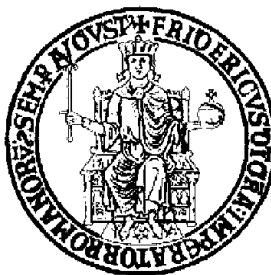


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**Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics at Work in the Deconstruction of Rape
Discourse in the British Press**

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this study is to analyse and describe the representation of rape crimes in the British quality press. This analysis explores the linguistic and discursive strategies used in a corpus of news reports about incidents of rape in four British broadsheets: *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*. Integrating a quantitative and a qualitative approach to textual analysis, i.e. Corpus Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this study examines a wide range of topics related to the representation of gender in the British mainstream press when covering incidents of rape. Some of the topics explored in this study include: victim-blaming strategies, rape myths, the law-and-order approach to fighting this crime, as well as forms of resistant discourse.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation grew out of my interest in looking at how violence against women is represented in the media. After carrying out a research project on the representation of rape in the Italian and the Singaporean press for my MA dissertation, in this study I decided to focus my attention on the British quality press. From a methodological point of view, I was interested in seeing whether a corpus-driven analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) could work together in order to produce a more accurate and detailed account of the phenomenon. Corpus Linguistics (CL) offers a valid quantitative integration to the methodological and interpretative framework of CDA; likewise, CDA can help overcome some of the obstacles related to a pure corpus analysis, such as a lack of contextualisation.

1.1. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The goal of the current work is to provide an account of the representation of rape crimes in the news reports of four British broadsheets: *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*. Through the integration of a quantitative and qualitative methodology, this study aims at examining a wide range of topics and linguistic strategies related to the representation of rape crimes in the mainstream press.

The integration of CL and CDA has already been adopted as a method of analysis in several studies (e.g. Baker et al., 2008, used an integrated approach to study racism issues in the press; Grundmann and Krishnamurty, 2010, studied environmental issues in the press of several countries by integrating CL and CDA, see also 3.3.); similarly, the representation of gender-based violence in the press has previously been the subject of academic investigation (e.g. Soothill and Walby, 1991, carried out a content analysis of the representation of sexist crimes in the news; Clark, 1992, analysed the way *The Sun* represented women in news reports of sexist violence; Benedict, 1992, studied how the American press channelled the representation of rape survivors into either “virgins” or “vamps”; Meyers, 1997, used qualitative

textual analysis to study the representation of gender-based violence in the news, arguing that it helps perpetuate traditional gender stereotyping). Researchers have also used corpus analysis tools to study the representation of men and women in British tabloids, but without specific attention to rape or sexist violence (e.g. Caldas-Coulthard and Moon, 2010). Previous studies have either focused on very few text samples (one of the main limitations of CDA) (e.g. Caldas-Coulthard, 1996; Clark, 1992), or on the analysis of big corpora concerning several topics, but without a specific attention to rape crimes or gender-related issues (e.g. Baker et al., 2008); other studies have examined tabloids rather than quality newspapers (e.g. Talbot, 1997). Finally, some studies have looked at the representation of gender-based violence in large corpora, including quality newspapers (e.g. Soothill and Walby, 1991; Marhia, 2008), but they were mostly based on content analysis which lacks the systematic study of linguistic features offered by Corpus Linguistics. Overall, then, general literature does not provide a systematic integration of the two methods – CL and CDA – to analyse the topic of rape.

In this dissertation, I examine the following research questions:

1. How are rape, rape survivors and perpetrators linguistically defined and constructed in the UK quality press?
2. What are the frequent topics or issues discussed in news articles relating to rape crimes?
3. What are the attitudes towards rape, rape survivors and perpetrators that emerge from the analysis of the corpus of UK newspapers seen as a whole first and in the light of existing CDA categories later?
4. How can a qualitative and quantitative approach to textual analysis be integrated in order to overcome each other's limitations?

Clearly, together with focusing on the combination between quantitative and qualitative methods, the intention of this dissertation is also to provide a detailed account of the construction of rape in the UK quality papers and the possible

implications of a misrepresentation of the crime. This study is actually part of a broader project developed with a non-governmental organization based in London called AVA (Against Violence and Abuse¹). AVA is a charity which carries out research and analysis in the field of gender-based violence and, together with the British National Union of Journalists and the Home Office, is currently working on a code of practice for media professionals aimed at raising awareness about the implications of the use of sexist language and gender stereotypes in the media in general and in the press in particular. The project I carried out with AVA was selected as a winner of Vodafone World of Difference UK programme² and has led to the development of guidelines for journalists reporting on incidents of rape in the press. The guidelines are based on this study and are included in Appendix B.

1.2. DEFINING THE AREA OF STUDY AND SOME TERMINOLOGY

This study addresses a specific form of violence perpetrated by men against women, i.e. rape. Other forms of violence, such as battering, domestic violence, verbal harassment or other forms of non-physical threats are only considered here if they occur together with rape. Although potentially equally harmful and devastating to women, such actions are rarely covered by the press, possibly because they do not offer the same sensationalistic and entertaining potential of other crimes, such as murder or rape. Despite the broad coverage that murder cases do receive in the press, in this study they are only addressed in relation to rape; this is not to deny that murder can be a crime of hate against women and a form of sexist violence, but, unlike rape, it does not (always) use sex as a weapon for humiliation and submission and would therefore need to be considered differently.

A number of terms used in this dissertation demand explanation, including the word *rape* itself. In referring to *rape*, this study limits itself to the forced penetration of a woman's vagina, mouth or anus by a man. Although the legal definition of *rape* in

¹ AVA project:
www.avaproject.org.uk [Retrieved: 25.03.2013]

² Vodafone World of Difference UK programme:
www.worldofdifference.vodafone.co.uk [Retrieved: 25.03.2013]

the UK³ is not gender-specific, this study refers specifically to the act of aggression directed at women by men. This is not to deny the existence of male-directed rape or that some women are attacked by other women; however, this study is based on the assumption that the vast majority of acts of violence against women are the result of male behaviour and that male violence against women has its roots in a patriarchal society that gives men permission to abuse women both physically and emotionally. According to Pharr (1997: 14) “Male violence is fed by their sense of their right to dominate and control, and their sense of superiority over a group of people, who, *because of gender*, they consider inferior to them” (my emphasis). Clearly, therefore, although existing, men victimization can only occur within a context that differs from that of violence against women. Meyers (1997: 8) points out that “from a semiotic standpoint, women and men are different signs and therefore signify differently so that the brutalization of a woman by a man cannot *mean* the same thing as the brutalization of a man by another man”. This is not to imply that men and women are intrinsically different⁴, but this is to highlight the fact that *notions of gender* in society are premised on difference and that society’s belief in and acceptance of such differences “impacts on everybody’s lives” (Sunderland, 2004: 16-17). For this reason, only rape perpetrated by men against women is considered here. In this dissertation, the word *woman* refers to all females, regardless of age, in order to highlight the fact that from the moment of birth all women have something in common, i.e. a subordinate role to men in society on the basis of what they *represent* rather than what they are (Meyers, 1997). For this reason, despite the obvious differences between infants, children, girls and middle-aged women, rape against women belonging to all these categories is taken into consideration in this study and the word *woman* is used to refer to any of them.

Finally, throughout the chapters, rape crimes are referred to either as *rape* or with more generic expressions, such as *gender-based violence*, *misogynist violence* or *anti-woman violence*. Although these expressions can also refer more broadly to other forms of violence against women, they offer the advantage of placing violence against women within a social context of patriarchy (Meyers, 1997: 8). Additionally,

³ See 3.4.2. for the legal definition of rape in the UK.

⁴ See 2.7.1. for the definition of *gender* informing this study.

Pharr suggests the use of the expression *sexist violence* because it indicates that it has “societal roots, and is not just any violence or hatred that occurs” (1991: 2). Therefore these expressions will be used in this study instead of *sex crimes*, *sexual crimes*, *sexual violence*, *sexual harassment* and *sexual assault*. While the expressions in this latter group emphasise that the action has a sexual component, expressions such as *sexist violence*, *gender-based violence*, *misogynist violence* or *anti-woman violence* stress the social context within which the violence occurs. In order to avoid confusion between the two, the use of terms such as *sex crimes*, *sexual crimes*, *sexual violence*, *sexual harassment* and *sexual assault* will be avoided in this study.

In addition, in this dissertation I will most often use the term *survivor* rather than *victim* to describe women who have been raped. Unlike the word *victim*, *survivor* can be seen as more empowering and hopeful (Kelly, 1988, Byerly, 1994). Unless the woman was killed or clearly “recently harmed” (Byerly, 1994: 59) the term *survivor* is preferred in order to convey a sense of resistance to the abuse, although this may not always coincide with the way the news generally portrays women who have been abused.

1.3. OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION

In addition to this Introduction, this dissertation comprises of five more chapters that are structured as follows.

Chapter 2 consists of an overview of the theoretical background informing this study. As a multi-disciplinary approach to the analysis of the representation of gender-based violence in the media, this study draws on a wide range of theoretical frameworks, from media and gender studies to (Critical) Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistics (CL). This chapter also includes definitions of terms that are vital to this study, such as *discourse* and *gender*.

Chapter 3 explores the methodological approach used in this research. In particular, it explains why and how two methods that may seem to be in contrast with each other can be integrated to produce a broader and more reliable overview of the representation of gender-based violence in the news. In this chapter, both the tools

offered by CL and CDA are illustrated, together with a definition of the context of both media production and gender-based violence in the UK.

Chapter 4 is structured to examine the representation of rape in the corpus of articles collected from the four quality newspapers illustrated above. Through concordance, cluster, collocate and keyword analysis the quantitative analysis is used as a starting point to formulate hypothesis on the representation of sexist violence in the UK press. While not indicative of definite answers, in particular because of the lack of contextualisation, the findings of this section contributed to expanding the knowledge of the discourse surrounding rape in the corpus and to creating the basis for the qualitative analysis.

Chapter 5 examines the press representation of a single case of rape and murder using tools of analysis offered by Critical Discourse Analysis. It focuses on the process of news production, including source gathering and criteria of newsworthiness and on how these may affect the representation of rape in the press. It also covers topics such as rape myths and stereotypes and how these are reproduced in and reinforced through the news and language use. Additionally, in the light of the findings deriving from the quantitative analysis carried out in Chapter 4, some features of the representation of this specific case are inserted into the broader picture of the representation of rape in the whole corpus, revealing both agreement and discrepancies with the findings of the quantitative analysis.

Finally, Chapter 6 integrates the findings of both analyses to outline the coverage of rape crimes in the UK press. While the qualitative analysis gains a degree of generalisation of some of its findings which would not have been possible if they had not been backed by the quantitative analysis, the quantitative analysis can be contextualised in the light of the context of news production, gender-based violence and rape-related stereotypes, thus producing information that goes beyond the quantitative data and the results deriving from the purely linguistic analysis. Each approach, moreover, produced some new results that could not have been detected through the other (either because statistically not significant enough to emerge from the corpus analysis or because of lack of the kind of contextualisation required by CDA), thus offering information that would have otherwise been lost and resulting in

a broader understanding and knowledge of the discourse surrounding rape in the UK press.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this section, I shall outline the theoretical framework informing my research project. In the first part of this chapter, I will go through the several definitions that the term *discourse* has been given, focusing, in particular, on the definition of discourse in the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, which is particularly relevant in this study. The second part of this chapter will focus the relations between discourse, power and society and the role of the mainstream media in supporting the status quo. The final part of this chapter will focus on the concept of gender, with particular attention to a poststructuralist definition of gender as opposed to a more traditional deterministic idea that gender is a well-defined, natural characteristic. In this final section, I will draw the attention to the correlation between the current structure of the mainstream media (as profit-oriented institution), the nature of the news production process and the reinforcement of gendered practices and gendered discourse in society.

2.1. DISCOURSE

Discourse is a category that belongs to and derives from the social domain, and text is a category that belongs to and derives from the linguistic domain. As a category of linguistics, texts then include any instance of [written and spoken] language, including non verbal language such as visual images, sounds effects or body language. Discourse, on the other hand, refers to the social aspect of language, to language in use.

(Kress, 1985: 27)

With these words Kress defines discourse, drawing a distinction between the linguistic dimension of language (what I will call text in the following) and its social dimension (discourse). The work of the French philosopher Michel Foucault has

been particularly influential in the definition and study of discourse and has produced a wide range of definitions and theorisations of “discourse”. In particular, the term “discourse” can be used as an abstract noun to refer to “the domain of statements”, and concretely as a “count” noun (a discourse or several discourses) to refer to groups of statements or to the rules which govern such a group of statements (Fairclough, 2003: 123-124). More specifically, Fairclough describes discourse as “ways of representing the world – the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the ‘mental world’ of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world” (ibid.: 124). Unlike Foucault’s approach to the analysis of discourse that tends to neglect the linguistic features of a text, Fairclough’s approach regards textual analysis as an essential part of the analysis of discourse, although the latter cannot be reduced to the mere linguistic analysis of texts (ibid.: 3). The kind of approach to the analysis of discourse followed here is one which pays equal attention to text analysis and social theory.

The relation between text and discourse is one of embodiment: discourse finds its expression in text, or it emerges in and through texts. This does not mean that one text is the expression of a single discourse, but one text can include several discourses, sometimes even competing and contradictory ones. At the same time, texts will be influenced by the kind of discourse they are the expression of. In this sense, discourse is not neutral with respect to text and its linguistic features, since certain discourses are associated with certain syntactic forms. The fact that discourse belongs to the social dimension means that society can define discourse, that is to say society (or more precisely social institutions) can determine specific ways of talking (or writing) about certain areas of social life depending on factors such as place, time and nature of the institution where discourse is taking place (Kress, 1985: 29).

One other factor that shapes texts, along with the kind of discourse it is expression of, is genre. Certain linguistic features do not simply depend on the discourse they represent, but they also depend on the genre in which they occur. Thus, discourses are also determined, with a series of limitations or possibilities, by the genre of the texts that express such discourses. For example, “hard news” and “editorials” are two

different genres and it is reasonable to expect that they will express the same discourse in different ways.

Because of the direct link between language and society, therefore, the analysis of discourse represents a useful tool to provide insight into the analysis of society and its structures.

2.2. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The main contribution of Discourse Analysis (DA) to language studies is that of having brought the analysis of the social aspect into this field of study. One of the prevailing features of this discipline is indeed the explicit assumption that discourse structures are linked with the context of communication and interaction. In Gee's words:

Any Discourse Analysis needs, at least, to give some consideration, if only as background, to the whole picture. Essentially a Discourse Analysis involves asking questions about how language, at a given time and place, is used to construe the aspects of the situation network as realized at that time and place and how the aspects of the situation network simultaneously give meaning to that language.

(Gee, 2005: 92)

Discourse Analysis is essentially a contribution to the study of language "in use" (van Dijk, 1985d: 1).

As an interdisciplinary area of study, DA was influenced by and was integrated into a variety of disciplines in the social sciences and humanities, such as anthropology, history, conversation analysis and (cognitive) psychology (van Dijk, 1985e). This very study represents an integration between media and gender studies and Discourse Analysis. Yet, since discourse is first of all a form of language use, an integrated study must pay particular attention to the linguistic aspect of discourse.

Because of the strong linguistic element in discourse, it goes without saying that linguistic methods of analysis played a predominant role in the study of texts and

discourse. Linguistics has offered a variety of methods for language analysis. Linguistics proper refers to the study of grammar in a broad sense, which includes phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics (Fairclough, 1989: 6). Thanks to the development of a variety of techniques for the description of language, linguistics represents an invaluable contribution to Discourse Analysis. But linguistics proper is limited by a narrow concept of language study, since it pays little attention to language in use and it tends to see language as an abstract system. It is sociolinguistics, on the other hand, that acknowledged the socially constructed nature of discourse and related discourse to the social context (van Dijk, 1985a: 6). While grammar, phonology and morphology have been developed to describe the properties of utterances, pragmatics, for example, has offered the key insight that language can be seen as a form of *action*. Under the light of pragmatics, spoken or written utterances come to be seen as performances in the form of “speech acts”.

Some disciplines and branches belonging to the field of linguistics and some linguistic theories of analysis are particularly relevant to this study and will be the subject of the following sections.

2.2.1. Corpus Linguistics

Some of the attempts to analyse social differences in language use, including gender, come from Corpus Linguistics (CL).⁵ According to McEnery and Wilson (1996: 1) *corpus linguistics* is “the study of language based on examples of real life language use”. However, unlike purely qualitative approaches to research, corpus linguistics uses bodies of electronically encoded text and more quantitative tools of analysis (e.g. frequency information about occurrences of particular linguistic phenomena). An advantage of using CL is that the data sample used is often extremely large, consisting of millions of words, making any findings more likely to be generalised, since corpus analysis allows researchers to identify trends within a broader text sample, rather than simply make claims based on the examination of a limited number of texts. Additionally, because computers perform statistical tests on data, it is less easy for researchers to be criticised for picking out single examples which

⁵ The methodological tools offered by Corpus Linguistics and the advantages deriving from the combined use of Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis will be the subject of Sections 3.2. and 3.3. in Chapter 3.

confirm their initial suspicions or biases (although it is still the human researcher who decides what to look for in a corpus and interpret the data).

2.2.2. Systemic Grammar

The theory of systemic grammar, for instance, offers a valuable tool for the analysis of “language in use”. It is the point of reference of the “systemic” theory of language developed by M.A.K. Halliday (1985). This approach to language is particularly concerned with the relationship between language and other elements and aspects of social life and its approach to the linguistic analysis of texts is always oriented to their social character. Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and its “functionalist” approach is particularly helpful for Discourse Analysis, as opposed to the Chomskyan structuralist approach. The latter represents language as a self-contained system of rules, existing beyond meaning and context (Fowler, 1991: 26). On the other hand, the functional approach to language is based on the principle that linguistic form is affected systematically by social circumstances. More specifically, SFL stresses the multifunctionality of language claiming that language always and simultaneously enacts three functions, namely an “ideational”, an “interpersonal” and a “textual” function (Fairclough, 1995: 17).

In the first place, “language serves for the expression of content” (Halliday, 1970: 143), therefore it has a representational or ideational function. It is through this function that speakers or writers are able to express through language their experiences, their thoughts, their feelings and perceptions. In other words, this is the function which makes representations of the world possible. Secondly, language serves what is called an “interpersonal” function. Through this function, speakers and writers are able to give their contribution to a communicative event, expressing comments, attitudes, evaluations, for example by asking questions or informing or persuading. At the same time, through this function they are able to set up relationships between themselves and their listener(s)/reader(s). In other words, this is the function which allows the constitution of identities and relations through language. Finally, there is a third function which is instrumental to the first two. It is the “textual” function which is concerned with the creation of text and it is through this function that language creates a link between itself and the situation. Discourse

is only possible because speakers or writers can produce text and listeners or readers can recognize it. It is important to highlight that these functions are not a matter of individual free choice, as one might assume; communication is influenced by other external factors which define discourse. These functions are more a set of social options rather than areas of personal choice (Fowler, 1991: 69-70).

2.2.3. Pragmatics

Pragmatics offers an additional perspective to discourse analysis. Traditional linguistics has regarded language primarily as a channel for communicating ideas or facts about the world. Pragmatics, on the other hand, has emphasised that language is also a mode of action (Fowler, 1991: 87). The basic assumption of pragmatics is that as we are saying/writing something, we are also *doing* something through speaking/writing. Pragmatics and its “speech act” theory is “the bridge between utterances as verbal objects and utterances as social acts” (van Dijk, 1985c: 6). In other words, pragmatics is the “study of the relations between the linguistic properties of utterances and their properties as social action” (Ferrara, 1985: 138).

We owe the theory of “speech acts” to two linguistic philosophers: J. L. Austin and J. R. Searle. The theory of pragmatics is particularly relevant in news analysis since the news both contains and reports speech acts. Thus, it will be helpful to illustrate the concept briefly. “A speech act is a form of words which, if spoken or written in appropriate conditions, and under appropriate conventions, actually constitutes the performance of an action” (Fowler, 1991: 88). Such actions can be, for instance, promises, orders, questions or requests (Ferrara, 1985: 139). The success of a speech act is not decided on the basis of its truth-value, but rather on the basis of the felicitousness of its performance, i.e. if the felicitous conventions for the performance of a speech act is present (e.g. the utterance: “I pronounce you man and wife” works only if the speaker is a priest, registrar or sea captain). Thus, speech acts are necessarily integrated in the system of conventions of society.

In order to clearly indicate that these speech acts possess the power to affect the world, they were later called “performative acts”. This power of affecting the world is not exclusive to the performative acts, since speech acts can also bring about

invisible changes in the world, perhaps in the psyches of their addressees. Speech is therefore assimilated to actions, by stressing its intentional character. Hence the distinction between locutory (the basic act of utterance), illocutory (an act performed in saying something) and perlocutory acts (an act of affecting the hearer).

One important credit of Discourse Analysis is that it has moved from the analysis of the smallest units in texts (words, propositions) to the examination of relations between these concepts and the overall meaning they can be thought to be part of. Discourse Analysis is also sensitive to the pragmatic elements of language which conceives language not just as a way of describing reality and experiences, but also as a form as social action. Nevertheless, DA has a number of limitations for the purpose of this study. In the first place, Discourse Analysis lacks a focus on the dialectical aspect of language as a means of simultaneously reflecting reality and creating reality. Moreover, DA lacks a critical perspective towards language. DA is a descriptive approach towards language, it investigates *what* language does, but not *why* it does so. A critical approach to language, or a Critical Discourse Analysis, is an extension of Discourse Analysis in a context of gender and media studies. As shown in the previous sections, gender and the media are directly connected to questions of power, domination and ideology; since “ideologies find their clearest articulation in language” (Kress, 1985: 29), a perspective on discourse which is not just aimed at describing it, but also at unveiling such relations and formulating criticisms and alternatives to it may be needed. This framework is offered by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which will be the object of the next section.

2.3. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discourse Analysis (DA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are two approaches to the study of social interactions which take a linguistic form. Both approaches share an interest in the social element present in human interaction, but whereas DA is concerned with a descriptive kind of analysis, CDA represents an explanatory approach, that is to say that DA focuses on *describing what* happens in social interaction, rather than *explaining why* it happens. The explanatory goal of CDA is not just a local but also a global one, in the sense that CDA does not merely look at

causes (and effects) of discourse in the immediate situation; it goes beyond the communicative event, paying attention to the higher levels of the social institutions which frame it (Fairclough, 2010: 45).

The principles which underlie CDA can be outlined by defining its name. The following section will illustrate why CDA is *critical*, what kind of *analysis* a critical discourse analyst carries out and the meaning that *discourse* assumes in the framework of CDA. Let us start by analysing this last point, the concept of discourse in CDA.

2.3.1. The Concept of Discourse in CDA

Like many linguistic theories, CDA understands discourse as a form of written or spoken language. In CDA, however, verbal language is taken into consideration together with other types of semiotic activities, such as visual images and non-verbal communication in general. As mentioned above, CDA, like Discourse Analysis, focuses on the social dimension of language together with its linguistic one. CDA, though, focuses on the “role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance” (van Dijk, 1993: 249). Dominance is defined as “the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality” (van Dijk, 1993: 249-250). This focus on power and inequalities implies that, unlike non-critical approaches to Discourse Analysis, CDA’s primary aim is not that of contributing to a specific discipline, but of understanding social issues through discourse analysis and possibly of bringing about social change (van Dijk, 1993).

The most ambitious attempt to construct a social theory of discourse was elaborated by Norman Fairclough (1992) who elaborated a theory of discourse as social practice. Viewing discourse as social practice has several implications. Firstly, it means that discourse is *a mode of action*, which is socially and historically situated; secondly, this view implies that there exists a *dialectical relationship* between a particular discursive event and the situation(s) and social structure(s) which frame it (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). Finally, discourse as social practice also implies that the link between text and society is not a direct one, but it is *mediated* by other

(non-linguistic) factors (Fairclough, 1989: 24). Let us look at these three elements of discourse as social practice in more detail.

2.3.1.1. *Discourse as a Mode of Action*

Discourse as a mode of action implies that discourse is not produced without context and that it cannot be understood without taking context into consideration. Utterances are only meaningful if one considers the specific situation and the conventions and rules which underlie them. At the same time, discourse must be embedded in the cultural context and the ideology which generated it. A critical analysis of discourse therefore quickly develops into a broad cultural critique. Furthermore, CDA cannot avoid taking into consideration the relations of a certain discourse with the past, since discourses are always connected to other discourses which were produced earlier, but also to those which are produced synchronically and to those which will be created later (in this respect, the concept of intertextuality that will be examined in detail in Section 2.6.2. is also a part of what CDA considers as “context”) (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 276).

2.3.1.2. *Discourse and Society: Dialectical Relationship*

According to Fairclough (1989) discourse and social structures are linked by a dialectical relationship. A dialectical relationship is a two-way relationship and it implies that a discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but at the same time that the discursive event shapes them. In other words, “discourse is socially *constitutive* as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). A useful working assumption would therefore be that any part of any text will simultaneously serve several functions, i.e. representing (how is the world represented?), setting up identities (what identities are set up for those involved in the interaction?) and setting up relations (what relationships are set up between those involved?) (Fairclough, 2010: 92).

This *multifunctional* view of discourse harmonises with the functional view of language of Halliday outlined above (see 2.2.2.). Halliday conceives any text as

simultaneously enacting the “ideational”, “interpersonal” and textual “function”. Fairclough describes these three different functions as “ways of meaning”, that is ways of acting (Action), ways of representing (Representation), ways of being (Identification). Action (which incorporates Relation) and Identification roughly correspond to Halliday’s “interpersonal” function, referring to the enacting of social relations between participants and participants’ identities in social events. Representation corresponds to Halliday’s “ideational” function, whereas the “textual” function is performed through texturing or making texts, that is through the coherent and cohesive connection of parts of texts among themselves and of texts with their situational contexts.

Despite the basic overlap between Halliday’s functions and Fairclough’s “ways of meaning”, Fairclough refers to Action, Representation and Identification as three roles that discourse can play as a social practice and refers to the discursive aspects of these functions respectively as genres, discourses and styles. Genres are different ways of acting and interacting discursively. Concrete examples of genres may be the genre of the interview or the genre of hard news. Styles represent the particular ways of being or social identities enacted in certain discourses. An example would be the style of a reporter and her/his way of using language as a resource to define her/his identity. Finally, discourses are different ways of representing the world: the same aspect of the world can be represented in many different ways, that is through different discourses. It is worth noting that “discourse” in this context is used as a countable noun, since it refers to several ways of representing the world and not in an abstract way referring to language in general as an element of social life. An example of different discourses can be the gender discourse in the news of a left wing and right wing newspaper (Fairclough, 2003: 26-27). These three functions or ways of meaning are not totally separate and independent from each other, rather, they are interconnected. As Fairclough has put it: “discourses (representational meanings) [are] enacted in genres (actional meanings). Discourses (representational meanings) [are] inculcated in styles (ideational meanings). Actions and identities (including genres and styles) [are] represented in discourses (representational meanings)” (ibid.: 29).

2.3.1.3. *Text and Society: A mediated Relation*

Finally, discourse as social practice implies that the link between discourse and society is not a direct one, but it is a complex mediated relation. One of the possible links between discourse and society is through “orders of discourse”, that is a social practice seen from a discursive perspective whose elements are genres, discourses (in the countable sense, referring to representations) and styles. In other words, genres, discourses and styles constitute orders of discourse since they constitute social practices. Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 265) describe orders of discourse as “structured sets of discursive practices associated with particular social domains”. The order of discourse of a social institution is constituted by all the discursive types which are used there, which are all related among them (e.g. the discursive types of the classroom and that of the playground within the school context). Thus, the fact that the link between the sociocultural and the textual is made indirectly by (sets of) discourse practices means that properties of sociocultural context do not directly shape a text, but they do so by shaping the nature of the discourse practice.

It is worth noting that orders of discourse are not necessarily the only link between discourse and society. Van Dijk (1985f), for instance, suggests that the connection between social order and discursive practices is represented by personal and social cognitive resources used by social actors in their practice and the relationship between individual and group interpretations (in the case of sexist discourse, for example).

2.3.2. Levels of Text Analysis in CDA

Coming to the second element which characterizes CDA, in this section I will define the meaning that CDA gives to the concept of “text analysis”. CDA does not offer a readymade “method” of analysis which can be merely applied mechanically to any text. What CDA offers is an interdisciplinary model for multilayered analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis involves several levels of investigation based on a three-dimensional framework sketched by Fairclough (1992) for defining and analysing discourse. The first dimension is discourse as *text*, the second dimension is discourse

as *discursive practice* and the third dimension is discourse as *social practice*. I will describe these three dimensions in more detail in the following.

Discourse as *text* refers to “the linguistic features and organisation of concrete instances of discourse” (Blommaert, 2005: 29). At this level, the analysis focuses on the internal relations of texts, such as semantic, grammatical, lexical and phonological relations. The use of nominalisation or passive voice in news reports, for instance, may have the effect of obscuring human agency.

Discourse as *social practice* refers to the “the ideological effects and hegemonic processes in which discourse is seen to operate” (Blommaert, 2005: 29). At this level, the analysis concentrates on the relations of a text with non-linguistic factors, more precisely with social practices (actions, identifications and representations), social structures and social organization: the situation, the institutional context, the wider group or social context. Here questions of power and ideology are of central interests. Fairclough refers in particular to Antonio Gramsci’s (1971) concept of hegemony (see 2.5.2). In his view, discourse and hegemony are connected and “control over discursive practices are a struggle for predominance over orders of discourse. Hegemony is understood as transitory and unstable, and orders of discourse are an area of potential cultural hegemony” (Titscher et al., 2000: 151). It is from this third dimension that Fairclough constructs the approach to social change: discursive change may indicate hegemonic change. As Blommaert (2005: 30) has put it: “The way in which discourse is being represented, re-spoken, or re-written sheds light on the emergence of new orders of discourse, struggles over normativity, attempts at control, and resistance against regimes of power”.

Finally, Fairclough’s framework includes the intermediate dimension of analysis of discourse as *discursive practice*, i.e. something that is “produced, circulated, distributed, consumed in society” (Blommaert, 2005: 29). Approaching discourse as discursive practice means that, after analysing linguistic structures, attention should be given to aspects that link a text to its wider social context, such as coherence, speech acts, intertextuality and interdiscursivity⁶. Discursive practices represent the

⁶ For a detailed account of intertextuality and interdiscursivity see 2.6.2. below and section 3.3.2. in the following chapter.

intermediate level between text and social practice and it constitutes the link between them. This level of analysis is closely related to both the textual level and social level. According to Fairclough:

Analysis of discursive practice should [...] involve a combination of what one might call ‘micro analysis’ and ‘macro analysis’. The former is the sort of analysis which conversation analysts excel at: the explication of precisely how participants produce and interpret texts on the basis of their member’s resources⁷. But this must be complemented with macro-analysis in order to know the nature of the member’s resources (including orders of discourse) that is being drawn upon in order to produce and interpret texts, and whether it is being drawn upon in normative or creative ways. Indeed, one cannot carry out micro-analysis without knowing this. And, of course, micro-analysis is the best place to uncover that information: as such, it provides evidence for macro-analysis. Micro-and macro-analysis are therefore mutual requisites. It is because of their interrelationship that the dimension of discourse practice in my three-dimensional framework can mediate the relationship between the dimensions of social practice and text: it is the nature of the social practice that determines the macro-processes of discourse practice, and it is the micro-processes that shape the text.

(Fairclough, 1992: 85-86)

Yet, as highlighted above, discursive practices do not need be normative and they can also be creative, mixing together and articulating different genres, styles and discourses in a single text. Therefore, this level of analysis is also linked to intertextual and interdiscursive analysis that look at the “articulations of different discourses, genres and styles (assuming that texts are normally complex – or hybrid, or mixed – with respect to each of these categories) that characterizes a particular texts” (Fairclough, 2005: 61). According to Fairclough (1995), interdiscursivity and intertextuality within text analysis have a bridging function between text and context: they are concerned with the relations between a certain text and other “external” texts and with how elements of other texts are incorporated into another text, i.e. how they are assumed, alluded or referred to. As Titscher et al. have put it:

⁷ See 2.6.2 below and 3.3.2 in the following chapter.

How discourses and genres are combined, or how texts are ultimately produced and interpreted, depends upon the social context: a stable set of social relationships and identities implies a relatively orthodox and normative use of discourse and genres together with a respect for social conventions.

(Titscher et al., 2000: 151)

Intertextual analysis looks at the traces of the discourse practice in the text and “mediates the connection between language and social context” (Fairclough, 1999: 185). It aims at unravelling the various genres and discourses and styles that can be creatively articulated in texts. Unlike linguistic analysis, intertextual analysis is an interpretative kind of analysis, not a descriptive one. Linguistic features provide evidence which intertextual analysis interprets by locating the text in relation to “social repertoires of discourse practices, i.e. orders of discourse” (Fairclough, 1995: 61). Interpretation cannot happen merely on the basis of a focus on language. CDA does focus on discourse, but never in isolation, always in its relations with other elements, which explains why CDA represents an interdisciplinary approach to Discourse Analysis.

The analysis of discourse in CDA is just one possible point of entry into the study of a certain “research object” drawing upon analytical categories belonging to several disciplines. Systemic Functional Linguistics, conversation analysis, pragmatics or even methods of corpus linguistics offer methods of analysis which CDA can appropriate. Corpus Linguistics in particular (see 2.2.1. and 3.3.), will be particularly relevant in this study that aims at integrating a quantitative and qualitative approach to textual analysis in order to study the discourse surrounding rape crimes in the British press.

The interdisciplinary nature of CDA and the lack of a given paradigm of analysis make it possible to combine diverse disciplinary perspectives in a CDA-informed analysis and to complement other forms of social and cultural analysis with textual analysis (Fairclough, 2003: 210). But CDA has one more element which distinguishes it from more standard forms of sociocultural analysis: CDA is a resource for critical social research, it addresses social problems and struggles of dominated groups. This third aspect of CDA will be outlined in the next section.

2.3.3. Critique

The “critical” dimension of Critical Discourse Analysis relates to both its interdisciplinary approach to research and to its being a method of analysis which cannot be separated from certain assumptions and essential elements. As highlighted above, CDA defines discourse as a social practice which is socially constituted and socially constitutive, that means that discourse

constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it.

(Wodak, 1997: 6)

CDA assumes that power relations, in terms of maintaining or disrupting the status quo, are discursive. One fundamental assumption in CDA is that “language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power” (Habermas, 1977: 259, cit. in Wodak, 2001: 2). Consequently, CDA is indispensably related to concepts of power and ideology, assuming that

language indexes power, expresses power, is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power. Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and long term.

(Wodak, 2001: 3)

The ideology of powerful groups is legitimized through the naturalization of conventions, which obscure and stabilize as “given” the effects of power and ideology in the production of meaning. When ideology is perceived as commonsense it becomes widely accepted and achieves consent, leading to one particular social group having hegemonic power. Discourse can play a key role in the maintaining of social structures, since “discourse can be ideological in so far as it contributes to sustaining particular relations of power and domination” (Fairclough, 2001: 126). Ideological power is the “power to project one’s practices as universal and common

sense and it has a particular significance because it is exercised through discourse” (Fairclough, 1989: 33). Ideological power is exercised through discourse in two ways: power is exercised *in* discourse and power is exercised *over* discourse. The former is a very relevant issue in the case of media, since the mainstream media are often seen as the carriers of the dominant political ideology because of the exploitation of the media by politicians. The latter is a matter of access to discourse which is not democratically distributed in society, since less powerful people have usually limited or no access to the media in terms of determining the media agenda. But power over discourse is also a matter of being able to define the limits and the structure of certain discursive practices, thus shaping the long-term orders of discourses as the dominant naturalized ways of making meaning, as opposed to other marginal or oppositional “alternatives”. Yet these power relations are not fixed, rather, they are the site of power struggles and transformation of power relations. This is why the critical aspect of CDA is twofold. On the one hand, CDA focuses on what is wrong with a society (negative critique); on the other hand, it looks at how wrongs in society might be righted or mitigated (positive critique) (Fairclough, 2010: 7). A negative critique pays attention to the major ideological effects that discursive practices may have, that is to say, how they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between, for instance, social classes, ethnic/cultural minorities and majorities and genders through the way they position people and represent things. In this context, CDA claims that social and political processes have a linguistic-discursive character, since most social and political changes in society generally include a significant element of cultural and ideological change. So discourse may be, for example, racist or sexist and it may try to hide ideological assumptions by presenting them as mere common sense, making it difficult for people to see how different aspects of social life are connected through relations of power and domination and how certain social practices are ideologically loaded. “CDA aims to make more visible these opaque aspects of discourse” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). Critique in CDA is essentially “making visible the interconnectedness of things” (Fairclough, 2010: 39) and an attempt to develop a critical awareness of discursive strategies which reinforce dominant power relations and which may be distorted out of vision, in the hope of providing a resource to struggle against them.

This is where the positive critique comes into play in CDA. Researchers doing critical Discourse Analysis try to understand how people seek remedy or mitigate social wrongs and try to identify further possibilities for righting or mitigating them. This is only possible by considering a text as a site of struggle, where the recontextualisation of competing discourses shows traces of differing (and sometimes contradictory) discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance. Positive critique looks at contradictions, gaps, forms of resistance or failures of the dominant social structuring in the way language figures within a social practice. Many CDA scholars are also active in various political groups and, in contrast to scholars in other fields, they make their interests explicit. Non-discriminatory language is widely promoted in schools and one important area of study of CDA is sexist language use. Guidelines for non-sexist language use have been produced and serve to make women visible in language and thus also in institutions, in the hope that different discourse with and about women can slowly lead to change in consciousness (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 280).

Because of its very strong focus on social power abuse, dominance and inequality and on how these can be resisted by text and talk in the social and political context, Critical Discourse Analysis can be considered as a form of dissident research, which takes explicit position and aims at understanding, exposing, and ultimately resisting social inequality (van Dijk, 2001a: 360). This approach inevitably gives rise to issues of bias and can seem problematic to those who expect more “objective” forms of analysis. CDA is an engaged and committed form of analysis. It is also a form of intervention in social practice and social relationships, a form of social action. Yet, this does not imply that CDA does not follow standards of careful, rigorous and systematic analysis nor that CDA is an exception to the normal objectivity of social science. What is different about CDA is that it intervenes on the side of dominated and oppressed groups and against dominating groups and it does so by openly declaring its emancipatory interests, whereas in other forms of scientific research this political motivation – which in the perspective of CDA, is always present, even in more allegedly objective approaches – usually remains less explicit (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258-259). CDA is explanatory and interpretative in nature, but its interpretations and explanations are never definitive nor absolutely authoritative;

they are dynamic and open to new contexts and new information. In van Dijk's (2001b: 96) words, "biased scholarship is not inherently bad scholarship. On the contrary, [...] unlike much other scholarship, CDA does not deny but explicitly defines and defends its own socio-political position. That is, CDA is biased – and proud of it".

It is precisely this overtly politically invested programme of Discourse Analysis which informs the theoretical background of this study and forms the link between Critical Discourse Analysis and feminist language and media studies. The cornerstone of these disciplines is a focus upon unequal social arrangements sustained through language use and upon the development of strategies to achieve social transformation and emancipation. In the final section of this chapter (see 2.8.) I will look at how and why Critical Discourse Analysis, and in particular Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis represents a useful framework of analysis to understand how unequal gender relations in society can be sustained and/or challenged by complex workings of power and ideology in media discourse when it comes to the representation of gender-based violence in the news.

2.4. STRUCTURES OF THE MEDIA

In this section, I will outline some of the properties of media discourse (and the media production process) that are relevant for my analysis. In the second part of the section, I will describe how these properties interact to determine media power. Before moving on to the analysis of these properties, a terminological clarification is in order. The expression "media" is used in this study to refer specifically to "mass media" and "mass communication", rather than to means of communication in general.

2.4.1. Media as Monologue

Mass communication has certain properties which differentiate it from other forms of communication. One of the most evident feature of mass communication is the temporal and spatial disjunction between text production and text consumption, that is, meanings are encoded into media texts during the production process and they

will serve in another “moment” of meaning production, i.e. the decoding practices of the audience (Fairclough, 1995: 36). The media function as a connection between a public activity (media production) and a private one (audience consumption), which are performed in two different moments. This disjunction depends mostly on the technology used by the medium. Through the use of digital technologies, for example, the print media are now more open to comments and interaction with their readers. Yet, despite the emergence of new forms of mass communication, media communicative events are mostly a sort of monologue, rather than a form of real interaction. The vast majority of media discourse is one-sided. This does not only mean that there is no direct communication between producer and receiver, but also that the audience is not entitled to directly contribute to communication. Mostly, media audiences are legitimated to only read (or listen or view) what producers offer them. Thus, this kind of semi-interaction lacks the simultaneous feedback that, by contrast, is typical of face-to-face interaction (Fairclough, 1995: 40).

This feature of mass communication inevitably gives rise to questions about the nature of power relations in mass media discourse. As Fairclough (1989: 50) has put it, “producers exercise power over consumers in that they have sole producing rights and can therefore determine what is included and excluded [and] how events are represented”. A further aspect of the power of the media is their ability to determine the *subject position*⁸ of their audiences. One of the consequences of the lack of real interaction in mass media communication is that producers need to postulate and construct an *ideal subject*, be it viewer, reader or listener, and this happens partly on the basis of guesses and partly on the basis of accurate market surveys. The role of the subject, though, is not just a passive one. As the ambiguity of the word suggests, a subject is both a person under the jurisdiction of someone else and the “doer” of an action. Being positioned as social subjects, therefore, be it as author or audience, is a matter of setting the boundaries of what can be done and what not, at the same time limiting certain actions and enabling others (Fairclough, 1989: 39). The subject is both created and creative and power functions as both an oppressive and productive force. Additionally, people occupy several subject positions in their daily life and

⁸ Subject’ is used here in the double active/passive sense of ‘subject’ (as opposed to ‘object’) and ‘being subject to’. See also Section 2.6.1. below for the ideological implications related to subject positioning.

over a lifetime. A consequence is that the subject is not a coherent and unitary entity, but it is dispersed among various subject positions (ibid.: 104). As it will be shown shortly (see 2.6.1.), the positioning of the subject has ideological implications (ibid.: 103).

2.4.2. Collective Nature of Media Production

A further feature of mass media communication is that the production of texts is shaped by a series of institutional practices and routines. In the case of news articles, for instance, their production can actually be seen as a chain of communicative events, rather than as a single event. No single individual can be held responsible for the end product, since the very nature of media production is collective. Dimmick and Coit (1982, cit. in van Zoonen, 1994: 47) describe media production as a hierarchical system constituted of nine interdependent levels. At the lowest level is the individual communicator, whose personal features (age, gender, ethnicity, education, political ideas) will influence her/his decisions. Unfortunately, despite the mythology of “freedom of press” and “freedom of speech”, the autonomy of this single individual is restricted by those factors ranking higher in this hierarchical system. The other levels include environmental factors, such as “dynamic communication”, that is face-to-face contact with other individuals (level 8) and meetings with other groups of people (level 7). Organizational factors (work routines, institutional policies, power relations) occupy level 6 of the system. Moving higher up the hierarchy, there are external factors influencing production, such as the market where the medium is located in (level 5), factors like ownership and management (level 4) and the organization of the industry as a whole, as in the case of relations with other communication conglomerates (level 3). The two highest levels include factors deriving from national policies (level 2) and from the policies of international organizations (level 1). It is clear how some of these factors influencing a communicator’s autonomy are quite distant from her/his daily work experience.

It must be noted that the chain structure of media production is not just vertical, but also horizontal. In the case of news production, for instance, a journalist’s first draft may be changed “by the chief reporter, the news editor, the editor, the chief sub-

editor, a page sub-editor, or the check sub-editor” (Bell, 1991: 44-46). Moreover, since the source material is usually made up of items already *produced* by news agencies, the same process may take place in several newsrooms before actually appearing as a newspaper article. But it is not simply earlier versions of an article that can be transformed along the way, since the transformation happens already at the level of sources, which represent the basis of most stories told in the news⁹. Interviews, political speeches, official documents can be reduced, paraphrased, recontextualised and finally embedded in the text to the extent that readers may not be able to tell whether what they are reading is the source’s voice or a reformulation of it, since the boundaries between the reporter’s and the reported person’s words may not always be clearly drawn. Therefore media production can be conceptualized as a transformation across a chain of communicative events, as a series of layers represented by the transformation and adaptation of discourses produced by different sources and embedded in previous versions created by other individuals and institutions and ultimately recontextualised in the final text. The stories we read in the newspaper are clearly not the result of the work or ideology of a single person. To each level of the chain corresponds a different version which suits best the concerns, priorities and goals of the current stage (Fairclough, 1995: 48), raising questions of power, ideology and manipulation.

2.4.3. Sources

As it has just been shown in the previous section, the collective nature of media discourse refers to the chain of production which involves both the ones who report (the news) and to those whose voices are reported, i.e. (news) sources. The availability of sources is one factor, if not the factor, which determines what will or will not be reported. In the specific case of news production, news cannot be expected to come in spontaneously, it has to be gathered. Journalists rely on a limited set of official sources for news gathering which are systematically drawn upon as sources of “facts”.

⁹ For a detailed account of news sources see 2.4.3..

Some of these sources are monitored routinely, as in the case of government sources and the police. Other sources are considered as legitimate: trade unions, non-governmental organizations or individuals like scientific and technical experts. These sources are legitimated in various ways: by way of their social status or their official authority, for instance. Organizations which are not perceived as legitimate, e.g. those defined as “extremist” political parties, are either totally excluded or more rarely consulted. Thus, those who get access to the news are mostly the rich and powerful, thus securing access to the papers for their voice to be heard and their views to be aired (Fowler, 1991: 22). Ordinary people, by contrast, are heeded as typifications of reactions to the news, but not as news sources, they are entitled to represent a “local voice”, with their *experience*, but their *opinions* are not invited into – or do not have access to – the papers as a “national voice” (Gee, 2005: 77). It is rather obvious, then, that the people and organizations that the press uses as sources in news reporting do not represent equally all social groupings in the population. The result is that the view of the world transmitted by the media in general and by the news in particular is mostly that of the establishment, and media texts mostly encode the discourse of the powerful elite (Fowler, 1991: 23).

In the case of reported sexist violence in the news, for instance, the material used by newspapers is mostly gathered from court proceedings and the police. When discussing changes in the law, sources are mostly gathered from parliamentary proceedings. Given that, in many cases, sources form the very structure of the news, the reporting of gender-based violence cannot be balanced if it is based on sources representing mostly authoritative sources and the judicial context. The only kind of information which does not come from the judiciary in news articles about sexist violence is gathered from activists or research academics, although in most articles these sources often receive only short shrift – if any (Soothill and Walby, 1991: 15).

2.4.4. Newsworthiness

The availability of sources is not the only factor influencing the newsmaking process. The news media select events for reporting according to a complex set of criteria of newsworthiness. News is not simply that which happens, but that which is regarded and can be presented as newsworthy. The selection process is not necessarily a

conscious one, but certain stories are preferred over others because their “news value” functions as gate-keeping for other stories which do not satisfy the newsworthiness criteria. The more one event satisfies such criteria, the more it is likely to be reported.

Fowler (1991) lists the following criteria, formulated by Galtung and Ruge (1973, cit. in Fowler, 1991: 13-15), which define the news value of a story:

Frequency: an event is more likely to be reported if its duration is close to the publication frequency of the news medium. Since newspapers are generally published once a day, a single event is more likely to be reported than a long process. For instance, the publication of an incident of rape is more newsworthy than the long-term phenomenon of structural patriarchy in society.

Threshold: the size needed for an event to become newsworthy. For instance, a serial rapist is more likely to get attention than a case of rape involving a single woman.

Unambiguity, meaningfulness (cultural proximity, relevance, consonance): these relate to the audience’s ability in making sense of an event. Events which are culturally closer are preferred over those which are geographically far away, although the criterion of relevance may override that of cultural proximity.

Unexpectedness: an event is more newsworthy if it happens without warning and/or is unusual.

Continuity: once something has hit the headlines and has been defined as “news”, it will continue to be defined as news for some time even if the amplitude is dramatically reduced.

Composition: the balance in a paper influences what will be in the news; in other words, what will be reported – and what will not – depends on what else is available for inclusion.

Reference to elite nations: preferred reference to superpowers in world cultural and political affairs.

Reference to elite people: preferred reference to notable persons, sometimes transforming them into symbols, like for instance in the case of “Princess Diana”.

Reference to persons: persons are used as symbols of something else in the news leading to the avoidance of serious discussions and explanations of economic, social, political factors, favouring a commonsensical representation of events.

Reference to something negative: negativity is a culture-bound element rather than a natural one. There is no inherent reason why disasters should be more newsworthy than triumphs, but this is a powerful criterion for the selection of news stories.

From this list (especially from the last four elements) it is possible to see how these criteria are mostly “cultural” rather than “natural”, since they are based on general values about society, such as “consensus” and “hierarchy”. The sheer fact that the application of such criteria varies significantly from one paper to the other (from newspapers to tabloids, for instance) underlines their artificiality and their social, rather than natural origin. The news is constructed, it is made up of events transformed into news material and, as the list of newsworthiness criteria shows, not all events are equally newsworthy. In order to produce a “meaningful” message for the audience, the media particularly rely on tacit mental categories called stereotypes. A stereotype is a “socially-constructed mental pigeon-hole into which events and individuals can be stored, thereby making such events and individuals comprehensible” (Fowler, 1991: 17). Thanks to stereotypes, people are able to identify and categorize events, experiences, objects or persons. Stereotypes, in general, have social counterparts which appear to support and legitimize them with an obsessive homocentric preoccupation with countries, societies and individuals which are perceived as familiar, with well-defined boundaries and belonging to well-defined groups; whatever lies outside the “group” is represented as alien and threatening. The necessary presupposition for the creation of such groups is that there exists a *consensual* model of society, without divisions or variations. “Consensus” is key in this context, since it is on the basis of this assumed “democratic” theory of social action that it is possible to create the illusion of a liberal society and at the

same time to create a dichotomous division between “us” and “them”, between the familiar and the unfamiliar. The creation of the “group” is instrumental to the creation of its opposite, and it is a central ideological concept in the opposition between “us” and “them” (Fowler, 1991: 16)

2.4.5. Media Economics

The economic imperatives that push towards profit maximization are another important factor influencing the production of media discourse. It is important to remember that the media are an industry and a business which is profit-oriented and is very much open to commercial pressures. Thus, it is to be expected that economic considerations will be an important determinant of media activities and media output, in other words of media practices and texts. Patterns of ownership are also important, since, although indirectly, they can affect media discourse. Ownership is increasingly in the hands of large multinational media conglomerates, whose business is the “culture industry”, and this intensifies the association of the media with capitalist interests. The extremely competitive commercial environment, the commercial and industrial structures and relationships of the media industry and the interests of those who own the media are bound to have an effect also on what is produced and, in the case of the news, on what is published and on how it is presented. Money, the celebration of capitalist values (since the mainstream newspaper industry participates in this system) are part of the topics the media in general and the news in particular are bound to be preoccupied with (Fowler, 1991: 20).

In the newsmaking context, the economic factor does not simply affect what is represented in the news, it also affects how it is represented, i.e. the communicative style of the news. As shown above (see 2.4.1.), a crucial feature of the mass media (including the new media) is that they “mediate” between the public and the private domains. In order to do so, in a social and economic context in which the relationship between the media and their audiences is increasingly more similar to the entertainer/consumer relationship than to the informant/informed relationship, the media have had to adapt their communicative style in order to adjust to the priorities, values and practices of private life. The traditional role of the news media as informant, for instance, had to be adapted to and made compatible with the

increasing marketization of the industry, that is, with its tendency to shift towards an entertainment, promotional culture and its increasing construction of audiences as consumers and media products as commodities, leading media producers to be subjected to an amplified pressure to entertain. This was achieved through the development and introduction of a “public colloquial” language, that is “a public language for use in the media which is modelled to varying degrees and in varying ways upon the practices of informal, colloquial, conversational speech” (Fairclough, 1995: 38). A concrete example is the increased number of anchorwomen in television as compared with the past. If, on the one hand, this can absolutely be considered as a success for women emancipation, on the other hand one should not think that this is simply the result of feminist struggles. In accordance with the new media policy of offering audiences the opportunity to identify with events and personalities in the media industry, the presence of women represents the shift from the rationalistic (“masculine”) approach to television news to a more entertaining and emotional (“feminine”) genre (van Zoonen, 1994: 59).

Yet, market pressures are not the only reason behind the so-called phenomenon of *conversationalization*, i.e. the merging of private and public practices, despite the public nature of the media and the private nature of media consumption (Fairclough, 1995: 11). Conversationalization can also be seen as related to power relations in media discourse. If, on the one hand, it can be seen as an opening up and democratization of social relations, a new public prestige of popular culture, on the other hand, it is also ideological, since it can also be seen as a strategy on the part of those with power to recruit more people as audiences and naturalize the way in which reality is represented (Fowler, 1991: 57).

The concept of ideology (see 2.3.3. and 2.5.) often implies practices such as manipulation or distortion in the pursuit of particular interests. Thus, by saying, for instance, that conversationalization is ideological, some form of complicity between the media and the dominant social classes is implied. But such complicity should not be assumed, it should rather be assessed case by case. The media (and newspaper) industry should not be perceived as *deliberately* supporting the dominant ideology. A conspiracy theory of media practice is not plausible nor is this study aimed at

demonstrating it. The assumption of this study is that the media are in a more complex relationship with the dominant interests and that sometimes there may even be direct conflict between the mainstream media and the government or the capital. The media have the potential to be a powerful ideological apparatus, but this does not necessarily mean that they intentionally manipulate people and silence opponents.

This study is therefore aimed at understanding how the several dimensions influencing media production (economic imperatives, the one-sidedness direction of communication, the intersection between public and private and the tension between information and entertainment) reflect in the range of discourses used by newspapers when reporting sexist violence and how these discourses can be used as ideological tools in constructing the news (Fowler, 1991: 24).

2.5. MEDIA AND POWER

The previous section has shown how mechanisms of power, ideology, manipulation and cultural dominance are involved in all dimensions of media discourse and media production processes. Thus a major issue when analysing media discourse is how mass communication may play a role of support to the existing dominant system.

2.5.1. Media and Society

As it has been argued above (see 2.3.1.2.), discourse is linked to social structures through a dialectical relationship. Media discourse is no exception. As well as being determined by social structures, media discourse has effects upon them and it may either contribute to the achievement of social continuity or it may bring about social change. Thus, media discourse, conceptualized as social practice (see below for a definition of social practice) does not merely reflect an independent reality; as a social practice, it can also *affect* reality, since the relationship between the two is an active one. It is because of this very dialectical relationship between social structure and (media) discourse that the latter assumes significance in terms of power relations and power struggle (Fairclough, 1989: 37). The mainstream media have an immense potential power and influence, including a mobilizing power. Yet, at the same time, they have an enormous ideological potential and the state (and the capital) have an

evident interest in controlling mainstream media output because of the mass nature of media events. The news, for instance, is particularly significant in our everyday life, given that most of our political knowledge and beliefs about the world derive from dozens of news reports we read or see every day (van Dijk, 1988b: 110).

What does it mean to state that in a dialectical relationship media are determined by social structures? As shown above (see 2.4.5.), the media are part and parcel of a capitalist system, that is to say “a system in which the maximization of the profits and power of one class depends upon the maximization of its exploitation and domination of another” (Fairclough, 1989: 35). Given the increasing focus placed upon the consumption of commodities in capitalist societies, the commodity market massively impinges upon people’s lives, especially through the media (think about advertisements, for example) which play a key role as media-tors between the public world of media production and private lives of people in their homes and families (Fairclough, 1989: 35). Media corporations (and their owners) are therefore also part and parcel of the so-called dominant bloc, an alliance of capitalists (and others) whose interests are tied to the capital. In the specific case of the news this means that, along with the overt agenda of “informing” the audience, there will also be a hidden agenda aimed at reproducing class relations based on the unbalance between those who own the media and need to make profit and those who are exploited (Fairclough, 1989: 39).

2.5.2. Media, Power and Ideology

The constant dose of news which most people receive each day is a significant factor of social control, since it also accounts for a significant proportion of a person’s average daily source of involvement in public discourse. In modern societies, the social control exercised by the media in general and the news in particular is increasingly achieved through consent. Consent, as opposed to coercion, consists in integrating people into disadvantageous apparatuses of control which they come to feel themselves to be part of (e.g. as consumers, or as parts of a “democratic” society) and eventually to accept. Consent is the key to the acceptance of the dominant ideology, or “meaning in the service of power” (Thompson, 1984, 1990, cit. in Fairclough, 1995: 14). Ideologies are particular ways of representing and

constructing society, which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation. Ideologies are often false or ungrounded constructions of reality (for example, gender ideologies representing women as less emotionally stable than men). But ideologies are not just a matter of representation, since the construction of identity is a key ideological process too. From a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, ideology is a “process which articulates together particular representation of reality, and particular constructions of identity, especially of the collective identities of groups and communities” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 265).

Ideology generally features in texts in the form of implicit, commonsensical assumptions and contributes to producing and reproducing unequal relations of power. Therefore, ideological power is usually a kind of hidden power. The main feature of hidden power is that it has a commonsense appearance which hides its underlying dominant essence so that eventually it comes to be legitimized and accepted. Acceptance is not achieved through coercion, then, but through consent. Consent is based on the very assumption that there exists a shared commonsensical belief system. Gramsci (1971) referred to this kind of power achieved through consent, as opposed to power achieved through coercion, as hegemony. Part of the hegemonic power of the dominant class has to do with the control it has over the definition of commonsensical practices and the legitimation of boundaries across a plurality of practices with the aim of sustaining relations of domination and legitimizing existing relations of power. What comes to be common sense is indeed in large measure determined by the dominant bloc in society or those who exercise power in a social institution. Section 2.5.1. has illustrated the role of the mainstream media as a part the dominant bloc and, as such, they are endowed with the power of influencing or determining common sense. At the same time, they have the power of reinforcing the existing commonsensical ideologies, for instance by *choosing* news sources mostly among dominant voices or by *selecting* the news according to criteria of newsworthiness which are mostly based on homocentrism. As Meyers (1997: 22) has put it, newsworthiness criteria represent a “framework that supports the dominant ideology while marginalizing, trivializing and constructing as deviant or dangerous any challenge to it”. It is important to underline that this process is not the product of

a conspiracy; it is rather the outcome of the institutionalised professional imperatives and commercial interests of the media as a social organization.

It is worth highlighting that a great amount of media power derives from the cumulative effect they have on their audience. A single news article, for instance, has no power *per se*; it is the repetition of a particular way of handling things, particular ways of positioning readers that gives the media a pervasive and powerful influence, especially considering the scale of modern mass media communication and the extremely high level of exposure of whole populations to a media output which is relatively homogeneous (Fairclough, 1989: 54).

2.6. THE EFFECTS OF POWER ON MEDIA OUTPUT

In the previous section it has been argued that consent plays a key role in the exercise of ideological power; this section will look at the effects of power on media output. All the dimensions of media discourse and the factors determining media texts which have been described earlier in this chapter are somehow involved in the ideological function of the mass media in supporting the dominant system. I will describe the intersection between features of media discourse and power relations in the following.

2.6.1. Subject (and Situation) Positioning

In Section 2.4.5. it has been argued that the media “package” their commodities in a certain way so that their consumers will buy them. But this “packaging” is not only linked to profit-making. It also has an ideological function.

In Section 2.4.1., for instance, it has been argued that the one-sidedness of mass media communication, creates the need for communicators to invent an ideal subject or *ideal reader* (or viewer or listener) and to position her/him as a subject. Why is this subject positioning problematic? In Althusser’s words, the elementary ideological effect is precisely “the ‘obviousness’ that you and I are subjects – and that does not cause any problems” (1971, cit. in Fairclough, 1989: 102). The implication of this designation is that, because of the very “obvious” character of this assumption, people are not usually aware of being socially positioned as subjects and

they tend to see their own subjective identity as something predetermined, that defines them and that comes before society. This idealist misperception tends to see individuals as pre-social, with their pre-given, independent features shaping society rather than the other way round. In claiming that positioning subjects is the “elementary” ideological effect, Althusser (1971, cit. in Fairclough, 1989: 102-104) suggests that constituting subjects is what ideology is about, that all ideology is in some way or another to do with positioning subjects, i.e. with setting constraints and opening up possibilities for what individuals are allowed to do and what they are not allowed to do. Furthermore, the strength of such practices lies in them being perceived as “obvious”, or “natural” features, thus legitimizing the dominant system through misrecognition of arbitrariness, i.e. recognition of legitimacy for certain ways of seeing things among other competing possible and struggling ways. This process of *naturalization* represents “the royal road to common sense” (Fairclough, 1989: 91-92) and the main ally of ideology, since ideology is stronger when it is naturalized. In this sense, ideology can become commonsensical when the discourses and practices which sustain it will cease to be perceived as arbitrary (in the sense of being just one possibility among several possible ways of seeing or doing things) and will start being perceived as natural and legitimate. In this sense, ideological common sense is a product of a hidden form of power.

One may think, for instance, of the positioning of individuals as “man” or “woman” (with the relative practices associated with one or the other subject position) as the first subject positioning every individual is subject to. Hall has noted that “both ‘gender’ and ‘race’ appear ‘to be given by Nature’, so that they become among the most profoundly ‘naturalized’ of existing ideologies” (1981: 32, cit. in Meyers, 1997: 19-20). Patriarchy, for example, benefits from the notion that men are naturally and therefore rightfully more sexually aggressive than women and thus it justifies the use of that aggression against those who are not similarly endowed – that is, women (Meyers, 1997: 19).

Subjects and discourses are not the only entities affected by naturalisation, since this phenomenon also applies to practices and situations, which do not exist prior to and independently of society but in a sense are a product of society. Naturalisation of

practices is what happens, for instance, in the newsroom. Journalists assimilate the concept of newsworthiness already at the education and training levels (van Zoonen, 1994). This is precisely a consequence of the naturalisation of practices, since learning a dominant discourse comes to be seen as simply acquiring the necessary skills to operate in a particular institution. In other words, when journalists think they are learning the *natural* way of doing the job, they are actually learning (and in most cases adapting to) the *dominant* way (Fairclough, 1989: 92). This happens because the nature of media power (and in general the nature of hegemonic power) is hidden, not just from the audiences, but also (at least to some degree) from media workers, for whom the practices of production – which can be seen as facilitating the exercise of the dominant power – are perceived as professional standards. This would explain why female journalists accept and adjust to standards of excellence which are usually associated with “masculinity”, with the consequent struggle to balance between “deviance” from their socialization as women and adaptation to it and between being good professionals and socialized as women at the same time (Kitzinger, 1998: 198). This dilemma is caused by the fact that people in the media also occupy subject positions, and, as shown above (see 2.4.1.), such positions can be multiple, contradictory and heterogeneous. Journalists can occupy the subject position of the reporter, which is at the same time an active position (the one who writes articles) and a passive one (the one who is under the authority of the media management). But a reporter is also an individual with a given age, ethnicity, gender. With reference to the poststructuralist conceptualization of gender as something that people “do” and not as the end product of a stereotyped division, it is possible to understand how gender is merely one aspect of a subjectivity which is constructed, a process where an individual is positioned and repositioned through a variety of discursive practices. Identities and subjectivities are not fixed, they are constantly shifting and are constructed through people’s experiences of a variety of subject positions which are created in discourse (Fairclough, 1989: 41).

2.6.2. Intertextuality

In the sections above (2.3.1.1. and 2.3.2.) the phenomenon of intertextuality has been introduced as the de-construction and re-construction of texts and discourses

produced beforehand and elsewhere to make them fit with current texts and discourses (Fairclough, 1989: 210). It has also been mentioned how, in order for a text to be meaningful for a heterogeneous audience, recontextualisation of (old) texts and discourses into new ones is based on presuppositions, i.e. “preconstructed” elements within a text, elements which were produced in prior texts and that are assumed to be a common background for both the communicator and her/his audience. Finally, it has been shown how this assumed common belief system is based on stereotyped categorizations of people and events. One major question, at this point, is how the communicator can be sure that the reader, in the case of the news for instance, will make the right inference from the list of possibilities given by the polysemy of language, how s/he can be sure that they will infer the right meaning. As previously argued (see 2.4.1.), there is no guarantee that the right inference will actually take place, but there is a good chance that the reader will fall into the subject position of the “ideal reader” created for her/him by the writer, rather than opposing it. This coincidence between what the writer is trying to communicate and what the reader actually infers can be explained with what Fairclough calls Members’ Resources (1989: 11) or, in van Dijk words, *models* and *scripts* (van Dijk, 1985b) (see also 3.3.2.). At this stage, it may be helpful to briefly explain how cognitive processes, i.e. mental processes involved in meaning-making, come into play when talking about ideology and discourse in the newsmaking process. The premise for understanding the interaction between discourse, ideology and cognition is that “texts do not ‘have’ meanings, but are assigned meanings by language users, or, to be precise, by the mental processes of language users” (van Dijk, 1988a: 116). Analysing the cognitive strategies used by readers when understanding or memorizing a text may be helpful in understanding how meanings are assigned. But cognitive strategies are not only used by readers: they are also implemented by journalists when producing news reports and creating the “ideal reader”.

Such cognitive strategies and representations are based on non-linguistic factors which nonetheless influence language, i.e. Members’ Resources (MRs). MRs constitute the basis of presuppositions and can be used in media texts in order to recall stereotypes. Fairclough (1989: 158) refers to MRs as *frames*, *scripts* and *schemata*, a family of types of mental representations of aspects of the world. They

represent people's world knowledge and, like all mental representations, they are ideologically variable, since they are ideologically shaped and socially determined.

In short, a schema is the mental representation of a particular type of activity, including predictable elements of an event (e.g. if we read about a car crash we can imagine that there was a cause, consequences, probably damage to things and/or people, by and large we know the structure of car accidents). Thanks to this *typified* background knowledge "in our mind" we are able to interpret similar events.

While a schema represents *modes* of social behaviours, frames represent the *entities* that populate them. A frame is a representation of whatever can figure as a "topic" in an activity. They can refer to persons, other animate being or objects, but also to processes or abstract concepts. While a schema refers to *how* things happen, a frame refers to *what* can happen and to *whom*.

Finally, scripts represent the characteristics of *subjects* involved in certain activities and the relationships between them. They typify the ways in which specific subjects behave in social activities and how they interact within each other. For example, people have scripts for a doctor, a patient and how they are expected to interact.

As stated above, schemata, scripts and frames are mental representations and are therefore ideologically variable. It is schemata, scripts and frames which "bear the ideological imprint of socially dominant power-holders that are likely to be a naturalized resource for all" (Fairclough, 1989: 160). Ideology and the unequal power relations deriving from it are therefore ingrained in the very structure of our mental processes, shaping discourses and reflecting on social structures. At the same time it is these very social structures and discourses which determine schemata, scripts and frames and in turn sustain (or challenge) structures.

The origin of schemata, scripts and frames is not only cognitive, but also social, in the sense that they are socially generated. While being socially determined, these three types of mental representations are also socially determinative, as they underlie interpretative processes, they are the structures which allow the interpretation of texts through the recognition of *cues* left in the text during the production process (Fairclough; 1989: 24). According to Fairclough (1989), the production process of a

text leaves *traces* in the text; these traces are then used by the audiences as cues for the interpretation process. Both processes are far from straightforward and uncontradictory. Audience interpretation, for instance, does not need to match the meaning encoded by media institutions, but it will be influenced by the world knowledge of the single reader. Furthermore, media texts carry different meanings and are open to a range of interpretations because of their inherent polysemy. Yet, despite the more active role that the decoding process implies for the audience, which does more than simply accepting meanings, it is also important to note that the media do write (or speak) with an “ideal reader” in mind (see 2.4.1. and 2.6.1.) and assume a certain level of common, shared beliefs; additionally, the range of meanings a text offers is not infinite, despite its essential ambiguity. Most texts do offer a “preferred reading” which, given the economic and ideological location of most media, will tend to reconstruct dominant values and ideologies (van Dijk, 1988a; Fairclough, 1989, 1995; Fowler, 1991; Richardson, 2007). Thus, the *traces* left in a text can implicitly convey meanings, without necessarily stating them explicitly, relying on presuppositions about what the “ideal reader” will infer on the basis of the mental processes described above. Thanks to this property of mental processes, writers (or communicators in general) can convey a “preferred” meaning through traces left in the text by the author, which the “ideal reader” will select among the range of possibilities deriving from the polysemy of language. It is only because interpreters have in their heads mental (stereotyped) representations of what certain people, objects, processes are supposed to be that they are able to recognize the attributes of people, objects, processes which occur in the text and thus infer the meaning of the text (Fairclough: 1989, 160).

Schemata and frames as well as scripts can be regarded as playing a role in the interpretation of point: they act as stereotypical patterns against which we can match endlessly diverse texts, and once we identify a text as an instance of a pattern, we happily dispense with the mass of its detail and reduce it to the skeletal shape of the familiar pattern for purposes of longer-term memory and recall.

(Fairclough, 1989: 160).

As argued above (see 2.3.3.), ideology is stronger when it is naturalized, that is ideology is most effective when it is not visible. If one realises that a particular aspect of common sense is sustaining power inequalities that are disadvantageous for oneself, it will cease to be common sense and it may stop functioning ideologically. Thanks to Members' Resources, it is possible to make ideology invisible without presenting it as an explicit element in text, but as background assumption, which on the one hand will lead the writer/speaker to create a particular kind of text (and leave particular *traces*), and on the other hand will lead the interpreter to interpret it in a particular way (by interpreting particular *cues*). This is how readers of news articles, for instance, manage to "fill the gaps" or to supply the "missing links" in the textual coherence without much inferential work. "The more mechanical the functioning of an ideological assumption, the less likely it is to become focus of conscious awareness and hence the more secure its ideological status" (Fairclough, 1989: 85-86). The ideological assumptions are somehow imposed upon the "ideal reader", since, in order to make sense of a text, s/he will have to interpret the textual cues. Clearly, this is strictly related to the subject positioning of readers and to the expectations writers will have on her/his inferences. Yet, subject positioning is not absolute nor incontestable. Although textual cues do draw the boundaries within which the subject is allowed to act, opposition is possible, since readers do not always accept being placed where writers place them. It is at this stage that discourse can become the site of struggle and social change. In the context of representation of rape in the news a major question is which preferred meanings (or alternative meanings) and presuppositions are available in media texts and from which discourses they draw.

2.6.3. Conversationalization

As just mentioned above, media communication, although one-sided, can still be negotiated and readers, viewers or listeners do not mechanically follow what the media tell them. This negotiation can either result in scepticism or even go to the extent of becoming outright struggle against the dominant system. Power, therefore, cannot be considered as an established and stable attribute, but it needs to renew itself in a constantly changing world; this may mean that discourses and practices

might need to adjust to such changes in order for the dominant social group to keep its position. As highlighted above (see 2.4.5.), the increasing number of anchorwomen in TV news, for instance, is a commercial strategy used by media in order to recruit audience through a more emotional rather than rational style (van Zoonen, 1994). It has also been argued that this change (which can be described as part of the conversationalization process going on in the media) is not just the result of economic pressures, but also has ideological implications. In fact, conversationalization is not just a strategy to sell more, but it also represents a shift towards the involvement of the audience in an attempt to hide power. By expressing power less directly (through the use of a more emotional style or a through a more familiar and less authoritative language), power holders have not surrendered power; they have rather changed the way of exerting and reasserting power. Conversationalization can be seen as the discursive dimension of hegemony: by simulating egalitarianism and removing the surface markers of power the media achieve power through consent, rather than by overtly imposing the authority of the dominant bloc. It is important to acknowledge, though, that these changes were brought about by increasingly influential social and class struggles, evidence that dominant structures and practices can be challenged and at least forced to reaffirm and fight for their power (Fairclough, 1989: 72).

Sections 2.4. and 2.5. have discussed how the power of the mass media is the power to influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations, social identities. Mass media operate within a social system which in turn is shaped by the media and contributes to shaping them (Fairclough, 1995: 12). The question of how the mass media affect and are affected by power relations within the social system cannot be answered without looking at media discourse. Media discourse should be regarded as the site of complex and often contradictory processes, including ideological processes. Ideology, however, should not be seen as a constant and predictable presence in all media discourse by definition. Rather, it should be a working principle and the issue of what kind of ideological work is being done should be one of a number of questions which analysts should always be ready to ask of any media discourse, though they should expect the answers to be variable (Fairclough, 1995: 47). Since a significant part of the power of media discourse is largely a matter of how language

is used, a CDA-informed analysis of the language of the mass media can make a substantive contribution to understanding power relations in the media and to highlight the linguistic and discursive nature of media power (Fairclough, 1995: 3). As a matter of fact, language is the key element in cognitive processes, since it is the means used in order to both learn about the world and reproduce it. Language and discourse, moreover, are the favourite carrier of ideology and therefore of control by consent (see 2.3.). It is on the basis of these premises that discourse and textual analysis will feature prominently in this study of the construction of gender and gender relations in the news reports of sexist violence.

2.7. GENDER AND THE MEDIA

This section will focus on the implications that the power of the media and the properties of media discourse (and the media production process) illustrated in the sections above may have on the representation of *gender* and gender roles when it comes to the coverage of sexist violence in the press. Additionally, I will focus on the role of gender (and gendered practices) in the various steps of the chain of the media production process. Firstly, though, I will look at the various preferred (and alternative) meanings and discourses surrounding gender available to media professionals for the representation of gender-based violence.

2.7.1. Gender

The point of departure for this study is a definition of gender which draws upon a poststructuralist feminist theory of gender. Before looking at the definition of gender in poststructuralist theory, though, I will define gender in the first place in order to understand the reasons why this category was brought into being. Gender, as a category, was invented in order to separate the cultural differentiation between men and women from the biological differentiation between them, i.e. sex. Since traits related to sex had been employed to naturalize characteristics and attributes associated with men and women and to justify the unequal and unjust treatment of women, researches started differentiating between “sex” and “gender”. The sex/gender dichotomy resulted from the assumption that a “cultural sex” – gender – takes on a culturally specific form against the background of biological sex. In other

words, the basic “sex-gender system” ascribed “femininity” to biological women and “masculinity” to biological men and, whereas “sex” was thought to be universal, “gender” was considered as a cultural and socially determined construction (Wodak, 1997: 3). Yet, sex was still considered as the foundation on which gender-related behaviours were built.

Further developments in gender theory led to a definition of gender as *symbolizing* sex. In this case, gender identity is a social cultural construct, but it is not necessarily associated to a given sex. Each gender has roles and expectations associated to it, according to different societies and periods of history, but the straightforward relation between gender and sex is rejected. In support of this theory, it was pointed out that people can live successfully as members of a gender that does not match their anatomical sex (Mathieu, 1989).

Yet, even the latter definition of gender is limited because it takes for granted the existence of a binary system, based on an asymmetry between the sexes where the world is “naturally” divided into two groups, “women” and “men”, with their different qualities and behavioural tendencies. In this definition, gender is still a “sex-specific” peculiarity, a “sex-typical” attribute, rather than a process. The effect of accepting difference as the basis of gender relations is that the imbalance of power as the status quo is maintained and the masculine remains privileged within a patriarchal hierarchy (Simpson, 1997: 202).

Poststructuralist feminism considers gender as a process, no longer something “possessed” by a person, but something a person “does”. In this sense, gender is a performance, a performative act rather than a fact (Wodak, 1997: 13). Not only does this theory challenge the assumption that the differentiation between the two “sexes” is a natural fact, an “evident” binary and irreducible sexual difference, but it also moves away from the concept of “gender” itself and its implied assumption that the world is “naturally” divided into two groups (“women” and “men”) and that gender is an independent variable, a given category that can be used to measure differences between women and men. Poststructuralist feminism assumes that it is indeed impossible to talk about a generic woman or a generic man. Human beings always also have an age, a class, an ethnicity, a cultural position and ignoring such variables

and constraining feminist critical thought within the conceptual frame of a universal sex-gender opposition makes it very difficult to articulate the differences among women and within women (van Zoonen, 1994: 32).

Thus, gender should be conceptualized as a “dependent variable”, that is to say an unstable feature of human life, a discourse resulting from a mixture of contradictory, shifting and interacting social and cultural factors enacted in daily life. Gender should not be seen as preceding society and culture, but as being constructed in social and cultural practices (van Zoonen, 1994: 131).

Gender is continually realized in interactional form. Gender is created not only in the everyday activities which characterize “doing gender”, but also in the asymmetry of the relationship between the sexes, the dominance of the “male” and its normativeness. Patriarchal inequality is produced and reproduced in every interaction.

(Wodak, 1997: 13)

The systemic institutionalization of women’s inequality within social, political, economic and cultural structures – patriarchy (Meyers, 1997: 3) – is rooted in the “universal” division between men and women and is something constructed and “produced historically for the purpose of securing one group’s domination over the other. In this paradigm, gender constructs sex, not vice versa” (Cameron, 1997: 23).

2.7.2. Media, Gender and “Reality”

Media are often criticized for offering a *distorted* view on women and there has often been a call for a more realistic and varied reflection of women’s social roles in the mainstream media. Such a request implies that a more or less stable and easily identifiable definition of “woman” exists and that the media should represent it correctly. Before the media can transmit a more realistic image of women, though, it would be necessary to define the “reality of women” uncontroversially. Yet, from the poststructuralist perspective on gender outlined above, this task is obviously impossible, since it contradicts the dynamic nature, the historical and cultural specificity and the contradictory meanings of gender that this very theory assumes.

Therefore the very concept of distortion is empty, since there is no standard criterion for non-distorted representation (van Zoonen, 1994: 31).

Despite the absence of a given “reality of women”, though, one of the roles of the media is that of reproducing the cohesiveness and the shared beliefs of a society and thus constructing the community through shared histories, beliefs and values. This is obviously an artificial world constructed by the media, nonetheless it is real in symbolic terms and it is aimed at providing not information, but confirmation, not at altering attitudes or changing opinions but at representing an underlying order of things, a reality which is not given and independent, but socially defined (van Zoonen, 1994). In representing “reality”, the media also produce and reproduce collective memories, hopes and fears. They serve as a connection between daily life and the inaccessible worlds of business, politics, sports and so on.

Yet communication between media and audience is not straightforward and the audience is not a passive group of individuals; readers (and viewers) can use their cognitive and emotional activities in order to make sense of mass media. As shown above, audiences do not necessarily and passively accept (sexist) messages, but readers (or viewers) can play an active role in decoding mediated messages (van Dijk, 1985b: 118). By contrast, asking for the representation of “reality” in the media is typical of a transmission view of communication, which sees the transmission of the message from sender to receiver as a very straightforward sequence, without taking into account the chain of events leading to the production of a text and the active role of the receivers in decoding the message (see 2.4.2.).

Another common assumption about the media is that they are instruments that convey stereotypical, patriarchal and hegemonic values about women and femininity to contribute to the maintenance of the social order (van Zoonen, 1994: 28). Feminist media critics often claim that since the senders of messages in the mainstream media industry are (mainly rich) men (and a few women) “there is every incentive for them to present the capitalist, patriarchal scheme of things as the most attractive system available – and to convince the less privileged that the oppression and limitations of their lives are inevitable” (ibid.: 29). Other authors blame the immediate producers of media content, such as journalists or TV producers, and claim that their traditional

world views are reflected in media output. This is again a very straightforward model of communication which locates meaning in relatively consistent media texts. Yet, media production is

neither a straightforward derivative of the malicious intents of capitalist male owners, nor is it merely the product of the sexist inclinations of media professionals. It cannot be seen as a simple black box transmitting the patriarchal, sexist, capitalist values of its producers. [...] it is better characterized by tensions and contradictions between individuals with different professional values and personal opinions and between conflicting organizational demands such as creativity and innovation on the one hand and the commercial need to be popular among a variety of social groups on the other hand.

(van Zoonen, 1994: 30)

In this scenario, where there is no given “reality” and where media texts can be contradictory and need to be substantiated by the audience, the media can still play a role in the *construction* of gender in society. The media are mediators between society and the elite (Fairclough, 1989: 51). It is precisely this role of the media which gives them the power to define common sense and to shape it as natural and inevitable (see 2.3.3. and 2.5.1.). By representing it, it is automatically strengthened and perceived as “true”. The media use the conflicting and fragmented raw materials available to them and try to make sense of it by transforming whatever is unfamiliar into something which is known, or into the so-called common sense. Whatever falls outside familiar categories and is hard to make sense of, is labelled as “otherness” or “deviance” (van Zoonen, 1994).

Stereotypes (see 2.4.4.) and the shared beliefs that they presuppose are a helpful tool used by the media to make sense of the unknown, since they play a key role in encoding and decoding meaning in (media) texts. This is also true for gender stereotypes. A common response to the feminist claim that media “distort reality” by showing only women in stereotypical roles of housewives and mothers is that in reality many women are housewives too, “and what is so problematic about showing that?”. The crucial point here is that stereotypes are not simple images reproduced by

the media, they are radicalized expressions of common social practices embedding beliefs and myths about women, their sexuality and their role in society (van Zoonen, 1994: 31). As highlighted above, meanings transmitted through texts are of course not a consistent entity, nor are they simply transmitted and passively accepted, but they are polysemic, the result of a negotiation between audience and producers, socially and historically situated (Sykes, 1985: 87).

2.7.3. The Gendered Nature of (Media) Discourse

In the previous section I have suggested that meanings are encoded in media texts, that is to say, meanings are *constructed* in media discourse. It is useful to think of media discourse not just as a product, carrying a series of meanings, but also as a process which takes place at different “moments” where meaning is encoded (and later decoded by the audience) step by step in a process characterized by tensions which give rise to particular discourses and interpretations (Skidmore, 1998: 205). As argued above (see 2.4.2.), Fairclough (1995: 37) suggests that mass communication can be seen as a *chain* of events which take place in different places and at different times and which is characterized by discursive forms that are not homogenous, but which reflect the production process itself.

According to van Zoonen (1994: 49-65) the structure of the media is gendered, i.e. it is defined in reference to dominant male norms. She maps the gendered structure of the media at three levels of the media production process: the micro level of women as communicators, the meso level of the organizational institution and the macro level of the economic, social and legal context. This approach to news production and encoding of gender looks at how female communicators are positioned in the production process, the kind of tasks that they are given and their experiences, values and appreciation in the newsroom.

At the micro level, van Zoonen suggests, women are still underrepresented in executive positions in media companies. One of the main reasons behind the gender gap in the media seems to be the discrimination faced by women by their male colleagues, since discriminatory attitudes towards women seem to be common

practice in media production. A study¹⁰ conducted by the United Nations more than fifteen years after van Zoonen's study claims that a great number of women worldwide are still working at the low and middle levels in the industry and men are still the ones who hold key positions in media organizations. Some of the factors hindering women in reaching senior positions seems to be both related to culture (women are associated with a certain type of "soft" reporting) and family (female journalists seem to find it impossible to conciliate work and family, especially considering the 24/7 ideology of professional journalism). When women do manage to enter and stay in the media industry, research suggests that, by and large, they are confronted with social and cultural expectations of "femininity" (kindness, compassion, humanity) and at the same time they are expected to respect criteria of professionalism which are typically associated with "masculinity", namely directness, distrust and toughness.

At a higher level of analysis, gender can be looked at in its interaction with the organizational variables, that is how the newsmaking process affects professional performances of media professionals. In journalism, the final product is the result of ideas for stories selected on the basis of their newsworthiness (see 2.4.4.) and of other kinds of considerations mostly originating from organizational requirements, such as availability and sustainability of sources. In this production chain, a shared set of professional values facilitates decision making and it is instrumental to the efficiency of the media. In a study conducted among young Dutch feminist journalists, van Zoonen (1989) observed how the standards of professionalism in the newsroom are already set at the level of education. Slowly, during education and then during internships, young journalists adjust to the mainstream professional norms, and accept the conservative status quo; this acceptance results often in self-censorship about "deviant" values. It is clear that gender cannot be considered as an independent variable influencing the opinions and the performances of men and women by itself. Gender is rather a factor which interacts with the organizational context.

¹⁰ UN.ORG. Women and Media (1-28.02.2010):
http://www.un.org/womenwatch/beijing15/Women_and_the_media_preliminary_brief.pdf [Retrieved: 15.09.2012]

The third and final level of gendered media structure highlighted by van Zoonen relates to the political-economic determinants of production. In particular, this level of analysis points to the issue of the limits set to media production by economic and power relations of media industries and it gives rise to questions of access. In mediated communication, the issue of which categories of social agents get to write (or speak and be seen) – and which do not – assumes considerable importance. The mainstream media output is very much under professional and institutional control, and in general it is those who already have other forms of economic political or cultural power that have the best access to the media (Fairclough, 1995: 40). Additionally, the political and economic relations of media industries are an important factor constraining media output, leading to a bias towards a particular kind of meaning and social relevance.

The analysis of the role of women in media production can be useful to understand how this gendered structure may affect the encoding process in the media. Although some may ascribe sexist media contents to the lack of women in the process of news production, an increase in the number of women in the media industry may not automatically mean that the construction of gender would become more balanced. As a matter of fact, gender cannot be assumed to be a universal category which directly affects the encoding of meaning, as if there existed a professional model of “femininity” that female journalists would follow in contrast with different professional models of “masculinity” of male journalists. This would be functional to the patriarchal assumption that the world is based on a straightforward division between men and women, with their separate duties and abilities (Skidmore, 1998: 217), rather than to a poststructuralist view that conceives gender as an ever changing process, traversed by tensions and contradictions reflected in media production.

Thus, although an increased participation of women in the media industries is certainly desirable, it is not the number of women or men in journalism that will determine what media texts will look like (Gill, 2007: 121). According to Carter et al. (1998b: 14), “it is the nature of the genre which allows for a ‘masculine’ or

‘feminine’ style of journalism”. The gendered nature of the media may be more a matter of power, than a matter of gender. As Corson has put it:

Across societies, power is a great variable that separates men and women from one another. [...] Men in these societies have greater command of the discourses of power than women. Men are able to define the activities that attract status. [...] It is the activities engaged in by women compared with the activities engaged in by men, rather than gender itself, that associate with the linguistic choices that are made.

(Corson, 1997: 142-145)

More women in the industry would not necessarily or immediately translate into a fairer representation of gender if these women have internalised norms of production, structural arrangements related to the sociocultural practice of media production that reflect the values of a dominant male social group (Carter et al., 1998a: 2). This difference in power has a discursive dimension to it, because of the very discursive nature of power (see 2.3.). As Foucault (1984: 110) observes: “discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized”. Thus, gendered sociocultural practices in media settings can have an effect on media discursive practices that should be examined in the context within which the identities of those who are involved are constructed. According to Cameron, the construction of social identity

takes place within parameters which those engaged in it did not set, and to which in most cases they offer no radical challenge. To make sense of what they are doing as creative, agentive language-users, we also have to consider the inherited structures (of belief, of opportunity or lack of it, of desire and of power) which both enable and constrain their performance.

(Cameron, 2009: 15)

Examining gendered discourse thus means “considering the interaction between individual agency and the larger constraining social structures within which that agency is enacted” (Holmes and Marra, 2010: 6). Several studies have shown the

extent to which discourse can be gendered (e.g. Sunderland, 2006; Edley, 2001), highlighting how, from a poststructuralist (and CDA) point of view, gendered discourse refers to “the discursive representation or construction of women and men, boys and girls in particular gendered ways in written text or talk” (Sunderland, 2006: 53). When women, men, boys and girls are constructed in a certain way and/or are expected to behave in a particular (gendered) way, both CDA and post-structuralism see these as gendered discourses that “subject position” them, associating with them particular gendered “subject positions” that may or may not correspond to reality (see 2.6.1.). Thus, since “what is gendered can [...] also be gendering” (Sunderland, 2006: 54), gendered discourse may have the effect of positioning women unfavourably by legitimating the male/female binary system defined above (see 2.7.1.) by presenting such “subject positions” as unproblematic and/or natural and inevitable.

Yet, this system is not the only option. Individual agency and power struggles can resist the dominant sociocultural values and challenge or reject sexist discourse. Because of power imbalance between men and women, the latter have been the oppressed group in most cultural contexts. Yet, a change in discursive norms and practices, together with a change in the imbalance in (media) discursive power, may have the effect of giving women more control over the (media) dominant discourse and, hopefully, of leading to the eradication of gendered and sexist discourse from media settings (Beasley, 1997: 241-244).

2.8. FEMINIST MEDIA AND CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In this last section I will focus on the interconnections between gender, power and discourse in the coverage of gender-based violence (in particular of rape) in the print news. I will focus on how Critical Discourse Analysis represents a useful tool in the study of the gendered structure of news production and consumption and in the analysis of the news both as a process embedded in and shaped by a patriarchal society and as a product reflecting the very patriarchal society from which it generates. Finally, I will illustrate (media) discourse may become a tool for social

emancipation and transformation. Firstly, though, I will move on to defining gender-based violence and how it can be conceptualized as a discursive practice and integrated into the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis.

2.8.1. Gender-based Violence

Although this study focus in particular on one type of sexist violence, i.e. rape, it is perhaps worth it to define gender-based violence in general, before focusing on the specific case of rape, since all forms of gender-based violence can be said to be rooted in patriarchy and male dominance (Bingham, 1994: 3).

Sexist violence has been conceptualized in different ways. In particular, it is possible to identify three recurring approaches to the study of sexist violence, each of these focusing on one different element in the contextualisation of gender-based violence: the behavioural, psychological and structural approaches. Each element highlights certain aspects of gender-based violence and encourages particular ways of understanding the phenomenon. Let us examine these three elements separately first.

The behavioural approach to sexist violence focuses on a behaviour, an episode or a series of episodes representing causes and effects, antecedents and consequences which eventually led to the harassment and the negative effects on the woman. What matters most is who was being harassed by whom, what the harasser(s) was/were doing, how often, where the harassment took place, what were the consequences. Approaches to gender-based violence which focus on this element are mostly descriptive and reflect a mechanistic view of human interaction based on an exchange of “messages” between perpetrator and survivor (Bingham, 1994: 5).

Approaches focusing on the psychological element of the conceptualization of gender-based violence locate the harassment in the cognitive processes of the survivor who perceives the environment where the attack takes place as “unwelcome” or “hostile”. These studies concentrate on the perceptions, reactions, and evaluations of survivors of gender-based violence (Bingham, 1994: 6).

The third approach to gender-based violence emphasises the structural element and focuses on the social and organizational structures that give rise to or enable sexist

violence, such as power structures or sex roles. This approach tries to explain why and how gender-based violence takes place and the effects of power structures on the nature and occurrence of sexist violence. Many of these studies conceptualize power in terms of the authority or status of the harasser and the survivor (Bingham, 1994: 6).

The conceptions of gender-based violence that arise from these three approaches are likely to represent and serve the interests of some groups more than others, although they may seem to contribute to the elimination of sexist violence, for example by clarifying the problem and its causes or by offering solutions. By dividing the phenomenon of sexist violence into separate units, such approaches risk oversimplifying the problem and making it appear orderly and manageable by simply tackling its single components. Women who have been harassed by men do not tend to describe their experience as a series of linear events; on the contrary, they describe a mix of feelings which require an approach that does not simply categorize things, people and events as in the behavioural approach described above, but which takes into consideration the paradoxical and illogical elements surrounding such experiences. The psychological approach may also subtly serve the interests of dominant groups, since it tends to focus on normative perceptions and evaluations of gender-based violence. Thus only the standpoint of some survivors is taken into account to define what legitimately counts as sexist harassment. Women who feel they have been harassed but whose perceptions of the violence do not fall into the normative category are likely to be considered irrational, unreasonable or deviant. Finally, the structural approach may not contribute to the elimination of sexist violence, since it conceptualizes power structures as pre-existing, static entities, where dominant groups are ensured control over the solutions to gender-based violence that will be implemented. Where social structures and social roles appear to be almost impossible to change through human action, the stability of these structures can be used to justify the continuation of the status quo, since “some things cannot be changed” (Bingham, 1994: 7-8).

Conceptualizing sexist violence as a discursive practice may help understanding how certain other conceptualizations of it may serve the interests of certain groups in

perpetuating patriarchal structures in society and, at the same time, it can offer more promising space for bringing about change (Clair, 1994: 64). In particular, discursive conceptions of sexist violence highlight the dialectical relationship between discourse and social structures, in particular between discourse and gender-based violence. A theory of sexist violence as discursive practice assumes that discourse is not just a representation of reality, it is not just a transparent reflection of what *really* exists, but it is also a source of reality, it creates and sustains social life and, with that, power relations and individual identities. The history of gender-based violence is a dramatic illustration of how discourse *constructs* experiences. Sexist violence is not a new phenomenon, but it is only recently that it received its current label (Wood, 1994). The absence of a name for this kind of abuse had led to the silencing of women who had experienced abuses, since they could only discuss their experiences in terms of “what he did to me” or in the terms usually associated with romantic involvement, by using expressions such as “advance”, “pushy” or “he went too far”. Such expressions, though, obscure the element of violation and humiliation which gender-based violence implies, thus falsifying its character (Wood, 1994: 18). One of the consequences of not having a label was the impossibility of naming and identifying the phenomenon. Later, through workshops, lectures, publications, sexist violence was publicly named and came to be associated with serious wrongdoing (Wood, 1994:18). The case of gender-based violence is an example of how naming can be a fundamental symbolic act, since what is not named is invisible and its existence is negated. Since it is only possible to make sense of human experience through language, and since language is our way of knowing, it is through language that one can frame her/his understanding of the world and her/his activities within it (Wood, 1994: 18). The naming of sexist violence led to a change in the social perception of the phenomenon, thus demonstrating the role of discourse in shaping reality and showing that the deterministic claim that language is outside individuals and societal controls is just “a political quietism – a sense that nothing can really be changed” (Cameron, 1998: 134) which eventually contributes to the maintaining of the status quo. Accepting that discursive practices have been historically constructed and are not pre-given and monolithic means understanding that these practices can also be challenged and re-constructed.

Yet, as important as it may be, the act of conferring social reality through naming does not explain, alone, why and how discourse constitutes social order. It is because discourse *forms* rules that organize and regulate social life, positioning subjects and events and shaping orders of discourse, that discourse is endowed with the power to defining social life and personal identity (Wood, 1994: 19). The power of discourse does not only lie in the capacity to define what is a social problem, but also in the capacity to define how an issue should be understood and what are the legitimate views on it, which acts are appropriate and which are not. It is important to realize, however, that the power of definition is not democratically distributed in society, but it is linked to other power relations, such as economic, ethnic, gender and international relations (van Zoonen, 1994: 39). It is evident, then, how the forms of sense-making which are defined through discourse in society are politically and fundamentally partisan and linked to particular historical-cultural settings.

It is in this sense that discourse becomes ideological, that is it becomes “meaning in the service of power. Discursive practices are ideological in that they constantly reaffirm patterns of sense-making that serve the interests of the dominant bloc. Exemplary of the ideological power of discourse practices is the case of gender-based violence. Sexist violence is sustained by discourses that reproduce oppressive gender ideologies both in social life and individual consciousness. Social and discursive practices give rise to conditions and subject positioning that legitimate and normalize sexist harassment (Wood, 1994). According to Wood (1994), gender-based violence has been, until quite recently, unquestioned, considered as part of “normal” life; when sexist violence was questioned, it was not the harassment itself (nor the offender) that was considered “abnormal”, but the women who had resisted the assault. It was only through the introduction, also in the legal system, of the concept of sexist violence as something wrong, that women were given rights and awareness.

The unquestioning and acceptance of sexist violence can be seen as being informed by dominant social and discursive constructions of gender. As argued above (see 2.7.3.), discursive practices can be gendered and can construct subjects and events, and dictate how it is appropriate to behave for certain subjects and in certain

contexts. It has also been shown (see 2.6.1.) how subject and event positioning are aspects of the hidden power of discourse, of its ability to legitimate and indoctrinate individuals in ways that affirm and reproduce the prevailing social order. Discourse can present as “right” and “natural” certain assumptions, codes of conduct, and hierarchical social relations which originate from and at the same time uphold hegemonic power. And the existing order is maintained as individuals reconfirm their consent to the dominant social structure in and through everyday activities (Wood, 1994: 20-21). In the specific case of sexist violence, the dominant patriarchal structure of modern societies is based on a polarization of gender roles, where men and women, and the actions deemed (in)appropriate for each group, are sharply defined categories. In a patriarchal society sexuality as the key aspect of manhood is emphasised. Males are taught to be sexually aggressive and to feel pride in sexual conquests, as evidence of their masculinity. This culture also instructs men to gain and exercise power over others and to feel proud when they do so and to feel shame when they are weak; it is this very culture which instructs men to feel superior to women (Wood, 1994: 22). The combination of these elements represents a coherent account of gender-based violence as something men are entitled to exert on women and of which they should feel proud (for enacting power over inferiors, and certifying their virility). On the other hand, cultural prescriptions for femininity include attracting, pleasing and deferring to men. Women are exhorted to define themselves in relation to others, particularly men, and to measure self-worth by the ability to attract men and hold them by their side. Additionally, while men are expected to be the initiators, women are supposed to be the gatekeepers in sexual encounters (Grauerholz, 1994: 41). This kind of bi-polar definition of gender and gender roles based on sexuality can only leave space for certain subject positions. Thus, women can be either “virgins” (i.e. “pure and interested in sex” – Benedict, 1992: 18) or “vamps” (i.e. women who receive uninvited sexual attention because of their “provocative” behaviour and thus, “deserve it” – Wood, 1994: 22). Alternatively, women can be seen as “prudes”, that is, women “who do not recognize a compliment and hysterically overreact to ‘innocent’ behaviours” (ibid.: 22). Likewise, men who force sexual attention on women, are either classified as “real men” or as “just being men/studs”, thus celebrating/excusing their assaults (ibid.: 23)

or they are blamed for “going too far”, which implies that “the basic direction of the activity is valid” (ibid.: 23). According to Wood (1994: 23): “discourses that embody and reproduce this gender ideology create subject positions that encourage men to harass women sexually and women to tolerate abuse”; additionally, by channelling male and female behaviours into these pre-packaged categories, there is a risk of resorting to superficial reasons in order to explain sexist violence.

It may be argued that probably one of the reasons why gender-based violence has been unregulated and neglected (and unnamed) for so long is that it has always taken place within a cultural gender ideology that actively legitimates it, by relying on positions which are socially produced (largely through discourse) and which uphold culturally authorized ways of sense making, which are controlled by those in power. Dominant groups use discourse to define what serves their interests as common sense; thus, it is not surprising, for instance, that in the prevailingly androcentric bias of modern societies and cultures the legal concepts of gender-based violence predominantly reflect masculine perspectives and experiences. Likewise, as emphasised above (2.4.5.), the mainstream media are another powerful social institution, with a prevalently capitalist nature, massively dominated by male owners and managers and endowed with the power of both representing and shaping reality; it is therefore reasonable to argue that they can potentially uphold the hegemonic dominant system and, more specifically, reinforce the patriarchal structure of society. In this respect, a relevant question would be: do the mainstream media reflect the dichotomy between men and women (and the related “masculine” and “feminine” roles) when reporting on incidents of rape?

2.8.2. The Media and Gender-based Violence

The relationship of the mainstream media with the dominating social system is twofold: on the one hand, they are the product of the dominating social system; on the other hand, they give it a voice. In Section 2.4.5., it has been argued that the media are created by and embedded within a capitalist system which is predominantly profit-oriented and that, in order to maximize their profits, they package their commodities so that they are appealing and, therefore, saleable. Sex is no exception; it is offered to readers for their consumption in several forms in order

to sell newspapers (Talbot, 1998: 175). Yet, not all forms of “sex” are equally newsworthy. Sex sells when it has an element of transgression, or when it involves members of the dominant group or if it is at odds with the traditional view of male-female relationship or the traditional gender roles (Talbot, 1998: 174). The same applies to crime: the news agenda on crime is shaped by a “hierarchy” of crime, in which murder is considered the most serious offence and therefore the most important to cover (Carter, 1998: 223). However, not all crimes are deemed equally “newsworthy”. Women who are battered, raped or even murdered, but are not white and middle-class, for example, appear to be journalistically unimportant (Benedict, 1992). It would be reasonable to argue that a combination of these criteria of newsworthiness for both crime and sex would lead to a coverage of incidents of rape which only selects those deemed “profitable”, that is to say, incidents which are either considered “unusual”, “transgressive” or which can serve as warnings to women or to groups of “others”. Since, for instance, domestic violence is commonsensically considered as a part of “normal life”, it is possible to imagine that this crime would hardly fall into the category of stories which are worth telling. It is important to highlight that this selection process is not a product of a conspiracy; rather, it reflects the social organization of reporting and the professional imperatives and commercial interests that are part of it (Meyers, 1997: 22).

The capitalist structure which shapes the mainstream media is also reflected in the process of production, which is based on the assumption that there are professionally shared values, journalistic norms, and conventions and values of newsmaking, an assumption which “facilitates decision making and as such is instrumental to a media organization’s efficiency” (van Zoonen, 1994: 56). As highlighted in Sections 2.4. and 2.7.2., these routines and traditions within an organization are shared by media professionals in general, not just by men, and how they represent a limit for each news worker in the chain of (sometimes contradictory) media practices.

This covers one side of the relationship between the media and the dominant social structures – media being the product of such structures. The other side of the relationship between the media and the dominant social structures is linked to the fact that the mainstream media represent the voice of these very social structures. As

shown above (see 2.4.3. and 2.4.4.), news sources are selected within the dominant bloc and criteria of newsworthiness are selected to respond to capitalistic needs. These criteria have the effect of strengthening cultural myths and stereotypes (see 2.4.4. and 2.6.), including those about women, men and violence, and because of the one-sided nature of the print media, the group of people that does most of the writing is the one which has the power to offer “their” version of the event, thus limiting the interpretative framework and offering preferred meanings, by leaving traces of the ideology behind the report. The fact that the news relies on stereotypes and myths (when reporting on sexist violence, but also as a general practice) could be interpreted as a way to limit discussion and exclude feminist analysis, which would take into account cultural and social factors such as patriarchy and misogyny. Framing rape within this framework would definitely be at odds with and would challenge the very nature of the mainstream media (Meyers, 1997: 12). By contrast, the appearance of neutrality and common sense allows those in power to remain unchallenged (by feminism for example) and maintain their position of control on the basis of a widespread consensus obtained through the unquestioned and unconscious acceptance of ideology (Gramsci, 1971: 1983).

Yet, hegemony is not permanent. Subordination is never total and dominant discourses can be challenged and modified. In this respect, the conceptualization of power in Critical Discourse Analysis is relevant in that it conceives power not just as a form of authority or status overtly exercised over subordinates, but also as hegemonic, i.e. based on acceptance and consent. At the same time, Critical Discourse Analysis offers another view of power which may be helpful in a framework of feminist analysis of (media) discourse. CDA sees discourse as the preferred vehicle of ideological power, but at the same time it sees discourse as a site of struggle over power and conceives analysis as a form of social action. Power is not conceptualized as a monolithic entity and dominant discourse is not seen as impervious but as open to negotiation, on the basis of the dialectical relationship which links together discourse and society. If, on the one hand, discourse is recognized as reproducing oppressive conditions which sustain sexist violence, it is through discursive activities that oppressive conditions and identities which enable gender-based violence can be critiqued and contested by activists and researchers.

Discourse is conceptualized as a means for freeing people and a discursive approach to sexist violence would illustrate how gender-based violence is enacted, interpreted and especially how it is normalized and challenged through discursive practices. A conceptualization of power as something malleable and open to the influences of human activity and therefore to transformation and emancipation accepts that alternative meanings, values and opinions do exist and that they can undermine the dominant ideology; the dominant ideology, in turn, must continuously renew itself, fight for and defend its status.

Feminism constitutes one possible challenge to patriarchy's hegemony since it challenges its central assumption, i.e. that gender and gender roles are given, natural and inevitable (Meyers, 1997: 19-26). This assumption *naturalizes* (and leads to the acceptance of) the relationship between gender-based violence and male sexuality. Yet, this assumption can be contested and, as seen above (see 2.7.1.), a poststructuralist theory of gender is very much about re-articulating this taken-for-granted notion of gender. Together with Critical Discourse Analysis, feminist research can expose and contest those practices that oppress some groups and privilege others. A Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis therefore represents a politically invested programme of discourse analysis with socially emancipatory goals and aims at de-constructing conventional notions of gender roles and behaviours and to rearticulate them in terms of contradiction, variation and change instead of imposing a social dichotomy. A Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis therefore

cannot and does not pretend to adopt a neutral stance; in fact [...] it is scholarship that makes its biases part of its argument. To critics who discount overtly political research as lacking in 'objectivity' and 'scientificity' [...] the feminist position has been to raise as problematic the notion of scientific neutrality itself, because it fails to recognize that all knowledge is socially and historically constructed and valuationally based.

(Lazar, 2005: 6).

Thus feminist scholarship should be an integral part of the women's movement. This implies that the traditional requirements of neutrality and indifference towards

research objects should be replaced by partisanship; but this also implies that this value-free style should be replaced by the integration of research in emancipatory activities. The choice of research themes should be determined by the requirements of the women's movement, so that research can eventually be relevant for gender equality (van Zoonen, 1994: 128).

CHAPTER THREE

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, before proceeding to defining the methodology used for the analysis of news articles reporting on incidents of rape in the British press, I will first discuss some issues concerning data and methodology. I will begin by introducing the corpus used for the investigations in this dissertation. In Section 3.2., I will briefly provide an overview of the main methodological challenges faced by both Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistics (CL) and will then present possible ways of overcoming them through the integration of both methodologies. Although CL and CDA can be seen as two different methodologies, they do not need to be opposites; they can be integrated, in order to exploit the strengths of each approach and eliminate the respective potential problems. In the final section of this chapter, I will describe the context of my analysis, with a particular focus on the British press and the phenomenon of gender-based violence in the UK.

3.1. CORPUS BUILDING

The corpus used for my analysis was collected through the online newspapers database LexisNexis. The following search terms were used to query daily versions of four national British quality papers: *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*.

rape* OR rapist* OR raping

The search terms were not case sensitive and the asterisk (*) was used as a wild card for any form of the lemma. The time-span taken into consideration for this study goes from January 1st 2008 to December 31st 2008. Although the search terms did not just capture articles that referred to cases of rape crimes, they allowed to have a broad overview of how rape discourse is constructed in the press; therefore feature

articles, comments and editorials were included in the corpus. The corpus includes 484 articles¹¹, for a total of 250.841 words.

The next step was transforming the articles into .txt files and tagging them using the text editor TextPad¹²; the tagging was a preparation for the corpus analysis carried out with AntConc¹³, a computer software for language analysis used to investigate linguistic patterns in large corpora. The tagging allowed to separate metadata from the contents of the texts, thus retaining contextual information about the articles and, at the same time, excluding extra-textual information from the total word count. This was done by using the feature “hide tag (but allow tag search in Conc/Plot/File View) available on AntConc. Metadata include date, section type, page number and byline. Additionally, the title of the articles was signalled by including the tag <head> at the beginning and end of the headline. This permitted to have the headline counted in the wordlist and displayed when searching concordances, clusters and collocates.

Additional information was stored in the file name of each article which was renamed according to the following scheme: gender of journalist (“f” for female, “m” for male, “bi” for mixed authors and “x” when no author was specified), date (month and day), genre of article (“n” for news, “e” for editorials, “c” for comments” and “f” for feature articles). The last element in the file name was the newspaper’s name (“g” for *The Guardian*, “dt” for *The Daily Telegraph*, “i” for *The Independent* and “t” for *The Times*). Having a recognisable file name permitted to have this information immediately available while studying concordances, since it would appear at the side of the concordance list. Moreover, the choice of this order (gender first, newspaper last etc.) was not random; it made it possible to have articles listed alphabetically, so that all articles written by women and men (or mixed and with no specified author) were grouped together in chronological order. Finally, having the name of the newspaper in the file name provided information such as which newspaper an article belonged to or in which newspapers certain features were more frequent. So, for

¹¹ A list of the articles analysed in this study is available in Appendix A.

¹² TextPad:

<http://www.textpad.com/> [Retrieved: 25.01.2012]

¹³ AntConc:

<http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html> [Retrieved: 12.02.2012]

example the file name “f_10_15_n_dt” would suggest that the article was written by a woman on October 15th and that it was a news report appeared in *The Daily Telegraph*.

Since part of the analysis consisted in comparing the specialized corpus (the “*RAPE* corpus” from now onwards) with a more general one, an ad-hoc reference corpus had to be built; the reference corpus was similar to the specialized one in terms of text types (quality newspaper articles), but included a wide variety of text topics, i.e. not only articles concerning incidents of rape. The reference corpus consists of all articles published by the four newspapers used to build the *RAPE* corpus on the first day of each month in 2008. The reference corpus amounted to 5.057.173 words. This permitted to have a substantially larger and general corpus to compare the *RAPE* corpus with in order to derive a keyword list of the most frequent and salient words in the *RAPE* corpus as compared with the general one (see 4.1.). This comparison represented a way to kick-start the quantitative analysis and formulate the first hypotheses about the representation of rape in the British quality press.

3.2. PROBLEMS CONCERNING DATA AND METHODOLOGY IN CDA

In this section, I will focus on some of the problems and main criticisms that have challenged Critical Discourse Analysis since its inception. In particular, I will refer to issues related to data and methodology.

The most frequent criticism to CDA is that it uses data that is too small and fragmented. Moreover, CDA has been reproached for “over-generalized claims and paucity of actual data” (Piper, 2000: 517). In Sharrock and Anderson’s view, CDA is inadequate because:

the fragments of data they present – newspaper cuttings, extracts from books of rules, imaginary conversations and so on – may be adequate for many kinds of linguistic work and some kinds of sociological work, but they will not do for these linguistic exercises, which are only significant in the context of large claims about the nature of belief and about the broader structure of the society. For those, they would need much more evidence.

(Sharrock and Anderson, 1981: 288)

The analysis of small or single fragments has been criticised for being under-representative; moreover, the text choice has often been challenged in CDA studies because deemed biased and based on arbitrary selection. Stubbs (1997) points out that a small sample may not include all the range of variation on the topic and cannot be expected to be helpful in revealing patterns of frequency or distribution in a certain genre or discourse; as a consequence, generalizations on the basis of such samples may be hard to justify.

Another problem related to the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis is that many of the accounts of power and ideology in discourse have been made on the basis of a “top-down” approach (van Dijk, 1993: 250), a deductive reasoning, where data are observed in order to find confirmation for the theory and conclusions follow logically from premises. This methodological weakness has been criticized in particular because of CDA’s tendency to derive ideological bias directly from linguistic features, assuming a direct connection between linguistic forms that are traditionally related to the expression of a certain ideology and ideological significances, while leaving the interpretative element aside. As a matter of fact, much of the analysis in CDA has been devoted to the investigation of such “biased” linguistic structures (e.g. nominalisation, transitivity) (e.g. Fowler et al., 1979; Fairclough 1989; Fowler 1991). Such a direct correlation between linguistic form and ideological implication has been considered problematic (Sharrock and Anderson, 1981; Stubbs 1996, 2001). As a critical linguist, Fowler himself acknowledges that

significance (ideology) cannot simply be read off the linguistic forms that description has identified in the text, because the same form (nominalisation, for example) has different significances in different contexts.

(Fowler, 1996: 9)

Stubbs points out another methodological weakness of CDA, i.e. the relatively small amount of comparative studies in CDA: “only very few CDA studies compare

individual texts, or compare features of texts with norms in language, or compare text types diachronically” (1997: 107).

3.3. CORPUS LINGUISTICS AND CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

As a way of overcoming some of the problems related to the exclusive use of CDA, several researchers (Caldas-Coulthard, 1993; Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Krishnamurthy, 1996; Stubbs, 1996; Fairclough, 2000; Piper, 2000; Hunston, 2002; Baker, 2006; Baker and Gabrielatos, 2008; Baker et al., 2008; Caldas-Coulthard and Moon, 2010; Baker et al., 2012) have tried to combine quantitative approaches, such as corpus linguistics, with the qualitative method of CDA. Such studies have shown how corpus analysis can aid Critical Discourse Analysis to unveil ideologies embedded in texts and how CDA can add an element of deeper contextualisation to corpus analysis.

The correlation between Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics, however, is not an obvious one. CDA has a methodological tradition focused on an attention to text and the broader context of text production and consumption as well as a concern for the relationship between discourse and society. The absence of a fixed method of analysis is due to the absence of an “analytic routine through which a text can be run, with a critical description issuing automatically at the end” (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 197). According to Fowler (1991: 68) “critical interpretation requires historical knowledge and sensitivity, which can be possessed by human beings but not by machines”.

Yet, CDA researchers face several problems and challenges when analysing texts only qualitatively. One of the main problems that CDA researchers have to deal with when examining texts is, for example, the need to carry out the analysis manually. This imposes limits on the ability of the researcher (or the group of researchers) on the amount of data that can be processed. By contrast, one of the most obvious advantages of using computer-based corpora is that they make it possible to process a large amount of data in a relatively shorter time and carry out quantitative analysis. This provides an overview on a broader and possibly more representative sample,

thus overcoming the problem of unjustified generalization of the results. As pointed out above, the analysis of a small amount of texts or text fragments may not provide sustainable evidence to make claims on the relationship between certain linguistic structures and their ideological implication. What CL can offer CDA is a quantitative validation of data and methodology, producing results that are replicable, thus allowing a higher degree of objectivity. Through the use of tools for the analysis of large computer-based corpora, it is possible to access frequency information and observe repetitive patterns. Recurrent patterns may help detect typical ways in which people or events are represented and the potential ideological implications of certain representations.

As Stubbs has put it:

examples of individual utterances cannot tackle claims about the ideological implications of textual patterns. [...] However, if such descriptions are regularly used in a wide range of reports, then they might come to seem a natural way of talking about things, and it is plausible that they come to influence how we think about such events.

(Stubbs, 2001: 157)

Another major advantage in the use of corpus analysis tools is that the software is objective, in the sense that it shows all the examples irrespective of whether they fit the researcher's expectations and preconceived notions. However, the interpretation of the quantitative data is not an objective process, but it implies a personal point of view and can therefore vary according to different perspectives. Yet, the analysis is replicable, since the data are publicly accessible, "whatever patterns you find in one corpus, others should be able to find the same" (Stubbs, 2001: 153).

At first sight, the quantitative approach may appear to be at odds with a CDA approach that is aimed at carrying out a contextualised analysis of discourse at all linguistic levels, without isolating single components, structures or processes (Fowler and Kress, 1979). However, qualitative analysis permits to go very deep into the analysis of only a very limited quantity of texts, the more detailed the analysis, the less the data one can reasonably and thoroughly cope with, forcing researchers to

focus on a limited number of discourse samples (Fairclough, 1992). By contrast, not only does corpus analysis allow for a broader overview on a certain discourse through the analysis of larger corpora, thus overcoming the question of representativeness, but it also makes it possible to overcome another risk related to a CDA approach, i.e. the temptation of singling out texts for analysis based on whether they fit the researchers' agenda, even if they may be untypical of a certain discourse, and then proclaim typicality on the basis of this choice rather than on the basis of frequency.

At the same time, CDA, too, has something to offer that adds on to the purely traditional quantitative approach of corpus-based analysis, which is not sufficient to explain the reasons why certain linguistic patterns are there (or are *not* there). As Baker et al. (2008: 293) have put it: "corpus analysis does not normally take into account the social, political, historical and cultural context of the data". Moreover, the descriptive results of the CL analysis may gain more completeness from the explanatory power of the CDA approach and its theoretical framework. One of the strengths of CDA is precisely its focus on extra textual features that cannot be analysed simply through CL analysis, since they would need more contextualisation. Although in some cases it is possible to gain more context through concordance analysis, for example, or through the extension of concordance lines, in other cases more (sometimes extra textual) context is needed. In the case of the analysis of news reports, for instance, CDA makes it possible to analyse journalistic features, such as agenda setting, space allocation, news production and reception features, quotation patterns and intertextual and interdiscursive references. These features play a key role when it comes to implementing particular perspectives and ideologies (see 3.3.2.).

This study represents an attempt to integrate these two methodological strands: it involves both a quantitative approach through a corpus-driven analysis, and a more qualitative approach based on CDA, carrying out analysis on a smaller sample of texts in the corpus, identifying discursive strategies such as interdiscursivity, narrative order, representation of social actors and forms of argumentation. Both approaches to the study of the corpus lead to a number of shared findings, although

each approach was also able to unveil certain aspects of language use that the other could not. In particular, through Corpus Linguistics it was possible to pinpoint areas of interest for further or deeper analysis and represented an entry point to formulate hypotheses which were then looked at in more detail through the analysis of a small part of the corpus in the light of existing CDA categories. Quantification offered a degree of confidence and generality which could not be offered by CDA, whereas CDA offered a multidimensional perspective on the corpus that goes beyond the linguistic elements of the text.

3.3.1. CL Tools: Keywords, Concordances, Clusters, Collocates

The starting point of my corpus analysis was a study of *keywords*. Baker et al. define “keyness” as the

statistically significantly higher frequency of particular words or clusters in the corpus under analysis in comparison with another corpus, either a general reference corpus, or a comparable specialized corpus. Its purpose is to point towards the ‘aboutness’ of a text or homogeneous corpus (Scott, 1999), that is, its topic and the central elements of its content.

(Baker et al., 2008: 278)

In this study, a keyword analysis was carried out in order to examine how rape cases are reported in four newspapers belonging to the mainstream quality press in the UK as compared with a corpus of general news reports in the same newspapers. The corpus query tool AntConc includes a function which automatically compares one corpus with another and lists its keywords based on the Log-Likelihood statistics. The *RAPE* corpus was thus compared with the reference corpus and a list of its keywords was then derived and subjected to the more detailed analysis of collocates and concordances. This approach lets the analysis be driven by whatever is frequent in the data and is referred to as corpus-driven analysis, as opposed to a corpus-based method that allows the researcher to approach the text or the corpus starting from his/her pre-existing hypotheses and theories (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001). In a corpus-driven approach the linguist is committed to the

integrity of the data as a whole, and descriptions aim to be comprehensive with respect to corpus evidence. The corpus, therefore, is seen as more than a repository of examples to back pre-existing theories or a probabilistic extension to an already well defined system. [...] Examples are normally taken verbatim, in other words they are not adjusted in any way to fit the predefined categories of the analyst; recurrent patterns and frequency distributions are expected to form the basic evidence for linguistic categories; the absence of a pattern is considered potentially meaningful.

(Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 84)

Methodologically, this study was corpus-driven in the sense that it did not use the corpus as a source of examples for prior categories or patterns of use of pre-defined linguistic features, but it let the categories emerge from data. Several scholars have adopted a corpus-driven approach or a combination of corpus-driven and corpus-based analysis for the study of ideology in discourse (Baker and McEnery, 1996; Krishnamurty, 1996; Mautner, 2007; Baker and Gabrielatos, 2008; Grundmann and Krishnamurthy, 2010).

The analysis of the first 20 most frequent keywords revealed terms which were significantly more frequent in the *RAPE* corpus as compared with the reference corpus (see 4.1., Table 1). In doing so, the words examined were not subjectively selected, but they fulfilled the statistical criterion of “over-representedness” in the *RAPE* corpus. Keywords were then categorized as belonging to different semantic groups using corpus-driven methods, which aimed at limiting the researcher’s background knowledge and preconceptions.

Once the keywords were extracted, the list was examined through a concordance analysis, in order to observe patterns and contextual use. Concordance lines are “lists” of words (or clusters of words) and their co-text, i.e. “the words that come on either side of a word or phrase selected for study” (Sinclair, 1991: 171).

The concordance is at the centre of corpus linguistics, because it gives access to many important language patterns in texts. [...] The computer generated concordance can be very flexible; the context of a word can be selected on

various criteria (for example counting the words on either side, or finding the sentence boundaries).

(Sinclair, 1991: 170-171)

The analysis of concordance lines was complemented by a collocation analysis of the word *rape*. Being one of the words which was used in the search of the articles for the corpus, this term was one of the most frequent in the corpus. Collocation can be defined as the “tendency of words to be biased in the way to co-occur” or the “tendency of two words to co-occur” or “the tendency of one word to attract another” (Hunston, 2002: 68). Sinclair defines collocation as:

the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text. The usual measure of proximity is a maximum of four words intervening. Collocations can be dramatic and interesting because unexpected, or they can be important in the lexical structure of the language because of being frequently repeated.

(Sinclair, 1991: 170)

In this study, collocations have been analysed through the use of the statistical measure called T-score, which tends to show high frequency words that collocate with the search (or node) word. Unlike the measure of significance Mutual Information (MI), T-score foregrounds typical phraseological patterning and collocates. By contrast, MI tends to give high scores to low frequency words that are more unusual (Baker, 2006: 100ff).

Looking at collocates of a node word can be a helpful strategy for drawing a general picture of the semantic or grammatical behaviour of that particular word. This can then be elaborated through detailed analysis of concordances or through a comparison with the collocations/concordances of the word in a general corpus, such as the British National Corpus (BNC) (see below). The information derived from collocational analysis may also set the direction for further developments of the topic and provide a useful starting point and a lead into the qualitative analysis.

At this point it may be useful to introduce the concept of semantic or discourse prosody. Louw (1993: 157) refers to semantic prosody as the “consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates”. It can be seen as the semantic extension of collocation. Stubbs makes the example of the lemma CAUSE which is mostly connected with words that refer to negative or pleasant events (Stubbs, 2001). Discourse prosody “extends over more than one unit in a linear string” (Stubbs, 2001: 65), that is, the collocate does not need to be near the node word for its meaning to influence it.

In order to analyse the prosody of certain words, part of the analysis consisted in comparing the use of a given keyword (and keywords’ collocates) with evidence from a larger and more general corpus, such as the BNC using the online interface BNCweb¹⁴. The BNC is a 100-million word corpus which contains samples of written texts (90m words) and spoken language (10m words). The online interface makes it possible to extract concordances and collocates and order them by T-score, Log-Likelihood or Mutual Information. It also offers the possibility of selecting frequency and window span to order collocates to either sides of the node word.

Although the analysis of concordance lines included a certain level of qualitative analysis and human input and interpretation, it was based on patterns emerging from data (e.g. keywords, collocations). In some cases, the analysis of the co-text was not sufficient; thus, in order to avoid superficial quantifications due to the distance from the source text, it was necessary to expand the concordance lines or even examine the whole texts by downsampling a smaller number of texts to carry out a deeper qualitative analysis on the basis of categories informed by CDA. Yet, the downsampling of the *RAPE* corpus was not arbitrary, but rather informed by frequency patterns. In particular, the texts taken into consideration for the CDA analysis (see Chapter 5) were selected on the basis of the keyword list by choosing to analyse one of the proper nouns present among the 20 most frequent keywords in the *RAPE* corpus (see 4.1., Table 1), i.e. the proper nouns that had significantly higher frequency in the *RAPE* corpus than in the reference corpus.

¹⁴ BNCweb:
<http://bncweb.lancs.ac.uk/bncwebSignup/user/login.php> [Retrieved: 22.01.2013]

With the initial evidence gathered from the corpus analysis, evidence from a smaller set of texts, gathered according to the criteria explained above, was investigated using the tools offered by Critical Discourse Analysis, in order to carry out a closer analysis of the context and compare those findings against existing rape-related myths and rape-related research and in the context of news production in the UK. The following section will be devoted to describing some of the most salient categories that informed the CDA approach.

3.3.2. CDA Tools: Intertextuality, Interdiscursivity, Social Actors and Hybridization

In Chapter 2 I have described the several dimensions of media discourse and the factors determining media texts (see 2.4.). Critical Discourse Analysis offers a series of tools to analyse how certain features of media discourse can be involved in the ideological function of the mass media in supporting the dominant system. These tools allow the research to step out of the corpus in order to consult and include other kinds of information in the analysis.

Although Critical Discourse Analysis does not offer a “typical” way of collecting or analysing data, it often relies on the analysis of certain categories or linguistic features, such as actors, argumentation, modality, passivation or nominalisation. Additionally, its focus goes beyond the text itself and moves into the field of cognition, including the analysis of beliefs, evaluations, social structures, and so on. Thus, it overcomes some of the limitations related to Corpus Analysis, such as the focus on language only, excluding non-verbal language, socio-cultural context, features of production and reception of texts and a focus on how language and dominant discourses can be related.

One of the key concepts in CDA is that of intertextuality (see 2.6.2.) defined as the “property texts have of being full snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth” (Fairclough, 1992: 84). In terms of textual production, an intertextual perspective emphasises the “historicity of texts” (Fairclough, 1992: 84) and how they always constitute additions to existing “chains of speech

communication” (Bakhtin, 1986: 94). In the specific case of media production, an intertextual analysis looks at how, for instance, quoted utterances are selected changed, recontextualised.

A further dimension of media production as a chain of discourses used to construct the final product is the context of production. When positioning the readers (or viewers or listeners) as subjects (see 2.6.1.), a writer (or speaker) is making assumptions about them, about their experiences and knowledge. Yet, no matter how accurate market surveys may be, there is no way the writer can know what his or her actual readers will or will not know. Therefore, writers will have to construct an “ideal reader” on the basis of certain presuppositions. There is of course no guarantee that these presuppositions are right and that the experiences they refer to do exist in the readers’ mind. Despite that, such presuppositions are presented as given, as shared background, with the result that the writer can potentially lead the audience into accepting things they have never actually experienced and they have no knowledge about. Thus, being able to determine presuppositions may be seen as a way of defining what is given and what is not, and consequently it may be interpreted as a form of power.

As already mentioned in Chapter 2 (see 2.6.2.), presuppositions are based on stereotypes and shared beliefs or on what Fairclough (1989: 11) calls Members’ Resources (MRs) – representations, prototypes of diverse things stored in long-term memory. Such resources, though, are not part of a specific text nor are they explicitly expressed in the texts; they are rather a part of the production context, of what the writer assumes to be shared knowledge and common ground for participants, relying on their interpretation skills and their ability to recognise the cues left in the text. They do not belong to the dimension of “manifest intertextuality” (Fairclough, 1992: 85); they belong to the interdiscursive dimension.

Interdiscursivity extends intertextuality in the direction of the principle of the primacy of the order of discourse [...]. On the one hand, we have the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of specific other texts (manifest intertextuality); on the other hand, the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of elements (types of convention) of orders of discourse (interdiscursivity).

(Fairclough, 1992: 85)

Thanks to the (stereotyped) representations that we hold “in our heads”, it is possible to recognize attributes associated with certain people, objects or events when they occur in discourse and eventually “make sense” of them (see 2.4.4.). Thus, such presuppositions do not need to be (re)created in every single text, but they draw upon elements of other texts (or discourses or orders of discourse) which were produced beforehand and elsewhere.

In this sense, texts (and discourses) should be seen from a historical perspective, as a chain of production which takes place over time, connecting texts produced in different (historical) contexts and expressing different discourses. Thus, a text always exists in intertextual relations to other texts (and to the relative discourses) and the choice of what texts (and discourses) to draw (or not to draw) upon raises questions of ideology and manipulation (see 2.4.2.).

Another useful resource for the qualitative approach to textual analysis is Theo van Leeuwen’s (1996, 2008) approach based on the representation of social actors and social actions. Van Leeuwen proposes a list of relevant categories with the aim to investigate the representation of social actors and their actions in discourse. This model bridges content and linguistic analysis at the text level, asking questions such as: How are social actors represented in discourse? Are social actors included or excluded, generalised or specified, activated or subjected? He outlines a ‘sociosemantic inventory’ of ways in which social actors can be linguistically represented, seeking to establish sociological and critical relevance before focusing on how social actors are realised linguistically. Although van Leeuwen’s focus is on sociological categories rather than on linguistic ones, and even though he recognises the pan-semiotic characteristic of these categories, his model is still grounded in linguistics. In discourse, van Leeuwen hypothesises, social actors can be included or excluded, activated or passivated, actions can be represented void of human agency or the opposite, in the process of recontextualising a social practice. Drawing on Bernstein’s concept of recontextualisation (1981, 1986) of knowledge produced in the “upper reaches” and then embedded into a pedagogic content in the “lower

reaches”, he uses the term in more general terms and connects it to the concept “discourse”, i.e.

a socially constructed knowledge of some social practices, developed in specific social contexts, and in ways appropriate to these contexts, whether these contexts are large, for instance multinational corporations, or small, for instance particular families, and whether they are strongly institutionalised, for instance the press, or less so, for instance dinner table conversation.

(van Leeuwen, 2008: 6)

A social practice can therefore be represented in many different ways, in a plurality of discourses according to the context where it is being reproduced or recontextualised. A social practice and the representation thereof are not the same thing and van Leeuwen stresses the difference between “doing it” and “talking about it”, a difference that may look obvious, yet it may be often overlooked. Moreover, by making explicit the several ways in which texts can represent social actors, their actions and how they can be recontextualised, van Leeuwen seeks to analyse how certain discourses legitimise some of these actors and their practices rather than others (van Leeuwen, 2008: 105-123). In this study, I have applied van Leeuwen’s categories to establish how social actors and their actions are represented in the British media when reporting on incidents of rape. This approach was also used together with corpus analysis, in order to link the linguistic analysis offered by CL with the sociosemantic analysis offered by CDA.

Both the notions of interdiscursivity and recontextualisation are related to another key concept in CDA, i.e. hybridization. Professional writers constantly operate within and across generic boundaries, creating new hybrid forms “to give expression to their ‘private intentions’ within the socially accepted communicative practices and shared generic norms” (Bhatia, 2012: 24). These new hybrid forms represent mixtures of different discourses, voices and genres in different contexts. As stated earlier, interdiscursivity indicates that a text can include several discourses linked to each other; these discourses are hybrid, in the sense that they are not “pure”, but each of them draws upon other discourses and is influenced by them. When an event is recontextualised, the new text will contain features of previous texts and discourses,

together with influences from other genres and communicative situations. Elements from different discourses and discourse types often merge, thus blending or blurring different voices (Linell, 1998: 149). In some cases, it is possible to detect the different discourses a text draws upon, whereas in other cases it may be impossible to identify the different “ways of talking” of a certain discourse, genre or discourse community, i.e. “whole categories of actors acting in a particular situation type” (Fairclough, 1992: 85).

Mediated discourse seems to be no exception to this trend. As mass media have become predominant in modern age, mediated discourse has come to be a more and more hybrid genre, showing a blurring between information and entertainment (see Fairclough, 1995). As profit-oriented institutions, the media have moved towards a democratization or conversationalization of their products that are more and more colonised by a promotional and informal style that may be more appealing to the audience (see also 2.4.5. and 2.6.3.). Cultural and educational commodities (including media products) have started being sold to their “clients” or “consumers” in a process of commodification, i.e.

the process whereby social domains and institutions, whose concern is not producing commodities in the narrower economic sense of goods for sale, come nevertheless to be organized and conceptualized in terms of commodity production, distribution and consumption.

(Fairclough, 1992: 207)

Fairclough (1992: 99) speaks of the “marketization” of discourse, i.e. “the extension of market models to new spheres”. When it comes to media production, an author may wish to target a larger number of readers and, in order to do so, s/he may decide to stay within the limits of a particular discourse or genre or to mix them in order to promote her/his commodities and make them more captivating. At the same time, such choices may involve major ethical issues, since marketization is associated with the apparent shift in power from producers to consumers, a shift which entails hegemony and more subtle power relations implications (Fairclough, 2010: 100). The approach of Critical Discourse Analysis to language analysis has systematically focused on the deconstruction of the several “voices” or discourses or genres

embedded in a text in order to demystify mechanisms of persuasion, hegemony and power through the traces left in texts, such as the use of words or phrases linked to a particular discourse or features linked to a particular genre.

3.4. CONTEXT ANALYSIS

As part of the CDA approach, the last section of this chapter will be aimed at contextualising the articles analysed in this study. More precisely, I will provide a brief overview of the British press and the phenomenon of gender-based violence (in particular rape) in the UK.

3.4.1. The British Press

British newspapers can be classified on the basis of a range of criteria such as frequency of publication (dailies vs. Sunday editions), coverage (national vs. regional) or style (broadsheet vs. tabloid). Some newspapers can openly reveal their stance on certain issues, whereas others may attempt to make their bias less evident.

In this study, I chose to analyse quality newspapers (or broadsheets) on the basis of the assumption that, because they are targeted at an audience with a comparatively higher educational status, they are more likely to have a more serious, less sensationalist attitude towards an issue such as gender-based violence. Moreover, news in the quality papers is not supposed to be addressed to a specific gender and, in principle, it should not favour one of the sexes. The four newspapers I considered here are: *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Times* and *The Independent*. *The Guardian* and *The Independent* are two centre-left/liberal newspapers, whereas *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* are centre-right/conservative broadsheets.

The Guardian's readership is mainly a middle-class-oriented newspapers. In 2010, MORI¹⁵ took a poll to investigate the political orientation of its readers and it found that 46% of them were Labour Party voters¹⁶. The newspaper has a reputation of having liberal and progressive views and, compared to all other quality newspapers,

¹⁵ Ipsos MORI is the second largest market research organisation in the United Kingdom.

¹⁶ IPSOS Mori. Voting by Newspaper Readership 1992-2010 (24.05.2010): <http://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/2476/Voting-by-Newspaper-Readership-19922010.aspx?view=wide> [Retrieved: 06.02.2013]

The Guardian has a higher proportion of readers who are adults, and specifically women, holding higher education degrees¹⁷. In 2012 women made up 45.7% of the total readership of *The Guardian*¹⁸.

The Independent can be considered as politically left-oriented, although it also features conservative columnists. In an editorial published in February 2013, *The Independent* itself defined the newspapers as “proudly liberal”¹⁹. A MORI survey estimated that, in 2010, 44% of regular readers of the newspaper were Liberal Democrat voters, whereas 32% were Labour Party voters²⁰. The paper is particularly known for its stance against the restriction of mass immigration to the UK, for its strong position on environmental issues and for its campaigning and criticism against certain aspects of UK and US foreign policy related to the war on terrorism.

With a circulation of 573,674²¹ copies per day in 2012, *The Daily Telegraph* is the quality paper with the largest circulation in the UK. It is a politically conservative paper. It is sometimes referred to as The Daily Torygraph, to emphasise its strong links with the Conservative Party²². According to a MORI poll conducted in 2005, 64% of *The Daily Telegraph* readers would have supported the Conservative Party in the coming elections²³.

The Times is a moderate newspaper and traditionally a supporter of the Conservative Party, although it supported the Labour Party during the 2001 and 2005 general

¹⁷ (source: National Readership Survey (NRS) July 2011 – June 2012):
<http://www.nrs.co.uk/> [Retrieved: 06.02.2013]

¹⁸ Newswork: Readership Data (*The Guardian*):
<http://www.newsworks.org.uk/The-Guardian> [Retrieved: 06.02.2013]

¹⁹ *The Independent*: Editorial: A liberal gamble too far. Betting is being driven by the internet and it is easier than ever to lose everything (27.01.2013):
<http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/editorials/editorial-a-liberal-gamble-too-far-8468336.html> [Retrieved: 06.02.2013]

²⁰ IPSOS Mori. Voting by Newspaper Readership 1992-2010 (24.05.2010):
<http://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/2476/Voting-by-Newspaper-Readership-19922010.aspx?view=wide> [Retrieved: 06.02.2013]

²¹ *The Guardian*: ABCs: National Daily Newspaper Circulation, June 2012 (13.07.2012):
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/table/2012/jul/13/abcs-national-newspapers> [Retrieved: 06.02.2013]

²² DailyTorygraph:
<http://www.dailytorygraph.com/> [Retrieved: 06.02.2013]

²³ IPSOS Mori. Voting Intention by Newspaper Readership Quarter 1 2005. (21.04.2005):
<http://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/poll.aspx?oItemId=580&view=wide>
[Retrieved: 06.02.2013]

elections²⁴. According to Ipsos MORI, in 2005, 40% of *The Times* readers intended to support the Conservative Party²⁵. The average daily circulation of the paper was of 400,120²⁶ in 2012, the second highest circulation among quality papers in the UK, after *The Daily Telegraph*. In 2009, a national readership survey found that *The Times* has the highest number of upper-middle class readers of any of the quality papers, with women representing 40% of the total readership²⁷.

3.4.2. Rape Crimes in the UK

This section provides an overview on the phenomenon of violence against women (with a particular focus on rape) in the UK. Except where otherwise stated, the data given below is from:

- the British Crime Survey 2006/07²⁸;
- Povey, E., Coleman, K., Kaiza, P., Hoare, C., Jansson, K., (2008) *Home Office Statistical Bulletin: Crime in England and Wales 2006/07. Supplementary Volume 2 to Crime in England and Wales 2006/2007*;

The Sexual Offences Act 2003²⁹ states that a person commits rape if:

- (a) he intentionally penetrates the vagina, anus or mouth of another person (B) with his penis,
- (b) B does not consent to the penetration, and
- (c) A does not reasonably believe that B consents.

²⁴ *Financial Times*: Election 2005: What the papers said (14.04.2005)

http://web.archive.org/web/20080605162948/http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/417fa1a2-ab60-11d9-893c-00000e2511c8.dwp_uuid=fdb2b318-aa9e-11d9-98d7-00000e2511c8.html [Retrieved: 06.02.2013]

²⁵ IPSOS Mori. Voting Intention by Newspaper Readership (09.03.2005):

<http://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/755/Voting-Intention-by-Newspaper-Readership.aspx> [Retrieved: 06.02.2013]

²⁶ *The Guardian*: ABCs: National Daily Newspaper Circulation, June 2012 (13.07.2012):

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/table/2012/jul/13/abcs-national-newspapers> [Retrieved: 06.02.2013]

²⁷ Newswork: Readership Data (*The Times*)

<http://www.newsworks.org.uk/The-Times> [Retrieved: 06.02.2013]

²⁸ Nicholas, S., Kershaw, C., Walker, A. (2007). *Crime in England and Wales 2006/2007*. London: Home Office

²⁹ Sexual Offences Act (2003)

<http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2003/42/contents> [Retrieved: 06.02.2013]

(2) Whether a belief is reasonable is to be determined having regard to all the circumstances, including any steps A has taken to ascertain whether B consents.

In 2005 the British Crime Survey (BCS) estimated that 45% of women in the UK have experienced some form of domestic violence or rape³⁰. Every year 100,000 women are raped in the UK, that is 2,000 women per week. Overall, one million women in the UK has experienced rape since age 16 and another 300,000 have suffered attempted rape. Rape remains one of the most under-reported crimes in the UK (Walby and Allen, 2004); only one in seven rapes is reported to the police and, of these reported cases, less than 6% result in a conviction (Kelly et al., 2005). In 2002, the Metropolitan Police found that out of the 175 domestic intimate assaults recorded in London during the first three months of 2001, only four perpetrators received a sentence, the maximum of which was 14 months³¹.

As for the relationship between rape victims and perpetrators, it is estimated that 97% of callers to Rape Crisis Centres knew their rapist and fewer than 7% had reported the assault to the police³². Additionally, rapes perpetrated by a current or former partner account for around half of total rapes and the majority of cases that are not reported to the police. Marital rape was not considered illegal in the UK until 1990 (Coleman et al., 2007; 51).

The British Crime Survey found that there is no evidence of variations in prevalence of intimate violence by region of residence or by ethnic background in the UK. Additionally, unmarried and young women were found to be more likely to suffer from intimate violence (it should be noted, though, that the association between these two factors does not prove causation and there may be other reasons that make these women more vulnerable to assault). Finally, among female victims of intimate violence, rape was most likely to be committed by a partner (51%).

³⁰ Home Office (2005). *Domestic violence: A national report*. London: Home Office.

³¹ Metropolitan Police (2002). *Understanding and responding to hate crime fact sheets: Sexual assaults*. London: Metropolitan Police.

³² Rape Crisis Federation, England and Wales:
<http://www.rapecrisis.org.uk/> [Retrieved: 06.02.2013]

Another aspect that the British Crime Survey brought up is that, although substance use does not cause violence against women, there is a clear link between the two. There seems to be a correlation between the perpetrator use of alcohol and the incidence and seriousness of violence. The survey also revealed that perpetrators of violence are often men who have a previous history of paying for sex, pornography (ab)use and/or drinking problems. Moreover, men who are violent to their partners were found to be more likely to be violent to their children as well.

In the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis of the way rape is reported in the press, it may be useful to know about society's attitudes to violence against women, especially considering the premise that media and society mutually influence each other. As Baker and Gabrielatos have put it:

individual newspapers have a vested financial interest in reporting on issues within their readers' concerns, as well as reflecting their views and attitudes, as newspaper readers tend to read those newspapers that are generally in accord with their own perceptions and approaches.

(Baker and Gabrielatos, 2008: 9)

Certain differences in reporting styles between different newspapers may be explained with the different audience they address and the expectations the audience has in mind (see 2.4.1. and 2.6.1.). Over a quarter of people in the UK think that a woman bears some responsibility for being raped if she is wearing revealing clothing. Additionally, 18% think that rape can be a woman's fault if she is known to have had many sexual partners³³. Finally, 30% of people believe that domestic violence is acceptable in certain circumstances³⁴.

In 2004, Amnesty International commissioned an attitudinal research amongst young men in the UK on violence against women. They found that there was a strong unwillingness to talk about the phenomenon or a superficial attitude towards the problem, which may be a sign of a limited awareness about the extent of gender-

³³ Rape Crisis Scotland, Rape Crisis Scotland Public Awareness Campaign, presentation delivered at the Rape Crisis (England and Wales) National Conference. Leeds (5 February 2008).

³⁴ Independent Communications and Marketing (ICM) (2003) Hitting Home BBC Domestic Violence Survey: http://www.icmresearch.com/pdfs/2003_february_hitting_home_bbc_domestic_violence_survey.pdf [Retrieved: 06.02.2013]

based violence. In some cases, some widespread negative stereotypes and myths, including victim-blaming, were used to answer the questions; some men showed a refusal to believe the statistics regarding violence against women³⁵.

In line with the social stance of Critical Discourse Analysis and its commitment to bring about change in society, in particular as far as dominance, power abuse and control are concerned, this study was complemented by field work carried out in the UK with a local NGO (see 1.1.) working in the field of gender-based violence. The work was aimed at raising awareness among media professionals and promote a fairer representation of violence against women in the media. The preliminary findings of this study were used to produce a code of practice for journalists which is included in Appendix B of this dissertation.

³⁵ Amnesty International. Violence Against Women:
http://www.amnesty.org.uk/uploads/documents/doc_19116.pdf [Retrieved: 06.02.2013]

CHAPTER FOUR

CORPUS ANALYSIS

In this chapter I will be carrying out a corpus-driven analysis of the *RAPE* corpus. The first step was a comparison between the wordlists of the *RAPE* corpus and that of the reference corpus (see also 3.1.); this comparison produced a keyword list that highlights the words which occur in the rape articles more frequently than one would expect in news discourse in general. Using the Log-likelihood statistical test, each word was assigned a “keyness” value, which refers to “the statistically significantly higher frequency of particular words or clusters in the corpus under analysis in comparison with another corpus, either a general reference corpus, or a comparable specialized corpus” (Baker et al., 2008: 278). The 20 lexical words with the highest keyness values are presented in Table 1 and will be analysed in what follows.

4.1. KEYWORDS

Before starting the analysis proper, some preliminary remarks are in order. Having built the corpus using very specific search terms (*rape*,raping* and *rapist**) (see 3.1.), it is hardly surprising to find these lexical items among the first 20 keywords. The only search terms which are not present among the first 20 keywords are the word forms *rapes* (33rd) and *rapists* (53rd). Additionally, it was reasonable to expect that words like *woman* and *women* would turn out as key, particularly because the *RAPE* corpus was built by selecting only articles concerning incidents of rape against women and girls, i.e. articles dealing with incidents of rape against men and boys were not included. The list of the 20 strongest keywords also contains three proper nouns, i.e. *Fritzl*, *Napper*, *Scarlett*. The presence of proper nouns in a keyword list is not surprising (Baker, 2006: 127); nonetheless, it may be worth taking them into account in the analysis, since they might signal that the press has paid particular attention to certain cases over others and it could be worth trying to understand why (see Chapter 5). The top 20 keywords also include function words, i.e. *her*, *she* and *was*: while providing potentially interesting insights into stylistic or genre-related patterns, an analysis of function words would be less effective in revealing (*gender-*

related) ideologies in the texts. For this reason these items will be not taken into consideration here.

Table 1: List of the 20 strongest keywords of the *RAPE* corpus vs. the reference corpus (sorted in descending order of keyness)

Rank	Freq	Keyness	Keyword
1	1207	6.691.470	rape ³⁶
2	2247	3.283.842	her
3	1110	2.664.412	police
4	450	2.454.388	raped
5	1747	2.003.416	she
6	826	1.968.755	women
7	321	1.569.972	fritzl
8	398	1.564.052	sexual
9	412	1.563.655	victims
10	371	1.195.069	murder
11	546	1.146.389	court
12	165	1.010.661	napper
13	3371	1.003.843	was
14	188	975.906	scarlett
15	403	949.916	woman
16	336	938.145	sex
17	268	929.368	victim
18	163	901.850	raping
19	473	813.797	case
20	136	755.892	rapist

Having established the list of keywords, the next step involved attempting to group the words into semantically compatible units (Baker, 2006) in order to carry out a more detailed analysis of individual keywords via collocation and cluster analysis, combined with concordance analysis.

4.2. CRIMES

Inspecting the keyword list, the first semantic group that can be identified is that of “crimes”, which can be further subdivided in two sub-groups, i.e. words associated

³⁶ Considering the relatively small size of the *RAPE* corpus, words were lower-cased, since “preserving case distinctions [...] will duplicate word types” (Baroni, 2009: 805), thus reducing the number of occurrences of potentially relevant words.

with *rape* (including the verbal forms *raping*, the verbal/adjectival form *raped* and the verbal/plural form *rapes*) and *murder*.

An analysis of the words associated with these groups is presented in Sections 4.2.1. to 4.2.3. below.

There are three word forms of the lemma RAPE within the first 20 strongest keywords: *rape*, *raped* and *raping*, amounting to 1820 occurrences altogether.

4.2.1. Rape

The word *rape* occurs 1207 times in the *RAPE* corpus. In order to sift through the large amount of data, collocation analysis was a valid starting point to detect patterns which were later analysed in more detail through concordance and cluster analysis. Table 2 shows the list of the first 20 collocates of *rape* in a window span of 4 words on either sides of the target (or node) word, sorted in descending order of T-score value. The minimum frequency of each collocate was set to 3. It should be noted that co-occurrences of *rape* and grammatical words were not taken into consideration for this analysis (see also 4.1.). Table 2 shows the first 20 lexical words which collocate with *rape*.

Table 2: List of the 20 most frequent lexical collocates of *rape* in the *RAPE* corpus³⁷

Freq	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	Stat	Collocate
105	21	84	1.005.395	victims
89	21	68	924.577	murder
54	9	45	719.459	date
45	14	31	651.597	victim
40	32	8	627.206	attempted
46	30	16	619.631	women
38	18	20	604.499	conviction
36	18	18	595.509	allegation
45	19	26	591.200	police
39	10	29	569.871	year
33	30	3	562.478	alleged
33	4	29	559.714	assault
30	11	19	536.302	charges

³⁷ AntConc provides a list of collocates sorted according to their absolute frequency (Freq) and shows whether they are found to the left (Freq L) or to the right to the node word (Freq R).

28	15	13	521.875	rate
31	6	25	515.898	case
27	10	17	509.892	allegations
27	25	2	503.873	accused
29	9	20	503.043	sexual
24	3	21	486.166	crisis
22	5	17	464.117	false

Some of the collocates of *rape* (*victims*, *victim*, *women*, *police*, *case*, and *sexual*) are also among the top keywords in the *RAPE* corpus in general (see Table 1) and for this reason will be analysed separately in Sections 4.3.1., 4.3.3., 4.4.1., 4.5.1. and 4.5.2. Additionally, since the term *year* as a collocate of *rape* appears mostly in the expression *x-year-old woman* (or in temporal expressions such as *last year* or *this year*), this term will be taken into consideration in the pertaining section (see 4.5.1.). Finally, all occurrences of the term *date* refer to the expression *date-rape* that will be analysed in Section 4.2.1.1. and 4.2.1.6. below. The remaining collocates will be analysed in what follows (see 4.2.1.1. to 4.2.1.8).

A closer examination of the list of collocates highlights patterns which can then be considered for further investigation. The list in Table 2 contains six semantically related words, i.e. *allegation(s)*, *conviction*, *police*, *alleged*, *charges*, *accused*, which belong to the domain of jurisprudence. This might be an indication of the attention which was paid by the press to the legal and judiciary aspect of the crime. This alone does not provide evidence that a pattern does exist, but it is a good starting point for a more detailed study of *rape* through the analysis of concordance lines.

4.2.1.1. Allegation, Allegations, Alleged

The Oxford English Dictionary³⁸ defines *allegation* as “a claim that someone has done something wrong, typically an unfounded one”. It represents an example of nominalisation, i.e. the “conversion of processes into nominals, which has the effect of backgrounding the process itself – its tense and modality are not indicated – and usually not specifying its participants, so that who is doing what to whom is left implicit” (Fairclough, 1992: 95). In this particular case the process, i.e. *to allege* is

³⁸ Oxford English Dictionary:
<http://www.oed.com/> [Retrieved: 15.10.2012]

transformed into *allegation*. As it is the case with this type of transformation (Kress and Hodge, 1979: 10), actions are turned into objects and what is specific and concrete is turned into general and abstract. Another consequence of nominalisation is that the link between actor and process is weakened, thus obscuring relations of causality (making it difficult to recover *who* did what) and creating an abstract nominal which becomes more similar to a state than to a process (Kress and Hodge, 1979: 26-27).

In the *RAPE* corpus, the word *allegation* occurs either in the expression *allegation of rape* or in *rape allegation*. While the type of allegation (of rape) is made very clear, this is not always the case with the person who makes the allegation and the person against whom the allegation is made. The person/people against whom the allegation is made is/are mentioned in 7 cases out of 35 (lines 1, 2, 11, 15, 19, 24, 35, in *italics* below), whereas the person who makes the allegation is mentioned in 4 (lines 28-30 and 34) and she/he is referred to through an abstract reference (*woman*, *teenager*, *boyfriend*). This kind of abstract reference to the person who makes the allegation might be due to the fact that rape survivors have a right to anonymity and the media are not supposed to disclose their identity. The need to protect rape survivor's anonymity may be a (one of the) reason(s) why the press tends to not directly report *who* makes the allegation (although in some cases it may still be directly inferred from the article). Yet, the lack of direct attribution, together with the very general nature of nominalised items, makes the allegation process appear as less personal and direct.

Table 3: Concordance lines of *rape* and the collocate ALLEGATION (span: ± 4)

1	<u>television presenter</u> , made an allegation of	rape	<i>against an unnamed presenter</i> in her biograph
2	former <u>Blue Peter presenter</u> has denied a new	rape	allegation made <i>against him</i> , saying it is
3	never resisted his advances and denied the	rape	allegation .
4	women back to their hotel rooms following a	rape	allegation on the <u>team's</u> tour of New Zealand
5	> <u>John Leslie</u> faces	rape	allegation ; HomeNews IN BRIEF *The former
6	> <u>Leslie</u> says	rape	allegation is a 'stitch-up' The former Blue
7	appeal ruled yesterday. A delay in making a	rape	allegation is one of the factors most frequented
8	<u>Evans</u> insistent that he is innocent of the	rape	allegation , his case could be used to strength
9	only eight days after being bailed over a	rape	allegation was jailed for life yesterday.
10	murder eight days after being bailed over a	rape	allegation was jailed for life at the Old
11	No further action will be taken over a	rape	allegation made <i>against the former Blue Peter</i>

12 Braithwaite had been bailed over a **rape allegation** seven days before killing Stacey
13 after he was wrongly released on bail over a **rape allegation**, police claimed as he was jailed
14 Braithwaite had been held a week earlier over a **rape allegation**, but was freed to kill as police
15 Peter presenter, will not face charges over a **rape allegation** made *against him* last month. A
16 not worth pursuing." Some forces record any **rape allegation** as a crime as soon as a report is
17 of a Filipino woman in a hotel room. The **rape allegation** has echoes of the 1995 gang rape
18 Braithwaite having been bailed on the initial **rape allegation**. A police source said: "We felt
19 to obscure property developer THE latest **rape allegation** *against John Leslie* came as the
20 said: We are investigating an **allegation** of **rape** and indecent assault on a woman. The allegation
21 CPS, said: We take any **allegation** of **rape** extremely seriously and all rape cases are
22 > Prime Minister denies **allegation** of **rape** GRENADINES The Prime Minister of a formee
23 he described the latest **allegation**, of a **rape** in 1995, as totally untrue. He said: "I
24 Leslie yesterday described an **allegation** of **rape** made *against him* as the "mother of all
25 as arrested last night over an **allegation** of **rape** . Mr Leslie, 43, attended a police station
26 that the claims may include an **allegation** of **rape** , no formal complaint has been received.
27 the police had not taken her **allegation** of **rape** seriously. Rape charges against Jagat Mawari
28 her boyfriend [...] made an **allegation** of **rape** . So far the girl has made no formal complain
29 teenager made an **allegation** of "sexual abuse/ **rape** " to police and doctors at a hospital where
30 Unit she had made a previous **allegation** of **rape** . Witnesses were not interviewed for months,
31 Officers are investigating an **allegation** of **rape** and indecent assault on a woman dating from
32 questioned by detectives over an **allegation** of **rape** and sexual assault in November 1995.
33 40s was questioned over an **allegation** of a **rape** and sexual assault in November 1995, an
34 arrested after a woman made an **allegation** of **rape** at the team's Christmas party at the Great
35 not taken her **allegation** of rape seriously. **Rape** charges *against Jagat Mawari*, 30, were

One may wonder why *rape allegation* and not, for instance, *accusation* or *complaint*, is one of the strongest collocates of *rape*. It is perhaps a good idea to start by looking at the term's occurrences in the British National Corpus online (BNCWeb) (see 3.3.1). The table below illustrates the 30 strongest lexical collocates of *allegation* in a window span of 4 to the right and 4 to the left of the node word, sorted by T-score and with a minimum frequency of 3 occurrences (the same settings that were used to retrieve collocates in the *RAPE* corpus).

Table 4: List of the 50 strongest lexical collocates of ALLEGATION, BNCweb (span: ± 4)

Word	Total No. In written texts	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	In No. of texts	T-score value
made	85,796	2252	27	24	47627
denied	3,623	0.095	15	14	38484
against	52,459	1377	14	13	33736

withdraw	1,441	0.038	7	3	26315
support	28,54	0.749	8	8	25636
true	15,889	0.417	6	5	22792
dismissed	2,886	0.076	5	5	22022
breach	3,102	0.081	5	5	21997
abuse	3,368	0.088	5	4	21965
claim	10,614	0.279	5	4	21115
serious	11,401	0.299	5	5	21022
unsubstantiated	77	0.002	4	4	1999
refuted	109	0.003	4	4	19986
forgery	201	0.005	4	1	19974
misconduct	310	0.008	4	2	19959
justify	1,908	0.050	4	1	1975
abandoned	2,925	0.077	4	2	19616
false	3,41	0.090	4	4	19552
surprise	4,765	0.125	4	3	19375
totally	4,889	0.128	4	4	19358
october	10,162	0.267	4	3	18666
defence	11,344	0.298	4	3	18511
dishonesty	237	0.006	3	2	17285
untrue	269	0.007	3	3	1728
infringement	367	0.010	3	2	17265
reynolds	1,016	0.027	3	1	17167
negligence	1,241	0.033	3	2	17132
child	22,285	0.585	4	4	17075
rape	1,933	0.051	3	3	17028
deny	2,078	0.055	3	3	17006

What emerges from Table 4 is that the term appears to co-occur with words indicating denial. Among the first 30 lexical collocates, there are: *denied*, *withdraw*, *dismissed*, *unsubstantiated*, *refute*, *abandoned*, *false*, *untrue*, *deny*. Moreover, *rape* occurs in this list and is the only word explicitly belonging to the semantic field of crimes involving physical abuse³⁹; the other word that could possibly express physical violence is *abuse*, which, in 3 out of 5 occurrences (lines 2, 3, 4), explicitly refers to *sexual abuse*.

³⁹ The list includes words indicating crimes that are not directly associated with physical abuse, i.e. “forgery”, “misconduct” and “negligence”.

Table 5: Concordance lines of ALLEGATION and the collocate ABUSE in the BNCweb

1	the nature of the referral being made, for , an allegation of physical abuse.
2	father's sexual abuse of one child to support an allegation of sexual abuse against another.
3	GARDA investigation was underway today into an allegation of child sex abuse
4	The man who made the original and so far only allegation of sexual abuse is believed to be living
5	investigation into any incident or allegation of abuse which gives rise to concern.

This pattern of denial associated with rape seems to be congruent with the difficulties in allocating guilt in rape incidents, because of lack of evidence and because it is usually one person's word against the other's (see 6.1.2.). This might explain why, reporting on incidents of rape, journalists show a preference for the word *allegation* rather than *accusation* or *complaint*, thus foregrounding the not-yet-confirmed nature of the accusation and avoiding to imply that a rape actually happened.

Going back to the *RAPE* corpus, one pattern which arises from the study of the concordance lines is that the use of the term *allegation* seems to be connected with rape claims made against celebrities or VIPs. Some of these cases are already visible in the concordance lines, where a Prime Minister, a football player (Jonny Evans), four members of a UK rugby team and a TV presenter (John Leslie) are the men against whom the allegation has been made (lines 1, 2, 4-6, 8, 11, 15, 19, 22, 24, 25, 35, underlined in Table 3 above). In some cases, since the *alleged* rapist is not directly mentioned, it is necessary to expand the context of each concordance line in order to get that piece of information. The expanded context reveals that there are ten more cases of *rape allegation* against VIPs and celebrities:

1. **The former Emmerdale actor Ben Freeman** was yesterday cleared of raping a 16-year-old British girl in Barbados. Freeman, above, who played mechanic Scott Windsor in the ITV1 soap, was accused of raping the girl after they met at a resort on the Caribbean island in November 2006. The actor, 28, told the High Court in Bridgetown that he knew the girl, from Cheshire, was 16 but said she never resisted his advances and denied the rape **allegation**. (concordance line 3, Table 3)
2. **John Leslie, the former Blue Peter presenter** who was acquitted of indecent assault in 2003, was arrested last night over an allegation of rape. [...] A spokesman for the police said: "We are investigating an **allegation** of rape and indecent assault on a woman. (concordance line 20, Table 3)
3. **The Manchester United defender Jonny Evans** will not face charges over an alleged rape at the team's Christmas party, Greater Manchester Police said yesterday after they presented evidence to the Crown Prosecution Service. [...] Carol Jackson, head of the rape and family abuse team at City of Manchester CPS, said: "We take

- any **allegation** of rape extremely seriously and all rape cases are reviewed by specialist prosecutors. (concordance line 21, Table 3)
4. **The former presenter of Blue Peter** and the ITV programme This Morning, who was acquitted of sexual assault in 2003, asked when "this nightmare" of accusations was going to end. "If I sound bitter, it is because I am," he said in a statement in which he described the latest **allegation**, of a rape in 1995, as totally untrue. (concordance line 23, Table 3)
 5. Sex assault suspicion falls on **England players** after 'rowdy party at team hotel' [...] Although police sources have indicated that the claims may include an **allegation** of rape, no formal complaint has been received. Unless one is made they cannot formally pursue the allegations, nor identify the players. (concordance line 26, Table 3)
 6. The teenager then returned home, where her boyfriend later contacted police and made an **allegation** of rape. So far the girl has made no formal complaint, but police have made it clear that the claim she was raped by one or more of **the players** is "sufficiently credible" for them to carry out a full investigation. (concordance line 28, Table 3)
 7. The report, by the RFU's disciplinary officer, Jeff Blackett, discloses that the teenager made an **allegation** of "sexual abuse/ rape" to police and doctors at a hospital where she sought treatment. Until now, it had been thought that she had refused to confirm an allegation made against **the players** by her boyfriend. (concordance line 29, Table 3)
 8. **Ex-broadcaster John Leslie** condemns fresh rape claims as 'trial by media'. [...] Last night the Metropolitan Police said: "Officers are investigating an **allegation** of rape and indecent assault on a woman dating from November 1995. (concordance line 31, Table 3)
 9. **Leslie** says rape allegation is a 'stitch-up'. [...] Scotland Yard confirmed a man in his 40s was questioned by detectives over an **allegation** of rape and sexual assault in November 1995. He has been bailed to a date in August. (concordance line 32, Table 3)
 10. **John Leslie** faces rape allegation; [...] *The former Blue Peter presenter John Leslie, 43, has been arrested on suspicion of rape. Scotland Yard confirmed a man in his 40s was questioned over an **allegation** of a rape and sexual assault in November 1995, and was bailed until late August. (concordance line 33, Table 3)

In Table 3 above, out of 35 concordance lines, 23 concern an *allegation of rape* against a VIP. The pattern seems to also recur with the plural form *allegations*, as shown in Table 6 below, where lines 1, 4, 6-7, 9, 18 (underlined in Table 6) refer to *allegations of rape* against celebrities. Among the remaining collocates, 6 (lines 12-14, 16, 21, 22) seem to follow the same pattern of denial found in the BNCweb.

Table 6: Concordance lines of *rape* and its collocate ALLEGATIONS (span: ± 4)

1	> <u>Evans</u>	rape	allegations Perhaps some good will come of
2	> 'Accused' face	rape	allegations from police Seventy-two hours
3	that Kent Police took all sexual assault and	rape	allegations seriously and said that its
4	to RFU <u>The four players</u> at the centre of	rape	allegations on England's tour to New Zealand
5	two squad members who were at the centre of	rape	allegations on last month's tour to New Zealand

6	<u>four England rugby</u> players at the centre of	rape	allegations formally refused yesterday to sp
7	> <u>Footballer</u> cleared of	rape	allegations (Photograph) - MANCHESTER
8	their clear-up statistics The number of	rape	allegations recorded as crimes by police has
9	them the <u>four players</u> at the centre of the	rape	allegations that so undermined the final wee
10	argued about Braithwaite's arrest over the	rape	allegations . "This defendant . . . carried
11	have been trying to raise the proportion of	rape	allegations that end in conviction, which
12	trial and appeal courts is regrettably of	rape	allegations which prove to be quite false. E
13	The Crown Prosecution Service takes	rape	allegations very seriously and in the light
14	led herself because police had not taken the	rape	allegations seriously, an accusation that Ha
15	who found themselves caught up in	rape	allegations during the tour to New Zealand
16	crown court that some women fabricated	rape	allegations for their own purposes. The app
17	career ended in 2002 amid allegations of	rape	and sexual assault, expressed bitterness
18	that the <u>four players</u> denied allegations of	rape	and sexual assault and had the support of
19	denied the allegations of rape, attempted	rape	and assault by penetration but admitted the
20	London, initially denied the allegations of	rape	, attempted rape and assault by penetration b
21	by the judge who dismissed allegations of	rape	brought by a 21-year-old Aberystwyth student
22	the damage done when allegations of	rape	were not taken seriously enough. Braithwaite
23	is life imprisonment. The allegations of	rape	, which carry a maximum sentence of 15 years
24	conviction rate resulting from allegations of	rape	which are recorded by police forces 47,000
25	women to continue to report allegations of	rape	, while conceding that the authorities are st

The expansion of the co-text of the concordance lines above has revealed that four more lines (lines 2, 5, 15 and 17) refer to allegations against celebrities.

1. 'Accused' face rape **allegations** from police. [...] Seventy-two hours after setting in motion the biggest scandal to hit **England's rugby team** since Lawrence Dallaglio's first spell as national captain ended in a tawdry tidal wave of tabloid sex-and-drug allegations, New Zealand detectives confirmed they were seeking to question four members of the red-rose touring party about an accusation of rape. (line 2, Table 6)
2. A far more stringent code of conduct will be imposed on **England rugby union players** after a judge announced yesterday that he had fined two squad members who were at the centre of rape **allegations** on last month's tour to New Zealand. (line 5, Table 6)
3. **Rugby union**: Care breaks silence about New Zealand tour and leaves the June jolts behind. Danny Care is the only one of the Auckland four, the quartet of England internationals who found themselves caught up in rape **allegations** during the tour to New Zealand last June before being cleared in a subsequent inquiry, who is still in the senior squad. (line 15, Table 6)
4. **John Leslie**, the former broadcaster whose television career ended in 2002 amid **allegations** of rape and sexual assault, expressed bitterness last night after being confronted with new rape claims. (line 17, Table 6)

The plural form *allegations* as a collocate of *rape* occurs mostly in the form *rape allegations* or *allegations of rape*. As in the case of its singular form *allegation*, the plural is again a nominalised form of a process. The effect of this change of perspective is that the crime of rape is represented as the crime someone is accused of and an action (*allegation*) forced upon someone, rather than being presented as the crime that someone has committed against someone else; the latter would foreground agency rather than blurring the relation between the actors. The expressions *allegation of rape* and *rape allegation* obscure both the person who committed the crime (represented as the goal of an action process, rather than as the actor in an action process) and the person who was subjected to the crime (represented as an abstract entity). This vagueness contributes to reducing the seriousness of the incident, because both survivor and perpetrator are represented as not directly involved in the action and the relation of causality is obscured, shifting the attention from the causer of the process and from the person affected by it to the process itself.

One may wonder why *allegation(s)* of rape tends to occur in a context of denial and in particular in relation to rapes perpetrated by celebrities. In a study of the occurrences of the lemma ALLEGE in the BNCweb, Baker (2006) argues that it is relatively unusual for people involved in rape cases to be directly named by the media and that, when this does happen, a possible explanation might be that celebrities' names are more likely to be used. It may be further argued that a rape case involving a celebrity might acquire a more gossipy and sensationalist nature, thus becoming more newsworthy and therefore "selling" more. Perhaps it is just a case of a careful strategy used by the narrative voice not to imply that a rape actually happened (especially if the suspect rapist has been acquitted) and/or was committed by the suspected rapist, in order to avoid being sued for libel, something celebrities might be more likely and financially ready to do. It is also true that the media are known for sometimes confidently allocating blame, despite the lack of evidence supporting their speculations, as in the case of (wrongly) accusing "Muslim terror groups" of the "massacres" of civilians in Algeria (Richardson, 2007: 129-130). An additional explanation might be that, along with the attempt of sounding as "objective" as possible, there might be the spectre of false accusations of rape and the suspect that the woman might make an *allegation of rape* for money or fame. The

fact that the *alleged* rapist is a rich and famous celebrity might trigger more caution, in case the woman should be found guilty of perverting the course of justice with a *false allegation* of rape. The strong denial pattern of *allegation* might help the journalist distancing her/himself from the *allegation*.

Further indication of the denial pattern associated with the term *allegation(s)* comes from the remaining concordance lines. In particular, line 22 in Table 6 and lines 12-14, 18 in Table 3 refer to the Braithwaite case, where *rape allegations* had actually been dismissed and the *alleged* rapist had been bailed “seven years before killing Stacey Westbury” (Table 3, line 12).

The lemma ALLEGE as a collocate of *rape* is also recurrent in the corpus (frequency = 33), mostly in the adjectival form *alleged* (apart from lines 25 and 29, where it appears as a verb). Although the adjective is not a nominal, it still occurs within noun phrases such as *alleged(date) rape*, *alleged attack(s)*, *alleged victim*, *alleged rape victim(s)*, *alleged rape case(s)*. Concordance lines of ALLEGED as a collocate of *rape* are shown in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Concordance lines of *rape* and the collocate ALLEGED (span: ± 4)

1	and bailed in connection with an alleged	rape	at <u>Manchester United's Christmas</u> party,
2	centre-back arrested following an alleged	rape	at the <u>Old Trafford players'</u> Christmas party
3	<u>Evans</u> will not face charges over an alleged	rape	at the team's Christmas party, Greater Manchester
4	assaulted. A delay in reporting an alleged	rape	is often seized on by the defence as evidence
5	trial judges can tell jurors that an alleged	rape	victim could have delayed making a complaint
6	results from scientific tests. An alleged	rape	was committed by a criminal who would have
7	Japan. It followed other incidents of alleged	rape	, trespassing and drink driving. In an attempt
8	<u>Evans</u> will not be prosecuted over alleged	rape	The Manchester United defender Jonny Evans
9	has been compounded by a second alleged	rape	, of a Philippines-born woman by a US service
10	discouraged her from reporting the alleged	rape	and pressured her into signing a false state
11	Bush, was later charged over the alleged	rape	, and another series of rapes in 2005 involving
12	, it was disclosed yesterday. The alleged	rape	is one of six sexual offences allegedly.
13	other sexual activity, including the alleged	rape	of a four-year-old boy. Social services and
14	all week to speak to them about the alleged	rape	of a teenage woman in a waterfront hotel room
15	owing the arrest of a marine for the alleged	rape	of a 14-year-old girl on the island of Okinawa
16	another is being questioned about the alleged	rape	of a Filipino woman in a hotel room. The
17	owing the arrest of a marine for the alleged	rape	of a 14-year-old girl on the island of Okinawa
18	"deep regret" yesterday at the alleged	rape	of a 14-year-old Japanese girl by an America
19	at <u>four players</u> were involved in the alleged	rape	of an 18-year-old girl in a hotel room. The
20	minister, Yasuo Fukuda, called the alleged	rape	"unforgivable" and Shigeru Ishiba, the defence

21 of 100,000 rupees (Â£ 1,300) to the **alleged rape** victim for her bravery in coming forward to
 22 New Zealand paper reported that the **alleged rape** victim sought hospital treatment after her
 23 English ban on prosecutors talking to **alleged rape** victims, unknown elsewhere, is expected to
 24 > America's priority Two **alleged rape** cases involving a US marine and a soldier in
 25 hristopher Baithwaite, accused of murder and **rape** . He is **alleged** to have cut the throat of a
 26 won't convict in some cases of **alleged date rape** - because it might simply be impossible
 27 s to suggest that some cases of **alleged date rape** should not end up in court. Dame Helen
 28 the night of the **alleged** attack but denied **rape** . The case against him was dropped after
 29 subjected to extreme violence, including **rape** , while others have **alleged** they were used to
 30 a house near Bristol and two counts of **rape** following the **alleged** attacks on the teenage
 31 Cab driver on trial for **alleged** passenger **rape** A taxi driver known for his "party cab",
 32 another trial for their **alleged** role in the **rape** and murder of three other women, including
 33 The CPS said the **alleged** victim of the **rape** had not made a full statement at the point

A closer look at the concordance lines above shows that, although there are a few cases of *alleged* being used in relation to rape crimes committed by celebrities (lines 1-3, 8, 19, 22⁴⁰), the majority of occurrences do not refer to such cases and do not seem to show the same denial pattern found above. Such pattern is congruent with Baker's (2006: 158) findings suggesting that "the contextual uses of ALLEGE have quite different typical discourse functions which are dependent on whether they appear as a nominal, verb or adjective form. The nominalised *allegation(s)* form has a discourse prosody for denial which is not found with any of the other forms of ALLEGE". Such a finding seems to confirm the pattern found in news articles reporting on rape cases involving celebrities, where *allegation(s)* seemed to be used in order to deny the accusation.

4.2.1.2. Conviction

The word *conviction* as a collocate of *rape* in the *RAPE* corpus occurs mostly as part of the expression *conviction rate*⁴¹(*s*) (1, 2, 4-7, 9, 12-29, 31, 33-35), referring either explicitly or implicitly to the conviction rate for rape crimes in the United Kingdom.

⁴⁰ The extended co-text of the concordance line, made it possible to see that the allegations were against four England's rugby players: "When Martin Johnson, the new England manager, unveils his first 32-man senior squad a week tomorrow, it may well contain the names of **the four players** at the centre of a rape investigation by New Zealand police".

⁴¹ *Rate* is the 14th most frequent collocate of *rape*. It always occurs in the expression *conviction rate* and will therefore be dealt with in this section along with *conviction*.

Table 8: Concordance lines of *rape* and the collocate CONVICTION (span: ± 4)

1	contributing to the low conviction rate for	rape	. A working party of police, civil servants,
2	> Adverts tackle low conviction rate for	rape	An advertising campaign will challenge the
3	result in a conviction ; 34% of prosecutions for	rape	are successful.
4	Britain to increase conviction rates in	rape	cases, Assistant Commissioner John Yates, of
5	to the "appalling" conviction rate in	rape	cases because officers too often fail to
6	to the 'appalling' conviction rate in	rape	cases because officers too often fail to
7	helps anybody." The conviction rate in	rape	cases remains stubbornly low - only 5.7% of
8	was not good enough that only 6 per cent of	rape	cases resulted in conviction , Mr Yates said.
9	concerned about the low conviction rate in	rape	charges. However, nobody should be under any
10	women to be beaten to a pulp before a	rape	conviction can be upheld, why even bother
11	also said they are linking Brown, who has a	rape	conviction from 1989, to five other sex
12	POLICE are partly to blame for "appalling"	rape	conviction rates because they fail to take a
13	vital in helping to boost the stubbornly low	rape	conviction rate in England and Wales, where
14	re at crisis point with the pathetically low	rape	conviction rate but, on the other, creates
15	and heavy drinking contribute to low	rape	conviction rates. And one of Scotland's most
16	our criminal justice system than its pitiful	rape	conviction rate - but the fact that such a
17	Office said last week that the widely quoted	rape	conviction rate of 3.9 per cent - the
18	violence and honour-based crime. When the	rape	conviction rape rate is as low as 5 per cent
19	corroboration, although it is preferred, the	rape	conviction rate is 5.7per cent. However, mo
20	of the malicious accusation. Increasing the	rape	conviction rate will need more than
21	have said they are determined to improve the	rape	conviction rate and remedy what has been cal
22	e backlash: The sex industry is booming, the	rape	conviction rate is plummeting, women's bodies
23	has remained constant at two a week, and the	rape	conviction rate has been diminishing to the
24	justice system. The piece pointed out that the	rape	conviction rate in Britain has plummeted fro
25	It does not. In the years in which the	rape	conviction rate has stood at a point so insultingly
26	"At a time when the UK has one of the worst	rape	conviction rates in Europe, we've got local
27	to improve Scotland's conviction rate.	Rape	Crisis Scotland is behind a series of billboards
28	o her being raped." The conviction rate for	rape	in Scotland is 2.9 per cent, and research
29	ten used in the US. The conviction rate for	rape	is low largely because so few cases reach
30	R 2052) of his appeal against conviction for	rape	of a child, contrary to section 5 of the Sex
31	honour-based crime. When the rape conviction	rape	rate is as low as 5 per cent, why should we
32	to give a decent chance of conviction .	Rape	takes place out of sight, witnesses are rare
33	and emails: The low conviction rate for	rape	The appallingly low conviction rate for
34	likely to contribute to improved fairness in	rape	trials where the conviction rate is now increasing
35	also discovered that the conviction rate for	rape	was even lower than it was two decades ago.

A consistent pattern through the concordance lines above is the focus on the *low conviction rate for rape* in the UK. This is expressed in various ways, i.e. through the use of adjectives such as *appalling*, *pitiful*, *pathetically low*, *stubbornly low*, or through the use of verbs indicating that the *rape conviction rate has plummeted* or *has been diminishing* and suggesting the need to *improve* or *increase* the *conviction*

rate for rape. The focus is clearly on the importance of securing a rape conviction. In line 34 a higher conviction rate for rape is explicitly and directly associated with *fairness* in rape trials. Interestingly, the person *against whom* the conviction should be inflicted is not mentioned. As in the case of *allegation*, the nominalisation of two processes (to convict and to rape) obscures the agent and the goal of both actions. The act of convicting someone for having committed a crime and the act of committing the crime against someone else are transformed into states whose agent(s) and goal(s) remain latent. Agency and responsibility are deleted and the *conviction* is imposed upon a hypothetical and abstract entity, where rape is presented vaguely, as a matter of a law-and-order, with a generalised and unquestioned call for heavier sentencing.

4.2.1.3. *Accused and Charges*

Two *rape* collocates suggest a similar pattern of attention to the judicial processing of rape crimes and in particular to the stage of the investigation preceding the arrest. *Accused* and *charges* both refer to more formal types of accusation compared to *allegation* and are used in a less abstract way.

Accused occurs most frequently in the expression *accused of (gang) rape* (lines 3-5, 9, 11-21, 23, 25 in Table 9). Line 2 refers to someone *accused of murder and rape*, whereas lines 6 and 7 refer to someone *accused of kidnap, rape and murder*. Lines 24 and 26 do not refer to someone accused of rape, but they respectively refer to the woman *accused of provoking the rape* and the *defence lawyers accused of intimidating*.

Table 9: Concordance lines of *rape* and the collocate ACCUSED (span: ± 4)

1	> Rape	accused 'victim of coincidence'; HomeNews
2	Baithwaite, accused of murder and rape	. He is alleged to have cut the throat of a w
3	martial four marines accused of the gang rape	of a Japanese woman last year, in an apparent
4	marines to face courts martial accused of gang rape	The US military is to court-martial four m
5	the other three men accused of the gang rape	were put on trial, found guilty and sentence
6	Kohli, 39, who is accused of the kidnap, rape	and murder of Hannah Foster, 17, in Southampt
7	former electrician accused of the kidnap, rape	and murder of seven girls and young women in
8	Laurean's child. She had accused him of rape	.
9	> Ex-Royal butler accused of rape	A former butler to the Queen, Paul Kidd, 54
10	is believed that she accused her father of rape	and psychical abuse, as well as for the death

11 who has represented many men **accused** of **rape** , and who admitted that he had been surprised
 12 > Ethiopia military **accused** of **rape** and torture in fight against rebels Ethiop
 13 bloke we'd never heard of was **accused** of **rape** at the Manchester United Christmas party? I
 14 > Young tennis star **accused** of **rape** at university party A PROMISING young Brit
 15 > Marine **accused** of **rape** freed; HomeNews IN BRIEF *TOKYO An
 16 he, nor any of the four players **accused** of **rape** , have been named has resulted in a shadow be
 17 them with drugged wine. He is **accused** of **rape** , multiple counts of sexual assault and admin
 18 claims that lawyers defending men **accused** of **rape** prefer having a female-dominated jury because
 19 Rotherhithe, southeast London, is **accused** of **rape** , sexual assault and administering a substance
 20 50, of Rotherhithe, London, is **accused** of **rape** , sexual assault and administering a substance
 21 stitch-ups". Mr Leslie was first **accused** of **rape** six years ago when a fellow television presenter
 22 , saying that she had falsely **accused** him of **rape** . Victims of miscarriages of justice were
 23 failing to charge a crack addict **accused** of **rape** who went on to sexually assault and murder
 24 women are still being **accused** of provoking **rape** , but it seems as though little has changed
 25 and unfrocked after being **accused** of the **rape** and murder of a 10-year-old child. There is
 26 the trial was almost as traumatic as the **rape** . She **accused** defence lawyers of intimidating

A clear pattern arising from the concordance lines above is the use of the passive form to refer to the person who has been *accused*. Like nominalisation, the use of passive forms is an example of transformation, where the order of the actor and the affected is inverted. Transformations are “a set of operations on basic forms, deleting, substituting, combining or reordering a syntagm or its elements” (Kress and Hodge, 1979: 10). As in the case of nominalisation, the use of passives allows the deletion of the actor. Agentless passives are the most frequent forms of passives in the concordance lines above, since the person who *accuses* is deleted and could only be inferred from the context: apart from lines 8, 10, 22 and 26 where the agent is mentioned (*she*), in the remaining occurrences the actor is deleted. The surface structure of passive sentences is not that of a transactive construction, where there is an action which passes from the actor to the affected, but it is changed into a surface form which is more similar to an attributive form (nouns – “is” – adjective). The effects of this transformation is that the theme of the sentence shifts from the actor to the affected. Even when the latter is not explicitly mentioned (line 1), the affected participant is “taken into” the verb. This change of perspective weakens the link between the actor and the process, making the causal connection syntactically looser. When the agent of a process is deleted, it may be difficult to recover it, thus making

the cause of the process a more abstract one and shifting the attention from causality to attribution or classification (Kress and Hodge, 1979: 15-27)⁴².

The term *charges* occurs most frequently in the expression *rape (and murder) charges* (lines 2, 7-22) or *charges of (murder), rape* (lines 4, 23-29).

Table 10: Concordance lines of *rape* and the collocate **CHARGES (span: ± 4)**

1	presenter, will not face charges over a	rape	allegation made against him last month. A
2	But he insisted that both men could face	rape	and murder charges because they had "common
3	and faces multiple charges including fraud,	rape	and possessing narcotics. He is accused of s
4	against convictions for eight charges of	rape	and one of unintentional killing, for which
5	> Profile;	Rape	and corruption charges fail to dent Zuma's
6	Evans will not face charges over an alleged	rape	at the team's Christmas party, Greater
7	to police. Mr Gilbert was cleared of all	rape	charges , and also of two counts of rape and
8	at the High Court in Edinburgh of both	rape	charges . Sentencing him, the judge, Lord
9	Detectives say players could face	rape	charges . The four England players at the
10	pay for sex with trafficked women may face	rape	charges * First-time kerb crawlers face
11	sex with illegally trafficked women to face	rape	charges ; and she wants new police powers to
12	be reported that Bellfield was also facing	rape	charges involving three women. The charges
13	, said yesterday that changing the rules for	rape	charges would open the door to miscarriages
14	in Scotland, where a husband's immunity from	rape	charges was removed last year, and that in
15	fact he was released on bail, despite having	rape	charges against him in the past, shows
16	concerned about the low conviction rate in	rape	charges . However, nobody should be under any
17	the standard of corroboration - which in	rape	charges is very much lower than in comparable
18	released on bail despite having had a series of	rape	charges brought against him in the past show
19	penetration without consent. A series of other	rape	charges were allowed to lie on the file. Ms
20	not taken her allegation of rape seriously.	Rape	charges against Jagat Mawari, 30, were droppe
21	is no longer a defence: New law threatens	rape	charges and imprisonment: Kerb crawlers and
22	cells in protest at 'bad publicity' * Three	rape	charges will remain on file Levi Bellfield
23	Josef Fritzl faces charges of murder,	rape	, incest and false imprisonment. It has emerged
24	was killed. He denies charges of murder,	rape	, kidnap and false imprisonment. The poor-
25	Haggan. Kohli denies charges of murder,	rape	, kidnapping and false imprisonment. The tri
26	disappeared. Kohli denies charges of murder,	rape	, kidnapping and false imprisonment. The tri
27	under investigation could face charges of	rape	. Members of Auckland City Police's Adult Se
28	. Fritzl is facing charges of murder,	rape	, mental torture, slavery, incest and kidnapping
29	entence was inevitable. Two other charges of	rape	of a child were left on file. He was release

Charges is another nominalised structure leading to actor (and sometimes affected) deletion. The identity of the actor and the affected may be recovered in the text, but

⁴² A discussion of transactive-nontransactive models and their implications for the presentation of causality can be found in Kress and Hodge (1979, especially Chapter 3).

that would require more inferential work, because the relation is not explicit. This further increases the opacity and abstractness of the cause-effect relationship . Both in the case of *charges* and *accused*, the focus is on incidents of rape crimes where the perpetrator has not only been found, but also accused and charged, suggesting that someone will be arrested for the crime.

Examining the remaining collocates of *rape* there are three more terms – *attempted*, *false* and *case* – which are not intrinsically related to the jurisprudence semantic field, but whose meanings, when they collocate with *rape*, clearly belong to the legal domain.

4.2.1.4. *Attempted*

Another frequent collocate of *rape*, *i.e.* *attempted*, seems to occur in expressions which are also related to the semantic field of jurisprudence. *Attempted* is mostly (lines 1-35) used as an adjective with the meaning of “tried unsuccessfully” in the expression *attempted rape(s)*. In three instances (lines 36-38) it is used as a verb.

Table 11: Concordance lines of *rape* and the collocate ATTEMPTED (span: ± 4)

1	at Leicester crown court, admitted attempted	rape	and was jailed for three years after Mr Just
2	whose life was ruined following an attempted	rape	by Hoare in Roundhay Park, Leeds, in February
3	7m, say law lords A VICTIM of an attempted	rape	, whose attacker won pounds 7 million on the
4	rape. He was also charged with an attempted	rape	and indecent exposure in public, as well as
5	has confessed to the murder and attempted	rape	. Olivier is charged as an accomplice. Celine
6	the police, ranging from rape and attempted	rape	to serious sexual assault, but no action had
7	raping the student in April 2006, attempted	rape	and causing her to engage in sexual activities
8	can seek to claim compensation for attempted	rape	in Leeds in 1988 from her convicted attacker
9	he already had convictions for attempted	rape	and indecent exposure. Following the events
10	have received a long sentence for attempted	rape	. "It would not have made any difference to
11	6 years of a life sentence for her attempted	rape	. At least two more of Mr Hoare's victims are
12	the husband, who was convicted of attempted	rape	, was opening a test appeal expected to
13	d in jail after being convicted of attempted	rape	in the 1960s. However, under Austrian law,
14	1988. Hoare, 59, was convicted of attempted	rape	and jailed for life - he had six previous
15	park in 1988. He was convicted of attempted	rape	and jailed for life. While on day release
16	the going rate for a 20-year-old attempted	rape	? With the abolition of the time limit for
17	six previous convictions for rape, attempted	rape	and indecent assault - and spent 16 years in
18	six previous convictions for rape, attempted	rape	and indecent assault, attacked the woman,
19	denied the allegations of rape, attempted	rape	and assault by penetration but admitted the

20 be interviewed by police about the **attempted** rape of a teenage girl. Mr George went on holiday
 21 Injuries Compensation Board for the **attempted** rape in 1988, is maintaining her anonymity. In a
 22 boy was arrested recently for the **attempted** rape of a girl his own age in a school in west
 23 and claims the brutality of the **attempted** rape destroyed her self-esteem, wrecked her
 24 and claims the brutality of the **attempted** rape destroyed her self-esteem, wrecked her
 25 "I'm out on a limb, but I think **attempted** rape would have been the correct charge." Although
 26 businessman was charged with **attempted** rape and remanded in custody. David Atherton, 50,
 27 life - he had six previous convictions for rape, **attempted** rape and indecent assault - and
 28 Hoare, who had six previous convictions for rape, **attempted** rape and indecent assault, attack
 29 had been reported to the police, ranging from rape and **attempted** rape to serious sexual assault
 30 London, initially denied the allegations of rape, **attempted** rape and assault by penetration
 31 in rapes and began in 1989. He admitted one rape and two **attempted** rapes, but refused to
 32 of Bissetts, two **attempted** rapes and one rape on Green Chain walk 20 December Napper
 33 and her daughter Jazmine, 4, as well as one rape and two **attempted** rapes. He has also been
 34 where he had committed the two murders, one rape and two **attempted** rapes he would plead guilt
 35 shed responsibility and also admitted to one rape and two **attempted** rapes. He has been in
 36 raped at least one woman and **attempted** to rape two others. "We sincerely hope that whatever
 37 he was murdered after Fourniret **attempted** to rape her. He said she looked like the incarnation
 38 by the woman whom Mr Hoare **attempted** to rape in 1988, law lords have thrown out the six-

The use of *attempted* seems to refer to the formal judicial charge of *attempted rape*. Although the meaning of the adjectival form of the verb *to attempt* has nothing inherently related to crimes in particular or law-and-order in general, a study of the collocates of *attempted* in the BNCweb show its tendency to co-occur in judicial contexts and to be associated with serious crimes and misdemeanours. Among the top 20 lexical collocates of *attempted* in the BNCweb (sorted by T-score, 4 to the left and 4 to the right and with a minimum frequency of 3), 8 (*murder, suicide, coup, theft, rape, charged, robbery, murders*) belong to the crime and judicial semantic field.

In the *RAPE* corpus the tendency seems to be confirmed. There are 27 occurrences of *attempted* (lines 1, 4-6, 8-22, 26-31, 34-35) which are related to the judicial processing of rape crimes (police interview, charges, trial, sentencing, conviction). Among the various stages of processing, the attention in the concordance lines above (lines 9-15, 17, 18, 22, 26-28) seems to be particularly concentrated on the conviction stage (*charged with, convicted of, arrested for*) and, as in the case of *charged* and *accused*, on the law-and-order oriented containment of sexist crimes by control over convicted rapists.

4.2.1.5. False

The word *false* occurs mostly as part of the expression *false imprisonment* (lines 2-17), which refers to a type of crime (confinement without authority⁴³). Among the remaining concordance lines, 4 (1, 18, 19, 20) refer to *false* accusations of *rape*.

Table 12: Concordance lines of *rape* and the collocate FALSE (span: ± 4)

1	barely exists, while false accusation of rape	is an endemic and unspeakable commonplace.
2	him. Denton and two others admitted rape	, kidnap and false imprisonment at Snaresbroo
3	orders for the protection of the public for rape	, kidnap, and false imprisonment, and must
4	was killed. He denies charges of murder, rape	, kidnap and false imprisonment. The poor-
5	delivery van driver, denies her murder, rape	, kidnap and false imprisonment. The trial
6	Haggan. Kohli denies charges of murder, rape	, kidnapping and false imprisonment. The trial
7	disappeared. Kohli denies charges of murder, rape	, kidnapping and false imprisonment. The trial
8	. Josef Fritzl faces charges of murder, rape	, incest and false imprisonment. It has emerge
9	as 13, were found guilty of 13 counts of rape	, kidnap and false imprisonment. A court order
10	Jayden Ryan, 16, who were all convicted of rape	, kidnap and false imprisonment, and Alexand
11	Sexual violence: The names Guilty of rape	, kidnap and false imprisonment O'Neil Dent
12	tried for slavery, he is also charged with rape	, incest and false imprisonment. One of the
13	, 15, each received six-year sentences for rape	and false imprisonment. A 14-year-old and a
14	, 16; and Cleon Brown, 15, all convicted of rape	and false imprisonment. Denton, Ibrahim and
15	Raymond, 16; Jayden Ryan, 16 Guilty of rape	and false imprisonment Alexander Vanderpui
16	legal reasons, due to be sentenced for the rape	and false imprisonment of a girl aged 14,
17	tired electrician has also been charged with rape	, incest, false imprisonment and slavery. His
18	to equality for women), false accusation of rape	will shortly have to be declared a weapon of
19	prosecuting, said that the motive for the false rape	claim was unclear and that Miss Casson remai
20	only held assumption that 60 per cent of all rape	claims were false, and that women needed to

The concordance lines above suggest the existence of two patterns. Firstly, *false* and more precisely the crime of *false imprisonment*, comes mostly as part of a list of crimes (*murder*, *incest* and *kidnap*) which have been committed along with *rape* (lines 2-12 and 17). Secondly, in all but four lines (1, 18-20) *false imprisonment* is part of action processes of *charging someone with*, *sentencing someone for*, *finding someone guilty of* and *convicting someone of false imprisonment*. In lines 4 to 7 *false imprisonment* is introduced by a speech-reporting verb, *denied*, where the

⁴³ WordNet:

<http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?s=false+imprisonment&sub=Search+WordNet&o2=&o0=1&o8=1&o1=1&o7=&o5=&o9=&o6=&o3=&o4=&h=00> [Retrieved: 05.08.2012]

contribution of the speaker is not just introduced but also evaluated and categorized as “denial”.

Both patterns represent the action of imprisoning someone as a noun rather than as a verb, transforming a concrete activity into an abstract object. Rather than being presented as the crime that someone has committed, thus foregrounding agency, through nominalisation, *false imprisonment* is represented as the crime someone is being incriminated and punished for, as an action forced upon someone rather than a crime committed by someone. The person who committed the crime is represented as the goal of an action process (the punishing), rather than as the actor in an action process (the crime). It is worth noting that the expression *false imprisonment* belongs to the legal domain and it has no verbal equivalent. Therefore, in this case, the use of legal language in the news report rather than the nominalisation itself is the choice made by the journalist.

4.2.1.6. Case

Unlike *attempted* and *false*, whose meanings are not inherently legal, the term *case* can belong, among others⁴⁴, to the legal domain. It is therefore a case of ambiguity that needs to be analysed by looking at the context where the word occurs.

Table 13: Concordance lines of *rape* and the collocate CASE (span: ± 4)

1	Evans insistent that he is innocent of the	rape	allegation, his case could be used to
2	that and other evidence to avoid opening a	rape	and murder case . Mrs MacKeown said that she
3	investigating officer of trying to cover up a	rape	and murder. The case has thrown a fresh
4	of Austria's worst recorded case of multiple	rape	and incest - was published yesterday. It
5	Austria's worst recorded case of multiple	rape	and incest to light 24 years after it began.
6	official review four years ago into a case of	rape	and incest with disturbing similarities. In
7	to speak about Austria's worst recorded	rape	and incest case . In an interview published
8	desired," he said. Austria's worst recorded	rape	and incest case came to light on 19 April a
9		> Rape	case brings curbs on troops; WORLDNEWS
10		> Rape	case dropped A man accused of raping a teen
11		> Rape	case of death fall girl abandoned A FATHER
12		> Rape	case strategy Specialist police units should
13		> Rape	case to be reopened after police are criticised
14	undermine the credibility of a complainant in a	rape	case , an appropriate warning to the jury was

⁴⁴ For a list of meanings of *case* see WordNet:
<http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?o2=&o0=1&o8=1&o1=1&o7=&o5=&o9=&o6=&o3=&o4=&s=case&h=00000000000000000000000000000000&j=2#c> [Retrieved: 07.08.2012]

15 to carry out a thorough investigation into a **rape case** has been told by the Crown Prosecution
16 , Mrs MacKeown's lawyer. He added that a **rape case** should be opened even if the sex was
17 knife hidden behind the back. "In a **rape case**, the courts - in defence of a man -
18 jealousy, I don't know, but other women on a **rape case** would say she was asking for it. The on
19 > Police admit **rape case** failures POLICE are partly to blame
20 still consent," a barrister submitted in one **rape case** recently - and was backed by the judge
21 different? A friend who was a juror in recent **rape case** told me that the prevailing view in the
22 > Storm over call to review **rape case** proof * Rethink on rape law is vital,
23 attempting to murder a police officer. The **rape case** has caused widespread alarm at Holyrood
24 supporting victims financially. But in this **rape case** - as in a total of 14 over the last year
25 investigator. It is widely used in the typical **rape case** where juries are reluctant to convict,
26 Japan: Tension over American base grows with **rape case** Military imposes curfew on 45,000 persons
27 said that it was not the **case** that reform of **rape** law would, on its own, improve low conviction
28 all to review rape **case** proof * Rethink on **rape** law is vital, says Lord Advocate * QCs
29 , it is not only in the **case** of date **rape** that the law has proved to be an ineffective
30 the night of the alleged attack but denied **rape** . The **case** against him was dropped after

The most common expressions are *rape case* (lines 2, 7-26, 28) and *case of rape* (lines 4-6, 29). Some occur together with other crimes such as *murder* or *incest*, whereas some others specify the type of rape (*date rape* and *multiple rape*). There are 14 occurrences (lines 10, 12-17, 19-22, 25, 28 and 30) where *case* is either “a comprehensive term for any proceeding in a court of law whereby an individual seeks a legal remedy” or a “problem requiring investigation”. In the remaining lines *case* is used with the more generic meaning of “an occurrence of something”⁴⁵. Here there are two patterns which have been already highlighted above. On the one hand there is a link between rape crimes and its judiciary aspect, in particular with the investigation and trial stages, that is to say with rape cases whose perpetrator has been found and possibly arrested and prosecuted. Nevertheless, a clear tendency is evident in the concordance lines above to treat rape crimes as agentless objects rather than as actions committed by a real individual. As a matter of fact, in only 2 out of the 14 lines (lines 10 and 30) in Table 13 where *case* is used with the meaning of “proceeding in court” the perpetrator is clearly mentioned. In all other instances, the crime is treated in abstract terms, blurring agency and causality relationships between perpetrator and survivor.

⁴⁵ WordNet:

<http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?o2=&o0=1&o8=1&o1=1&o7=&o5=&o9=&o6=&o3=&o4=&s=case&i=2&h=00000000000000000000000000000000#c> [Retrieved: 07.08.2012]

The attention to the law-and-order aspect of rape crimes will be examined in more detail below in the analysis of keywords belonging to the law-and-order domain (see 4.3.).

4.2.1.7. *Crisis*

Among the remaining collocates of *rape*, there is the word *crisis* (frequency = 24). Since the word *crisis* may have several meanings, it may be useful to divide concordance lines into sets, each set exemplifying one meaning.

Table 14: Concordance lines of *rape* and the collocate CRISIS (span: ± 4) (1)

1	for decades ago, to see refugees and	rape	crisis centres closing, to hear our members struggle
2	about rape." More than two-thirds of	rape	crisis centres have branded "unsustainable"
3	funding to try to halt the closure of	rape	crisis centres. The WRC's campaign research also
4	A funding crisis has meant that	rape	crisis centres are closing at an alarming rate
5	provision for rape victims, a network of	Rape	crisis centres, and, by 1984, there were 68 of these
6	between 1991 and 2004), the number of	Rape	crisis centres has almost halved - there are now on
7	ports ageing donkeys. As the number of	Rape	crisis centres plummets, the number of lapdancing
8	at deal with those issues - groups like	Rape	Crisis - because they are being crushed." She want
9	suffered other violent or sexual assault.	Rape	crisis has indeed been facing difficulties and the

Here, the word *crisis* refers to the funding problems faced by social services for rape survivors. This pattern, i.e. the attention paid to the problems faced by Rape Crisis Centres, seems to be quite marginal and only dealt with in a limited amount of texts (5 texts in all). A possible explanation for this may be that five out of the nine occurrences of *crisis* with this meaning appear in feature articles and letters and comments, i.e. the most personal kinds of articles, often written by experts or activists.

Table 15, shows a second usage of the word *crisis* in the *RAPE* corpus.

Table 15: Concordance lines of *rape* and the collocate CRISIS (span: ± 4) (2)

1	corroboration are reformed. Speaking at a	Rape	Crisis conference on Tuesday, Ms Angiolini
2	existing legislative provision," he said.	Rape	Crisis Scotland also welcomed many of the measur,
3	to improve Scotland's conviction rate.	Rape	Crisis Scotland is behind a series of billboards

In the three occurrences above, the word *crisis* is capitalised and it refers to specific Rape Crisis services that are used as sources and quoted to comment on possible

changes to the legal definition of rape and in relation to the low conviction rate for rape.

4.2.1.8. Murder and Assault

The list of collocates of *rape* (Table 2) contains two more terms belonging to the semantic group of crimes, i.e. *murder* and *assault* (*murder* is also one of the top keywords in the *RAPE* corpus – see Table 1). The association between the word *rape* (also including forms like *rapes/raped*) and other types of crime seems to be a particularly frequent one, making it reasonable to hypothesize that a tendency exists in the *RAPE* corpus to report cases of rape associated with murder (and other types of crime). For ease of argumentation, this point will be discussed separately in Section 4.2.2. below.

Among the first 20 keywords of the *RAPE* corpus (Table 1), there are two more word forms of the lemma *RAPE*, i.e. *raped* and *raping*. These word forms will be the object of the analysis below.

4.2.2. Raped

The verb form *raped* occurs 450 times in the *RAPE* corpus. Considering the large amount of data, a small number of concordance lines might not show all the patterning. In order to cope with this problem, Sinclair (1999) advocates selecting 30 random lines, and noting the patterns in them, then selecting another 30 lines and noting the new patterns. This can be done until further selections of 30 lines no longer show anything new. Unlike in the case of *rape*, where the large amount of data was sifted through via collocation analysis, in this the method proposed by Sinclair was preferred, especially since *raped* represents both the simple past and the past participle of the verb *to rape*: due to this, collocates of the two word forms would have been merged, thus confounding the patterns which are peculiar to either of them. Manual browsing of concordance lines was therefore required⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ Although *rape* itself could be ambiguous (it could be either a verbal and nominal form of the lemma *RAPE*), the choice of starting the analysis of *rape* through a collocation analysis was based on both the need to study a

To begin with, Table 16 displays 30 randomly selected⁴⁷ concordance lines for the verb *raped* sorted by the first word to the right of the node.

Table 16: 30 randomly selected concordance lines of RAPED sorted one to the right of the node-word (formatting added)

1	> 'Taxi' woman	raped	A 26-year-old woman was raped by the driver
2	open prisons after the case of an inmate who	raped	a 16-year-old girl while he was on the run.
3	village. As she travelled to Rutshuru she was	raped	again, this time by Rwandan Hutu extremists
4	to try to trace the relatives of a man who	raped	and murdered a schoolgirl in 1946. The
5	expressed anger that the "evil stranger" who	raped	and murdered their "darling little girl" like
6	9, but her call was disconnected and she was	raped	and murdered, a court heard yesterday.
7	scores of opposition supporters have been	raped	and murdered, and hopes of democratic
8	DNA tests, it was clear that she had been	raped	and murdered. On Monday March 17 Hannah
9	as a cover-up and that her daughter had been	raped	and murdered. The naked body of 15-year-old
10	examination, which revealed that she had been	raped	and murdered. A barman and an alleged local
11	the father of Caroline Saison, 18, who was	raped	and strangled in 2000, said of Fourniret:
12	> Teenager '	raped	as she lay dead or dying' * Chef denies
13	at several bars. Miss McCormick was later	raped	by a man she could only describe as being
14	how she was knocked unconscious and	raped	by a man who climbed in through the open
15	86, when she was 21, Saward was attacked and	raped	by two men in her home - her father's
16	her new home and waited for her. Then he	raped	her again, saying that "it was to teach me a
17	37, a pub chef, stabbed her seven times and	raped	her as she was dead or dying. But he said he
18	alleging that Mr Gonsalves assaulted and	raped	her at his home on January 3. Lawyers in St
19	using a knife. In May that year, he battered and	raped	a 22-year-old mother whom he ambushed as
20	home in Southampton on 14 March 2003. He	raped	her several times in his Ford Transit van be
21	his way in, pushed her on to the bed and	raped	her with such brutality that she passed out
22	they have murdered my husband. They have	raped	me so many times. I do not know who is aliv
23	> Freed teenager	raped	mother-to-be A TEENAGER beat and raped a
24	threw herself off a bridge after she was	raped	on a night out with friends, an inquest was
25	by suggesting that women who are date-	raped	should not expect to take those who have
26	miles away, a 14-year-old girl was allegedly	raped	twice. Harkin appeared before magistrates
27	the offences were committed." Hanson, 65,	raped	two of his victims when they were aged 11 an
28	about allegations that he drugged and	raped	women passengers. His arrest was described
29	way off the path. The schoolgirl had been	raped	, battered about the head and shot twice at
30	services in place for women who have been	raped	. Well, no. The women's movement of the 70s

This first randomly-selected sample of concordance lines shows that *raped* often follows a form of the verb *BE* (*is, are, been, was, were, being* – lines 3, 6-11, 13-15,

higher number of occurrences (1207 for *rape* vs. 450 for *raped*) and on the observation that *rape* mostly occurs as a noun in the *RAPE* corpus.

⁴⁷ Concordance lines were randomly selected using an Excel spreadsheet. A random number was assigned to each row/concordance line using the formula **RAND**. Data was then sorted by the column containing the newly assigned random numbers, thus randomly ordering concordance lines.

24-26, 29, 30) as part of a passive construction (in **bold** above). In 12 out of 17 occurrences of *raped* in the passive form, the agent (i.e. the rapist) is deleted (lines 6-12, 24-26, 29, 30) and the verb is truncated (without a *by* phrase); in 5 instances the agent is backgrounded (e.g. *by the driver*, *by a man*, *by two men* – lines 1, 3, 13-15). The transformation of an action (i.e. to rape) into a passive process while backgrounding or deleting the agent, at the same time also implies the passivation of the affected entity (i.e. the rape survivor) who is represented as undergoing the activity, as subjected to the action (van Leewen, 1996: 43-45). Moreover, as explained above, verb voice determines comprehension of the causal roles of different actors in a sentence and the use of passive voice in particular casts the sentence object in a primary causal role, thus directing emphasis toward the affected rather than towards the agent.

Table 16 also indicates that the social actors involved in the process (perpetrator and survivor) are either functionalised (i.e. described in terms of what they do) or identified (described in terms of what they are, including age, gender, provenance, class, ethnicity, religion and so on) (van Leewen, 1996: 54-58). In the concordance lines above, there is a tendency for rape survivors to be identified in terms of their age (e.g. *aged 11*, *14-year-old girl*, *teenager*, *26-year-old woman* – lines 1, 2, 5, 11, 12, 15, 19, 26, 27). Even when they are functionalised, what they do still suggests their (young) age, as in the case of *schoolgirl* (lines 4 and 29). In two cases, the rape survivors are relationally identified (*daughter*, *mother-to-be*, *mother*, lines 9, 19, 23). The most common way to refer to the rape survivor in the concordance lines above is through indetermination, i.e. as an unspecified individual or group of individuals (van Leewen, 1996: 51-52). In particular, there is a pattern of categorising survivors either as *woman/women* or as *girl/girls*, possibly on the basis of their age. Nomination is another way found in the sample above to refer to the rape survivor (van Leewen, 1996: 52-54). Women are addressed informally, by given name only (*Saward*, line 15), semiformally, by given name and surname (*Caroline Saison*, line 11), and formally, by surname with honorific (*Miss McCormic*, line 13). The latter is also a form of identification in terms of marital status. As far as the perpetrator is concerned, when he is not deleted, there is a tendency to either functionalise him in terms of what he does (e.g. *driver*, *inmate* or *a pub chef* – lines 1, 2 and 17) or to

refer to him as an unspecified individual (e.g. *a man*, *he* – lines 4, 13-16, 19-20, 28) or group of individuals (*they*, line 22) or as a member of a group (collectivisation: e.g. *extremists* – line 3) (van Leewen, 1996: 49). In some cases, they are addressed formally, by surname, with or without honorifics (*Mr Gonsalves*, *Hanson*, lines 18, 27). In three occurrences the perpetrator is identified in terms of what he is (e.g. *teenager*, *Rwandan*, *65* – lines 3, 23 and 27). In one case, the perpetrator is appraised, i.e. evaluated as good or bad (*evil stranger*, line 5) (van Leewen, 1996: 58).

Another recurring pattern which can be observed from the analysis of these lines is that *raped*, like other forms of the word *rape* (see 4.2.1.5. and 4.2.1.8.) in both its active and passive forms, is that it is often associated with other crimes (underlined in Table 16 above). The presence of “raped and” and “and raped” may indicate the existence of a taxonomic dimension where rape crimes are accompanied by other crimes. In particular, *raped* seems to be associated with *murder* (lines 4-10) and with other forms of violent crimes which, in some cases, eventually led to her death (*strangled*, *attacked*, *stabbed*, *assaulted*, *battered*, *drugged*, *battered about the head and shot* – lines 11-12, 15, 17-19, 28, 29).

The analysis of the most recurring two- to four-word clusters which include the word *raped* in the *RAPE* corpus (Table 17 below) seems to confirm two patterns highlighted above, i.e. the use of *raped* in the passive form (in **bold** below) and the association with other violent crimes, in particular with murder (in *italics* below).

Table 17: Two- to four-word clusters of RAPED – min. freq. 4⁴⁸ (formatting added)

Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster
1	92	raped and	34	10	who raped a	67	5	that he raped
2	86	was raped	35	10	woman was raped	68	5	the woman was raped
3	54	raped her	36	9	had been raped and	69	5	was allegedly raped
4	53	been raped	37	9	<i>raped and killed</i>	70	5	was raped four
5	43	and raped	38	9	they raped me	71	5	who raped and
6	43	<i>raped and murdered</i>	39	8	allegedly raped	72	4	<i>abducted, raped and</i>

⁴⁸ After manual inspection it was found that different clusters belonged in the same (longer) unit; in that case, it was decided to merge them into a single cluster (e.g. “association of chief police” (fq. 9) / “of chief police officers” (fq. 9) => “association of chief police officers”). The same method was applied to all cluster analysis below.

7	38	raped by	40	8	i was raped	73	4	and raped by
8	35	was raped and	41	8	was raped in	73	4	are raped
9	31	had been raped	42	7	<i>been raped and murdered</i>	75	4	being raped if
10	28	he raped	43	7	have raped	76	4	d been raped
11	28	raped a	44	7	raped a woman	77	4	for being raped if
12	28	she was raped	45	7	raped as	78	4	girl raped
13	28	who raped	46	7	raped at	79	4	girl was raped
14	22	raped me	47	7	raped by a	80	4	<i>murdered and raped</i>
15	20	being raped	48	7	raped by her	81	4	raped a schoolgirl
16	18	raped in	49	7	she was raped and	82	4	<i>raped and beaten</i>
17	18	she had been raped	50	7	who was raped and	83	4	raped by a man
18	17	<i>was raped and murdered</i>	51	6	a man who raped	84	4	raped by her father
19	16	who was raped	52	6	for being raped	85	4	raped four years ago
20	14	be raped	53	6	raped four	86	4	raped if
21	14	have been raped	54	5	and raped a	87	4	raped in a
22	14	he raped her	55	5	been raped by	88	4	raped them
23	14	raped and murdered in	56	5	date-raped	89	4	responsible for being raped
24	14	repeatedly raped	57	5	had raped	90	4	that she was raped
25	13	and raped her	58	5	he raped and	91	4	then raped
26	13	was raped by	59	5	man who raped a	92	4	<i>was raped and strangled</i>
27	12	man who raped	60	5	raped by the	93	4	was raped four years
28	12	<i>raped and strangled</i>	61	5	raped girl	94	4	was raped on
29	11	they raped	62	5	raped his	95	4	who have been raped
30	11	to be raped	63	5	raped on	96	4	<i>who raped and murdered</i>
31	11	were raped	64	5	raped the	97	4	who raped her
32	10	been raped and	65	5	raped twice	98	4	woman was raped and
33	10	gang-raped	66	5	she was raped by	99	4	woman who was raped

In order to understand whether the association between crimes is a specific pattern of the *RAPE* corpus or whether it is a common pattern in the language used by the four broadsheets analysed in this study, a list of the crimes associated with RAPE in the *RAPE* corpus was extracted through collocate analysis; the same crimes were then looked up in the reference corpus in order to see whether they also tend to co-occur with other crimes.

A collocation analysis of “RAPE and” and “and RAPE” in a window span of 1 word on either sides of the node words, sorted in descending order of T-score, produced the following list of crimes associated with rape crimes in the *RAPE* corpus (Table 18).

Table 18: List of crimes following or preceding “RAPE and” or “and RAPE” in the *RAPE* corpus - min. freq 1

murder, abuse, assault, incest, kidnap, torture, abduction, deportation, strangulation, killing, slavery, imprisonment, manslaughter, looting, robbery, arson, corruption, beating, drugging, stabbing, sodomising
--

A collocation analysis of the crimes associated with rape crimes (in the *RAPE* corpus) in a window span of 1 word on either sides of the node words (“*some_crime* and” “and *some_crime*”⁴⁹) and with a minimum frequency of 1 occurrence in the reference corpus produced the following list of collocates.

Table 19: List of crimes collocating with RAPE (in the *RAPE* corpus) and list of crimes collocating with them (in the reference corpus)

CRIMES	COLLOCATES
Abduction	killing, murder
Abuse	kidnap, harassment, mistreatment, murder, neglect, rape, stalking, torture, trafficking
Arson	-
Assault	affray, murder
Beating	abduction, killing, murder, pounding, rape, strangulation
Corruption	bribery, fraud, rape, terrorism
Deportation	-
Drugging	smuggling, trafficking
Imprisonment	assault, killing, rape, theft, torture

⁴⁹ This convention is used here to indicate that the conjunction *and* is followed or preceded by a word indicating *some type of* crime, not a specific one. The same convention is used in Section 4.1. below to indicate the several types of crime (*type_of_crime*) and of activities (*type_of_activity*) that follow the adjective *sexual*.

Incest	coercion, rape
Kidnap	decapitation, extortion, murder, robbery, shooting, stealing
Killing	beating, rape, shooting, stabbing, torture
Looting	burning, rape
Manslaughter	sex-offence
Murder	abduction, abuse, ambush, assault, beating, espionage, hijack, kidnap, rape, robbery, torture
Robbery	burglary, kidnap, murder
Slavery	tyranny
Sodomising	-
Stabbing	-
Strangulation	beating, rape, torture
Torture	beating, imprisonment, killing, maiming, murder, mutilation, rape, strangulation

Table 19 shows that connecting two or more crimes is a common pattern in crime news. It is clear how violence has a special status as news value. It may be argued, that, being the greatest personal crime, *murder* has the effect of lifting all other crimes into news visibility by associating extreme violence to them. Even non-violent crimes like *robbery*, *looting* and *corruption* are associated with violent crimes like *murder*, *kidnap* and *rape*. RAPE itself shows a tendency to co-occur with other violent crimes, with *murder* being the most frequent among these, in agreement with the negativity and violence criteria of the prevailing news values, where violence, deviation and conflict are central news topics (van Dijk, 1988a: 99).

This emphasis on violence in the coverage of rape crimes seems to be confirmed by the inclusion of details (in **green** in Table 16) concerning severe bodily harm experienced by the rape survivor (*knocked unconscious, pushed her onto the bed, with such brutality, she passed out* – lines 14, 21) or the multiple nature of the assault (*again, seven times, so many times, twice* – lines 16-17, 22, 26, 29). In one case, the

rape indirectly led to the woman's death due to suicide (line 24). In line 12 and 17, murder is implied with the inclusion of details suggesting that the woman was *raped as she lay dead or dying* and *as she was dead or dying*. This focus on the most sensationalistic and violent stories also conforms to the typical expectations and patterns in crime news in terms of news value and newsworthiness criteria.

In order to bring to light any other patterns of *raped* in the *RAPE* corpus, another set of 30 randomly selected concordance lines can be analysed.

Table 20: 30 randomly selected concordance lines of RAPED sorted one to the right of the node-word (formatting added)

1	knives, machetes or guns, or who had been	raped	.
2	eight years' jail Edinburgh. A teenager who	raped	a 47-year-old mother while on bail awaiting
3	raped mother-to-be A TEENAGER beat and	raped	a pregnant woman the day after he was allowe
4	> Sally Anne suspect '	raped	a Thai student' A picture of alleged killed
5	the prosecution to spare his two daughters -	raped	and abused for more than 25 years - the
6	women in the trade who have been stabbed,	raped	and beaten. He tells Julie Bindel why they
7	reasons, said she was convinced she would be	raped	and feared for her life. The woman said the
8	EF *The mother of Scarlett Keeling, who was	raped	and murdered in Goa, said she wanted further
9	of Scarlett Keeling, the 15-year-old girl	raped	and murdered in Goa, was due to appear befor
10	daughter's battered body to prove that she was	raped	and murdered. Scarlett's semi-clad body was
11	she travelled to a nearby state. Keeling was	raped	and murdered. Two men are being held in
12	attacks in which women and girls were serially	raped	and the men killed. Health clinics in the
13	investigate the allegation - that a woman was	raped	and/or sexually assaulted by four players -
14	times on her doorstep A teenage model was	raped	as she lay dead or dying after being stabbed
15	From four onwards she was beaten and	raped	by her stepfather, who was "a pillar of the
16	'Taxi' woman raped A 26-year-old woman was	raped	by the driver of what she thought was a
17	of 32 he broke into the flat of a nurse and	raped	her at knifepoint. In her report Kastner
18	cannot be named, had told colleagues Hunt had	raped	her in July 1995, but had originally not wan
19	her clothes removed and that the intruder had	raped	her, she told the Old Bailey. The prosecution
20	the town of Amstetten, where he repeatedly	raped	her. The first Austrian to be tried for slavery
21	over failure to expel charismatic healer who	raped	his patients The world of spiritualism is
22	her twenties and had herself been date-	raped	in her late teens and twenties when she move
23	worsen the position of women who have been	raped	or suffered other violent or sexual assault.
24	British attitudes often partially blaming a	raped	women for her behaviour is part of the reason
25	Last week in north London, a young girl was	raped	, and not only raped. It would appear that
26	. If it was their daughters who were being	raped	, I'm sure they would react differently."
27	estimate seven out of 10 women have been	raped	. Mutilation Doctors say the onslaught
28	doctor and said that she had been repeatedly	raped	. The first-year trainee teacher, who has no
29	at me until I fell to the ground . . . I was	raped	. I don't know how many men raped me. Oth
30	be stabbed, and was hit, spat on and orally	raped	at least 12 times as she was dragged by her

The concordance lines above confirm some of the patterns found in Table 16 and highlight a few more which might be worth further investigation. As in Table 16, here there is a tendency for *raped* to occur in the passive form and to co-occur with other forms of violent crime (lines 6, 8-11, 13-15, 17, 25, 30). Moreover, the rape survivor is often referred to in terms of her age, in particular highlighting her young age (lines 2, 9, 16, 22 and 25). Finally, the hypothesis of the existence of a pattern of association of *raped* with grievous bodily harm is reinforced (in **green** above).

In addition to these patterns, a few more can be detected. The expressions highlighted in **purple** in Table 20 emphasise new possible lines of investigation. In particular, lines 5 and 26 refer to *daughters* being raped, i.e. to incest. Lines 10 and 19 underline in a titillating style the fact that a victim's body was found *semi-clad*, that a rape survivors had had *her clothes removed* and that she had been *orally raped*. Lines 13 and 29 specify the gang-nature of the rape (*by four players, how many men raped me*), whereas line 30 underline the serial aspect of the crime (*at least 12 times*). Finally, lines 14 and 17 concern the place where the crime took place (*on her doorstep, into her flat*) whereas line 17 and 19 suggests that the rapist was a stranger to the woman (*he broke into her flat, intruder*). Since there is less evidence for these patterns in Table 20, the hypothesis concerning them need to be further investigated. In order to do so, Sinclair's method (see 4.2.2. above) can be used; a small group of randomly selected concordance lines can be the starting point to make a set of hypothesis about existing patterns and to possibly form new ones. In order to be able to see and investigate new patterns, those lines in which *raped* is explicitly associated with other crimes will be deleted. Additionally, previously examined patterns, such as the use of passive forms, will not be highlighted.

Table 21: 30 randomly selected concordance lines of RAPED sorted one to the right of the node-word (formatting added)

1	GQ magazine, she said she had been date- raped	a "couple of times". How would the harsh
2	Roman Catholic nun who says that she was raped	and paraded half-naked through the streets b
3	last week, a schoolgirl was beaten, gang- raped	and then <u>had drain-cleaning fluid poured on</u>
4	British woman has described how she was raped	<u>at gunpoint</u> after her husband was kicked
5	-old mother-of-two had been gagged and raped	<u>at knifepoint at her home</u> in Plumstead, a
6	She was taunted, hit, threatened and orally raped	by an ever-growing crowd of teenagers
7	Jill Saward was 21 when she was raped	by burglars who broke into her family home
8	they shot them too. Then the woman was raped	by five men. One of her attackers nearly des

9 was held prisoner in the same cell. She was **raped** *by her father* every three days on average and
 10 told the police she had been **repeatedly** **raped** *by her stepfather* was told she must bring her
 11 filled with women who had been **gang-** **raped** *by the militias* and shot in the vagina. The
 12 identification The **daughters** who were **raped** *by their father*, and their seven surviving
 13 policewoman, Gail Cox, that she had been **raped** *by two brothers*, Randy and Shawn Christian.
 14 journalism student from London was **gang** **raped** in Calais. The woman was reporting on
 15 Friday last week - in which the woman was **raped** *in front of her husband by two Romanian men*
 16 the unsolved case of a 30-year-old woman **raped** *in her home by a masked man who tied her up*
 17 , 63, admitted in 2003 that she was **date-** **raped** **more than once** when she was younger but did
 18 of "black dog" and "slave". I was **gang-** **raped** **repeatedly**. Eventually, I was told that the
 19 that they have been raped. There was a girl **raped** **seven times** but she won't tell," said Chipow
 20 so without feeling." Asked if she was **date-** **raped** she replied: "I was, yes. A couple of times.
 21 sat on basins because since they'd been **raped** they hadn't stopped bleeding. I also saw
 22 party's own militia, who are **systematically** **raped** to cow them into submission and forced to
 23 investigated after a schoolgirl was allegedly **raped** **twice by a mental health patient** hours after
 24 . "Most of them have been **gang-** **raped** , one of them by 10 men," said Rahab Ngugi,
 25 Almost every woman here has been **raped** , some **countless times**. Some have been so bad
 26 were tortured. Some of the women were **raped** , *whipped and urinated on*. Others had their
 27 have died, and **200,000 women** have been **raped** . "In the little village that I went to," say
 28 understates it. She was brutally beaten and **raped** . Her terrible injuries left doctors convince
 29 bore seven children as a result of being **raped** . Three were sent upstairs where they were "a
 30 of the case of two women **repeatedly** **raped** and made pregnant 19 times by their tyrannical

These lines confirm that *raped* tends to be associated with expressions which specify the nature of the rape, and in particular the most sensationalistic (and often most violent) forms of rape (serial rapes, gang-rapes, incest, war rapes). These details are reported in various ways (lines 1, 3, 8-15, 17-20, 22-25, 27 and 30, in **bold** above), sometimes through adverbs which emphasise the serial nature of the rape (*repeatedly, systematically, twice, countless time* and so on), or through the use of pre-modifiers (*date-raped, gang-raped*) or by indicating the number of men who raped the woman/women (*by two men, by five men*).

Additionally, there is further evidence of the inclusion of details of how the rape was perpetrated and what kind of humiliations the woman was subjected to: *paraded half naked* (line 2), *orally raped* (6), *in front of her husband* (15), *tied her up* (16), *whipped and urinated on* (26). It may be argued that gang rapes may also have a titillating effect and the details of how many men committed the rape might be included in the list of morbid details.

The concordance lines in Table 21 also confirm that newspapers tend to inform readers about the gruesome and shocking details of the crime, including the use of weapons to carry out the rape (lines 3-5, 11, 21, 28-30, underlined above). As in the case of the prurient information provided in the news, it may be argued that the inclusion of such details are not necessarily relevant to the story, but, as van Dijk (1988: 85) has put it “facts are better represented and memorized if they involve or arouse strong emotions”.

An additional pattern arising from the analysis of these concordance lines concerns the way the perpetrator is represented (lines 6-13, 15-16, 23 and 30, in *italics* above). Some of the pattern found above are confirmed here (he is referred to in generic terms such either as *man* or as an unidentified, undetermined member of a group such as a *militia*, a *crowd of teenagers*, or finally, he is omitted altogether). Moreover, one of the hypothesis deriving from the analysis of concordance lines in Table 20 suggested that in some cases news reports of rape crimes emphasise the fact that the perpetrator was a stranger to the woman. In the concordance lines above, there are more examples of this patterns, where it is clearly a case of stranger rape⁵⁰ (*by burglars who broke into her family home* – line 7, *by a masked man* – line 16). In one case, the rapist is referred to as *a mental health patient* (line 23) and once as *tyrannical* (line 30). These three examples epitomize the stereotypical images of rapist as isolated pathology and deviance and stranger “monster” (Soothill and Walby, 1991: 83).

Next, an additional set of concordance lines was selected, this time excluding cases of *raped* used in the passive forms. Additionally, as in the previous set of concordance lines, patterns that have already been discussed above have not been highlighted in Table 22 below (e.g. reference to rape survivors in terms of their age, focus on serial or gang-rapes, association of rape with other forms of crimes, inclusion of visual details of how the rape was perpetrated). A focus on the active form of *raped* might provide further cues on the representation of perpetrators in rape

⁵⁰ It should be noted that even rape crimes perpetrated by undetermined groups of people are likely to be stranger rapes (e.g. *the militia*, *a crowd of teenagers*); in such cases, though, the emphasis is not on the stranger-nature of the rape, but on its group-nature.

crime news, in particular when they are syntactically foregrounded through the use of the active form. This might then confirm the hypothesis made about the representation of rapists or it might suggest new ones. None of the lines below are included in the tables analysed in this section.

Table 22: 30 randomly selected concordance lines of RAPED (active form)

1	<i>psychiatric hospital of a patient</i> who allegedly	raped	a 14-year-old girl. Darren Harkin, 20, abscond
2	<i>prisoner who absconded</i> from an open prison and	raped	a 16 year-old girl took a new twist yesterday
3	on the case of <i>Robert Foye, the prisoner</i> who	raped	a 16-year-old girl <i>after absconding</i> from
4	for attack on schoolgirl, 16 <i>A man</i> who	raped	a 16-year-old schoolgirl <i>while on the run</i> from
5	She was right. Her son, Robert Napper, had	raped	a woman - the first of an estimated 106 sexual
6	a tree on Wimbledon Common in July 1992. He	raped	again in 1992 and attempted two more rapes,
7	and <i>contemptible man</i> who abducted and	raped	an attractive 17-year-old girl with everything
8	ever, lay <i>a cold-blooded sexual predator</i> who	raped	and killed victims with the help of his wife
9	> <i>The evil stranger</i> who	raped	and murdered my Hannah should die in jail,
10	<i>Kohli</i> drove Hannah to a remote location and	raped	and strangled her before dumping her body.
11	was done, and nine months later the same <i>man</i>	raped	another escort girl. The police decided to
12	her in his van, he found somewhere quiet , he	raped	her, he then strangled her and he dumped her
13	night after it insisted that a <i>prisoner</i> who	raped	a schoolgirl <i>after absconding</i> from an open p
14	sent to Broadmoor <i>A mentally ill man</i> who	raped	a schoolgirl after escaping from a low-security
15	<u>her unconscious with the chloroform</u> , or	raped	her. Lucie's mother, Jane Steare, yesterday
16	Chepstow, Monmouthshire, <u>at knifepoint</u> and	raped	her. <i>Harkin, who suffers from autistic</i>
17	in his van. He found somewhere quiet and he	raped	her. He then strangled her and dumped her
18	sex acts, refusing to wear a condom as he	raped	her. When officers arrived McKay refused to
19	away and, in front of these witnesses,	raped	her." Dilawar has a sheaf of legal papers,
20	her. I took her to a deserted place and	raped	her." A month later he retracted the confess
21	office. They " took me into an empty van and	raped	me", she says. "I didn't know what they were
22	at knifepoint, then eight days later he	raped	another 17-year-old, again <u>using a knife</u> . I
23	the <i>robber</i> made the wife go to the bed. "He	raped	me. All the time I was concerned that my husb
24	<i>psychiatric patient who escaped from hospital</i> and	raped	a teenage girl had been taken to see violent
25	his daughter <u>in a cellar for 24 years</u> and	raped	her repeatedly, was an " <i>extreme pervert</i> "
26	During that time he beat his daughter,	raped	her repeatedly and, over the years, <u>fathered</u>
27	, found a quiet place to park his van and	raped	the teenager. His DNA was recovered from
28	inside with machetes and clubs, the youths	raped	them in front of their husbands, some of who
29	<u>barrels into the women's vaginas</u> after they've	raped	them. I saw women who were permanently sat
30	and I was taken by the rebels. Five of them	raped	me. <u>I still have pain in my legs</u> because the

Two new patterns arise from the analysis of the concordance lines in Table 22: rapists are described in terms of their criminal records or in terms of their mental illness (in *italics* above). Lines 2 to 4 and line 13 refer to a *prisoner* who had raped a woman *while on the run* from an open prison, whereas lines 1, 14 and 16 refer to

mentally ill rapists whereas line 24 refers to a rapist who *suffers from autistic [spectrum disorder and schizophrenia]*. Additionally, in four cases the rapist is categorised as *contemptible* (line 7), *cold-blooded sexual predator* (line 8) and *evil* (line 9) and *extreme pervert* (line 25).

Finally, lines 10, 12, 15-17, 20-22, 25-27, 29 and 30 refer to other aspects of the rape crime, such as where and how it was committed. In particular, there is a particular focus on rape crimes committed in a *remote place* (in **bold** above) and associated with a high level of physical violence (underlined above) (e.g. *fathered [seven children with her], using a knife, [shove] barrels into women's vaginas, [rendered] her unconscious with chloroform*).

The lexical reiteration and patterning found in the concordance lines of *raped* seem to suggest a sensationalistic representation of rape crimes. It may be argued that by including emotional elements, such as violence, titillating details, stranger rape, rape survivor's witnesses, the press selects the most sensationalistic incidents of rape from a wide range of possibilities (e.g. other forms of violence against women such as *marital rape, domestic violence, wife battering, stalking*).

4.2.3. Raping

The last form of the lemma RAPE present in the list of the 20 strongest keywords of the *RAPE* corpus is the *raping*, which occurs 163 times in the *RAPE* corpus. This is the least frequent of the three verbal forms of the lemma RAPE present among the first 20 keywords of the *RAPE* corpus. In order to see whether there are any similarities or differences between the use of the word forms *rape* and *raped* and the use of the verbal form *raping*, a cluster analysis of the latter may be a good starting point.

Table 23: Two- to four-word clusters of RAPING - min. freq. 4 (formatting added)

Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster
1	54	of raping	18	7	<i>man accused of raping</i>	35	4	drugging, raping and
2	40	raping a	19	7	raping his	36	4	for raping a
3	39	raping and	20	7	with raping	37	4	for raping and
4	23	of raping a	21	6	abducting, raping	38	4	of abducting, raping and

5	22	raping her	22	6	<i>charged with raping</i>	39	4	of drugging, raping and
6	18	for raping	23	6	of raping and murdering	40	4	of raping a 14-year
7	17	<i>accused of raping</i>	24	6	<i>was convicted of raping</i>	41	4	of raping and killing
8	16	raping and murdering	25	6	years for raping	42	4	of raping the
9	13	of raping and	26	5	abducting, raping and murdering	43	4	raping and strangling
10	11	and raping	27	5	<i>accused of raping and</i>	44	4	raping her and
11	10	raping the	28	5	<i>guilty of raping</i>	45	4	raping his daughter
12	9	before raping	29	5	of abducting, raping	46	4	suspicion of raping a
13	9	raping a woman	30	5	<i>on suspicion of raping</i>	47	4	to raping
14	8	<i>convicted of raping</i>	31	5	raping a 14-year-old	48	4	was raping
15	8	raping and killing	32	5	<i>was accused of raping</i>	49	4	was raping her
16	7	<i>accused of raping a</i>	33	4	admitted raping			
17	7	before raping her	34	4	<i>convicted of raping a</i>			

The clusters above seem to confirm two patterns found in the use of the words *rape* and *rape*, i.e. the use of the verbal form *raping* in association with other crimes, in particular *murder*, *abduction*, *drugging* and *killing* (in **bold** above) and a focus on the judicial aspect of rape (in *italics* above).

A concordance analysis may provide more insight into the use of the verbal form *raping* in the *RAPE* corpus.

Table 24: 20 randomly selected concordance lines of RAPING (formatting added)

1	Kohli, 40, who <u>is accused of abducting,</u>	raping	and murdering the A-level student,
2	foster father <u>was jailed</u> for 12 years after	raping	two girls and abusing other children. A
3	he is a lottery winner before <i>drugging and</i>	raping	female passengers is thought to have struck
4	for a period of approximately 13 hours and	raping	her repeatedly. Advocate depute Alex
5	Rohypnol to a young female clubber before	raping	her in the car park and stealing her mobile
6	continued to abuse her until 1993.He began	raping	the other girl in 1976, when she was eight,
7	<u>sentenced to 18 months in prison for brutally</u>	raping	a 24-year old woman at knifepoint in her
8	in two counties after a man <u>was jailed</u> for	raping	his two daughters and fathering nine of his
9	of justice". Obara <u>was jailed for life</u> for	raping	nine women, one of whom died. Miss
10	week, was already <u>serving a life sentence</u> for	raping	and murdering Angelika Kluk, a Polish
11	<u>have been arrested</u> on suspicion of gang-	raping	a student and molesting several dozen other
12	Belgian border. Fourniret admits <i>kidnapping,</i>	raping	and strangling her. Mananya Thumpong,
13	businesswoman The man <u>accused of</u>	raping	and murdering a businesswoman whose body
14	> 'Emmerdale' star <u>cleared of</u>	raping	holiday girl, 16; Newsin brief COURTS The

15 d in Florida. Sparked by a man convicted of **raping** **several women** contacted through Match.
 16 guesthouse owner who was convicted of **raping** a British tourist in the northern state of R
 17 last year that a husband could be guilty of **raping** his wife although they were not legally
 18 London, had been arrested on suspicion of **raping** a 22-year-old woman eight days before the
 19 he investigation. "It was clear this man was **raping** **her**. We have sufficient evidence against the
 20 there on May 28 and 29. He is charged with **raping** , *robbing and murdering her*. In addition, he

In Table 24 *raping* occurs often in association with other forms of crime (lines 1-3, 10-13 and 20, in *italics* above) with a tendency to specify the particularly violent nature of the attack (serial rapes, rapes at knifepoint, repeated rapes, incest, gang-rape), sometimes even with graphic details (lines 4, 7-9, 11 and 15, in **bold** above). Additionally, in lines 1 to 3, 7 to 18 and 20, *raping* is portrayed as the action a man is *accused of*, *convicted of*, *sentenced for*, *guilty of* or *cleared of* (underlined above); only in lines 4 to 6 and in line 19 (in **purple** in Table 24), *raping* is portrayed as the action a man committed against a woman. In particular, there seems to be a tendency to portray the man who committed the crime as the goal in material processes involving the police and the court as agents (*accusing*, *convicting of*, *arresting* etc.) or even the rape survivor (*accusing*).

The context of law-and-order and the association of rape with other violent forms of crime seem to surround the use of the verbal form *raping* as well. Moreover, it appears that the focus of the concordance lines above is on the accusation and sentencing stage of the judicial career of a rape crime.

4.3. LAW AND ORDER

The analysis of various forms of the word “rape” presented in the previous section has shown that, in some instances, particular attention is devoted to rape crimes as a law-and-order issue (see 4.2.1.1. to 4.2.1.6. above). This section focuses in particular on those keywords which are clearly or potentially semantically related to the field of law and order: *police*, *court* and *case* (see Table 1).

4.3.1. Police

There are 1110 occurrences of *police* in the *RAPE* corpus and it is the third most typical term of the *RAPE* corpus when compared with the reference corpus. The

word *police* is used in the corpus most typically to refer to the “force of policemen and officers.”⁵¹

In order to examine the high number of occurrences, an analysis of the most frequent two- to four-word clusters which include the term *police* (with minimum frequency greater than 3) was carried out as first step into the analysis (see Table 25).

Table 25: Two- to four-word clusters of POLICE - min. freq. 4

Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster
1	268	the police	55	8	the goan police	109	5	when police
2	78	police and	56	8	the police had	110	4	according to police
3	51	to police	57	8	with the police	111	4	although police
4	46	by police	58	7	after police	112	4	and somerset police
5	44	a police	59	7	by the police	113	4	avon and somerset police
6	43	police said	60	7	cases <u>reported</u> to police	114	4	by police and
7	43	to the police	61	7	goa police	115	4	by police on
8	35	police officers	62	7	police inquiry	116	4	<u>contacted</u> police
9	32	police in	63	7	police said that	117	4	for police
10	29	police have	64	7	police who	118	4	from the police
11	29	the police and	65	7	police. the	119	4	general of police
12	28	police to	66	7	the police and the	120	4	<u>go to</u> the police
13	26	police are	67	7	the police have	121	4	in police custody
14	26	police station	68	7	<u>told</u> police that	122	4	in the police
15	25	police officer	69	6	auckland city police	123	4	<i>interviewed</i> by police
16	24	police had	70	6	by police in	124	4	kent police
17	23	that the police	71	6	<u>complaint to</u> police	125	4	london police
18	22	and police	72	6	of police and	126	4	london police station
19	22	metropolitan police	73	6	police also	127	4	of a police
20	22	of police	74	6	police and social	128	4	of south yorkshire police
21	22	police were	75	6	police believe	129	4	police admit
22	20	the metropolitan police	76	6	police had not	130	4	police areas
23	18	that police	77	6	police initially	131	4	police <i>arrested</i>
24	18	<u>told</u> police	78	6	police station in	132	4	police can
25	16	police say	79	6	the police are	133	4	police <i>discovered</i>
26	16	police that	80	6	the police investigation	134	4	police he

⁵¹ WordNet:

<http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?s=police&sub=Search+WordNet&o2=&o0=1&o8=1&o1=1&o7=&o5=&o9=&o6=&o3=&o4=&h=00> [Retrieved: 20.08.2012]

27	13	goan police	81	6	yorkshire police	135	4	police in goa
28	13	local police	82	5	a police station	136	4	police last
29	13	police investigation	83	5	and police officers	137	4	police officer who
30	12	of the police	84	5	austrian police	138	4	police officers who
31	12	police force	85	5	for the police	139	4	police <i>questioning</i>
32	12	police of	86	5	<u>formal complaint</u> to police	140	4	police said he
33	12	police's	87	5	greater manchester police	141	4	police said they
34	12	the police to	88	5	independent police complaints commission	142	4	police she had been
35	11	a police officer	89	5	police and social services	143	4	police station and
36	11	police will	90	5	police <i>are investigating</i>	144	4	police station to
37	11	police would	91	5	police complaints commission	145	4	police that they had
38	10	police for	92	5	police custody	146	4	police were <u>alerted</u> immediately
39	10	police <i>found</i>	93	5	police <i>investigated</i>	147	4	police with
40	10	<u>reported</u> to police	94	5	police <i>investigating</i>	148	4	police, who
41	9	association of chief police officers	95	5	police is	149	4	<u>reported</u> to the police
42	9	from police	96	5	police said the	150	4	s police
43	9	police and prosecutors	97	5	police said yesterday	151	4	<u>tells</u> police
44	9	police and the	98	5	police say they	152	4	the independent police complaints
45	9	police forces	99	5	police sources	153	4	the police is
46	9	police on	100	5	police spokesman	154	4	the police station
47	9	the police were	101	5	police that they	155	4	the police would
48	8	and the police	102	5	police, said	156	4	to police that
49	8	as police	103	5	senior police	157	4	to the police, and
50	8	city police	104	5	the local police	158	4	<u>told</u> the police
51	8	in police	105	5	the police because	159	4	under police
52	8	indian police	106	5	the police for	160	4	<u>went to</u> the police
53	8	police because	107	5	the police said			
54	8	police chief	108	5	the police, and			

This first step in the analysis highlights several patterns associated with the use of the term *police* in the *RAPE* corpus. Firstly, there seems to be a tendency to specify *which* police force is being mentioned in the article. In some cases the geographical location is specified (e.g. *Avon and Somerset Police*, *South Yorkshire police*, *Greater Manchester police*, *Auckland city police*, *Goan police*, *Indian police*, *Austrian police*) whereas in other cases the full denomination of the police body or the

position in the police force is mentioned (e.g. *association of chief police, independent police complaints commission, metropolitan police*).

The cluster analysis draws attention to another pattern. The term *police* appears to be connected with expressions such as *report, complaint, go to, alert* (underlined in Table 25), possibly all alternative ways to refer to rape crimes being reported to the police.

Since this latter finding only provides a clue to a possible trend in the *RAPE* corpus, it may be worth examining concordance lines in order to see whether *police* collocates with term referring to a police report.

Table 26: 15 selected concordance lines of POLICE sorted one to the left of the node word

1	. Last year, staff at the school called the	police	when Steven Sellars, 42, pulled the blade
2	opportunities * Napper's mother calls the	police	to say he has raped a woman. They fail to
3	home, where her boyfriend later contacted	police	and made an allegation of rape. So far the
4	justice after his now-adult victims contacted	police	. His wife, 62, was also accused of abusing
5	The teenager's boyfriend later contacted	police	to say she had been raped. She has declined
6	1989, Pauline Napper phoned Plumstead	police	station to say that her son was claiming to
7	, after a 4 1/2 hour ordeal, I phoned the	police	. The policewoman I spoke to said it was
8	aren't going to kill you. I then phoned the	police	. When they arrived, officers ripped the
9	to return to Goa and make a statement to	police	. The latest developments suggest that the
10	confessed to his crimes in a statement to	police	. He has claimed that he was driven to rape h
11	Lui's bar at about 6.30am. In a statement to	police	, Mr Mannion said he was "shocked and appalled
12	was arrested after a number of women told	police	that they had been entrapped by a driver who
13	with intent. A number of women had told	police	that a driver plied them with drugged alcohol
14	and was remanded in custody, allegedly told	police	he was with Scarlett in the early hours of
15	escape. He confessed to the lies he told	police	to keep his daughter hidden and spoke of the

Analysis of these concordances seems to suggest that reporters use several ways to write about the process of *reporting to the police*. It appears that the police tend to be positioned as “patient” (as opposite to “agent”) or “goal” of material processes and “receiver” of verbal processes involving the reporting of (rape) crimes (Halliday, 1985: 103)⁵². This pattern may suggest a particular attention to rape cases which have been reported and have come to the attention of the police.

⁵² The analysis of transitivity in this section is based on Halliday, 1985, Chapter 5.

A third pattern which is brought to light by the cluster analysis is the tendency to position the police as “actor” or “doer” of material processes involving the exercise of their power and authority (e.g. *interviewed by police, police investigated, police discovered*, in *italics* in Table 25). Further information about this pattern might be provided by the examination of another group of concordance lines.

Table 27: 10 selected concordance lines of POLICE sorted one to the right of the node word

1	Road, always between 9pm and 3am. Yesterday	police	arrested a man from South London in
2	beat up three of the professors before the	police	arrested all six of them, witnesses said. On
3	have been a few successes. Last month Iraqi	police	arrested the alleged leader of the suicide
4	put on trial, why can't Robert Mugabe? The	police	arrested us and gave Mugabe an escort to
5	after six months investigating the claim,	police	decided that she was lying. CCTV footage
6	the same man raped another escort girl. The	police	decided to believe me then, but the CPS
7	with the part-time model's murder. The	police	decided to charge Mr Staggs after making him
8	near the campus in April 1996. Although	police	found Sellars's DNA on the victim, he was no
9	scissors, hammers and a chainsaw. They	police	found that he had conducted internet searched
10	blood were found inside. Using CCTV footage	police	found that the van had been on the M27 and
11	> Murder case arrest Slovakian	police	have arrested a man suspected of raping and
12	in foetuses that did not survive 1997	Police	investigate after brother makes allegations
13	were young, while in 1997 the county's	police	investigated a claim of incest made by their
14	the past 30 years, but no action was taken.	Police	investigated in 1997 when the brother of the
15	were first raised. Years later, in 1997,	police	investigated the family after the sisters'
16	undetected. During their investigation,	police	questioned more than 6,500 people and took
17	closed space if they feel the need to. When	police	released Felix from the cellar last Sunday
18	before having to surface. At the same time,	police	released more details of disturbing evidence
19	and rule him out for being "too tall". *	Police	search his home and find an A-Z map
20	attic of the house in Bathgate, found after	police	searched the property last year, detected a

In Table 27, the police are given an active role through activation, in particular through “participation” and subject positioning, which foreground the active role of the police as “doer”. Additionally, the function of the police and their legitimate role as agents associated with routine actions to tackle crime or illegal acts (*arrest, investigate, interview, question*) seem to be reinforced when such expectations are disappointed.

Together with the role of doer, the cluster analysis of *police* reveals the role of the police as sayer. One of the verbs expressing verbal processes associated with *police* is *to admit* (Table 25). The analysis of the concordance lines below (Table 28) seems to confirm that such cases (failures of the police) are considered newsworthy by the

press in the *RAPE* corpus; they are described in negative terms, such as *failure*, *mistakes*, *errors* or by suggesting a lack of action or the possibility of illegal actions committed by the police themselves (*cover-up*). The following 20 selected lines for *police* illustrate this.

Table 28: 20 selected concordance lines of POLICE sorted one to the right of the node word

1		> Police	admit rape case failures POLICE are partly
2	Rather, the issue is the failure of the	police	and prosecution service: 70% of registered
3	among young people and the failure of	police	and prosecutors to put enough effort into in
4	is just a barman," said Mr Varma. "When the	police	cover up a crime like homicide, there has to
5	e this. Scarlett's death - and the apparent	police	cover-up - has severely damaged Goa's image
6	to take over the case after claims of a	police	cover-up . Her plea came as a 28-year-old
7	y, of the Metropolitan Police, admitted that	police	errors had contributed to the death of the m
8	near Bristol, on Saturday evening but	police	failed to issue a warning that he had abscond
9	" manner to her attackers, she said. "State	police	failed to stop the crimes, failed to protect
10	he feels no bitterness about what may be	police	failings , but believes Samantha and Jazmine'
11	notorious murder but was aided by shocking	police	failures , Sean O'Neill writes The Killer
12	"no crime". What emerged was a catalogue of	police	inefficiency, neglect and hostility : women
13	their daughter had killed herself because the	police	had not taken her allegation of rape serious
14	that their daughter killed herself because	police	had not taken the rape allegations seriously
15	where she was attacked. After years of	police	mistakes , Napper was apprehended after a for
16	15, whose mother, Fiona MacKeown, accuses	police	of covering up her rape and murder. Scarlett
17	MacKeown, the girl's mother, is now accusing	police	of deliberately ignoring that and other
18	teenager's Goa beach death: Mother accuses	police	of rape and murder cover-up : Pathologist
19	in 1992, Rachel Nickell was murdered. The	police	's failure to act on Ms Lasham's warning in
20	often, this is a result of the failure of the	police	to investigate complaints properly, or to

As shown above, when the police are passivated they tend to appear as the “goal” of material processes and “receiver” of verbal processes involving the reporting of (rape) crimes, whereas when they are activated they tend to be portrayed as “actors” of material processes foregrounding their role of power and authority.

The focus on and the critique of the lack of efficiency of the police might strengthen the contrast with their active role which, by contrast, seems to be presupposed and taken as neutral, whereas those actions that are not routine and result in lack of securing criminals to justice and/or negligence and incompetence are criticized and represented in negative terms.

The cluster analysis of *police* carried out above (Table 25) illustrates that one of the most common verbal processes associated with *police* in the *RAPE* corpus is that of *saying*, thus suggesting that, along with material processes, the police are also often associated with verbal processes. A concordance analysis may show more effectively the use of *police* with two of the most frequent speech-act verbs: *to tell* and *to say*.

Table 29: 30 selected concordance lines of POLICE sorted one to the right of the node word (formatting added)

1	officer on rape for the Association of Chief	Police	Officers, told the Guardian that there was
2	<u>Inspector General Kishen Kumar</u> of the state	police	told a press conference last night that he
3	have raped a woman on Plumstead Common.	Police	told Mrs Napper that they could not trace
4	step in," <u>a source</u> in the Tokyo Metropolitan	Police	told The Times yesterday. "On the Carita
5	<u>Bosco George, the Goan Superintendent</u> of	Police	, told The Times that police knew where Mr
6	death as a simple case of drowning." <u>Senior</u>	police	have said there is evidence that some Goan
7	on Anjuna Beach almost four weeks ago.	Police	initially said she had accidentally drowned
8	escaped from the back of Fourniret's van.	Police	<u>officials</u> said the girl told Belgian investigators
9	that he had mishandled the inquiry. Goan	police	originally said Ms Keeling drowned after
10	against her were "totally baseless". Surrey	Police	said : "A woman was interviewed under caution
11	there less than a year after being born.	Police	said Fritzl got rid of the evidence by throw
12	domestic shelters against nuclear fall-out.	Police	said he drugged his daughter with ether and
13	<u>Detective Inspector David Berry</u> , from Kent	Police	, said it was a "rare occurrence" for a rape
14	to answer. In an official statement, the	police	said : "Members of Auckland City Police's
15	at the time. Last night the Metropolitan	Police	said : "Officers are investigating an allegation
16	kidnapping and grievously bodily harm.	Police	said that one of the men had been ordered to
17	<u>assistant commissioner</u> of the Metropolitan	Police	, said the operation would be "fairly in your face".
18	been murdered by local Christians, though	police	said there was no evidence of that. Either
19	"I have viewed my daughter's body. The	police	said there were no abrasions and her body is
20	of the final hours of the girl's life.	Police	said they believed they had solved the murder
21	was an innocent man. A <u>spokesman</u> for the	police	said : "We are investigating an allegation of
22	Because of this, one <u>source</u> close to the	police	said yesterday that any payment to Mr
23	<u>Detective Supt David Swindle</u> , of Strathclyde	police	, said yesterday that Tobin had travelled ext
24	they were held prisoner into a gas chamber,	police	said yesterday. The disclosure formed part
25	and interviewed other guests at the party. A	police	<u>source</u> said they were taking the woman's all
26	bailed on the initial rape allegation. A	police	<u>source</u> said : "We felt we had enough to
27	surrounding clandestine immigration". A	police	<u>spokesman</u> said : "She appeared to be working
28	and that's the order I'm going to make."	Police	<u>spokesman Wayne Baker</u> said yesterday: "We've
29	DNA database, has previous convictions. A	police	<u>spokeswoman</u> said : "The database didn't exist
30	say how much alcohol she consumed. The	police	<u>submission</u> said it was "possible" her behaviour

In these cases the police are attributed the role of sayer in verbal processes, through the use of reported speech, either direct or indirect or through the use of *scare quotes*

(lines 13 and 17), i.e. by using quotation marks to indicate the contentious nature of the reported speech (Richardson, 2007: 102). In some cases the police are quoted as a single collective entity, the police force (lines 1, 3, 7, 9-12, 14-16, 18-20, 24), whereas in other cases single spokespeople for the police are quoted (underlined above). Finally, there are some instances where police sources are referred to using more vague terms (e.g. *police officials*, *a police source*, *a police spokesman*). It may be argued that generalizations about police sources are possible thanks to the authority that the police represent as an institution and therefore do not necessarily need specification.

In a study on the representation of speech in narratives, Caldas-Coulthard (1994: 305) refers to verbs such as *say* and *tell* as “neutral and structuring ‘glossing’ verbs”, that is to say those verbs which introduce “saying” without explicitly evaluating it. These verbs simply signal the illocutionary act of saying. Several studies have found that there is a relationship between who is speaking and the speech verb used. For example, there are systematic differences between the use of *say* for the speech of a range of “credible” sources (such as politicians or the police), versus “claim” sources that are considered less authoritative or “biased” (such as ordinary people or minority group leaders and institutions) (Glasgow University Media Group, 1980; Geis, 1987; van Dijk, 1991). It follows that the little glossing which characterises the reporting of police statements in the *RAPE* corpus achieved through the selection of neutral reporting verbs such as *say* and *tell* may not be a casual choice. Research has shown that these verbs (*tell* and *say*) are the canonical neutral speech verbs used in news reporting (Bell, 1991: 206), possibly giving a sense of impartiality and authenticity, since what has been said (or written) is (allegedly) being reported verbatim (Richardson, 2007: 101-106). This, of course, is not only valid for news reports on rape cases, but it is likely to apply to other types of news reports. Additionally, several authors (Tuchman, 1978; van Dijk, 1988a; Bell, 1991; Fowler, 1991; Richardson, 2007) have studied the use of the police as one of the most prominent and legitimate sources in news articles and argued that one of the reasons for the embedding of official sources into news articles is that they provide journalistic legitimacy and make newspaper reports more authoritative. The results of the

analysis carried out in this section seem to be consistent and explicable with previous studies.

4.3.2. Court

There are 546 occurrences of the term *court* in the *RAPE* corpus. It is typically used to refer to “an assembly (including one or more judges) to conduct judicial business”,⁵³.

A concordance analysis of *court* shows three very clear patterns: in 137 out of 546 occurrences, the term *court* is either followed by the verb *heard* (*the court hear*) or the expression *was told* (*the court was told*) or the term *court* follows the expression (someone) *told the (court)*. Below are a mere 25 randomly selected concordance lines to illustrate these three patterns.

Table 30: 25 selected concordance lines of COURT sorted one to the right of the node word

1	pair laughing and joking, Portsmouth Crown	Court	heard.	A neighbour described them outside
2	"very unlikely" he would be released. The	court	heard	a victim impact statement from Ms Nick
3	second chance he never gave Hannah." The	court	heard	how the 16-stone sandwich delivery
4	and his wife woke him at 4am for work. The	court	heard	Kohli's usual van was spotted by CCTV
5	son helpless in his cot last August. The	court	heard	that Braithwaite, of Shepherd's Bush,
6	by the National Autistic Society. The	court	heard	that Harkin met Home Office criteria
7	for a brief shake of the head as the hushed	court	heard	that he would serve a minimum life
8	borrowing money from his father-in-law. The	court	heard	that he had left his wife and two young
9	also lived with them until his teens. The	court	heard	that in 1988 suspicions were raised at
10	public by the time he attacked Nickell, the	court	heard	yesterday. Left at large, he began to
11	decades later in a gravel-filled well. The	court	was also told	how the couple were caught in
12	Spain to take more statements, Croydon Crown	Court	was told.	
13	The victims also called Childline, the	court	was told,	and asked for a guarantee that the
14	what he looked like, Cardiff coroner's	court	was told.	But she confided in her mother the
15	dangerous man and a risk to the public. The	court	was told	that O'Keefe had been jailed origin
16	treatment for his behaviour, after the	court	was told	that he had difficulty understanding
17	for the performing arts in Croydon. The	court	was told	that Ms Bowman had been stabbed
18	not authorised to stop him physically, a	court	was told	yesterday. After escaping from Kin
19	of vodka before the attack. Newcastle Crown	Court	was told	yesterday that the boy had had a
20	with the help of his wife and accomplice, a	court	was told	yesterday. As Michel Fourniret and
21	experienced professional to bear," she told the	court	.	The parents of Ms Delagrangé gave a harrow
22	before I had been attacked." She told the	court		how he pinned her down in the lift before

⁵³ WordNet:

<http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?s=court&sub=Search+WordNet&o2=&o0=1&o8=1&o1=1&o7=&o5=&o9=&o6=&o3=&o4=&h=00> [Retrieved: 10.09.2012]

23 ." Mr Dixie, who is 6ft 2ins tall, **told the court** that he punched a Jehovah's Witness in 1988
 24 Hoare, appearing as Edward Thomas, **told the court** that he lived in fear of attack. He said that
 25 best friend, Helen Wilkinson, **told the court** of the last time she saw her alive. The

In these lines, *court* is represented as the senser of a phenomenon in a mental process, more precisely the perception process *to hear*. At the same time, *court* is also represented as the receiver of a message in the verbal process *to tell*. In addition, in most cases the phenomenon or the message are part of a *that-embedded* clause which contains other processes.

It may be argued that portraying actions as phenomena and/or messages is a way for the journalist to distance her/himself from the message which is being sent and the phenomenon which is being sensed. By representing actions as stories which are being told or heard, it is possible to hypothesize that the narrator is trying to avoid taking responsibility for the truthfulness of what s/he is writing, by just reporting what has been heard and told, rather than what has been done. As Tuchman (1972) has pointed out, newswriters constantly operate under the threat of criticism of bias and of libel suits; as long as they can prove that what they are writing has been said/written by a set of authorised knowers (see below for the reason why the police and the court are considered "authorised knowers"), they have provided themselves with a defence for whatever is printed.

When it comes to mental processes, then, the patterns shown in the concordance lines above seem to indicate a manifold strategy used in the *RAPE* corpus. Reported speech creates a feeling of impartiality, because the reporter is not using her/his words, but what was originally said. Using information gathered during court hearings helps reporters bypass the problem of faithfulness: by reporting what has been told and heard in court as a fact, they do not need to verify whether what has been told and heard happened in reality. Thanks to the authoritative position of the criminal justice system, what is reported as statements made in court needs no justification nor verification, since it is all part of the (socially accepted and legitimated) "judicial career" (Fishman, 1980: 94) of a criminal case. All this contributes to creating the credibility of a news report.

A closer examination of the concordance lines reveals that *court* is also the subject or actor in material processes.

Table 31: 15 selected concordance lines of COURT sorted one to the right of the node word

1	register to protect their human rights. High	Court	judges ruled yesterday that being on the
2	The prosecutor at the international criminal	court	has called for the arrest of Sudan's preside
3	Pacific: Rapist guilty over death A Tokyo	court	has found serial rapist Joji Obara, 56, guilty
4	population * The International Criminal	Court	has issued warrants for Sudan's State Minister
5	taken place. There have been cases where the	court	has ordered disclosure and the prosecution h
6	outside the family." Even though the high	court	has yet to give its ruling on the complaint
7	guilty of mutilating Lucie Blackman A	court	in Japan yesterday found a serial rapist guilty
8	from going to the police immediately, the	court	of appeal ruled yesterday. A delay in making
9	about alleged victims, it is claimed. The	Court	of Appeal yesterday ruled that trial judges
10	false testimony to police. In February the	court	ruled that men who touched their genitals in
11	fatal illnesses from the spirit world. The	court	ruled that Wright's "use of his position as
12	brought by two convicted offenders the High	Court	ruled their "indefinite" registration as se
13	intoxicated her before the rape. On Monday, a	court	ruled there was no solid evidence linking
14	are buried in Sevenoaks 24 April 2007 The	court	rules that there is not enough evidence
15	chizophrenia was ordered by Reading Crown	Court	to be locked up indefinitely after pleading

Here *court* is the actor of material processes which refer to the role of the court as judge and neutral arbiter that is endowed with the capacity of doing justice, thanks to its ability to know and objectively evaluate facts. As a matter of fact, bureaucrats in general and courts in particular are seen as competent knowers by virtue of their social structural position, i.e. their position as institution that is entitled or authorized to know certain things. The sheer fact that newswriters rely to a considerable extent on official sources for their reports (see also 2.4.3 and 4.3.1.) shows that they believe and support the idea that bureaucratic accounts represent “the facts”. Fishman (1980: 93-96) has argued that one of the reasons for this is that journalists see bureaucrats as being in a position to know certain things, as “socially authorized and socially sanctioned knowers” (1980: 95). This is probably why reporters feel authorised to criticize officials when they fail to know what they *are* supposed to know (as in the case of the police in Section 4.3.1.) (Fishman, 1980: 93-96). Another reason why reporters accept bureaucratic accounts as true facts may have to do with the performative character of their accounts. In this specific case, through language the court *does* something (e.g. *it rules, it orders, it calls for arrest, it finds guilty, issues warrants*). These performatives need no verification, they cannot be true or false

because they are hard facts, they are things in themselves, not statements about things.

In this particular case, the authority of the court and its role as an impartial judge seems to be reinforced by several strategies. Firstly, as in the case of *police*, *court* often occurs with qualifiers which indicate the formal denomination of the court in question (e.g. *Court of Appeal*, *High Court*, *International Criminal Court*, *Crown Court*, *Supreme Court*). It may be argued that this formality is an attempt to convey credibility. Secondly, in most cases, a concordance analysis shows that the court is personified, it is given human characteristics (e.g. *hearing*, *ruling*, *ordering*), but at the same time it is not identified with one single human being. It may be argued that using an organisation rather than a human as the actor, sensor or receiver of actions, phenomena or messages helps creating a sense of detachment of the court from the events which are being discussed during the hearing. It may also be hypothesized that the use of a verb of perception such as *to hear* and the positioning of *court* as receiver of a phenomenon or message may help portraying the court as an impartial entity, whose decisions are based on what has been said. The actions of the court are limited to hearing, judging and deciding on the basis of what it heard, without other forms of involvement. Finally, its authoritative role is stressed by the obligation that people have to *appear in court* (or even *brought back* or *dragged to court*) in order to be judged and possibly sentenced. This, of course, is also likely to apply to news reports dealing with other types of crimes (not only rape cases).

Table 32: 10 selected concordance lines of COURT sorted one to the right of the node word

1	and murder. Placido Carvalho appeared in	court	in Goa yesterday to be remanded in custody
2	can question him." Mr D'Souza appeared in	court	in Mapusa on Monday and was remanded in
3	Goan named Samson D'Souza appeared in	court	to be remanded in custody for the suspected
4	for those in April and brought back to	court	to be sentenced for the rape. Greater Manchest
5	> Killer is dragged to	court	to face victims' relatives . The serial kill
6	the rift were sown and he went to the High	Court	to get a parental responsibility order giving
7	The women were at Sheffield Crown	Court	to hear a judge give him 25 life sentences
8	she said. Her father refused to appear in	court	to hear his sentence . In a letter from prison
9	escalated, he said. Fritzl is to appear in	court	today and judges will almost certainly rule
10	beach. Samson da Souza, who appeared in	court	yesterday and was remanded in custody,

The role of the court, along with the police, as another reliable and credible source for newsmakers is one of the patterns which can be inferred from a concordance analysis of *court*, thus confirming the reliance of journalists on official sources, an element which applies to other types of news reports as well (see 2.4.3. and 4.3.1.). As in the case of the police, words coming from members of the criminal justice system seem to be considered as facts rather than as one possible point of view.

It may be suggested that the particular attention paid by the press to court hearings in rape crimes may indicate a particular focus on cases of rape which have reached the trial stage. Whereas in the case of police reports and police investigations, the press reports the first stage of the bureaucratic phase structure (Fishman, 1980: 58-63), in the case of court hearings the press focuses on the last stage, the trial. "Bureaucratic phase structures describe events as they are formally produced and processed by the bureaucracies the report covers" (Fishman, 1980: 58), they are schemes for action for bureaucrats and schemes for interpretation for journalists, a lens through which the event is seen, interpreted and made sense of (ibid.: 58). These two stages (investigation and trial) seem to receive crucial attention in the press when reporting on rape cases. The distribution of the two words (*rape* and *court*) in the *RAPE* corpus appears to suggest the same pattern; the word *police* is present in 377 articles out of the 470 articles in the *RAPE* corpus, whereas the term *court* occurs in 342 articles, thus suggesting that, not only the two words are more frequent in the *RAPE* corpus than in the reference corpus, but also that they appear respectively in more than half the articles analysed in this study. Looking at the data, it may be argued that these two institutions seem to be a recurring component of reports concerning rape crimes. It would be plausible to say that in the *RAPE* corpus the law-and-order aspect of rape crimes receives broad coverage with a particular focus on the actions and statements of sources which represent institutions relevant to crime control and law-enforcement and which are formally constituted and bureaucratically organised.

4.3.3. Case

The term *case* occurs 473 times in the *RAPE* corpus. Considering the frequency of the word and the variety of potential meanings it may have, it may be useful to

randomly select groups of concordance lines to illustrate how the term is used in the *RAPE* corpus.

Table 33: 20 randomly selected concordance lines of CASE sorted one to the right of the node word

1	they said. Helen is delighted that her	case	has shone such an unforgiving light on the
2	that the system has been overhauled, this	case	illustrates why there is only a 6 per cent
3	to reappear at the court on May 28, when the	case	is expected to <u>be committed</u> to Jersey royal court
4	schizophrenic, and one tragic aspect of this	case	is that it will not help to soften attitudes
5	tic incompetence; but it would be rare for a	case	like that to even <u>come before</u> the CICA ⁵⁴ . The
6	Law Lords will announce their verdict in the	case	of 78-year-old Mrs A today. In 1988 she was
7	as well as "rape resulting in death" in the	case	of Ms Ridgway. He was acquitted of the same
8	police harassment <i>The key witness</i> in the	case	of Scarlett Keeling, the British teenager
9	Yet the <i>prosecution lawyer</i> in the original	case	refused to accept this. She was furious. She
10	balance between the rival interests. In a	case	so extreme as this there is an obvious alter
11	in May, "C" told officers <u>investigating</u> the	case	that she had found the quilt cover her stepfather
12	Dan Norris, MP for Wansdyke, said the	case	was "disturbing". He added: "There clearly n
13	and understand their patients. How Harkin's	case	was <u>handled</u> , from his arrest as a child,
14	He brought proceedings 12 years later.	Case	was <u>thrown out</u> because it was out of time *
15	police in Amstetten <i>revealed the details</i> of the	case	yesterday which they said had come to light
16	Police do not suspect foul play in that	case	, but are investigating whether narcotics were
17	was stuck in my head. After the court	case	, I have told everything, bye bye. I feel 100
18	are also increasingly concerned about the	case	, which follows a series of sexual assaults
19	inroads into this principle in certain types of	case	. These justifiable inroads are necessary to
20	<i>make a statement to</i> Parliament on the Foye	case	. He added: "There is enormous public concern

This small number of lines shows two recurring meanings of the term *case* in the *RAPE* corpus: a more formal meaning of “a comprehensive term for any proceeding in a court of law whereby an individual seeks a legal remedy” and a more informal meaning referring to “a problem requiring investigation”⁵⁵. In some of the lines above, the meaning is unclear and the term *case* is used to simply indicate “an occurrence of something”. It would be necessary to look at the extended context of the concordance line to see whether the case was being handled in court, by the police or by some other institution. Some concordance lines, though, show examples (highlighted in **bold** type in the table above) which explicitly refers to the actions of bureaucratic institutions (police, courts, parliament). In lines 3, 5, 11, 13 and 14, for example, *case* is either the goal or the actor of processes involving either a police

⁵⁴ Criminal Injuries Compensation Authority

⁵⁵ WordNet:

<http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?s=case&sub=Search+WordNet&o2=&o0=1&o8=1&o1=1&o7=&o5=&o9=&o6=&o3=&o4=&h=00000> [Retrieved: 12.09.2012]

investigation or court hearings (*handled, investigating, thrown out, committed, come before the CICA*). In, lines 6, 8, 9, 15, and 20 *case* occurs as the circumstance in which the actions of bureaucrats (*police, court, Parliament*) take place.

At this stage examining clusters with *case* may be useful to detect more patterns or confirm some of the patterns found in the concordance lines above.

Table 34: Two- to four-word clusters of CASE - min. freq. 4 (formatting added)

Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster
1	203	the case	28	8	the foye case	55	5	that the case
2	46	case of	29	7	case for	56	5	the case had
3	33	the case of	30	7	in a case	57	5	the case to
4	32	this case	31	7	into the case	58	5	the case with
5	27	in the case	32	7	the case and	59	5	the case, which
6	25	a case	33	6	case had	60	5	the nickell case
7	22	case was	34	6	case with	61	5	tragic case
8	21	of the case	35	6	case would	62	4	case is that
9	20	case and	36	6	cold case	63	4	case of the
10	18	case is	37	6	in case	64	4	case that
11	18	rape case	38	6	on the case	65	4	case where
12	18	s case	39	6	serious case	66	4	case, it
13	17	case in	40	6	that case	67	4	case. she
14	17	in the case of	41	6	the case against	68	4	close the case
15	13	case review	42	5	a rape case	69	4	dropped the case
16	13	her case	43	5	case after	70	4	handling of the case
17	13	in this case	44	5	case has been	71	4	his case
18	12	case has	45	5	case should	72	4	in any case
19	11	case to	46	5	case, which	73	4	result of this case
20	11	case, the	47	5	case. i	74	4	s case was
21	10	the case was	48	5	details of the case	75	4	take the case
22	9	case against	49	5	each case	76	4	the case has been
23	9	foye case	50	5	in that case	77	4	the case of the
24	9	of this case	51	5	murder case	78	4	this case is
25	8	over the case	52	5	said the case	79	4	when the case
26	8	the case has	53	5	serious case review			
27	8	the case is	54	5	take over the case			

The examination of the two- to four-word clusters of the word *case* reveals that some of the most common patterns emphasise the legal aspect of rape crimes, thus confirming the pattern seen above. Although some occurrences do not seem to be typical of any specific domain, a number of occurrences can be grouped as belonging

to the semantic category of “bureaucracy”: *take over the case, handling of the case, case review, the case against, close the case, dropped the case.*

These clusters represent expressions that refer to specific phases of the judicial path of a crime. It may be argued that by turning people, events and circumstances into a *case*, it becomes easier for the journalist to describe them and to turn them into facts which can be easily channelled into recognisable (bureaucratic) phases (see 4.3.2.).

4.4. SEXUALITY

Sexual and *sex* are respectively the 8th and 16th top keyword in the *RAPE* corpus (see Table 1). This indicates a frequent use of the lexeme SEX in the articles concerning incidents of rape crimes analysed in this study. The two word forms will be the object of the analysis of this section.

4.4.1. Sexual

The adjective *sexual* occurs 397 times in the *RAPE* corpus. A collocation analysis of the adjective shows that it co-occurs with terms belonging to two different semantic groups, namely terms referring to forms of violence (in **bold** in Table 35) or expressions which involve sexual activities (in *italics* in Table 35).

Table 35: List of 100 most frequent lexical collocates of *sexual* in the *RAPE* corpus

Freq	Freq (L)	Freq (R)	Stat	Collocate
99	2	97	992.188	assault
56	7	49	744.017	violence
37	1	36	603.619	abuse
33	1	32	572.693	assaults
29	20	9	503.043	rape
25	3	22	497.974	offences
26	22	4	497.145	victims
17	17	0	408.779	serious
15	3	12	385.419	<i>history</i>
17	9	8	380.604	women
14	0	14	373.193	<i>intercourse</i>
11	0	11	330.899	<i>activity</i>
11	0	11	329.467	<i>relationship</i>
11	0	11	326.366	attacks

10	10	0	312.674	violent
9	7	2	294.461	rapes
9	1	8	294.144	including
9	8	1	293.933	claims
8	3	5	273.106	child
9	3	6	262.596	year
7	7	0	261.823	series
7	5	2	261.225	allegation
7	6	1	260.866	suffered
7	3	4	258.713	reported
7	6	1	258.294	allegations
7	1	6	251.415	young
7	7	0	248.543	victim
6	1	5	244.626	predator
6	0	6	244.561	<i>gratification</i>
6	0	6	244.174	<i>relations</i>
6	3	3	242.300	consent
9	6	3	241.441	police
6	1	5	240.361	committed
10	4	6	236.350	said
6	1	5	233.190	crime
5	1	4	223.182	referral
5	0	5	222.404	harassment
5	5	0	222.262	adult
5	2	3	221.979	disorder
5	1	4	221.554	tourists
5	2	3	219.148	<i>act</i>
6	3	3	218.910	woman
5	4	1	216.883	social
5	1	4	213.061	crimes
4	0	4	199.683	administering
4	4	0	199.604	indirect
4	0	4	199.367	exploitation
4	0	4	199.209	violation
4	0	4	199.209	discrimination

In order to study the trend further, a concordance analysis can be carried out. Table 36 below shows a randomly selected list of concordances of *sexual* followed by terms belonging to the semantic group “violence”.

Table 36: 30 selected concordance lines of SEXUAL sorted one to the right of the node word (formatting added)

1	and Lincolnshire to avoid detection. The	sexual	abuse	started when the girls were eight years
2	to not only physical violence but degrading	sexual	violation	, which has had a devastating effects
3	<u>a man</u> wanted in connection with two serious	sexual	attacks	, that took place nine years apart.
4	of 1,227 female students who were victims of	sexual	assault	found that nearly 9% of them had been
5	<u>A 62-YEAR-OLD handyman</u> with a history of	sexual	violence	against women was found guilty
6	eight Hollywood movies includes a scene of	sexual	violence	. Newspapers regularly carry detailed
7	The Security Council voted unanimously that	sexual	violence	was "a tactic of war to humiliate,
8	that the teenager made an allegation of "	sexual	abuse/ rape"	to police and doctors at a hospital
9	Limitation Act can be extended. Previously,	sexual	abuse	victims were prevented from bringing a
10	want and need" in the aftermath of traumatic	sexual	abuse	. In an open letter to the Home Secret
11	were entirely consistent with childhood	sexual	abuse	. But ministers have lost their nerve
12	bar on historic claims being brought for	sexual	assault	. Until now victims have been precluded
13	investigation and prosecution of rape and	sexual	assault	, reviewing law of evidence and
14	when he was 15 and only became aware of the	sexual	abuse	inflicted on his sisters when he was 18,
15	Fotheringham added that Kent Police took all	sexual	assault	and rape allegations seriously and
16	Britain, MPs are investigating allegations of	sexual	harassment	and abuse at the Embassy in
17	Jersey yesterday <u>charged with</u> the rape and	sexual	assault	of a girl of 12 between 1971 and 197
18	is well rehearsed. But, in spite of this,	sexual	assault	now has a cultural context. According
19	as robbery and assault, including rampant	sexual	violence	, some of it by teachers. The
20	region treat tens of thousands of women for	sexual	assault	every year, and doctors say that is
21	request for a pen pal while <u>he was in jail for</u>	sexual	assault	. Their relationship descended into
22	were serious assaults, which could include	sexual	assaults	, thefts and burglaries. The lost
23	Justice only because <u>he carried out</u> two more	sexual	assaults	this year. He pleaded guilty to the
24	British-born teenagers being trafficked for	sexual	exploitation	within UK, police say: Older
25	the woman suffered were consistent with a	sexual	attack	. "They were definitely indicative of
26	Thousands of women have been victims of	sexual	attacks	by warring parties in many places,
27	<u>responsible for</u> a series of unsolved violent and	sexual	crimes	in the Paris region, the case sparked
28	Ministers have ordered urgent action to tackle	sexual	bullying	and harassment in the classroom, in
29	an assault is plainly needed. Victims of	sexual	assault	do not always run straight to the
30	raped. A Bill that aims to reform the law on	sexual	offences	is going through the Scottish Parliame

The expressions in **bold** type above are all nominalisations of processes (with the exception of *crime* and, in lines 5 and 19, *violence* meant as an abstract noun rather than the description of an act), in particular of material processes. They are actions which have been transformed into nouns. In Section 4.2.1.1. I have already illustrated that the use of nominalisations instead of full clauses with active verbs can obscure agency. Instead of using the expression *sexual assault*, one might say: "X sexually assaulted Y", in that case both "doer" and "done to" would be mentioned and the relationship between them would be explicit. Through the use of nominalisation this

information is lost; in some cases it can still be retrieved by looking at the co-text of these expressions, although “doer” and “done to” will become participants in other processes, and the sexual assault will become itself a participant (or a circumstance) in other processes.

A closer examination of the concordance lines above shows that in six instances (underlined above) the person who committed (or is suspected of having committed) the crime is explicitly mentioned. In particular, in lines 2⁵⁶, 3, 17, 21 and 27 the crime is portrayed as the circumstance of processes (material processes – lines 2, 3, 17 and circumstantial and attributive relational processes – lines 21 and 27) in which the (alleged) perpetrator is involved. Circumstances, according to Thompson (1996: 78) are “often optional, reflecting their background function in the clause”, they represent the peripheral area of a clause, although in some cases it may be almost obligatory to include them, as in the case of line 2 where the action, *subjected*, requires a specification of “what someone has been subjected to”. In this sentence the actor in this material process is the perpetrator (*you*) and the goal is the woman (*her*). It is worth noting, though, that in this case the action is *subjected to* and not *sexually violated* nor *committed sexual violence*. The latter would have positioned *sexual violence* as the goal, a more central role, it may be argued, as compared with a circumstantial role. This kind of structure is to be found in line 23, where the perpetrator of sexual assaults is also explicitly mentioned and portrayed as actor, having *carried out two more sexual assaults*. Here, *sexual assaults* is the goal rather than the circumstance in the process and the relationship between who did what is more explicit.

In the remaining lines, the crime is portrayed as part of a process which involves other participants (e.g. the “done to” or a bureaucratic institution), but not the (alleged) perpetrator, whose presence may still be implied, but is not explicitly mentioned. In the co-text of the node word of the concordance lines in Table 36, the adjective *sexual* is followed by several forms of violence which occupy different positions in the clause. In particular, in lines 6, 8, 10-13, 16-17, 20-21, 24-25, 27 and 30 the *sexual type_of_crime* is portrayed as circumstance of either material or

⁵⁶ In order to understand the sentence, more context is needed: “You subjected her to not only physical violence but degrading **sexual violation**, which has had a devastating effect”.

(attributive or identifying) relational processes. In lines 16 and 30, for instance, the *sexual type_of_crime* is the circumstance in processes where the subjects are bureaucrats (*MPs*) or a bureaucratic document (*bill*). In lines 15 and 28, instead, they are the goal of in processes (*to investigate* and *to tackle*) where the actors are two bureaucratic institutions: *police* and *ministers*.

There are four instances among the lines in Table 36 where the *sexual type_of_crime* is the subject of a process. In particular, here the crime becomes actor in material processes (*it starts*, *it takes place* – lines 1 and 3) or identified in relational identifying processes (*it is a tactic of war* – line 7) or possessor in possessive relational processes (*it has a cultural context* – line 18). The cases of lines 1 (*the sexual abuse started*) and 3 (*sexual attacks that took place*) are examples of how, through the use of nominalisation, agency can be obscured; in these lines, the *sexual type_of_crime* is attributed an active role, which is foregrounded by positioning it as actor, as if the *sexual type_of_crime* were an independent entity and by deleting or backgrounding the other participants in the process (doer and done to).

Finally, *sexual type_of_crime* are found in the expressions *victims of sexual assault*, *sexual abuse victims* and *victims of sexual attacks* (lines 4 and 29, 9 and 26). Here the *sexual type_of_crime* is treated as an attribute or a property of someone, i.e. the *victim*, rather than an action perpetrated by someone against someone else.

The analysis of the concordance lines above has shown how *sexual type_of_crime* seem to tend to be represented as circumstances (and therefore peripheral elements) or goals of actions that do not necessarily refer directly to the action of *committing a sexual type_of_crime*. They can be something people are *subjected to*, something people *tackle* or *investigate*, something people *are victim of* or are *trafficked for*. In some cases, they can also become the subject of actions, as acting independently of human agency.

The second semantic group associated with *sexual* includes terms referring to sexual activities. Below is a list of randomly selected concordance lines including terms belonging to this domain.

Table 37: 30 selected concordance lines of SEXUAL sorted one to the right of the node word

1	attempted rape and <u>causing her to engage in</u>	sexual	activity. He was found guilty of attempting
2	by police the boy admitted engaging in other	sexual	activity, including the alleged rape of a
3	totally dependent on him, <u>forcing her into</u>	sexual	acts and treating her as if she was his own
4	girls as young as 12 being forced to perform	sexual	acts up to 20 times a night. The Home Office
5	murder. The former says he had consensual	sexual	contact with Scarlett. Digambar Kamat, the
6	Britton. Mr Stagg was known to have lurid	sexual	fantasies and Lizzie James sent him letters
7	professors of molesting them and <u>demanding</u>	sexual	favours, police said. The alleged victims
8	which she agreed to find virgins for his	sexual	gratification, the court in Charleville-Mezieres
9	attack but was motivated by sex - to gain	sexual	gratification. She had been sexually violate
10	Irrelevant cross-examination about women's	sexual	history is now supposed to be outlawed, but
11	at boosting it. The limits on introducing	sexual	history were intended to prevent defence law
12	the defence to bring in evidence about her	sexual	history with other men if the defendant
13	mother's supporting testimony because of her	sexual	history. He also lost her file and later
14	designed to protect women in rape trials:	Sexual	history still being introduced at hearings:
15	had a wide discretion to allow questions on	sexual	history, although the law was changed in
16	said in a video-recorded interview that the	sexual	intercourse had not been consensual but had
17	a crime has been committed. Under the law,	sexual	intercourse in the absence of consent from
18	man <u>holding a knife to her skin while having</u>	sexual	intercourse with her. Referring to Miss Nickell
19	also a sexual predator <u>determined to have</u>	sexual	intercourse with young Indian women by whatev
20	pathologist said that she had recently had	sexual	intercourse, although it is not known if it
21	rovocative" clothes, or her previous history of	sexual	liaisons, can raise questions about the amount
22	he feared he could be charged with unlawful	sexual	relations with a minor. He claimed Scarlett
23	today's world, such as HIV, through illegal	sexual	relations." But there are signs of progress
24	found out that Scarlett and Julio were in a	sexual	relationship only when she read her daughter
25	Joseph Lantelli, 42, of Gloucester, had had a	sexual	relationship with her but it had cooled.
26	25-year-old guide, Julio Lobo, was having a	sexual	relationship with her daughter. Christina
27	in June this year he initially denied any	sexual	relationship with his daughters and said any
28	Lobo, 25, a tour guide who was having a	sexual	relationship with Scarlett. Yesterday, Mrs
29	her death she now knows they were having a	sexual	relationship. Mrs MacKeown says she is aware
30	the cellar dungeon ... (and) <u>demanding her</u>	sexual	services and disposing of her as if she was

The lines above show how the adjective *sexual* is used to refer to various forms of sexually related activities. The sexual aspect of rape seems to be a prominent concern in the *RAPE* corpus and it is foregrounded in various ways. One of these is, for example, the use of euphemisms indicating sexual activities to refer to rape. Lines 1, 3, 7, 18-19, and 30 (underlined in Table 37) refer to the action of raping someone respectively as *causing her to engage in sexual activity*, *forcing her into sexual acts*, *demanding sexual favours*, *holding a knife to her skin while having sexual intercourse with her*, *determined to have sexual intercourse* and *demanding her*

sexual services. In these lines there seems to be a blurring between the *sexual type_of_activity* and rape. Such expressions could be replaced by *raped*, rather than by terms conveying the sense of lack of consent through the verb (e.g. *forcing*, *causing her to engage*) and emphasizing the sexual element through the noun (e.g. *sexual activity/acts/favours*), thus possibly suggesting that rape is a violent form of sex⁵⁷. This confusion and vagueness is even stronger in lines 2, 9, 22 and 23, where *sex* or the *sexual type_of_activity* are portrayed as a motivation for the crime (*was motivated by sex*), as a hypernym which includes *rape* (*other sexual activity, including rape*) or as *unlawful sexual relations* and *illegal sexual relations*. In these last two examples the element of *force* is absent, there is only an element of *illegality* and *unlawfulness*, which does not necessarily refer only to rape (under age sex, for example, can be a consensual but still illegal activity). Here the fusion between two concepts, rape and sex, and the use of the sexual element to define rape appears to emerge particularly clearly (see 1.2. for the definition of *rape* informing this study).

Lines 5, 6, 8, 20, 24-25, 27-29 show a different pattern. The expression *sexual type_of_activity* indicates the details of someone's sexual life (possibly the survivor's or perpetrator's). These details refer to the *sexual fantasies* of the perpetrator or to the sexual activity in which the rape survivor had been engaged (either before the rape or with the person who is supposed to be her rapist). One may wonder whether details such as whom the rape survivor had been having sex with, at what age and so on, are relevant to a rape crime story or not. As a matter of fact, the use of (a survivor's) *sexual history* seems to be a disputed topic. Lines 10-15 and 21 refer precisely to the use of *sexual history* during rape trials. It may be argued that that, apart from line 13, the remaining lines in this group are examples of "resistant discourses", i.e. a discourse that opposes the dominant discourse. Line 14, for instance, stresses the fact that women need to be protected (resistant discourse) from the use of sexual history (dominant discourse) during rape trials⁵⁸. According to Baker (2006: 114), resistant discourses "often have the effect of reproducing the hegemonic discourse. By being resistant they have to state what they are against".

⁵⁷ The nature of rape crimes will be discussed in Section 6.1.3.

⁵⁸ The structure of rape trials will be discussed in Section 6.1.2.

The strength of the association between sex and rape is also rather evident in line 17, where the legal definition of rape is provided: “Under the law, sexual intercourse in the absence of consent from both parties constitutes rape”.

Additionally, as seen in Table 35 above, a list of collocates of *sexual* in the *RAPE* corpus showed that the first five lexical collocates (excluding *rape*) of the adjective are: *assault*, *violence*, *abuse*, *assaults* and *offences*. According to Baker (2006: 114) “when two words frequently collocate, there is evidence that the discourses surrounding them are particularly powerful – the strength of collocation implies that these are two concepts which have been linked in the minds of people and have been used again and again”. A collocation analysis of *sexual* in the BNCweb (in a window span of 4 words on either sides of the node word, sorted in descending order of T-score value) also shows a tendency of the adjective to co-occur with words related to violence, thus suggesting that this is not just a distinctive feature of news discourse in reporting rape crimes.

Table 38: 10 strongest lexical collocates of SEXUAL in a window span of 4 to the right and 4 to the left of the node word, BNCweb

Word	Total No. In whole BNC	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	In No. of texts	T-score value
intercourse	901	0.295	342	84	184773
abuse	3,573	1172	252	101	158007
assault	2,238	0.734	146	36	120223
behaviour	12,141	3981	145	76	11711
activity	11,403	3739	131	63	111188
harassment	591	0.194	120	60	109368
difference	11,161	3660	106	20	99402
offences	2,292	0.752	96	33	97213
relations	11,136	3652	90	50	91019
relationships	5,908	1937	75	53	84366

The analysis carried out above shows the emphasis put by the press on the link between sex and violence and on the sexual sphere in general in press reports on

sexist violence. The high frequency of the adjective *sexual* in the *RAPE* corpus as compared with the reference corpus, and the strong tendency to associate *sexual* with either *sexual type_of_activity* or *sexual type_of_crime*, show how sex and violence are strongly interconnected in press reports on sexist violence. In the case of reference to *sexual type_of_activity* or the *sexual history* of the victim (or of the perpetrator in some cases), it may be argued that the press tends to include (sexual) details in the news reports which may not always be relevant (see also 4.2.2.). In the case of *sexual type_of_crime*, though, the analysis of the most frequent collocates of *sexual* in the BNC has shown that the tendency to associate sex with violence is not just an element of the news discourse, but it is common even in a general corpus like the BNC. In this case, it is the nature of the expression itself (*sexual type_of_crime*) that in a way brings the sexual element to the foreground. Although there are several ways to refer to rape without reference to the sexual aspect of the crime (e.g. gender-based violence, sexist violence, violence against women, rape), *sexual type_of_crime* seems to be a relatively fixed expression.

4.4.2. Sex

The relation between rape and sex in the *RAPE* corpus seems to be confirmed by the presence in the keyword list of another term with the same lexical root, i.e. *sex*.

Sex is the 10th most typical lexical item in the *RAPE* corpus as compared with the reference corpus, with 336 occurrences. As in the case of *sexual* there seem to be two groups of semantic categories with which *sex* tends to co-occur, one referring to *sex type_of_crime* and another referring to *sex type_of_activity*. Additionally, there are a some occurrences referring to *sexual attacker/killer/offender*.

Table 39: 20 selected concordance lines of SEX, sorted one to the right of the node word

1	that paves the way for thousands of other	sex	abuse	victims to sue their attackers for co
2	telephone as they committed a simulated	sex	act	against her using her television's remote
3	that paves the way for thousands of other	sex	abuse	victims to sue their attackers for
4		> Sex	assault	suspicion falls on England players a
5	in the summer of 2006 he was charged with	sex	assaults	against seven patients, the youngest
6	> Rape and alcohol:	Sex	assaults:	Police accused of adopting 'Life
7	> Woman in 1988	sex	attack	can sue £7m lottery winner: Rapist
8	flat in Shepherd's Bush, and carried out a	sex	attack	on another woman.

into nouns (*attack, offence, abuse*) which tend to obscure human agency, in particular when such expressions are used as premodifiers of other nouns (*victims* in *sex abuse victims, sex attack victim*), thus becoming a property of the noun they refer to rather than an action inflicted upon them. In such cases, *victims* are portrayed as *victims* of a *sex type_of_crime* rather than as victims of someone who *perpetrated* a *sex type_of_crime* against them. The same is true for the expression *sex slave*, where a person is portrayed as a *slave* of *sex* rather than as a *slave* of someone who *enslaved* them.

The use of *sex* as a premodifier of a name referring to the perpetrator, *attacker, killer, offender*, might be perceived as putting more emphasis on the role of *sex* as a motive for the crime, thus focusing on sex as the main component of rape (as opposite to, for example, the aspect of forcing or overpowering another person).

The other semantic group of occurrences where *sex* occurs belongs to the *sex type_of_activity* group, as shown in Table 39.

Table 40: 20 selected concordance lines of SEX sorted one to the left of the node word

1	to her request and the couple had consensual	sex	in a lane near her home. In court she plead
2	member, with whom she also had consensual	sex	. The reports said that some of the sex was
3	grabbing her by the throat, and then demanding	sex	. "I definitely thought that he was going to
4	a few drinks. They started kissing and had	sex	on the sofa, he said, and after a short while
5	the cellar and laid her on the bed and had	sex	with her. I knew that Elisabeth didn't want
6	system was set in place: when Elisabeth had	sex	with her father, life "improved" for the
7	entered from an adjacent room and he too had	sex	with the girl while two others watched. The
8	of 14-year-olds had been forced to have	sex	or do something sexual they did not want to
9	" he said. Fritzl said his desire to have	sex	with his daughter increased to a point where
10	other than when her father came down to have	sex	with her. Five years in a cell with no natural
11	admitted trying to get girls drunk to have	sex	with them. The study's author concluded that
12	years after Roman Polanski admitted having	sex	with a 13-year-old girl, lawyers for the
13	murdering Bowman, but has admitted having	sex	with her dead body. His barrister, Anthony
14	before taking her into a hot tub and having	sex	with her at the actor Jack Nicholson's house
15	's various properties showing him having	sex	with drugged and insensible women. Among
16	their respective rooms." While he was having	sex	with both daughters he would ask one to baby
17	to have seen Mr Da Souza and Scarlett having	sex	not long before she was found dead near the
18	40, forced the 27-year-old woman to perform	sex acts	at knifepoint while armed police
19	Mr Prentice. McKay then made her perform	sex acts	, refusing to wear a condom as he raped
20	rape her and forcing her to perform indecent	sex acts	on him. At one point McArthur

The table above shows how *sex* tends to occur in the expression *HAVE sex with*. The study of the list of the most frequent (at least 4 occurrences) two- to four-word clusters with *sex* in the *RAPE* corpus, shows that *have sex* is one of the most frequent two- to four-word clusters with *sex* (highlighted in **bold** type below) and that among the first fifteen most frequent two- to four-word clusters with *sex*, six include the expression *sex WITH* (underlined in Table 41 below).

Table 41: Two- to four-word clusters of SEX – min. freq. 4 (formatting added)

Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster
1	77	<u>sex with</u>	23	9	on the sex offenders	45	5	sex with a woman
2	28	sex offenders	24	9	selling sex	46	5	the sex industry
3	27	for sex	25	9	sex and	47	4	about sex
4	27	have sex	26	9	the sex offenders register	48	4	and had sex
5	26	having sex	27	8	for sex with	49	4	as sex
6	25	to have sex	28	8	forced to have sex	50	4	casual sex
7	24	the sex	29	8	sex offender	51	4	consensual sex with
8	23	<u>having sex with</u>	30	8	to sex	52	4	consented to sex
9	20	had sex	31	7	having sex with her	53	4	for sex offences
10	18	a sex	32	7	on sex	54	4	had sex with her
11	18	<u>have sex with</u>	33	7	sex abuse	55	4	had sex with the
12	17	<u>had sex with</u>	34	7	sex offences	56	4	having sex with a
13	16	<u>to have sex with</u>	35	6	pay for sex	57	4	in sex
14	14	<u>sex with her</u>	36	6	sex attack on	58	4	non-consensual sex
15	12	consensual sex	37	6	sex slave	59	4	sex act
16	12	of sex	38	5	had consensual sex	60	4	sex assaults
17	12	sex attack	39	5	he had sex	61	4	sex crime
18	12	sex with a	40	5	he had sex with	62	4	sex with the girl
19	11	sex crimes	41	5	pay for sex with	63	4	that sex
20	11	the sex offenders	42	5	sex attacker			
21	10	sex attacks	43	5	sex industry			
22	10	sex with the	44	5	sex was			

Going back to the analysis in Table 40, in lines 1-17 *sex* is used as a noun, whereas in lines 18-20 it is used as a premodifier of the noun *acts*. In both cases, the *force* element is obscured by the use of these euphemistic expressions to refer to *rape*. With the exception of lines 1 and 2, where there is an explicit reference to *consensual sex*, in the other lines it is necessary to infer the *force* element from the

co-text of the node word and in some cases (lines 4-7, 10, 14, 16-17) this may not be totally straightforward, to the extent that it may be difficult to understand whether the topic is rape or sex. In line 6 (*when Elisabeth had sex with her father*), for example, the actor in the process of *having sex* is *Elisabeth*. Looking at the extended context of this concordance line, it turns out that *Elisabeth* is *Elisabeth Fritzl*, a woman who had been kept in a cellar and raped by her father for 23 years. It may be argued that the way this sentence is constructed suggests a more normal and consensual act than it may have been in reality. In line 17, there is a similar ambiguity. *Mr. D'Souza and Scarlett having sex* suggests an equal (consensual) involvement of two actors in the same process. One might wonder, if the topic is really consensual sex and not rape, then is this relevant in a rape story, and if so, why?

In lines 18-20, although the *force* element is expressed through the use of *forcing her* and *made her*, the action is portrayed as being carried out by the woman rather than by the perpetrator. In these clauses, the woman is the actor (doer) in a material process (*performing sex*), rather than the goal (done to). Here not only is *sex* used as a substitute for *rape* and the perspective of who does what to whom is inverted, but sex is also portrayed as a *performance*; additionally, in line 20, it is also described as *indecent*. One might wonder what constitutes an *indecent sex act* and whether it is the *sex act* that is *indecent* or the assault.

Finally, looking at the co-text of the node word of concordance lines in Table 40 (particularly lines 1, 4, 7, 14 and 19) there seems to be a pattern of inclusion of certain details in the story, such as where exactly in the house or on the street the *sex type_of_activity* took place, how many people were involved or how it was perpetrated (e.g. *on the sofa, while two others watched, refusing to wear a condom*). Although some of these details may be relevant to the story for reasons which cannot be detected by simply looking at a short concordance line (and that might lie in the newsworthiness criteria of news reporting – see 2.4.4.), one might hypothesize that they are being used in a sensationalistic way in these news articles.

It is worth stressing that the kind of discourse that seems to surround the use of the words *sexual* and *sex* is not just a distinctive feature of news discourse. The press often represents what other people have said (through quotations, for example), or it reflects legal terminology (by using the expression *sexual assault*, for example); in some cases, it may also reproduce resistant discourse (as in the case of *sexual history*). Although there is always an element of choice in the selection of sources and a personal element reflecting the individual in the way an article is written, it is necessary to bear in mind that the media have a twofold, dialectical relationship with society (see 2.3.1.2.). In many cases, the use of terminology in the press is a mere reflection of deep-rooted beliefs which are ingrained in society and which, in this case, emerge in the news concerning rape crimes, when associating rape with sex.

4.5. SOCIAL ACTORS

In addition to *police* and *court*, the keyword list of the *RAPE* corpus contains five terms which refer to the social actors that are directly involved in the rape crime, namely the perpetrator and the rape survivor. They are respectively referred to as: *victim/victims* and *rapist*. Additionally, *woman* and *women* are two terms that also appear in the list of the top 20 keywords. Although these words may not necessarily refer to the rape survivor, considering the nature of the *RAPE* corpus and the text selection criteria (see 3.1.), it is reasonable to think that in many cases they will refer to the rape survivor or to rape survivors in general (as is also confirmed by analysis of concordances). It may be worth reminding that, being keywords, these terms are relatively more frequent in the *RAPE* corpus than in the general corpus. The analysis of these keywords will be the object of this section.

4.5.1. Woman/Women

The term *woman* occurs 403 times in the *RAPE* corpus, whereas there are 826 occurrences of the word *women*. Considering the large amount of data, it may be useful to use Sinclair's (1999) approach of using groups of 30 randomly selected concordances of the node word, noting the patterns and then selecting new groups of 30 collocates until further selections no longer show anything new (see 4.2.2.).

To begin with, here are 30 random concordance lines for the terms *woman* and *women*. One of the steps in the analysis will be to analyse whether there are differences and/or similarities in the patterns associated with the use of the singular and the plural form, with the plural form being way more frequent than the singular.

Table 42: 30 randomly selected concordance lines of WOMAN and WOMEN (formatting added)

1	Bourke on the inflammatory politics of	women	's clothing What is it about the way women
2	. While these debates about clothes affect	women	, they reveal a concern about men. Paradoxical
3	I judges often did in practice free <u>battered</u>	women	who killed abusive partners, this was not
4	recruit women and turn them into killers. Women	women	are the perfect weapon in a country where it
5	after being found guilty of the <u>rape of eight</u>	women	, as well as "rape resulting in death" in the
6	stalked bus stops looking for <i>blonde young</i>	women	, will be questioned in connection with a
7	yesterday. Digambar Kamat said that <i>foreign</i>	women	should take greater responsibility for their
8	<u>killed</u> seven <i>disabled and orphaned young</i>	women	, known as les disparues de l'Yonne, who went
9	assistance to an extremely high standard. The	woman	said that her <u>ordeal began</u> when Singh brought
10	continue to investigate the allegation - that a	woman	<u>was raped and/or sexually assaulted</u> by four
11	<u>violent sexual assault on a defenceless young</u>	woman	which in turn involved an element of sexual
12	move, solicitors acting for the <i>18-year-old</i>	woman	released to the media a two-page letter cont
13	Ojo had "consensual relations" with the	woman	at different times in the same hotel room.
14	especially when there's no violence. If a	woman	undressed and engaged in sexual activity ,
15	, but detectives say that Napper regarded	women	with children as <i>more compliant victims</i> .
16	Khurana said that the incident had <u>left</u> the	woman	" <u>churning up inside</u> ", and added: "It had a
17	at he had to go home to feed his cat and the	woman	offered to bring round a picture so that
18	allegation of rape and indecent <u>assault on a</u>	woman	. The allegation dates from November 1995.
19	nine years in prison for the <u>rape of young</u>	women	during a posting in the Central African
20	> Rape liar imprisoned A	woman	who falsely claimed to have been burgled,
21	predictor of future crimes all <u>assaults on</u>	women	really are. The ultimate invasion of privacy
22	including leading peers, academics, MPs and	women	's rights advocates said the few rape crisis
23	bleak picture of levels of <u>violence against</u>	women	and the obstacles that victims face when
24	> The <i>Afghan</i>	women	<u>jailed</u> for being <u>victims of rape</u> ; In Lashkar
25	£200,000," said Ms Emmot. "One of the	women	has been unable to work because of the
26	reinvestigating the <u>murder</u> of a <i>17-year-old</i>	woman	<u>attack</u>
27	another feminist blogger, to contend that "a	woman	named Martina Posch, whose body was
28	that it was Jon who kept in touch with the	women	must take responsibility for her actions"
29	ortcomings in the handling of the case of <i>two</i>	women	after he had <u>assaulted</u> them. At one point
30	have identified 106 incidents involving 86	women	<u>repeatedly raped and made pregnant</u> 19
			for which they believe he is responsible.

The concordance lines above seem to suggest three different patterns. The first is the representation of women as objects or goals of several (violent) actions (underlined

above). They are *battered, killed, raped, (sexually) assaulted, jailed, murdered, made pregnant*.

When they do appear as acting subjects they seem to be either portrayed unable to perform daily tasks as a consequence of the rape (line 25), or as making (false) allegations of rape (line 20) or as doing things that (implicitly) would increase the likelihood of rape (lines 1, 2, 7, 13, 14, 17 and 27) (see 5.3.1.). Additionally, in two cases (lines 7 and 27), the use of two modals (*should* and *must*) expressing obligation, puts the emphasis on the need for women to “take responsibility” (one might infer an implicit reference to *taking responsibilities for those actions that may expose them to the risk of being raped*). It is worth noting, though, that in these two cases the journalist is reporting other people’s words through reported speech, these are not the journalist’s own words. When including other people’s words into a new texts, these words are not only being incorporated into a new text, but they can also be used to support a certain discourse or challenge or even ridicule it. Chapter 5 will focus on the concept of interdiscursivity and recontextualisation and how authors *construct* texts using (and sometimes manipulating) other people’s words to construct their own argumentations. The last two patterns highlighted above may be seen as a way of indirectly blaming the woman for the rape and shifting the responsibility (and the attention) from the perpetrator to the victim.

Finally, there are instances of classification of women either in terms of origin (*Afghan, foreign*), or in terms of their weakness (*disabled, orphaned, defenceless*). Particular emphasis seems to be placed on women’s age (*young* – four times –, *18-year-old, 17-year old*) and in one case there is a physical description (*blonde*). Additionally, there are three occurrences of the plural form *women* where the term is preceded by a quantifier (lines 5, 29 and 30).

In order to further explore these patterns and possibly find new ones, it may be useful to sift through another group of randomly selected concordance lines.

Table 43: 30 randomly selected concordance lines of WOMAN and WOMEN (formatting added)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | about allegations that he <u>drugged and raped</u> women passengers. His arrest was described by a |
| 2 | to rape" in much of the UK. In some areas, women who report they had been raped were almost |

3 was attacked on a beach near Naples and the **woman** was raped.
4 he had no right of appeal. *More than 14,000* **women** a year **come forward to report rape**. But hard
5 an investigation into the killing of a *young* **woman** found dead near his former home. Perhaps
6 , it is impossible to know just *how many* **women** did **make specific complaints** against these
7 out rapists, and found herself - a *slim* **woman** *in her late 50s* - pointing her camera at men
8 rape and murder of at least *seven* girls and **women** *aged from 12 to 21*. The case has raised
9 found that 26% of respondents thought that a **woman** **was totally or partially responsible** for
10 for these clubs, that venues which involve **women** 's bodies being marketed to men are patently
11 that, sadly, may worsen the position of **women** who have been raped or **suffered other violent**
12 of those asked said that they thought a **women** **was partially or totally responsible** for
13 at the "**mixed messages**" **put out by** **women** who **dress up to the nines** for their own
14 an easy justification for killing in anger. **Women** who are **suffering domestic violence** **kill** in
15 drunk. Yesterday the CICA admitted that 23 **women** in the past three years had received reduced
16 Congo rape testimonies towns. In Ninja, **women** and children **go hungry**. Humanitarian aid has
17 they hadn't stopped bleeding. I also saw **women** who'd had their breasts cut off. " One charity
18 rape and murder of *seven* girls and *young* **women** in France and Belgium between 1987 and 2001.
19 said yesterday. The Fawcett Society, the **women** s equality group, said official figures reveal
20 an: Acid attacks and rape: growing threat to **women** who **oppose traditional order**: Female MPs
21 were in eastern Congo. Many *young* **women** have been abducted into sexual slavery. In s
22 soldiers that they have permission to attack **women** . Their commanders do not stop it and may
23 appearing barely human to the frail, ageing **woman** who months later recounted her ordeal, bent
24 human rights groups estimate *seven out of 10* **women** have been raped. Doctors say the onslaught
25 government funding. "After all that the **women** 's sector fought for decades ago, to see
26 efforts pay off. Earlier this year, the Why **Women** ? campaign helped win £1m in emergency
27 to respect the obvious truth that if a **woman** **was in no condition to give consent** then she
28 night of "pain and devastation". The other **woman** , a teacher, **wept** as she described waking
29 woman before raping her. A tape of the **woman** **screaming in pain and begging** to be left
30 low conviction rate. **Binge-drinking** **women** and our ladette culture fuel such prejudices

Here some of the patterns found above are confirmed. In many cases women are portrayed as goal of all sorts of violent actions (in **bold** above). In addition to the ones found in the previous 30 concordances, here they are *drugged*, (their bodies are) *marketed*, *have their breasts cut off*, *abducted* and *attacked*.

When they are portrayed as actors, they tend to either appear in their role of complainants (*report*, *make complaints*), or as making themselves vulnerable and/or an easy target of violence (*dress up to the nines*, *oppose traditional order*, *binge-drinking*). In one case (line 14) they are portrayed as *killing* as a result of them *suffering domestic violence*. There are a few more instances where they are portrayed as actors in processes that victimize them and make them look as void of agency and

subjectivity (*go hungry, screaming in pain, begging, be in no condition to give consent, suffering*).

In this table too there are occurrences of classification of women in terms of age (*young, in her late 50s, aged from 12 to 21*) and physical appearance (*slim*) and of quantification of women (e.g. *more than 14.000, seven out of 10, 23*).

Finally, there are three occurrences where the word *women* seems to appear in a context with an interdiscursive reference to the traditional view on feminism (*women's equality group, women's sector, Why Women? Campaign*), where feminism and feminist groups are either sources or presented as “fighting” or “campaigning against”.

To test these hypothesis, then, here are a further 30 randomly selected lines of both forms *woman* and *women*.

Table 44: 30 randomly selected concordance lines of WOMAN and WOMEN (formatting added)

1	took advantage of the mayhem to <u>grab</u> a <i>slim</i>	woman	<i>of about 20, dressed in white jeans</i> and a
2	a second alleged <u>rape</u> , of a <i>Philippines-born</i>	woman	by a US serviceman, although in this instance
3	A TEENAGER <u>beat</u> and <u>raped</u> a <i>pregnant</i>	woman	the day after he was allowed to walk free
4	from London was <u>gang raped</u> in Calais. The	woman	was reporting on illegal immigration from
5	sought to probe these circumstances." The	women	were even too afraid to report the abuse to
6	cites so much fury? In Johannesburg, a <i>young</i>	woman	was recently <u>stripped, sexually assaulted</u> an
7	sex. After all, who are scantily dressed	women	supposed to be corrupting , unless it is
8	having sex with drugged and insensible	women	. Among them was Carita Ridgway, a young
9	discovered the unsolved case of a <i>30-year-old</i>	woman	<u>raped</u> in her home by a masked man who tied
10	man, who drives a black London cab, <u>targets</u>	women	who have been drinking and waits for the
11	on December 17 last year. A <i>26-year-old</i>	woman	claimed that she <u>had been raped</u> as players
12	had previously held victims prisoner A	woman	who <u>was raped</u> while held captive in the home
13	that a friend would be bringing £ 200. The	woman	was " shocked and terrified " when McKay
14	will challenge the perception that some	women	are partly to blame for being raped , in an
15	as low as 5 per cent, why should we expect	women	who <u>are being stalked and harassed</u> to be
16	now gather medical evidence to support the	women	's claims. In last week's judgment, the law
17	anti-rape campaigners by suggesting that	women	who are <u>date-raped</u> should not expect to take
18	do not do her any credit. It is right that a	woman	has the right to choose to say no at any poi
19	intent. He was arrested after a number of	women	reported being <u>entrapped</u> by a cab driver who
20	failing victims, March 4. Two weeks ago	Women	Against Rape (WAR) held a public trial -
21	April 12, 1991 On This Day April 12, 1991	Women	's groups reacted angrily last night to what
22	critical acclaim. An estimated two million	women	<u>endured multiple attacks</u> during the closing
23	to acknowledge an obvious fact - that	women	's clothing has nothing to do with the violence

24 MacDonald, told this newspaper that *young women* 's "promiscuity" and heavy drinking
 25 is Not an Invitation to Rape Me, featuring *women* wearing revealing clothing or who have.
 26 the three girls, 13, 14 and 17, since. A *small woman* , she speaks softly and without visible,
 27 recited lines from Othello at the *terrified woman* before raping her. A tape of the woman screamin
 28 by a lot of juries. If they think maybe the *woman* has contributed in some way by being drunk,
 29 that, as a result, there are no services to *help women* who have suffered violence is a distortion
 30 wholesale rape of *hundreds of thousands of women* and girls over more than a decade of conflict

These concordance lines seem to confirm the patterns found above. As well as being mentioned in terms of age, provenance and physical characteristics (lines 1, 2, 6, 9, 11, 24 and 26, in *italics* above), it seems that women also tend to be victimised or represented as vulnerable and in need of help and support (lines 3, 5, 8, 13, 16, 27 and 29 in *purple* above). All kinds of violent actions seem to be applied to them (lines 1-4, 6, 9-12, 15, 19, 22, 27, 29 and 30, underlined in Table 44). Additionally, in some cases women are quantified (lines 19, 22 and 30, highlighted in *green* above) and in 13 lines (1, 4, 7, 10-11, 14, 17-19, 23-25 and 28, in *bold* above) there is a reference to “risky” behaviours or partial responsibility of the woman (e.g. *are partly to blame for being raped, wearing revealing clothing, has contributed in some way by being drunk*). It may be worth noting that the concordance lines above do not contain examples of women who appear as actively resisting an assault or actively facing the consequences of the crime. Additionally, it may be suggested that, in comparison with other social actors, such as the police and the court, women do not seem to be represented as sayers or sensors of messages and phenomena as often as institutional and authoritative sources. In some cases they are represented as *reporting* the crime or as *claiming* something. In other cases, women’s groups are used as sources, although they seem to be characterized more as “fighters” than as “sayers” (lines 20 and 21).

An analysis of the most common two- to four-word clusters with *woman* might be another useful tool for exploring the significance of these words in the *RAPE* corpus.

Table 45: Two- to four-word clusters of WOMAN - min. freq. 4 (formatting added)

Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster
1	134	a woman	27	9	woman and	53	5	woman told
2	114	the woman	28	9	woman is	54	4	a woman had
3	33	woman who	29	9	woman said	55	4	a woman in the

4	30	woman was	30	8	another woman	56	4	a woman is
5	28	woman in	31	7	every woman	57	4	a woman who was
6	27	old woman	32	7	if a woman	58	4	after a woman
7	26	woman's	33	7	raped a woman	59	4	assault on a woman
8	26	year-old woman	34	7	the woman had	60	4	but the woman
9	23	young woman	35	7	the woman said	61	4	of the woman
10	18	woman, who	36	7	woman to	62	4	that a woman was
11	17	a woman who	37	6	a woman's	63	4	that a woman who
12	17	that a woman	38	6	old woman from	64	4	that if a woman
13	14	the woman was	39	6	the young woman	65	4	the woman in
14	12	one woman	40	6	woman at	66	4	woman as
15	12	woman had	41	6	woman has	67	4	woman for
16	11	a young woman	42	6	woman in a	68	4	woman had been
17	11	british woman	43	6	woman who was	69	4	woman in her
18	11	the woman's	44	6	woman would	70	4	woman of
19	11	the woman, who	45	6	year-old woman from	71	4	woman on plumstead common
20	10	a woman was	46	5	a british woman	72	4	woman said she
21	10	of a woman	47	5	by the woman	73	4	woman was raped and
22	10	that the woman	48	5	on a woman	74	4	woman who was raped
23	10	woman from	49	5	sex with a woman	75	4	woman with
24	10	woman was raped	50	5	the woman was raped	76	4	woman, who has
25	9	a woman in	51	5	the woman who			
26	9	raping a woman	52	5	woman in the			

The cluster analysis of *woman* reveals that one of most frequent clusters with *woman* is *year-old woman*. This would substantiate the hypothesis that there is a tendency to classify women on the basis of age and provenance. There are six more clusters (in red above) that indicate a particular attention to the woman's age. Additionally, both in the clusters and the concordance lines analysed above, when the age of a woman is specified, there seems to be a prevalence of young women. This hypothesis may be tested by looking at the concordance lines of *year-old woman* in the *RAPE* corpus (Table 46).

Table 46: Concordance lines of YEAR-OLD WOMAN

1	years in jail for the rape of a 21-year-old woman and a 12-year-old girl. Since his release
2	layer who spent the night with a 22-year-old woman , who has been paid Â£ 5,000 for her kiss-
3	o protect her honour, clearing a 48 year-old woman from Porto Ercole who had been convicted

4 in prison for brutally raping a **24-year-old woman** at knifepoint in her home. According to
 5 iscovered the unsolved case of a **30-year-old woman** raped in her home by a masked man who
 6 peering through the windows of a **24-year-old woman** 's flat. He told officers that he was "going
 7 rty on December 17 last year. A **26-year-old woman** claimed that she had been raped as players
 8 raping and threatening to kill a **46-year-old woman** near Glasgow's Queen's Park. Mr
 9 > 'Taxi' woman raped A **26-year-old woman** was raped by the driver of what she
 10 ty crippling heaps. I stopped a **27-year-old woman** called Marie-Jean Bisimwa, who had four
 11 reinvestigating the murder of a **17-year-old woman** named Martina Posch, whose body was
 12 cident was on February 5, when a **33-year-old woman** flagged down a cab in Tooley Street near
 13 ear after receiving calls that a **26-year-old woman** had been raped. Evans, who has won nine
 14 counts of indecent assault on a **23-year-old woman** . A judge said he left court without a stain
 15 rrested on suspicion of raping a **22-year-old woman** eight days before the murder, but released
 16 king starvation. Among them is a **23-year-old woman** from Walikali. She is small, thin-faced and
 17 ng college. Police said that an **18-year-old woman** fainted in an assembly at the Primary
 18 hey had sexual relations with an **18-year-old woman** , who went on to claim to police that she
 19 . It has been revealed that the **18-year-old woman** , a bar worker, did seek hospital treatment
 20 move, solicitors acting for the **18-year-old woman** released to the media a two-page letter
 21 r who was accused of killing the **21-year-old woman** from Sevenoaks, Kent, with drugs that he
 22 day. Sean McKay, 40, forced the **27-year-old woman** to perform sex acts at knifepoint while
 23 da Hughes, a spokeswoman for the **18-year-old woman** , said: "The woman went back to the
 24 onflict. It took months for the **58-year-old woman** from Kindu to reach Rutshuru hospital
 25 by magistrates. He grabbed the **20-year-old woman** in a headlock and dragged her down a

The table above shows that in most cases where a woman's age is reported, this tends to be the age of a woman between 17 and 30 years old. This hypothesis is strengthened if one looks at the collocates of *woman*. Among the most frequent lexical collocates of *woman*, *young* is the fourth most frequent (after *raped*, *year*, and *old*). It would be reasonable to think that *old* might be so frequent because it occurs most often in the expression *year-old* (*year* is the second most frequent collocate of *woman*); in that case *young* would be the most frequent adjective which co-occurs with *woman*.

The list of the most frequent clusters with *woman* confirms another pattern, i.e. the use of the verbal form *raped* mostly in passive forms, where agency can be easily obscured or deleted by positioning *woman* (i.g. the "done to") as the marked theme of the clause. Thematization is one possible consequence of the use of the passive voice and, as in the case of nominalisation (for example *assault* in one of the most frequent clusters with *woman* "*assault on a woman*"), it can contribute to the foregrounding the woman's role of "victim", rather than the perpetrator's role as

“doer”. The main consequences of these transformations (passive voice and nominalisation which have the effect of turning the action into the passive reception of such action) is that, if they are used even in those cases in which the agent of the action is known by both the woman and the police, the perpetrator can still become invisible or backgrounded, as if his identity were less relevant to the reader.

Finally, in Table 45 there are four clusters with a similar structure, i.e. *that the woman, that a woman was, that a woman who, that if a woman*, suggesting the presence of *woman* in hypotactic clauses introduced by *that*. It may be worth exploring this pattern looking at concordance lines of *woman* preceded by *that*.

Table 47: 33 selected concordance lines of WOMAN preceded by THAT

1	of The Queen said <u>she believed that if a</u>	woman	<u>voluntarily ended up in a man's bedroom and</u>
2	there are people who still <u>think that if a</u>	woman	<u>is dressed in a certain way or has been drinking</u>
3	to respect <u>the obvious truth that if a</u>	woman	<u>was in no condition to give consent then she</u>
4	to investigate the allegation - that a	woman	was raped and/or sexually assaulted by four
5	one in every four women <u>believes that a</u>	woman	<u>who wears sexy clothes is partially or total</u>
6	city centre. Police received a call that a	woman	had been raped in the early hours of December
7	Police are investigating claims that a	woman	was held captive by her father for six years
8	case the doctor was concerned that a	woman	had been raped ... then their first point
9	feminist blogger, <u>to contend that "a</u>	woman	<u>must take responsibility for her actions" an</u>
10	parties constitutes rape. <u>The fact that a</u>	woman	<u>is inebriated does not make it less of a crime</u>
11	at 18. Their ruling now means that a	woman	known only as Mrs A can seek to claim
12	of beauty, no level of perfection that a	woman	could reach at which her body would be
13	do not do her any credit. <u>It is right that a</u>	woman	<u>has the right to choose to say no at any point</u>
14	Iorworth Hoare. The peers <u>ruled that a</u>	woman	<u>whose life was ruined following an attempted</u>
15	court caused a furore <u>by ruling that a</u>	woman	<u>wearing tight jeans cannot by definition be</u>
16	Council in 2006. A "juror" <u>said that, "a</u>	woman	<u>'s got to cooperate with a man to be able to</u>
17	per cent of the women polled, <u>said that a</u>	woman	<u>who flirted extensively was at least partly</u>
18	<u>consider it awfully bold to suggest that a</u>	woman	<u>who gets herself assaulted when drunk is</u>
19	is the message to men, <u>telling them that a</u>	woman	<u>displaying her arm or ankle does not mean</u>
20	that 26% of respondents <u>thought that a</u>	woman	<u>was totally or partially responsible for being</u>
21	Dame Helen's contention <u>was that a</u>	woman	<u>who voluntarily ended up in a man's bedroom</u>
22	to the victim, by <u>suggesting that what a</u>	woman	<u>wears, or how she behaves, can in someway</u>
23	who come from there tell us that every	woman	in every village has been raped over the year
24	appealed, <u>claiming that because the</u>	woman	<u>had worn such tight jeans the man could not</u>
25	that the man paid for sex, and that the	woman	had been trafficked. There will be no need
26	typical defence would be <u>to argue that the</u>	woman	<u>consented to sex because she was drunk and</u>
27	an England rugby source, <u>claimed that the</u>	woman	<u>had consensual sex with one player in his</u>
28	<u>to a rape victim on the grounds that the</u>	woman	<u>in question had been drinking. In reaching</u>
29	prosecution has told the jury that the	woman	, was treated in hospital for eight stab wounds

30 said Hunt, 65, had not proved that the **woman** acted maliciously, adding that claims of
 31 **hospital, Rome. Doctors said that the** **woman** **was almost unrecognisable. Italian media**
 32 said there was no reason to think that the **woman** would not have cooperated and made a
 33 **to the local media stating that a young** **woman** **had been "sexually violated" by four members**

The use of *that* as a hypotactic conjunction is confirmed in the concordance lines above. The conjunction introduces a clause which is subordinated to the main clause. Here two patterns seem to be related to the use of *woman* preceded by *that*. First, when *woman* is introduced by the hypotactic conjunction *that* something is being said about the woman, in particular about the fact that she was raped or had been the victim of some kind of violence (in **bold** above). Second, the hypotactic sequence is used to introduce something that is *said* (or *believed*, *ruled*, *argued*, *claimed*, *thought*, *proved*) in connection with a woman's behaviour (underlined above), in particular with those actions that may imply her "responsibility" in the rape crime, e.g. if a woman *is dressed in a certain way or has been drinking* (line 2), *wears sexy clothes* (line 5), *is inebriated* (line 10), *flirted extensively* (line 17), *gets herself assaulted when drunk* (line 18), *consented to sex because she was drunk* (line 26) (see. 5.3.1.). In particular, this latter pattern seems to be quite strong, sometimes referring to *a* woman's behaviour in general, sometimes to a woman in particular, putting specific emphasis on women's clothes and drinking habits. This pattern suggests that women (or a woman) are the object of debates concerning their behaviours and their responsibilities when they are at the receiving end of sexist violence. In some cases, these clauses seem to be part of a resistant discourse that tries to challenge and deny the truthfulness of these stereotyped views. Yet, Section 4.4.1. has shown that resistant discourse has the effect of reproducing the hegemonic discourse by stating what it is against. The very existence of this resistant discourse surrounding women's responsibility in rape crimes is an allusion to a certain prejudiced discourse surrounding sexist violence and it presupposes the existence of a certain world of knowledge and of a particular intertextual and interdiscursive awareness on the part of listeners.

It may also be argued that the indirect speech introduced by *that* may also suggest a tendency of reporters to avoid reporting on such controversial issues by using their

own words and that they prefer to let other people talk for themselves and express “common sense” (or challenge it).

Let us now look at the most frequent four word clusters with *women* in order to see whether different or similar discourses are associated with the plural form and to see whether the hypothesis formulated in the concordance analysis can be verified here.

Table 48: Two- to four-word clusters of WOMEN - min. freq. 4 (formatting added)

Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster
1	105	women's	42	8	women in the	83	5	which women
2	92	the women	43	7	a women	84	5	women a
3	76	of women	44	7	for women to	85	5	women after
4	64	women who	45	7	four women	86	5	women that
5	47	women and	46	7	the women who	87	5	women's bodies are
6	47	women in	47	7	thousands of women	88	5	women, who
7	37	young women	48	7	women against rape	89	4	a number of women
8	32	other women	49	7	women for	90	4	among women
9	32	women are	50	7	women have been	91	4	assaults on women
10	30	for women	51	7	women told	92	4	attack women
11	28	women to	52	7	women who are	93	4	five women
12	23	and women	53	6	all women	94	4	for women and
13	23	that women	54	6	by women	95	4	many women have
14	22	against women	55	6	of women and girls	96	4	more women
15	20	women have	56	6	some women	97	4	of foreign women
16	19	the women's	57	6	towards women	98	4	of thousands of women
17	19	women and girls	58	6	where women	99	4	of women in
18	18	women's rights	59	6	women from	100	4	on women's
19	16	of the women	60	6	women he	101	4	saw women who
20	16	on women	61	6	women in prostitution	102	4	some of the women
21	16	women were	62	6	women is	103	4	that the women
22	13	foreign women	63	6	women should	104	4	the number of women
23	13	of women's	64	6	women who had	105	4	the women told me
24	13	to women	65	6	women who have been	106	4	the women's sector
25	12	many women	66	6	women, and	107	4	those women
26	12	these women	67	6	women, including	108	4	three women
27	11	women who have	68	5	a women's	109	4	trafficked women
28	11	women's groups	69	5	and young women	110	4	up women
29	10	number of women	70	5	battered women	111	4	war against women

30	10	of women and	71	5	by the women	112	4	women can
31	10	two women	72	5	girls and young women	113	4	women had
32	9	about women	73	5	in which women	114	4	women must
33	9	girls and women	74	5	men and women	115	4	women on
34	9	violence against women	75	5	of women being	116	4	women to be
35	9	with women	76	5	of women who	117	4	women told me
36	9	women was	77	5	of women's rights	118	4	women who were
37	9	women's bodies	78	5	seven girls and women	119	4	women with
38	8	afghan women	79	5	seven young women	120	4	women's aid
39	8	women and children	80	5	that women who	121	4	women's clothing
40	8	women as	81	5	the women told	122	4	women's sector
41	8	women being	82	5	the women were	123	4	women's services

Here there are several patterns connected to the use of the plural form *women*. The first is found in the clusters highlighted in red in the table above, where *women* are referred to as *young*, *battered* and *trafficked* or at the receiving ends of *assaults* and *attack*. These expressions identify women in terms of their age and vulnerable to violent acts, two patterns which have already been identified and analysed in the concordance analysis above.

A second pattern is visible in the clusters highlighted in green in Table 48, where the term *women* is accompanied by quantification. In some cases there is a reference to a restricted number of women, whereas in the remaining lines women appear to be quantified in more generic terms (e.g. *the number of women*, *many women*, *some women*). Quantifiers had already been found in the concordance analysis above; here the clusters show two ways of quantifying women. On the one hand, there seems to be particular attention to cases of multiple rapes, involving more than a woman. On the other hand there seems to be an attempt to portray the epidemic nature of sexist violence through the use of figures and data.

The table below shows a list of concordances of *women* preceded by quantifiers and which show the two patterns highlighted above.

Table 49: 30 selected concordance lines of WOMEN

1	to each other. We know from the thousands of	women	that we advise every year that sexual
2	wholesale rape of hundreds of thousands of	women	and girls over more than a decade of
3	in the region treat tens of thousands of	women	for sexual assault every year, and doctors
4	London, was arrested after a number of	women	told police that they had been entrapped by
5	a substance with intent. A number of	women	had told police that a driver plied them
6	intent. He was arrested after a number of	women	reported being entrapped by a cab driver
7	to be regressing at speed, the number of	women	being killed by a current or former partner
8	allegation became public a number of other	women	came forward alleging he attacked them and
9	women. A couple of days ago, hundreds of	women	in Johannesburg marched in the street, some
10	whose volunteers have supported hundreds of	women	and girls who have seen their cases turned
11	a student and molesting several dozen other	women	at a teacher training college. Police said
12	t the unsolved cases of more than a dozen	women	who had been murdered or gone missing
13	rape substance may have attacked dozens of	women	. The man, who drives a black London cab,
14	being found guilty of the rape of eight	women	, as well as "rape resulting in death" in the
15	after being found guilty of raping eight	women	, as well as "rape resulting in death" in the
16	faces a further 12 charges, involving eight	women	, in addition to 11 earlier charges. John
17	critical acclaim. An estimated two million	women	endured multiple attacks during the closing
18	Maternal mortality rates - one in nine	women	dies in childbirth - are the highest in the
19	expected to announce this week that the nine	women	who testified will be offered compensation.
20	Obara was jailed for life for raping nine	women	one of whom died. Miss Blackman, a former
21	Need works, affect about 80 per cent of	women	. In May this year we ran a drama workshop
22	are at epidemic proportions - 87 per cent of	women	complain of such abuse, and half of it is
23	-old but found guilty of raping nine other	women	and of killing one of them. Yesterday Obara
24	for the attack on Mrs A and six other	women	he had assaulted previously. Her later a
25	pending. Hoare, who also attacked six other	women	, was released several months after his win
26	alleged abuse. They could include six other	women	who were subjected to rape or other serious
27	role in the rape and murder of three other	women	, including Joanna Parrish, the British
28	That same night in Central Park, three other	women	were raped," says Jackson, "and the fact
29	No action was taken on claims by two other	women	, a weathergirl and a showbusiness agent.
30	according to police. More than 90 other young	women	at the college have since accused the

A final pattern can be identified in the list of some of the most frequent four-word clusters with *women*. This is related to the feminist discourse that seems to be associated with the plural form *women* and highlighted in blue in Table 48 (e.g. *violence against women*, *war on women*, *women's rights*, *women's groups*).

Table 50: Concordance lines of four-word clusters of WOMEN

1	skin. Even when not flaunting their flesh,	women's	bodies	are seen as sexual. Indeed, some rabbis
2	the rape conviction rate is plummeting,	women's	bodies	are picked over in the media, abortion
3	of the sex industry is one indication of how	women's	bodies	are considered public property; in the
4	unprecedented levels. In gossip magazines,	women's	bodies	are pored over - a pound gained provokin

5 magazine. The constant message is that **women's bodies** are not our own. They belong to everyon
6 government funding. "After all that the **women's sector** fought for decades ago, to see refuges
7 " Hayes says the problems faced by the **women's sector** are indicative of a wider problem of
8 was the first mass lobbying campaign the **women's sector** has ever run. Called Why Women?,
9 ago. People were able to dismiss the **women's sector** as a bunch of crazy old feminists
10 as research for the **End Violence Against Women Campaign** and the Equality and Human Rights
11 Professor Liz Kelly **End Violence Against Women Campaign**
12 Kelly, chair of the **End Violence Against Women campaign** agrees that we're in a time of
13 is not giving up The woman heading the **Women's Resource Centre** (WRC) is remarkably upbeat
14 not going to take it lying down." Weblinks **Women's Resource Centre**: wrc.org.uk Southall Black
15 diploma) Career: 2004: chief executive, **Women's Resource Centre**; 2001-2004: director,
16 in 2006, a 22 per cent increase over 2005. **Women's rights groups** say that thousands more are not
17 in 2006, a 22 per cent increase on 2005. **Women's rights groups** say that tens of thousands more
18 about yesterday's call by a coalition of **Women's rights groups** and politicians for a public debate

Here feminist groups are mentioned to talk about the phenomenon of violence against women; women activists are also referred to with the unspecific label “women’s sector”. In one case, *women’s bodies* is inserted in a discourse concerning the misuse and the stereotypes associated with women’s bodies, a “feminist issue” that seems to be seen from a critical feminist point of view. In these examples, the voices of feminists are clearly introduced into the news article, through indirect speech (intertextuality) or through interdiscursivity, that is by recalling a certain type of discourse (for example the one concerning women’s bodies) without directly quoting external sources (see 2.6.2. and 3.3.2.).

The analysis of concordance lines and clusters carried out in this section has shown a tendency in the *RAPE* corpus to tell things about women, rather than letting them tell things about themselves, with the exception of feminist groups. It may be speculated that, unlike the police, for example, women have their identities constructed by others, rather than constructing them themselves. They seem to be represented not just as the object of the violent act which is being reported in the articles, but also as the object of several debates concerning, in particular, their responsibilities when it comes to rape crimes. When they are not represented as void of agency, they seem to be often the actors in situations that made them vulnerable to the attack. In most cases, this sort of discourse is represented through intertextuality, i.e. it is not the journalist her/himself who is directly saying these things, but s/he is reporting

someone else's voices, sometimes also using expressions that challenge the mainstream discourse.

4.5.2. Victim/Victims

The word *victim* occurs 268 times in the *RAPE* corpus. Its plural form *victims* occurs 411 times. Considering the nature of the *RAPE* corpus (see 3.1.) it is reasonable to believe that the words *victim* and *victims* refer to a *victim* or to *victims of rape*. In order to verify this hypothesis, one can look at the list of the most frequent (minimum frequency = 4) two- to four-word clusters with the words *victim* and *victims*.

Table 51: Two- to four-word clusters of VICTIM and VICTIMS - min. freq. 4 (formatting added)

Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster
1	99	the victim	39	8	of his victims	77	5	victims had
2	78	rape victims	40	8	old victim	78	5	victims of sexual assault
3	75	victims of	41	8	to rape victims	79	5	victims of the
4	65	the victims	42	8	victim of a	80	5	victims to come forward
5	48	victim of	43	8	year-old victim	81	5	victims who had
6	35	a victim	44	7	all victims	82	5	victims will
7	31	his victims	45	7	rape victims in	83	4	all victims of
8	27	rape victim	46	7	that a victim	84	4	award to a victim
9	25	victim's	47	7	the victim of a	85	4	don't expect victims to
10	20	victims to	48	7	the victims are	86	4	for all victims of
11	19	a victim of	49	7	victim had	87	4	from victims
12	19	<i>alleged</i> victim	50	7	<u>was the victim</u>	88	4	<u>had been the victim</u>
13	18	the victim of	51	6	for all victims	89	4	of rape victims
14	18	the victims of	52	6	for victims	90	4	one of his victims
15	18	victims are	53	6	more victims	91	4	s victims
16	17	victims who	54	6	of victims	92	4	some victims
17	16	the <i>alleged</i> victim	55	6	the victim had	93	4	that the victims
18	16	victims in	56	6	the victim, who	94	4	the victims of sexual
19	15	the victim's	57	6	the victims were	95	4	to a victim of
20	14	victim was	58	6	victim impact statement	96	4	to the victim
21	14	victims of sexual	59	6	victim to	97	4	to victims of
22	13	of the victims	60	6	<u>was the victim of</u>	98	4	victim of rape due
23	13	victims of rape	61	5	<u>been the victim of</u>	99	4	victim of sexual
24	13	victims were	62	5	but for all victims	100	4	victim of the

25	12	victim, who	63	5	many victims	101	4	victim's mother
26	11	other victims	64	5	of the victims are	102	4	victim, who cannot be
27	10	for rape victims	65	5	other victims of	103	4	victims described
28	10	of the victim	66	5	rape victims are	104	4	victims from
29	10	that the victim	67	5	rape victims have	105	4	victims had been
30	10	victim of rape	68	5	rape victims who	106	4	victims of child
31	10	victims and	69	5	s victim	107	4	victims of crime
32	10	victims have	70	5	that a victim of	108	4	victims of violence
33	9	a victim of rape	71	5	that rape victims	109	4	victims to sue
34	9	<i>alleged</i> victims	72	5	the victim was	110	4	victims whose
35	9	his victim	73	5	victim in	111	4	when the victim
36	9	to victims	74	5	victim is			
37	8	a rape victim	75	5	victim of rape is			
38	8	abuse victims	76	5	victim support			

The table above shows that the words *victim* and *victims* are often associated with the thing (or person) one has been *victim of* (e.g. *victim/s of rape*, *victims of crime*, *victims of violence*) (in **bold** above). It is not unreasonable to think that, considering the restricted content of the *RAPE* corpus, the expression *victim of* also refers to people who have been raped or assaulted, although in some clusters this may not be visible. Additionally, since the *RAPE* corpus was built including only cases of rape crimes perpetrated by men against women, it may safely be assumed that *victim* and *victims*, in this specific context, refer to a *woman* who was *victim of rape* or to *women* who were *victims of rape*. One may wonder why the word *woman* is replaced with the word *victim* in some cases and whether this has any implications in the discourse surrounding rape in the *RAPE* corpus. In order to answer this question, it may be useful to compare how the word *woman* (and *women*) and the word *victim* (and *victims*) are used in the *RAPE* corpus. As shown in Section 4.5.1., there seems to be a tendency to report women who have been raped either as goals of actions that highlight their vulnerability or as agents of actions that (may) have “put them at the risk” of begin raped or that (may) have “led” to the rape. The clusters above, though, do not seem to show the same tendency; here the words *victim* and *victim* do not occur in expressions such as *the victim was raped* or *victims had been raped*, for example. By contrast, there seems to be a tendency to nominalise the crime, when this is explicitly mentioned (e.g. *victims of sexual assault* or *victim of rape*). A possible explanation may be that the word *victim* already has an element of

vulnerability embedded in its meaning. The first definition of the word *victim* in the Oxford English Dictionary is: “a person harmed, injured, or killed as a result of a crime, accident, etc”. When the word *victim* is used, then, there may be no need to specify the action that turned a *person* into a *victim*. When used as a noun as in the clusters above, then, the word *victim* becomes a status, fixed in time, rather than the temporary result of an action (Meredith, 2009). In other words, *victim* becomes the identity of that person. *Victim* and *victims* can then become the agent/s and goal/s of actions that are not directly related to the crime. It should be noted, though, that the high frequency of VICTIM in the *RAPE* corpus may be due to the fact that this is the word used by the judicial system to officially refer to women who were raped; in some cases, the press may be simply be borrowing the term from the legal domain.

When the crime the person has been victim of is stated, this is nominalised, thus becoming an attribute of this new identity, rather than an action committed against her. It may be argued that the use of the word *victim* and *victims* alone lead the crime and the person who committed it being left out of the report. What remains is the fact that a person has been harmed and that this becomes what defines her identity. This is stressed in particular in the clusters underlined in Table 51, where the victimhood is expressed through an identifying relational process, where one entity is identified in terms of another: *was the victim of*, *been the victim of* and *had been the victim*.

In order to look at other uses of the words *victim* and *victims* in the *RAPE* corpus, it is possible to look at a group of randomly chosen concordance lines.

Table 52: 30 randomly selected concordance lines of VICTIM and VICTIMS sorted one to the right of the node word (formatting added)

1	ife Margaret described how <u>he had put his</u>	victims	<u>"under a spell"</u> by appearing to be gentleman
2	oughout. <u>He could not face</u> the families, his	victims	and the judge and hear himself being sentence
3	the correct charge." Although the 1946	victim	<u>believed</u> she had been raped she was dazed a
4	any rapists are not prosecuted because their	victims	<u>do not report</u> the attacks or leave the count
5	sentences imposed on rapists could <u>deter</u>	victims	from reporting attacks. By some estimates
6	press stated that reducing payments to rape	victim	had never been its policy and it was a mistake
7	with a degree of contempt. However the	victim	<u>had not suffered</u> long-term effects, and he
8	> Rape	victim	hails victory for Muslims as Hindu assailant
9	reduced by a quarter a payout to a rape	victim	, having deemed her one quarter too drunk at
10	her aunt, Jill Lewis, read this powerful	victim	impact statement written by Hannah's mothe
11	his DNA matched that taken from a rape	victim	in 1996, and on Tuesday Sellars was jailed

12 Davis Jill Saward, one of the first **rape victims** in Britain to talk publicly about her experience
 13 formal complaint to police from the *alleged victim*, insisting that until such a complaint was made
 14 News IN BRIEF n Thousands of **sex abuse victims** may be able to sue their attackers years after
 15 lifelong anonymity rightly given to all **rape victims** means that it is not possible for the media
 16 teacher, identified only as Mrs A, and five **victims of child sex abuse** who also took their cases
 17 when we must stop men buying sex from the **victims of human trafficking**." The home secretary
 18 our policy to reduce the level of award to a **victim of rape** due to alcohol consumption. This . .
 19 trials in 2004 on the island. In Britain, **victims of sexual abuse** are entitled to statutory
 20 following an assault is plainly needed. **Victims of sexual assault** do not always run straight
 21 before killing Miss Westbury. The *alleged victim of that attack* wept in court as he was sentenced
 22 for Women - all of which support female **victims of violence**, have a combined income considerably
 23 tends to escalate, it is clear that the **victims of violent men** should understand how important
 24 prevailed, not only for Lucie, but for all **victims of violent sexual crime**," she said yesterday
 25 ended - Police and prosecutors 'failing **rape victims**': Rape victims let down by police and prosecutors
 26 s in rape cases can be told by judges that a **victim** 's delay in reporting an attack could be due
 27 officers too often fail to take *alleged victims* seriously enough and settle for mediocrity
 28 cannot achieve justice for people who **fall victim to sexual attacks**, and never will be able to
 29 said the rapist was one of the men that the **victim** was photographing as part of a report on
 30 Jon. They will be held accountable and the **victims** will get justice." Defence lawyers had argued

One of the patterns visible in Table 52 seems to be a tendency to associate *victim* and *victims* with the type of crime that the person has been *victim of* (lines 16 to 24). In the case of *rape victim* and *rape victims* (lines 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 25) and of *sex abuse victims* (line 14), the crime becomes an attribute of the person, rather than an action of violence perpetrated against her, whereas in the case of *victim of type_of_crime* the violent action becomes a “property” of the person. In both cases, the action of committing a crime is backgrounded through pre or post modification. Interestingly, only in one case in the table above (line 23), *victims* are portrayed as *victims of human beings (violent men)*, in all other cases, they are portrayed as victims of an action, as if this action had no human agency, but had itself turned the women into *victims*. This is even more evident in line 28, where the expression *fall victim to sexual attacks*⁵⁹ emphasises that someone fell victim to the circumstances rather than to a human being.

The cluster analysis and the concordance analysis shows that the word *victim* and the word *victims* also tend to co-occur with the adjective *alleged* (clusters in *italics* in

⁵⁹ The analysis of the expression *to fall victim to* in the BNCweb has shown that it tends to co-occur with events or non-human entities, such as *flu-epidemic*, *violence*, *hunger*, *virus* etc. This would seem to reinforce the impression that the woman has *fallen victim* to a thing rather than to a person.

Table 51 and Table 52 – lines 13, 21 and 27). *Alleged* is also the most frequent collocate of *victim* after *rape*, and the eighth most frequent collocate of *victims* (after *rape*, *sexual*, *abuse*, *crime*, *assault*, *violence* and *cases*). Section 4.2.1.1. has illustrated how the lemma ALLEGE tends to be associated with a pattern of denial and seems to be used when journalists are trying to distance themselves from what they are reporting. The Oxford English Dictionary defines the adjective *alleged* as “said, without proof, to have taken place or to have a specified illegal or undesirable quality”. The term *alleged* seems to imply a degree of uncertainty and to refer to something that needs to be proven. The BNCweb provides a list of collocates of the word *alleged* (Tabel 53).

Table 53: strongest collocates of ALLEGED in a window span of 4 to the right and 4 to the left of the node word, BNCweb (only nouns are included)

Word	Total Number in whole BNC	Expected collocate frequency	Observed collocate frequency	In No. of texts	T-score value
involvement	4,152	0.835	53	34	71.654
offence	3,656	0.735	40	26	62.083
prosecution	2,091	0.421	35	25	5.845
<i>fraud</i>	1,789	0.360	34	30	57.693
<i>offences</i>	2,292	0.461	34	26	57.519
<i>breach</i>	3,041	0.612	34	28	57.261
incident	3,634	0.731	31	24	54.365
VICTIM	3,832	0.771	31	26	54.294
connection	4,984	1.002	31	25	53.877
<i>abuse</i>	3,333	0.670	30	21	53.549
coup	1,731	0.348	28	18	52.257
plot	1,741	0.350	25	20	4.93
attempt	8,684	1.746	25	19	46.507
<i>assault</i>	2,136	0.430	22	18	45.988
police	26,949	5.419	31	28	45.944
<i>breaches</i>	403	0.081	21	18	45.649
government	61,796	12.427	42	31	45.632
failure	7,669	1.542	23	21	44.742
VICTIMS	2,828	0.569	21	16	44.585
mr	51,331	10.323	37	26	43.857
charges	5,913	1.189	21	19	43.231
investigation	5,056	1.017	20	18	42.448
	285	0.057	18	17	42.291

<i>irregularities</i>					
<i>negligence</i>	1,273	0.256	18	15	41.823
cases	18,095	3.639	24	22	41.562
<i>rape</i>	1,852	0.372	18	13	41.549
bias	1,351	0.272	17	4	40.572
case	45,054	9.060	32	30	40.552
<i>libel</i>	801	0.161	16	7	39.597
trial	6,369	1.281	18	18	39.407
court	28,274	5.686	25	22	38.628
<i>infringement</i>	382	0.077	15	9	38.531
<i>conspiracy</i>	1,078	0.217	15	11	3.817
<i>crimes</i>	1,718	0.345	15	12	37.838
protest	2,712	0.545	15	14	37.322
defendant	3,303	0.664	15	10	37.015
inquiry	3,44	0.692	15	14	36.944
members	29,417	5.916	24	20	36.914
rights	12,817	2.578	18	13	36.351
<i>corruption</i>	1,42	0.286	13	12	35.263
<i>theft</i>	1,701	0.342	13	9	35.107
<i>misconduct</i>	311	0.063	12	11	3.446
plaintiff	2,992	0.602	13	11	34.387
child	23,621	4.750	20	12	3.41
arrest	1,586	0.319	12	12	3.372
<i>attack</i>	7,497	1.508	14	13	33.387
<i>murder</i>	5,031	1.012	13	10	33.249
evidence	21,137	4.251	18	17	32.407
<i>crime</i>	6,913	1.390	13	13	3.22
statement	9,757	1.962	14	13	32.173
<i>atrocities</i>	235	0.047	10	9	31.473
<i>violations</i>	404	0.081	10	9	31.366
activities	11,471	2.307	14	12	31.251
confession	620	0.125	10	6	31.228
report	20,743	4.171	17	17	31.114
facts	5,18	1.042	11	10	30.025
collaborators	188	0.038	9	6	29.874
lack	8,858	1.781	12	11	29.499
criminals	895	0.180	9	5	2.94
interference	1,408	0.283	9	8	29.056
reports	7,594	1.527	11	11	28.562
drug	4,984	1.002	10	10	28.453

security	13,663	2.748	13	12	28.435
duty	7,853	1.579	11	10	28.405
discovery	2,779	0.559	9	8	28.137
<i>attacks</i>	3,085	0.620	9	9	27.932
grounds	6,05	1.217	10	10	27.775
officials	6,101	1.227	10	10	27.743
campaign	9,033	1.817	11	11	27.689
leader	9,157	1.841	11	11	27.614
activists	956	0.192	8	8	27.605
scandal	1,426	0.287	8	6	27.27
date	16,675	3.353	13	8	26.755
drugs	5,273	1.060	9	9	26.465
<i>blasphemy</i>	147	0.030	7	5	26.346
<i>abuses</i>	331	0.067	7	5	26.206
mafia	374	0.075	7	6	26.173
officers	8,679	1.745	10	10	26.103
<i>violation</i>	476	0.096	7	7	26.096
arrests	560	0.113	7	6	26.032
offender	579	0.116	7	4	26.017
<i>killing</i>	1,055	0.212	7	7	25.656
claim	6,522	1.312	9	9	25.628
weapons	3,911	0.787	8	7	25.504
television	9,769	1.965	10	8	25.541
killer	1,386	0.279	7	5	25.404
incidents	1,496	0.301	7	6	25.532
damage	7,014	1.411	9	9	25.298
crown	5,116	1.029	8	7	24.647
contemnor	60	0.012	6	2	24.446
forces	11,29	2.270	10	8	24.443
accomplices	73	0.015	6	6	24.435
<i>embezzlement</i>	88	0.018	6	5	24.423
accomplice	189	0.038	6	2	24.434
complicity	200	0.040	6	5	24.331
<i>intimidation</i>	295	0.059	6	6	24.253
<i>assaults</i>	403	0.081	6	6	24.164
<i>assassination</i>	558	0.112	6	5	24.037
acts	3,199	0.643	7	7	24.026
<i>massacre</i>	574	0.115	6	6	24.024
israel	3,211	0.646	7	7	24.017

<i>harassment</i>	591	0.119	6	6	2.401
respect	9,019	1.814	9	8	23.954
prison	6,156	1.238	8	8	23.907
funds	6,204	1.248	8	8	23.873
links	3,512	0.706	7	6	23.788
defects	865	0.174	6	6	23.785
revelation	917	0.184	6	5	23.742
failures	1,065	0.214	6	4	23.621
ring	3,928	0.790	7	6	23.472
defendants	1,581	0.318	6	5	23.197
opponents	1,614	0.325	6	6	2.317
investigation s	1,679	0.338	6	6	23.116
tape	4,445	0.894	7	7	23.079
attempts	4,594	0.924	7	6	22.966
<i>discriminati on</i>	1,984	0.399	6	6	22.866
union	17,433	3.506	11	9	22.596
recording	2,425	0.488	6	6	22.504
<i>infringement s</i>	67	0.013	5	5	2.23
perpetrator s	111	0.022	5	4	22.261
stasi	124	0.025	5	5	22.249
defence	11,688	2.350	9	6	22.165
prisoners	2,881	0.579	6	6	2.213
militants	279	0.056	5	5	2.211
<i>treason</i>	338	0.068	5	5	22.057
misuse	388	0.078	5	5	22.012
possession	3,122	0.628	6	3	21.932
<i>torture</i>	672	0.135	5	5	21.756
terrorists	712	0.143	5	5	2.172
thief	729	0.147	5	2	21.705
murderer	763	0.153	5	4	21.674
terrorist	795	0.160	5	5	21.646

Among the most frequent nouns that collocate of *alleged*, *victim* and *victims* are the first nouns referring to human beings that collocate with the adjectival form *alleged*. Apart from these two nouns, it also collocates with other terms referring to people

(e.g. *criminals, killer, accomplice, perpetrators, murderer, terrorists*) or activities (e.g. *fraud, offences, abuse, assault, killing torture*) belonging to the domain of crime. The emphasis seems to be on the presumption of innocence, i.e. the assumption that a person is innocent until proven guilty or that the crime has not been committed until proven (therefore *alleged*). By contrast, the word *victim* and *victims* imply the innocence of the person, who is at the receiving end of a criminal or violent action. While in the case of *alleged* criminals, one needs to wait to be given the status of *criminal* and innocence is presupposed, in the case of the *alleged* victim, one needs to wait for the status of *victim* (and the innocence that comes with it) to be granted. It may be argued that the use of *alleged* may cast doubt on the person who has experienced the violence and on her version of the story, shifting the burden of proof onto the *victim*. One may wonder why the person who makes the rape complaint is referred to as an *alleged victim* rather than simply as a *woman*. It is reasonable to say that, considering that the victimhood of the woman has to be ascertained, there would be no need to refer to the complainant as the *victim*, she may simply remain *the woman*. One might argue that by choosing to emphasise her status of *alleged victim*, the narrator emphasises the fact that her allegation needs to be proven and that she may not be a “real” victim.

4.5.3. Rapist

The word *rapist* occurs 136 times in the *RAPE* corpus. The first step in the analysis was sorting concordance lines alphabetically, based on left context.

Table 54: 30 randomly selected concordance lines of RAPIST sorted one to the left of the node word (formatting added)

1	>	Rapist	aged 11 drank lager and vodka before attack
2	>	Rapist	<u>jailed for</u> <i>killing girl</i> , 14 A convicted rap
3	> Deranged Fritzl 'was born to be a	rapist	' Josef Fritzl , the Austrian builder who lo
4	to get away with their crimes The		
5	appalling	rapist	who made his two daughters pregnant 19 times
6	Josef Fritzl , the self-confessed Austrian	rapist	who imprisoned his daughter in a cellar for
7	mpared to that of Josef Fritzl , the		
8	Austrian	rapist	who kept his own daughter locked in a dungeon
9	sadistic humiliation on wife. The		
10	Austrian	rapist	who imprisoned his daughter in his cellar for
11	. DNA tests identify him as Green Chain	rapist	. Napper in prison on remand 14 September St
12	Napper was the notorious Green Chain	rapist	who stalked women in south-east London in the
13	police " Bob Napper " is the Green Chain	rapist	. He fails to turn up to give a blood sample.

11	jailed for killing girl, 14 A convicted	rapist	<i>who murdered</i> a 14-year-old girl in a frenzied
12	human right to housing' A CONVICTED	rapist	<i>sexually assaulted and murdered</i> a teenage
13	High Court judgment against the convicted	rapist	Iorworth Hoare sets a powerful precedent for
14	<i>was sexually assaulted by</i> the convicted	rapist	Iorworth Hoare has won the right to sue him
15	similar deal Joji Obara , the convicted	rapist	and killer <u>accused of</u> <i>causing the death</i> of t
16	daughter who caught prying eye of deadly	rapist	; Victims 2 and 3 Samantha Bissett was the
17	an press and on television as an incestuous	rapist	, she realised that he was the same man who
18	> Lotto	rapist	ruling clears way for claims: Late compensation
19	> Lotto	rapist	's victim can sue for a share of his pounds 7
20	life was ruined by the so-called Lotto	rapist	are preparing to lodge compensation claims a
21	for flood of claims after ruling on Lotto	rapist	The removal yesterday of a six-year limit
22	> National:	Rapist	<u>guilty of mutilating</u> Lucie Blackman A court
23	> On-the-run	rapist	<u>gets life</u> for attack on schoolgirl, 16 A m
24	Colin Stagg Police failures left a serial	rapist	free to commit one of Britain's most notorious <i>murder</i>
25	Last week I shook hands with a serial	rapist	. Saul was one of the inmates gathered to
26	in Tokyo The Japanese killer and serial	rapist	Joji Obara <u>was sentenced</u> yesterday <u>to life</u>
27	in Japan <i>sentenced</i> the killer and serial	rapist	Joji Obara <u>to life imprisonment</u> after being
28	satisfaction. A triple killer and serial	rapist	<u>has been convicted</u> , and he will be detailed
29	doctors failed to intervene A VIOLENT	RAPIST	with a "one-second fuse" <i>who impregnated</i> his
30	met a man in prison, another New York	rapist	, called Matias Reyes. And the more Reyes got

Table 54 contains a list of 30 randomly selected concordance lines of *rapist*. It shows a few marked patterns in the use of this term. Looking at the list of words that occupy the first, second and third place to the left of *rapist*, it is possible to notice that some of these seem to identify a specific *rapist* (highlighted in **bold** type). Lines 8 to 10 and 18 to 21, for instance, respectively refer to the *Green Chain rapist* and to the *Lotto rapist*. In addition, line 30 refers to *another New York rapist*. In these cases, there seems to be a sort of label given to the rapist. In lines 5 to 7 a similar pattern can be seen. The label in this case is the nationality of the perpetrator (i.e. *Austrian*). Looking at the co-text surrounding the node word, it is possible to understand that these three lines refer to the same person, Joseph Fritzl. He is explicitly named in lines 5 and 6, whereas in both lines 5 and 7 he is portrayed as having *imprisoned his daughter in a cellar*. In addition to *Josef Fritzl*, explicitly named in lines 3, 5 and 6 and in line 7 as the *Austrian rapist*, three more proper nouns recur in several concordance lines above: *Napper* or the *Green Chain rapist* (lines 8 to 10), *Iorworth Hoare* (lines 13 and 14) and *Joji Obara* (lines 15, 26 and 27).

Lines 24 to 28 refer to a *serial rapist* and in lines 26 to 28 the *serial rapist* is also defined as *killer*. *Serial* is the most frequent collocate of *rapist* after *convicted*. One may reasonably think that the association of serial rape crimes with killing increases the violent content of the news article and, as a consequence, its sensationalism. Other examples of this patterns can be found in lines 2, 4-7, 9, 11-12, 14, 22, 24 and 29 (highlighted in *italics* in Table 54), where the rape crime is associated with crimes such as *murder*, *stalking*, *mutilation* and *imprisonment*. Additionally, inspecting the concordance lines and in particular the adjectives used to describe the rapist, there is one group which stands out, i.e. a set of adjectives which stress the particularly violent nature of the rape crime: *appalling*, *deadly*, *incestuous* and *violent*. This would also strengthen the hypothesis made in the analysis of the lemma RAPE (see 4.2.1. to 4.2.3.) that the press tends to focus on particularly violent and sensationalistic cases of rape crimes.

It may be worth noting that in these concordance lines, the identity of the man is being restricted to that of *rapist*, a term whose meaning is already loaded with a connotation of violence; the analysis seems to suggest that the *rapist* tends to be associated with more violence. Interestingly, in the concordance lines above (except for line 14 where the woman is thematised and the perpetrator is backgrounded in a passive clause) the *rapist* is portrayed as committing the crime (lines 4-7, 9, 11, 12, and 29) and he is always foregrounded as the agent in active clauses where the process is the crime he committed (see 5.3. for an analysis of the representation of the perpetrator as social actor when he is not referred to as *rapist*). By contrast he is passivated and represented as the goal of actions whose agents are those representing the judicial system. In these cases he is *jailed*, *accused*, *found guilty*, *sentenced to life* and *convicted* (lines 2, 15, 22, 23, 26-28, underlined above). This same attention to the man who has been *convicted* for committing a rape crime can be found in lines 11 to 15, where *rapist* is preceded by the pre modifier *convicted* (*convicted* is also the most frequent collocate of the term *rapist*).

A final pattern that may be noted in the concordance lines in Table 54 is that some of the occurrences of *rapist* are found in headlines (lines 1-3, 18, 19, 22 and 23). It may be argued that, considering the focus on *convicted rapists* and on particularly violent

rapists, a rape crime story concerning a violent man who was accused, taken to trial and convicted may have a high news value and may be sensationalistic enough to hit the headlines.

On the basis of this analysis, it may be argued that there appears to be a trend to associate the word *rapist* with particularly violent and sensationalistic rape crimes and to label the men who committed these particularly violent and heinous rape crimes. It also appears that the label *rapist* is used more often when the man has been convicted. This may have to do with the tendency to avoid labelling a person as a *rapist* before he is sentenced, in order to avoid libel suits. Yet, this may also be a sign that the press tends to report rape cases which have reached the trial stage and for whom a culprit found guilty and charged. This latter hypothesis, though, would need further investigation.

CHAPTER FIVE

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

On the basis of the keyword list produced by the comparison of the *RAPE* corpus with the reference corpus (see 4.1.), a small sample of articles was selected to carry out a more detailed analysis informed by CDA categories of analysis. More precisely, the keyword list had highlighted three proper nouns: *Fritzl*, *Napper* and *Scarlett*. These proper nouns were not included in the quantitative analysis carried out in Chapter 4, where only lexical words were taken into consideration; they were used as starting point for the selection of material for the qualitative analysis. As already mentioned in Chapter 4 (see 4.1.), the presence of proper nouns in a keyword list is not surprising; yet, as suggested by Baker (2006: 128), “in some cases it may be interesting to pursue the use of proper nouns”. In this case, these proper nouns may indicate that the press paid particular attention to certain cases over others. The aim of this chapter is precisely of understanding the reason(s) why a specific case may receive particular media attention by looking at the development of the story/news over a time period of eight months.

In order to understand to whom the proper nouns mentioned above referred to, it was necessary to look at some of the articles in the *RAPE* corpus reporting on them. It was thus seen that *Fritzl* and *Napper* refer to two perpetrators of rape; since the third noun – *Scarlett* – was the only one referring to a victim of rape (and murder), Scarlett Keeling, the articles containing this proper noun were selected to carry out the qualitative analysis. In the *RAPE* corpus, the number of articles reporting on Scarlett Keeling’s rape and murder amounts to 39, divided as follows: 13 articles from *The Times*, 8 articles from *The Independent*, 9 articles from *The Guardian* and 8 articles from *The Daily Telegraph*. The analysis of these articles represent the subject of this chapter.

In terms of the Critical Discourse Analysis framework defined in Chapter 2, I will try to answer the following questions: how are *genres* articulated in news representation, how are *voices* combined together and what *discourses* are drawn upon in the recontextualisation of a rape case in the press? The emphasis will therefore be on

discourse practice supported with selective textual analysis. First, however, I will indicate the main participants and the chronology of the case.

5.1. PARTICIPANTS

Scarlett Keeling: Scarlett Keeling was a British teenager who was raped and killed in Goa, India, in 2008. Directly involved, though silent, her life in the UK and in India is mostly reconstructed through her mother's words. At different stages of the investigation and media coverage, other sources, such as friends, neighbours, boyfriend, siblings are quoted to describe Scarlett Keeling's life and personality. At some point during the investigation of her murder, her diary is found and parts of it are published by the press.

The perpetrator(s): Directly involved, though mostly silent, they are predominantly heard through their lawyers' words. The perpetrator(s) are not immediately found by the police and they therefore appear at a later stage in the news reports. Samson D'Souza and Placido Carvalho are accused by the police and later arrested. They are then released on bail. To date, the perpetrator(s) of the rape and murder of Scarlett Keeling have yet to be found.

Fiona MacKeown: Scarlett Keeling's mother. She is represented as one of the most active participants in the press reporting of Scarlett Keeling's murder, in particular for her role in fighting to know the truth about her daughter's death. She is accused of neglect by the Indian police for not being in Goa with her daughter (a minor at the time of her murder) at the time of her rape and death.

Indian police: present throughout the several weeks of press coverage of the case. Several police spokespeople are quoted in the news reports. The police are believed to have tried to cover up the murder of Scarlett Keeling in order to protect the real culprit(s).

5.2. CHRONOLOGY

In November 2007, Scarlett Keeling, together with her mother Fiona MacKeown, her siblings and her mother's boyfriend travel to the Indian state of Goa for a six-month

holiday. In February 2008, Fiona MacKeown decides to travel to the Indian state of Karnataka, while her daughter asks to stay in Goa with family friends met during their holiday. On February 17th 2008 Scarlett Keeling is out with her friend Ruby until the early hours. The following day her body is found on Anjuna beach, in Goa. The first autopsy reveals that Scarlett Keeling had drowned. On February 25th, though, Scarlett Keeling's mother accuses the Indian police of cover-up and believes her daughter was killed (and possibly raped). She asks for a second autopsy, which actually reveals that her daughter was drugged, raped and then murdered. On March 10th 2008 two men, Samson D'Souza and Placido Carvalho are arrested over Scarlett Keeling's killing. Fiona MacKeown believes the police are still trying to protect the real culprit and she does not believe the two men to be directly involved with the killing. On March 12th 2008, she is accused of neglect by the Indian police and she is threatened and forced to leave the country. She asks for a third autopsy to be carried out in the UK. When Scarlett's body arrives to the UK, several organs have been removed from her body, making it impossible for doctors to say anything about the causes of her death. On September 25th 2008, the two men arrested over Scarlett's killing are released on bail because of lack of evidence. To date, no one has been charged with Scarlett Keeling's murder.

The articles reporting on Scarlett Keeling's case in the *RAPE* corpus span between February 25th 2008 and September 25th 2008. The first articles appeared a few weeks after her death, when a second post-mortem examination revealed that she had not drowned, but she had been raped and murdered. There are no articles reporting on the death of Scarlett Keeling when she was believed of having drowned in the *RAPE* corpus. The first information peak was in February 2008 when Scarlett Keeling's mother, Fiona MacKeown, accused the police of covering up her daughter's murder. It may be argued that this is the point when the story became newsworthy, that is when the story turned into news. The second information peak happened in mid-March 2008, when the Indian authorities accused Fiona MacKeown of neglect and when a man, Samson D'Souza, was arrested on suspicion of having raped and killed Scarlett Keeling.

5.3. DISCOURSES

The analysis of the articles covering Scarlett Keeling's rape and murder exposed the intersection of several discourses in the coverage of the case; some of these discourses are related to a specific phase of the investigation into her murder, some are more frequent in certain newspapers than in others, whereas some are present in all newspapers and across the several weeks of coverage of the case. The following extracts will illustrate the range of discourses drawn upon in the coverage of this rape and murder case.

5.3.1. Discourse of Risk

In a study of the construction of rape discourse in conversation, Anderson and Doherty (2008: 8) describe risk and hazard as "social fabrications" or, as Fox has put it (1999: 209) as the "reifications of moral judgments about the riskiness of choices made by human beings". Different perspectives lead to different understandings of what constitutes an "acceptable risk" and thus also to different judgments about whether an individual overstepped the line into the territory of "unacceptable" risk-taking. If risk and hazards are therefore cultural products, the attribution of riskiness is not grounded in

objective estimation, but entirely upon what Foucault calls power/knowledge; the "knowledgeability" which both discursively constructs objects and confirms the authority of the person claiming the knowledge.

(Fox, 1999: 210)

Since we are supposed to be aware of and held accountable to prevailing cultural norms of what is considered a "risky" behaviour, the person who decides to "take the risk" can undergo a moral judgment. The definition of what constitutes "risk" is based on the selective interpretation by authoritative individuals or institutions that influence what is risky and which "risks" are worthy of attention (Fox, 1999: 208).

The construction of risk in relation to sexist violence takes place in the context of patriarchal society and of a patriarchal model of heterosexual sexuality. This model of sexuality constructs male sexual impulse as active and aggressive, the centre of

what constitutes masculinity. Men, according to this dominant discourse, are allegedly easily sexually aroused and once aroused they are understood as having weak self-control over their actions until they reach sexual gratification. In this scenario, the role of the woman is that of “gatekeeper” of the male sexual impulse. An alleged victim may thus be blamed for a rape perpetrated against her by arguing that, if she was raped, she *must* have somehow failed in her “duty” to control the perpetrator’s behaviour and, therefore, for having taken the “risk”. In categorising the rape victim’s behaviour as “reckless”, she is the one who is made accountable for the attack by the implication that the cause of the rape was primarily her own “risk-taking” behaviour, whereas the assailant’s agency is rendered invisible (Anderson and Doherty, 2008: 6-9). Accusations of irresponsible risk-taking becomes a moral judgment when rape victims (or their behaviours) are blamed (rather than the perpetrators of rape) on the grounds that they failed in their responsibility to avoid what society has labelled as “risky” for (good) women. These stereotyped beliefs about rape, rape victims and rapists emerge from and, at the same time, reinforce stereotypical assumptions about femininity, masculinity and sexuality.

The selection of excerpts from the *RAPE* corpus below shows how the victim, Scarlett Keeling, is represented as an active agent in connection with behaviours that are culturally understood as potentially dangerous, in particular for women. Although the victim blaming is not explicit, it may be argued that the meanings connected to certain behaviours are available to readers by interdiscursivity, i.e. by reference to discourses constructed elsewhere concerning what is “risky” for men and women (e.g. being out late at night, drinking, taking drugs, being accompanied by men they do not know well).

1. Scarlett Keeling **had been drinking on the night** she died. –
(bi_3_11_n_dt)⁶⁰

2. **The night** she died, Scarlett **had taken LSD, ecstasy and cocaine.** –
(f_3_14_f_dt)

⁶⁰ Each excerpt quoted in this chapter has been given a unique code that makes it possible to identify them in the list of articles available in Appendix A (the articles are listed alphabetically by code). Additionally, as already illustrated in Section 3.1., this code makes it possible to retrieve the following information already in-text: gender of journalist (“f” for female, “m” for male, “bi” for mixed authors and “x” when no author was specified), date of publication (mm/dd), genre of article (“n” for news, “e” for editorials, “c” for comments and “f” for feature articles) and newspaper’s name (“g” for *The Guardian*, “dt” for *The Daily Telegraph*, “i” for *The Independent* and “t” for *The Times*).

3. He had seen Miss Keeling arriving at Lui's bar **at about 3.30am** on Feb 18 - the night she was killed - **in a state of "total inebriation"**. – (bi_3_13_n_dt)
4. Scarlett was last seen alive on 18 February, **entering a bar at around 2am** with a friend called Ruby. Police say **she was so intoxicated that she fell over**. – (m_3_3_n_i)
5. Police say that the girl was last seen **about 4am** leaving a bar on Anjuna beach with a barman and in **a state of intoxication**. – (m_3_5_n_t)
6. One account of Scarlett's last hours has her seen there **drinking** at Lui's bar **in the early hours** of February 19 **in the company of three men**. – (m_3_8_n_g)
7. On the night she died, **she had been roaming from bar to bar** with a girlfriend, and at one stage **she was observed with a man having sex**. – (f_4_11_n_dt)
8. The naked body of 15-year-old Scarlett Keeling of Bideford, Devon, was found on the ocean's edge in Anjuna, Goa, just over two weeks ago, yards from the beachside bar where **she had been seen drinking two hours earlier at four in the morning**, according to local accounts. – (f_3_10_n_g)

As van Leeuwen explains, social actors can be included in a text either through *activation* or through *passivation*, that is they can be represented as active forces or as agentless patients in the pursuit of a given activity. This distinction is not limited to the traditional grammatical definition of activation and passivation, a social actor can have an active role in the social practice, but s/he can be given a passive role in a given text and vice versa (van Leeuwen, 1996: 42-45).

As far as the victim is concerned, here she is activated in relation to the actions she pursued that may have put her at risk of being assaulted. She is activated by *participation* rather than *circumstantialisation*, i.e. she is represented as the dynamic force in an activity, in particular as an agent in relational and material processes, especially in terms of her actions and behaviours on the night a man (or several men) raped and killed her, possibly after spiking her drinks. Despite a post-mortem examination declaring that she had drugs in her body (quite a neutral fact, which does not tell us whether she had actively taken them or had been drugged), the implication was immediately made about her active role in this “risky” behaviour – as if it could in itself be conducive to rape and murder.

The relevance of such details in a report on a rape and murder case may be questioned and it may be argued that the reporting of these details may imply a victim-blaming discourse. As a matter of fact, rape victims' abuse of drugs and alcohol *before* the attack has often been used as an aggravating circumstance in the victim blaming rhetoric, thus partly shifting the responsibility for the attack from the perpetrator to the victim (Benedict, 1992). Mentioning these actions in the news reports may represent an interdiscursive cue to the blame rhetoric attached to them. Moreover, one of the things highlighted in the excerpts above is that the victim was out at night, until the early hours, thus indirectly connecting the attack to another powerful signifier of fear and danger: darkness, something women *should* avoid in order not to take "risks", and make themselves vulnerable to the attention of men when they are most vulnerable.

The victim blaming rhetoric is reinforced by the inclusion of other details whose relevance in a rape and murder case may be questioned. Several articles stressed the fact that Scarlett Keeling was sexually active (and had experienced drugs) and had had a sexual relationship with a man she had met in Goa. The inclusion of such details may be deemed irrelevant and could provide a "back door" route to the introduction of sexual history evidence into the reports; this could be particularly inappropriate, considering that the sexual history of rape victims is often used as evidence against them in rape trials (Kelly, 2001; Kelly et al., 2005). Additionally, the young age of the victim may recall the cultural stereotype of the "fallen" promiscuous woman, on the basis of the assumption that she was not supposed to have sex at that age (the age of consent in the UK is 16 years old, Scarlett Keeling was only 15 when she died). The virgin-whore dichotomy imposed upon rape victims either configures them as "ideal" rape victims, who are either virgins or innocent and "unspoiled victims violated by a violent stranger-rapist" (Hirsh, 1994: 1029) or as "vamps", i.e. sexually experienced women who may have "invited" a sexual attack. Since Scarlett Keeling was not a virgin as she was supposed to be, she falls into the category of the promiscuous "vamp". Yet, she was still a minor, somewhere in between childhood and adulthood, a status that may make it more difficult to portray her just as a "vamp", leading to a contradictory representation of her actions and her personality. Excerpt 12 below explicitly refers to the contrast between Scarlett

Keeling's "young age" and her being "sexually active" through the use of the preposition "despite". Her "promiscuity", though, seems to be portrayed as a consequence of her mother's bad parenting, possibly on the basis of the girl's young age, which may make her be seen as not fully accountable for her actions, or on the basis of her mother's unconventional lifestyle. Excerpt 13 below reports the fact that her mother had been criticized (and possibly held indirectly responsible) for her daughter's behaviour is. It may be argued that in this case the role played by the man who was having a sexual relationship with Scarlett Keeling, despite being aware of her age (he was 25 years old at the time) could have been discussed. Yet, Scarlett Keeling's mother appears to be harshly criticized in the press for the way she brought up her daughter (see 5.3.3.).

9.**Scarlett developed a relationship with a 25-year-old tour guide named Julio.** Mrs MacKeown said she thought they were just friends but, having read Scarlett's diary after her death, she now knows **the couple were having a sexual relationship.** – (m_3_3_n_i)

10.She said that she found out that **Scarlett and Julio were in a sexual relationship** only when she read her daughter's diary after her half-naked body was found on Anjuna beach on February 18. – (m_3_12_n_t)

11.**Scarlett** said she did not remember very much, but "apparently" **began a sexual relationship with him.** – (m_3_17_n_g)

12.**She talks of taking hallucinogenic drugs and having sex in Britain and with someone she met in Goa.** [...] the diary shows that at a farewell party in Devon **the girl**, who signs herself "Scaz", **was "drunk, stoned and was trippin' on mushies" (hallucinogenic 'magic' mushrooms).** It also graphically describes how, **despite being under-age, she was sexually active. She describes how she met and had sex with Julio Lobo**, a tour guide, at a "full moon" party soon after the family arrived in Goa. – (f_3_17_n_dt)

13.Disclosures that **Scarlett drank and experimented with drugs and sex** have led to **criticisms of her mother's parenting skills.** – (bi_3_18_n_dt)

The following excerpts show how in some cases, where the man "who was having a sexual relationship with Scarlett" is activated, there is a difference of tone if compared with the articles where Scarlett Keeling is activated. No reference is made to his sexual history, nor to his experience with drugs and/or alcohol; additionally, he does not seem to be criticised for having had sex with a minor, nor is he portrayed as "beginning" or "developing" the sexual relationship, as in the case of Scarlett Keeling (excerpts 9 and 11 above). It may be argued that the use of verbs such as "to

begin” or “to develop” presuppose the role of initiator of the person they refer to as having more responsibility than the other person involved in the process; it may also be argued that such assumptions imply that in a consensual (sexual) relationship there is a person who begins, rather than people beginning the relationship together. In this case the role of initiator seems to be attributed to Scarlett Keeling, rather than to a man who was 10 years older than her.

14. Mrs MacKeown later discovered that **the 25-year-old guide, Julio Lobo, was having a sexual relationship with her daughter.** – (m_3_14_n_i)

15. Police say they have detained at least three other Indian men - including Luis Coutinho, the owner of Lui's, and **Julio Lobo, a 25-year-old local tour guide who was having a sexual relationship with Scarlett.** – (m_3_11_n_t(2))

16. Police have detained two other men - Luis Coutinho, the owner of Lui's, and **Julio Lobo, 25, a tour guide who was having a sexual relationship with Scarlett.** – (m_3_11_n_i)

Turning to the analysis of the next layer of context in the accounts of Scarlett Keeling's death, the geographical location of the rape and murder is also constructed as “hazardous”. The rape and murder took place in Goa, in India, a place which is represented as particularly dangerous for foreign women. This aspect is particularly emphasised in the articles published by *The Times* in the *RAPE* corpus.

17. The case raises fresh **concerns about the safety of foreign women in India** after a string of sexual assaults, including several on British women, in the past few months. Many of them have been in Goa, a former Portuguese enclave which last year attracted 2.2million tourists. Indian authorities held a meeting of regional tourist officials to discuss how to **improve security for women visitors.** But the problem, according to victims, is the local authorities' reluctance to pursue rape investigations. Many rapists are not prosecuted because their victims do not report the attacks or leave the country, and others are let off **because of corruption in the police and judiciary.** – (m_3_3_n_t)

18. The case has thrown a fresh spotlight on **the issue of foreign women's safety in India** after a series of sexual assaults on tourists, including several Britons, in the past three months. It also highlights **the darker side of Goa,** where **palm-fringed beaches, a laid-back atmosphere and plentiful drugs** have made it a favourite destination for young backpackers. – (m_3_4_n_t)

19. Mrs MacKeown has also appealed for information from a Briton who several foreigners in Anjuna say witnessed her daughter's rape and fled the state in fear of **local drug dealers.** They are said to **prey on young foreign women,**

supplying them with cocaine and MDMA then trying to have sex with them - often by force. – (m_3_5_n_t)

20. **Women tourists who visit Goa**, where a teenage British girl was found dead last month, **cannot expect to wander wherever they please after midnight without fear of the possible consequences**, the chief minister of the Indian state said yesterday. Digambar Kamat said that **foreign women should take greater responsibility for their personal safety.** – (m_3_5_n_t)
21. It has also added to broader **fears about the safety of foreign women in India** after a series of sexual assaults on female tourists, including several Britons, since December. – (m_3_11_n_t(2))
22. Her determination now threatens not just to damage Goa's image as a "hippy paradise", but to compound broader **concerns about the safety of foreign women across India** after a string of sexual assaults on tourists. – (m_3_31_n_t)
23. The release of Singh last week raises fresh **concerns about the safety of women tourists in India** after the rape and murder of the British girl Scarlett Keeling, 15, in Goa in February. – (m_8_5_n_t)
24. Scarlett's case was the most brutal of **a series of recent assaults on foreign women - several of them British** - that have **raised concerns about the safety of female tourists in India** over the past six months. – (m_5_3_n_t)

In excerpts 17, 22, 23 and 24 the reporters speak of “concern about the safety of foreign women” in India; in excerpt 18 the journalist reports on “the issue of foreign women’s safety in India”, whereas in excerpts 20, the words of the chief minister of Goa are reported saying that “foreign women” are expected to “take greater responsibility for their personal safety”. Although in this particular case, the journalist may be reporting the chief minister’s words in a polemic tone, in order to criticise his views as something belonging to the “other”, to a “barbaric Orient” (Said, 2003: 152) (see 5.3.2.), his words have still the effect of giving voice to the victim-blaming rhetoric. In excerpt 19, words such as “safety” and “responsibility” are not explicitly mentioned, but the “dangers” for foreign women in Goa are reported (falling “prey” of “local drug dealers” and being drugged and possibly raped). In excerpts 17, 18, 21, 22, 23 and 24, *who* is concerned or afraid and *for whom* women’s safety is an issue is not specified. One might wonder whether this is an issue or concern for women or for the Indian government, or whose responsibility it is to make Goa a “safe” place for women (the government’s, the women’s, the men’s)? Additionally, these statements may raise other questions, such as: why is this an issue and concern for foreign women only and not for all women? Is the

newspaper really concerned about women's safety or is this a strategy to represent India as "other", where "our" women are not "safe"? In this case, the risk discourse and the ethnicist discourse (see 5.3.2.) intersect, blurring the line between women's responsibility and the Government's. In both discourses, there is no discussion of the responsibility of the men who perpetrate such crimes. In the following sections, I will be analysing other instances of representation of India as "them" as opposite to "us", in contrast with the British world, representing "Western" values.

5.3.2. Ethnicist Discourse

In this section, I would like to focus the attention on a recurring term in the excerpts reported above, i.e. "safety". What do journalists mean when they refer to "safety" for foreign women? What is "safe" for (foreign) women? It may be argued that the use of this word is based on the assumption that there are places and things that are safe and not dangerous for women and others that are not and that the identification and definition of each is not only possible but also easy and straightforward. It may be hypothesised that getting drunk on a night out in a foreign (developing) country is culturally understood as a potentially "dangerous" activity for a woman. As such, the press does not need to explicitly portray this as a "danger", because this is part of what is considered as "common sense", part and parcel of what it means to be a woman, i.e. having to be constantly concerned for one's own safety, constantly "careful" and aware of the "unnamed fear" of being raped (Griffin, 1971: 27). This knowledge is interdiscursively available to readers, whose assumptions draw on the awareness of the "hazards" women face and on another cultural rape myth that plays a key role in the construction of the "risk" of being raped, i.e. the stranger rape scenario. Statistics show that women run a higher risk of being assaulted when they are at home, because rape and violence perpetrated by partners or family members are more frequent than rapes perpetrated by strangers (Kelly et al., 2005). Despite this, the image of the rapist lurking in the dark, in unpopulated areas seems to remain a powerful stereotype.

In the coverage of Scarlett Keeling's rape and murder, the construction of risk seems to be based on a number of argumentative strategies: the construction of the societal and geographical context as "dangerous" and "violent"; the construction of the rapist

as a predictable subhuman figure in this type of location; the assumption that something like women's "safety" exists and is easily definable. These strategies do not have an open argumentative quality, they are based on descriptions of commonsensical "dangerous" situations for women and on another interdiscursive reference, i.e. India as a developing country (therefore, implicitly less developed than "developed" ones), what Siad called the "barbaric Orient" (2003: 152). Violence against women in India is a widespread phenomenon and it takes several forms, ranging from female foeticide to acid throwing, from "dowry-deaths" to widow immolation (*sati*)⁶¹. Rapes are just one aspect of the Indian outlook of gender-based violence and it may affect any woman, not just foreign women. The emphasis put by the press (in particular by *The Times*) on violence against *foreign* women seems to be rooted in a racial (or ethnic) concern, rather than in a gender concern. Where does the "risk" come from for *foreign* women in India? It may be theorised that this concern is rooted in what Mullan (1986) calls ethnicism, a modern variant of racial differentiations based on cultural, rather than "biological determinism" (Said, 2003: 207). One of the underlying assumptions of ethnicism is that the Western "civilisation" is morally and culturally superior when compared to non-white third or developing world peoples. Cultural and moral superiority imply the respect of women and women rights and equality between men and women. Considering the more implicit, indirect and subtle nature of the ideology behind this form of "modern racism" (Entman, 1992: 342), the discrimination and inequality that come with it are denied and replaced with "pluralism", respect of ethnic relations and ethnic groups. One of the implications of this transformation is that the racist nature of this differentiation is not openly expressed in the public sphere, the superiority of white values is not explicitly claimed, but the "backwardness" of certain ethnic groups is assumed. It is in this "backward" context that the rape and murder of Scarlett Keeling took place, a place where society is generally "dangerous" (in particular for foreign women) and violent, a place where people run the risk of being attacked. It may be theorised that embedded in this notion of India as "backward" country there is also a construction of Indian men as "hazard", taking on the cultural significance of the beast *par excellence*, the black man raping the white woman. Interestingly, Indian

⁶¹ Ministry of Women and Child Development. Government of India. Report on Empowerment of Women: <http://wcd.nic.in/wgfinalreport.pdf> [Retrieved: 16.01.2013]

authorities seem to respond to racism with sexism. Their reaction to Scarlett Keeling's rape and death is to warn foreigners in general and foreign women in particular to "take greater responsibility for their personal safety" (excerpt 20 above). It may be argued that this reaction is rooted in a perception of Western societies as a world without values when compared to the more traditional Indian society; in particular, when it comes to women mores and chastity, white women seem to be considered as the prototype of the "fallen" women who cannot respect local traditions, plunge into trouble in India and seem unable to behave according to local traditions. This form of argument suggests that there are commonly accepted practical constraints that may restrict women's freedom of movement and choice and foreign women who travel to a particularly "dangerous" environment, such as India, must be ready to accept them to avoid trouble. One may wonder whether the Western world is really safer for women or whether, when referring to "foreign women", Indian authorities actually refer to *all* non-Indian women, or whether they use it as a synonym for white, Western women (excluding, for example, black African women).

In this scenario, the word "safety" looks like a euphemism. It is vague, positive, and allows for the creation of a reassuring but unspecific discourse which seems to be essentially based on stereotypes and racial discrimination. It also allows for a generalization of the problem of gender-based violence to a matter of law-and-order and ethnic differences in the understanding of freedom and sexually accepted behaviours for women.

Women's "safety" here seems to be a concern at all stages; yet, one might wonder whether these articles really deal with women's "safety", or whether they are more about negatively portraying India as a country where "our" women are not safe, as they would be in their own country. Other features of the reporting on Scarlett Keeling's death seem to point at this interpretation (see 5.3.3. and 5.4.). One of these is the fact that the press (in particular *The Times* and *The Independent*) reports a list of other crimes (not only rapes) perpetrated in India (not only in Goa), in 2008 and in the previous years.

25. TRAVELLING VICTIMS

Adrian Duggan was found guilty in 2005 of **killing** his girlfriend on Christmas Day in 2003 while on holiday **in Goa**. Duggan maintains that the couple were attacked by an intruder. Mike Blakey, a 23-year-old charity worker, was found **battered to death** in Dharamsala, **North India**, on November 29, 2006. His body was found under a pile of rocks. Stephen Bennett was **beaten to death** by a gang of men and found hanging from a mango tree in **Roha** after travelling from Goa in December 2006. Denise Higgins, a 52-year-old British citizen of Indian descent, **was found in a pool of blood with a kitchen knife protruding from her neck** in April 2007. She was building a house **in Goa** and planned to settle there. The suspect is a local man whom she had befriended. – (m_3_3_n_t)

26. There has been **a spate of incidents in Goa** in the past 18 months in which **Britons have been victims of violence**. In January, **a British woman said she was raped in Goa's** main town, Panjim. In January 2007 **Denise Higgins from Oxfordshire was murdered in the south of the state**, while in December 2006, the **body of Steven Bennett, from Cheltenham, was found hanging** from a tree after he went missing on a train travelling between Goa and Mumbai. – (m_3_3_n_i)

27. DANGER SPOTS

Visits/reported rapes/sexual assaults/deaths

Spain 14,428m 29 25 1591

Greece 2,436m 28 16 131

Cyprus 1,311m 9 3 81

India 958,000 1 1 126

Thailand 423,000 2 2 269

Australia 593,000 1 1 76

Sources: ONS, FCO, figures for 2006-07. – (m_3_5_n_t)

28. Statistics from the Foreign & Commonwealth Office show that **40 British citizens died in Goa last year and ten have died so far this year**, but 60 per cent of those were from natural causes. They include many British pensioners who have retired to Goa in recent years. The same statistics also show that **847,000 British citizens visited India in the year up to March 2006 and 111 of them died**, while 381,000 Britons visited Thailand and 224 of them died. –

[...]

Nevertheless, **a series of recent rapes and deaths** - many involving drugs and British citizens - have created the perception that Goa is no longer safe for young backpackers, especially girls. Last week another British citizen, Michael Harvey, was found dead on March 1 in his room **near Ashwem beach, just north of Anjuna**. –

[...]

TROUBLED DESTINATION

Stephen Bennett was **beaten to death** by a gang of men and found hanging from a mango tree in December 2006. Police claimed at first that he had committed suicide, then that he was trying to buy drugs when he was killed. A tourist, 43, **was raped by three men** in Betalbatim, southern **Goa**, in May 2000. The gang stole her key, jewellery and money. **It was the third reported rape of a British woman in Goa in a year**. George Wigan, grandson of the 13th Baron of Kinnaird of Rossie and heir to a multimillion-pound fortune, died in February 1998, a week after being **mugged in Goa**. – (m_3_10_n_t)

29. A 32-year-old Indian man was jailed for life on Wednesday **for raping a 40 year-old British freelance journalist** while she was staying in his guesthouse in the city of **Udaipur, Rajasthan**, in December. That victim, who has asked not to be identified, has also accused Indian lawyers of mocking, manhandling and even sexually harassing her in court. – (m_5_3_n_t)

30. **Ten British holidaymakers have died in Goa** since the beginning of the year, four in suspicious circumstances. – (f_3_5_n_dt)

31. When she describes the events in Goa, she doesn't focus on her feelings but on the seamy underside of the beach paradise, where she says **there have been 17 more "accidental deaths" in the six weeks since Scarlett died**. – (f_4_11_n_dt)

These lists of crimes often occur at the end of each article. It may be argued that adding the list of the victims of crime in India at the end of (or within) an article may contribute to reinforcing the idea that India (and Goa in particular) is not a safe place for foreigners. This could be particularly true considered that these statistics are not contextualised, for instance, with data on murders/rapes in other countries or with data on the number of deaths of foreign tourists in England. Together with creating a shocking effect, statistics and numbers are one of the way used in the press to achieve greater credibility with their readers (van Dijk, 1988a). Quantification is a discursive strategy which has the effect of intensifying the alarmist rhetoric concerning women's "safety" in India. Lists of people killed or raped, numbers concerning episodes of violence have the effect of blurring the figures, becoming sheer impressions, the result of the repeated mention of large quantities (Fowler, 1991).

The following articles are another example of the "us" vs. "them" rhetoric used in the coverage of Scarlett Keeling's rape and murder. The story of Scarlett Keeling is told

in the context of another rape case happened in India, in the state of Rajasthan, the same year.

32. Legal teams intimidated and harassed me during trial, rape victim claims

Indian court battle 'as traumatic as the crime'

[...]

The woman, who has been in contact with The Times since January, said that her ordeal began when Singh brought extra blankets that she had requested to her room. He forced his way in, pushed her on to the bed and raped her with such **brutality** that she passed out momentarily and suffered convulsions and blood loss over the next few days. **When she went to the police, she was forced to write a statement while Singh sat beside her.**

She underwent a medical examination in a maternity ward as mothers gave birth around her and the ward head called her a whore because she was unmarried but not a virgin. "That was almost as traumatic as the rape itself," she said.

When the case began in a "fast-track" court, the judge denied her an interpreter and defence lawyers repeatedly surrounded her, laughed at her and pushed her around. At one point, Rajendra Singh Haran, a defence lawyer, put an arm round her waist and said: "You sound like you know what you're doing. I'll come to you for sex lessons afterwards."

One junior member of her own legal team repeatedly asked her about oral sex and offered to come to her hotel room. Throughout the trial, local people approached her almost daily to threaten and cajole her into dropping the charges. Several local hotels refused to allow her to stay.

"The community appeared to be prepared to go to any lengths. They just thought, 'You're white, you're a tourist, you'll be gone in two weeks,'" she said. – (m_5_1_n_t)

33. Guesthouse rapist is freed after three months

He 'bribed his way out of jail', says **British** victim

[...]

Singh, also known as Rana, was jailed on April 30 for forcing his way into a 40-year-old British woman's room at the Pardeshi on December 23 and raping her with such ferocity that she passed out and suffered bleeding and convulsions for days. Unlike many foreign rape victims in India, **the freelance journalist stayed in the country and endured harassment from police, medical staff and even her own lawyers** to secure her attacker's conviction before returning to Britain.

However, on July 29 a court in the city of Jodhpur released Singh on bail pending an appeal, according to Sandeep Mehta, his lawyer, and a court

official. Bail is usually never granted for violent offenders and **Singh could remain free for years given the inefficiency of India's courts, which have a backlog of 29.2 million cases.**

The British woman, who has asked not to be identified, is convinced that Singh's supporters paid bribes to secure his release. **"This gives a whole new meaning to 'incredible India',"** she said. **"I can only believe that the judicial system is totally corrupt** if a man like this can be let free. He is a convicted rapist and he is running a guesthouse. **No woman is safe there."**

[...]

The victim accused officials of deliberately failing to inform her of Singh's bail application and appeal because **she had refused to pay bribes. She said that a lawyer had asked her to pay bribes** of more than 25,000 rupees (£ 300) **to a government legal officer** during Singh's trial, as well as gifts to all the court officials.

[...]

Singh's victim said that **when she tried to contact the tourist police, they did not appear to exist**, and that **her treatment by local authorities was almost as traumatic as the rape itself**. "Now I feel I have to start all over again," she said. "This monster's life has gone back to normal, while mine will never be the same again". – (m_8_5_n_t)

In the first article (excerpt 32) the story is told through the words of the victim herself who tells how the way her case was handled was inappropriate and seems to stress the fact that this mishandling was mostly related her being “white” and “a tourist”, that “she was unmarried but not a virgin” and the meanings and assumptions related to these characteristics. The rest of the article is a list of negative experiences the victim had to go through during the trial, including verbal abuse by some Indian men, who may have possibly acted on the basis of the assumption that she was “sexually available” because she was “white”, “unmarried” and “not a virgin”. In this article, the journalist seems to exploit cultural prejudice about white women in India (the “white trash” rhetoric) and about Indian men in the West (the backward “beast”; the rape is also described as particularly “brutal”) to construct “us” as the innocent bystanders of the deplorable behaviour of “others”, in this case the Indian authorities and their way of handling a rape case.

The second article (excerpt 33) concerns the same rape case, but the focus is much more on the corruption and inefficiency of the Indian authorities than on the behaviour of the local community and single people (lawyers, doctors), as it is the case in the first article. In particular, there is a focus on the “bribes” the police asked

to free the rapist and the bribes the British victim refused to pay. Here the courage and integrity of the British woman are opposed to the corruption of the local authorities, in particular the police (*she stayed in the country and endured harassment to secure her attacker's conviction, she refused to pay bribes*). Through the victim's voice, India is described as a country where "no woman is safe" and whose "judicial system is totally corrupt". Finally, the article ends with a statement of the victim on the trauma faced during the trial, which was "almost as traumatic as the rape itself". This statement is common among rape survivors. Two feminist scholars, Burt and Estep (1981) have highlighted the difficulties that claimants to the "sexual assault victim" role routinely need to prove their status as "genuine" victims, in order to be granted sympathy, in particular when dealing with authorities, to whom they have to prove to be innocent rather than accountable. The "trial as second rape" and the low conviction rate for rape crimes are common issues in the UK as well⁶² (Adler, 1987; Lees, 1997; Kelly and Regan, 2003), and can hardly be related only to police corruption or inefficiency. It may rather be related to the fact that victimhood is a social creation and "what counts as 'rape' and who is to be treated as a 'genuine victim' [...] are constructed in discourse and practices that reflect the social, political and cultural conditions of society" (Anderson and Doherty, 2008: 5).

Ethnicist discourse, through the emphasis put on the corruption of the Indian police, is the leitmotif of the blame discourse, especially in this first phase of the coverage of Scarlett Keeling's case; here discourse is at the same time a social practice of ethnicism and the main source for people's racist beliefs (van Dijk, 2000: 36). In this case, the "us" in the "us" vs. "them" polarization is embodied by the victim's mother, Fiona MacKeown, and her fight to find out the truth about her daughter's death.

Fiona MacKeown is represented as a main actor in her daughter's rape and murder case. In van Leeuwen's terms (2008: 33-34), she is *activated*, in particular in relation to several processes that portray her as a combating person. Her role as an active agent is foregrounded in several processes and actions. At the initial stage of the investigation, she is almost exclusively represented as the active agent in actions which portray her as a fighter against the corruption of the Indian police. It may be

⁶² Rape Crisis Centre (England and Wales). Court Procedures:
<http://www.rapecrisis.org.uk/Courtprocedures2.php> [Retrieved: 20.01.2013]

argued that she is constructed as representing the positive Western values of efficiency and justice in contrast with the corrupt and inefficient Indian system.

34.**Fiona MacKeown has consistently maintained** that her daughter was raped. – (f_3_8_n_dt)

35.After **MacKeown complained** of a cover-up, investigators said she had been drugged and raped before being left for dead, and launched a murder investigation. – (f_3_24_n_g)

36.**Mother accuses Indian police** of covering up girl's rape and murder

Fiona MacKeown, the girl's mother, **is now accusing police** of deliberately ignoring that and other evidence to avoid opening a rape and murder case. [...] "Without doubt they are trying to cover things up," Mrs MacKeown, who is from Devon, told The Times. "I have viewed my daughter's body. The police said there were no abrasions and her body is covered in them. They say she drowned in shallow water, but she was a strong swimmer." – (m_3_3_n_t)

37.**Mother** of girl found dead in Goa **accuses police** of 'cover-up'. – (m_3_3_n_i)

38.Goa victim's **mother calls for 'FBI inquiry'**. – (m_3_11_n_t(2))

39.New investigation into teenager's Goa beach death: **Mother accuses police** of rape and murder cover-up: Pathologist had claimed 15-year-old drowned. – (m_3_8_n_g)

40.Goa **mother calls for inquiry** into police 'cover-up'. – (bi_3_11_n_dt)

In the excerpts above, Scarlett Keeling's mother is the person who is directly making the accusation; she is directly involved in the case, both emotionally and bureaucratically. She has directly experienced the inefficiency of the police and can therefore be considered as a person who has a right to express her negative opinion on the basis of her personal experience. A white woman bravely fighting for justice in a corrupt system may be considered as the new and sensationalistic element which transforms the story into news and, it may be argued, this is probably one of the aspects that captured media attention and lead to the coverage of the story in the news. Before Scarlett Keeling's death turned out to be murder, the press (or more precisely, the newspapers analysed in this study) did not pay attention to the case. From excerpt 36 to 40, the victim's mother appears in the headline of the article (see also 5.7.), thus signalling the relevance of this aspect in the report. The negative representation of the Indian authorities is therefore only indirectly conveyed by the journalists; the contrast between "us" and "them" is not constructed on the basis of

what the press thinks or of what the “common sense” and stereotypes suggest; this negative representation is rather legitimised by a woman’s direct and personal experience, by a person who gained the right to talk negatively about “them” having been directly affected by their inefficiency. It may be theorised that, by using the mother’s words, the press is not only emphasising the emotional and dramatic ingredient of the story, but also legitimising a negative representation of India, something which would probably not be done directly, because of the political correctness quality papers are supposed to adopt and ensure. Although based on cultural rather than biological factors, this very juxtaposition between the “civilised” West and the “barbaric” East seems to confirm what Said called “Orientalism”, i.e.

a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western Experience. The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience.

(Said, 2003: 1)

In some cases, the difference between “us” and “them” is made more explicit, establishing a clear contrast between the two groups, in particular between the mother as fighter, demanding justice and transparency, and the police as corrupt body, trying to cover up and tampering with the evidence.

41.The mother of Scarlett Keeling, who was raped and murdered in Goa, said **she wanted further forensic tests** on the 15-year-old's body **when it is flown back to Britain next week**. Fiona **MacKeown**, who is travelling back to the UK, said: **"I am not happy with the forensics results**. I want to know how many men raped her"– (x_3_29_n_i)

42.**Ms MacKeown said she wants further forensic tests carried out when they arrive in the UK as she does not trust the Indian authorities**: "I want to know how many men raped, her. I am pretty certain she was attacked by more than one person". – (x_3_31_n_i)

43.Fiona MacKeown, right, said that she would ask **British** pathologists to perform a third post-mortem examination on Scarlett's corpse, **because she did not trust the two carried out in India**, before laying her daughter to rest at their smallholding near Bideford, Devon. – (m_3_31_n_t)

44. **Mrs MacKeown flew back to Britain** with Scarlett's body last month but returned to India last Saturday **to investigate why Indian pathologists had removed some of her organs**. "How could they send an empty body?" she asked. "What if it was one of their children?" She said that she still believed powerful drug dealers were involved in Scarlett's murder and had paid police to cover it up. – (m_5_3_n_t)
45. **Fiona MacKeown criticised the system for being corrupt as she announced that officers in Britain had agreed to carry out a post mortem on the body**. She wanted tests carried out in case forensic results from the two post mortems that were conducted in Goa were changed. – [...] Miss MacKeown, 43, said: "The **police in England are going to do a third autopsy today**. **I hope the India police are prosecuted for lying from the beginning**. **The police system is so corrupt** when the press pressure dies down **they will start messing about with the forensic results**". – (f_4_3_n_dt)

The excerpts above show how the mother's concerns and quest for justice are used to portray Indian authorities as untrustworthy, whereas British authorities are associated with reliability and integrity. This polarization is further emphasised when the press stresses the fact that the mother is waiting to go back to England to find out the truth and until she (and her daughter's body) will be in India, she will not be able to know it. Overall, the picture of the Indian authorities being presented here is negative, particularly because their negative features are presented as contrasting with the positive qualities of the UK.

Another strategy used to stress the corruption of the Indian authorities is the *passivation* of the victim's mother, in particular as being at the receiving end of threats made by the Indian authorities (in particular by the Indian police) and the local mafia. It may be argued that in these cases, the attention shifts from the actions carried out by the mother to those of the Indian people, with a focus on their corruption, thus possibly reinforcing a representation of India as "other", (non-Western, corrupted, incapable), as opposite to the mother, who represents "us" (Western, uncorrupted, efficient).

46. **Police were harassing Miss MacKeown** for exposing corruption in the force. – (bi_3_15_n_dt)
47. The mother of Scarlett Keeling, the British teenager murdered in Goa, **has gone into hiding** because of **fears for her safety** after the release of a pathologist's report into her daughter's death. – (f_3_24_n_g)
48. THE mother of Scarlett Keeling, the teenager murdered in southern India, **went into hiding yesterday**, saying that **she feared for her safety** after

criticising the investigation into her daughter's death. Fiona MacKeown, 43, said **she wanted court protection after "stirring up a hornets' nest"** in Goa by accusing police officials, politicians and local drugs mafia of a cover-up. – (f_3_24_n_dt)

During the investigation into the case of Scarlett Keeling, the press benefited of a story which could be maintained at a high level of coverage for several weeks, thanks to a few developments in the story that led to a shift in the discourse of the press covering the case. As illustrated above, the articles were not only about the rape and murder of Scarlett Keeling. So far, we have seen how the press focused on the “safety” of foreign women in India and on the corruption of Indian authorities, in contrast with the assumed integrity of the UK (and the Western world in general). During the investigation there was another factor that permitted a further shift of discourse in the press, i.e. the accuse of neglect against Scarlett Keeling’s mother by the Indian authorities.

5.3.3. Discourse of Parental Responsibility

In March 2008, more than a month after the rape and death of Scarlett Keeling and a few weeks after the accuse of cover-up against the Indian police by Fiona MacKeown, Indian police accused her of neglect for “having left her daughter while travelling to the neighbouring state of Karnataka”. Following is a selection of headlines reporting the news.

49.**You should have taken better care** of Scarlett, minister tells victim's mother. – (m_3_12_n_t)

50.National: Crime: **Negligence** charge for mother over Goa murder. – (m_3_15_n_g(2))

51.Police in hippy haven accuse murdered girl's mother of **neglect**. – (bi_3_12_n_dt)

This factor permitted a shift in the discourse of the press, which went from blaming and focusing on the corruption of the Indian police first, to a second development a few weeks later, increasingly stressing the responsibility of the mother for “having left” her daughter “alone” and for not being there at the time of her daughter’s rape and murder. This shift was also possible thanks to the image of India and Goa which had been constructed before as a place known for being “dangerous”. In particular,

Goa was represented as a “paradise lost”, as a place known for being the destination of people looking for or living a “hippy lifestyle”.

52. **Overdoses are nothing new to Goa**, especially the more "hippy" parts such as Anjuna. But long-term residents say that they appear to be getting more frequent as ever-larger numbers of **Western tourists visit in search of ever more extreme highs**. While the hippies of the 1960s took LSD, marijuana and opium, **the Westerners who pioneered beach raves in the 1990s were fuelled by LSD, Ecstasy and amphetamines. The latest wave of foreign visitors** - young budget tourists from Britain, Russian and Israel in particular - **typically stay for two weeks and look for Ecstasy, cocaine or ketamine**. There are also growing quantities of crack and heroin on the local market, which is now worth millions of pounds every year, police and local people say. "When I came back I thought I would stay," said one Goan owner of a beach shack who spent several years in Britain. "Now I don't want to. It's ruined". – (m_3_10_n_t)
53. When Scarlett Keeling's half-naked body was found on Anjuna beach - **a favourite hippy and backpacker haunt in the south Indian state** - on February 18, the local police force declared that she had drowned accidentally. – (m_3_3_n_t)
54. It also highlights the darker side of Goa, **where palm-fringed beaches, a laid-back atmosphere and plentiful drugs have made it a favourite destination for young backpackers**. – (m_3_4_n_t)
55. But a straw poll of tourists in **Anjuna - a resort that has long had a reputation for easy access to drugs** - suggested most believed there was no more danger here than anywhere else. Abbie Smith, 35, from Taunton, said some tourists failed to use common sense when they were on holiday. "If you are more of an experienced traveller you adjust to local customs," she said. "You have to be a bit more aware". – (m_3_4_n_i)
56. Her determination now threatens not just to damage **Goa's image as a "hippy paradise"**, but to compound broader concerns about the safety of foreign women across India after a string of sexual assaults on tourists. – (m_3_31_n_t)
57. THE mother of a British teenager murdered in India is facing a criminal investigation for alleged neglect after leaving the girl in **a hippy haven notorious for its drug and rave culture**. – (bi_3_12_n_dt)
58. The superintendent of police, Bosco George, said they had arrested Samson D' Souza, a "shack boy" at Lui's bar on **Anjuna beach, the hippy centre of the state's rave and drugs scene**. – (f_3_10_n_dt)
59. Scarlett's semi-clad body was found two weeks ago on the beach at **Anjuna, the hippy hub of India's "paradise" beach state**, where her family, from Bideford, north Devon, had been staying. – (f_3_6_n_dt)
60. **Goa's sun-soaked beaches are known for a laid-back attitude to sex and drugs**, but the death of the Devon teenager has exposed a darker side to paradise. – (m_3_8_n_g)

61. Saturday: The land where **the hippy trail** reaches a historic impasse: **Adventurous travellers have found many things in Goa. Innocent escape was never one of them.** – (m_3_15_c_g)

Here, the blame discourse builds on the commonsensical assumption that it is a well known fact that Goa, and in particular Anjuna beach (the beach where Scarlett Keeling's body was found) is a place where people go in search of drugs. Goa is described as a "hippy paradise" with a reputation for "a laid-back attitude to sex and drugs" and of "rave culture". In such a place, it would be "common sense" to *expect* risk and to act accordingly, by taking precautions for one's own safety. As illustrated above (see 5.3.1.), part of this rhetoric lays the foundation for the victim-blaming discourse. In the case of Scarlett Keeling, though, there is another element which comes into the picture: her mother's responsibility. Scarlett Keeling was a minor (she was 15 when she was raped and murdered) and therefore under the age of sexual consent, both in India and in the UK. It may be speculated that she was not an adult yet, but she was not a child either (in the *RAPE* corpus, in particular, she is constructed as having experienced with drugs and sex, activities which are not supposed to involve minors). This position in-between adulthood and childhood makes her not totally accountable for her actions; parents, on the other hand, are the ones who are supposed to be accountable for their under-age children. This factor permits a shift in the discourse of blame, from the victim to the corrupt police and finally to her mother, who "did not take care" of her daughter as she "should" have.

After the Indian authorities accuse Fiona MacKeown of "neglecting" her daughter (on March 12th 2008), she starts being portrayed as responsible for having "left" her 15-year-old daughter with strangers in a foreign country (previously constructed as a dangerous place, especially for a woman), while travelling across India. In terms of social actors representation, her actions tend to be agentialised, rather than being represented as mere agentless events (see van Leeuwen, 2008).

62. **Fiona MacKeown left Scarlett Keeling** in the care of a tour guide's family while she went travelling in neighbouring Karnataka state last month. – (m_3_12_n_g)
63. He claimed that **she left Scarlett in the care of him and his two aunts** for about three weeks **without money while she went on holiday**, knowing that Scarlett had a heavy drinking habit. – (f_3_24_n_dt)

64.**You should have taken better care of Scarlett**, minister tells victim's mother.

The mother should have taken care of the child, since she was a minor," he said. "She left a minor girl in someone else's custody. Tourists should be more responsible and careful". – (m_3_12_n_t)

65.The mother of the murdered British teenager Scarlett Keeling is to due to appear before a Goan court today on charges of negligence. Fiona MacKeown, 43, was issued with a summons yesterday. **She left her daughter in the care of a 25-year-old local guide while she travelled to a nearby state.** – (m_3_15_n_g(2))

66.Fiona has counted 50 bruises and abrasions on her daughter's body and has fought to bring the killer to justice, **but she left Scarlett with an older man she barely knew and very little money to live out the hippy dream.** – (f_3_14_f_dt)

When the focus of the story starts to move from the rape and murder of Scarlett Keeling and the police's cover-up to the victim's mother and her "negligence", the representation of the victim seems to change too and it becomes more oriented towards her *passivation*. More precisely, she is *subjected*, i.e. represented as the subject of passive constructions. The victim is represented in the passive voice as the recipient of the attack or at the receiving end of her mother's negligence.

67.A second postmortem examination showed **she had been attacked.** – (f_3_11_n_g)

68.[Scarlett] **was left in the care of** Lobo and his two aunts by her mother, 43-year-old Fiona MacKeown, who went travelling with her other children. – (m_3_17_n_g)

69.**Scarlett was given drugs, raped and left on beach to drown.** – (m_3_14_n_i)

The construction of the victim as powerless and innocent here goes hand in hand with the construction of her mother as responsible for what happened to her daughter. Her character as extravagant and unconventional, not the stereotypical parent, is reinforced when the press starts looking in her past and finds that she had been in prison when she was a teenager for having stabbed a man who was trying to rape her friend (excerpts 70-72). She is activated in relation to her past and her private life. Note how the victim is referred to as a "schoolgirl" in excerpt 71, possibly stressing her young age and innocence, in contrast with her mother's aggressive, "irresponsible", possibly angry character.

70. **She served a prison sentence for knifing a man** who was allegedly sexually assaulting her friend. – (f_4_11_n_dt)

71. **The mother of Scarlett Keeling, the schoolgirl** raped and left to die on a beach in Goa, confirmed yesterday that **she had spent a year in prison when she was a teenager for stabbing her employer** after he allegedly tried to force himself on her 16-year-old friend. – (m_3_15_n_t)

72. Earlier, Miss MacKeown, acknowledged that **she had once spent a year in jail** when she was 17 for wounding a man with a knife. She said a man in his 30s had been trying to persuade her and a female friend to have sex with him. When he forced himself on her friend, **she "lost it and stabbed him"**. – (bi_3_15_n_dt)

The focus thus moves away from the individual responsibility of the victim, to the (lack of) parental responsibility of the mother, who is blamed for having “left her daughter”. The official accusation comes from the Indian authorities. Excerpt 64 above, for example, contains a statement of an Indian high official – a minister - saying what she, as a mother, *should* have done, and this could be seen as another element of contrast between the East and the West, where the ideology of individual responsibility is much stronger, in particular when it comes to responsibility for young people. It may be theorised that in the UK a 15-year-old is likely to be granted more freedom (and therefore more responsibilities) as compared with the Indian traditional reality, where parents may tend to exercise a stricter control over their children, therefore making them less accountable for their actions and behaviours. The newspapers analysed in this study seem to exploit this contrast between the East and the West that represents the element of novelty and makes the story *newsworthy*, keeping it running in the papers for several weeks. Fiona MacKeown, Scarlett Keeling’s mother, had already been portrayed as a strong and independent woman, representing “us” in the fight with the corrupt Indian police; this alone could have been an element of novelty in the news. What makes it more *entertaining* is the gossipy details that this woman’s life offers the press, her “unconventional”, possibly extravagant lifestyle (see 5.5. for the tabloidization of quality papers). The construction of Fiona MacKeown as “other” in the parental responsibility discourse continues when, together with her criminal history, the press brings up other details from her personal life, such as her sexual history (having had several children from several men) and her unconventional, “new-age” lifestyle (living on benefits, living “like a gypsy” or her being a “hippy”, educating her children at home).

The following excerpt is taken from *The Daily Telegraph* and it uses the words of Fiona MacKeown's neighbours, people who knew her and her family and who could therefore be considered more "knowledgeable" about her and her lifestyle. Their words and *opinion* about her and her family arguably appear quite objective because the person whose words are being reported does not sound like a person who hated Fiona MacKeown and her family; she is not described in explicitly negative terms, but her "diversity" is represented as given, as if they were just "different" from the world they lived in.

73. Another villager said: "**The kids were lovely and always polite** and Fiona was rightly proud of them. **But I think they belonged in Goa really, the way they lived**". – (bi_3_12_n_dt)

One may wonder whether details such as this categorization or the emphasis on the unconventional lifestyle of the victim's mother are relevant in a rape and murder case committed by a person who is not the victim's mother, and it may be argued that by including such details in the news, she may be turned into a sort of stranger, not a (standard or conventional) member of the British community, a different "other". It may be theorised that this status may make it easier for the press to blame her on the basis of her non-commonsensical and socially accepted parenting methods and lifestyle. While in contrasting her behaviour with that of the Indian police she is represented as a member of "our" community, embodying Western values of justice and efficiency in the "corrupt" and "inefficient" East, when it comes to her responsibility in her daughter's death, she herself becomes a different "other" who does not fall into the stereotype of the "good" mother.

Two articles in *The Daily Telegraph* describe what goes on in the press articles covering the case:

74. Miss MacKeown **has been criticised for having left her daughter** with friends at the time of her murder, while she visited another part of the country. She was summoned for police questioning last week amid allegations that she was negligent. Disclosures that Scarlett drank and experimented with drugs and sex have led **to criticisms of her mother's parenting skills**. – (bi_3_18_n_dt)

75. Two men have been arrested, for a death which was initially billed as "accidental drowning", but for some **Fiona, 43, has become a hate figure, called everything from "irresponsible" to "a tragic example of baby boomer parenting" for having left her 15-year-old daughter alone in**

Goa while she and the rest of the family went off travelling along the coast. My own feelings on reading the news reports were not as judgmental. Recalling my wilful independence at 15, I wrote an article saying that parents cannot always be blamed for the risks teenagers take. As a result, Fiona has agreed to see me. [...] "She was nearly 16, an age at which many girls are sexually active and independent. **In India they can be married at 13. I hadn't just left her** - we knew Julio well. I had talked to him about his intentions, watched his body language, and I had met his aunts with whom she was staying. I let her stay on condition that he brought her to join us up the coast - which he did regularly - and that he looked after her." - (f_4_11_n_dt)

After explaining how and why Fiona MacKeown had become a "hate figure", the second article above lets the mother speak about the reasons why she had "left" her daughter, showing the contradictions of a society (India in this case) where women can be married at 13, but cannot be "left alone" for a few days. Her own words convey a different picture of the whole situation, showing how she had been thinking and observing her daughter and her "boyfriend" before "leaving" her and it shows the difficulties of a mother struggling to do the right thing with a young daughter growing up and demanding independence, values which are also attached to the Western world, but which are almost totally absent from the discourse surrounding the responsibility and blame of the mother and of the victim in this rape case.

According to the neo-liberal culture of self-reliance and individual responsibility, it is up to us to become more responsible for taking measures to protect ourselves from misfortune, and those failing to do so have no one to blame but themselves. This form of argument is frequently mobilised when accounting for rape, to construct the alleged victim as culpable and blameworthy (Anderson and Doherty, 2008: 71). In the case of Scarlett Keeling, though, the press was dealing with the rape and a murder of a minor, i.e. a person who is not considered (at least from a legal point of view) totally accountable for her actions. This aspect (i.e. her age) is used in the press in particular when constructing the "responsibility" of Scarlett Keeling's mother in "leaving" her daughter, who may have not been (or was not supposed to be or did not have to be) aware of the possible "dangers" of a developing country or of the "rave culture" and "drug culture" available in Goa. She is excused because of her age and she was not the one who decided to go to Goa, after all. In the media

discourse, her mother did and *she* should have known, she *should have* and *could have* been more responsible. It may be theorised that the hidden meaning behind this is the presupposition that “had her mother been more responsible, her daughter would/could still be alive” and that the attack could have been avoided. On the basis of this commonsensical assumption, the mother is to blame and morally judged for her actions. One might wonder, then, what about the responsibility of the person who actually committed the crime, i.e. the perpetrator?

The story of Scarlett Keeling first appears in the newspapers analysed here when the person(s) who raped and killed her had not been found and arrested yet; although his/their actions are included in the articles, he/they are absent in the first reports. When a man, Samson D’Souza, is accused of and arrested for the rape, he is either *included* through *participation* and *subjection* or he is still *excluded* through *suppression* and *backgrounding*.

When some or all the actors are not included in the text but the relevant actions are (e.g. the rape and murder of Scarlett Keeling), i.e. the exclusion is not radical, van Leeuwen (2008) speaks of *suppression*. So, we learn that Scarlett Keeling was raped and murdered, but we do not find out who committed the crime or was suspected of having committed it (besides the two men who were initially charged). In the articles I have analysed, this is achieved mostly through passive agent deletion. In many cases, his actions are *de-agentialised*, more specifically *eventuated* (van Leeuwen, 1996: 66-68). Actions that are de-agentialised present the victim as the goal or recipient of the attack without making any reference to the perpetrator as social actor, although his actions are included in the account. In the specific case of *eventuation*, the action is represented as something that just “happens” without someone actively carrying out the action. Nominalisation (*rape, murder, death*) is a common way of realising eventuation, portraying the action as something involuntary, not brought about by human agency. Through nominalisation, i.e. representing actions as nouns rather than as activities, agency is obfuscated and this may result in suppressing the responsibility of the agent by representing the crime as an involuntary event rather than as a voluntary action. Excerpts below show examples of nominalisation and possessivation at the same time, where the crime is represented as an accident void of

human agency (*death*) or as something “belonging” to the victim, as an attribute; in this latter case, agency is changed into the “possession” of a process, rather than the performing of an action (e.g. *her murder*, *her killing* or *her rape*). The action is transformed into a “thing”. In this case, the crime Scarlett Keeling was victim of becomes something she possesses, not involving human agency, rather than something someone did to her.

76.Miss MacKeown has been criticised for having left her daughter with friends at the time of **her murder**. – (bi_3_18_n_dt)

77.MacKeown, accuses police of covering up **her rape and murder**. Scarlett's bruised and scratched body was found on the morning of February 19 after she was apparently seen drunk as she left a beach bar in the early hours. – (m_3_5_n_t)

78.At the time of **Scarlett's death**, Mrs MacKeown, her boyfriend and six of her children were travelling in Karnataka, which neighbours Goa. – (f_3_8_n_dt)

The use of nominalisation (e.g. wounds, injuries, bruises, cuts, rape, murder, killing, attack, death) is a powerful way of de-agentialising the actions committed by the perpetrator, reproducing them as mere entities and products, not processes.

Even when the victim appears as the grammatical subject of the active construction, she is actually subjected because the verb represents a process which is inherently passive, although grammatically active.

79.A second postmortem, carried out at the request of her mother, Fiona MacKeown, recorded that she [Scarlett MacKewen] **had more than 50 bruises**. – (f_4_12_n_g)

80.But the report of a post-mortem examination seen by The Times shows that **she had several bruises and abrasions to her head, neck, arms and legs**, which her family believe were the result of a sexual assault. – (m_3_3_n_t)

In the case of *backgrounding*, the real or alleged perpetrator is not mentioned in relation to the crime he has committed, but he is mentioned elsewhere in the text (or in the same clause or clause complex) and it is possible to infer that those actions have been committed by that social actor. The exclusion is not radical, but there is a lack of emphasis on the fact that those actions have been committed by him, he is pushed into the background and other actors' actions may be foregrounded. It may be

argued that, by backgrounding the perpetrator, journalists may obfuscate his responsibility or shift the attention to other social actors and their actions.

81. Placido Carvalho, 36, **appeared in court** yesterday on suspicion of drugging, raping and killing Miss Keeling. Another suspect, Samson D'Souza, a 28-year-old barman, **appeared in court** on Monday. The Inspector General of Police in Goa, Kishan Kumar, said the men were detained after D'Souza "confessed". He said Miss Keeling had arrived alone and drunk at Lui's beach shack bar at 3am on Feb 18, and fell over as she entered. She **was allegedly given two ecstasy tablets, LSD and cocaine, drugged and repeatedly sexually assaulted** before her body was dumped in the sea. – (bi_3_14_n_dt)

Excerpt 81 was published in an article whose title reads “Suspect ‘has confessed’ to killing Goa teenager”. Although Placido Carvalho was released in May 2008, at this stage the press is reporting about a person who has “confessed” to the raping and murdering Scarlett Keeling. The perpetrator is therefore known to the police; despite that, he (and the other suspect, Samson D’Souza) is only activated in relation to the court hearing. Both men are represented as the grammatical subjects of two sentences where Scarlett Keeling’s rape and murder are either backgrounded or deleted. In the final sentence in excerpt 81 above, the actions perpetrated against Scarlett Keeling are reported, but through the use of passive voice and agent deletion, thus backgrounding the perpetrator(s), who are mentioned elsewhere in the text, but not in relation to the murder and rape. In this cases, one of the consequence of this transformation (from active into passive) is that the attention shifts from the perpetrator to the victim, thus obscuring his agency. Interestingly, in the articles analysed in this study it was never mentioned the reason behind his release; this may be read as an additional sign of the lack of attention paid by the press to the perpetrator(s).

It may be speculated that omitting the agent (the perpetrator here) in a passive clause may have a manipulative nature especially in the allocation of blame and responsibility for the crime. As a matter of fact, one of the effects of transformation is *thematization* (Fowler et al. 1979: 208). Through the use of the passive voice, the affected (the victim in this case) is positioned as subject or theme (what comes in the initial position in a clause, Halliday 1985: 38). By putting emphasis on the non-agent rather than on the agent, the semantically subordinate role of the victim becomes the

main focus of the clause, whereas the agent disappears; in doing so, our perception of the syntactic relations in sentences shifts from the victimiser to the victim.

In a few instances, the victimiser is represented as a participant engaged in material processes such as “murdering”, “killing”, “beating”, “drugging”, and “raping”. This happens in particular when the journalists report the facts through the words of external sources, such as the police or witnesses. Activation through *participation* is the clearest way of foregrounding agency and the role of the perpetrator in the event (van Leeuwen 2008: 33).

82.D'Souza **dumped** Scarlett into shallow water where she died. –
(m_3_14_n_g)

83.“It was clear this man **was raping her**”. – (bi_3_11_n_dt)

In most cases, though, *inclusion* of the alleged perpetrator through participation happens in relation to his arrest and his relation with the authorities. When related to the police or other authorities, though, the perpetrator is often represented as *subjected* to their actions. The subjection is realised through passive constructions and active constructions with verbs denoting processes where the man is the goal of the action.

84.The first man **arrested**, Samson D'Souza, 28, **was remanded in custody** on suspicion of rape. – (f_5_5_n_g)

85.The man, named as Placido Carvalho, **is the second to be arrested** after Samson D'Souza, 28, **was charged with** raping the 15-year-old, whom police initially said had drowned. – (m_3_13_n_i)

In Chapter 4 (see 4.5.3), the corpus analysis has shown how the word *rapist* seems to be associated with violence; in that case a possible question was: how is a perpetrator represented when he is not referred to as *the rapist*? Scarlett Keeling's story offers a possibility to find an answer to this question, because here the perpetrator is never referred to as the *rapist* and he tends to be either backgrounded or suppressed; in very few cases he is activated in relation to the crime he has committed. One may argue that the word *rapist* is loaded with a connotation of violence and possibly indicates a man who is culturally understood and perceived as a “monster” or a “beast”. In that case, it may be easier for the press to associate the word *rapist* with acts of extreme violence, whereas when the perpetrator is represented as a “normal”

man and not branded or labelled *rapist*, the press may tend to focus on other details of the story, rather than on the “bestiality” of the perpetrator.

All the participants (the mother, the police, the victim) received at some point during the coverage of Scarlett Keeling’s case at least criticism or even castigation. The articles in the *RAPE* corpus, though, do not seem to show the same kind of blame and moral negative evaluation for the rapist and murderer, although he is the one who physically committed the crime as a result of his own choice. This may certainly be related to the fact that the culprit was never found, although this would not justify the shift of responsibility towards the victim’s mother.

5.4. INTERTEXTUALITY

In this section, I will be shifting the attention from the discourses drawn upon in the articles analysed in this chapter to the aspect of intertextuality (see also 2.6.2 and 3.3.2.). I shall do so looking at the range of voices that are included in some of the news reports on Scarlett Keeling’s rape and murder and in particular, at how they are distributed within the structure of the genre of news report.

A critical analysis is always the analysis of language in context. It is the text-context relation that creates meaning. The concept of context cannot be restricted to what happens in specific communicative events since people always recontextualise parts of texts produced in a different context by different people and for different purposes. Bakhtin (1986: 91) states that every text or utterance is dialogical, in the sense that it gains its meaning in relation to other texts. So contexts become necessary to understand discourses and recontextualisation is defined by Linell (1998: 144-145) as ‘the dynamic transfer-and-transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context to another’.

Intertextuality is one of the levels of recontextualisation. It relates different texts, discourses and conversations and its meaning emerges from the relations that texts have with other texts.

Section 5.3.1. has presented a few examples of discourse reproduced through external sources, where journalists report what others said, thus incorporating other people's texts into their articles through direct intertextual references (Fairclough, 2003). When incorporating the voice of another into a text, one of the issues to be taken into consideration is "framing" (Fairclough, 2003: 53), i.e. the choice a person (in this case journalists) makes about *how* to "frame" this voice, how to insert it into another context, how to construct the relations between what is being reported and the authorial account. Moreover, framing also brings in questions about the ordering of voices in relation to each other in a text, given that more than one voice can be incorporated in a single text, and these may be contrasting with each other as well. The selection of what voices will be included (and *how* they will be included) and which ones will be excluded and the way they will be organised within the text may be ideologically significant. Intertextuality can contribute to reinforcing ideas and beliefs and it can also reveal traces of the dominant ideology. As Briggs and Bauman (1990: 76) have put it: "to decontextualise and recontextualise a text is thus an act of control".

In some cases, the boundary between the speech (or writing) that is being reported and the text in which it is being reported is strong, when, for instance, the dialogicality of the text is signalled through the use of direct reporting. This kind of attributed intertextuality can be used to convey authority and legitimation to what is being said or written, or to challenge (or even ridicule) the external voice when this is challenged by the journalist (or by another external voice) in his/her text.

Excerpt 86 below shows how one of the articles analysed in this study reports the voice of an authoritative source, the police, telling foreign women how to behave in order to avoid rape and be safe when in India. This warning implies that, for some reason, foreign women are more at risk in India than local women; this ideological assumption is based on the rape myth of the perpetrator-beast (the black man raping the white woman) (Benedict, 1992). Yet, it may be argued that this presupposition also draws upon a prejudiced view of white women (it may reasonably be possible to read "foreign" as a synonym for "white" here) who are believed to have sexual mores which are different (or rather promiscuous) from those of Indian women, the

myth that white women are sexually available. It may be theorised that such an assumption (that of the Indian authorities about Western women) seems to be at odds with the “Western” values of alleged equality between men and women. When reporting the police statement, then, the press incorporates it in a context of criticism which actually challenges what is being said. The challenge comes from the words of the victim’s mother, Fiona MacKeown, here taking up the identity of the “fighter” and representing “our” values. In line with the “Western” ideology, she claims that it should be a government’s duty to make Goa and India a safe place and, implicitly, that victims (or victim’s relatives) should not be blamed if anything happens to them.

86. In a separate statement, Mrs Chaudhary said any cover-up would be exposed. "If the police are trying to cover up, those involved should be brought to book," she said. However, Digambar Kamat, the chief minister of Goa, was reported as saying that foreign women who visited the state should take more responsibility for their own safety. "Foreign tourists have to be careful," he said. "They can't just do these things and then blame the government for the consequences. You can't expect the government to provide police on the beaches after midnight." He warned foreign women to avoid "insecure places" and to take "precautions", but declined to define either. Mrs MacKeown, who was due to meet Mr Kamat, said it was the responsibility of the government to ensure the safety of visitors. "If they are saying it's dangerous, then it's the government's responsibility to warn people," she said. "Instead, it's advertised as a hippie paradise". – (f_3_5_n_dt)

This text is mixed in terms of genre, but its intertextuality is typical of press reports (Fairclough, 2003: 57). The pattern is an alternation between the reporting, substantiated with direct quotations, and the author’s voice. The content of the report is clearly redundant, since the narrator has already presented the statements of the police and of the victim’s mother in her own discourse, giving them a certain orientation and using reported speech to confirm this position. Thus, even if all the information given emanates from other voices, the way they are organised in the press report and the way the journalist summarizes what has been said is a creation of the author, who is ordering what has been said or written elsewhere into a separate speech event.

Here a common rape myth is the object of the debate, that is the assumption that men have sexual needs that cannot be controlled and that women, being aware of this, need to take care of themselves in order to avoid being assaulted (Benedict, 1992).

Additionally, by stressing that it is in particular “foreign women” who have to be careful, two more assumptions are being brought into the text, i.e. that foreign (possibly Western) women’s sexual mores are different from those of Indian women and that this may “provoke” men, in particular non-Western men. Although the chief Minister, as an authoritative source, may be used to support this stereotypical idea of rape, here it seems to be ridiculed rather than supported. The Minister’s statement is included in a context where authorities have been criticised for being corrupted and having covered up a murder case. The statement preceding the Minister’s statement is about the police’s cover-up which needs to be “exposed”, whereas the statement following the quote is a reformulation of the words of the Minister, where the expressions “insecure places” and “precautions” are placed in *scare quotes*, i.e. “the reported speech, writing or thoughts of others placed in quotation marks in order to indicate their contentious nature” (Richardson, 2007: 102). This strategic quoting has the effect of questioning the meaningfulness of the reported expressions and of emphasising the fact that the Minister “declined to define” what these two expressions mean, thus casting doubt on the credibility and reliability of the words of a person representing a corrupt system and who is, arguably, trying to find excuses for a system which does not protect women as it should.

In this context of scepticism towards the authority representing India, the mother’s words are incorporated as representing the voice of “integrity” against “corruption”; she is the fighter, a person who embodies the “Western” values of justice. It may be argued that, by constructing this article on an imaginary debate between the authorities and the victim’s mother, the journalist strengthens the image of the Indian authorities as “other” and of the victim’s mother as “us” who is the carrier of “our” values. It may also be hypothesised that this challenge to a rape myth like the one concerning “men’s needs” contradicts the focus on the victim’s behaviour that “put her at risk”, which has been highlighted in Section 5.3.1. above and is based on exactly the same stereotypes. The same could be said for the invisibility of the perpetrator found in some of the excerpts above, where his responsibility is obscured and the focus is on other people’s actions, possibly taking the existence of perpetrators for granted and therefore not particularly newsworthy. Finally, the role allocated to the mother of the victim as “fighter”, an embodiment of “our” values

portrayed as positive, contradicts the role allocated to her elsewhere as responsible for her daughter's rape and murder.

Intertextuality is not always so explicit, in some cases it can be non-specifically attributed (Fairclough 2003: 47), as in the following excerpt:

87. Goa's sun-soaked beaches **are known** for a laid-back attitude to sex and drugs, but the death of the Devon teenager has exposed a darker side to paradise.[...] **Described** as headstrong and independent, Scarlett had been staying with a 25-year-old local guide Julio while the rest of her family travelled in the nearby state of Karnataka.[...] **One account of Scarlett's last hours** has her seen there drinking at Lui's bar in the early hours of February 19 in the company of three men. [...] **She apparently left** with an unidentified man. – (m_3_8_n_g)

In excerpt 87, there are several references to other sources, but they are vaguely referred to. Expressions such as “are known”, “described”, “one account”, “she apparently left” do not tell us *who* “knows”, “describes”, “gives the account”, “saw her leaving”. This vagueness allows the journalist to portray opinions, assumptions, interpretations of events as if they were facts. Although other voices are vaguely brought into the text, there are no discordant voices in the article which express a *different* version of facts, there is no tension, nor conflict between the reported text and the reporting text. Coulmas makes a distinction between direct and indirect quotation:

direct speech, in a manner of speaking, is not the reporter's speech, but remains the reported speaker's speech whose role is played by the reporter. [...] In indirect speech, on the other hand, the reporter comes to the fore. He relates a speech event as he would relate any other event from his point of view.

(Coulmas, 1986: 2)

This kind of intertextuality leaves less space for debate, it is closer to a form of assumption that is taken for granted, than to a form of open dialogue between contrasting voices. In Fairclough's (2003: 41) words: “[Intertextuality] opens up difference by bringing various other ‘voices’ into a text, whereas [assumptions] reduce difference by assuming common ground”. Assumptions do not enrich the text by really making different voices resonate through it and that is used to reinforce the discourse of the risk taken by the rape victim *before* the attack.

5.5. GENRES

Investigating the links between the texts, genres and discourses appropriated by different discourse communities may shed light on other aspects of the discursive practice. In particular, at this stage the analysis is aimed at investigating the role of language in producing the effects of promotional and strategic discourse in news discourse, in particular in press reports. In the process that Fairclough defines as the *marketization* of discourse (1995: 11), promotional and entertaining features that can be considered typical of the private sector or of the entertainment industry are appropriated by media professionals. In Fairclough's (1995: 51) words "changes in media discourse also reflect, and help to diffuse, contemporary 'promotional' [...] or 'consumer' culture", particularly through the process of the *conversationalization* (ibid.: 9) of media discourse, which is a mixture of discursive practices typical of the private and the public sector for specific consensus-building purposes. This combination of features gives birth to new genres, or hybrids that articulate together a variety of genres and discourses (Fairclough, 2010).

An example of this kind of hybridisation is the tabloidisation of some quality paper articles in the *RAPE* corpus concerning Scarlett Keeling's rape and murder case. In particular, together with the informative element, some news articles contain an element of gossip and a focus on particularly sensationalistic details and "newsworthy" events.

It has already been shown in Section 5.3.3. how, in some cases, the representation of Scarlett Keeling's mother was based on gossip. The following excerpts are other examples of this kind of hybrid journalism in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*.

88. But amid the sand dunes and beach shacks, **the gossip** is that Scarlett had been taking drugs, which are readily available in Anjuna. – (m_3_8_n_g)

89. Miss MacKeown, 43, **a mother of nine children by four fathers**, has been vilified on internet websites for her "irresponsible" decision to leave Scarlett behind during the six-month holiday, which began last November. She insisted last night that she was not negligent, and had just been "naive". However, **details began to emerge** yesterday **about the "gipsy" lifestyle** that Miss MacKeown and her family lived in a nine-and-a-half acre field, two miles outside the village of Bradworthy in Devon. **She bought the land**

with the proceeds of an army surplus store she ran in Camden market, north London and some financial assistance from the fathers of her children. – (bi_3_12_n_dt)

- 90.Extracts from Scarlett's diary, **published by the Mail on Sunday**, showed how she met 25-year-old local tour guide, Julio Lobo, and was left in the care of Lobo and his two aunts by her mother, 43-year-old Fiona MacKeown, who went travelling with her other children. – (m_3_17_n_g)

It may be argued that certain details (the victim's mother's lifestyle, the victim's sexual history and her substance abuse) included in the reports above are hardly relevant in a murder case. Additionally, in excerpt 88 there is a clear reference to the gossipy nature of the information, whereas in excerpt 90, the source of the news is explicitly quoted as the *Mail on Sunday*, a tabloid.

Another element which may be considered typical of a more sensationalistic type of press is the violence and the details about how the violence was carried out and how the body of the victim was found, an aspect which had already been highlighted in Chapter 4 (see 4.2.2.), where the corpus analysis had revealed a particular attention to rape cases associated with extreme violence or with other crimes, particularly with murder.

- 91.**Her shorts and underpants had been removed and her bra-top pushed up around her neck**, according to local people who found her body. Goa's chief pathologist said that **she had recently had sexual intercourse**, although it is not known if it was forced. – (m_3_3_n_t)

- 92.The woman, who has been in contact with The Times since January, said that her ordeal began when Singh brought extra blankets that she had requested to her room. He forced his way in, pushed her on to the bed and raped her with **such brutality that she passed out momentarily and suffered convulsions and blood loss over the next few days**. When she went to the police, she was forced to write a statement while Singh sat beside her. – (m_5_1_n_t)

- 93.Singh, also known as Rana, was jailed on April 30 for forcing his way into a 40-year-old British woman's room at the Pardeshi on December 23 **and raping her with such ferocity that she passed out and suffered bleeding and convulsions for days**. Unlike many foreign rape victims in India, the freelance journalist stayed in the country and endured harassment from police, medical staff and even her own lawyers to secure her attacker's conviction before returning to Britain. – (m_8_5_n_t)

- 94.**'Fifty marks on body** of British girl killed in Goa'. – (f_3_8_n_dt)

Excerpts 91-94 above contain some gruesome details describing the violence; in excerpt 93, for instance, the violence is described through the victim's words,

reported indirectly (*raping her with such ferocity that she passed out and suffered bleeding and convulsions for day*). As shown in Chapter 4, violence seems to be a recurring element of the press reporting of violence against women. Scarlett Keeling was not just raped, but also murdered. One of the most common rape myths has it that “genuine” rape is associated with extreme violence; bruises, cuts, wounds, broken limbs, injuries, even death are a sort of “evidence” that the rape did happen and the “sex” was not consensual. This assumption is also rooted in the rape myths that rape is sex and that “real” rape leaves traces on the body of the victim (for a discussion of rape myths see Soothill and Walby, 1991; Benedict, 1992; Meyers, 1997; Kelly, 2001; Bourke, 2007). It may be argued that the choice of including such details in reports on rape crimes may introduce readers to speculations about the physicality of the action, thus achieving a possibly titillating effect by foregrounding the description of the physical and visual details of the act.

Scarlett Keeling’s case provided the press with many elements matching with the inherent news value system (see 2.4.). Even quality papers seem to show a certain attention for the negative and to use the sensational, sex (it may be argued that excerpt 91 above contains an element of titillation in describing how the victim’s body was half-naked and how “she had recently had sexual intercourse”) and violence to satisfy the “rhetoric of emotions” and drama (van Dijk, 1988a: 85). Moreover, the addition of irrelevant or unnecessary details may be a trait of a kind of journalism that is more entertainment-oriented and responding to the commercial imperative to constantly entertain and sensationalise stories. The prevalence of these elements in news reports on Scarlett Keeling’s murder can be seen as an aspect of what has been called variously “personalisation, informalisation or conversationalization of public discourse” (Montgomery, 2007: 179) contributing to the hybridisation and tabloidisation of news discourse in quality papers.

5.6. NARRATIVE ORDER

News-making is a process that reduces complex series of events, whose relationship between each other may not be entirely clear, into stories, imposing narrative order upon them (Bell, 1999: 236). The way media organise human actions, though, is not

necessarily the way actions are organised; it is rather a possible way of reconstructing reality, of transforming experience into stories (Blommaert, 2005). Moreover, in the specific case of news reports, it is worth noting that the way the media report stories is not necessarily the only way a story could have been portrayed or told. As Fairclough has put it:

news is making stories out of series of logically and chronologically related events. One way of seeing news is as a form of social regulation, even a form of violence. News reduces complex series of events whose relationship may not be terribly clear to stories, imposing narrative order upon them. [...] Producing news stories is more fundamentally a matter of construing what may be fragmentary and ill-defined happenings as distinct and separate events, including certain happenings and excluding others, as well setting these constructed events into particular relations with each other [...] relation which inevitably incorporates a particular point of view.

(Fairclough, 2003: 84-85)

How a journalist decides to order events in a news report is a constructive and interpretative process, not simply a report of “the facts” (Fairclough, 2003: 53).

The following excerpts from *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* show how the way the information is recontextualised in the reports defines the focus and perspective in which the news story is presented, thus potentially influencing the readers’ attribution of responsibility.

95.Crime: **Mother** of dead teenager faces care questions

The mother of the British teenager found dead on a beach in Goa last month faces police questioning over allegations of negligence. **Fiona MacKeown left Scarlett Keeling** in the care of a tour guide's family while she went travelling in neighbouring Karnataka state last month. The 15-year-old's badly bruised, partly undressed **body was found** hours after she was seen at a bar in February. Police opened a murder investigation into her death on Sunday, three weeks after she died. Vikram Verma, lawyer for the family, yesterday accused police of attempting to "intimidate" MacKeown. – (m_3_12_n_g)

96.Scarlett, from Bideford, north Devon, was **killed while her mother and six of her siblings went on a tour** of the neighbouring state of Karnataka. – (f_3_24_n_dt)

According to van Dijk (1991: 50), news articles have a relevance structure, a hierarchy where the headline summarises and expresses the most important information of the report. In excerpt 95, the headline focuses on the victim's mother and the fact that she "faces care questions". It is followed by a short article that summarises the events where the first half is nearly all about the victim's mother, whereas the second part is about the murder and how the authorities were dealing with the case. At this stage, a man had already been arrested on suspicion of committing the crime, but the fact is not mentioned in the text. Considering the details and the length of the article, the vicissitudes concerning the victim's mother dominate most of the story, whereas the murder appears only tangentially. Additionally, it may be argued that by juxtaposing the fact that the mother "left Scarlett Keeling in the care of a tour guide's family while she went travelling" with the fact that "the 15-year-old's badly bruised, partly undressed body was found hours after she was seen at a bar in February", the journalist may convey a causal relationship between the two actions, which may obscure the responsibility of the person who was actually responsible for the crime, i.e. the perpetrator. A similar association between events happens in excerpt 96 from *The Daily Telegraph*, where the killing is represented in connection to Scarlett Keeling's mother's absence rather than as connected to the perpetrator's actions. The story could have been told in several ways, the journalist could have chosen to report that "she was killed" by a man who had drugged her, for example, or that the same could have happened on her way to school in England, for instance. The fact that the journalist reports the mother's absence as the most important detail associated with Scarlett Keeling's killing may be an ideologically loaded choice and it is certainly not the only possible way of telling a story which has many facets and which could be seen and told from many perspectives.

5.7. DISCUSSION

The analysis carried out in this chapter has tried to provide a systematic and detailed account of the discursive mechanisms of news discourse in the reproduction of sexism and gender discrimination and inequalities in the representation of rape crimes in the news.

This chapter has investigated the way the main protagonists of a case of rape and murder (the victim, the perpetrator, the victim's mother and the Indian police) and their actions are represented in the *RAPE* corpus.

The analysis has shown that, at first, the victim is represented as an active agent who is partially to blame for the rape because “she did not take good care of herself” and “took the risk”. In this phase, her sexual history is brought up in the news, a trend which had already been observed in the corpus analysis carried out in Chapter 4 (see 4.4.). It may be argued that she is represented as wilfully reckless, “out of place” or the typical “bad girl”, especially in relation to her experience with sex, drugs and alcohol, activities that are portrayed as contrasting with her young age and that “made her vulnerable” to the attention of dangerous men.

During the second phase of the investigation, when the mother is accused of neglect, the responsibility for the rape moves towards her mother, while the victim is slowly obscured and portrayed as a more passive actor, a victim of both her perpetrator's violence and her mother's negligence. The victim's mother is represented as the most irresponsible person in the story, she is portrayed as a different “other”, one of “those people who are ‘not like us’” whose “unconventional” lifestyle (mostly her lack of “control” over her daughter) has caused Scarlett Keeling's death. At the same time, though, the victim's mother is also positioned by the press in a role which contradicts the one of different “other”. She embodies “Western” values of justice and integrity in her fight against the corruption of the Indian police; when taking up this role she is part of “us” and India is home to “those people who are ‘not like us’”. Scarlett Keeling's story allowed the newspapers to exploit some rape myths based on modern form of racism to draw upon an ethnicist discourse where India and Indian authorities are portrayed negatively (for example by making much reference to statistical evidence) in contrast with the “positive” values of Western societies embodied by the victim's mother. These same newspapers, though, make use other rape myths (in particular those related to the victim-blaming rhetoric) to explain the rape, rape myths that are based on the same assumptions upon which the presuppositions of the Indian authorities are based. It may be argued that this contradiction causes a shift in discourse which corresponds to a shift in the

attribution of responsibility from the perpetrator to the victim first and from the Indian police to the victim's mother later. It is worth noting that not all newspapers seem to focus extensively on the contrast between the victim's mother and the corruption of the Indian police. *The Times* and *The Independent* are the newspapers that pay the highest attention to this element, whereas *The Daily Telegraph* seems to pay more attention to the accountability of the victim and how her "recklessness" contributed to causing her assault.

At the same time, the perpetrator is often backgrounded and partially excluded, with his agency often made invisible in the reports. The rape and murder seem to be represented more in terms of "the victim's mother's mistake" or "the police's mistake" or "the victim's mistake", rather than an act of control and male domination.

The overall message seen in the articles on Scarlett Keeling's case in the *RAPE* corpus seems to be rooted in the powerful argument that violence against women is a well known fact, that it exists in society and that people cannot do anything against it, apart from trying and avoid it as best as they can. The underlying assumption is that women are/must be aware of the "risks" and of how to avoid them and since common sense suggests that the world (in particular India) is a dangerous place for women (in particular for young women), women should take all precautions to avoid being attacked. As a matter of fact, nowhere in the articles analysed in this chapter there is any reference to what men could/should do in order "not to rape women". In fact, the reality of the existence of rapists and murderers out there does not seem to be presented as a surprising or unacceptable element; it is not challenged, whereas the fact that a mother leaves her daughter alone in a foreign country is portrayed as an intolerable behaviour.

In the excerpts above, it has been shown how common sense positions are rooted in stereotyped cultural understandings of gender, sexuality and violence. At the same time, neo-liberal concepts stressing individual responsibility and conservatism together with the alleged respect for women's rights in the West seem to have been used by the press in the case of Scarlett Keeling to portray rape as a problem that does not involve "us". Rape seems to be represented as something that affects

“them”, “others”, be it “underdeveloped” countries, “reckless women” or people who are not “good enough” at taking care of themselves (or of their own children), thus backgrounding the social values of institutional social and collective responsibility. Stereotypical constructions of gender and race and of heterosexuality seem to guide explanations of rape in the articles analysed here, using the construction of hazards and risks related to sexist violence to maintain gender power relations and gendered norms of behaviour engrained in patriarchal society.

In reading the newspaper materials about Scarlett Keeling’s case, there is always a feeling that the specific texts are “about” something else. What shows through the newspaper materials about this case is the presence of an “underlying thing” in addition to the rape and murder. There is a feeling that the specific texts are not just about the crime and the investigation, but that they are about something else. The underlying “thing” seems to be blame, blaming someone or something for what happened, blaming “others” to keep rape crimes away from routine and “normal” people’s daily life. Sharing the blame between the Indian authorities, the mother and the victim and almost neglecting the perpetrator’s responsibility seems to be a strategy to explain rape as an unusual thing that does not involve “normal” people, but it only affects “abnormal”, “unconventional” or “reckless” individuals.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This study was set out to explore how rape crimes are represented in the quality press in the UK and how the main actors (and their actions) in rape cases are portrayed by the press. This work has identified and examined the linguistic strategies used in the press to define and construct rape crimes and has also sought to investigate the most frequent topics or issues discussed in news articles reporting on rape cases, such as victim-blaming, rape myths and the law-and-order approach to fighting the crime, as well as the ethnicist discourse in the case of rape crimes perpetrated by non-white men. Finally, it has explored the attitudes towards rape that emerge from the corpus of articles of UK newspapers.

Methodologically, this study has tried to integrate two different approaches to textual analysis, Corpus Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to investigate the representation of sexist violence in four British quality papers: *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*. By joining together the sometimes different methods adopted by these two disciplines, this analysis tried to eliminate the problems connected to one approach by exploiting the strengths of the other. Both approaches to the study of the corpus led to a number of shared findings, although each approach was also able to unveil certain aspects of language use that the other could not. In this section, I will provide an overview of the empirical findings deriving from both approaches and how this integrated approach provided a broader overview on the representation of violence against women in the press, which would otherwise be more limited because of the limitations inherent to both approaches.

6.1. AN OVERVIEW OF THE *RAPE* CORPUS RESULTING FROM THE CORPUS AND CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The main impression deriving from the analysis of the *RAPE* corpus was that the discourses surrounding rape crimes in the UK quality papers revolve around a small number of topics or categories. In particular, as highlighted in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, the articles seem to focus on the violent aspect of rape, the law-and-order aspect and the sexual aspect.

6.1.1. Violence Aspect

Both the corpus-driven analysis and the qualitative analysis revealed a particular interest in the violent details of the rape in the *RAPE* corpus. While the corpus analysis has offered a general view of the distribution of these details across the corpus, the CDA informed analysis has made it possible to contextualise the use of these details. Although the findings deriving from the CDA analysis could not be applied to the whole corpus, it was still possible to study an example of the use of these details in a given story and to try and understand how and why the press pays considerable attention to this aspect of sexist violence.

The inclusion of violent details in the coverage of rape crimes in the press may be seen as a direct consequence of the inherent news value system that underlies news production (see also 2.4.). The quality papers analysed in this study (in particular the conservative newspapers) seem to show, although in a more subtle way, some of the characteristics that are considered typical of the tabloid press, i.e. attention for the negative and the sensational. In order to satisfy the rhetoric of emotions and have a stronger impact on the audience, the quality papers provided information that was likely to have a strong emotional dimension, leading to a sort of tabloidization of the quality press (see 5.5.). Additionally, the reporting of rape crimes allows for many direct quotations, thus reflecting opinions of both participants and experts or officials. At the same time, it allows for the use of numbers and hard facts (for example the number of rape victims). As van Dijk (2000, 46) has pointed out

“numbers are the rhetorical device to suggest precision and objectivity, and hence credibility”. The corpus analysis has highlighted that, in many cases, reporters seem to be engaged in speculative and alarmist guesses about the real number of gender-based violence, when, for example, they speak of *a number of women, thousands of women* and so on. By putting the stress on the epidemic nature of sexist violence, portrayed as something out-of-control (in terms of quantity), rather than achieving credibility, the media might fuel “social panic”, a feeling of fear among women and, at the same time, indirectly support the law-and-order approach to rape as the only possible way to face the plague (see 6.1.2.).

Additionally, rape crimes also allow for speculations on causes and consequences on how and why they could happen, leading to a form of fictionalisation of the crime which is transformed into stories. In van Dijk’s words:

they satisfy the basic cognitive and emotional conditions of effective information processing. These events comprise the bulk of what most people in our Western countries consume as news. In England, the country with the highest newspaper consumption (Merill, 1983), the tabloids that report this news practically exclusively, sell perhaps 10 times more than the so-called quality press (Spiegel, 1983).

(van Dijk, 1988a: 85)

Violence seems to have a special status as news value. As Hall et al. have observed: “Any crime can be lifted into news visibility if violence becomes associated with it. [...] Violence represents a basic violation of the person; the greatest personal crime is murder” (1978:68). Rape crimes characterised by physical violence and grievously bodily harm offer the potential to meet what seems to be one of the core or fundamental news values. Yet, several studies (see Myhill and Allen, 2002; Kelly et al., 2005; Crown Prosecution Service Legal Guidance⁶³) suggest that visible physical violence is not necessarily associated with rape and that not all rapes lead to death, nor is rape inherently linked to physical violence. Despite that, from the frequency information in Chapter 4 and the qualitative analysis carried out in Chapter 5 it may

⁶³ Crown Prosecution Service Legal Guidance:

http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/p_to_r/rape_and_sexual_offences/societal_myths/ [Retrieved: 20.02.2013]

be deduced that violence is portrayed as one of the most salient aspects of rape crimes by the newspapers considered in the analysis. Thus a small number of cases receive more attention because of the particularly violent nature of the crime. One may speculate that because of the particular attention these cases receive, they are more likely to be remembered by the public that will associate rape to a small group of particularly violent perpetrators, whereas less clamorous crimes are more likely to go unnoticed.

Together with the need to entertain through the use of emotional and sensationalistic elements, another factor may equally influence the selection of stories and details in news reports on rape crimes. As a primary news source, the press receives most of the information on rape crimes from the police (see 2.4.3. and 6.1.2.); the police filter and select rape crimes according to their criteria of credibility, thus influencing what the press is going to report at the root. As a matter of fact, serious, physical, visible injuries are often taken by the police as proof that a rape occurred and are viewed as a necessary corroborative factor; moreover, the level of physical injury sustained by the woman is an important factor in convincing the police that the complaint of rape is genuine (Jordan, 2004). Those rape crimes that do not fall into this category, on the other hand, are likely to be dismissed by the police and, indirectly, by the press. However, many rape survivors do not feel able to physically resist the attacker and may go into a state of immobility, thus showing no visible signs of violence on their bodies after the violence has taken place (Burgess and Hazelwood, 1999). In particular, when the perpetrator is known to the rape survivor, active resistance may be even more difficult. Statistics⁶⁴ suggest that these are the majority of cases; it is therefore not unreasonable to believe that many of the cases where visible signs of violence are absent do not get reported to the police and, if they do, they are likely to be dismissed for lack of credibility of the woman. Consequently, these cases are also more likely to be excluded from news reports and, as a consequence, from public attention. The high concentration of violence and the association of rape with other violent crimes in the *RAPE* corpus, therefore, could be seen as a direct consequence

⁶⁴ Smith, K., Coleman, K., Eder, S., Hall, P. (2011) (eds). *Homicides, Firearm Offences and Intimate Violence 2009/10* (Supplementary Volume 2 to Crime in England and Wales 2009/10). London: Home Office Statistical Bulletin 01/11.

of the news production routine and of the need to fit stories into the “violent news” value, rather than simply as the choice of a single person or a single newspaper.

The message conveyed by the media is therefore in itself a reflection of stereotyped attitudes towards rape and rape survivors, based on rape myths leading police officers to look for serious injuries, use of weapons, immediate cries for help to judge the believability of the woman. Being one of the main sources for the press, the police and their values and judgments will be reflected in the news. But if, on the one hand, the press is influenced by society through the sources it draws upon, on the other hand it also has an impact on society through the messages that it conveys (see 2.5.). News values can negatively affect the perception of violence against women in society, strengthening certain stereotyped beliefs and creating a negative perception by suggesting that “real” rape must be violent, thus undermining the credibility of those who have survived events that do not fall into this category. This, in turn, may to a certain extent influence the decision of rape survivors to abstain from reporting the abuse out of fear of not being considered a genuine or “legitimate victim”.

The stress on violent details in the coverage of rape cases has been observed in several studies on the representation of gender-based violence in the press (Soothill and Walby, 1991; Benedict, 1992; Meyers, 1997; Marhia, 2008). These studies revealed how the inclusion of such details was sometimes instrumental to the creation of an “ideal” victim, i.e. a woman whose complaint of rape is deemed genuine by the authorities, the media and the public. The “ideal victim” goes together with the construction of the rapist as “monster” or “beast”, a dangerous “other” who was capable of using extreme violence. The quantitative analysis has shown how, for instance, the word *rapist* is often associated with labels used to refer to serial rapists or particularly brutal rapists. Yet, the inclusion of details concerning physical violence does not necessarily mean attributing responsibility to the perpetrator. Even his “bestiality” can be excused on the basis of his culture or his uncontrollable sexual desire (Marhia, 2008). In some cases, the violence itself can even be disconnected from the perpetrator’s actions and represented as void of human agency, as it is the case in the articles analysed in Chapter 5, where extreme violence is used to represent the Indian culture as “other” rather than to represent the perpetrator as a

“monster” or a “beast”. Interestingly, in the articles examined in Chapter 5 the perpetrator is never referred to as the *rapist*, but he is only identified through his name or his profession. In fact, it has been shown how in the case of Scarlett Keeling, the victim is partly blamed for having “taken the risk” and acting to her peril by getting intoxicated and being out late at night without being accompanied by an adult. Although, in her case, the responsibility is then shifted to her mother for “having left her daughter”, Scarlett Keeling is not constructed as an “ideal victim”, she is represented as vulnerable mostly in relation to her mother’s “irresponsibility” and “neglect”. Although the “bestiality” of the perpetrator is not stressed in the case of Scarlett Keeling, the articles on her rape and murder still include violent details. In Chapter 5 (see 5.3.2.), it has been argued that, in this case, these details are instrumental to the representation of India as “other”, as a “backward” culture, rather than to the representation of the victim as “ideal” and of the perpetrator as a “beast”. In fact, it has been shown how the rapist was mostly backgrounded or excluded in the articles covering Scarlett Keeling’s murder and how the “otherness” was related to the culture he belonged to, rather than to the violence he was capable of. According to van Leeuwen (1996: 38) “representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended”. Some exclusions, then, may be innocent, details that readers may know already; others impose certain ideologies on the readers, although some ideological exclusions may not necessarily be conscious and calculated.

The obscuration of the perpetrator was achieved mostly through exclusion or through the use of the passive voice. In a study on the representation of agency and passive voice in the coverage of violence against women in the press, Henley et al. (1995: 64-67) found that with passive voice readers are more likely to attribute less perpetrator responsibility for the violence than with active voice. Interestingly, they also found that the use of passive voice in rape cases is an exception in journalism, where active voice is usually preferred (ibid.: 80-81). Through passive voice, violent details can still be included in the story, but they are not directly connected to the perpetrator. In the case of Scarlett Keeling, this had the effect of distancing the violent acts from the person who committed them, while representing India as a generally dangerous place for foreign women because of a backward culture that

does not respect women's rights. The obscuration of the perpetrator may be due to several factors, such as the fact that the perpetrator was not arrested immediately and, after the arrest, he was then released for lack of evidence against him; alternatively, the lack of attribution of responsibility to the perpetrator may be due to the fact that Scarlett Keeling did not represent the prototype of the "ideal" victim (she had been drinking, taking drugs on the night she died). In her case, the Indian culture was represented as "other", presenting the country as generally dangerous for foreign women, rather than representing the crime as the outcome of the choice of an individual. Although the social influence in gender-based violence should not be forgotten, this should not happen in the context of ethnicist discourse, nor should it have the effect of taking the responsibility away from the person who committed the crime.

Overall, it may be argued that violent details seem to be included in reports on rape crimes to distance the crime from "our" normality, be it by blaming a different culture or an "abnormal" man. The quantitative analysis has shown an attempt to obscure agency (for example through the use of nominalisation and passive voice), but at the same time an attention for violent details. In some cases the two things are related, when, for instance, the perpetrator is referred to as the *rapist* or when he is connected to particularly violent actions through the active form. The qualitative analysis has made it possible to look at the use of violent details in context, showing how violence may not be directly attributed to the perpetrator, but it can be ascribed to a certain culture; in Scarlett Keeling's case this was possible because the victim-type did not allow for the representation of the "beast", thus leading to the blaming of other "culprits": the victim, the police or the victim's mother.

6.1.2. Law-and-order Aspect

The focus on violent or serial crimes or crimes committed by previous offenders may strengthen the legitimization of the ways the dominant class uses to manage rape crimes, i.e. force and restrictive legislation, rather than a sympathetic social and economic change. The extensive reporting of violence may justify the law and order approach to tackle the crime, thus legitimating the status quo and the dominant class. The corpus analysis revealed that the press often focuses on rape crimes that reach

the police and the trial stage, as well as on convicted offenders. At the same time, though, the analysis carried out in Chapter 4 (see 4.2.1.2.) has shown how the low conviction rate for rape crimes is a recurring topic in the discourse surrounding rape in the press. The combination of these two topics may give the impression that a law-and-order strategy is not only necessary (to increase conviction rate) but also a successful strategy to fight the violence, since it allows to safely contain these violent men. This attitude, though, would be at odds with the feminist discourse on rape. Women's rights advocates have insisted that higher sentences will not stop rape and that there is little risk for rapists to get as far as court, let alone a conviction. On the other hand, they have suggested that focusing more on education, spreading awareness and attributing responsibility would be more helpful ways of tackling rape (Soothill and Walby, 1991). Yet, the qualitative analysis has highlighted how, for instance, the attribution of responsibility to the perpetrator is not always so straightforward in the press. Moreover, the discourse that surfaces from the corpus analysis seems to call for an increased conviction rate for reasons which sometimes may have nothing or little to do with women's safety.

The analysis of the terms *police* and *court* in the *RAPE* corpus in Chapter 4 (see 4.3.) has suggested that these two institutions are a crucial component of reports concerning rape crimes, where they feature as favoured sources of information. The role of authorities and institutions as privileged bodies of people whose role in society is generally put forward in the media and whose voice has a privileged access to the news as sources has been discussed in detail in Chapter 2 (see 2.4.3.). It has been highlighted that authorities have preferential access to the media because of their elite status, power and high credibility (Tuchman, 1978; Fishman, 1980; van Dijk, 1988a). Additionally, they have systematic links with the newsmakers who, on the other hand, in order to guarantee a steady supply of news and for an effective organization of their work must make sure to have access to sources that can provide continuous information that may be used as news material.

As shown in Chapter 4 (see 4.3.), authorities are often represented as neutral or positive agents in their role of crime control and prevention. When police officers or representatives of the legal system are asked for their description and evaluation of

facts, they tend to be quoted verbatim with little glossing, in a position of apparent neutrality and apparent lack of mediation, that results in a more reliable and impartial text. Their words are often introduced by neutral reporting verbs such as *to tell* and *to say*, referred to as “glossing’ verbs” Caldas-Coulthard (1992). These verbs express neutrality and a feeling of factual reporting, thus arguably suggesting more credibility, by conveying what has been said as “facts” that need no further investigation because they come from authoritative sources. Thus journalists do not need to make up the stories themselves and prove that what is being written has actually happened or has actually happened the way it is retold, thus protecting themselves from potential libel suits. Yet, although such verbs may give the impression that the journalist refrains from interfering with the reporting of “facts” and detaches her/himself from the responsibility of what is being reported, the narrator is still always in control, since s/he can choose what to report; thus, what may look as a “transparent report of what was said or written” is “representation of speech [because] there is always a decision to interpret and represent” what was said or written (Fairclough, 1988). This choice is not just a stylistic one, but it can be a strategy used by reporters to pass their own judgments on the action they are reporting (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994). As a matter of fact, legal discourse is not neutral discourse, but it is one possible way of reformulating events in order to fit legal and bureaucratic needs. Despite that, the rape trial standards of evidence, for instance, would seem to have become naturalised by the media story-telling. Yet, rape trials are not necessarily the safest place to challenge sexual stereotypes as these very stereotypes are used by lawyers on both sides to their advantage (Lees, 1996; Cuklanz, 1997; Ehrlich, 2001). Ehrlich and King (1996), for instance, looked at questioning strategies in a rape case, concluding that “rape trials will often protect the sexual prerogative of a man at the expense of a women’s sexual autonomy”. Clearly, the choice of reporting police and courts statements is an important aspect of the way rape cases are talked and written about, and it may be theorised that by citing these statements, the press reinforces the respectability of these common opinions. As Freeman (1993: 521) notes: “lawyers may build arguments that reflect ideas found in literature, film and art. When these images are translated into legal discourse, however, they gain authority”. As Smart (1989: 42) observes these

“authoritative” ideas are then “recycled through the media news reporting on court hearing”. Moreover, it may be argued that, by focusing on what has been told in court, journalists foreground the judicial aspect of the case, thus arguably suggesting neutrality and impartiality in reporting and possibly fairness in the court’s decisions, judgments and rulings.

The attention to the judicial aspects of rape crimes may also have the effect of obscuring an element highlighted by statistics on rape crimes, i.e. that the vast majority of offenders in rape cases are never prosecuted or sent to prison (Kelly et al., 2005). Myhill and Allen (2002) found that between 1998 and 2000 only 18% of rapes come to the attention of the British police. This, of course, does not mean that the police definitely pursued the case, or that charges were made or the perpetrator convicted. Additionally, studies have shown that the police do not record all reported rapes as crimes. Around one-quarter are considered as “no crimed”, i.e. police record that no crime has taken place, whereas between one-half and two-thirds of cases do not proceed beyond the investigation stage. Finally, studies found that only 12% of rape cases went to trial (Kelly et al., 2005; Dustin, 2006; HM Crown Prosecution Service Inspectorate, 2007⁶⁵).

Together with the difficulty of challenging sexual stereotypes surrounding rape, one of the consequences of the media exposure to only a few (elite) sources of information and of the representation of the words of the authorities as “neutral facts” is that the versions of powerful and elite institutions (such as the police or courts, the traditional sources of authority) will get routine attention and, by reporting them as standard and legitimate sources, the press contributes to supporting the status quo by rendering them and their procedures unproblematic (Fishman, 1980). Additionally, Chibnall (1977) shows how the daily contacts of crime reporters with the police leads them to a nearly inevitable reproduction of police definitions of crime, and to a confirmation through the media of police action. Thus, for instance, not only may the law-and-order approach to rape crimes be justified as a necessary instrument to tackle a violent crime, but it will also be hardly challenged or criticised by these sources. By reporting the police point of view, the law-and-order strategy

⁶⁵ HM Crown Prosecution Service Inspectorate 2007:
<http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/hc0607/hc07/0769/0769.asp> [Retrieved: 01.03.2013]

and the definition of what rape is and what it is not may be further legitimised. It may be argued that this choice may have a significant ideological potential: by foregrounding the authorities and institutions, the audience is encouraged to view, understand, interpret and explain stories from the perspective of these very sources that represent the dominant ideology. Since elite groups are largely male-dominated and are also those who define whether a particular act is rape and how a case will be disposed of, one may argue that the routine procedure to rely above all on these sources in crime reporting may recreate the gender-based knowledge hierarchy with respect to sexist aggression towards women (Los and Chamard, 1997).

Finally, the focus on official sources may lead to the obscuration of other points of view and perspectives in the description of the same event. In the news about rape analysed in this study, it is mostly the point of view of institutional participants that are brought to the foreground, whereas the points of view of the people who are directly affected by the crime, i.e. women, seems to be often left out. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966), a viewpoint is necessary in the representation of knowledge and the very choice of the point of view is meaningful. Thus, in the specific case of the reporting of rape cases, one may wonder what other possible points of view could have been given and what effect these would have had. Possible alternatives may range from relatively uncontroversial perspectives such as, for example, those of witnesses or the women's families, or the perspectives of 'civil society' leaders or academic experts on rape crimes, to highly contentious perspectives such as that of the rapist, his family or friends. Yet, the corpus analysis has shown how the words *woman*, *women*, *victim* and *victims* are often represented as "done-to" rather than as "doers". Their role as sayers is backgrounded in favour of their role of "victims" who undergo acts of violence, but do not seem to be singled out to tell their versions about what happened to them; police statements or court hearings, on the other hand, seem to be an important topic in the accounts.

It is important to note that, although the preference for statements made by official sources may be, perhaps unconsciously, the reporter's attempt to identify with the authorities' point of view, at the same time, the very routines of news production themselves (e.g. the constant need for news material) limit the reporters' freedom

and independence. Reporters often depend on a net of traditional news sources, such as police statements for their news about various aspects of the events (Byerly, 1994). Thus, the use of bureaucratic and legal language is an almost obvious consequence of their reliance on such sources. It may be argued that it is this very choice/need of reporting legal language due to the choice/need of using these sources that may lead to the use of certain words or expressions, thus limiting the ways in which an event could be described. Thus, certain effects (e.g. the use of passives, impersonal style, nominalisation of crimes; see also 4.2. and 4.5.) may not be the outcome of a choice of words or structures but of a choice of sources that may be, of course, not only limited to rape crime stories but is also likely to be common in other kinds of news reports as well. In the specific case of rape, though, it may be speculated that, rather than expressing the point of view of the single journalist or newspaper, news reports on rape crimes mostly reflect what is the attitude of the elites towards rape. The discourse surrounding rape in the *RAPE* corpus may not be a reflection of the media attitude (at least not directly or not exclusively) but a representation of others' attitudes reported by the press in its role of mediator between society and institutions.

The use of the word *victim* itself may represent an example of how the use of sources belonging to the law-and-order sphere (rather than the journalist's own judgment on rape) may lead to a stereotyped construction of the crime. *Victim* is the legal term used to refer to women who experienced sexist violence; yet, although it may seem natural, even inevitable, to speak repeatedly about *victims* of rape, given the subject matter, the use of this word may be questioned, considering its inherent negative implication of vulnerability. The fact that it may be perceived as natural does not neutralize the stylistic or ideological effect of the usage, but merely makes it less noticeable. Although previous experience with news language and the analysis carried out in this study suggest that the term is a common way to refer to a woman who experienced sexist violence, this does not imply that its use is unproblematic. Kelly (1988) suggested the use of the word *survivor* as a replacement for *victim*, in order to stress the reaction of these women, rather than their victimhood. The term *victim* implies passivity, acceptance of one's circumstances and deprives individuals of their agency and their ability to fight back. The term *survivor*, on the other hand,

stresses the individual's resistance, ability to take action and inner strength. Thus *victim* is only one of several identities by which subjects can define themselves or by which they can be defined. When someone decides to refer to a person as a *victim* (or as a *survivor* or as a *woman*) not only are they potentially excluding other identities, but they may also be expressing (deliberately or not) different orders of discourse, representations of different ideologies that find their way in and through discourse. As Laclau (1989: xiv) has put it: "naming is not just the pure nominalistic game of attributing an empty name to a preconstituted subject. It is the discursive construction of the subject itself. [...] The essentially performative character of naming is the precondition for all hegemony and politics". Naming a woman a *victim* can therefore produce a subject with that particular identity and the attributes that it implies (vulnerability, passiveness, helplessness etc.). Thus, it may be argued that when victimhood becomes the main aspect of a person's identity and when reporters refer to women as *victim* or *victims*, their choice may have ideological implications. These, though, are not necessarily (or exclusively) the expressions of the reporter's point of view; they are more likely to be the outcome of the interaction of several factors and choices, such as source selection, news values and, possibly, the journalist's personal taste. These elements lead to the extensive reproduction of certain actors in the news and of their actions, their points of view and ultimately their ideology.

This hierarchy of sources is also associated with a higher degree of reliability. Not only are elite sources deemed more reliable as observers and opinion formulators, but they are also considered more newsworthy as news actors themselves. Obviously, when directly involved as actors (not just as sayers) the police (or other authorities) can hardly be neutral about their own actions.

The qualitative analysis carried out in Chapter 5 (see 5.4.) has highlighted how sources can be used according to the discourse journalists may want to legitimise. In the case of Scarlett Keeling's rape and murder, the Indian police are not represented as a symbol of authority and efficiency, but rather as a symbol of corruption and unreliability. Despite being quoted at length, the police and other Indian authorities are constantly represented as dishonest, as compared with other standards of reliability and efficiency (namely, the Western police). The qualitative analysis has

shown how the attention of the press is focused on the law-and-order aspect of the rape (and murder crime) insofar as the “safety” of foreign women in India is concerned. The discourse on the safety of Western women in India intersects with the discourse of police responsibility and eventually is used to ridicule the Indian police. Moreover, the harsh criticism of the police and their failure in making justice may be seen as an additional sign that the law-and-order approach is taken for granted and is therefore particularly stressed when unsuccessful. A similar attitude has been seen in Chapter 4 (see 4.3.1.), where “failures” or “mistakes” of the police were emphasised as deviance, thus arguably reinforcing the assumption that the “natural” role of the police is that of active agents of crime of control and law enforcement, which, on the other hand, seems to be seen as routine and is represented in neutral terms, as normal tasks and duties that need not being challenged or justified and explained.

Although criticised, the police play an important role in Scarlett Keeling’s case: they are accused of having covered up the murder. Although police spokespersons are reported as sources in the articles, they cannot be expected of supplying information about the negative aspects of their activities. At the same time, though, the reporters need to turn to the police to get information about the investigation. Thus, in this case, the reported talk is embedded in a text which has a different purpose from the original source, i.e. to expose the potential corruption of the Indian police. Reporters construct the police as an unreliable entity and use reported speech to reiterate and reinforce their position, thus creating an opposition between two discourses: that of the police and that of the victim’s mother. Since the victim could not talk for herself, her mother takes up the role of opposing the police. As highlighter above, this active role of rape survivors (or their relatives) seems to be the exception rather than the rule in the *RAPE* corpus. It may be argued that the victim’s mother is given voice in this specific case in order to construct the Indian police as “other”, not respecting their “given” role, but deviating from the norm. Their inefficiency is then compared with “western” values of efficiency and reliability, symbolically embodied by the mother. What seems to be stressed is the failure of the *Indian* police, rather than the police in general and, one may argue, the mother is given voice because she represents “us”. This theory would seem to be supported by the fact that, when the

mother is not represented as opposed to the Indian police, but as opposed to the to the Western society and its values of parental responsibility, she becomes the “other” and is the one who is accused and criticized for “having left” her daughter.

6.1.3. Sexual Aspect

The quantitative analysis has shown how the quality press seems to pay particular attention to how rape crimes are perpetrated, often providing visual details of the assault. Additionally, the keyword analysis has shown how the word *sex* and *sexual* characterize the *RAPE* corpus, as compared with a general corpus. This first element in the corpus analysis suggests that *sex* is a recurring and salient topic in the *RAPE* corpus. This aspect has been studied in more detail through a concordance analysis, showing that the expression *having sex with* and other expressions indicating various kinds of sexual activities are frequent in the corpus. It might be theorised that the use of expressions such as *sexual violence* or *sexual intercourse* (see 4.4.1.) rather than, for example, “forced penetration”, or the frequent reference to *sex* in rape crime articles, might contribute to creating a confusion between a voluntary act (*sex*) that is not a crime and happens between two consenting people and an act (*rape*) that is forced by one person upon another; this confusion may possibly lead to a blurring of the distinction between rape and sex. Although rape involves a “sexual” act of one kind or another, this is not aimed at satisfying sexual arousal; it is rather used as an instrument (or weapon) of submission, control and humiliation (Kitzinger and Thomas, 1995: 44-47). As Kitzinger and Thomas (1995: 45) have put it, “this ‘sexual’ is the mean to an end not the end in itself. Power is the desired element”. The sexual act physically happens in rape, but without mutual consent and pleasure. It may be argued that there is no inherent reason why rape should be identified with and related to sex more than it should be identified with and related to humiliation and force, for example. One may wonder why, when it comes to covering and constructing incidents of rape in the news, one of the preferred elements constituting rape is namely sex rather than power and control, which are considered two defining elements of rape by feminist scholars and activists (Brownmiller, 1975; hooks, 1984; Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1995; Adams et al., 1995).

A possible explanation may be the titillating potential of rape crimes; press coverage of rape can be seen as part of the sexual titillation that is being increasingly employed even in the quality papers to sell newspapers in a tight market. According to Soothill and Walby (1991: 22) “many newspapers [are] increasingly using the soft pornography of rape reports, and reports of other sex crimes, as a mechanism to sell newspapers”. As Los and Chamard have observed:

the attractiveness of rape as crime news has been recognized by many, but rarely studied systematically. While comfortably hidden under the cloak of objective crime reporting, sexual violence can be endlessly exploited for its titillating value, its crypto-pornographic quality and its sexist slant.

(Los and Chamard, 1997: 294)

It may be argued that the need to entertain the public and the economic imperatives of news production in this case lead to a construction and explanation of rape as a sexually motivated crime, rather than as an expression of power, aggression and domination. Thus, in a process of tabloidization or commodification of the news (see 5.5.) which use titillation as a strategy to attract and maintain readers’ attention, rape tends to be represented as an ambiguous interaction that has more to do with sex than with violence. Thus, news reports tend to provide rather graphic descriptions of rapes as sexual acts. Additionally, the quantitative analysis has also shown how the press shows a preference for particularly violent kinds of rapes, such as gang and serial rapes. These could be considered more sensationalistic and, arguably, containing a higher titillating potential to be exploited by the press.

An additional explanation for the inclusion of sex-related details in rape crime reports may lie in one the most common myths surrounding rape, i.e. that rape is a violent form of sex. It may be argued that, in order for the press to include many sex-related details and to use terms such as *sexual assault* or *sexual harassment* as synonyms or near-synonyms of *rape*, rape must be constructed as a kind of crime rooted in sexual attraction or desire. Implicit is the idea that rape is caused by, or related to, a man’s sexual attraction or interest to the woman he is harassing (Kitzinger and Thomas, 1995). At the same time, this stereotype concerning rape is rooted in socially constructed concepts of male and female sexuality. The latter, in

particular, is constructed as passive and acquiescent, but at the same time as potentially dangerous and provocative. Thus, in this framework defining gender identity and gender roles, it is possible (if not natural) to construct sexually forceful men as “romantic heroes” (Anderson and Doherty, 2008: 6). Yet, when sexual harassment is defined in terms of sexual interest, it opens the way for talk not just about men’s sexual drives and their “uncontrollable urges”, but also about the difficulty of knowing and telling whether or not a woman is consenting, in a culture in which men are supposed to be the “hunters”. Thus, as Anderson and Doherty have put it:

women’s consent is always up for question when such models of sexuality are taken for granted, because they allow for too much ambiguity around what is rape and what is “just sex”. Normative heterosexuality is imbued with a dominance-submission dynamic leaving little room for notions of women’s active desire, pleasure or consent and little or no imperative for men to check that women are actively consenting to sex and/or finding the experience pleasurable.

(Anderson and Doherty, 2008: 6)

In representing rape as a form of sex, the press reproduces a socially constructed concept of sex and sexist violence that reflects hegemonic phallogentric representations of “woman”, “man” and “sex” (Ussher, 1997), where the man is the hunter and the woman is the prey and where it is the woman’s responsibility to avoid the abuse. As shown in the analysis carried out in Chapter 5 (see 5.3.1.), women who “fail” to protect themselves risk being blamed (at least partially) for their misfortune.

Thus the press seems to reflect the socially constructed theory that rape is simply a sexual act that deviates from the norm. Yet, campaigns and activists against sexist harassment have questioned the fact that “sexual harassment” is by definition “sexual”; in fact, they have stated very clearly that “sexual harassment” is not sexual *per se*” (Kitzinger and Thomas, 1995: 43), but it has rather to do with establishing and maintaining male power; rape, therefore, is not seen as a sexually motivated crime, but as a crime of domination, hate and anger (Los and Chamard, 1997). According to Kitzinger and Thomas (1995: 44) “[rape] is a way of ‘doing’ power”.

Yet, when the press uses the word “sex” within a story where a woman was possibly assaulted, this may be defined as a semantic failure that not only sensationalises the crime but also trivialises it and removes the distinction between a normal, consensual act and violence.

It is important to note that, although there is always an element of choice in the selection of sources and a personal element reflecting the individual’s views, when journalists choose to use expressions such as *sexual violence* or *sexual harassment* or *sexual abuse*, rather than, for instance *gender-based violence*, *sexualised violence*, *misogynist violence* or *sexist violence*⁶⁶, they are reflecting deep-rooted beliefs which are ingrained in society and that, in this case, emerge through language. It may be argued that expressions such as *sexual violence* or *sexual assault* are a sort of a mirror of society and of its attitudes towards rape. The strong association between rape and sex in language, with the creation of almost fixed expressions such as *sexual violence* or *sexual abuse*, may actually have resulted from the very belief that rape is a violent form of sex. According to Stubbs (1996: 171) words: “fixed expressions present familiar ideas in pre-packaged and stereotyped forms and thereby encourage their acceptance by leaving less room for meaning to be negotiated”. These expressions used to refer to rape seem to have become precisely those fixed and unanalysed phrases, where information is presented as a package and it is therefore less easy to challenge the assertion behind them (Hunston, 2002: 119). Structures of this kind are formulaic and formulae are “carriers of social meaning” (Fowler, 1991: 108); with some variations in the lexical items (e.g. *sexual abuse*, *sexual violence*, *sexual assault*, *sexual harassment*), they recur repeatedly throughout the corpus as natural, common-sense designations for rape. It may be argued that using a less fixed expression or expressions such as *gender-based violence* or *sexist violence* it could be easier to identify the nature of the crime and to question and challenge the relation between rape and sex and the acceptance thereof.

As in the case of legal language or crime terminology, the choice of which sources will be quoted influences the language that will be used. Yet, it may be argued that, while in the case of legal language there is less flexibility in the lexical choice, in this

⁶⁶ Pharr suggests the use of expressions such as “sexist violence” because it indicates that “it has societal roots, and is not just any violence or hatred that occurs” (1991: 2).

case journalists have several options at their disposal and their choice may be the indication of a certain (not necessarily conscious) ideology ingrained in society, in particular when the lexical choice is accompanied by the inclusion of visual details.

6.2. FINAL REMARKS

From a methodological point of view, this thesis has adopted both quantitative and qualitative perspectives, embracing Corpus Linguistics (Chapter 4) and qualitative analysis informed by Critical Discourse Analysis (Chapter 5). The two approaches were seen as two different ways of exploring the discourse surrounding rape in the British press in order to obtain a broader overview on the topic. Although, the quantitative and qualitative analysis produced similar results in some cases, in other cases each of them led to findings that the other had not revealed. In particular, Corpus Linguistics was used to investigate possible areas of interest and formulate hypothesis on the representation of sexist violence in the body of newspapers seen as a whole, thus offering a certain degree of generality and a broad overview of the whole corpus. Thus the analysis of the representation of gender-based violence in the UK press was not limited to a small number of articles and, at the same time, it was carried out in the light of previous studies on sexist violence, of statistics concerning rape crimes in the UK and in the context of news production in the UK. In particular, the analysis of linguistic forms, such as the use of passives and nominalisations and the study of lexical items and recurring topics, has highlighted some common patterns that were then contextualised, thus showing how the reiteration of certain linguistic and lexical patterns may have ideological implications and may obscure the social roots of rape crimes and may be indicative of stereotyped attitudes towards rape that are deep-rooted in society.

The qualitative analysis, on the other hand, permitted to see a small number of articles in a perspective of text production and reception of the news and the social context of the news industry and of violence against women in the UK. This has made it possible to delve deeper into the analysis and to see specific differences between newspapers. The CDA informed analysis has made it possible to see how the responsibility for the crime can shift from the perpetrator to other persons, and

even to society as a whole and how the use of external sources, even as it seems to provide objectivity and neutrality, is a biased choice in itself. Moreover, it has highlighted how men's agency can be ignored to the extent that violence can be spoken of without the perpetrator of that violence being identified as the agent of the crime, as if the violence had happened without anyone actually doing anything. For the very nature of qualitative analysis, it was not possible to apply a CDA informed analysis to the full extent of the corpus, and therefore the claims made in Chapter 5 can only be applied to the selected articles analysed in that chapter. Still, the qualitative analysis has made it possible to highlight structures of reproduction that go beyond the lexical repetition of grammatical and syntactic structures and to provide possible explanations for the findings of the quantitative analysis. The CDA informed analysis therefore added a multidimensional perspective to the corpus analysis, going beyond the linguistics elements of the text and allowing for a deeper contextualising the findings.

The analysis carried out in this thesis has shown that the press tends to focus on a selected, relatively small group of topics when it comes to explaining and representing rape. In particular, it seems to refer to a narrow vision of gender rather than to a dynamic (poststructuralist) one (see 1.2. and 2.7.1.), by employing a small group of stereotypes, for both men and women (e.g. the "fallen" woman or the man who cannot resist his instinct, see 2.8.1.), to explain and represent rape crimes. Relying on these myths may have the effect of reinforcing the assumption that rape is rooted in sexual desire (see 6.1.3.) These topics seem to reflect the discourse of the news sources and, at the same time, they seem to derive from the need of the press to entertain the public with sensationalistic details and the consequent news values attributed to stories and events. Such representation seems to lead to the strengthening of myths and stereotypes concerning rape. While these very myths seem to be the assumption behind the law-and-order discourse used by the authorities (and reproduced in the news when they are used as primary sources), by reproducing them the press contributes to strengthening and legitimising them. Likewise, the need to entertain, often through the use of sexually related and titillating details, may have the effect of reproducing myths and stereotypes concerning women's (and men's) sexuality.

Another element that can be inferred from the analysis carried out in this study is what is *not* included in the representation of rape. What seems to be missing in most of the news articles analysed in Chapter 5 and in the *RAPE* corpus analysed in Chapter 4 is any framework for analysing rape as a social problem, its prevalence, its incidence, its social roots and its impact on victims. Rape seems to tend to be explained in terms of “otherness” or “deviance” or through superficial observations limited to the most sensationalist cases. Thus, “real” rape may seem to occur only if it leaves visible scars, or if it is perpetrated by more than one man, or if the woman is very young. Likewise, these superficial explanations of rape may suggest that only “beasts” are rapists, that “normal” men cannot be rapists, or that most rape cases reach the trial stage or that the only way to tackle rape is by using a tough approach, rather than, for instance, by educating people. The risk of spreading these messages is that of trivializing the reality of women’s assault experiences and of placing the burden of the responsibility of “not taking risks” in order to avoid rape on them, rather than on the perpetrator. Finally, it may be argued that the focus on these aspects of rape may have the effect of drawing the attention away from more serious explanations of this crime in terms of those aspects of social organisation and gender relations which encourage men to engage in aggressive behaviours towards women.

Whereas some of the “choices” of journalists can be explained on the basis of the news production routines (source selection, the risk of libel suits, news values) or on the basis of other reasons that are not related to the news production process itself (e.g. the low number of women reporting rapes to the police, the need to protect the survivor’s identity), journalists do have options to represent rape in a way that possibly challenges the stereotypes attached to it, rather than supporting them. If, on the one hand, the news is shaped by the social practice of news production, on the other hand it has the power of influencing society (Bell, 1991; Fowler, 1991). It has been argued, for instance, that the detailed representation of rape crimes may provide material that may influence other potential rapists (especially in the case of serial rapists whose activities receive broad and detailed coverage in the press). It has also been argued that the stereotyped representation of rape may discourage victims from reporting if they believe that their rape was not “real” rape, i.e. it did not fall into the category of the stereotyped violent rape perpetrated by a stranger (Soothill and

Walby, 1991).

Unveiling the mechanisms that lie behind the media representation of rape, and which both respond to and contribute to constitute the norm of the shared social perceptions about sexist crime, then, appears to have great potential impact on the very lives of all women, not only those who have experienced rape but also those who might potentially be affected in the future (sadly, the totality of the female population). This study is only a small contribution towards the academic approach to this matter, which might provide awareness-raising initiatives with a scientific foundation that can be substantiated by hard data (as in the part of this study informed by Corpus Linguistics) and appropriate research tools for a critical reading of such data (as in the chapter of this thesis devoted to Critical Discourse Analysis). It is to be hoped that further academic research is carried out on the representation and social perception of rape, and that such research is circulated as widely as possible and applied to the work of NGOs, authorities and/or citizens' groups striving to fight rape at its roots.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF ARTICLES IN THE *RAPE* CORPUS⁶⁷

Newspaper	Page	Headline	Date	Code
The Guardian	p. 8	Errors, delays and finally rejection: one woman's ordeal: A year after Beth Ellis told police she had been raped as a child the CPS dropped the case. She wanted to know why	1.14.2008	bi_1_14_n_g
The Guardian	p. 1	Correction Appended - Police and prosecutors 'failing rape victims': Rape victims let down by police and prosecutors	1.15.2008	bi_1_15_n_g
The Times	p. 22	Churches, schools and charities braced for flood of claims after ruling on Lotto rapist	1.31.2008	bi_1_31_n_t
The Times	p. 1	Rape father jailed over daughters' 9 children	11.26.2008	bi_11_26_n_t
The Times	p. 24	Daughters of Mr X rapist were failed by doctors	11.27.2008	bi_11_27_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 14	Goa mother calls for inquiry into police 'cover-up'	3.11.2008	bi_3_11_n_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 7	Police in hippy haven accuse murdered girl's mother of neglect	3.12.2008	bi_3_12_n_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 15	Second arrest over murder on Goan beach	3.13.2008	bi_3_13_n_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 9	Suspect 'has confessed' to killing Goa teenager	3.14.2008	bi_3_14_n_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 15	Scarlett's mother summoned	3.15.2008	bi_3_15_n_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 15	Goa wants Scarlett's mother out of India	3.18.2008	bi_3_18_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 7	Rape case to be reopened after police are criticised	4.9.2008	bi_4_9_n_g
The Guardian	p. 16	International: Austria cellar case: 'Every little thing she did, her father would hit her': * Doctors treating children have constructed 'dark chamber' they can retreat to * Lodger was mystified by electric meter which ran even when lights were off	5.3.2008	bi_5_3_n_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 13	Rape police not allowed to interview rugby squad	6.20.2008	bi_6_20_n_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 7	'When will this nightmare end?' John Leslie furious as he denies fresh rape allegation	6.25.2008	bi_6_25_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 7	National: Bail for man accused of killing teenager in India: Nothing solid to link him to death, says court Mother's lawyer claims evidence destroyed	9.25.2008	bi_9_25_n_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 19	Murder hunt for US marine suspect	1.14.2008	f_1_14_n_dt

⁶⁷ The articles are listed alphabetically by code

The Guardian	p. 1	Police to use text message tactics to snare rape suspects: Prosecutors to trial US ploy of self-incrimination	1.14.2008	f_1_14_n_g
The Guardian	p. 35	Time we all took a stand against rape	1.17.2008	f_1_17_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 12	How rapist stole the life from a vivacious young student	1.26.2008	f_1_26_n_dt
The Times	p. 1	Lotto rape victim wins hope for thousands	1.30.2008	f_1_30_n_t
The Guardian	p. 13	Lotto rapist ruling clears way for claims: Late compensation cases can go ahead, law lords say: Local authorities face rise in sex abuse payouts	1.31.2008	f_1_31_n_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 15	Victim's 999 call was cut off before her murder	10.15.2008	f_10_15_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 4	National: Abducted student was raped and murdered after 999 call was cut off, court told: Accused man fled country days after crime, says QC: Suspect extradited from India four years later	10.15.2008	f_10_15_n_g
The Independent	p. 6	Murdered girl 'made desperate 999 call'; Abducted teenager was cut off by operator before being raped and killed	10.15.2008	f_10_15_n_i
The Daily Telegraph	p. 13	Teenager's despairing last words to man who killed her; killer; snatched herman who; killed her; to court	10.16.2008	f_10_16_n_dt
The Times	p. 21	On-the-run rapist gets life for attack on schoolgirl, 16	10.2.2008	f_10_2_n_t
The Guardian	p. 27	International: I was born to rape, Fritzl tells doctor: Austrian who imprisoned family blames his mother: Psychiatrist decides he is sane enough to face trial	10.23.2008	f_10_23_n_g
The Guardian	p. 17	National: Court ruling hailed as refuting 'rape myth': Jurors to be told why some victims delay complaints: Judgment cites shame and guilt caused by trauma	10.25.2008	f_10_25_n_g
The Independent	p. 34	How we fuel Africa's bloodiest war	10.30.2008	f_10_30_i
The Independent	p. 22	Justice at last for children of the Bounty; For years Pitcairn's women and girls were raped and abused. This week the British Government will finally relent and agree to pay compensation. Kathy Marks reports	10.6.2008	f_10_6_n_i
The Times	p. 12	Serial killer 'was too aroused by violence to rape'	11.11.2008	f_11_11_n_t
The Guardian	p. 18	National: Hannah accused claims he was forced into having sex	11.14.2008	f_11_14_n_g
The Guardian	p. 13	National: Man cleared of rape fails in attempt to sue	11.15.2008	f_11_15_n_g
The Guardian	p. 15	G2: Women: Sidelines	11.19.2008	f_11_19_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 26	Notebook; Selling sex is like the weather: you just can't legislate for it	11.22.2008	f_11_22_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 11	The evil stranger who raped and murdered my Hannah should die in jail, says father	11.26.2008	f_11_26_n_dt

The Guardian	p. 1	Front: 'We were a normal family. Then he ripped out my heart': 'May our daughter now rest in peace'	11.26.2008	f_11_26_n_g
The Guardian	p. 13	National: Murder conviction: Fugitive who fled to India sentenced to life for raping and killing Hannah Foster	11.26.2008	f_11_26_n_g(2)
The Independent	p. 9	National: Rapist father made daughters pregnant 19 times in 30 years: Women too afraid to go to authorities, court told Man 'took pleasure' in assaulting his children	11.26.2008	f_11_26_n_g(3)
The Independent	p. 18	Justice for family who went to Delhi to find girl's killer; Mangiven life sentence after being found guilty of Hannah Foster murder	11.26.2008	f_11_26_n_i
The Times	p. 25	How law protects against 'jigsaw' identification	11.27.2008	f_11_27_t
The Independent	p. 26	Revealed: the UK's 10 most wanted in new Costa del Crime; Detectives release descriptions of men suspected of murder, rape and kidnap	11.7.2008	f_11_7_n_i
The Guardian	p. 8	National: Rapist guilty of mutilating Lucie Blackman	12.17.2008	f_12_17_n_g
The Guardian	p. 1	Front: Police errors allowed Nickell murder: Rapist admits 1992 killing: DNA flaws left other violent criminals at large: Apology to Colin Stagg	12.19.2008	f_12_19_n_g
The Guardian	p. 28	Special report: Congo rape testimonies	12.5.2008	f_12_5_n_g
The Guardian	p. 1	Correction Appended Front: Special report: Congo rape testimonies: Aged one to 90, the victims of hidden war against women	12.5.2008	f_12_5_n_g(2)
The Guardian	p. 16	National: Sexual violence: Gang-rapists of girl, 14, are named: Judge says identification will be deterrent: Teenager 'punished for insulting leader'	12.6.2008	f_12_6_n_g
The Guardian	p. 17	National: Sexual violence: Government action: Minister calls for school guidelines to tackle exploitation of young girls	12.6.2008	f_12_6_n_g(2)
The Guardian	p. 15	National: Teenagers who laughed at rape of girl, 14, detained: Judge condemns gang culture that led to attack: Nine youths 'thought they were outside the law'	12.9.2008	f_12_9_n_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 13	Mother jailed for crying rape	2.12.2008	f_2_12_n_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 11	Jehovah's Witness attacked by Sally suspect 20 years ago	2.13.2008	f_2_13_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 12	National: Man arrested by police hunting taxi driver rapist	2.16.2008	f_2_16_n_g
The Guardian	p. 13	Woman tells court she was attacked by Bowman suspect	2.19.2008	f_2_19_n_g
The Times	p. 22	Sally Anne suspect 'raped a Thai student'	2.19.2008	f_2_19_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 18	GP drugged victims before raping them	2.2.2008	f_2_2_n_dt
The Independent	p. 22	Sexual abuse: a warning we mustn't ignore	2.23.2008	f_2_23_n_i
The Independent	p. 2	Women's lives worse than ever	2.25.2008	f_2_25_n_i

The Times	p. 4	Alive and kicking	2.27.2008	f_2_27 _t
The Guardian	p. 14	G2: How could it happen again?: Levi Bellfield is the third man to be found guilty in the past week of the brutal murder of women. Why are there so many such cases - and just how much of a misogynist does a man have to be before anyone stops him?	2.27.2008	f_2_27_g
The Guardian	p. 17	International: Rice says sorry for US troop behaviour on Okinawa as crimes shake alliance with Japan: Tension over American base grows with rape case Military imposes curfew on 45,000 personnel	2.28.2008	f_2_28_n_g
The Guardian	p. 16	G2: Women: 'It's abuse and a life of hell': As a world expert on prostitution, Roger Matthews has met women in the trade who have been stabbed, raped and beaten. He tells Julie Bindel why they must be given help to leave the sex industry for good	2.29.2008	f_2_29_g
The Times	p. 30	Prime Minister denies allegation of rape	2.4.2008	f_2_4_n_t
The Times	p. 30	Prime Minister denies rape claim	2.4.2008	f_2_4_n_t(2)
The Daily Telegraph	p. 9	Rape case of death fall girl abandoned	2.9.2008	f_2_9_n_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 11	Man arrested over girl's murder in Goa	3.10.2008	f_3_10_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 5	Arrests in Goa after British girl's death	3.10.2008	f_3_10_n_g
The Guardian	p. 15	National: Goa police 'may have wrong man'	3.11.2008	f_3_11_n_g
The Guardian	p. 2	G2: Why, when a child goes missing, does the mother take the rap?	3.12.2008	f_3_12 _g
The Guardian	p. 39	Police failings in rape cases are far worse than they admit: Women victims often still experience the inefficiency, neglect and hostility of officers, says Ruth Hall	3.12.2008	f_3_12 _g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 25	Hands-off mums do their children no favours	3.14.2008	f_3_14_f_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 13	Sex, drink and drugs: Goa murder girl's diary revelations	3.17.2008	f_3_17_n_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 5	Scarlett's mother in hiding after criticising police	3.24.2008	f_3_24_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 9	Murdered teenager's mother in hiding	3.24.2008	f_3_24_n_g
The Times	p. 2	Single woman would not like to meet criminal	3.31.2008	f_3_31 _t
The Guardian	p. 1	Rape cases: police admit failing victims: Senior Met officer blames scepticism and inertia for low conviction rate	3.4.2008	f_3_4_n_g
The Guardian	p. 37	The low conviction rate for rape	3.5.2008	f_3_5 _g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 19	Inquiry into Goa death of British girl 'embarrassing'	3.5.2008	f_3_5_n_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 18	Mother threatens to release pictures of 'murdered' girl	3.6.2008	f_3_6_n_dt
The Times	p. 5	Storm over call to review rape case proof	3.6.2008	f_3_6_n_t

The Guardian	p. 21	Four US marines to face courts martial accused of gang rape	3.7.2008	f_3_7_n_g
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The Daily Telegraph	p. 12	'Fifty marks on body of British girl killed in Goa'	3.8.2008	f_3_8_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 14	Special report: Medical tests after rape may be handed to NHS: Hope that forensic shakeup will improve low conviction rate	3.8.2008	f_3_8_n_g
The Guardian	p. 10	Judges admit they get round law designed to protect women in rape trials: Sexual history still being introduced at hearings: New book reveals judicial attitudes to legislation	4.1.2008	f_4_1_n_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 21	'I often wake up having forgotten. When I remember again it's like being hit' When the body of Scarlett Keeling was found in Goa many believed her family's unconventional lifestyle was to blame. Cassandra Jardine meets her mother	4.11.2008	f_4_11_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 13	Goa police officer who said girl's death was accidental loses job	4.12.2008	f_4_12_n_g
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The Independent	p. 6	Rape victims failed by lack of funds, say campaigners	4.16.2008	f_4_16_n_i
The Daily Telegraph	p. 15	Police corrupt, says Scarlett's mother	4.3.2008	f_4_3_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 12	Jersey police investigating child abuse charge man, 68: Accusations of rape and indecent assault: Exchanges in assembly reveal island tensions	4.30.2008	f_4_30_n_g
The Guardian	p. 16	Jersey: Man accused of raping girl, 12, appears in court	5.1.2008	f_5_1_n_g
The Times	p. 30	Iraq 'gang-rape victim' can seek trial in US	5.12.2008	f_5_12_n_t
The Independent	p. 8	Oxford Street gang murder victim faced trial for rape	5.15.2008	f_5_15_n_i
The Daily Telegraph	p. 16	Banker rapist quoted Othello	5.24.2008	f_5_24_dt
The Guardian	p. 19	International: Europe: French couple given life for rape and murders: Fourniret obsessed with virginity, court heard: Wife helped to lure girls for 'the ogre of Ardennes'	5.29.2008	f_5_29_n_g
The Guardian	p. 8	National: I know who killed Scarlett, says mother: 'Powerful person' involved in attack on beach in Goa: Indian authorities accused of hindering investigation	5.5.2008	f_5_5_n_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 16	Ethiopians 'rape and kill Somalis'	5.7.2008	f_5_7_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 16	G2: Women: The victims' witness: Filmmaker Lisa F Jackson survived a terrifying sexual assault in New York. But she was still shocked by the tales women told her when she made a documentary about rape in the Congo. She talks to Kira Cochrane	5.9.2008	f_5_9_g

The Independent	p. 34	Darfur novelist returns personal narratives to the people he left behind; Daoud Hari translated the horrific accounts of militia victims. Now he has found his own voice	6.12.2008	f_6_12_n_i
The Guardian	p. 1	Mugabe's men bring rape and torture to Harare suburbs: Mugabe's men bring rape and torture to Harare suburbs	6.21.2008	f_6_21_n_g
The Independent	p. 20	In the weird world of these embittered men, rape is a crime that doesn't exist	6.28.2008	f_6_28_n_i
The Guardian	p. 18	Thousands riot in China after death of teenage girl	6.30.2008	f_6_30_n_g
The Independent	p. 32	So how many more women must die?	6.5.2008	f_6_5_i
The Guardian	p. 6	G2: Now, the backlash: The sex industry is booming, the rape conviction rate is plummeting, women's bodies are picked over in the media, abortion rights are under serious threat and top business leaders say they don't want to employ women. It all adds up to one thing . . . an all-out assault on feminism. But why? And what's to be done about it, asks Kira Cochrane	7.1.2008	f_7_1_g
The Times	p. 24		7.14.2008	f_7_14_t
The Guardian	p. 10	Rape alert campaign on Greek beaches	7.14.2008	f_7_14_n_g
The Independent	p. 8	Chess girl's mother 'hired hitman to kill her father'	7.15.2008	f_7_15_n_i
The Guardian	p. 32	Comment & Debate: The debate on rape should focus on rapists, not victims: Arguments over women's reasons for disclosing - or not - sexual assault must not drown out the crucial conversation	7.17.2008	f_7_17_g
The Guardian	p. 16	G2: Women: A rape campaigner runs for office: Twenty years ago, Jill Saward went public as the victim of the Ealing vicarage rape. Now she is standing against David Davis. She talks to Julie Bindel about 42-day detention, victims' rights and how her own experience changed her life	7.2.2008	f_7_2_g
The Guardian	p. 16	G2: Women: There is no excuse: The Italian ruling that it is not possible for a man to rape a woman wearing tight jeans was finally overturned this week, but Julie Bindel finds little to celebrate while sexual assault trials still focus on the behaviour of the victim	7.25.2008	f_7_25_g
The Guardian	p. 26	Comment & Debate: An end to the easy way out: The provocation defence has helped countless men escape a murder charge. Now the law is changing	7.29.2008	f_7_29_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 4	Killing a paedophile may not be murder	7.29.2008	f_7_29_n_dt
The Times	p. 5	More male partners will be convicted of murder after reform of law, minister says	7.29.2008	f_7_29_n_t
The Guardian	p. 31	Female complacency and the male backlash	7.3.2008	f_7_3_g

The Guardian	p. 4	National: British-born teenagers being trafficked for sexual exploitation within UK, police say: Older men 'grooming' girls as young as 12 33 victims in single case in Sheffield, officers fear	7.3.2008	f_7_3_n_g
The Times	p. 32	Love, blackmail and rape - how al-Qaeda grooms women as 'perfect weapons'	7.30.2008	f_7_30_n_t
The Guardian	p. 12	G2: Blood sisters: The trial of Chelsea Bennett, who admitted fatally stabbing a 17-year-old girl, has thrust the subject of violent girl gangs into the headlines. Angela Neustatter talks to former members, and discovers a disturbing world of exploited and frightened young women	7.4.2008	f_7_4_g
The Times	p. 32	'Maybe I am pregnant or maybe I have HIV now. No one can help'	7.8.2008	f_7_8_n_t
The Guardian	p. 1	Rape victims told alcohol consumption may cost them compensation	8.12.2008	f_8_12_n_g
The Guardian	p. 28	Comment & Debate: Victimhood isn't a matter of degree for others to dictate: If alcohol has made a women vulnerable to crime, does it follow that the elderly or weak are equally culpable?	8.13.2008	f_8_13_g
The Independent	p. 28	Rape, compensation, and personal responsibility	8.13.2008	f_8_13_i
The Daily Telegraph	p. 17	Only rapists are responsible for rape	8.13.2008	f_8_13_dt
The Guardian	p. 11	Payout review in drink-related rape cases ruled out: No mechanism in place, claims compensation body: Minister says guidelines were wrongly applied	8.13.2008	f_8_13_n_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 20	I was drunk, but was it my fault?; In a deeply personal account, Sarah Lassiter recalls a harrowing sexual assault	8.14.2008	f_8_14_dt
The Guardian	p. 20	Rape and alcohol: Sex assaults: Police accused of adopting 'Life on Mars' attitude: Former CID chief says some forces refuse to treat attack allegations as crimes for fear that unsuccessful prosecutions will spoil their clear-up statistics	8.16.2008	f_8_16_n_g
The Guardian	p. 21	Rape and alcohol: Case study: 'I did my bit in reporting a rapist, the authorities didn't do theirs'	8.16.2008	f_8_16_n_g(2)
The Independent	p. 22	The Afghan women jailed for being victims of rape; In Lashkar Gah, the majority of female prisoners are serving 20-year sentences for being forced to have sex. Terri Judd visited them and heard their extraordinary stories	8.18.2008	f_8_18_n_i
The Independent	p. 16	Afghan President pardons men convicted of bayonet gang rape	8.25.2008	f_8_25_n_i
The Times	p. 51	Lawyer of the week	8.28.2008	f_8_28_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 14	Man who raped journalism student in Calais may have fled to Britain	8.30.2008	f_8_30_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 27	France: Canadian student raped at migrant camp in Calais	8.30.2008	f_8_30_n_g
The Independent	p. 30	A savage crime - but don't rush to blame the attacker	9.10.2008	f_9_10_i
The Times	p. 9	Rapist may have killed after fleeing ward	9.18.2008	f_9_18_n_t

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The Guardian	p. 31	Mirrens views are largely suspect	9.3.2008	f_9_3 _g
The Independent	p. 28	There are places laws can't reach	9.3.2008	f_9_3_i
The Times	p. 27	It is still rape, violence or not	9.4.2008	f_9_4 _t
The Times	p. 27	It is still rape, violence or not	9.4.2008	f_9_4 _t(2)
The Times	p. 61	Evans rape allegations	1.1.2008	m_1_1_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 21	Is it any wonder people are fleeing London? JAN MOIR on Wednesday	1.16.2008	m_1_16_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 24	Rape is not a trivial crime, despite the law's best efforts	1.17.2008	m_1_17_dt
The Independent	p. 30	The toxic waste created by our broken society	1.21.2008	m_1_21_i
The Times	p. 33	Rape victim hails victory for Muslims as Hindu assailants are jailed for life	1.23.2008	m_1_23_n_t
The Times	p. 4	Inquiry ordered after girl raped by inmate on run from open jail	1.25.2008	m_1_25_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 13	Victim 'can sue Lottery rapist'	1.30.2008	m_1_30_n_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 18	Zuma pulls out of Tyson banquet	1.31.2008	m_1_31_n_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 9	Lotto rapist's victim can sue for a share of his pounds 7m, say law lords	1.31.2008	m_1_31_n_dt(2)
The Independent	p. 24	Family who fled from torture in Kenya will be deported	1.31.2008	m_1_31_n_i
The Times	p. 9	'Condolence cash' could free killer rapist	1.31.2008	m_1_31_n_t
The Times	p. 23	Great news, says his neighbour - I hope she takes every penny	1.31.2008	m_1_31_n_t(2)
The Daily Telegraph	p. 16	Rape, the mob's latest weapon	1.4.2008	m_1_4_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 4	Football: Evans goes back to Sunderland	1.5.2008	m_1_5_n_g
The Times	p. 96	Persuasive Keane elated to get Evans back on loan	1.5.2008	m_1_5_n_t
The Times	p. 18	Teenager is jailed over taxi rape lie	1.8.2008	m_1_8_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 10	Anger at lawyer's Facebook claim	10.13.2008	m_10_13_n_dt
The Times	p. 5	'Kidnap teenager was cut off as she called 999 for help. Then she was raped and strangled'	10.15.2008	m_10_15_n_t
The Times	p. 17	Final words of kidnapped girl were recorded during 999 call	10.16.2008	m_10_16_n_t
The Times	p. 76	Extremists stoke the fires of persecution	10.18.2008	m_10_18 _t
The Independent	p. 8	'Rape victim' told to show duvet to police; 'Insensitive' treatment of teenager highlights low conviction rates	10.2.2008	m_10_2_n_i
The Times	p. 32	Deranged Fritzl 'was born to be a rapist'	10.22.2008	m_10_22_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 2	Ruling on rape cases could lead to more convictions	10.25.2008	m_10_25_n_dt

The Daily Telegraph	p. 24	Women break silence over Red Army rapes	10.25.2008	m_10_25_n_dt(2)
The Times	p. 43	Nun emerges from hiding to tell of her brutal rape ordeal in Hindu rampage	10.25.2008	m_10_25_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 11	Breakthrough in search for 1983 murderer	10.30.2008	m_10_30_n_dt
The Independent	p. 12	DNA profile may solve 25-year-old murder case	10.30.2008	m_10_30_n_i
The Guardian	p. 1	Between rebels on the rampage and army on the run	10.31.2008	m_10_31_n_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 10	Barry George to be questioned over attack	10.6.2008	m_10_6_n_dt
The Independent	p. 18	Holy war strikes India; 35 Christians killed and 50,000 forced from their homes by Hindu mobs enraged at Swami's murder Government sends paramilitaries in to Orissa as relief camps fill up with refugees from religious violence Eyewitness report	10.9.2008	m_10_9_n_i
The Times	p. 26	Why the Congo needs art as well as food	11.11.2008	m_11_11_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 20	UN protest as Afghan executions resume	11.13.2008	m_11_13_n_dt
The Times	p. 44	Sex-slave father charged with murder of incest baby	11.14.2008	m_11_14_n_t
The Independent	p. 38	Fashion guru guilty of sex assaults on young models; Spectacular fall from grace for man who worked with Mary J Blige and Paris Hilton	11.15.2008	m_11_15_n_i
The Daily Telegraph	p. 6	Foreign rapists get chance of early release	11.17.2008	m_11_17_n_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 3	Mirren criticises women jurors in rape cases	11.17.2008	m_11_17_n_dt(2)
The Guardian	p. 4	National: For men who pay for sex with trafficked women, ignorance is no longer a defence: New law threatens rape charges and imprisonment: Kerb crawlers and brothels face police crackdown	11.19.2008	m_11_19_n_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 13	Buddhist monk admits sex attack on British tourist	11.20.2008	m_11_20_n_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 13	Young tennis star accused of rape at university party	11.20.2008	m_11_20_n_dt(2)
The Guardian	p. 32	Afghanistan: Acid attacks and rape: growing threat to women who oppose traditional order: Female MPs speak out as conditions worsen and Islamists gain respectability	11.22.2008	m_11_22_n_g
The Times	p. 6	The Austrian way of justice seems better in such a case	11.26.2008	m_11_26_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 17	The British Fritzl jailed for raping daughters	11.26.2008	m_11_26_n_dt
The Independent	p. 4	Agencies should have picked up on the signs that would have revealed abuse	11.26.2008	m_11_26_n_i
The Independent	p. 4	The 'British Fritzl' and his 27-year reign of terror; Violent rapist who inflicted a life of brutal abuse on daughters given 25 life sentences Judge demands to know why social workers and	11.26.2008	m_11_26_n_i(2)

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The Independent	p. 6	Social services admit failings on rapist father; Prime Minister 'utterly appalled' by plight of abused daughters	11.27.2008	m_11_27_n_i
The Daily Telegraph	p. 6	Rapists handed; a caution	11.28.2008	m_11_28_n_dt
The Times	p. 21	DNA hunt could identify killer who struck in 1946	11.5.2008	m_11_5_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 5	Rapist is caught by DNA taken 12 years after attack	12.11.2008	m_12_11_n_dt
The Times	p. 40	I tried and failed. It's time someone else arrested Robert Mugabe; We flunked an opportunity to jail Mugabe in 1999 and prevent eight years of murder, mayhem, starvation and disease, says Peter Tatchell	12.12.2008	m_12_12 _t
The Guardian	p. 10	Guardian Weekly: Congo's endless war against women: Systematic rape is used as a 'weapon' to punish and terrorise	12.12.2008	m_12_12_n_g
The Guardian	p. 16	Guardian Weekly: Police retrace killer's trail	12.12.2008	m_12_12_n_g(2)
The Times	40, 41	End of eight-year ordeal for family as Japanese killer is sentenced to life; Mother of British hostess wept as judge ruled that Obara was guilty of abducting and dismembering her daughter, writes Richard Lloyd Parry in Tokyo	12.17.2008	m_12_17_n_t
The Independent	p. 26	Women find their voice on a quest for justice; They are among the most vulnerable of Bangladesh's marginalised people. Andrew Buncomb meets disabled rape victims seeking protection in the law	12.18.2008	m_12_18_n_i
The Daily Telegraph	p. 3	THE INVESTIGATION; Obsessed with the wrong man, the police ignored a rapist already on their radar	12.19.2008	m_12_19_n_dt
The Independent	p. 7	Young mother and daughter who caught prying eye of deadly rapist; Victims 2 and 3	12.19.2008	m_12_19_n_i

The Independent	p. 1	A DEATH FORETOLD; Robert Napper's mother warned police in 1989 that her son was a danger to women. Nothing was done. Three years later Rachel Nickell was killed. Yesterday he confessed to the shocking crime Police say sorry as schizophrenic admits he killed Rachel Nickell Officers missed at least six chances to hold sex attacker	12.19.2008	m_12_19_n_i
The Independent	p. 6	Six mistakes in serial killer hunt; The failure to heed the warning of Robert Napper's own mother was only the first in a catalogue of errors which left a loner free to stalk, rape and kill with rare brutality. How life changed for the grieving relatives and blundering police mother continued to claim victims	12.19.2008	m_12_19_n_i(2)
The Times	p. 6, 7	Delusional, depraved, terrifying: a criminal to match the Ripper; Napper left clues to his most notorious murder but was aided by shocking police failures, Sean O'Neill writes The Killer	12.19.2008	m_12_19_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 2	Life on sex offender; list breaches rapists' rights, say judges	12.20.2008	m_12_20_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 17	Son describes terror of living with 'British Fritzl'	12.20.2008	m_12_20_n_g
The Times	p. 11	Police to question Nickell killer again over 'puzzling gaps' in his confessions	12.20.2008	m_12_20_n_t
The Independent	p. 12	Man jailed after fathering two children by daughter	12.23.2008	m_12_23_n_i
The Guardian	p. 6	Vicky Hamilton murder: Schoolgirl killer suspected of four more murders: Police reopen inquiries after tracking handyman's movements	12.3.2008	m_12_3_n_g
The Independent	p. 14	Killer trapped by son's DNA; The mystery of Vicky Hamilton's disappearance in 1991 has finally been solved after a convicted murderer was found guilty of killing her	12.3.2008	m_12_3_n_i
The Guardian	p. 22	International: Austria: Fritzl daughter leaves psychiatric hospital	12.30.2008	m_12_30_n_g
The Independent	p. 20	Mother on a mission to make a real difference; Yovita is bringing justice to anarchic refugee camps after her 14-year-old daughter fell victim to a rapist. By Daniel Howden	12.31.2008	m_12_31_n_i
The Independent	p. 4	After 30 years' exile, Polanski challenges US rape charge; Film director claims new evidence proves he was the victim of 'judicial misconduct'	12.4.2008	m_12_4_n_i
The Guardian	p. 28	Special report: Congo rape testimonies: Inside the villages where every woman is victim of hidden war: The Guardian has obtained remarkable video footage documenting sexual violence against women in Congo. Chris McGreal explains how rape became a 'weapon of war'	12.5.2008	m_12_5_n_g
The Guardian	p. 45	Saturday: Reply: Letters and emails: The banality and reality of evil	12.6.2008	m_12_6_g
The Times	p. 20	A horrible spree through the past	2.1.2008	m_2_1_t
The Times	p. 8	Rapist aged 11 drank lager and vodka before attack	2.1.2008	m_2_1_n_t

The Daily Telegraph	p. 1	More rapists being spared jail	2.11.2008	m_2_11_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 16	Japan: US marine arrested for rape of Okinawa girl, 14	2.12.2008	m_2_12_n_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 10	Lost data let rapists roam free for a year	2.20.2008	m_2_20_n_dt
The Independent	p. 18	Student's murder: Police suspect 'Beast of Ardenes'	2.21.2008	m_2_21_n_i
The Times	p. 11	On-the-run rapist had history of absconding	2.23.2008	m_2_23_n_t
The Times	p. 33	A coward to the end: Bellfield avoids his victims and the court but will die in jail	2.27.2008	m_2_27_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 18	Rice 'regret' over rape of Japanese schoolgirl	2.28.2008	m_2_28_n_dt
The Independent	p. 4	Abuse victims win historic ruling on compensation	2.5.2008	m_2_5_n_i
The Independent	p. 24	Sunni vs Shia: the real bloody battle for Baghdad	2.5.2008	m_2_5_n_i(2)
The Times	p. 25	Teenager 'raped as she lay dead or dying'	2.6.2008	m_2_6_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 14	Escaped mental health patient charged with raping schoolgirl	2.7.2008	m_2_7_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 14	Man accused of raping girl after fleeing secure hospital: Major inquiry launched into how he absconded: Questions raised over why police issued no warning	2.7.2008	m_2_7_n_g
The Times	p. 21	Fugitive psychiatric patient is charged with rape of girl	2.7.2008	m_2_7_n_t
The Times	p. 37	Six professors are accused of gang-raping students	2.7.2008	m_2_7_n_t(2)
The Daily Telegraph	p. 14	Justice for rape victims is a postcode lottery	27.12.2008	m_27_12_n_dt
The Times	p. 2	Drug dealers blamed for rising death toll in India's hippy paradise	3.10.2008	m_3_10_n_t
The Independent	p. 36	Grisly appeal of student life in Perugia	3.11.2008	m_3_11_i
The Independent	p. 10	Suspect appears in court over girl's murder in Goa	3.11.2008	m_3_11_n_i
The Times	p. 24	French serial killer a suspect over British student's death	3.11.2008	m_3_11_n_t
The Times	p. 15	Goa victim's mother calls for 'FBI inquiry'	3.11.2008	m_3_11_n_t(2)
The Daily Telegraph	p. 19	Pity is the least the parents of the murdered or missing deserve	3.12.2008	m_3_12_dt
The Guardian	p. 9	Crime: Mother of dead teenager faces care questions	3.12.2008	m_3_12_n_g
The Times	p. 28	You should have taken better care of Scarlett, minister tells victim's mother	3.12.2008	m_3_12_n_t
The Guardian	p. 18	Traumatized South African children play 'rape me' games	3.13.2008	m_3_13_n_g
The Independent	p. 8	Second man held over Goa killing	3.13.2008	m_3_13_n_i
The Guardian	p. 41	Rape suspects have the right to be presumed innocent	3.14.2008	m_3_14_g
The	p. 13	National: Alleged drug dealer arrested over Goa	3.14.2008	m_3_14_n_g

Guardian		killling		
The Independent	p. 14	Indian police say Scarlett was given drugs, raped and left on beach to drown	3.14.2008	m_3_14_n_i
The Times	p. 28	Two men held over Scarlett's rape and death	3.14.2008	m_3_14_n_t
The Guardian	p. 30	Saturday: The land where the hippy trail reaches a historic impasse: Adventurous travellers have found many things in Goa. Innocent escape was never one of them	3.15.2008	m_3_15_c_g
The Guardian	p. 5	Football: Evans will not be prosecuted over alleged rape	3.15.2008	m_3_15_n_g
The Guardian	p. 8	National: Crime: Negligence charge for mother over Goa murder	3.15.2008	m_3_15_n_g(2)
The Times	p. 15	I was jailed for knifing a sex pest, Scarlett's mother admits	3.15.2008	m_3_15_n_t
The Guardian	p. 6	Briton saw Goa suspect 'on top of teenager' on night she died	3.17.2008	m_3_17_n_g
The Times	p. 2	Outrage greets prison service report on man who absconded to rape	3.19.2008	m_3_19_n_t
The Times	p. 39	Minister to make statement on absconder who raped girl	3.20.2008	m_3_20_n_t
The Times	p. 9	Minister acts to prevent prisoners who abscond returning to open jails	3.21.2008	m_3_21_n_t
The Guardian	p. 7	Media: On the press: This reckless reporting cannot continue	3.24.2008	m_3_24_n_g
The Times	p. 28	New attempt to prove that serial rapist killed Lucie Blackman	3.26.2008	m_3_26_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 23	Wife 'lured virgins for Ogre of the Ardennes'	3.27.2008	m_3_27_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 19	International: French court to hear of couple's 'murderous pact': More charges as man admits raping and killing 7: Wife accused of helping husband to find 'virgins'	3.27.2008	m_3_27_n_g
The Times	p. 40	'Virgin hunter' killer and wife face justice	3.27.2008	m_3_27_n_t
The Times	p. 45	I am devoid of human sentiment, serial killer says in note to court	3.28.2008	m_3_28_n_t
The Times	p. 47	Killer is dragged to court to face victims' relatives	3.29.2008	m_3_29_n_t
The Independent	p. 6	Mother of girl found dead in Goa accuses police of 'cover-up'	3.3.2008	m_3_3_n_i
The Times	p. 5	Mother accuses Indian police of covering up girl's rape and murder	3.3.2008	m_3_3_n_t
The Times	p. 22	Mother returns home with Scarlett's body, hoping for a new post mortem	3.31.2008	m_3_31_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 4	Police admit rape case failures	3.4.2008	m_3_4_n_dt
The Independent	p. 18	Pictures back claim that girl was murdered	3.4.2008	m_3_4_n_i
The Times	p. 39	Mystery Briton knows who murdered my girl on beach, says mother	3.4.2008	m_3_4_n_t
The Times	p. 11	Foreign women must be more careful, Goa chief says after girl's 'murder'	3.5.2008	m_3_5_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 2	Stars in Their Eyes killer jailed for 38 years	3.7.2008	m_3_7_n_dt

The Guardian	p. 9	New investigation into teenager's Goa beach death: Mother accuses police of rape and murder cover-up: Pathologist had claimed 15-year-old drowned	3.8.2008	m_3_8_n_g
The Times	p. 4	Policeman in Scarlett inquiry dismissed	4.12.2008	m_4_12_n_t
The Guardian	p. 13	Goa witness alleges police harassment	4.17.2008	m_4_17_n_g
The Guardian	p. 8	No action over 'rape' of woman with learning difficulties	4.17.2008	m_4_17_n_g(2)
The Times	p. 21	Parents face the Ogre of the Ardennes	4.17.2008	m_4_17_n_t
The Times	p. 11	Taxi driver held over student's murder	4.28.2008	m_4_28_n_t
The Independent	p. 2	A nation asks: how could Fritzl conceal his crimes for so long?	4.29.2008	m_4_29_n_i
The Independent	p. 4	Fritzl told captives he would gas the cellar if they tried to escape	4.30.2008	m_4_30_n_i
The Times	p. 25	Jersey man, 68, held over rape claims	4.30.2008	m_4_30_n_t
The Independent	p. 18	Police begin to piece together tortured life of Elisabeth Fritzl	5.1.2008	m_5_1_n_i
The Times	p. 11	Legal teams intimidated and harassed me during trial, rape victim claims	5.1.2008	m_5_1_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 16	Rapist who killed girl of 14 'had human right to housing'	5.10.2008	m_5_10_n_dt
The Independent	p. 28	Fritzl may be tried for murder over baby son's death	5.10.2008	m_5_10_n_i
The Daily Telegraph	p. 11	Human rights law 'shielding rapists'	5.14.2008	m_5_14_n_dt
The Independent	p. 22	Rape victim tells of night she was attacked by the 'peeping Tom'	5.2.2008	m_5_2_n_i
The Independent	p. 22	Sister-in-law reveals Fritzl inflicted years of sadistic humiliation on wife	5.2.2008	m_5_2_n_i(2)
The Times	p. 42	Money, sex and drugs put holy men under a cloud	5.21.2008	m_5_21_n_t
The Independent	p. 18	Fritzl's daughter, 19, is eased out of coma	5.28.2008	m_5_28_n_i
The Daily Telegraph	p. 15	'Ogre of Ardennes' gets life for rape and murder spree	5.29.2008	m_5_29_n_dt
The Times	p. 33	'Ogre of Ardennes' will die in prison	5.29.2008	m_5_29_n_t
The Independent	p. 30	THE MAKING OF A MONSTER; For the past week the world has been transfixed by the appalling crimes committed in Amstetten. But now it has emerged that Josef Fritzl was the victim of brutal abuse at the hands of his mother. Could this explain the man he became?; A life of abuse	5.3.2008	m_5_3_n_i
The Times	p. 43	Bollywood plans film of Scarlett's murder	5.3.2008	m_5_3_n_t
The Guardian	p. 10	National: Boys questioned over school rape claim	5.31.2008	m_5_31_n_g
The Guardian	p. 14	International: Austria: Father who kept daughter in cellar is insane: lawyer	5.5.2008	m_5_5_n_g
The Independent	p. 16	Catastrophe tourists descend on Austrian 'House of Horrors'	5.5.2008	m_5_5_n_i

The Independent	p. 18	Fritzl began bunker plan when his daughter was 12	5.6.2008	m_5_6_n_i
The Daily Telegraph	p. 16	Fritzl was 'extreme pervert who scared brothel's prostitutes'	5.7.2008	m_5_7_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 22	International: Somali refugees speak of horrific war crimes: Mutilation, gang rape and civilians 'killed like goats': All parties to blame, says new Amnesty report	5.7.2008	m_5_7_n_g
The Independent	p. 22	I am a victim, not a monster, says Josef Fritzl	5.8.2008	m_5_8_n_i
The Independent	p. 22	'IT WAS GREAT FOR ME TO HAVE A SECOND PROPER FAMILY IN THE CELLAR WITH A WIFE AND A FEW CHILDREN'; In an extraordinary and brazen interview, Josef Fritzl has tried to justify why he imprisoned his daughter and, in bizarre terms, describes their life underground. Tony Paterson reports; Confessions from the cellar	5.9.2008	m_5_9_n_i
The Independent	p. 34	Fritzl's daughter wakes to first glimpse of world outside cellar	6.12.2008	m_6_12_n_i
The Guardian	p. 29	Ethiopia military accused of rape and torture in fight against rebels	6.13.2008	m_6_13_n_g
The Times	p. 14	Legal definition of rape will make idea of 'consent' clearer	6.19.2008	m_6_19_n_t
The Times	p. 9	Sex assault suspicion falls on England players after 'rowdy party at team hotel'	6.19.2008	m_6_19_n_t(2)
The Guardian	p. 5	Rugby union: Players decline to answer NZ police questions	6.20.2008	m_6_20_n_g
The Independent	p. 54	'Accused' face rape allegations from police	6.20.2008	m_6_20_n_i
The Times	p. 86	England four refuse to face police interview on sex attack allegations	6.20.2008	m_6_20_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 19	Rape is ruled a war crime by UN decides	6.21.2008	m_6_21_n_dt
The Daily Telegraph	p. 7	England rugby team banned from taking women to rooms	6.21.2008	m_6_21_n_dt(2)
The Independent	p. 50	Andrew stands firm as night on town echoes on-field shambles	6.23.2008	m_6_23_n_i
The Times	p. 65	Andrew rejects blame for tour fiasco	6.23.2008	m_6_23_n_t
The Times	p. 67	England's less celebrated stars find that obscurity can be an ally	6.23.2008	m_6_23_n_t(2)
The Guardian	p. 4	National: Leslie faces rape inquiry	6.24.2008	m_6_24_n_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 7	Profile From scandal-hit celebrity to obscure property developer	6.25.2008	m_6_25_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 7	Leslie says rape allegation is a 'stitch-up'	6.25.2008	m_6_25_n_g
The Independent	p. 2	Leslie condemns 'trial by media' after facing new rape accusation	6.25.2008	m_6_25_n_i
The Times	p. 9	Ex-broadcaster John Leslie condemns fresh rape claims as 'trial by media'	6.25.2008	m_6_25_n_t
The Independent	p. 10	Ealing rape victim will stand against David Davis	6.27.2008	m_6_27_n_i

The Daily Telegraph	p. 15	Sex attacker freed to kill woman in front of baby	6.28.2008	m_6_28_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 4	Addict who murdered had been freed on bail: Killer struck eight days after rape arrest: Police disagreed with CPS decision	6.28.2008	m_6_28_n_g
The Times	p. 5	Bailed rape suspect turned killer eight days later	6.28.2008	m_6_28_n_t
The Guardian	p. 10	National: Warning to public in hunt for man wanted over two rapes	6.30.2008	m_6_30_n_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 6	Freed teenager raped mother-to-be	6.4.2008	m_6_4_n_dt
The Independent	p. 26	Global net closes on Mugabe's gang	7.10.2008	m_7_10_n_i
The Daily Telegraph	p. 3	Sex claim England players named; But official rugby report says there; is no evidence of criminal wrongdoing	7.11.2008	m_7_11_n_dt
The Times	p. 92	England players brought to book	7.11.2008	m_7_11_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 13	Man freed to rape again despite saying he would do it	7.12.2008	m_7_12_n_dt
The Times	p. 34	Family who took killer's cash sold out to evil, says Blackman mother	7.14.2008	m_7_14_n_t
The Guardian	p. 14	Darfur conflict: Sudan's president charged with genocide: Prosecutor seeks warrant from international court: Khartoum stays calm after African Union assurances	7.15.2008	m_7_15_n_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 5	Naval officer 'cried rape' after sex with ex-boyfriend	7.16.2008	m_7_16_n_dt
The Times	p. 35	Anger as bishop tells victims to stop dwelling on old wounds	7.17.2008	m_7_17_n_t
The Times	p. 33	Silence of cellar children could cut incest father's sentence to ten years	7.18.2008	m_7_18_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 17	Profile; Poet, psychiatrist - and architect of a massacre	7.22.2008	m_7_22_n_dt
The Times	p. 34	Judges overturn 'tight jeans' rape ruling	7.23.2008	m_7_23_n_t
The Times	p. 33	With a jig and a wave of his cane, the President plays peacemaker in Darfur	7.24.2008	m_7_24_n_t
The Times	p. 11	Spiritualist world splits over failure to expel charismatic healer who raped his patients	7.4.2008	m_7_4_n_t
The Guardian	p. 11	Rugby union: Auckland four to be named next week as letter prolongs inquiry	7.5.2008	m_7_5_n_g
The Times	n=107	n="107"> <head>Letter keeps shadow over England four	7.5.2008	m_7_5_n_t
The Guardian	p. 7	Convictions for rape a postcode lottery, says equality group	7.7.2008	m_7_7_n_g
The Times	p. 22	Justice can't be done in secret. And here's why	7.9.2008	m_7_9_t
The Guardian	p. 9	Courts: Woman can sue £7m lottery win rapist	7.9.2008	m_7_9_n_g
The Guardian	p. 13	Woman in 1988 sex attack can sue Â£7m lottery winner: Rapist bought Lotto ticket on day release from prison: Judgment sets precedent on time-limit regulations	7.9.2008	m_7_9_n_g(2)
The Times	p. 22	Dozens more rape compensation payouts cut because victims had been drinking	8.13.2008	m_8_13_n_t

The Guardian	p. 13	Rugby union: Rugby union: Care breaks silence about New Zealand tour and leaves the June jolts behind	8.15.2008	m_8_15_n_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 13	Troops dig in and show no sign of leaving; Trail of rape and destruction is left across the country by South Ossetian irregulars seeking vengeance for claimed atrocities	8.18.2008	m_8_18_n_dt
The Times	p. 32	Rape attack on tourist couple reignites row over immigrants	8.25.2008	m_8_25_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 13	Migrants at Calais camp 'gang rape' London student	8.29.2008	m_8_29_n_dt
The Times	p. 3	Robbery, then rape at gunpoint: a couple's ordeal in Caribbean villa	8.4.2008	m_8_4_n_t
The Times	p. 33	Guesthouse rapist is freed after three months	8.5.2008	m_8_5_n_t
The Times	p. 13	Ex-police chief who raped his daughter is jailed for 10 years	8.6.2008	m_8_6_n_t
The Independent	p. 8	Club drugs implicated in date-rapes to be outlawed	8.8.2008	m_8_8_n_i
The Independent	p. 2	Mirren talks of her date-rapes, then provokes furore with views on sex attackers; Actress reveals attacks and cocaine use while in her twenties, but calls for softer approach to men who date-rape	9.1.2008	m_9_1_n_i
The Guardian	p. 6	National: Courts: Cab driver on trial for alleged passenger rape	9.10.2008	m_9_10_n_g
The Independent	p. 20	Zuma rape cartoon prompts ANC fury	9.10.2008	m_9_10_n_i
The Guardian	p. 33	Police interviews with rape complainants are totally professional: The video evidence is there for all to see: officers neither scorn nor cajole, says David Wolchover	9.17.2008	m_9_17_n_g
The Times	p. 24	Some rapes should not end up in court	9.2.2008	m_9_2_t
The Independent	p. 14	IS HELEN MIRREN RIGHT ABOUT DATE RAPE?; Theactress stepped into a political and social minefield when she claimed date rape should not be a matter for the courts. Paul Vallely examines an issue which raises divisive issues of women's rights and personal responsibility A question of consent	9.2.2008	m_9_2_n_i
The Guardian	p. 26	International: Zimbabwe: The beaten dare to hope for change as cautious optimism returns	9.20.2008	m_9_20_n_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 15	Profile; Rape and corruption charges fail to dent Zuma's popularity	9.22.2008	m_9_22_n_dt
The Independent	p. 10	Rape claims increase at psychiatric wards	9.25.2008	m_9_25_n_i
The Daily Telegraph	p. 9	Why was man who raped me set free to assault others?; Victim says attacker should have been taken off streets	9.26.2008	m_9_26_n_dt
The Times	p. 41	Vengeful Christians turn to murder as Hindus step up their killing campaign	9.27.2008	m_9_27_n_t
The Guardian	p. 10	National: Man who raped schoolgirl after fleeing hospital sent to Broadmoor	9.9.2008	m_9_9_n_g
The Times	p. 13	Killer patient who raped girl shown violent films	9.9.2008	m_9_9_n_t

The Guardian	p. 5	Charities: Women's services: Battle cry for a system in crisis: Many women's services, established after decades of struggles, are being dismantled due to lack of secure funding. But the woman representing them, Vivienne Hayes, tells Annie Kelly that she is not giving up	9.10.2008	m9_10_n_g
The Guardian	p. 32	Leading article: Prosecuting rape: The justice gap	1.14.2008	x_1_14_g
The Guardian	p. 15	Special report: 'Why is conviction rate so appallingly low?': The Guardian asked experts and a rape victim if the law should be changed to help increase convictions. These are their answers	1.15.2008	x_1_15_n_g
The Times	p. 24	Boy, 17, faces rape charge	1.16.2008	x_1_16_n_t
The Independent	p. 20	Official's son on rape charge	1.24.2008	x_1_24_n_i
The Times	p. 13	Prisoner on run from open jail raped girl	1.24.2008	x_1_24_n_t
The Guardian	p. 13	Lotto rapist ruling clears way for claims: Late compensation cases can go ahead, law lords say: Local authorities face rise in sex abuse payouts: Criminal justice: Avalanche of cases	1.31.2008	x_1_31_n_g
The Independent	p. 14	Lords ruling gives victim right to sue rapist	1.31.2008	x_1_31_n_i
The Independent	p. 28	Zuma pulls out of Tyson dinner	1.31.2008	x_1_31_n_i(2)
The Times	p. 4	Rape claim girl jailed	1.8.2008	x_1_8_n_t
The Guardian	p. 1	Front: National: Murdered student's 999 call was cut off	10.15.2008	x_10_15_n_g
The Times	p. 23	Adverts tackle low conviction rate for rape	10.16.2008	x_10_16_n_t
The Independent	p. 24	Murdered teenager may have scratched attacker	10.17.2008	x_10_17_n_i
The Independent	p. 12	'Emmerdale' star cleared of raping holiday girl, 16	10.18.2008	x_10_18_n_i
The Times	p. 13	TV actor cleared of rape	10.18.2008	x_10_18_n_t
The Times	p. 4	Rape comment ruling	10.25.2008	x_10_25_n_t
The Times	p. 4	Criminals murder 121 while on probation	10.31.2008	x_10_31_n_t
The Independent	p. 12	Killer 'thought no one would care' about victims	10.4.2008	x_10_4_n_i
The Independent	p. 18	Acid attacker will face retrial for rape	11.1.2008	x_11_1_n_i
The Independent	p. 10	Nine teenagers face jail over rape of girl, 14	11.11.2008	x_11_11_n_i
The Independent	p. 34	Fritzl charged with murder	11.13.2008	x_11_13_n_i
The Guardian	p. 4	National: Key points	11.19.2008	x_11_19_n_g
The Independent	p. 16	Most-wanted rapist surrenders in Spain	11.19.2008	x_11_19_n_i

The Independent	p. 12	WI lifts lid on home violence	11.25.2008	x_11_25_n_i
The Times	p. 9	In court today	11.25.2008	x_11_25_n_t
The Times	p. 69	Judge entitled to comment on rape complaint delay	11.26.2008	x_11_26_t
The Times	p. 2	X for Unknown	11.27.2008	x_11_27_t
The Guardian	p. 13	National: Crime: Sold for sex: tale of 16-year-old trafficked into Britain	11.8.2008	x_11_8_n_g
The Times	p. 5	Slovakian denies raping and murdering businesswoman	12.10.2008	x_12_10_n_t
The Times	p. 4	Tobin to appeal over latest conviction	12.12.2008	x_12_12_n_t
The Times	p. 1	Blackman killer;	12.17.2008	x_12_17_n_t
The Times	p. 1	Hostess killer jailed; IN THE NEWS	12.17.2008	x_12_17_n_t(2)
The Independent	p. 34	An incompetent police force	12.19.2008	x_12_19_i
The Daily Telegraph	p. 3	The missed opportunities	12.19.2008	x_12_19_n_dt
The Guardian	p. 4	National: Rachel Nickell murder: Burning evidence: Eight missed opportunities	12.19.2008	x_12_19_n_g
The Guardian	p. 7	National: Rachel Nickell murder: Timeline: The countdown to justice	12.19.2008	x_12_19_n_g(2)
The Independent	p. 2	Guardian Weekly: World roundup: Asia/Pacific: Rapist guilty over death	12.19.2008	x_12_19_n_g(3)
The Independent	p. 8	Man jailed for abusing three daughters	12.23.2008	x_12_23_n_i
The Independent	p. 15	Rape liar imprisoned	12.23.2008	x_12_23_n_i
The Times	p. 14	Oxford Street killer	12.24.2008	x_12_24_n_t
The Times	p. 1	Sex killer guilty	12.3.2008	x_12_3_n_t
The Times	p. 29	In court today	12.5.2008	x_12_5_n_t
The Guardian	p. 16	National: Sexual violence: The names	12.6.2008	x_12_6_n_g
The Independent	p. 24	Nine teenagers guilty of raping 14-year-old	12.6.2008	x_12_6_n_i
The Daily Telegraph	p. 21	Rape victims are being let down by the law	2.11.2008	x_2_11_dt
The Times	p. 34	Okinawa rape arrest	2.12.2008	x_2_12_n_t
The Independent	p. 22	Man held over taxi rapes	2.16.2008	x_2_16_n_i
The Times	p. 31	'Cabbie drugged then raped victims'	2.16.2008	x_2_16_n_t
The Independent	p. 10	Cabbie charged over sex attacks	2.19.2008	x_2_19_n_i
The Times	p. 9	Sex attack charges	2.19.2008	x_2_19_n_t
The Independent	p. 36	Japan steps up executions	2.2.2008	x_2_2_n_i
The Times	p. 4	GP jailed for rape	2.2.2008	x_2_2_n_t

The Independent	p. 12	Court told of sex act regret over sex act	2.20.2008	x_2_20_n_i
The Independent	p. 26	Rape case brings curbs on troops	2.21.2008	x_2_21_n_i
The Daily Telegraph	p. 23	America's priority	2.28.2008	x_2_28_dt
The Times	p. 74	On This Day February 28, 1991	2.28.2008	x_2_28_t
The Guardian	p. 1	International: US apology to Japan for crimes by troops	2.28.2008	x_2_28_n_g
The Daily Telegraph	p. 14	Ex-Royal butler accused of rape	2.4.2008	x_2_4_n_dt
The Independent	p. 16	BBC presenter cleared of rape	2.9.2008	x_2_9_n_i
The Independent	p. 16	Rape accused 'victim of coincidence'	2.9.2008	x_2_9_n_i(2)
The Times	p. 4	Rape case dropped	2.9.2008	x_2_9_n_t
The Independent	p. 38	Marine accused of rape freed	3.1.2008	x_3_1_n_i
The Times	p. 11	Killer faces questions	3.11.2008	x_3_11_n_t
The Times	p. 8	Man is jailed for vicious sex attack on pensioner	3.11.2008	x_3_11_n_t(2)
The Times	p. 11	Rapist teacher jailed	3.11.2008	x_3_11_n_t(3)
The Times	p. 4	Serial killer charged	3.12.2008	x_3_12_n_t
The Independent	p. 14	Scarlett mother due in Goa court	3.15.2008	x_3_15_n_i
The Times	p. 42	Footballer cleared of rape allegations	3.15.2008	x_3_15_n_t
The Times	p. 35	Boy, 14, raped girl, 10	3.19.2008	x_3_19_n_t
The Times	p. 37	Abuse sentence goes to review	3.22.2008	x_3_22_n_t
The Independent	p. 16	Blackman family's appeal begins;	3.26.2008	x_3_26_n_i
The Independent	p. 14	Scarlett's body flown back to UK	3.29.2008	x_3_29_n_i
The Independent	p. 12	Goa mother to return with body	3.31.2008	x_3_31_n_i
The Times	p. 77	On This Day April 12, 1991	4.12.2008	x_4_12_t
The Times	p. 29	Teenager raped girl, 10, in shed	4.12.2008	x_4_12_n_t
The Independent	p. 26	Myths and outdated attitudes	4.16.2008	x_4_16_i
The Independent	p. 30	UN cuts food rations in Darfur	4.18.2008	x_4_18_n_i
The Independent	p. 36	Sheriff 'ran sex slave business'	4.19.2008	x_4_19_n_i
The Times	p. 11	Rape victim escaped by writing message on her captor's window	4.19.2008	x_4_19_n_t
The Independent	p. 18	Police 'let down' victim of honour killing	4.3.2008	x_4_3_n_i
The Times	p. 30	Jersey rape charge	5.1.2008	x_5_1_n_t
The Times	p. 44	Rapist jailed for killing girl, 14	5.10.2008	x_5_10_n_t

The Daily Telegraph	p. 4	Released rapist back in prison	5.17.2008	x_5_17_n_dt
The Times	p. 37	Teacher banned over sex talks	5.24.2008	x_5_24_n_t
The Independent	p. 20	Bemba arrested for war crimes	5.26.2008	x_5_26_n_i
The Daily Telegraph	p. 18	Boys arrested as girl reports rape at school	5.31.2008	x_5_31_n_dt
The Times	p. 29	Neighbour raped and murdered girl	5.9.2008	x_5_9_n_t
The Times	p. 11	Fears of sex killer as rape linked to murder	6.10.2008	x_6_10_n_t
The Times	p. 11	Sex trafficker jailed	6.11.2008	x_6_11_n_t
The Times	p. 4	Park rape charge	6.12.2008	x_6_12_n_t
The Guardian	p. 30	Leading article: Zimbabwe: War of terror	6.18.2008	x_6_18_n_g
The Times	p. 71	No violation of rights to charge boy with more serious sexual offence	6.20.2008	x_6_20_t
The Times	p. 4	Murder case arrest	6.20.2008	x_6_20_n_t
The Independent	p. 12	John Leslie faces rape allegation	6.24.2008	x_6_24_n_i
The Times	p. 21	In court today	6.24.2008	x_6_24_n_t
The Times	p. 4	John Leslie arrested	6.24.2008	x_6_24_n_t(2)
The Independent	p. 36	Girl, 11, to have abortion in UK	6.28.2008	x_6_28_n_i
The Independent	p. 6	Murder blamed on failure of justice system	6.28.2008	x_6_28_n_i(2)
The Times	p. 29	Killer jailed for life	6.38.2008	x_6_38_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 13	Police fear return of serial sex attacker	6.7.2008	x_6_7_n_dt
The Times	p. 4	Rape case strategy	7.10.2008	x_7_10_n_t
The Guardian	p. 1	International: Sudan leader faces genocide charges	7.15.2008	x_7_15_n_g
The Times	p. 9	Chess girl's mother is questioned by police	7.15.2008	x_7_15_n_t
The Daily Telegraph	p. 15	Leslie in the clear	7.24.2008	x_7_24_n_dt
The Times	p. 4	John Leslie in clear	7.24.2008	x_7_24_n_t
The Times	p. 15	New taxi allegations	7.26.2008	x_7_26_n_t
The Independent	p. 14	Police urged to end rape 'postcode lottery'	7.7.2008	x_7_7_n_i
The Guardian	p. 28	Leading article: Rape: Insult after injury	8.12.2008	x_8_12_n_g
The Independent	p. 30	The stark truth about rape	8.13.2008	x_8_13_i
The Guardian	p. 11	Payout review in drink-related rape cases ruled out: Changing message	8.13.2008	x_8_13_n_g
The Independent	p. 10	Cut in compensation for rape victims who had been drinking	8.13.2008	x_8_13_n_i
The Guardian	p. 29	Systems still failing sex crime victims	8.19.2008	x_8_19_g
The Times	p. 17	Foster father who raped girls is jailed for 12 years	8.21.2008	x_8_21_n_t

The Times	p. 4	Dot-com rape charge	8.22.2008	x_8_22_n_t
The Times	p. 4	'Taxi' woman raped	8.23.2008	x_8_23_n_t
The Independent	p. 26	Sex attacks shock Italians	8.26.2008	x_8_26_n_i
The Independent	p. 20	Josef Fritzl may face slavery and murder charges	8.5.2008	x_8_5_n_i
The Independent	p. 20	Father 'kept girl captive for years'	9.10.2008	x_9_10_n_i
The Times	p. 51	Child rapist jailed	9.12.2008	x_9_12_n_t
The Times	p. 23	'They refuse to speak up against rape. It's seen as embarrassing'	9.26.2008	x_9_26_n_t
The Times	p. 22	Double rapist is sentenced to eight years' jail	9.4.2008	x_9_4_n_t
The Independent	p. 18	Rapist 'allowed porn DVDs'	9.9.2008	x_9_9_n_i

APPENDIX B

CODE OF PRACTICE

- Identify violence against women and girls (VAWG⁶⁸) through the internationally accepted definition in the 1993 UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women⁶⁹.
- Never imply that a survivor of VAWG might be somehow, even partly, to blame for the violence she experienced, nor assume/imply that any of her behaviours might have triggered/avoided the abuse.
- Do not blame something or someone else for the violence (e.g. substance misuse, sexual history, family background, the assumed negligence of parents, marital status, culture, religion, appearance).
- Do not write the story assuming that she is lying and he is innocent.
- Avoid referring to a person who has been abused as “sex victim” or “accuser”. Many women who have been abused refer to themselves as “survivors⁷⁰” rather than “victims”.
- Do not refer to the abuser as a “monster”, “fiend”, “maniac” or “beast”, implying that abusers are an exceptional deviation from the norm.
- Do not make the perpetrator invisible by using passive tenses (e.g. domestic violence does not kill two women a week, male partners do).

⁶⁸ VAWG is a term which has a specific legal meaning in international law. It is not a description of victim-survivor-survivors but of crime types (human rights abuses) and refers to a set of abuses which are either experienced by women because they are women (such as Female Genital Mutilation -FGM) or which are experienced disproportionately by women (such as rape). It does not mean that men and boys cannot also be victim-survivors of some of these abuses, but that fact that these human rights violations are gendered has significance for both male and female victim-survivors. When men are raped, for example, it is the fact that this is a crime experienced predominantly by women that causes victim-survivor-survivors to commonly question their sense of masculinity/sexuality. Similarly, it is the fact that domestic violence is overwhelmingly experienced by women that causes so many victim-survivors to frame their experience as ‘normal’. Two recent major research studies by the World Health Organisation and the European Parliament both concluded that progress in reducing and preventing these human rights abuses lies in ensuring gender equality and that focusing on other issues will yield less effective outcomes.

⁶⁹ Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.

⁷⁰ The word “victim” refers to someone who has been killed or destroyed or who has suffered a loss. It is vital to acknowledge that many women are killed by men, many more may feel aspects of their selves were destroyed and many of them experience losses. The term “victim”, however, makes invisible the other side of women’s victimization: the active and positive ways in which women resist, cope and survive. Without this perspective, and given the extent of sexual violence, women can be presented as inherently vulnerable to victimization and as inevitably passive victims. (Kelly, 1988).

- Rape is not to be associated with “sex” or “love”, as if consent was present. Likewise, domestic violence is never a “crime of passion” caused by “too much love” or “excessive love”.
- When reporting about domestic violence, avoid using expressions like “volatile relationship”, as if the abuse was between two people.
- If the woman worked as a prostitute, this is not her whole identity; avoid referring to her as “lady of the night” or “hooker”.
- When reporting on cases of sexual abuses, avoid focusing on the morbid details of the violence and presenting rape as soft pornography/titillating news. Add a “sexually violent content” warning.
- Be thoughtful of the positioning of the story.
- In case of false allegations, provide facts and figures to show that they are a small minority of cases.
- Avoid giving gratuitous advice to women on how to dress, behave, when (not) to go where and with whom. Address men and explain how a change in their behaviour is required to prevent abuses.
- Do not use faux concern for women and their rights in order to go to war or to fight terrorism.
- Avoid showing empathy with the abuser and his life after the incident.
- Partisan sources of information (e.g. family, friends) should be used only if available from both sides. If not, they should be avoided or challenged with data or experts’ opinions.
- Do not treat a single incident of violence in isolation. Always contextualise it within the broader framework of VAWG, adding facts, figures and experts’ opinions, in order to increase the depth of understanding of the problem.