



MALMÖ HÖGSKOLA

Invisible statements in the newspapers

- A qualitative study of media's role and representation of Delhi gang rape

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Abstract

The cases of rape and other crimes committed against women are reported in media everyday. The fatal gang rape of a 23 year old woman on a moving bus in the National capital of India captured media headlines not only in India but across the world due to the horrific manner in which this crime was committed. The present master thesis attempts to understand the representation of crime against women in media to Delhi gang rape case and also how the people feels about of such incidences in media. The data is collected from three newspapers, BBC News, New York Times and Globalpost. All the news items were read carefully and analysed with a critical discourse analysis. The newspapers are each divided in the analysis, including a theoretical discussion afterwards. The theories that are being used in this master thesis are *Victim precipitation theory*, *Moral panics* and *Labelling Theory*. The final conclusion has been arrived with the help of deeply readings through the newspapers including the help of critical discourse analysis. It can be concluded that media needs to be more sensitive towards coverage of crime against women and general public needs to be more vocal and aware to deal with these cases in more effective manner.

Keywords: Rape, Offender, Victim, Delhi, Newspaper, Media

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Introduction

Background

Looking back in the history, the origins of the word *rape* are found in the ancient Greek – to steal¹. One might see it as stealing one's dignity by raping someone, or win authority by raping. Most rape victims are women or girls. The rape-offender is in the most case a man close to the victim or in authority over the victim². One may question what kind of injuries of rape there are, what is harmful about sexual abuse; the attack on the self, which can be shattered; the degradation of human dignity; the violation of trust and destruction of spirit³. Rape can (or do) also destroy one's sense of safety, feelings of integrity and worth, belief in and enjoyment of intimate relationships, and faith in one's place of respect in family or community⁴. Rape has been described as a universal, terrifying, omnipresent instrument of male power which can be used against all women in order to keep them in a constant state of fear and intimidation⁵. The cases of rape and other crimes committed against women are reported in print media every day. There are a number of myths related to rape in the print media. These include: rape is sex, the assailant is motivated by lust, the assailant is perverted or crazy, the assailant is usually lower class, women provoke rape, women deserve rape, only “loose” women are victimized, a sexual attack sullies the victim, rape is punishment for past deeds and women cry rape for revenge⁶. This study highlights what kind of picture the media (newspapers) builds up of the rape incident in Delhi 2012 and how gender is used in the newspapers writings. The data is collected from three newspapers, *New York Times*, *Globalpost* and *BBC News*. The newspapers are going to be analysed with a critical discourse analysis, which will analyse the way the newspapers represent and picture the case in Delhi, but also make statements visible in the text of the newspapers. Accessibility in this thesis are presented under *Review of previous research*, where these has the scope of *rape* and/or *rape and media*. The final discussion will represent and sum up the media's role of the case in Delhi.

1 <http://www.safespaceolympia.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/A-Feminist-History-of-Rape.pdf> 7/4-2014

2 MacKinnon A. Catharine (2007)

3 MacKinnon A. Catharine (2007)

4 MacKinnon A. Catharine (2007)

5 Naffine, Ngaire (Brownmiller's words about rape) (1995)

6 Kaur (2013)

Aim

The aim of this master thesis is to critically analyse general newspapers about the incident in Delhi. Using a critical discourse analysis will reach the aim by analysing the three different newspapers. More of critical discourse analysis will be presented in the method section. By using a critical discourse analysis, there will be discovered invisible statements in the newspapers that will be discussed in depth. The aim of the newspapers are also to show how men and women might be represented in India. By this detection, the thesis will be ending with a discussion of media's role in the Delhi gang rape.

Research questions

Following research questions are being used to answer the aim of this thesis', which are going to be analysed with a qualitative method;

- What kind of picture do the media gives us about the incident in Delhi 2012?
- How is gender represented with such a crime?

Limitation and outline

Within the confines of this essay, I have chosen to only focus on the case in Delhi, and not rape in general. I will be using previous researches to get a deep analysis. Instead of writing and focus on rape in general, the focus will be on the three different newspapers about the same case – what have been represented in the newspapers and what have been missed? With a critical discourse analysis I will be analyse the newspapers in a critical way, and use a gender perspective. With gender perspective I mean, making unsaid phrases and/or statements in the newspaper visible – which may include gender differences and injustice between the sexes. Also the theories will get big attention in the analyse, they will be applied in each newspaper – and from that, analyse and criticize the way the newspapers represents the case in Delhi. The three newspapers are representative of “the media” in this thesis. As it was mentioned earlier, everyone have access to these types of newspapers. Media, which means communication, television, newspaper etc. are precisely what these newspapers stands for. These newspapers are communicating with the people. Why these newspapers are categorized as “the media” is because they doesn't touch scientific and research. More specifically these newspapers can be referred to the mass media as a “group”. The messages these newspapers gives are to a specific group, the group are for instance everyone since such a crime might happen to everyone⁷. Media messages are constructed, and they all have embedded

⁷ <http://www.understandmedia.com/ml-basics/8-what-is-the-media> 2014-05-23

values, it's therefore important to know that the people and companies creating these messages target them to a specific part of the public. Proximity is only one method the media uses to target and segment its audience⁸. The media also segments based on ethnicity, nationality, religious beliefs, political beliefs, gender, class, and almost any other sub-culture.

Review of previous research

Under this headline I will present reviews of previous research. The researches are from gender and criminological aspects. The discourse analysis that I'm using is on newspapers from the media. Researches about media's role are being presented here as well. Beyond media's role there are also researches about rape in general since this criminal aspect have raised much of willingness to change and do something about it. Below you will be informed very briefly about these previous researches.

Rape and the media

Ammu Joseph, has written an article called *Rape and the media* (2008). Joseph presents several rape incidents that had happened in India. She continues to write about how the media presents and writes about these rape incidents. Joseph says that it is through coverage like this (a rape incident) that the media occasionally redeem themselves and prove that they can, and sometimes do, deal with a subject like rape with the seriousness and sensitivity it deserves⁹. Media coverage of rape (and many other forms of violence against women) over the past quarter of a century has generally conformed to a predictable pattern: long spells of routine reports regularly, if randomly, culled from police hand-outs, broken by brief periods of intensive and extensive coverage catalysed by one or more cases that happen to grab the imagination of the media and the public¹⁰. Joseph keeps writing about cases most likely to become *causes celebres* today are crimes committed in one of the metropolitan cities, especially Delhi with its high density of “national” media, involving a victim (and/or an offender) from the middle or upper classes. And both the media and their “target audiences” are most likely to get agitated when crimes, including rape, affect “people like us”, while crimes against the poor, the powerless and the distant tend to receive media and public attention¹¹.

8 <http://www.understandmedia.com/ml-basics/8-what-is-the-media> 2014-05-23

9 Bhattacharjee (2008)

10 Bhattacharjee (2008)

11 Bhattacharjee (2008)

Sex without consent – young people in developing countries

Shireen J. Jejeebhoy, Iqbal Shah and Shyam Thapa have together written a book, *Sex without consent – young people in developing countries* (2005). In the book we are allowed to read about different aspects of sexual abuse in young ages in different countries. I have chosen to briefly write about one aspect about India – *Young women's experiences of forced sex within marriage: evidence from India*. The focus lies on how forced sex among married adolescents appears to have been most widely studied in India. This review synthesizes what is known about forced sexual experiences perpetrated by husbands among married adolescents and young women in India, and the factors that may precipitate such experiences¹². A number of factors are hypothesized to underlie experiences in the Indian context. The lack of information on sexual matters or on what to expect of sexual relations compounds the anxiety and fear that young women so frequently describe to characterize their early marital experiences and also compromises their ability to negotiate sex. Findings also argue for action at the level of parents, families and communities¹³. It is important that adult gatekeepers are sensitized to the deleterious consequences of withholding information on sexual matters from their daughters and the need to equip them with such information.

Why did you go there? – Gender and the public place

Saswati Gosh has written, *why did you go there? - Gender and the public place* (2008). It is not only the violence itself; but it is also the fear of violence that controls women's lives, in private domains and in public spaces. In Gosh's article we get to read about the everyday assault women face through the restrictions on their access to a public place. Such constraints can be created through unwanted looks, sexually loaded gestures, making physical restrictions unnecessary. Women are made to understand from childhood that they and they alone are responsible for their own safety. So, they never question why the public space is so unsafe for them. *We accept them to be unsafe, just like that*, as Gosh says in her article.

Representation of crime against women in print media: a case study of Delhi gang rape

This present research paper attempts to understand the representation of crime against women in print media with special reference to Delhi gang rape case and also how the young Indian women feels about representation of such incidents in media. The data is collected from four newspapers, The times of India, The tribune, Indian express and Hindustan times published from Chandigarh from the first reporting of case till date¹⁴. The conclusion of this research paper is that media needs

¹² Jajeebhoy, Shah and Thapa (2005)

¹³ Jajeebhoy, Shah and Thapa (2005)

¹⁴ Kaur (2013)

to be more sensitive towards coverage of crime against women and general public needs to be more vocal and aware to deal with these cases in more effective manner.

News and views - “The Delhi gang rape”: The making of international causes

This study does not cover Indian news sources, nor does it provide a representative sample of international outlets. The author cover articles, commentaries, and op-eds from the *Guardian*, the *Australian*, the *New York Times*, the *Wall street journal*, *CNN*, and the *Nation*¹⁵. The author compares these six different newspapers by highlighting different aspects in the incident in Delhi December 2012. While the mobilization within India around Pandey's (the victim) assault obviously played a large part in making the event an international cause, the authors exploration of the questions in the article focuses on a selection of visible international mass media reports. The author focus on on aspect on international media coverage, namely the way many media stories presented Pandey's assault as a putative battle between two Indians: the first, new and modern, and the second, old and backward¹⁶. This juxtaposition illustrates a larger logic: the way violence becomes internationally recognized as a violation of modern, rights-bearing subjects.

The young and the restless – Gender, “youth”, and the Delhi

In this study, the author discuss the paradoxical discourses that surround the Delhi gang rape and the unprecedented levels of protest that followed in relation to global austerity and anxieties concerning youth¹⁷. While “idle young men” are blamed for sexual violence and “young” women are subject to paternalistic protectionism, the author suggest that gendered violence in urban India must be thought of in relation to a wider moment of global recession and austerity¹⁸. The author use the Delhi gang rape case and discursive constructions of “youth” as both deviant and politically progressive to discuss the gendered effects that increased forms of global precarious supports.

15 Roychowdhury (2013)

16 Roychowdhury (2013)

17 Atluri (2013)

18 Atluri (2013)

Theory

My theoretical views are based on the *victim precipitation* theory, *labelling* theory and *moral panics* theory. The theories are being used in different ways in this thesis. The two theories that will be discussed more which also are going hand in hand with each other are moral panics theory and labelling theory. Below, there will be a brief presentations of these three theories that will describe them generally and the characteristics of each one of them.

Victim precipitation

According to Menashem Amir, the creator of the *Victim precipitation* theory, the theory generally involve an explanation of how an individual's behaviour may contribute to his/her own victimization – which also is the main central claim for this theory. Victim precipitation of rape/forcible rape theoretically means that in a particular situation the behaviour of the victim is interpreted by the offender either as a direct invitation for sexual relations or as a sign that she/he will be available for sexual contact if she/he will persist in demanding it¹⁹. There can be many factors about why one has become a victim of rape; alcohol, bad reputation, experiences of criminality and the victims' behaviour. There are researchers agreeing that this theory is unfair to the women that become victims of rape. Feminists argue that “there is no clearer example of women's real place in society. When a person is robbed, the robber is put on trail. When someone is murdered, the murderer is put on trail. But when a woman is raped, it is the woman and not the rapist who is put on trail”²⁰. This theory might open up discussions and debates whether how to apply this theory in certain situations. There are some more central claims beyond the explanation of how an individual's behaviour may contribute to his/her victimization. Other central claims are that the theory focuses on the victim and not the offender. Also that this theory somehow “blame” the victim for his/her behaviour/act/expressions. Therefore, a victim might for example have incidental carelessness, which occurs when the victim once and in particular circumstances creates a situation dangerous for his/her life. There is also permanent carelessness that consists in exposing oneself to danger by permanent contacts with dangerous surroundings²¹.

19 Amir (1967)

20 Curtis (1974)

21 Curtis (1974)

Labelling theory

Labelling theory holds that on some occasion everybody shows behaviour that can be called deviant. For various reasons, only certain people are labelled as deviant because of this behaviour. Labelling entails that the identity assigned to an individual is in some respect altered to one's discredit. Certain qualities connected with the behaviour are attributed to one²². The behaviour which becomes the object of labelling is called the primary deviation. Essentially, two effects come from labelling. On the one hand, an individual's social situation is changed; on the other, one's self-image is changed. One begins to conceive oneself as a deviant. The two factors together give rise to deviant careers in which the individual little by little enters a deviant way of life. Finally, one has developed a deviant identity²³. One has become what people have said one was from the beginning. Behaviour which results from labelling is known as secondary deviance. Labelling theories of crime are also often referred to as social reaction theories, because they focus primarily on the consequences of responses or reactions to crime. These responses or reactions typically focus on three sets of actors: (1) informal social others, such as friends, parents, or parents of persons committing crimes, and who disapprove of the offender's behaviour; (2) organizations or institutions such as the criminal justice system, whose function it is to "do something about" crime; and (3) those who perceive a threat by some behaviour and want to see legislation passed to outlaw it. All of these very diverse actions have one thing in common: they are all reactions to crime. Stigma contests have become central to moral panics theorizing, and the theoretical foundations for the theory and the concept of moral panics, especially labelling theory, certainly allow interaction between stigmatizers and deviantizers and their targets²⁴.

22 Knutsson (1977)

23 Knutsson (1977)

24 Ben-Yehuda (2009)

Moral panics

The conceptualization of moral panics has benefited from several theoretical innovations. The original model drew mainly on symbolic interaction and labelling theory in relation to deviant behaviour²⁵. The concept broadly refers to the creation of a situation in which exaggerated fear is manufactured about topics that are seen (or claimed) to have a moral component²⁶. Moral panics have to create, focus on and sustain powerfully persuasive images of folk devils that can serve as the heart of moral fears²⁷. Moral panics after all, are meant to help specific moral perceptions dominate. When different moral ideas and concepts struggle for attention and domination in a social and cultural landscape that allows and tolerates such rivalry, more moral panics can be expected to occur²⁸. The “panic” in “moral panic” is only a metaphor and has nothing to do with physical panics. Moral panics are characterized by speeches, sermons, preaching, negotiations, arguments, debates, legislation, law enforcement priorities, agenda setting and the like, all focused on moral issues²⁹. How people struggle over the meaning of different conceptions of morality and social harm is a central concern of criminology. In other words, moral panics are about struggle for moral harmony over interpretations of the legitimacy (or not) of prevailing social arrangement and material interests³⁰.

There are five defined concepts of the moral panic, which characterizes the moral panic. These elements are *concern*, *hostility*, *consensus*, *disproportion* and *volatility*³¹. According to the first element, concern, there must be a heightened level of concern over the behaviour of a certain group or category and the consequences that that behaviour presumably causes for one or more sectors of the society³². The second element, there must be an increased level of hostility toward the group or category regarded as engaging in the behaviour or causing the condition in question. Members of this category are collectively designated as the enemy, or an enemy of respectable society; their behaviour is seen as harmful or threatening to the values the interests, possibly the very existence, of the society or a sizeable segment of that society³³. Thus, a division is made between “us” - good, decent, respectable folk – and “them” or the “other” - the deviants, bad guys, undesirable, outsiders, criminals, the underworld disreputable folk³⁴. Third, to qualify as a moral panic, we must have

25 Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

26 Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

27 Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

28 Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

29 Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

30 Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

31 Goode, Erich & Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

32 Goode, Erich & Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

33 Goode, Erich & Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

34 Goode, Erich & Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

substantial or widespread agreement or consensus – that is at least a certain minimal measure of consensus or agreement, either in the society as a whole or in designated segments of the society – that the threat is real, serious, and caused by the wrongdoing group members and their behaviour³⁵. Fourth, the empirical nature of a given threat that we are able to determine the degree of disproportion – the concept of the moral panic rests on disproportion. If we cannot determine disproportion, we cannot conclude that a given episode of fear or concern represents a case of a moral panic³⁶. The fifth, and last element, by their nature, moral panics are volatile; some moral panics may become routinised or institutionalised – after the panic has run its course, the moral concern about the target behaviour results in, or remains in place in the form of, social movement organizations, legislation, enforcement practices, informal interpersonal norms or practices for punishing transgressors³⁷.

35 Goode, Erich & Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

36 Goode, Erich & Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

37 Goode, Erich & Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

Method and Materials

Approach

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) will be the method to criticize and analyse the chosen newspapers. CDA is the broad, interdisciplinary methodological approach to language and society that centers on *discourse as social practice*: Discursive practices are social in nature and social practices are inherently built on and around discourse³⁸. CDA uses microlevel analysis of discourse (words, phrases, conceptual metaphors) to uncover the process by which ideologies of power abuse, control, hegemony, dominance, exclusion, injustice, and inequity are created, re-created, and perpetuated in social life – processes which are often “naturalized” and taken for granted as common-sense notions³⁹. Macro-level messages as micro-level are current too when one are using critical discourse analysis. Macro-level messages may combine to express power, control, racism, hegemony, dominance, and discrimination⁴⁰. The aims of CDA-based work are to uncover those processes and practices, to make them visible and clear, to explain them, and consequently to encourage resistance against them and to effect social change⁴¹. The method of CDA includes linguistic *description* of the language text, *interpretation* of the relationship between the (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the text, and *explanation* of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social process⁴². Since my bachelor degree comes from gender studies, I will have my “gender-glasses” on when I'm writing. Therefore, this thesis brings CDA and feminist studies together in proposing a “feminist” critical discourse analysis, which aims to advance a rich and nuanced understanding of the complex workings of power and ideology in discourse in sustaining (hierarchically) gendered social arrangements⁴³. Discourse is shaped by structures, but also contributes to shaping and reshaping them, to reproducing and transforming them. These structures are most immediately of a discursal/ideological nature – orders of discourse, codes and their elements such as vocabularies or turn-taking conventions – but they also include in a mediated form political and economic structures, relationships in the market, gender relations, relations within the state and within the institutions of civil society such as education⁴⁴. Since the CDA uses microlevel analysis of discourse to uncover the process by which ideologies of power abuse, control etc. are created, re-created and perpetuated, this will help me to give me the type of analysis I'm out after. I will be uncover “hidden messages” in the articles that I will be

38 Strauss & Feiz (2014)

39 Strauss & Feiz (2014)

40 Strauss & Feiz (2014)

41 Strauss & Feiz (2014)

42 Fairclough (2010)

43 Wodak, Ruth (2013)

44 Fairclough (2010)

discuss through. Power abuse, control and gender are ideologies that are current in this case. Using CDA in this thesis is relevant because it will lead me through the newspapers in depth, which will sum up an analysis that is relevant both for the CDA, analysis and the thesis in general. There are three different newspapers about this case that will be analysed in CDA. I will present how each newspaper represents the case and what they write more and less about. With a critical discourse analysis I will be using microlevel analysis of discourse, where I will be looking for words, phrases and conceptual metaphors to uncover the process of the newspapers way in representing the case in Delhi. The material that will be helpful in this thesis is articles and books. There is also limits of what the articles and the books handles. There is only a book that specifically focus on rape in India which will be presented in the *Review of previous research*. The remaining books and articles has the focus on the theories that I will be using in this thesis, and also media and rape. “Gender” and “the media” are two of the main aspects in this thesis. Gender will be discussed and analysed through every newspaper, gender attitudes will also be an important aspect to discuss, since the aim of the newspapers are to show how men and women might be represented in India. Media, which is the second main aspect are important here in this thesis too because it is via media information’s are coming out. The three newspapers are typical media type of newspapers that “general” people read. I have therefore chosen this type of newspapers because it is this type that people have access too. I have chosen the incident in Delhi because it has called attention to the effects of sexual violence on women's lives and demanded a large-scale public commitment to stopping this violence.

Discourse is sometimes described as a certain way of speaking about and understanding the world through experiences we have in verbal communication and social interaction⁴⁵. Discourse is a language use relative to social, political and cultural formations – it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals' interaction with society⁴⁶. Our everyday experiences are created, expressed, and mediated by discourse, from talking or texting with friends and posting on social media sites; to seeing advertisements and product packaging; to immersing ourselves in the economy, politics, education, health and welfare; to discussing local news, national news, and even the tabloids. Society influences how we interact, personally and privately, socially and publicly – in families, with strangers, and within institutions⁴⁷. The pros by using a CDA when analysing newspapers is that one's interpretation of the text *can't* be wrong as long as one can explain what she/he means by her/his interpretation. The discussions and explanations are therefore the key in CDA. The goal of CDA is to make visible the invisible

45 Malmström (2007)

46 Malmström (2007)

47 Strauss & Freiz (2014)

injustice and racism and power asymmetries⁴⁸. But this might create cons of the CDA – where the discourse analyst is often anchored in exactly the same discourses as he or she wants to analyse. And, under all circumstances, the discourse analyst is always anchored in some or other discursive structure. Although discourse analysis is about distracting oneself from these discourses and “showing them as they are”, in this kind of theory there is no hope of escaping from the discourses and telling the pure truth, truth in itself being always a discursive construction⁴⁹.

Ethical considerations

Ethical aspects in CDA are difficult to apply. By using interviews as a method one are able to prepare and act properly against the informant. The ethical aspect is important in the interview(s), it might be more difficult to apply the ethical aspect in a CDA than in an interview, but it is also important in CDA as in the interview(s). The key is what you have to analyse – analysing a judgement that deals with one or several individuals makes the importance by using and think of ethical considerations. By writing this thesis I'm having the ethical considerations in the back of my head, and criticizing the discourse in the newspapers, not the individuals.

48 Strauss & Freiz (2014)

49 Jørgensen & Phillips (2002)

Analysis

The case in Delhi might have open up many reactions because the numbers of offenders and one victim. As it is said in a study, “*men do not rape women out of a sexual desire for other men, but they may rape women, in part, as a way to relate to men*”, and “*participation in a group sexual assault is motivated by the relationships among the men, for the purpose of maintaining or creating images and roles within the groups*”⁵⁰. Below you will get a deeper picture of each one of the newspapers. You will first get a short introduction of what they write about, in what way and what they focus on. After the introduction I will get into the critical discourse analysis, and analyse the newspapers in a deeper aspect – here I will use the three theories and a gender perspective. Each of the newspaper will be analysed with a discourse analysis and end with an analyse that includes a theory/theories. In that space I will include different aspects of how we can apply the theory in the case. I will also bring up critique about the theories, reflect and analyse.

BBC News – *Delhi gang-rape victim's funeral held*

The *BBC News* starts the newspaper with giving the information about the young woman that died after being gang-raped and she were cremated in the capital, Delhi. Comments from senior politicians and protesters after the incident have got much of space in this newspaper. The newspaper do lift up the importance of the reactions and demonstrations, how the attack sparked two weeks of protests about gender attitudes in India, and calls for changes to laws on rape and violence against women. Further we got to read how protesters didn't agree with calls for the death penalty for convicted rapists, because this would encourage murder so victims neither could nor report crimes.

In the newspaper it says that “*the attack sparked two weeks of protests about gender attitudes in India*”, according to moral panics theory; we might see that moral panics are current in Delhi. We might believe that fear and concern are the strongest feelings and reactions when we think about the case in Delhi, but anger has more attention as we can see in the newspaper. The concern felt by the public does not always manifest itself in the form of fear, although both fear and concern have at least one element in common: both are seen by those who feel them to be a reasonable response to what is regarded as a very real and palpable threat⁵¹. The victim is mentioned several of times in the newspaper. The way she is mentioned is such as a weak and passive girl; “*According to the reports, the couple were attacked after the man objected to another group of men taunting her*”. We might

50 MacKinnon A. Catharine (2007)

51 Goode, Erich & Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

see here while we are reading the newspaper, that the offenders are strong, masculinity men that use violence to dominate. Females have long been demonstrated to be less violent than males at every age and in every setting. This sex difference implicitly has been interpreted to mean that women differ fundamentally from men by lacking the underlying motivation or capacity for violence that men have⁵². Men possess a structural capacity to rape, and woman a structural vulnerability to it⁵³. Class (which is being discussed more according to the second article, *New York Times*) are also getting an attention related to gender. Gender relations and their correlations with class relations; define power positions and subordination within social structures. Masculinity, as opposed to femininity, is a configuration of gender practices, which guarantees male-dominations⁵⁴. Which we as a reader of the newspaper easy might see due the way they have written the newspaper. Further in the beginning of the newspaper, the victim is presented as a “23-year-old medical student”, which might open up questions whether the victim was “worth” more than if she wasn't a medical student. The victim's education was mentioned several of times in the newspaper, which creates a level of hostility according to moral panics theory. A division is made between “us” (the good, educated folks) which represent the victim in this case and “them” (the bad, uneducated folks) which represent the offenders. To “get to know” the victim more as a reader of this newspaper, we are getting a bit information about her private life, from her neighbour in an interview;

Friends told the AFP news agency the couple were in a relationship and had been planning to marry in the next few weeks (...) “They had made all the wedding preparations and had planned a wedding party in Delhi,” said her neighbour, Meera Rai.

When we get deeper information about the victims' private life, it makes the victim more personal and gets closer to the reader⁵⁵. Also, the education is important to mention, just to make sure that “educated girls shouldn't be raped”. To mention the victims education does also classify the victim and the offenders in different classes, and creates a division between “we” (the educated) and “them” (the uneducated). It is also important to notice who may speak in the newspaper, when and how, which voices are validated and which are not, whose voices are censored, silenced, ignored⁵⁶. In the newspaper, the voices that get the attention are from senior politicians, the doctors from the hospital, a social worker and the victims neighbour. As we can see, the importance of what kind of education the involved persons has are high, except the neighbour. The neighbour is just a “usual” person. They don't mention if the neighbour has an education or not. We can see here that “the

52 Moffitt (2001)

53 Naffine, Ngaire (1995)

54 Walle (2002)

55 Strauss & Freiz (2014)

56 Strauss & Freiz (2014)

educated has the power” to speak up about the case. Accordingly to moral panics, the theory are about representations, images and coercion: about which sector of a society has the power to represent and impose its image, worlds views and interests onto others as being both legitimate and valid⁵⁷. In the BBC News it is very clear that the educated and the “important” persons may represent and speak about the case. Related to Joseph's study in the *Review of previous research*, this crime has affected “people like us” since the victim was a woman with power and education, while crimes against poor, powerless and the distant tend to receive media and public attention.

In this newspaper we can't really relate to the victim precipitation theory, as we can do to one of the other newspaper. This newspaper focuses more on the reactions and the demonstrations after the incident, not the victim, which may include moral panics more than victim precipitation. Below you will read a discussion that focuses on the case in Delhi and moral panics theory and labelling theory in depth.

Applications of theories – Moral panics & Labelling

As it is mentioned earlier, the victim precipitation theory is less relevant to apply on BBC News. Above you've read about the reactions and demonstrations that exploded after the incident, which include the five elements from the moral panics theory. There are several explanations in the newspaper about the reactions from the people – an Indian PM Mr Singh said he was “*very saddened*” by the woman's death, and that the angry public reaction was “*perfectly understandable*”. A social worker says that “*this incident should open our eyes to the fact that we need to raise our children right, we need to raise the people right*”. According to these phrases, some of the elements of the moral panics are more or less relevant. The *consensus* in this case is relevant due to the public's agreement. We have noticed that the reactions are real, serious and the incident is caused by the wrongdoing group members and their behaviour⁵⁸. This sentiment must be fairly widespread, since moral panics are matter of degree, we may say that the reactions after the incident in Delhi are related to several of the elements of moral panics. *Concern* is one element that can be related to this case. The concern has been spread all over Delhi, but even in different countries.

Further in the newspaper we can see that people want changes after the incident, to make the streets safer for women. Officials have since announced a series of measures intended to make the city safer for women. These include more police night patrols, checks on bus drivers and their assistants,

⁵⁷ Ben-Yehuda (2009)

⁵⁸ Goode, Erich & Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

and the banning of buses with tinted windows or curtains. But many of the protesters say that women are viewed as secondary citizens, and that a fundamental change in culture and attitudes, backed up by law, is needed to protect the women. The public has knowledge of what is needed to prevent such problem as rape and sexual violence – sexual violence is characterized by the emphasis on the structural, social character of sexual violence⁵⁹. The image of the structural character of sexual violence is created through the description of detailed accounts of the repetitive history of actual violence. Rape has been described as a universal, terrifying, omnipresent instrument of male power which can be used against women in order to keep them in a constant state of fear and intimidation⁶⁰. In the beginning of the newspaper, we are getting informed and a picture of how the “*attack sparked two weeks of protests about gender attitudes in India, and calls for changes to laws on rape and violence against women*” - according to labelling theory, there are three sets of factors that can explain labelling theory in a society. The first one, which is to inform social others, such as friends, parents, has been proven in the newspaper when there was several of groups protesting. The second factor is to inform organizations or institutions such as the criminal justice system, whose function is to “do something about” the crime, which also have shown in the newspaper, when there is one person saying that “*this incident should open our eyes to the fact that we need to raise our children right*”. And the third factor is those who perceive a threat by some behaviour and want to see legislation passed to outlaw it, which we can relate to the quote above as well.

As it was mentioned earlier, we can see “what kind” of persons that are allowed to speak in the newspaper. These persons are high educated, which represents the case with their points of view. And the best way to reach out to the world, and inform the world about something is via media. Researches interested in the media as creator and spreader of fear have also focused on moral panics as an important mechanism for creating and sustaining cultures of fear⁶¹. We can clearly see how this type of technique is used in this newspaper – the high educated persons got the most attention in the newspaper because these persons are being expected to be listened at. This creates a question about who the people will be listen more at? The high educated? Or people with no education?. The education in this newspaper represents power as we also can see during reading it, the people who has an education have power to speak up and represent the fear and concern the case in Delhi has created. Too look at the moral panic theory in a critical review might be that moral panics can be applied everywhere and every time, official and media concern is, without substance or

59 Naffine, Ngaire (1995)

60 Naffine, Ngaire (1995)

61 Ben-Yehuda (2009)

justification, it is perfectly possible to panic about even the most genuine problem⁶². Therefore one would say that it doesn't really matter who is speaking up or who represents the case/problem in a newspaper, since moral panics are easy to create – only thing that is needed is media, to have the possibility to reach out to the world and be the representative of a case and in that way create moral panic. To build up a moral panic theory, the labelling theory needs to be relevant first – where the information about a case needs to be spread. After that the information has reached the “public” the elements of the moral panics theory starts to act.

The New York Times – *In case that transfixed a nation, court in India convicts four men of rape*

The New York Times, unlike the *BBC News*, focuses more on the offenders, the victim and each parent's statements. Of course we also get to read what the protesters and politicians have said about this incident too, but this newspaper is written in a more emotional way. We get to follow the final decisions in the court, what the defendants and their parents have said about the decision. As in the first newspaper, *BBC News*, we are getting to read about the reactions after the case, it brings us a bitter closer to a case that broke open the subject of sexual violence in this rapidly changing society. Unlike *BBC News*, *New York Times* are describing the offenders (or *defendants* as they have choose to say) as “mostly working class migrants who the police said had been drinking”. To classify the defendants as *working class migrants* creates a bad picture of persons that doesn't have opportunities to have a higher standard than a “lower/working” class. When readers get to read that “the defendants were working class migrants”, then the readers kind of forgets that there are more or less high class criminal persons that get away with criminality (*white-collar crime*) in a smooth way because of their wealth⁶³. Even the term *white-collar crime* implies that women are not supposed to be in important decision-making positions within organisations. And even if they can commit a crime that has the characteristics of a *white-collar offence*, they cannot commit “*white-collar crime*”, because their blouses may not be white. Women “must” always be victims, not offenders⁶⁴.

The speakers in the newspaper are the protesters, the defendant's parents and the victim's parents. It is interesting how near we get the defendants parents by their comments in the newspaper. We can read that one of the defendants' mother is saying “*When I sat next to him in the courtroom, sometimes I just wanted to reach out and hold my son, all I can do is pray to God now. God will be the final judge*”. By this sentence, we are getting another picture of the defendant, mothers little

62 Goode, Erich & Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

63 Walle (2002)

64 Walle (2002)

boy. We are seeing how the mother is worry about her son, which may let the reader rethink about the defendant, “*maybe he is innocent after all? Maybe he was forced to do such a crime*” Another story in the newspaper about another defendant that may reach to the readers strongly, is about the defendant who was driving the bus at times during the assault. His family said he had been subjected to sustained abuse while custody, and at one point had been forced to drink urine. He ended up by hanging himself with his bed sheets in his Delhi prison cell as his cellmates looked on. We can also read that he have said that he was driving and unaware of the crime. Just like the first defendant, we are getting close to this defendant and his family by reading what he have been through – which also might make the readers rethink, and think about/feel sorry about the defendant and actually forget for what reason they are being called as defendants.

As it was mentioned earlier, the word *defendants* are being used instead of *offender* in the New York Times. The word *defendant* is much softer than *offender*. By using *defendant* makes the persons that are being described as defendants in the newspaper, softer and innocent. Offender, which is a bit harder word, might change the newspaper a bit. But in the end of the newspaper we are being reminded of why they are called as defendants, in the end we can read the comments from the victim's parents, but even the victim's herself words in the hospital. “*These monsters should be hanged,*” her mother told a news channel as the family left for court on Tuesday morning. “*When I saw her in the hospital later, she burst into tears and said, “Mummy, they beat me up very brutally”*”, her father agreed, “*If they are not hanged, it will be a shame for everyone*”. The newspaper ends this way, which ends with a reminder of the brutal incident.

What is sure is that this incident has changed a whole country, even the future of this country. We are reading in the newspaper that;

“her death seemed to open a vault here, and nine months later reports of rape still saturate the country's newspapers – whether because of increased attacks or increased reporting is not clear. Under pressure to respond to the surge of public anger, the government toughened laws on sexual violence. But the drumbeat of fresh reports offers little hope that this society has confronted the problem, and foreign women have become increasingly wary of travelling to India”

We can see that the incident have continued to make headlines for several days, weeks and months,

partly because the government and industry took far more serious note of the crime than they are generally wont to⁶⁵. Further the quote tells us the concern about losing the travellers to India too, how this incident have create a dreadful picture of India. As it was discussed earlier about BBC News, the educated were allowed to speak up and represent the concern and fear about the case in Delhi. When people outside India, in other countries read the newspapers where educated and high positioned people have spoken up, will change their way to think of India. To delete this dreadful picture of India, it is important to choose educated persons that represent the fear and concern about the case in Delhi. These people that speaks up and represents this case might have another language technique, when trying to reach to the people. Language plays an altogether fundamental role in human thinking, and it bestows on one's unique ability to master its environment⁶⁶. By language one is capable of singling out and isolating different aspects of an object in the external world and of conveying these to ones "fellow-persons". Language and the mental process it entails are not confined to the human organism; rather they should be seen as a kind of process relating organism and environment.

Applications of theories – Moral panics, Labelling & Victim precipitation

In this newspaper we are able to apply the victim precipitation theory, moral panics theory and labelling theory. We can read in the newspaper that one defence lawyer argued that the attack could not have taken place were it not for "*the lust of the boy*" that accompanied the victim to the movie, and recommended that it was her companion who should be hanged. So, instead of blaming the offenders, this lawyer is blaming the victim's friend (fiancé?) for being beaten up and raped. Men are supposed to "protect" the honour and dignity of women. Any transgression on the part of the woman can be punished with a "right" lesson, usually with different degrees of assault, often sexual⁶⁷. According to victim precipitation theory, once the victim and the offender are drawn together, a process is set in motion whereby victim behaviour and the situation which surrounds the encounter will determine the course of events leading to the crime⁶⁸. In this case, the victim who is the "provocative" is the boy of the two victims. According to the victim precipitation theory - If it wasn't for him, the two victims wouldn't be beaten up and raped by the offenders. Leaving the victim precipitation theory and start to think about the moral panics theory instead, there are many elements of the moral panics theory in the newspaper that we can apply. As in the BBC News, we can also see here in The New York Times that many protesters have reacted strongly to make their

65 Bhattacharjee (2008)

66 Knutsson (1977)

67 Bhattacharjee (2008)

68 Amir (1967)

voices heard and to show their anger about the case. We can see that there are heightened level of *concern* over the case of the groups that are protesting, when it says in the newspaper that one protester said he thought *executions were necessary to put an end to rapes*⁶⁹. The same protester also says that “*only fear can stop it*” and “*we are the youth of India. We are her voice*”. These last two sentences show that the people want changes after the incident, the people have had enough. There is also increased level of *hostility* toward the offenders, these offenders are collectively designated as the enemies, of respectable society; their behaviour is seen as harmful or threatening to the values⁷⁰. We can apply this hostility when we are reading that “*under pressure to respond to the surge of public anger, the government toughened laws on sexual violence. But the drumbeat of fresh reports offers little hope that this society has confronted the problem, and foreign women have become increasingly wary of travelling to India*”. Also, the agreement and the widespread *consensus* is strong in this newspaper. We can easy see how people has gathered together to share their words, concern and anger. This widespread consensus has started somewhere, according to the labelling theory, the three sets of actors is about spreading the information. The first are informal social others, such as friends, parents, or parents, second is the institutions and third, those who perceive a threat by some behaviour and want to see legislation passed to outlaw it. Therefore we might see the labelling theory here too. Unlike the moral panics theory, the labelling theory has to do more with spreading the *information* which in that turn creates concern, fear and anger, whether the moral panic theory has to do more with spreading the *concern, fear and anger*. Moreover, the labelling theory has to do with changing in accordance with what the individual experiences in different social contexts⁷¹. So, which of these two theories characterize the reactions more?, the labelling theory might be more applied on the media and government, since they are the spreader of the information of the case and then the moral panics starts successfully to be spread of the people that have heard about the case.

Globalpost – *It's the woman's fault for getting raped, says female Indian politician*

The *Globalpost* is very brief according to the other two newspapers. In this newspaper the statements are more radical against the victim. This newspaper focuses on a female politician that blames the victim for being raped. The statements in this newspaper questions the females way of acting and their body language - “*rape take place also because of a woman's clothes, her behaviour and her presence at inappropriate place*”⁷².

69 Goode, Erich & Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

70 Goode, Erich & Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2009)

71 Knutsson (1977)

72<http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/asia-pacific/india/140129/india-womans-fault->

The introduction of the Globalpost may call for many reactions. The newspaper introduces the incident by starting writing “*An Indian female politician and activist suggested on Tuesday that victims of rape may have invited attacks on themselves with their clothes and behaviour*”. Already here we have possibilities to apply the victim precipitation theory – which characteristics are blaming the victim. The victim’s clothes and behaviour is the “reason” here why she became a victim of rape. When people reads this, for instance younger women, limitations is what they see – limitations for clothing and behaviour. Which in that turn creates “rules” or norms for these women – that if one are dressed in a certain way and/or acting in a certain way, they invite a risk of being raped. This also creates a type of blaming oneself. And it doesn't make it better when high standard politicians officially blame the victim in a newspaper for being raped. Related to Gosh's article in *Review of previous research*, even the fear will control women's live⁷³. The incident has had serious consequences for the victims. Therefore, perceptions of serious consequences will make women more fearful. This is likely to be amplified if women perceive loss of control in situations of threatened victimisation, that is if they feel they lack effective defence, protective measures or possibilities of escape because they may be inferior in physical strength and ability to the average offenders⁷⁴. Society today has created spaces for women in the public sphere – in education, work, culture, politics and in innumerable other domains, but women's right to the public place is yet to be accepted as rights⁷⁵. In India, incidents of women being sexually assaulted in the public space, in tourist places, in hotels, in buses, in bus stands, in trains, in train stations, in parks, in parking lots, in shopping malls, in theatre halls, on the metro rail, have become routine. It is also a question of class. Women from lower income groups are sexually assaulted easily and openly⁷⁶. Women vendors are routinely expected to provide sexual favours in exchange for a “safe” passage of their regular or contraband goods, or for a free ride. Media reports show that sexual harassment in trains, buses, metro rail and streets is a routine occurrence. So, the main problem here is the routine, the routine needs to be prevented to show results of changing.

As it is mentioned several times earlier; it seems important to mention the victim’s education. In this newspaper it is mentioned such as; “*Asha Mirje, a Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) leader in the western state of Maharashtra, questioned why a 23-year-old physiotherapy student who was*

[getting-raped-says-female-politician](#)

73 Gosh (2008)

74 Hale (1996)

75 Bhattacharjee (2008)

76 Bhattacharjee (2008)

gang-raped on a bus in Delhi in 2012 was out late at night". The way this politician is saying it, is like the "educated girls/women should be out late at night, because it isn't their nature to do so". That she is blaming the victim for being raped is one of the big issue in the newspaper. But something that might be a bigger issue is that her language is radical, but also that she is reacting on the victims education – which means that uneducated girls/women (or poor girls/women that can't afford education) isn't "that important" victims of rape. By reading newspapers that are written in this way creates messages such as the home as a safe place, roads are unsafe – that is the clear message sent out to girls and women⁷⁷. The newspaper keeps having the victim precipitation theory as a support until the end of the newspaper. The newspaper ends with information about Mirje's party that belongs to the Congress-led national coalition government and how her comments caused an immediate stir, with several television reports pouring scorn on her. We might see how this newspaper starts with radical accusations of the victim; this technique might attract many people to read such a serious accusation. It is the politician's opinions that are the importance and the focus in this newspaper, while the incident is more of a picture or an example of how females in India not should act or do.

Applications of theories – Victim precipitation

In this newspaper, there is no doubt that the *victim precipitation* can be applied. The way the leader of a nationalist congress party has spoken shows how she blames the victim for being gang-raped. This female leader, who is a member of the state women's commission, said in reference to the Delhi assault; "*Did Nirbhaya really have to go watch a movie at 11 in the night with her friend?*". And "Nirbhaya", a Hindi word meaning "fearless" has been widely adopted by the Indian media as a name for the victim. Using a name for the victim, and especially "fearless", creates this ironic picture and the blaming of the victim. In this newspaper we can see that this high positioned female politician have much of space to speak. And since it is a female politician with such statements, builds up a "wrong" idea of who may say such a thing about a victim of rape. We can also see that the victim had a *friend*, but we are not getting more information about that friend, as we did in the other two newspapers. From the other two newspapers we know that the friend was a male and/or her fiancé. By knowing that she wasn't alone that night, and was with a male kind of gives an excuse that she was out late at night. Especially that she was out with another male, that "*have the ability to protect a weak female*"⁷⁸, gives her more excuses. But in the Globalpost they ignore the importance to actually mention that her friend was a male. But there shouldn't be any excuses or explanation whether she was with a male or female – but since the politician in the Globalpost

⁷⁷ Bhattacharjee (2008)

⁷⁸ Hale (1996)

blames the victim it may be important for the readers to know that she wasn't out alone late at night, and that she actually was with a male. To continue to the *victim precipitation* theory, the politician also says that “*rapes take place also because of a woman's clothes, her behaviour and her presence at inappropriate places*”, which may make people wonder and question what an “inappropriate place” is? Is a place inappropriate even if a women has a male friend with her?. What this politician may mean is that the place that the victim got raped in was inappropriate that time. But if this incident wouldn't happen at all, no one could ever say that *that* place is inappropriate. Only when the crime occurs it is an inappropriate place. It is always easy to find excuses and explanations as the victims fault for being raped.

The *labelling* and the *moral panics* theory are current in this newspaper as well. In the newspaper we are informed that public anger over the poor state of women's safety in Delhi was one reason that the ruling Congress Party was wiped out in local elections in the city. This makes up a clear picture of the public reactions, which is anger, concerning and fear. The moral panics have reached the public in Delhi. The information about this horrible incident has been reached everywhere in the world, which have created strong reaction and a willingness to change and do something about women's safety. According to the labelling theory which has more to do with spreading the information about the case, has also a big role here. This information might cause many fears of crimes of the people. Media is the main key with spreading the information. Newspapers, radio, and especially television, have a prominent role in many popular accounts of fear of crime. It is certainly the case that media crime reports inevitably focus on the most serious and sensational crimes⁷⁹. Furthermore “crime waves” can be produced by active journalistic imaginations. Given that crime such as rape is a conspicuous feature of media, given that the media is, for many people, their major source of vicarious information, and given that it accords most attention to the types of crime which figure most prominently in the public imagination it does not seem unreasonable to assume that the media has some influence on perceptions and fear of crime⁸⁰.

79 Hale (1996)

80 Hale (1996)

Discussion and conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to critically analyse three general newspapers about the case in Delhi 2012. By using a critical discourse analysis I have for instance noticed that it is important to mention every speaker's education. This may be due to that "education is power", and having power means that people do follow the person with power. Further, I have used previous researches to give the analyse a strength which I also have combined with the theories. The three newspapers are from BBC News, New York Times and Globalpost. What I have seen in these newspapers are different aspects of how to give information about such a serious crime. The newspapers have different types of language when it comes to speak about the victim(s) and the offenders. The importance of what words to use and how to build up the sentences in a newspaper is very high. All the three newspapers are writing about the same case but in different way.

In the BBC News, the protesters says that women are viewed as secondary citizens, and that a fundamental change in culture and attitudes, backed up by law, is needed to protect the women – while in the New York Times, the protesters says that executions were necessary to put end to rapes. The importance of how to write in a newspaper leads to how the readers think afterwards. Therefore, in my opinion, according to BBC News, it is important to change in culture and attitudes to prevent crimes such as rapes. No matter how the language and the sentences are formulated in the newspapers, the incident in Delhi has with no doubt open up thoughts about to the fact that one needs to raise their children *right*. The theories were more or less relevant to apply in different aspects in the newspapers. The moral panics and labelling theory were relevant for the BBC News and New York Times, whereas the victim precipitation theory were relevant for the Globalpost. Starting with answering the first main question according to; *What kind of picture do the media gives us about the incident in Delhi 2012?*, one might answer that the three newspapers has more or less different aspects and different ways to write which builds up different pictures about the incident in Delhi. Starting with BBC News the main focus was what the people had to say after the incident and how the people reacted, which more or less gave the picture of moral panics. The reactions might be very important to have as a main focus since the reactions really creates a willingness to change. And it also shows that "something isn't right". The way the BBC News writes gives the picture of the more people gathered together the more people will share same thoughts and a willingness to change. Further, to reflect and answer the second research question, *how is gender represented with such a crime?*, I have seen more or less clear aspects of this research question through the newspaper. According to the BBC Nwes, I could clearly see how they

in their writing represented the victim as a weak and passive woman, while the offenders were dominant males. Also the persons that got interviewed in the newspaper used phrases that give us the idea of the “typical weak and passive woman”. This gives us the representation of gender perspectives as weak women and strong men.

The New York Times has the focus on the statements of the offenders, their family, the victim(s) and their family. In this newspaper we are able to see how the people have reacted after the incident, but the main focus lies on the court, what have been said in the court by the families, and also by the offenders and the victim(s). The picture we are getting from this point of view, handles the statements after the incident – how this have affected the people and their reactions which also leads further to moral panics. This newspaper uses phrases that might be horrible for one to read, and this may be due to the fact that they want to create a strong picture of how radical this incident really is. But I have also seen that they describes horrible things that the offenders have been through of, which may be strange because this newspaper are about the incident in Delhi 2012, and to show how serious such an incident is – and not what the offender have been through. So, *what kind of picture this newspaper gives us* is by using statements from the families, to give the newspaper a more deep and kind of personal perspective of the incident we “get to know” the families and their thoughts about the incident – both of the family from the victims' perspective and the family from the offenders' perspective. From my own perspective it was more sensitive to read this newspaper than the BBC News and Globalpost, just because of the families' perspectives and how they felt after the incident. Therefore I may say that the technique this newspaper used, build up a picture that is personal and sensitive in relation to the incident. To look further how the *gender was represented in relation to the crime* were much softly than in previous newspaper. Instead of pushing on sensitive buttons by using gender differences as an explanation of the incident, they instead lift up the importance to be the victims' voice to make changes in the society but also changes in the attitudes.

The Globalpost which was a bit difficult from the other two newspapers handles more of a victim precipitation kind of view. I have seen that in this newspaper the main focus lies on the victim, not the victim as “poor the victim” but as the victims fault that she got raped. And with a criminological point of view it's easy to apply the victim precipitation theory in this newspaper. The language in this newspaper are also more radical and kind of sarcastic way – the example that was brought up in the analysis, when the victim was called as “Nirbhaya” which means “fearless” in Hindi, creates this sarcastic picture of the incident and as the victims fault. Therefore I may say that the Globalpost

gives us a picture of the incident as the victims fault. In the newspaper they have built up a picture of the victim as an irresponsible girl that was out late at night – and the incident she got through was the punishment she got. The type of language and phrases angles it in a victim precipitation theory, further, the notion of negligent and reckless behaviour on the part of the victim is as important to understanding the offense as is the appearance of these types of behaviour in the offender. It does not make any offender innocent but allows us to consider some of these men, at least, less guilty and leads us to consider that the victim is perhaps also responsible for what happened to her⁸¹. The Globalpost has a sharp gender perspective against women, where the woman is the one causing the rape herself. Unlike the other two newspapers, the Globalpost represents gender perspectives in such way that the offender/s (the male/s) is/are not totally innocent but if it wasn't for the victim/s (woman/en) behaviour that attracted the offender/s this would never happened. By writing, for instance, that a *student* was out late at night, it creates this “wrong” picture of gender perspectives, where the student actually should be inside, and the ones that “should” be raped (to get the right picture) are the women with bad reputation⁸².

Using a critical discourse analysis on three newspapers, BBC News, New York Times and Globalpost has helped me to “see outside the box”. The critical discourse analysis on the collected data has made it possible to see how newspapers picture such a horrible crime, but also how gender might be represented in newspapers. Therefore I may say that the aim of this thesis has been reached. It can be concluded that media needs to be more sensitive towards coverage of crime against women and general public needs to be more vocal and aware to deal with these cases in more effective manner. This thesis has given me a broader perspective and understanding on how media relate to a crime such as rape.

81 Amir (1967)

82 Amir (1967)

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Appendix

The newspapers

<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/11/world/asia/four-men-convicted-in-rape-case-that-transfixed-india.html?action=click&module=Search®ion=searchResults%236&version=&url=http%3A%2F%2Fquery.nytimes.com%2Fsearch%2Fsite%2Fsearch%2F%3Faction%3Dclick%26region%3DMasthead%26pgtype%3DHomepage%26module%3DSearchSubmit%26contentCollection%3DHomepage%26t%3Dqry156%23%2Fnew%2Bdelhi%2Brape%2Bcase%2Fsince1851%2Fallresults%2F7%2Fallauthors%2Fnewest%2F>

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-20869185>

<http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/asia-pacific/india/140129/india-womans-fault-getting-raped-says-female-politician>