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A discursive analysis of the narratives emerging from coverage of rape in South African newspapers

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Journalism masters by coursework and research

Masters research report

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Abstract

Rape is a predominant crime and a social issue in South Africa today. South Africa's incidence of rape is among the highest in the world. Identifying and understanding the dominant rape narratives in news media is useful in pinpointing how the media represents the crime of rape. It is understood through agenda-setting theory that news media plays an important role in how topics come onto the national agenda, giving news media a particular influence in society. Further, through discourse analysis and narrative theories, research has shown how what people read and hear can influence their understanding of those matters, and can drive social change or maintain the stability of social structures. Some theorists take this further, arguing that narrative fundamentally informs how humans make sense of the world, that reality is discursively constructed. The research below attempts to access, reveal and unpack these dominant narratives as they pertain to rape, using a combination of corpus-based analysis and critical discourse analysis techniques on two corpora of South African newspaper text from the first quarter of 2013, and tied to a specific case study, the rape and murder of Anene Booysen. The resultant findings also provide a snapshot of the dominant ideology and social practices in South Africa over the time period studied, as discourse and narrative are implicitly tied to power in society.

Declaration

I declare that this work is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Masters of Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

_____
Kate Ferreira

_____ day of _____ 2016

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1. Introduction

South Africa has some of the highest violent crime and sexual violence statistics in the world (Moffett 2006; Vetten 1998; Bonnes 2013), and the topic of rape features in news media and on the national agenda regularly, with increased coverage when a particularly shocking incident (such as the Booysen case) or annual awareness campaign drives increased public interest (for example, the annual '16 Days of Activism' for no violence against women and children). In the 2013/14 crime statistics, more than 46 000 rapes were reported to the South African Police Service[1], and research has shown that rape is significantly under-reported (R. Jewkes and Abrahams 2002).

Quantifying rape is, however, only one aspect of understanding this crime and its position on the national and media agendas. Another crucial element is coming to a better understanding of the representations of rape victims and rapists, and understanding how the crime of rape is discursively constructed in the South African news media: Although news media in South Africa does cover incidents of rape and the country's alarming rape statistics, their role in the discursive construction of rape and reiteration of rape narratives is arguably under-played, obfuscated by unspoken claims of adherence to journalistic principles (such as truth and impartiality), and invoking the notion of the media as a mirror to society or reality (Gurevitch et al 1988). Rather, research has shown that news media frequently contains potentially confusing and misleading characterisations of the rape of crime, and rape myths, as well as clouding the matters of the frequency of the crime[2] and the race and class of both victims and perpetrators (Los and Chamard 1997; Protess et al. 1985; Estrich 1987; R. K. Jewkes et al. 2010; Bonnes 2013; Worthington 2008).

[1] See more analysis of the available crime statistics below

[2] An example of this is broadcast media company Primedia's rape awareness campaign in 2013 that was premised on incorrectly interpreted rape statistics. Primedia undertook to represent the volume of rapes in the country with a beep every four minutes. It was later shown that they had both their source statistics wrong (combining rape and sexual offenses) and their maths wrong ("SA Radio Station's Rape Stats Factually Incorrect" 2015).

In line with existing critical inquiries into media representations of rape, the research project on which this report is based is underpinned by the following question: What are the dominant rape narratives emerging from South African national newspapers?

The research starts from the premise that understanding these prevailing perceptions of rape and sexual violence in South Africa is important for formulating ideas of how to address or counter rape myths, and contribute to countering this type of crime in South Africa. Furthermore, it takes the position that the patterns of representation within news media allow us to access, to a degree, some of these perceptions, and some of the prevailing discourses, enabling us to assess how certain perceptions are formulated, replicated, conveyed and reinforced as news narratives. Additionally, research on media effects has demonstrated how the news media has an impact on how social issues (such as rape) are understood by media audiences. The focus of the research is, therefore, a critical analysis of how incidents of rape, stories of rape or rape narratives, the victims/survivors, and the perpetrators/rapists are discursively constructed in mainstream South African media.

The research intends to access these dominant news narratives through an eclectic approach, bringing corpus linguistics (CS) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) techniques to bear on two collections (or corpora) of newspaper articles, and using both agenda-setting and narrative theory to consider how rape may come to be on the news media agenda, how rape is represented in the media, and what this tells us of the discourses at work around this issue in society and news (more on research questions below). The first corpus is a representative corpus of three months of newspaper articles specifically mentioning the word ‘rape’ from early 2013, and is called the Q1 2013 corpus. The second corpus examines a large sample of the coverage of the rape of Anene Booysen – and this is referred to as the ANENE corpus below. Booysen was raped and disembowelled in Bredasdorp in the Western Cape province of South Africa on 2 February 2013. This crime was extensively reported in the media both in South Africa and internationally, making for a potentially fruitful media case study for analysis. The Q1 2013 corpus covers rape coverage in South African newspapers in general (not tied to a specific incident) in a time period immediately contiguous to the Anene case study event.

The analysis of the resulting research data was divided into two parts; firstly, a quantitative corpus-based analysis, drawing out trends and patterns in the language of newspaper coverage of the crime of rape; and thereafter, a focused critical discourse analysis of a smaller sample of articles focusing specifically on the Booysen case and falling within the three-month timeframe. (See also Section 5 Methodology below for more detailed discussion).

1.1 Background and context

One of the first problems that one encounters is obtaining any reliable sense of how widespread and common rape is in the country. In 2007 the Sexual Offences and Related Matters Amendment Act 32 was adopted, widening the existing legal definition of rape within South African law. Today, the definition is gender-neutral, and defines rape as "any person ('A') unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration with a complainant ('B'), without the consent of B", including penetration with fingers and objects (Bonnes 2013).

While the broader definition is undoubtedly a positive step in terms of prosecuting sexual offences (recognising hitherto neglected categories of sexual offences, such as male rape and rape within a marriage), it does mean that the crime statistics from years prior to the passing of this Act cannot be reasonably compared with those subsequent to it, potentially undermining the ability of those in the criminal justice community and in academic research to meaningfully analyse long-term trends within this category of crime.

The amendment to the law is not the only reliability problem with the nation's sexual offences crime statistics. Unlike murder, a category of crime that is relatively easily verified, other things than the number of rapes may influence fluctuations in the rape figures reported. Chief among these is the police's own attitudes towards this crime (Peltzer 2002; Boakye 2009), and the level of public trust the police and wider justice community enjoy in a given period (Sigsworth et al. 2009; R. Jewkes 2002). Therefore, changes in the reported rape or sexual offenses figures may not be reflective of any real rise or fall in the number of rapes happening in the country.

Over 65 000 sexual offences (including rapes) were reported to the police in the 13/14 reporting period (SAPS). New organisation Africa Check – in their analysis of the latest available crime statistics – writes: "Reported cases of rape stabilised, with a slight decrease of 3%, since 2008/9 from 47 588 to 46 253 in 2013/14" (Africa Check 2014). Additionally, the way SAPS is assessed could effectively bias members of the police service towards under-reporting. Africa Check captures the conundrum succinctly, writing:

> Currently, the police are expected to reduce violent crime by between 4% and 7% per year. This creates a disincentive for police to record all violent crimes reported to them (2014)

For all these reasons and more, rape is a notoriously unreported crime. Some attempts have been made to go beyond the official statistics and estimate the total incidence of rape in the country. Research conduced by the SA Medical Research Council (MRC) and non-governmental organisation (NGO) Gender Links in 2010 found that only one in 25 women who reported that they were victims of rape also reported it to police in a Gauteng-based study (Gender Links 2010). A previous study by the researchers with the MRC pegged the number at closer to one in nine (R. Jewkes et al. 2014). Applying these findings to the SAPS crime statistics suggests that the true number of annual rapes is more likely to fall in the range of 416 277 to 1 156 325. This estimate is not intended to present itself as an accurate figure (given the cross-use of annual data and non-correlating reporting research); it is however intended as illustrative of the scope of under-reporting.

Another contributing factor to the under-reporting of rape is the high rate of acquaintance and intimate partner rape that researchers believe exists. Gender Links (2010) found that "one in 13 women reported non-partner rape", however they do not specify a rate for acquaintance rape reporting. But if the overall rate established in their own report is one in 25 (as mentioned above), and the non-partner rate is one in 13, this suggests that 'acquaintance rape' is more prevalent than so-called 'stranger rape'. Despite this, this fact about the perpetrators of the majority of rapes is often lost in the media coverage of rape and sexual assault. Instead news media seems to

reinforce the idea that "most rapists are strangers to their victims" (Los & Chamard 1997; Reddy & Potgieter 2006; Worthington 2008, in Bonnes 2013).

2. Aim and Rationale

As outlined above, rape is an important social issue in South Africa. There is a wealth of academic literature analysing rape and sexual violence in South Africa from a range of disciplines including anthropology, criminology, gender studies, law, public health, linguistics and politics (Sigsworth et al. 2009; Abrahams et al. 2009; Vetten 2011; Vetten 1998; Merry 2009; R. Jewkes 2002; Sikweyiya and Jewkes 2009); This is somewhat less so within South African media studies, and there appears to be few research projects that bring together theoretical approaches to assess the matters of narrative and the discursive construction of rape in the news media in South Africa (see however Krige and Oostendorp 2013; Bonnes 2013). It is a goal of the research to contribute to the existing literature in this regard.

It is not merely 'interesting' to gain an understanding of how this crime is reported. Agenda-setting research, within the research area of media effects theories, has shown that news media play a role in influencing what people feel are the important issues for public attention and debate (McCombs and Shaw 1972; Dearing and Rogers 1996). Early research into media effects attempted to trace evidence of an assumed direct impact or effect of media content on what audiences thought. Later, however, studies showed a stronger correlation between media coverage and an issue's presence on the public agenda, influencing what people think about, rather than what they think (Moriarty 1998). In these ways, agenda-setting research has shown how the media contributes to issues achieving salience and visibility in the public sphere, contributing to how important society considers an issue to be, relative to other issues on the media agenda. Further research in this area has also focused on how the media and public agendas come to be formed, including who sets the agenda and in what ways. Agenda-setting theory can thus also contribute to an understanding of the drivers of social change and the maintenance of social stability.

Agenda-setting is "an on-going competition among issue proponents to gain the attention of media professionals, the public and policy-elites" (Dearing and Rogers

1996, 2). An issue or problem must appear in mass media to be considered a public issue (ibid). McCombs and Shaw (1972) demonstrated how media coverage can affect the public's perception of an issue's relative importance. This is communicated to an audience in more than one way within a text – such as inclusion (or exclusion) of particular issues, and an issue's prominence within the media product (front page, leading bulletin etc). The influence of media on public opinion is, however, not a directly causal link: Dearing and Rogers (1996) caution that audiences of these agenda-setting messages are not passive recipients, but rather that they "co-construct" (ibid, 5) what they receive through their own life-experience to create meaning for an issue. And significantly, prominence in the public agenda and news media does not necessarily correlate with an increased incidence of said issue. For example, research has demonstrated how coverage of the "war on drugs" in the US increased, along with the public's reported concern about drugs, at a time when drug use was actually declining (Bare 1990).

Viewed through the lens of agenda-setting, then, the coverage of rape in media could be said to contribute to the issue's relative position within the public agenda. And, likewise, which 'types of rape' (such as stranger rape) or rape narratives appear in news media will influence which rapes are considered 'worthy' of national or public attention. Thus, what the media report and how they report it has broader implications for society, for shaping the public agenda, and – as will be discussed in the Literature Review below – for potentially limiting or extending access to justice.

Not only does the media have a role to play in what kinds of issues people are concerned with, and how important they consider those issues to be, news media can be said to inform a person's fundamental conception of the world. [News] narratives are "a re-presentation of reality from a particular perspective" (Hazel 2007, 2). Hall (1997) calls newspapers sites of meaning, produced and exchanged, through representation Moreover, narrative theory finds that text producers use familiar narrative structures as a kind of 'short-hand' for conveying meaning in (news) texts, and that narratives are how people 'make sense' – out of the events, and even out of the senseless, the unconnected, and the non-causally related (Fulton et al. 2005; Hazel 2007; Landau 1984). Therefore another applicable sub-question for the research is whether news media are susceptible to "narratisation" (Landau 1984) of rape in news

media, and how this contributes to or informs the discourse, the "language above the sentence" (Stubbs 1983) in news coverage of incidents of rape.

Narrative theorists have argued that, in this way, narratives can contribute to the maintenance or upset of social structures and practices, which links to the goals and contributions of discourse analysis. As Foucault (1978) argued, narrative is a vehicle for dominant ideologies. The research therefore relies on discourse analysis as a means of accessing the underlying positioning, discourses and emerging narratives of the texts to be analysed. Discourse analysis can expose society's dominant ideologies, as well as the ideological struggles present in a society at a point in time, because these are often to be found within the presence or invisibility of issues on the media agenda.

Given this, the concerns for this research include:

- How is rape discursively constructed in South African newspapers and media?
- What attitudes towards or opinions about rape (and rapists, rape victims) can be revealed through the analysis?
- What other topics or issues (alcohol use, so-called 'risky' behaviour) are linked to rape in coverage of rape in our news media?
- Does this coverage contribute to or perpetuate gender- or racially-based myths or assumptions about the perpetrators and victims of rape?
- If, as has been argued, "repeated exposure [to these patterns and narratives] may have an impact on the public understanding"(Holoshitz and Cameron 2014, 182) of rape, what may be said about the commonly covered (or uncovered) types of rape in SA media?

The research furthermore proposes to ask, given the above:

- Do mainstream news media narratives of rape in South Africa align with contemporary feminist definitions of rape, and if not, do they perpetuate rape myths, misalign with rape statistics, or otherwise contribute to "rape culture"?

Upon conclusion, the research hopes to offer a focused and critical assessment of rape coverage within news media, specifically within the time period analysed (January to

March 2013, see Methodology for more) and in relation to a specific rape event case study.

3. Theoretical framework

The research grounds itself in the principles of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and corpus-based analytics, within the tradition of feminist media studies. Finally, although the research does not make use of narrative theory as a method, it does draw on narrative theory to attempt to explain the implications of these constructions for media audiences and the South African public, given that narrative contributes to how people remember and make sense of (rape) stories, and how these stories shape the perception of 'reality'.

3.1 Feminist media studies and content analysis

Feminist media studies is a strand of research that critically examines the representation of people and the construction of identity within media, particularly as it pertains to gender (although also frequently probing related issues of identity, including race and class). It is a multidisciplinary field, operating within the broader framework of gender studies and feminist theory. The representation of women in media – including journalism, advertising, film, and so on – is a primary concern of feminist research (Silveririnha 2001).

Feminist theory drove a transformation in thinking (and legal revisions) on the issue of rape and sexual assault (D. F. Herman 1988). In pre-modernity and up to the early 20th century, criminal law, religious instruction and general writing on the topic represented rape as an offence against fathers and husbands, constructing women's bodies as belonging to and governed by men, with their value linked to their (perceived) sexual purity (Brownmiller 1975; Herman 1988). Feminist theorists and activists contributed to a new narrative around this – that the raped woman was the victim herself, that she had legitimate claims to bodily integrity and authority over her own body – through "speak-outs", critical writings, and other interventions. Additionally, feminists have argued that rape functions as a patriarchal control mechanism (ibid); as a signifier of the continued systemic gender inequality in

society; and that rape is far more common than had previously been suggested (Griffin 1971).

The resulting research and writing were intended to challenge rape culture – a pervasive culture within society that characterises sex and heterosexual relationships within a patriarchal frame of submission and domination (Herman 1988) and normalises sexual violence (Buchwald, Fletcher, and Roth 1994). Activists and researchers have worked for decades to address rape culture and rape myths, and change the public understanding of rape. For example, in 1982, the US-based feminist publication *Ms magazine*[3] published a series of articles on date or acquaintance rape (D. F. Herman 1988) aimed at demonstrating the degree to which this type of sexual assault occurs on campuses in the United States, and to challenge the widespread belief that violent stranger rape is the only "real rape" (Estrich 1987) – a commonly held rape myth.

Martha Burt defined rape myths as "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists" (1980, 217). These include (but are not limited to) the idea that a healthy woman should be able to resist rape if she wanted to, that women 'ask for it', that they falsely accuse innocent men of rape as revenge or motivated by regret after consensual sex, as well as the idea that women secretly enjoy or are sexually aroused by rape. For a more extensive discussion of rape myths, see Section 4 Literature Review.

A large body of literature on different socio-political contexts has demonstrated that there is a tendency to use the language of consensual sex when describing a criminal sexual assault in media (Holoshitz and Cameron 2014; Worthington 2008) and in court proceedings (Ehrlich 2001; Ehrlich 1999); to employ rape myths in the telling of these stories; to mitigate the agency and responsibility of perpetrators; to nominalise verb-action into the noun or passive form thus removing the culpability of a rapist (Ehrlich 2001); to ascribe causal attributions which may not exist (Los and Chamard 1997; Franiuk et al. 2008); and finally, to treat rape as exceptional, out-of-the-

[3] Founded in 1972 by Gloria Steinem and Letty Cottin Pogrebin among others, and is a hugely influential periodical for contemporary feminism

ordinary and untypical while the available statistics show this to be fundamentally not the case (Worthington 2008). Research about South Africa also indicates that rape is routinely positioned as a race and class issue (Rohland 2009), "creat[ing] an image of the rapist as poor and black and this image serves to undermine the role that gender inequality plays in … rape" (ibid, 4). Texts that endorse rape myths are also linked to the perpetuation of stereotypical gender and sex roles, and "negative evaluations of rape survivors" (Franiuk et al 2008, 290; Burt 1980).

There is a strong tradition of using content analysis techniques within feminist media studies (Gill 2007). Here the focus tends to be quantitative with a focus on uncovering the frequency of gender representation (including the visibility of women in media, the gender spread of experts interviewed in news reports, and gender representation in the producers of media themselves), "using a coding framework that has been created and agreed in advance" (ibid, 43). In the early days of feminist media studies, much of the writing (and the resulting content analysis) came from outside of the academy, from an activist perspective (Gallagher 2001). This strategy and its overemphasis on 'counting' without grounding the work in a social and political context (ibid), however, Gallagher argues, tended to detract from the importance of the work itself. Likewise, feminist narratology "insists on placing narratives in their historical and cultural contexts" (D. Herman, Jahn, and Ryan 2010).

With this in mind, the current research report does not take an explicit activist stance, and is cognisant of the political and social context in which it operates. By bringing this awareness of context to bear on the discourse analysis to be undertaken, the research report seeks to combine related and interlinked theoretical frameworks – feminist theory, narrative theory and discourse analysis – with the intention to pursue a gender-aware, critical analysis of the embedded narratives of newspaper rape coverage.

3.2 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysts engage with texts as vehicles for meaning and information (discourses) bigger than the elements of the text themselves, as well as seeing the texts themselves as the tools and sites of the represented reality's construction.

Discourse analysis is thus inherently multi-layered, as discourse has been defined as "language above the sentence" (Stubbs 1983) and "language in use" (Cameron and Panović 2014), as well as the "practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault 1972).

Within the field of discourse analysis, one approach is critical discourse analysis (CDA), which, as the name itself highlights, takes a *critical* stance on issues of representation. Differences notwithstanding, CDA practitioners agree that no text (written, spoken, visual, and so on) is ideologically neutral. CDA views language as socially constituted, and as simultaneously constitutive of society (Fairclough 1995). Whereas content analysis concerns itself with unearthing and understanding the information contained within a text, CDA is a means to revealing how this information is linguistically constructed in the text, as well as the social practices from which it comes and the ideology intrinsic to it (Cameron and Panović 2014).

Norman Fairclough is one of the leading CDA theorists. He was strongly influenced by the work of Foucault (1972), and his linkage of 'power/knowledge' – which situates power not merely in physical might, but also in the ability and authority to "define, describe and classify things and people" (Cameron and Panović 2014). Against this backdrop, language is not free-floating, but inextricably linked to social life and texts (language in use) as, thus, social events. Fairclough writes that there are two causal factors at play on the production of these social events called texts – firstly social agents (people), and secondly social structures and practices (2003, 22).

Fairclough calls these social structures "very abstract entities" (2003, 23), but adds that these define (or limit) a set of possibilities. These might be things such as a class or economic structure. The practices, he says, are ways of managing or controlling these possibilities (ibid). Also, he argues, "social agents are not 'free' agents" (ibid). Individuals have agency in their readings and their own understanding or extraction of meaning from texts, but they are still operating within society, and thus constrained by existing social structures (ibid). Applying CDA to the research then allows a researcher to access not only the constructed meaning of social events (text), but also to uncover dominant social practices surrounding the production of the text, and – to a degree – the ideology the texts themselves convey (Fairclough 2003; Cameron and

Panović 2014; Ehrlich 2001). As Foucault argues: "It is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together" (1978, 100).

3.3 Narrative theory

Narratives are the "basic and constant form of human expression" (Hazel 2007, 1), appearing in effectively every imaginable form of communication – in visual and performance art, oral history, in written texts, and news media. They are the story behind the text – a selection and representation of events that aids in sense-making. Fulton et al brands them as a "form of representation" (2005, 1) and "ways of structuring and representing lived experience" (ibid, 27).

Narrative has been a subject of study since Aristotle (Fulton et al 2005). Prominent theorists initially concentrated on form, plot and character (Propp 1927; Todorov 1969; Fulton et al 2005), and were termed structuralists. Later narrative theories in the second half of the 20th century, on the other hand, largely leaned toward post-structuralism, emphasising subjective readings and interpretation (Fulton et al 2005). Huisman writes that post-structuralist studies, "with their awareness of the perspective, the subjectivity of any interpretation, have paid explicit attention to the subject: that is, the human being doing the producing or interpreting of narrative" (in Fulton et al 2005, 39).

Contemporary narrative theories grew out of both approaches and noteworthy thinkers include Barthes (1970) and Bal (1997). Traditionally, scholars have chiefly focused on unpacking narrative forms within literature and fictional texts, but as mass media grew in importance, so has an interest in examining news narratives (in Fulton et al 2005). These are, like all narratives, "reality reconfigured" – through ordering of events within a concept of linear time (often implying causality), and event selection – and "a *re-presentation* of reality from a particular perspective" (Hazel 2007, 2, emphasis his own). In a news report on a rape, for example, detailing that a woman was drinking or wearing a revealing outfit prior to her rape (ordering) may be interpreted as a causal statement because of the narrative's linear structure.

Furthermore, news narratives – unlike fairytales or other fiction – contain an implicit, and often explicit, claim of truthfulness in a quantifiable and demonstrable way. This potentially gives narratives emerging from news media even more powerful, persuasive claims on the way people make sense of their lives and the world as they experience it. This includes not only the news genre called narrative journalism and sometimes new journalism or literary journalism, but also the traditional news genre of short, "dry" news journalism output too.

If media are guilty of prioritising one type of rape over another, such as repeatedly telling the "violent black poor stranger rapist" rape narrative, and emphasising mitigating rape myths about acquaintance rape, then one could argue that they are committing a similar agenda-setting fallacy to the War on Drugs example discussed above (where coverage went up as drug use declined), and viewed through the narrative lens, it is evident that this begins to reshape the "reality" of rape for media consumers, reinforcing rape myths that are likely already common discourses in a patriarchal society.

Narrative theory is closely linked to the principles of discourse analysis. Foucault (1978) called narrative a vehicle for dominant ideologies, arguing that these can be wielded as instruments of power. The "processes of ordering", inclusion and exclusion are shared concerns for theorists of both discourse and narrative (D. Herman, Jahn, and Ryan 2010) .

Pairing a CDA approach to the analysis of texts with the acknowledged influence of media on the public agenda (as explored in Agenda-setting Theory above) and the persuasive, sense-making nature of (news) narratives, gives this study a multi-disciplinary theoretical framework from which to explore the implications of rape myths and dominant rape narratives in South African media. In this sense, this research draws on related, over-lapping, but ultimately distinct theoretical schools. The primary methods employed in the analysis stage are critical and corpus-based discourse analysis (see more detailed discussion on corpus methods in Section 5 below). But arguably the outcome belongs, at least partly, to the realm of feminist media studies. At their core, feminist media studies, CDA and narrative theory all share a concern with uncovering (and in certain cases, countering) dominant

hegemony and power within texts, with revealing the way these texts construct and represent the world.

4. Literature review

This research draws from a number of relevant sources to locate itself within the context of academic research applicable to the enquiries undertaken. The discourse analysis component of this research attempts to unearth evidence of rape myths and misleading constructions of rape in the news media corpora, as a means of uncovering the dominant discourses contained therein. Rape myths are widely accepted beliefs about sexual assault "that serve to trivialize the sexual assault or suggest that a sexual assault did not actually occur" (Franiuk et al. 2008, 288).

The concept of rape myths emerged in various feminist academic and activist writing in the 1970s, but is strongly associated with (and arguably much indebted to) the work of researcher and analyst Martha R. Burt (1978, 1980). Burt defines rape myths as "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape", and about victims and perpetrators (Burt 1980, 217), contributing to "rape culture" (D. F. Herman 1988; Burt 1980) .

Rape myths include the following:

> 'only bad girls get raped'; 'any healthy woman can resist a rapist if she really wants to'; 'women ask for it'; 'women "cry rape" only when they've been jilted or have something to cover up'; 'rapists are sex-starved, insane, or both' (Burt 1980, 217)

and

> … Women mean 'yes' when they say 'no'; women are 'asking for it' when they wear provocative clothes, go to bars alone, or simply walk down the street at night; only virgins can be raped; women are vengeful, bitter creatures 'out to get men'; if a woman says 'yes' once, there is no reason to believe her 'no' the next time; women

> who ‘tease’ men deserve to be raped; the majority of women who are raped are promiscuous or have bad reputations; a woman who goes to the home of a man on the first date implies she is willing to have sex; women cry rape to cover up an illegitimate pregnancy; … (Torrey 1991, 1014-1015)

The “net effect” of these myths, Burt argues, “is to deny or reduce perceived injury or to blame the victims for their own victimization” (Burt 1980, 217). In doing so, rape myths also function to exclude certain types of rapes and rape victims from those that are deemed to constitute “real rape” (Estrich 1987). “Real rape” is an amorphous and subjective social construct of a sexual assault that is perceived to be unambiguously rape – where blame can be wholly situated with the perpetrator. In contrast, rape myths act to apportion some of the blame to victims based on their behaviour or even their identity.

A related concept here is Freeman’s (1993) work on the representational categorisation of women as either “rapable” or “unrapable” – categories that are constructed through the application of rape myths, and often used in criminal proceeding to endorse or deny a victim’s rape. Freeman comes to these through her study of the representation of victims in a selection of criminal cases, and determines that race, class and sexual “availability” (often just being sexually active) all impact how “rapable” a woman is considered – or, stated otherwise, how likely it is that a “sexual encounter will be called ‘rape’” (ibid, 533). Through this, rape myths are used to create a hierarchy of victims and rapes.

It has been demonstrated that these myths contribute to a culture of hostility towards victims of rape, and support the maintenance of patriarchy and a prevalent “ideology that effectively supports or excuses sexual assault” (Burt 1980, 218). These myths are embedded in the criminal and legal systems. Through their limiting of the definition of rape to only cases where no cause for rape myth application or questioning is present, they function to limit access to justice and assistance for rape victims (Torrey 1991; Burt 1980; Chennells 2009).

But how do they come to be embedded in the legal system, and in society at large? A contributing factor is their reproduction in the media, the discourses and narratives therein (Bonnes 2013; Los and Chamard 1997; Worthington 2008), and the agenda-setting effect of the media on society and policy-makers (Protess et al. 1985; Dearing and Rogers 1996).

Stephanie Bonnes (2013, 210), argues that "media portrayals of rape are therefore important because they have the potential to shape societal perceptions of rape". Her work is an analysis of gender and racial stereotyping in the coverage of rape in *Grocott's Mail*, a small community newspaper based in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape, and is thus particularly relevant to this research report. Bonnes's research[4] examined 35 articles from *Grocott's* that cover incidence of rape over the course of a year (October 2008 - October 2009), revealing several of the above outlined rape myths about victims, as well as a racial bias in the coverage too – a stark contrast in the ways that white and black rape victims and rapists were constructed in the newspaper. She concludes that *Grocott's* "tends to use rape myths that blame the victim for the rape and de-emphasise the role of the perpetrator in the rape" (Bonnes 2013, 1), creating a double standard that both faults victims and excuses rapists.

Research has furthermore revealed that rape myths are not just present in media texts, they are enduring – possibly because they form a kind of circular reinforcement pattern with beliefs already held by media audiences. This is explored by two other particularly relevant studies, from Franiuk et al (2008) and Nancy Worthington (2008).

In the former, Franiuk et al (2008) undertook two separate and connected studies in an investigation into the frequency of the appearance and effect of rape myths in the

[4] There are a few correlations between Bonnes' work and the focus of this research report, as well as some significant differences, and departures in methodologies. This research concentrates on a much larger set of articles from a larger set of publications with wider audience reach. For example, *The Star* sold 84000 copies per issue in Q3 2014 compared to *Grocott's* 2593. So while Bonnes's focus was local press in a specific town, and she did not use CS methods for analysis, the data collection and analysis mechanism for this research report resulted in a sub-corpus of national coverage (Q1 2013), a largely representative sample of the country's news media, and drew out all articles within the corpus containing the keyword 'rape' in the time period covered. This research will, therefore, enable the researcher to access broader trends within rape coverage in the country's national and regional media as a whole.

Kobe Bryant case print media coverage. Bryant was a professional basketball player in the US who was accused of date rape. Firstly, they completed textual analysis of rape myths present in the print news coverage of the alleged crime and pre-trial events, and, secondly, a reception study testing the effect of these myths on the opinions of readers. An aspect that emerged from the Franiuk et al (2008) study was the resilience of rape myths in the face of motivated beliefs, such as "just-world explanations". Rapes that challenge the stereotype of "real rape" also challenge the notion of a just-world – a world in which "good things happen to good people and bad things happen to bad people" (ibid, 289). Acceptance of incidents that defy this belief could undermine people's sense of fairness, safety and justice. Simultaneously, the application of rape myths may limit access to justice for victims of non-stereotypical rape (Franiuk et al. 2008), as "people are likely to employ one or more rape myths to explain away the assault" (ibid, 288).

News media's coverage and construction of rape and sexual assault stories, they argue, "prime and reinforce" these myths (ibid, 291), both when they report on the dominant (in news media) stranger rape examples and the less frequently covered acquaintance rapes. They tested articles for the presence of Burt's rape myths (1980), finding that only 13 of the 156 articles examined included statements that countered prevalent rape myths, and on average stories contained "1.66 myth-endorsing statements". They further concluded that when study participants were exposed to articles with rape myth-endorsing statements, they were increasingly likely to rate Bryant lower on the probable guilt scale used by the researchers, calling this "the potential devastating effects of the saturation of media coverage of sexual assault cases with rape myths," (ibid, 300).

The research also found that not only does the media coverage of "acquaintance rape perpetuate rape myths" (ibid, 301), it may also contribute to the social issue itself: Priming men's rape myth acceptance (through reinforcement in mediated texts, for example) correlated highly with self-reported probability of sexually assaulting a woman (Franiuk et al 2008, 290). And related research shows that women who endorse rape myths are more likely to be victims of coerced sex (rape) themselves (Muehlenhard and MacNaughton 1998).

Worthington (2008) further demonstrated the resilience of these myths, in the minds of media audiences. Her research examined the issue of oppositional and hegemonic readings of rape stories in television and online news (on a specific television news report broadcast in the US). She demonstrates, through her multimodal textual analysis, how even texts intentionally constructed to take a progressive stance on aspects of the issue of sexual violence against women are still nonetheless vulnerable to the dominance of rape myths and patriarchal discourses. As an example, she points to commentators on an online story about acquaintance rape specifically who continued to share strategies for avoiding stranger rape, demonstrating the power of the "misleading cultural discourses about rape" disseminated and maintained by news selection practices (Worthington 2008, 362). The dominance of this stranger rape myth, she says, also ties to the widely held idea that gender and sexual violence "occurs on the margins of society, rather than at its core" (ibid). She concludes that even in reading oppositional texts, the audience – as social agents operating within the social structure – interpret what they see and read through their own experiences and identity, in order to construct meaning from the discourses therein. Given this, it is perhaps not surprising that she finds the discourse of patriarchy irrepressible in the face of opposition (ibid, 365).

Clearly, a contributing factor to the maintenance of rape myths is the construction and narratisation of rape incidents in the media. Krige and Oostendorp undertook an examination of the construction of rape victims and rapists within *Drum* magazine's advice column, Dear Dolly, over two decades (1984-2004). They drew on CDA and critical feminist theory (CFM) to explore the "social relations and structures" (Krige and Oostendorp 2013, 1) conveyed by the text's language, seeking to reveal the way these shape or contribute to audience beliefs, public debate, social traditions and ultimately perpetuate the patriarchal social structures, because of the media's ability to influence public opinion, as demonstrated by agenda-setting research.

Their article posits, in line with CFM, that rape results from the unequal distribution of economic and political resources between the sexes, "allowing men to use sexuality to establish and maintain dominance" (ibid, 2). In this way, rape can be seen as a weapon of patriarchy, undermining women's "consciousness of their power" (ibid), particularly as it pertains to women's choice in procreation, and sexual experience and

expression. The authors look for the endorsement and replication of rape myths (drawing on Bourke 2007, Kloss and Leonard 1984) in mass media, connecting these with the discursive construction of the dominant social structure through the representation of those with and without power in society.

The *Drum* response-writers (operating under the guise "Sister Dolly") offer rape myths in their replies that perpetuate victim-blaming; the idea that violent sexual encounters form a part of normal, legal, consensual sexual relationships; and that women have considerable control in these instances, even when the question demonstrates a loss of control. The responses from "Sister Dolly" also reframe the question-writers' framing of rape in the terms of consensual sex. Although the researchers uncover a shift in the victim-blaming in replies published after 1994 (from more explicit blaming to the implicit), they believe that the latter is "equally problematic", given that these myths can evade direct contestation, leaving them "unchecked".

Drawing on Irvine and Gal (2000, 37), they show how these unchecked, un-countered interpretations can become "incontestable" due to "erasure" – the process through which social practices, and the ideologies that inform them, can be rendered invisible (Oostendorp and Krige 2013, 18) under the pretence of "common sense". In this way, the social structures that keep the sexes unequal and contribute to rape are simplified as "the way things are" or "natural".

The available literature has shown how rape myths are present in, replicated and reinforced in both international and local news media, and how this in turn feeds into a patriarchal social discourse. It has also shown how the construction of rape incidents in news texts can render the powerful social practices at play invisible, which imbues the resulting narratives with further persuasive power. The result is media texts, and audiences, that questions the "role" a victim took in their own assault (blame); positions rapists as either exceptional (mad, criminal, fringe of society) or as victims themselves (of their own biology, or of a woman's contrivance); and contribute to the dominance of representation of one type of rape – stranger rape. Naturally, all rape myths are not present in all rape narratives in the media, but their uneven presence and application could be said to aid their persistence – they are often nuanced in

presentation and harder to pinpoint, and thus to counter. Furthermore, the literature review has shown how news events (like prominent rape cases), issue proponents and media sources all play a role in bringing rape (and rape myths in their many guises) onto the public or news agenda.

5. Methodology

As discussed in the Theoretical Framework section above, the research brings together narrative theory and feminist media studies, and applies critical discourse analysis (CDA) and corpus linguistics (CS) methods, in its analysis of the body of newspaper articles. The intention with this layered approach is to reach a deeper understanding of both the patterns emerging from the corpus (and thus news coverage in the time period), and a critical awareness of the ways in which these news narratives contribute to dominant discourses around the issue of rape. It must be noted that this is not a diachronic study; instead it attempts to describe, examine and characterise the linguistic choices, discourses and attitudes at a point in time (the first three months of 2013) rather than attempting to map changes or consistency in these elements over time.

The focus of the analysis is discourse analytical in the sense that this research seeks to establish more than the linguistic choices undertaken, by asking about the ideology contained within the text: how the news articles narrate or tell of the rapes within them, how the rapes are discursively constructed, how the victims and rapists are represented, and thus how these people in the text – as actors and objects of action – are discursively constructed (ibid).

5.1 Mixed methods

Cameron and Panović (2014) suggest that "the goal [of CDA] is to uncover the assumptions and presuppositions that are embedded in a text by looking at the linguistic choices made by the text's producer(s)" (2014, x-xi). Within a CDA framework, analysts may look for examples of linguistic features such as nominalisation, hyperbole, implicature, metaphor and collocation, among others, as well as the broader (social, political, etc.) context in which a text came into being (Baker 2010), and the relationships between these and the discourse they reflect and recreate. One method that can be applied herein is Corpus-based discourse analysis or corpus linguistics (CS). This is "defined primarily by its use of particular analytic measures" (ibid), and looks for statistical trends and repetitions from text samples. Contemporary corpus discourse analysis often relies on technological tools or

software to mine large databases for these trends (ibid). “These approaches [CS and CDA] are not mutually exclusive, but can be used in combination if that is appropriate to the analyst’s goals and the data s/he has chosen to work with” (ibid). So, computer-assisted corpus-based analysis does not seek to replace the CDA model, but rather can be successfully combined with CDA techniques to provide another layer to the research, and “to triangulate the findings of CDA studies” (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008, 7) in seeking “patterns in large-scale corpora” (Baker 2010, 123). The approaches to both are wide ranging, but it is here at the level of interaction of CS and critical analysis that this research will operate.

A corpus is a database or collection of texts, comprising of naturally occurring language data (Baker 2010). The language data in the texts is termed naturally occurring in that it is not produced – spoken, recorded, typed, etc – for the sake of research but rather represents language in use within practices such as conversation, broadcasting, publication and so on. The corpus itself, on the other hand, is usually produced for the sake of said research, “to represent, as far as possible a language or language variety” (Sinclair 2005), and, given this, can shed light on the values of the social contexts from which the texts emerge (Baker 2010). Corpora are electronically stored and analysed in contemporary research (Sinclair 2005, Dobric 2009), and are used in many areas of linguistic studies, as well as other sociological and humanities-based fields, including lexicography, semantics and sociolinguistics.

As Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) (among others) have argued, in their work on the representation of immigrants and refugees in the British press, CS can reveal both explicit and hidden ideologies, “evidence for disadvantage”, and “quantitative evidence of linguistics patterns being repeatedly used in negative constructions…” (ibid, 6), which aligns strongly with CDA’s inherently critical stance. Additionally, by combining methods of both qualitative and quantitative analysis, the research attempts to counter some of the criticisms that have been levelled at each approach. A shortcoming of CDA, for example, is that the texts chosen for analysis could be poorly chosen, cherry-picked, too small to make up a representative sample of the genre or topic that they are meant to represent, or other “arbitrary selection” errors (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008). At the statistical level, CS methods of data sampling can counter this, and promote a degree of objectivity, allowing researchers to gather

(and later examine) texts without bringing their own (acknowledged or unrecognised) biases to bear on collation of said samples or databases. Thereafter, they allow scope for a critical analyst to apply an interpretative layer on top of the statistically sound data (Baker 2010; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Cameron and Panović 2014), which works to counter the most common criticism of quantitative methods – that the data on hand is meaningless or insignificant and does not acknowledge the context from which it emerges (Mautner 2009; Baker 2010; Wodak and Meyer 2001).

Corpus analysis uses software to reveal the frequency of words in a corpus, the keyness of words, as well as the collocations and concordances, as a means to "uncover[ing] evidence for discourses" (Baker 2010, 123). Collocates are words that appear together in a corpus more frequently than by pure chance. These need not be immediately next to a search term, but within a specific span as defined in the CS analysis software. Concordance reveals the search term in situ in the text, in the context of the surrounding words. Although CS tools are capable of finding singular uses of words or phrases, corpus analysis proponents argue that there is power in the patterns and repetitions of linguistic features. One means of establishing the relative frequency of words in one corpus compared to another (and thus an unusual frequency within a corpus) is through keyness. Keyness is a measure relative frequency of a keyword in one corpus compared to another (Baker 2008). Associations between words are created through their common co-occurrence, allowing them to function as linguistic primers (conjuring a semantic concept even when part of the associated phrase is not present), and in these ways, as carriers of discourse. Furthermore that discourse becomes naturalised through reiteration (Baker 2010; Fairclough 2003), leading to certain discourses appearing not as discourses at all but as fact, "common sense" or self-evident. This research report examines the corpora for instances of all of these measures, which are laid out in Findings and Discussion of Findings sections below.

In the application of both CS and CDA techniques, what is revealed is not the discourse itself – an analyst cannot physically see the discourse as one sees "marks on the page" (Sunderland 2004) – but rather linguistic features that may reveal a discourse, that which Talbot (1998, 154) calls their "traces". The tools of CS allow a researcher to draw out these patterns automatically, but the implications of such

patterns must still be carefully considered and explored. Thus it is important to remember that although CS uses software as a tool, the technique is both empirical and interpretative.

While taking a mixed methods approach to academic research is not without its critics, it is increasingly accepted (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). Media studies as a field is itself one that brings together a wide range of research angles because of its hybrid nature (Gunter 2002), and Wodak and Meyer (2001, 11) highlight mixed methods as means to "avoiding cherry picking" in their discussion on research agendas and challenges within CDA. Purists of the quantitative method argue that their tactic maintains academic distance, that objectivity is not merely possible but preferable (ibid). In opposition, the qualitative proponents take a constructionist view, rejecting the positivism of the former and emphasising the rich, observational path that they believe is theirs alone (ibid). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2001) make the case that both sides are fixedly focused on the differences and divisions of their viewpoints, while ignoring the middle ground, a "third chair". They write: "The goal of mixed methods research is not to replace either of these approaches but rather to draw from the strengths and minimise the weaknesses of both in single research studies and across studies" (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004).

This research set out to create a meaningful categorised sample of articles, coded by type of article, section, and so on, to draw out commonly co-occurring words, word clusters and the like, and to use these to establish an understanding of the dominant discourses emerging from national rape news narratives. As the Literature Review section above has highlighted, coverage of sexual violence and rape in the media tends to skew towards a specific narrative of stranger rape, and rape and murder, with class and race flagged. This gives the impression that rape occurs under threat or use of violence on the fringe of society, often affecting or enacted by a single race, and denying its central and prevalent nature (Holoshitz and Cameron 2014; Los and Chamard 1997; Bonnes 2013; Worthington 2008; Krige and Oostendorp 2013). This research report looks for similar instances, myths and biases in a sample of South African news articles, as well as any other problematic constructions not extensively covered in related literature. This will include examples of where implicit or explicit blame is assigned or if the incident is reported as passively happening, such as in 'a

woman was raped…' where the existence of a perpetrator, an agent, is subject to nominalisation (Fairclough 2003, 143) and the "social phenomena" inherent therein to "erasure" (Irvine and Gal, 2000, 37).

Secondly, through close analysis of the smaller secondary sample of news stories focused on a single case, the research aims to tease out more qualitative narrative and discourse elements, and illustrate the above larger trends in context. The analysis on the ANENE corpus will look for evidence of a double standard (Holoshitz and Cameron 2014; Worthington 2008; Los and Chamard 1997) in rape and sexual assault reporting, that uses both victim-blaming and perpetrator excusing/explaining in characterising the rape crimes covered. At this level, the analysis will attempt to reveal the presence of any rape myths included in the texts. The research also examines any emerging counter narratives present in the texts.

The Antconc software used to facilitate this research includes a "file view" tool, which shows the full text of the articles in which the lemma[5] RAPE appears, as well as related information (such as page number, byline, section, and so on, where this information is provided in the corpus). This will enable the qualitative aspect of the research, while maintaining a close link between the sample material and the quantitative assessment material, ensuring that the research report doesn't suffer from a lack of context.

5.2 Timeframe and selection of case study

In considering the methodology and subject at hand, their potential to reveal and their limitations, it is prudent to ask, why this timeframe? And directly related to that, what was it about the Booysen case that so captivated and shocked South Africa? In attempting to answer these questions, it is interesting to note that three weeks prior to the attack on Booysen, the BBC published a feature article written by African correspondent Andrew Harding entitled "Will South African ever be shocked by rape?". In it, the journalist writes that South Africans are "numb" to the horror of

[5] Lemma is a "base" form of a word. 'Rapes' and 'raped' are both part of the "lexeme" or set of words associated with the lemma RAPE.

rape, adding that they seem "unable to muster much more than a collective shrug in the face of almost unbelievably grim statistics" (Harding 2013).

Harding's statements of opinion, naturally, are not sufficiently tested and substantiated to be called fact, but if the writer was waiting for or calling on South Africa to have its "India moment" – referring to the mass protests and outcry following the December 2012 gang-rape of Jyoti Singh Pandey in Delhi – it could be argued that he didn't have to wait long.

As mentioned above, on 2 February 2013, 17-year old Booysen was raped and mutilated, in Bredasdorp – a small town in the Western Cape province of South Africa. She later died from her injuries. It was initially reported by several news media that Booysen had been gang-raped, but only one perpetrator (Johannes Kana) was ultimately tried for the crime in court[6]. He was found guilty and is currently serving two life sentences in prison. The incident received extensive media coverage – across print, online and broadcast media – both locally and internationally, perhaps at least in part because of the shocking violence inflicted on the young victim.

Whether it was the proximity in time between the Delhi rape and Booysen's (and perhaps too, the murder of Reeva Steenkamp in quick succession), or the brutality of the Booysen attack that lifted it out of obscurity in the news cycle to prominence on the national agenda is hard to say. Nonetheless, the incident was the subject of news headlines and texts for months, and continued to be a rich source for news text throughout the year and beyond, and it remains – like the 1994 rape and disembowelling of Alison Botha in Port Elizabeth – a moment of significant prominence in terms of placing gender and sexual violence on the national media and public agendas.

Because of the salience this case achieved in the national media, the Booysen case and the timeframe surrounding it offers an accessible and varied source of news media texts dealing with rape as a topic and issue on the public agenda.

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6 Three suspects were arrested in connection with the crime, and two were initially charged, but the state decided to drop charges against one, reportedly due to a lack of evidence.

5.3 The Corpora

Wodak and Meyer argue that although CDA is strongly rooted in theory, there is no standard formulation for "operationalising" its theoretical concepts (2001, 23) or for gathering data (ibid, 25). Some canonical texts on the subject neglect to even mention data collection (ibid). Discourse analysts are, despite this, primarily concerned with "typical texts", and the "unifying parentheses of CDA are rather the specifics of research questions than the theoretical positioning" (Ibid, 27) – focusing on what questions analysts attempt to answer through CDA, and not necessarily on which method is used.

In this research, the first step towards "operationalising" and uncovering these trends and the discursive strategies within was to choose which media to analyse. A decision was made to focus on articles from national and regional English-language newspaper (print editions), specifically the first three months of 2013. Firstly, this covers a time period after the passing of the new sexual assault legislation (as discussed briefly above) and consequently excludes possible legal or definitional inconsistencies in the application of the word rape. Secondly although global newspaper readership has been declining in recent years, with the exception of a few territories, newspapers remain a relatively popular medium, widely consumed and accessible. According to the All Media and Products Survey (AMPS) data from South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF), in June 2015[7], the average-issue readership of South African newspapers was 17.17 million adults or 44.9% of South African adults. Broadcast media – such as television and radio – show a much higher degree of penetration (upwards of 90%), but newspaper readership is on par with magazines (45.8%), while internet usage (of all sites, not just news media) sits at 41.7%[8]. From a text-based media perspective then, newspapers remain an important source of news and information in the country. Beyond the readership numbers though, newspapers are also sites of knowledge production, as well as representation and meaning (Hall 1997), and contribute to setting the national agenda. Newsprint also provides a wealth of textual material to analyse. Additionally, the time period covered includes an incident of rape that achieved extremely high prominence in the national media – the

[7] SAARF AMPS Jan15-Dec15 results will be released in April 2016

[8] This figure is showing rapid growth year on year

rape and murder of Booysen – making it a relevant and potentially revealing case study.

How representative a corpus is can be a significant concern in terms of evaluating the validity of any research conducted through the use of a given corpus (Biber 1993). Analysing the texts produced by a right-wing religion-based "men's group" for evidence of patriarchy may potentially produce many positive results, but those results would not legitimately be considered wholly indicative of the values and ideology of the broader society in which said group operates. The sample for this research has been drawn from a corpus (referred to herein as the PARENT corpus) compiled by E. Dimitris Kitis in the Department of Linguistics, School of Literature, Language and Media at the University of the Witwatersrand. The PARENT corpus contains text from twenty newspaper titles taken from the LexisNexis database, covering the period 2008-2014. The titles include a wide range of newspaper types, such as nationals (*The Times, The Star, The New Age*), regionals (*Daily Dispatch, Pretoria News, The Herald*), weeklies (*The Sunday Times, Mail & Guardian*) and dailies (*The Times, Business Day*). This includes titles from different media houses or owners (including the Times Media Group and Independent Newspapers). The full list of titles is presented in Table 1 below. This group of 20 titles also include a range of editorial stances ranging from conservative to liberal, pro-government to neutral and critical. It is a characteristic of the South African press that most newspaper titles do not state an overt political allegiance to a specific party or party position (Rodny-Gumede 2011), unlike the British press for example (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008), although naturally some papers take a more or less critical stance towards government than others.

The research examined two sub-corpora drawn from the PARENT corpus, and in the case of the ANENE corpus, subsequently enlarged with news from additional sources. In order to differentiate between the two and promote clarity in the research findings below (Sections 6 and 7), the first collection is referred to herein as the Q1 2013 corpus and the second, the ANENE corpus. As the names suggest, the former covers three months of newspaper articles, specifically the first quarter of the year from 1 January (to the 6 April 2013), and consists only of text from the PARENT corpus.

The ANENE corpus includes only articles that mention Booysen specifically, in the same timeframe, and was compiled from a combination of sources (more below).

While the PARENT corpus (and subsequently the Q1 2013 corpus) makes no claim to be totally representative of South African media – no corpus could be wholly representative – it is large enough to help eliminate concerns of cherry-picking or otherwise illogical selection. It is, furthermore, a representative sample of South African newspapers in such that no particular search terms/words were used to search and return texts when building the PARENT corpus.

Key points about that corpora and CS tool, Antconc, in summary:

1. Data company LexisNexis has an existing database of news text that it maintains and updates as a commercial product/service, to which it sells access. It also provides access to this database for research and academia on a subscription or discretionary basis. Media houses enter into an agreement with LexisNexis to allow them to collate and share their content. The database is very far reaching, but not wholly representative of all South African print media[9].
2. This large database of media text was downloaded, and converted into plain text files (.txt) by Kitis for the sake of academic research.
3. These text files can then be uploaded into an analysis tool, such as Antconc – a free software tool published by Dr. Laurence Anthony, Professor of Educational Technology and Applied Linguistics at Waseda University, Japan.
4. Antconc allows a user to analyse the text files for patterns and semantic occurrences. It can compile word lists of words appearing in the uploaded corpora, calculate the total number of unique words therein, show the frequency with which specific words occur in the text, pull out commonly co-occurring words (collocates) and, thus, reveal related patterns, and show a search word in context (concordance) as it appears in the news text. For example, Antconc can reveal how many times the word ‘rape’ appears in a single body of text or across a database of texts, as well as what other words

[9] Caxton, for example, a large publishing house in South Africa with many small community newspapers in its stable, is not included in the database, as they declined to allow LexisNexis the required permissions to retain and share their news output.

commonly co-occur with that search term (such as 'murder', 'woman' and so on). It also stores a full record of each of the articles that make up the corpus loaded in for analysis. This allows a researcher to see the complete article.

5. The Q1 2013 corpus text files are organised into a directory of files ordered by publication by week, which accounts for the inclusion of the extra days in April. Both corpora are examples of corpus downsizing, a tactic used within CS and CDA to reach a manageable body of texts for closer analysis (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008), and were rationalised using timeframes and specific lemmas, or words, as search terms.

Table 1: Newspapers included in the PARENT corpus, and their audience reach

Title	**Type**	**Region**	**Audience[10]: Jun '13**
Business Day	Daily	National	69 000
Cape Argus (incl Argus Weekend)	Daily	Regional	303 000
Cape Times	Daily	Regional	251 000
Daily Dispatch	Daily	Regional	224 000
Daily News	Daily	Regional	225 000
Mail & Guardian	Weekly	National	486 000
Post	Weekly	Regional	312 000
Pretoria News (incl Pretoria News weekend)	Daily	Regional	172 000
Sowetan	Daily	National	1 692 000
Sunday Times	Weekly	National	3 651 000
Sunday Tribune	Weekly	Regional	422 000
Sunday World	Weekly	Mulit-regional	1 620 000
The Herald	Daily	Regional	201 000
The Independent on Saturday	Weekly	Regional	190 000
The Mercury	Daily	Regional	217 000

[10] AMPS data 2013

The New Age	Daily	National	143 000
The Star	Daily	Multi-regional	661 000
The Sunday Independent	Weekly	National	91 000
The Times	Daily	National	290 000
The Weekender	Weekly	Regional	-
Total audience			**11 220 000**

There are 143 236 696 (1.4 million+) word tokens in the PARENT corpus. The three-month period covered by the research makes up a sub-corpus (Q1 2013 corpus) of 4 386 139 (4.3 million+) word tokens and 745 instances of the word 'rape' within 226 separate articles. Within the same three-month window, the word 'Anene' appears 90 times. The discrepancy in total frequency of the specific lemmas, and total article numbers, is partially due to syndication and principally due to these specific search words appearing multiple times within single news articles.

Though the PARENT corpus is extensive and far reaching, encompassing titles with a combined audience of over 11.2 million people, in some ways, as acknowledged above, it is limited: Print remains one of the most accessible and popular news media in the country – an estimated 44.9% of South African adults make up the average-issue readership of South African newspapers ("AMPS JUN 15" 2015) and almost one in six South Africans (of all ages) read a newspaper every day (De Lanerolle 2012). However, by 2013 many local newsrooms were 'breaking' news in their online channels. Thereafter, these publications use the print arm of their title to further explore or deepen their coverage of these news events through longer investigative pieces, or in opinion and analysis style articles, including softer features and personality-based columns. The implication of this for the research undertaken is that a large number of the whole body of articles covering incidents of rape and the subject of rape are not captured in the corpus and thus not analysed in this report. This division between online and print channels (where hard news is increasingly 'broken' first via online channels, while op-eds remain popular both in print and online), may go some way to providing an explanation of the preponderance of opinion-style (op-ed, columns and letters) articles in the Q1 2013 corpus.

During the analysis phase of this research, it also became apparent that some relevant articles were missing from the database. These are articles that had appeared in local print newspapers included in the corpus but that were not present in the PARENT corpus. The reason for the omissions could lie at several points in the chain – either they were not captured by LexisNexis in the first place, or they failed to download or were inadvertently missed in the corpus text file creation process. Despite this, for the Q1 2013 corpus any missing articles will have a negligible statistical impact. The corpus sample size of 226 news articles used for the CS analysis is large enough and broad enough (covering all 20 of the newspaper titles included in the PARENT corpus) to return statistically sound results, which are presented below.

These omissions have, however, necessitated a different approach for the ANENE corpus – which includes both articles from the Q1 2013 corpus and additional articles sourced online and through the SA Media database. The method of collection and reasoning behind this are outlined in more detail below (see Section 6.4 The ANENE corpus).

6. Findings

Before completing the corpus-assisted discourse analysis that constitutes the bulk of the analytic work of this research, an initial brief manual analysis of the Q1 2013 corpus content was conducted (see Tables 2, 3 and 4 below) using manual categorisation, tabulation and tools available in Microsoft Excel. Through this, it was established that the majority of newspaper articles that mention the word 'rape' during the first quarter of 2013 were published in the larger national and regional daily news titles. This is as expected, given their frequency of publication and broad focus. A full list follows in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Number of articles mentioning 'rape' in the Q1 2013 corpus, per newspaper

Publication	
Cape Times	36
Sowetan	27
The Star	24
Pretoria News	20
The Times	17
Daily News	17
Business Day	16
Cape Argus Weekend	14
Sunday Times	11
Cape Argus	10
The Mercury	7
Daily Dispatch	6
Sunday Tribune	6
The Herald	5
Post	4
The Mercury	3
Mail & Guardian	2

The Sunday Independent	1
Sunday Tribune	1
The Independent on Saturday	1
Total	**226**

An initial manual categorisation of all the articles was then conducted, separating them by article type. Of the 226 articles that make mention of rape, 123 could be classified as 'op-ed', a category which for the purpose of this research includes columns, editorials, and letters to the editor (public comment on issues or previous articles, and similar contributions). This category does not include features and profiles (of which there were very few), but is used to create a binary distinction between "hard news" coverage – resulting from a news event, generated from a new interview or official statement released, or investigation – and articles which explicitly offer the opinion of their authors (op-ed), either paid columnists or contributors, or unpaid contributions such as letters and public comment. In contrast, news articles numbered only 67, making it almost twice as likely that the word 'rape' in the newspapers of the Q1 2013 corpus appeared in op-ed articles than in news articles. However, there were also 24 items in the corpus that could be classified as "news-in-brief" articles. These are distinguished from 'news' articles as they were either explicitly titled news-in-brief, or because they were published as part of a list of news content items within a box – a design element used to combine this type of content in newspaper formatting. When combined, this results in total news category coverage of 91 items, or 40.2% of total items. Items categorised as op-ed make up 54% of all items.

Table 3: Manual categorisation by article type (Q1 2013)

Type of article	**No. of articles**
Op-Ed	123
News	67
News In Brief	24
Profile	2

Feature	6
News Analysis	2
Review	1
Total	**226**

Many of the article entries in the corpus included reference to which section of the newspaper or which page they appear on, although over a third (38%) did not include an explicit section/page designation. The categories with the most number of corresponding articles (of those that were specified) was Crime, Law & Justice, making up 65 articles or 28.7%, followed by news, with 26 articles (11.5%).

Table 4: Article numbers as per section of the newspaper (Q1 2013)

Newspaper section	**No. of articles**
Unspecified in corpus	88
Crime, Law & Justice	65
News	26
Human Interest	17
Opinion & Editorial	10
Education	3
Politics	3
Science & Technology	2
Social Issues	3
Lifestyle & Leisure	2
Sport	1
Business	1
Arts, Culture & Entertainment	1
National	2
Dispatches	1
Religion & Belief	1
Total	**226**

At this stage the analysis shifted to a CS basis, using the Antconc tools to uncover the broader linguistic (and ultimately discursive) patterns in the text. CS software – of which Antconc is just one example – allows a researcher to analyse large corpuses efficiently and systematically (Cameron and Panović 2014). Specifically, it is used to find the frequency of certain words in the corpora, commonly co-occurring words (collocates), keywords in context (concordances), as well as absolute frequency of keywords and relative frequency of keywords (through comparing one corpus to another).

6.1 Frequencies

By using the AntConc software to compile a word list of unique words within the corpus, it has been established that the word 'rape' appears more than 12 200 times in the PARENT corpus (covering 20 newspaper titles between 2008 and 2014), and 745 times in the Q1 2013 corpus. The table below shows some variations (within the lexeme) of the lemma RAPE and their frequency within the corpus (1 Jan – 6 Apr 2013, inclusive).

Table 5: Instances of RAPE and lexeme variations (Q1 2013 corpus)

Word lemma	Frequency
rape	745
raped	234
rapes	52
raping	67
rapist	28
rapists	59

For comparison, an additional table is included below showing the frequency of other words in the corpus, focusing on words that are associated with gender (identity), sexual violence and general crime.

Table 6: Frequency of other keywords (Q1 2013 corpus)

Word lemma	Frequency
man	2335
women	2067
men	1743
murder	1049
woman	947
accused	883
rape	745
attack	726
corruption	665
abuse	483
guilty	372
sex	331
fraud	311
theft	236
raped	234
assault	220
innocent	102
rapists	59
rapes	52
rapist	28

Keyness is an expression of the relative frequency of a keyword in one corpus compared to another (Baker 2008). When a keyword list was generated by comparing the Q1 2013 corpus with the PARENT corpus (using log likelihood as the measure of keyness), the word 'rape' has a keyness score of 268.984, ranking 59th of all results.

Table 7: Keyness of keywords in Q1 2013 corpus (compared to PARENT corpus)

Word	Rank	Frequency	Keyness (LL)
rape	59	746	268.984
anene	69	90	243.316
killed	194	843	111.855
booysen	258	155	94.604
murder	439	1049	67.903
bredasdorp	776	35	45.633
rapists	1313	59	30.626
raped	1317	234	30.504
rapes	3462	52	14.431
disemboweled	3466	7	14.413

Table 7 above presents the keyness statistics generated by Antconc for a selection of words. The log likelihood (keyness) statistic indicates the probability that the difference in the frequency of occurrence of a particular word in the Q1 2013 corpus, relative to the PARENT corpus, is not down to chance. A keyness value above 10.83[11] means that it can be said with greater than 99.9% confidence that there is a statistically significant difference between the frequency of the word in the two corpora (McEnery, Xiao, and Tono 2006). A value in excess of 15.13 (applicable to all but two of the above words) means that it can be said with greater than 99.99% confidence that there is a statistically significant difference (ibid).

There is, thus, a statistically significant increase in the frequency of all the words in the above table in the Q1 2013 corpus relative to the PARENT corpus from which it is drawn. Given that the subcorpus spans a timeframe that more tightly corresponds with the Booysen murder, it can be expected that words such as 'Anene', 'Booysen' and 'Bredasdorp' would occur more frequently in the Q1 2013 corpus than in the

[11] According to McEnery, Xiao and Tono (2006), "The log-likelihood statistic has a distribution similar to that of the chi-square, so the LL probability value (i.e. the *p* value) can be found in a statistical table for the distribution of the chi-square" and therefore "In both the chi-square and log-likelihood tests the critical values with 1 d.f. [degrees of freedom] are 3.83, 6.64 and 10.83 for the significance levels of 0.05; 0.01 and 0.001 respectively"

wider timeframe of the main corpus, and indeed this is borne out by the data. However, there is also a statistically significant increase in the use of words that are not specific to the Anene Booysen case, such as ‘rape’, ‘murder’ and ‘killed’, indicating an increased focus on these topics in the time period covered by the subcorpus. Given that the 14 February murder of Reeva Steenkamp also falls within the timeframe, and the huge focus this received in the media, an increased occurrence of ‘killed’ and ‘murder’ may also be partially due to this, but would have little impact on the incidence of ‘rape’ and related terms ‘raped’, ‘rapes’, or the tangentially associated (through the Booysen case) ‘disembowelled’.

6.2 Collocates

Collocates are words which appear together (co-occurrence, but not necessarily sequential) with a search word or node within a defined span of words, at a higher rate than would occur by pure chance, and these can contribute to how the node word around which they appear is understood. CS can help us draw these out of a corpus automatically, and based on a pre-determined algorithm, so that the results are not affected by any preconceptions on the part of the researchers or chosen deliberately to reflect specific outcomes.

When words commonly co-occur in language, the association between the words is cemented through reiteration to the point that audiences are “primed” (Stubbs 1996) to think of both, even in the presence of only one of the words (Sinclair 1991, Stubbs 1996). For example, in the PARENT corpus of media articles, ‘murder’ is the seventh highest frequency collocate of ‘rape’, appearing together with rape 1479 times. If functional words (like ‘the’, ‘and’, ‘of’ etc) are excluded, it is the most frequent lexical collocate of ‘rape’, and has a relatively high value of 9.36. This value refers to their “mutual information score” (Stubbs 1995), representing how closely linked these words are in the corpus.

Collocates from the Q1 2013 corpus were collected appearing within either five words to the left or five words to the right of ‘rape’, and collocating with ‘rape’ at least twice in the corpus. In order to keep the analysis tractable and exclude low-frequency collocates that may appear by chance or without the potential to have much

relevance to the research questions of accessing dominant narratives, words that collocated with ‘rape’ only once were excluded.

Below, in Table X, the top 30 collocates of the search word ‘rape’ are presented along with their frequencies within the Q1 2013 corpus. The cut-off point of 30 items is merely for feasibility of inclusion in the report and does not represent the entirety of collocates considered during the analysis.

Table 8: Frequency of collocates to ‘rape’ (Top 30 in Q1 2013 corpus)

Collocate	Frequency	Freq (Left)	Freq (Right)
murder	88	21	67
women	53	10	43
violence	46	9	37
rape	38	19	19
police	36	19	17
we	35	17	18
crisis	35	5	30
anene	34	8	26
abuse	33	9	24
cases	32	8	24
she	31	3	28
men	31	24	7
her	31	7	24
year	29	4	25
south	29	10	19
booysen	28	8	20
sexual	27	7	20
victims	26	8	18
gang	26	25	1
reported	25	9	16
kits	24	3	21

assault	24	11	13
africa	24	9	15
they	23	10	13
one	21	8	13
crime	21	10	11
he	19	9	10
children	19	8	11
stop	18	17	1

Following on from the computer-assisted collection of these collocates, the resulting words were manually grouped together into broader semantic categories, such as Emotive or Action, to sort them according to their purpose or function in the text. These are categories selected by the researcher with a view to their applicability to the current research questions, rather than a list of pre-determined groups. Emotive category words, for example, mostly convey an emotional response to the crime described in the text or an issue highlighted by the text. Action words were used either to implore readers to do something in response to the crime of rape (wear a specific colour to raise awareness), or to report on action already taken by groups (members of a group who marched, protested or similar). They are largely the article writer's or news source's answer to a question that reoccurs often in the corpus explicitly and implicitly; that is: what must be done about rape?

In the process of grouping the collocational words into semantic categories, the context in which they appear in the articles in the corpus was a primary concern for determining which category in which to place them. For example, viewed out of context, the word 'fight' could be assumed to be indicative of violence, but viewed using the concordance (keyword in context) tool within the Antconc software, it is clear that in ten out of 11 occurrences of the collocate 'fight', it is used as a call to action for readers. Examples of this use include, "to launch a campaign to fight rape" or "stand together to strengthen the fight against rape". In only one instance of 'fight' as a collocate to 'rape' in the Q1 2013 corpus is the word used otherwise, within "She managed to fight off her…". Given this, 'fight' has been placed in the category of Action. As a further example, the word 'African' appears as a collocate of 'rape' five

times in the corpus, and in every instance it is appears with ‘South’ and refers to location or place, rather than functioning as a racial identifier or identity characteristic. It thus belongs in the Place category.

By grouping the collocates into broad categories in this way, the most common topics and themes of rape coverage as it appears in the Q1 2013 corpus can be revealed (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008). The categorised lexical collocates, which excludes functional words (such as ‘the’, ‘and’ and the like), are listed in Table 9 below. The categories in the table are ordered in descending order based on the number of collocates within each of them.

Table 9: Collocates grouped into semantic categories (Q1 2013)

emotive	victim survivors violent survivor horrific vulnerable strong shocking shocked exacerbate vital trust trauma serious outrage outcry numbed happy gruesome good here fails concerned concern unacceptable traumatic teeters suffered sickening sadness rigorously rampant punished protective plea plagued negative intolerable indecent ills horror horrible hope heinous harshly disgustingly harsher devastating crucial chilling bullying barbaric
legal	rape cases crime crimes accused attempted alleged statutory evidence trial forensic extortion corruption guilty facing court cases sentences legal conviction committing charged bail sentenced sentence rapists raped magistrate law courts counts advocates theft schedule rapes prosecuting laws judgement judge defence deals damages custody complainant aggravating aggravated
action	stop march anti help fight should don stand speak protest pledge need awareness support protest doing call calling called assist analyse signatures protect memorandum meetings education dealing action volunteer vigil united talking strengthen recite hails curb comfort act
identity characteristic	women we she men her they he children old woman their his you girl child young elderly teenager man lesbians girls black minister baby age adult wife pupils parents youngsters teenage teacher student pastors pastor

	him herself disabled boys
law enforcement	police sexual victims gang reported charges report incidents robbery kidnapping samples perpetrators arrested scene prison charge officer incident dna investigation constables work tests test suspects laid investigate suspect station punishment prisoners officers inmates imposed housebreaking accomplices
number	crisis one statistics many scourge more news two huge number incidence highest four figures estimates stats six seven rate occurrence nine half estimated endemic total rise rates pervasive persistent percent multiply multiple large isolated increasing decreased
name	anene booysen zuma kawa pistorius jacob mthethwa mokgohlwa makoni john zwelithini zondi vuyo vhuledzani theron sheik selebi rizwana ramulifho oscar nkosin molekoa mogomotsi modise meshoa kohler jessica henke funda foord dikeledi bonny barnard anstey
place	south africa country world cape town national india sa pretoria nation marikana bredasdorp african school capital station place gauteng townships province outside north local limpopo here eastern delhi benoni abroad
officialdom	kits campaign organisations centres organisation reports launched centre research parliament initiative leadsa state spokesman protocol probe official ngos ngo launch ithemba inquiry guidelines foundation forum chapter advocacy campaigner acting
time	year week following day years month yesterday wednesday time monday days current sunday hour tuesday today friday april
violence	murder violence abuse assault brutal mutilation beat pillage kill weapon war torture death brutality beatings weapons killing jackrolling
political	government anc supporters politically
qualifier	corrective domestic gender
relational	family partners families
medical	hiv aids

Another example of the context-applied categorisation is the collocate 'state'. 'State' appears as a collocate to 'rape' four times in the corpus, and always in reference to the government or organs of state and has thus been labelled as belonging to the category Officialdom – a word that refers to the individuals or elements of organisations as a group.

Collocates of 'rape' in the Q1 2013 corpus most commonly fall into the Emotive category. These words, as mentioned, express an emotional response to rape on the part of the author, a speaker in the text or interview subject, such as 'outrage' or 'sickening'. These types of words are also frequently employed as descriptors of either rape as an individual crime or set of crimes (for example, 'gruesome').

6.3 Clusters

The clusters tool in Antconc is closely related to the collocates tool, in that it also draws out co-occurring words based on an entered search word, in this case the word 'rape' within the Q1 2013 corpus. The resulting clusters, though, are strictly sequential groupings of words appearing either to the left or right of the search term, allowing researchers to access the phrases within which a search word commonly appears.

Antconc initially returned over 2000 clusters containing the word 'rape' from the Q1 2013 corpus. After filtering the results[12], and limiting frequency to at least two instances in the corpus, there were 326 applicable results. The top 50 of these are replicated in Table 10 below.

Table 10: Top 50 commonly occurring clusters of 'rape' (Q1 2013 corpus)

Cluster	Freq	Cluster	Freq
rape and	137	rape statistics	7
rape and murder	45	rape survivors	7

[12] Removing instances such as where 'rape' appears at the end of a sentence, and the beginning of the following sentence is captured as part of a cluster.

rape of	36	rape, mutilation	7
rape and murder of	28	rape, mutilation and	7
rape in	28	rape cases a	6
rape crisis	25	rape has	6
rape cases	21	rape her	6
rape is	18	rape is a	6
rape and murder of anene	17	rape trial	6
rape of a	17	rape victim	6
rape and sexual	16	rape, mutilation and murder	6
rape and violence	16	rape, mutilation and murder of	6
rape kits	16	rape as	5
rape victims	15	rape by	5
rape or	12	rape scene	5
rape was	12	rape survivor	5
rape and sexual assault	11	rape to	5
rape and violence against	11	rape, murder	5
rape and abuse	9	rape accused	4
rape and sexual assault samples	9	rape and the	4
rape campaign	8	rape and violence against vulnerable	4
rape in south	8	rape as a	4
rape in south africa	8	rape at	4
rape and violence against women	7	rape at the	4

As discussed in relation to collocates above, commonly occurring clusters in language can have a priming effect, reinforcing the association between otherwise distinct words, with the cluster coming to mind even when the separate elements (words) of

the cluster do not appear together. This priming effect is discussed below in Section 7.2

6.4 The ANENE corpus

For this section of the research, again before delving into the CS-based analysis and close examination of the ANENE corpus, an initial content analysis was done. Through this, as briefly discussed above, omissions in the overall corpus became apparent. Many of the articles in the Q1 2013 corpus that mention 'Anene' or 'Booysen' did so very briefly, in a reference to greater context or broad crime trends, rather than focusing on the case itself. Given the high degree of news generated by the Booysen rape and murder alone, this result was surprising, and prompted a broader search for news articles – using both the online search engine Google (date limited to the time period covered), LexisNexis and SA Media, a media clippings database maintained by information company Sabinet and available via the University of Witwatersrand library service subscription. It was quickly established that a large number of applicable articles about the Booysen rape were not appearing in the corpus, despite appearing in print news titles covered by the corpus and within the timeframe studied.

According to Google search results[13], the earliest online references to the Booysen rape case date from February 6, 2013 – four days after Booysen was discovered raped and left for dead on a construction site in Bredasdorp in the Western Cape. Most of these early stories refer to another journalistic piece published in *Die Burger*. *Die Burger* is an Afrikaans-language newspaper, and is thus excluded from the scope of this research report which focuses on English texts. The incident garnered extensive interest and coverage in both radio and television broadcast media. News items of these media also fall outside of the scope of the current research. However, there remained a high number of English text-based, locally produced articles from print that had been inadvertently left out of the PARENT corpus. Given the outlined objectives for the research – including a CDA-informed examination of how South

[13] Searches conducted using specific terms, such as 'Anene Booysen' and combinations of non-specific terms, such as 'rape', 'Bredasdorp' and 'teen'

African newspapers had constructed this specific incidence of the crime of rape – a decision was taken to extend the ANENE corpus using traditional content searches within the two database tools mentioned above, augmented with online news sources, as it was felt that a more inclusive corpus would better serve these ends.

First, additional print articles were sourced from the two databases: LexisNexis and the SA Media news clipping database. Within both, additional articles were found using the search terms 'rape' and 'Bredasdorp', and limiting the search period to all days including and between 1 February 2013 and 6 April 2013, in line with the Q1 2013 corpus date limits. Neither 'Anene' nor 'Booysen' were initially included as search terms as one of the objectives of the search was to include any early references to the crime where the victim's name was not mentioned for editorial or other reasons, or to incorporate articles wherein her name was initially misspelled, such as 'Anine' in some cases. Thereafter, a second search was conducted using the victim's name to allow for the possibility that the crime was referenced in the news without specific mention of the location or rape itself. Finally, a Google search using the same terms was conducted, and through this, additional articles added from online-based sources (South African news sources only).

Initially this returned thousands of results, including a number of international publications, despite the geographic limiting to the region of South Africa. By manually selecting only local news sources (print or online), this was further reduced, but remained a large number.

These were then manually filtered to remove all results not about the Booysen case specifically. This eliminated any articles where mention of Booysen is made for contextualisation of another crime or incident of sexual violence, as well as articles characterising or commenting on the national crime rate or similar statistics, thereby allowing the research to drill down specifically on the textual and discursive construction of the Booysen case. Duplicates created through syndication were excluded, as were op-ed contributions.

In the case of the op-ed articles excluded, this decision is a deliberate departure from the Q1 2013 corpus which looked at all editorial articles, not just hard or breaking

news. In the Q1 2013 analysis above, these op-ed pieces contributed to a broader understanding of how the mediated text addressing rape in newspapers is constructed. Additionally, there is a considerable number of articles in the Q1 2013 corpus that are op-eds about the Booysen case. Given this, it was decided that their inclusion would unnecessarily duplicate efforts, and a number of the research questions relating to how this case was constructed in news media would be better served through an examination of the news articles only.

To facilitate a limited CS-based review before embarking on a closer reading of the texts, the articles were then converted into the Antconc-readable .txt format. A total of 45 unique articles make up the combined-sources ANENE corpus. There are 42 000 word in the combined texts, and 2700 word tokens (unique words).

As expected, ‘anene’, ‘booysen’, and ‘bredasdorp’ are among the most frequent words. Many of the articles focus on the arrest and pleading of suspects in the case, so ‘court’ and ‘davids’ (one of the accused) each appear 216 times in the corpus, and – somewhat more surprisingly – both of these actually appear more times than ‘rape’ (210 times) and ‘murder’ (126 instances) in the corpus, although ‘and murder’, ‘rape and’ and ‘rape and murder’ are among the most commonly occurring n-grams (clusters without associated node words). A critical interpretation of these elements is presented in Discussion of Findings below, with particular emphasis of the voyeuristic nature of the focus on the violence inflicted on Booysen and the constructions of the potential perpetrators.

7. Discussion of Findings

In this section the most recurrent findings of the analysis of both the Q1 2013 corpus and the ANENE corpus, as outlined above, are discussed in greater depth. Applying an additional critical and contextual analysis layer here also allows for highlighting where these findings align with (or not) the constructions and myths found in the Literature Review section. For clarity, a loose thematic structure has been applied, but it must be noted that these themes and findings co-exist and function together in the texts collectively as the traces of discourses, and work to represent reality in a specific way.

7.1 Violence

As indicated in Section 6 (Table 8) above, 'murder' is the highest (non-functional) collocate of rape in the Q1 2013 corpus, appearing 88 times with 'rape', with a stat value of 8.9. The next most frequent collocates are the words 'women' and 'violence' respectively. This pattern is evident using the clusters tool too (See Table 10). In fact, the crime of rape is most commonly presented in the Q1 2013 corpus along with additional crimes or violence, resulting in clusters such as 'rape and violence', 'rape, mutilation and murder', 'rape and murder' and 'rape and murder of'.

The apparent preoccupation in the media with extreme violence (and death) in conjunction with rape, may arise from the conventions of news production. News production is reliant on unofficial and official sources – including victims, lawyers, police and organisational spokespeople who can bring issues and even specific incidents of crime on to the news agent (issue proponents). Not only that, but much of the crime news content originates from court reporting (see 7.3 Legalese below). If a crime is more likely to result in a court case (such as murder), this may explain the prevalence of "rape and murder" in the newspapers. Acquaintance rape is much more rarely reported, and thus less likely to move through the legal system and subsequently less likely to be picked up by a courter reporter – contributing perhaps to its relative obscurity in news text. But ultimately, no matter the reason for its inclusion, the focus on violence and murder in conjunction with rape functions to support rape myths. Violence is seen as a signifier of "real rape" (Estrich 1987),

because rape myths would have it that a woman ought to be able to fight off her attacker if she really wants to (Burt 1980; Torrey 1991), or have the physical evidence to show she tried (or died trying).

This fixation on the collocation of violence with rape is profoundly the case with the coverage of the Booysen rape and murder. Many of the articles in the ANENE corpus list Booysen's injuries in graphic detail, as well as referencing the response of witnesses in relation to the, admittedly, horrific injuries inflicted in this case. Consider the two following typical extracts:

> Hospital staff had to receive debriefing counselling, 'because the girl's injuries were so horrific'... (*Cape Argus* 2013)

> Her throat had been slit, all her fingers and both legs were broken, a broken glass bottle had been lodged in her, her stomach had been cut open ... That which was supposed to be inside her body lay strewn across the scene where they found her… (Eggington 2013, 2)

These specific details re-occur frequently in the earliest reports, reflecting a possible fetishisation of violence in the media texts. And later many of the articles refer back to the 'brutal rape and murder', 'disembowelling' or 'mutilation' of Booysen as a kind of short-hand for the details that the text producers seem to believe their audience will already be familiar with, thus re-invoking the details of the violence.

By deliberately listing or emphasising the victim's injuries, it functions to highlight that there is no perceived ambiguity about the victim's consent. There may also be an element of "commercial imperative" (Krige and Oostendorp 2013) driving their inclusion, as news media offer these details to pique and retain interest from their audience.

In some articles of the Q1 2013 corpus, the absence of violence is presented in the text as if in mitigation of the crime, de-emphasising the role of the perpetrator, and casting doubt on the validity of the claim of rape itself.

> The magistrate, Maria Malet, in granting bail, said the charge was one of statutory rape and there had been no violence. 'The activity has been going on since November, so there could be an element of consensuality,' she added (Cox 2013, 2).

Here the 'non-violent' acquaintance rape nature of this particular case is presented in mitigation, as if to exclude it from "real rape" (Estrich 1987) and the legal consequences thereof.

In contrast, in the extract below, the threat is constructed as outside of the home, trying to come in, which feeds into a stranger rape narrative which is more in keeping with "real rape" as rape myth-based news narratives construct it.

> No matter how many self-defence classes you take, no matter how much protection or barriers you put into your house… (Ndlovu 2013)

The extract features a quote from a self-identified rape victim who lists some possible preventative steps to avoid rape. This has the unintentional consequence of suggesting that a victim must act to prevent rape (rather than a rapist not raping).

7.2 Priming through collocation and frequent clusters

Another consequence of the high frequency of collocation between 'rape' and 'murder' and 'violence' (Table 8) is that an audience of a text that uses the word 'rape' may be primed to think of 'murder' or 'violence' along with the concept of 'rape' even when these words are not present in the text. In this way, and through reiteration, rape becomes strongly associated (in the media) with extreme violence and death.

These effects – priming and repetition – reinforce that violence is a "signifier of real rape" (Estrich 1987) and that women should be able to resist rape (Burt 1980; Torrey 1991). And because they contribute to the undermining of the reception of reported

rapes that do not present with the same degree of violence, additional injuries or outward signs of struggle (Torrey 1991), may limit these victims' access to justice.

However, at this juncture, a degree of caution must be noted, as the "cognitive effects of collocational primings are open to debate" (Baker 2010, 128), and readings of texts and how audiences understand them, as discussed above, are not direct or simple one-directional processes, but individual, negotiated and interpretative.

7.3 Legalese

Additionally, as briefly discussed above, there is an abundance of legal and legal-associated words (see Table 9), as well as words associated with the structures and forms of law enforcement (Table 9), appearing in the South African newspaper construction of rape in both the Q1 2913 corpus and ANENE corpus. A contributing factor may be practical consideration of news production and the sourcing of the news, because often criminal cases (including rape) come to light (from a journalistic perspective) only once they are in the legal system. This includes court reporting (on pleading and bail hearings, as well as criminal court cases).

The net effect is that the source of news is likely to contribute to an unintentional bias in the types of articles produced in newspapers (and other news media), and ultimately contributes to possibly skewing the kinds of rapes reported in news media. If stranger rapes are more likely to be reported to authorities by victims and these incidents more likely to go to court, and most rape stories are sourced through the courts, then a prevalence of stranger rape cases in news texts is to be expected. This in turn contributes to a dominance of the representation of one type of rape in the news and a relative obscuring or minimising of the others. The cumulative effect thereof is dominance of the stranger rape narrative over the (statistically more likely) acquaintance rape narrative. The "reality [of rape is] reconfigured" (Hazel 2007, 2) through this reoccurring news narrative.

7.4 The maintenance of a 'Just world'

The Officialdom category (Table 9), includes words like ‘organisation’, ‘NGO’, ‘report’, ‘campaign’, ‘research’ and ‘parliament’, among others. The presence of words like these in the text suggests to a reader that rape or society’s response to rape, as a crime and social issue, is being managed by forms of authority in society. For example, referencing an official report suggests not only that news producers have access to solid and reliable information about the numbers and nature of rape in the country, but also that policy makers and organisations have information at hand to inform their response to rape as a social issue.

Using the words of officialdom may indicate to a reader that someone somewhere is ‘handling’ the issue of rape. This combined with the positioning of rape in news as exceptional and abnormal may imply to the text’s audience that the instances of rape in news, while shocking, are outside of the norm.

This is reinforced by the fact that many of the rape stories appear to emerge from court reporting, and contain information on the prosecution and sentencing of rapists. In this way, inclusion of words from this category might be said to contribute to the maintenance of the “just-world” motivated belief, such as that highlighted in the Franiuk et al. (2008) reading above. The implications for this are broad and varied. Not least of all, it absolves the audience of having to face the systemic nature of rape in society, and obscures how patriarchal discourses function to uphold rape culture.

7.5 Discourse prosodies and evaluative effects

Analysing concordances and collocates using CS software is significant not just for the patterns in frequency that they illuminate, but also for the discourse prosodies they may reveal. Prosodies indicate a preference or attitude (Baker 2010), the “evaluative connotations” (Stubbs 2001, 449) of a word or phrase. As Gabrielatos and Baker (2008, 13) have argued, if chosen collocates do not fulfil a factual, definitional or necessary applicable informative purpose, then it may be assumed that they do more than merely provide description, and instead they work to “imbue [a collocating word] with particular semantic/discourse prosodies”.

A word viewed in isolation, might not have overtly negative or positive connotations, but viewed in context with the surrounding words (concordance) or alongside common co-occurring words (collocates) such as those in Table 8, analysts can reveal a negative or positive construction of the search term. Despite the fact that 'survivor' is not a formal legal or law enforcement term for someone who has experienced and lived through a crime or attack, it appears as a collocate to 'rape' in the Q1 2013 corpus 17 times ('survivor' and 'survivors' combined) in place of the potentially more negatively perceived term 'victim' that appears 41 times ('victim' and 'victims' combined).

Variations of the word 'victims' (Table 8) appear more frequently overall at least partially because 'a survivor' has literally survived, while 'victim' alone is used for both rape and rape-and-murder cases, and the database has already shown a preponderance of the phrase 'rape and murder'. Is a specific type of rape victim more likely to be labelled a survivor than another? Unfortunately, the extractable data in this research is inconclusive, and this could be an interesting area for further study. The CS tools can, however, show that frequent collocates of 'victim' in the Q1 2013 corpus (organised by stat value) include 'traumatically', 'eviscerate', 'bestial' and 'whore'. Top collocates of 'survivor' include more names of people than the collocates of 'victim', and also the words 'nazism', 'holocaust', 'heroine' and 'warrior'. So the use of 'survivor' can be said to reflect an emotional response and positioning, one that is sympathetic in nature but arguably empowering, as 'survivor' is associated with strength, endurance and fortitude.

Additionally, language or word choice could arguably link to priming of audiences in terms of how people talk and think about rape, and may contribute to an unjustified distinction between types of rape and even victims of rape. Two examples of this type of collocational effect are evidenced in the extracts below:

> While the funeral was under way news reports broke about a 20-year-old man in Limpopo raping his **three-year-old niece**. A **partially blind granny**, 69, was raped earlier this week at a village in Dutya in the Eastern Cape. (Eggington 2013, emphasis added)

> A **mentally disabled girl** was allegedly gang-raped… (Mpiletso and Makhetha 2013, 6. emphasis added).

In the cases above, the necessary information could have been contained in "A girl was allegedly gang-raped" or "a woman was raped earlier this week", so identity characteristics such as the age of the victim, and the words "mentally disabled" and "partially blind granny" when collocating with 'rape' appear to function as evaluative, suggesting that these rapes or these victims are special, their rapes somehow more shocking than 'typical' rapes because of the identity characteristics of the victims.

This language may also flag to the receiver of a text that these victims fall outside of the traditional socially accepted range of those considered sexually attractive and active – elating back to Freeman's (1993) categorisation of "rapable" or "unrapable" women. A very young or very old women is not usually constructed or viewed as sexually available, and is thus "rapable", an unambiguous victim. This is moreover significant because, as discussed, rape is often described in media texts in the terms of consensual sex, belying its patriarchal nature (Krige and Oostendorp 2013) and obscuring the inherent violence of rape itself. If a victim falls outside of this range, then the power-dominance dynamic of rape is more obvious. It also contributes to the construction of rapists as abnormal and sick or depraved.

7.6 Emotive words as evaluative

Emotional words may also have an evaluative effect on the instances of rape they describe. In Findings (Section 6) above, it was flagged that collocates of 'rape' most frequently fall in to the Emotive category (Table 9), and are used as responses or as descriptors. A potential outcome could be to inadvertently contribute to an implicit value system in which rapes or crimes are ranked (some worse, more important or "real" than others).

Consider how the following two short extracts seem to construct rapes/cases in relation to an invisible other, presumably less gruesome, rape/case: "…public outcry over a number of gruesome rapes…" (*Pretoria News* 2013, 3) and "She came across gruesome cases…" (Madongo 2013). In both instances, 'gruesome' is attached to an

unspecified quantity of incidents, a subset, rather than rape in general. Both uses, it could be argued, contribute to a discourse of exceptionalism.

As with the collocate 'violence', this seems to reinforce the prevalent rape myth that "real rape" is violent and abnormal in society, and that particularly violent rapes (unambiguously "real rapes") are more deserving of attention from the public or news media (Franiuk et al. 2008; Estrich 1987; Bourke 2007).

It must be noted that these types of emotional words may also be prevalent in the corpus because of the high number of op-ed articles therein (Table 3). These – by nature – are more likely to include descriptive and emotional words than hard news stories, as the style employed by op-ed pieces is more fluid, soft and descriptive than that of typical hard news texts.

7.7 Nominalisation, mitigation

There are frequent examples of nominalisation in the clusters (Table 10) presented above. This is a grammatical strategy, usually employed to condense a sentence by obscuring "both tense… and modality" and "may involve the exclusion of participants in clauses" (Fairlcough 2003, 143). The result negates or has the effect of obscuring agency or an actor in text (Biber and Conrad 2001, Holoshitz and Cameron 2014). So while 'X was raped by Y' has a clear verb action, tense and an actor, this is not the case with 'X was raped' or 'the rape of X' (such as seen frequently in the clusters table above: 'rape and murder of', 'rape and murder of Anene"'). The cluster 'rape of a' appears 17 times in the Q1 2013 corpus, but 'raped by' only five times.

A similar effect (of obscuring an actor) is achieved through the use of conventions of tone and style in news media, such as headlines that take the passive form. Although, it is declining in use and popularity, the passive form of sentences is a common news writing convention.

In this way, the news media's use of the passive form can be said to contribute to the erasure of the rapist from the narrative. This echoes the findings of Oostendorp and

Krige 2013 and Franiuk et al. (2008) in how the news media conventions of passive phrasing can de-emphasising the role of the rapist.

The result is that these news articles continue to focus on the victim, and their victim 'state of being', with minimal acknowledgement of an actor throughout both corpora. Especially in the construction 'the rape of X', it appears to have the "ideological effect…that the processes or states denoted simply occur or exist" (Holoshitz and Cameron, 178), that Booysen or another victim's rape is a somehow naturally existing phenomenon with no one to blame.

Frequently in the Q1 2013 corpus, the word 'rape' is mentioned in the broadest sense – constructed as a kind of amorphous social issue to rail against – and, through this, is nominalised to the degree that its inherent transitivities are obscured, and it appears without either an actor/perpetrator or even a victim, as in the 'rape crisis' or 'scourge of rape', becoming an abstraction – in a similar way to how Holoshitz and Cameron (2014, 178) argue the word 'abuse' was employed within their *New York Times* corpus.

The media texts also employ other means of "trivializ[ing] sexual assault or suggest[ing] that a sexual assault did not actually occur" (Franiuk et al. 2008, 288). In the extract below, the text's producer uses quotations marks around the word rape. It may, in context, reflect a direct quote from the indictment mentioned, but the use of these typographic devices could also suggest a reluctance to accept this depiction of rape as "real rape":

> According to the indictment, while in the bedroom, Mundel 'raped' Buchanan by forcing his penis into her mouth. (Molosankwe 2013, 2)

7.8 Othering and/or mitigation of rapists

The construction of the alleged rapists also reveals elements of rape myths discussed above, particularly the idea that rapists operate on the fringe of society, that rape is

uncommon or defined to a particular class or race. Consider the construction of the accused rapist below from the ANENE corpus:

> … Davids, the first of three men to be arrested, has a criminal past. He was arrested for possession of stolen property, faced assault charges and is a suspect in a housebreaking case. (Eggington 2013)

> Davids had been arrested in 2011 in connection with a previous assault charge… In addition, Louw said one of the other two suspects, 21 and 22… had also had run-ins with the law over drug-related charges. (Meyer 2013b, 1)

The latter article also calls the perpetrators a "gang".

This highlighting of a suspected perpetrator's criminal past is suggestive of the "othering" of sexual violence perpetrators that Holoshitz and Cameron (2014) uncovered in their analysis, that "obscures the systemic nature of sexual violence" (ibid, 182). In this, rape is constructed as perpetrated by criminals, mad men, depraved individuals. Not only does this keep rape as a societal issue at arms length, it can to act in mitigation of the perpetrators, in that it suggests they are not legally responsible for their actions – a kind of *de facto* 'not guilty by insanity' defence built into the narrative.

In the earliest article in the ANENE corpus, an official source is quoted as saying, "Rapists need to know that no one in [a] moral society will protect them once they have committed such a heinous crime" (*Times Live* 2013), a comment that locates rapists as outside "a moral society". This rape myth-based belief is repeated in many of the articles throughout the ANENE corpus. A statement issued by the Office of the President, and quoted multiple times by several stories in the ANENE corpus, reads:

> The whole nation is outraged at this extreme violation and destruction of a young human life. This act is shocking, cruel and most inhumane. It has no place in our country. We must never allow ourselves to get used to these acts of base criminality to our women

> and children… (The Presidency, quoted in Jones and Zara Nicholson 2013, 1)

In later articles, covering the time period of the initial court appearances and bail applications in the Booysen case, several texts in the corpus report how the families of the two accused speak of them in stark contrast to this previous 'criminal' and 'other' construction, calling them "spiritual" (Bezuidenhout and Sapa 2013, 5), "sports-loving" (ibid), and emphasising their familial and social relations:

> He worked as a firefighter and he never did any drugs, although he did drink sometimes… he also has sisters... His father is a leader in church" (ibid).

Here the media reflects an internalised belief or perception on the part of the speakers, that rapists are not the sons of church leaders, have sisters, or exist within the confines of their close-knit community. It further cements the construction of rapists as other, and as rape being a marginal rather than systemic issue. Furthermore, Booysen's brother is quoted in a number of the articles as feeling shocked and betrayed that people he knew could have attacked Booysen in this way, indicating his own belief in the validity of the stranger rape narrative. Together, as highlighted by the Worthington article above, this exceptionalism reinforces the misapprehension that "gender violence occurs on the margins of society, rather than at its core" (2014, 362).

7.9 Race

The above discursive strategies employed to 'other' rapists are thrown into sharper focus in some of the news media reports on the bail hearing in the Booysen case, where accused Jonathan Davids – who was reportedly identified by Booysen as one of her attackers, using the nickname *Zwai* – offers as his defence that there are other men who also go by that name in the area. In the texts, elements of race identity, and therein racially-rooted rape myths are flagged, as follows:

> While family of Jonathan Davids, nicknamed 'Zwai', are convinced that police have arrested the wrong man, several others have jumped

> on the bandwagon, pointing fingers at a black man from a local township, with the same nickname, who they allege is the 'real' perpetrator. (Meyer 2013a.)

Here again the discourses of race in this media text reflect a group's own internalised beliefs about the identity of the possible perpetrator. The interplay of socially held beliefs and their reiteration in news media may function to "mutually reinforc[e]" race- or class-based stereotypes about perpetrators, as Bonnes (2013) similarly found in her study of *The Grocott's Mail* rape coverage.

The absence of more explicit race signifiers or racial designations in the corpora is an unexpected finding of the research, as the literature reviewed above indicated that race is commonly tied to rape and rapists in news texts (Bonnes 2013; Holoshitz and Cameron 2014). In the Q1 2013 corpus, 'black' appears as a collocate for rape only five times; Neither 'white' nor 'coloured' appears in the collocates. It is possible that the CS methodology used here is not sensitive enough to uncover examples where race is implied rather than explicitly mentioned. Another untested prospect is that this subset of contemporary South African news media shows an increased sensitivity to and awareness of the discourses of race and crime, because of the country's history and demographic makeup perhaps. This would be an extremely interesting area for further research, given that the media has frequently been accused of employing the racially based stereotype of a hyper-sexed and / or sexually aggressive black man, and the narrative of fear of the black male stranger (Bonnes 2013).

Having said that, as wealth and income distribution still tends to correlate along racial lines in contemporary South Africa, signifiers of economic class can function as a proxy for race. One example would be 'townships'[14] which collocates with rape twice in the Q1 2013 corpus. In the case of the ANENE corpus, CDA is able to show that although not explicitly evidenced in the text, the social class and thus the race of this victim and her family are flagged through a number of detail inclusions and word choices. These include her dropping out of school, her need to work to support the

[14] Under-developed and under-serviced, highly populated urban regions that under apartheid were designated non-white residential areas and remain still largely untransformed

family and her foster relationship with her primary guardian. To a South African audience that is arguably hyperaware of apparent race signifiers, even the names of people, as well as language use patterns of quoted sources may function to place Booysen (or other victims in the texts) in a socially delineated identity space - poor and non-white.

7.10 Victim-blaming

Many of the stories in the ANENE corpus mention that Booysen was at a bar on the night of her rape, but there is a distinct shift in how this fact is presented between initial reports and subsequent ones. In a number of the earliest stories, this is presented as 'innocent' fun, such as "the teenager had gone out with her friends on Friday" (*Mail & Guardian Online* 2013). This version is echoed in the *Cape Argus*'s second earliest article about the Booysen case, where a resident is quoted as saying: "then something so brutal happens to an innocent girl on her way to a party" (Tswanya 2013). The *Cape Times* claims that "[o]n her way **back home** she was attacked by a group of men" (Koyana 2013, 6. Emphasis added).

However, in subsequent articles, from 8 February 2013 onwards, many of the articles link the rape more directly with Booysen's presence at a bar, and the linkage has the effect of being suggestive of causation, an element of narrative construction (Fulton et al. 2005; Hazel 2007).

> On Friday night, Anene went to David's Sport Bar & Pub, about six blocks from their home. Olivier warned her not to stay out late. At about midnight, Olivier went to the bar and told her daughter to come home. 'She told me that she still wanted to stay. I left her and told her not to come back later than 1am.' (Felix 2013, 1.)

While the texts do not explicitly link drinking or "going out" with being a reason Booysen is raped, it is implied through inclusion – another selection element of narrative construction – as a contributing factor. Presumably, Booysen ate something during the course of the day, went to the toilet, and spoke to people, but these elements are not included in the news articles about the attack on her. Inclusion can

signify that an element is of importance to the unfolding of the narrative. In the above construction, Booysen is "warned" "not to stay out late", and "told" to return home. The resulting narrative insinuates that in ignoring these warnings, in daring to venture out as a woman at night, Booysen is somewhat culpable for her own assault. Here, the power of ordering and selection is show as to how these create a narrative structure for the version of reality presented in the resulting narrative (D. Herman, Jahn, and Ryan 2010).

Moreover, the word choice "warn" is linguistically significant and, combined with the narrative resulting from the inclusion of the drinking information, could be said to construct an invisible logical link between drinking, staying up late and being raped. Even without the additional drinking information, a 'warning' here is 'ignored' or even defied, to disastrous effect. Given this construction, the resulting rape narrative is overtly patriarchal.

This extract reveals the traces of a number of rape myths, including the notion that by drinking alcohol Booysen must shoulder some of the blame (Burt 1980) for her rape. Moreover these texts seem to be asking, as Oostendorp and Krige (2013) wrote in their *Drum* response writers study, "What was she doing out so late?", which reproduces the problematic, patriarchal view that women should stay at home rather than being in public at all times of the day (and night). It also creates a kind of divide between the public world as man's domain (in which a woman has no place, and is subsequently under threat), and the private home as – to a degree – a woman's.

The prevalence of these beliefs in society is demonstrated in a number of articles quoting officials who "call on our young men and women to please ensure they don't get into situations at 3am in the morning, where they place themselves in danger" (Cape Times 2013, 4) and similar statements from other sources. Although the news coverage of this particular comment takes an oppositional stance to the quoted comments themselves (reported as an "outcry" against the comments), their presence in news texts functions to – as Los and Chamard (1997, 305) argued – "reinforce the respectability of these common opinions".

By appealing to a notion of common sense in relation to the constructed links between women drinking, staying out late and rape, the text obscures the ideology and misogynistic discourses built into these claims, and gives them a further degree of power (Fairclough 2003), through what (Irvine and Gal 2000, 38) would call their "erasure", "render[ing]" them "invisible".

In some of the articles, the idea that Booysen was out drinking on the night she was attacked is positioned to imply that the blame lies with Booysen's foster mother, her guardian. This claim, implying neglect, was made by one of the lawyers in the bail hearings and reported in the news text in the ANENE corpus as follows:

> Du Toit put it to Abels that her mother could surely not know who the teenager's friends were when she allowed her daughter to be in a bar at 03:00, and did not know her whereabouts at all times… (News24.com 2013)

Although this is directed at Booysen's foster mother and not a male guardian, it is reminiscent of what Brownmiller (1975) argues in *Against Our Will*, namely that historically a woman's virginity – often constructed as her 'purity' or 'virtue' – was viewed as belonging to someone other than herself (a father or husband, usually) and must be 'protected' – from others and from herself. It also is a reflection of the confusion that some news outlets in the ANENE corpus seem to have on whether to construct Booysen as a child or adult. At 17, she was legally underage at the time of her rape and murder, but she was also no longer attending school, employed, contributing to the household's meagre income, and out drinking with her (older) friends with her guardian's knowledge and tactic approval – elements that are socially constructed as adult behaviour.

A further confusion of the narrative of neglect and blame that Du Toit creates, and the media conveys, is revealed in the contradiction of the final two accusations – that Olivier allowed Booysen to be **in a bar** at 3am but "did not know **her whereabouts** all the time" (ibid. Emphasis added). Furthermore, although the audience of news texts is expected to understand that the opinions of quoted sources are not necessarily

those of the media themselves, here again their presence and inclusion in news texts may "reinforce [their] respectability" (Los and Chamard 1997, 305).

7.11 Dehumanising: festishising victims and the body

Many of the news media texts of both corpora appear to focus mostly or solely on the victim. The top clusters of the Q1 2013 corpus (Table 10) include 'rape victims' six times, 'rape survivors' five times (for a total of 11), while 'rape accused' appears in only four instances within the corpus. This is suggestive of a fetishisation of the victim, and a sensationalist tendency in crime reporting that allows for "sexual violence [to] be endlessly exploited for its titillating value, its crypto pornographic quality and its sexist slant" (Los and Chamard 1997). In contrast, little attention is given to male perpetrators or agents in the texts of the Q1 2013 corpus, with the exception of articles that have court or law enforcement point of origin, where a rapist receives a sentence or other proclamation of guilt. Even in the latter, the rapists are constructed as subjects, rather than objectified as the women in the texts are.

When viewed in conjunction with the attention given to violence co-occurring with rape (See the prominence of 'rape and murder' and 'rape, mutilation' in clusters Table 10, and 'murder' in the collocates Table 8 above, among others), it appears that the resulting news narratives have an almost voyeuristic fixation on the rape victim and her body. Here again the following extract is relevant:

> Her throat had been slit, all her fingers and both legs were broken, a broken glass bottle had been lodged in her, her stomach had been cut open ... That which was supposed to be inside her body lay strewn across the scene where they found her… (Eggington 2013)

This contributes towards a dehumanising gaze – reducing a victim to a litany of injuries and body parts and effectively erasing her from the resulting story, echoing the findings of Holoshitz and Cameron (2014, 181) that the "graphic physical descriptions of [victims'] bodies and wounds deny them individuality and dignity". In particular, the line "That which was supposed to be inside her body lay strewn across

the scene" constructs Booysen as an object, a vessel for contents – reducing a person (who was alive and conscious when they found her) to less than the sum of her parts.

Through this focus on detailing the violence inflicted on victims in news texts for affect (including variously horror, shock, sadness, empathy and titillation), Booysen and other victims similarly constructed become kindling for the business of journalism. Although this research report does not have a news production study component (leaving the motivations of journalists writing the texts in the corpora therefore largely unexplored), it seems there may well be an aspect of intentional or instinctive (perhaps taught) sensationalism informing these affective constructions. The inclusion of details of violence, as well as those of the rapes, assaults and this fetishisation of the female body may be aimed at increasing newspaper sales – what Foucault (1980: 57) calls an "economic (and perhaps almost ideological) exploitation of eroticisation".

7.12 Humanising: inclusion of first name, voice and victim's perspective

In contrast to the deconstruction (and destruction) of the victim shown above, consider the following extract from the ANENE corpus:

> And that's when he heard her say: '*Here, help tog net... Eina* (sore)'. That was when he realised it was a woman lying there in the sand. 'She did not cry for help... I'm not sure that she was able to, but she tried to lift herself up several times and it was clear that she was in severe pain' (Meyer 2013c, 1)

Both extracts (above and immediately prior) attempt to elicit an emotional response from a reader, but in the latter, Booysen's personhood is emphasised throughout ("a woman lying there", not just a body), and her voice is incorporated.

In only a handful of the Q1 2013 corpus articles is the victim's voice present in the text. In two stories about the then-ongoing Andy Kawa rape court case, Kawa herself is quoted talking about her experience of rape and assault, as well as her feelings and thoughts thereafter and about the case. There is also a profile of a local reality TV

personality who experienced rape in her childhood, and two articles in which several victims of two different serial rapists are quoted. An extract follows:

> 'As I was walking along the shoreline, one of the perpetrators approached me. He took out a knife and told me if I screamed he would kill me. This maniac gave me a choice ... he said he would either kill me or shove me in the water if I did not go with him.' **To save her life**, Kawa chose to go with him. He led her to the bushes, blindfolded her and raped her throughout the night. **As she was blindfolded**, Kawa did not know for sure how many people were involved in her ordeal. (Nkosi 2013. Emphasis added.)

In the above, the text's author not only presents the victim's version of the rape, they also include further explanatory phrases (as marked in bold), presumably to counter ambiguity or doubt on the part of the reader that this is an instance of "real rape".

The inclusion of quotes from the victims give news texts a more sympathetic quality, and, as Worthington argues, "centralising victim perspectives" limits chances for "victim-blaming or suspect mitigation" (2008, 375). From a narrative perspective, this has the effect of placing the rape victim at the centre of the resulting 'story'. And when told from the victim's perspective or relying on their version of the unfolding of events, it promotes identification on the audience's part, and creates a 'hero' in the story. This type of narrative is as vulnerable to the inclusion and promotion of rape myths, but from the few examples in the corpus, appears to reduce instances of victim blaming.

All of the news publications represented in the ANENE corpus usually employ the common news media convention of using a person's surname upon subsequent mentions in a single article. Despite this, in nine of the 18 stories originating from the *Cape Argus* in the ANENE corpus, the victim's first name is used upon subsequent mentions. This is the case even in articles where other individuals are identified by their surnames. It appears a deliberate attempt to emphasise the "realness" of the victim, to avoid "de-personalisation" (Krige and Oostendorp 2013) or presenting her

as a symbol for rape victims, and thus bolster sympathy for her[15]. The publication is inconsistent in the application of this strategy – oscillating between the two styles without apparent pattern or reason – but it appears in 50% of their coverage in the corpus. This is an unexpected textual strategy to uncover, as this is not common in the coverage of rape generally and specifically not in the Q1 2013 corpus where 'Anene Booysen' is frequently employed as a symbol of the issue of rape in general.

7.13 Through an agenda-setting lens

In the following two subsections, the focus of analysis shifts to aspects of agenda-setting theory and what this approach to media studies can bring to bear on the trends uncovered in the research above.

7.13.1 Issue proponents set the agenda

As discussed above (in Aim and Rationale), issue proponents act to put issues onto the public agenda (Moriarty 1998; Dearing and Rogers 1996). In the corpora studied for this research, the issue proponents include government officials, ministers, and spokespeople, advocacy organisations and their spokespeople, gender researchers, and political parties. In the following extract, an opposition political party uses rape's salience in the media to score political points against the incumbent government:

> A STATE-of-the-art DNA analysis machine that cost R75 million is gathering dust at the police forensic laboratory in Pretoria as a huge backlog of rape and sexual assault samples balloons, the DA has claimed. The party's spokeswoman on police, Dianne Kohler Barnard, said yesterday that the machine lay idle because the lab had run out of consumables such as DNA primer kits, sample holders and chemicals required to operate it. (*Daily News* 2013, 2)

[15] It is also worth noting that nearly contemporaneously to this use of Booysen's first name, the media also frequently referred to Reeva Steenkamp – murdered by her lover Oscar Pistorius – by first name.

The same information is subsequently covered by six additional stories (including syndicated articles) in the Q1 2013 corpus and the spokesperson quoted herein appears eight times in the corpus with specific queries relating to the police's and government's ability to 'manage' or prosecute rape.

It is noteworthy that the spokesperson above is not calling for social change (towards addressing the rape culture and patriarchy that enables it), but using an existing social issue to further a political end. This is also an indicator of how rape as an issue in South Africa has become politicised and part of a broader discourse of crime.

In the case of the shift in narrative described in 7.10 Victim-blaming above, the influence of issue proponents on the public agenda (Dearing and Rogers 1996) and news agenda is evident, and is worth exploring further. It is Booysen's foster mom, Corlia Olivier, who first raises the issue of Booysen's behaviour (and location) immediately prior to the attack on her (Felix 2013, 1), which is echoed by the lawyer Du Toit (News24.com 2013), and subsequently by a number of sources and finally the op-ed writers in the ANENE corpus.

In this way, the source – Olivier – initiates a shift in focus in the news coverage, which ultimately is taken up by other issue proponents including sources and prominent columnists who choose to focus on highlighting the social 'ills' associated with rape[16]. This discussion ultimately feeds into a rape myth-based variation of 'she was asking for it' or the related notion that this kind of thing happens to 'bad girls' (Burt 1980; Franiuk et al. 2008). This demonstrates the affect issue proponents can have in shaping both the news agenda and the public agenda.

7.13.2 Op-ed

An unexpected finding from the Q1 2013 corpus was the prevalence of texts (articles) categorised as op-ed (54% of all items) (Table 3). Although the reason for this is beyond the scope of the mixed methodology applied in this research (and perhaps may be revealed by a news sourcing or newsroom study), the theory of agenda-setting

[16] Including but not limited to under-age drinking, partying, drugs and crime (and, from a patriarchal perspective, women drinking)

does go some way to providing potential answers to this line of questioning. Viewed in the context of agenda-setting theory, the columnists involved in the production of these types of texts are another kind of issue proponent.

The dominance of op-ed pieces contributed to the generally emotional tone of the Q1 2013 corpus, but despite the difference in style and tone, it would be naïve to suggest that op-ed writers are independent of the news cycle and values that inform the news agenda. Rather, these are largely subject to the same gate-keeping (Shoemaker 1997) scrutiny as 'hard news' content (Serino 2009). In his research at the *Sunday Times*, Serino found that the "worthiness of a person to give comment is determined by professional criteria, part of which is informed by news values" (2009, 25) and that as part of the criteria used to choose the topic of opinion pieces, "is its relevance, in terms of news values, to the existing media agenda" (ibid). This meant that, for that publication at least, opinion followed the news. This can create a circular effect, where opinion pieces are informed and tied to issues on the news agenda, and then – through their effect as issue proponents – feed back into driving the news and public agendas.

Many of the op-ed texts in the Q1 2013 corpus were written by regular columnists in news in general or regular contributors to a specific publication – such as Yusuf Abramjee, Justice Malala and Redi Tlhabi. Op-ed texts frequently looked for 'solutions' to the issue of rape, concluding variously that the solution is to improve the police service, control drug and alcohol abuse, implement harsher penalties for perpetrators, as well as other defined and undefined public action – such as marching, wearing a specific colour or "uniting against" rape. Additionally, these writers point to a perceived lack of political will to combat rape, and (less so but still present) the need to combat the patriarchal discourse and rape myths that upholds rape culture. The latter is raised by a handful of op-ed writers, usually gender activists and researchers working in conjunction with NGOs – providing a welcome counter-narrative to the dominant one, but did not constitute a large portion of the corpus.

The op-ed news texts almost as a whole also largely fail to engage meaningfully with other op-ed pieces or news events that present a counter-discourse to theirs, and the resulting churn of voices is a kind of "babelisation" (Mwale 2010) that may result

from a failure in orchestration (ibid) or "fractual orchestration" (Cowling and Hamilton 2008) on the part of the editors and other gate-keepers. Orchestration here refers to the role the media producers – especially editors – have in "shaping the dynamics of the [public] debate" (Mwale 2010).

A further possible explanation for this trend in the data is the media's agenda-setting effect on itself. In a study on the coverage of rape in Chicago newspapers in 1982 (Protess et al. 1985), researchers demonstrated how a large investigative piece about rape published by the Chicago *Sun-Times* led to increased coverage (by news item numbers) in that publication, and increased space (in inches) devoted to the topic in the *Sun-Times'* rival, the Chicago *Tribune* (ibid).

7.14 Coverage of male and "corrective" rape

There is very little media discussion in the corpora of male rape, with the exception of a book review that makes mention of the (male) author's experience of rape as a child, and a *Mail & Guardian* feature on rape, violence and living conditions of male inmates in South African prisons. 'Corrective', as a qualifier of rape – usually referring to the rape of lesbians, a hate crime exacted against homosexual or transsexual people – appears in the corpus 16 times, in just four articles out of 226 (Q1 2013 corpus).

This selective focus demonstrates the "social power" of the media "to decide on the amount of coverage […] given to particular incidents" (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008, 8). They are also denied the requisite salience or visibility an issue needs to achieve prominence or inclusion in the public agenda (Moriarty 1998; Dearing and Rogers 1996; McCombs and Shaw 1972). It may also contribute to the law enforcement structure's and public's acceptance (or non-acceptance) of these claims of rapes and thus, as Franiuk et al. (2008) argue potentially limit access to justice for victims that do not fit a 'typical' rape victim profile or whose rape falls outside of the typical depiction of rape.

8. Conclusions

In extracting the common elements across the corpora, this research report has shown that the dominant narrative that emerges from South African newspaper rape coverage within the given timeframe appears to be, as expected, primarily one of violent stranger rape, and rape that might have been avoided through different action on the part of the victim (victim-blaming).

Using CS and CDA methods on two corpora of South African media texts, this study found that rape myths are widespread in South Africa newspaper coverage of rape, although not in equal distribution. These particularly include a focus on violence as a signifier of "real rape" (Estrich 1987), and elements of victim-blaming focusing on a victim's behaviour prior to the rape. Often, in the Q12013, the victim's 'failure' that lead to her assault is as basic as walking in the world – on the beach, home from the pub or generally on the streets. This narrative is usually subtle in its blame effect, and often the discourses therein so successfully dressed up in news text under the guise of common sense as to be rendered invisible, despite feeding directly into a blatant discourse of patriarchy and gender inequality.

Occasionally, though, this element of victim blaming it not as subtle. In the Booysen case study in particular, there is an uneven application of rape myths and constructions within South African newspaper text, and evidence of a distinct shift in the construction of this victim – from one of innocent fun (a young girl out with her friends) to one of dual-placed blame none of which seems to lie with the perpetrator (Why was she out drinking at a pub? And where was her mother?). This element also demonstrates the sway that issue proponents can have in shaping the news agenda, and as a result, the public agenda.

Although the violence inflicted on Booysen is employed as a signifier of the 'realness' of her rape, her behaviour before the rape (under-age drinking, ignoring the warning of her guardian) muddies this portrayal, constructing her as a somewhat less 'unblameable' victim. Additionally, news text in the ANENE corpus initially focuses on how Booysen knew and explicitly named one of her rapists as Zwai (the nickname of a friend), then later the same publications use the alleged Zwai's friendly

relationship with Booysen as a counter-point to his potential guilt – quoting both his family and hers as disbelieving that anyone who knew Booysen could have done this to her.

CDA of the ANENE corpus revealed numerous contradictory and misleading constructions of rape, rape victims and rapists, such as, but not limited to:

- Booysen was a young innocent girl, having fun with her friends before she was attacked
- Booysen was an under-age drinker from a broken family who defied the instruction and warning of her guardian
- Violence is a signifier of real rape;
- Violence is used to other the rapist, removing them to the fringes of society (where rape occurs)
- Knowing her rapist enabled Booysen to identify him in her last hours of life
- Knowing the victim (and being known and liked in a community) functions to exclude a suspect from the pool of potential violent perpetrators

Simultaneously, the perpetrator of rape is often obscured from view in the Q1 2013 media texts examined (through nominalisation for example), or constructed as a sort of bogeyman – a blitz attack in a public area or a violation of your safe home space. Discourses that diminish the guilt of the perpetrators are also frequently employed in the newspaper corpora, but not always in line with those described by related research. In the Drum advice columns (Krige and Oostendorp 2013), the rapists are usually known to the victim, and their guilt is often obscured and reduced through often heavy-handed victim-blaming strategies and reframing the assaults in the terms of consensual sex. The rapes in the texts of these two corpora, on the other hand, are most frequently constructed violent (non-consensual) and the rapists as unknown and other, through a focus on their criminality, "perpetuat[ing] the suggestion that gender violence occurs on the margins of society, rather than at its core" (Worthington 2008, 362). Here rape is exceptionalised, and the news media – while still railing against this crime's common occurrence – conveys a discourse that denies the true systemic nature of rape (Holoshitz and Cameron 2014). In treating rape and rapists as exceptional, criminal and other, it absolves the rest of society (including the news

producers and particularly the op-ed writers who seek "solutions") from facing up to the patriarchal controls inherent to rape or the continued gender inequality that underpins this.

Another common refrain in the Q1 2013 corpus is the application of evaluative statements attached to instances of rape, contributing to an implicit hierarchy of types of rape, which suggests to an audience that (a) some rapes are worse than others, (b) some rapes are more a victim's fault than others, and (c) certain rapes are more worthy of salience in the news and public agenda than others. Combined with Freeman's (1993) concept of "rapable" and "unrapable" women, this shows how the media potentially contributes to and reinforces a discourse of grading rapes and rape victims, that functions as if to 'downgrade' or exclude certain rapes from the notion of "real rape". It must be noted that the newspapers of the corpora are inconsistent in their application of these strategies, but taken as a whole they paint a dire picture for rape victims, the prosecution or rape and the representation of rape. On the one extreme end of this imagined spectrum is an inherently rapable victim, such as an elderly – or very young – white, wealthy victim, raped (and possibly murdered or showing evidence of violence in addition to the rape) by a stranger in her home. On the other side, is a victim whose rape is essentially denied through a combination of victim-blaming and rapist-excusing constructions. She is typically constructed as 'non-white', often implied to be poor, falls within the age range deemed acceptably sexually active and therefore 'available', engaging in 'risky behaviour', and possibly raped by someone known to her, in a public (male) space.

The mixed methodologies approach used in the research was successfully able to reveal both the minutiae of detail from texts in the corpora and tease out the larger trends of discursive construction that have power in their repetition and 'common-sense' construction, rendering them largely unnoticeable to casual audiences. Having said that, the methods have their limits in certain regards – in that they cannot (and do not attempt to) address the producers' reasoning behind the discourses revealed, beyond how they are related to the dominant ideologies they carry and reinforce. As shown in the Discussion of Findings (Section 7), there were occasions where the data available through the CS method in particular fell short of expected conclusions, and these were highlighted as areas of potential further investigation. One example is

how, unlike in Bonnes's (2013) study, CS in this study was unable to reveal explicit reference to the race of the victims or perpetrators, and here the close analysis of CDA was better equipped to the task.

Opinion and analysis contributions, including letters to the editor and columns (collective referred to above as op-ed coverage), made up more than half of the Q12013 corpus. These tended to look for reasons for the crime of rape, or exist to express or elicit a particular emotional response from the publics they imagine as audiences for their efforts. Although a small group of op-ed texts (produced by sexual violence activists and researchers) address rape myths directly, the majority of op-ed pieces ignored or perpetuated them, blaming social ills or poor policing for the "scourge of rape" in South Africa. In effect, because the 'personality' op-ed news texts largely ignore other contributions to the discussion and repeat similar tropes, they may fall into the trap of "babelisation" (Mwale 2010) as discussed above, and more intentional orchestration (Mwale 2010, Cowling and Hamilton 2008) on the part of news editors could offer a means of better using this popular style of news text in our newspapers.

This research has demonstrated not just the presence of rape myths in a broad spectrum of South African newspapers but also the irregular use of these myths in the news texts of the corpora, and also blatant contradictions in the way that rape is constructed by the media. The combination of elements of victim-blaming and perpetrator-excusing provides further evidence of the double standard rape victims must overcome to be believed and to pursue justice. If this violent stranger rape story is the dominant narrative of rape that South African audiences are receiving, it shows an under-representation in the news of what researchers suggest is a much greater threat – rape and violence from acquaintances and intimate partners, supported by a fundamentally gender-unequal society. Even without the inclusion of race signifiers in the texts, in perpetuating this narrative, the South African media may be guilty of (perhaps unintentional) fear-mongering, and prioritising one type of rape while excluding others from the public agenda. And, through the reality re-configuring effect of narrative and discourse, this may have a powerful skewing effect on the public understanding of sexual violence, and thus our ability (and willingness) to act effectively to counter it.

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