The study of a relevant case - the disappearance and murder of Rocío Wanninkhof in Cala de Mijas (1999) - has made it possible to analyse in parallel the journalistic narrative constructed during the trial (1999-2001) and the revision of that narrative in the HBO true crime series Dolores. The Truth About the Rocío Wanninkhof Case. Looking at the two documents, it can be seen that many approaches to the narrative of the facts coincide. This is the case with frames such as 'public reaction', 'social alarm', 'innocence or vulnerability of the victim', 'doubts about the verdict' or 'human interest'. These approaches are reinforced in true crime, where the power of first-person testimony and the emotion conveyed by the protagonists speaking directly to the camera far outweighs the power of the newspaper report. The 'morbid crime' frame is present in both stories, although true crime intensifies it through images and reconstructions.

The anthropomorphic frame appears in both press and true crime, but in true crime it is virtually the dominant approach. The backbone of the entire docuseries analysed is the terrible experience of Dolores, arrested, imprisoned and convicted for a crime she did not commit. It is her face, her memories, her voice and her story that give unity to all the content. The whole series has this focus, and each

episode deals with the events by focusing on one of the characters, again through the approach of personalisation.

In this context, it is possible to identify several frameworks that appear in both journalistic chronicles and true crime, but in the opposite direction. The victim-villain axis, for example, has undergone a powerful transformation, because if the press account painted a cold and gloomy picture of the accused, in True Crime there is a revision of this initial portrait, and Dolores's image is gradually cleaned up until she is portrayed as the true victim of a colossal mistake by the Civil Guard and the administration of justice. The framework of doubt about the verdict is used in this true crime, not to create uncertainty and curiosity, but to highlight the mistakes made by the civil jury and the investigators.

Moreover, the narration of the story no longer comes from official, judicial or investigative sources, or from the murdered girl's entourage, as was the case in the first story. The main voice is that of Dolores, who redeems herself by telling her story for the first time, approaching the audience through her surroundings and her own emotions, and whose words are corroborated by journalists, her lawyer, her family and various authorities. The true crime thus becomes a trial of the journalistic report, which leads to the redemption of the villain, to whom the genre allows him to explain himself and put the facts in context. The change of narrator influences the frames used and the construction of the whole story.

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