UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

MASTER THESIS IN EUROPEAN STUDIES

Rape and Media Coverage in Hungary and in the United Kingdom

Expanding on the FRA's Violence against Women Survey

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Abstract

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) released its Violence against women report in March 2014. According to the report there are large differences among the EU member states in the prevalence of *reported gender-based violence*. This motivates the exploration of what the explanations behind such differences may be. Existing literature shows several factors that may influence the willingness to report violence. The aim of the thesis is to analyse one of these factors - media -, and explore whether there is a difference in the way newspaper articles frame gender-based violence in Hungary (low-prevalence country) and in the United Kingdom (high-prevalence country). From Hungary, *Magyar Nemzet* and *Népszabadság*, and from the UK, *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* are analysed (the analysed time period is 2012-2014). The focus of the thesis is narrowed down to one particular type of violence, rape, and the theoretical foundations are social constructivism and framing theory. The design of the thesis is qualitative text analysis and framing theory is used as a tool to analyse how rape as a problem, the causes of rape, and the possible solutions to rape, are framed in the two analysed countries. The results of the analysis show that there are important differences between the countries in media coverage regarding the length, detail and focus of the articles. However, one aspect that earlier researchers have pointed to, so called victim-blaming, was not prevalent in either country. Further implications of the results (e.g., regarding reporting behavior) are also discussed in the thesis.

Keywords: framing theory, FRA report, media coverage, rape, social constructivism

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Violence against women is recognised as a human rights abuse (United Nations, 1993) and every country faces this challenge on different levels. In recent decades, there have been aspirations to collect comparable country specific data regarding the prevalence of gender-based violence. The three main initiatives are the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), the WHO's Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women, and the International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS). However, only limited numbers of countries have data so far (DHS: 11 countries, WHO: 10 countries, IVAWS: 9 countries) (Johnson, Ollus & Nevla, 2007, p. 14).

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (hereinafter FRA) has made significant progress in the data collection in the recent years. In March 2014, it released a report about physical and sexual violence against women in the European Union. By interviewing 42.000 randomly selected women about their experience concerning violence in all the member states, this is the first survey which collected data on such a big scale in Europe about the topic (FRA, 2014).

The report presents the results on partner and non-partner violence separately and shows a large difference among countries regarding both partner (Appendix 1) and non-partner violence (Annex 2). The larger difference was found regarding non-partner violence related to which the highest results are in Denmark (40%), the Netherlands (35%), Sweden (34%), Finland (33%), France (33%) and the United Kingdom (30%). It means that in these countries, more than 30% of the interviewed women spoke about their experience in sexual and/or physical violence since the age of 15. In contrast, in other countries the results are much lower such as in Greece (10%), Portugal (10%) and Poland (11%) (FRA, 2014, p. 28).

The motivation behind the thesis is to analyse whether these numbers reflect reality or if there are factors that may influence the reporting rates and the willingness to speak about violence. In the report, the FRA offers the following possible explanations that may explain this large variability in the results:

- Whether it is acceptable to talk with other people about experiences of gender violence in a given country,

- Increased gender equality leads to higher levels of disclosure about violence against women,

- Women's exposure to risk factors for violence, particularly outside the home,

- Differences between countries in overall levels of violent crime,

- Different drinking patterns in EU Member States (FRA, 2014, p. 24-26).

These explanations can be separated into two groups according to what kind of perspectives they represent. The first two points may explain whether the violence will be reported to the police or not. In a complementary fashion, the third, fourth, and fifth points explain through different social problems whether women have greater risk of facing violence.

The thesis focuses on the different factors that may influence the willingness to speak about and report violence, thus, from the explanations suggested by the FRA, the first two are relevant in the thesis.

In the literature review it will be shown that there might be several factors that have an impact on the willingness to report violence. However, there is a limited amount of previous research that analyses these factors country specifically and country comparatively. Therefore, I have chosen an approach that combines country specific and comparative aspects.

The specific form of violence which is studied in the thesis is rape by non-partners. One of the factors not mentioned in the FRA report is how media frames the topic of gender violence. Because previous research has shown media reporting to be an important aspect, and since this is lacking in the FRA report, I have chosen to analyse media.

Two EU member states, Hungary and the United Kingdom, are analysed, the former one having lower reporting prevalence of gender-based violence and the latter country with high prevalence. The design of the thesis is a deductive study and the method used is qualitative text analysis. The main theoretical foundation of the thesis is social constructivism and framing theory.

1.2 Presentation of the problem, research aim, research questions and hypotheses

There is a lack of research testing the different explanations offered by the scholarly literature regarding the willingness to report gender-based violence and simultaneously connecting these explanations to the country specific prevalence of reported violence. Such research would show how much the explanations and the reported prevalence rates are correlated, thus a more accurate understanding of the prevalence of violence against women would be possible.

The thesis is going to follow this research idea, and it tests the media's role as an explanation in Hungary and in the United Kingdom. Taking previous literature, theories and the results of the FRA report into consideration, the main research question addressed in the thesis is the following:

RQ: How is rape framed in two major newspapers in Hungary and in the United Kingdom?

To answer this question, three sub-questions are posed in the thesis and three hypotheses are going to be tested. In the wording of these questions and hypotheses, framing theory is incorporated, as it is the core theory of the thesis.

RQ 1/a: How is rape as a problem framed in the newspaper articles?
H1/a: In countries where the prevalence of reported rape is higher (United Kingdom), the discussion about rape is more open and detailed in the media, while, in countries where the prevalence of reported rape is lower (Hungary), the media describes rape cases briefly.

RQ 1/b: What are the discussed causes of rape, who is blamed for it in the newspaper articles?
H1/b: In countries where the prevalence of reported rape is higher (United Kingdom), victim-blaming is not dominant in the media, while, in countries where the prevalence of reported rape is lower (Hungary), the media explains rape with victim-blaming.

RQ 1/c: What are the suggested solutions to rape in the newspaper articles and who are targeted by the suggested solutions?
H1/c: In countries where the prevalence of reported rape is higher (United Kingdom), solutions target more the society, while in countries where the prevalence of reported rape is lower (Hungary), the media does not discuss possible solutions exhaustively and the target group is women who should be careful.

The research conducted in this thesis aims to contribute to the existing literature (Silverman, 2011, p. 46) regarding which factors may influence the willingness to report violence to the police. The identified gap in the literature is the lack of analysis of the factors offered by the previous literature in different countries and the examination of whether the prevalence of reported violence against women shows a correlation with factors that may influence the willingness to report the violence. As the thesis has emphasis on one possible

factor (media), it aims to analyse whether the results of the FRA report and the way the media frames the topic in the analysed countries correlate. The thesis does not aim to prove a causal relationship between media and the prevalence of reported gender-violence, rather it focuses on the possible correlation between them.

The analysed material in the thesis is 40 newspaper articles from two Hungarian newspapers: *Magyar Nemzet* and *Népszabadság*, and two newspapers from the UK: *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*. 10 articles are analysed from each newspaper. The newspapers are affiliated to different political wings. *Magyar Nemzet* and *The Daily Telegraph* are closer to the right wing, and *Népszabadság* and *The Guardian* to the left wing.

The topic of rape and the case selection is relevant from an academic point of view because in the literature, gender-based violence is a widely discussed topic, however, there are under-researched areas as well. Framing theory offers important methodological tools to analyse newspaper articles. However, framing theory is important because it gives the possibility to observe through which core characteristics of an event the story is framed in the media (Entman, 1993) and it offers a method for comparing different countries in this respect. Furthermore, due to the fact that the FRA report is very recent, its results have not been examined by many other researchers and research papers.

The study may have practical implications for help services and the police. The results will show whether supporting services and police can reach potential victims through media or they need to use other possible channels.

Finally, it is relevant from the European studies point of view because the thesis expands and is based on an EU-wide survey. Moreover, the topic violence against women is an issue that is of EU interest. The European Commission funds different programmes such as DAPHNE III and PROGRESS that aim to raise awareness and combat violence against women. Moreover, the Commission highlights the importance of protection of victims, and works closely with other EU institutions and the member states to get more and reliable data about violence against women (European Commission, 2015).

Moreover, gender-based violence is also an important issue in a European context, not only in the EU. The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (commonly referred to as Istanbul Convention) entered into force in 2014 after 10 states had ratified it. The Istanbul Convention aims to protect and eliminate all form of gender-based violence and empower women on a European level (Council of Europe, 2011).

These facts highlight and prove that the issue is highly relevant and important nowadays in a European context.

2. Outline of the thesis

The thesis is structured as follows. In Chapter 3, the existing literature is reviewed about the discussed topic. The first part presents statistical information about the prevalence of reported rape in Europe, and more specifically in the two analysed countries. Then, the possible explanations regarding what may influence the willingness to report gender-based violence are outlined from the previous literature. Special emphasis is put on explanations concerning rape. The third part of the literature review focuses on the media and its possible role in the reporting process. Then, a study is presented that has used the results of the FRA report so far, to see how they use and evaluate the FRA report. Finally, the identified gap in the literature is discussed.

In Chapter 4, the thesis' theoretical foundation is presented by outlining the main theories and the thesis' theoretical framework. The ontological approach of the thesis is social constructivist theory (Bacchi & Eveline, 2010, p. 117) according to which the society influences people's lives, thoughts and knowledge. Afterwards, the key concepts of the thesis (media and violence against women) are theorised and defined. Finally, the core theory of the thesis, framing theory is discussed as it is going to be the method during the analysis of the newspapers.

After reviewing the existing literature and outlining the theoretical bases of the thesis, Chapter 5 presents the design of the analysis. A qualitative text analysis is used in the thesis, with the material of newspaper articles from Hungary and from the UK. The chapter has four sub-parts, these are: the analytical framework, the sampling procedure, the methodological technique, and the quality issues.

In Chapter 6, the analysis of the newspaper articles and the results of the thesis are presented. The results are outlined in line with the framing theory, so firstly the results of the framing of problem, secondly, the framing of causes, and thirdly, the framing of solutions are presented.

In Chapter 7, the results of the analysis are discussed, the thesis' contribution to European studies research is pointed out, some suggestions for further research are made, and the thesis is concluded.

3. Literature review

3.1 Prevalence of reported rape

The thesis is motivated by the results of the FRA's survey. Regarding rape, there is no country specific data in it, only the overall numbers are presented in the report. According to the survey's results, "one woman in 20 (5 %) has been raped since the age of 15, either by a partner or by someone else" (FRA, 2014, p. 41). Due to the lack of country specific data and in order to avoid that the thesis is based on the results of only one organisation, it is necessary to search for other previous data and compare that to the FRA report. These two reasons motivated the search for other statistics about the prevalence of reported rape in Hungary and in the UK.

Lovett and Kelly's (2009) report has data about the prevalence of reported rape in 26 European countries. Both the overall number of cases and the reported cases per 100.000 citizens are presented in the report. The former one is not as accurate as the latter because on its own, the number of rapes without taking the population into account may give a misleading impression. In 2006, taking the overall number of cases into account, Hungary was ranked the 19th out of 26 countries, and the UK[1] was the 1st, so the most cases were reported there. When the population is controlled as a factor, the UK has the 4th highest number, and Hungary is the 26th out of 26 countries (ibid).

Both the two analysed countries, and other countries as well, have the same pattern as the results of the FRA report: Nordic and Western countries have higher results, and Eastern and Southern countries have lower prevalence. Lovett and Kelly (2009) raise the question that is the motivation behind this thesis, that "variations in crime rates are 'in fact' variations in recording practices and willingness to report" (ibid., p. 19). In line with their statement, it is important to emphasise that the FRA report also highlights that "official crime statistics say more about official data collection mechanisms and the culture of reporting rape than they do about the 'real' extent of rape" (FRA, 2014, p. 13).

The second dataset about the prevalence of rape, which is presented in the thesis, is collected by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (hereinafter UNODC). It collects

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[1] In the article, it is referred to as England and Wales, which means that they are treated as two countries due to their different legal systems, however in the EU they are treated collectively as the United Kingdom (Lovett & Kelly, 2009. p. 8), thus the thesis uses Lovett and Kelly's results to the United Kingdom because the thesis does not analyse their legal systems.

data on reported rape worldwide, and it displays the same pattern as the FRA report (2014) about the overall prevalence of violence against women, and Lovett and Kelly (2009) about rape. Among 25 EU member states, Hungary has the 3rd lowest result and the UK has the 2nd highest (UNODC, 2013).

With the statistics provided above, the fact that Hungary is a low-prevalence country and the UK is a high prevalence country regarding reported rape is well grounded. However, it has to be noted in case of country comparison that the differences on a certain level can stem from the fact that countries have different definitions to specific crimes and different systems to record the cases (FRA, 2014). However, it does not nullify the fact that there is a large difference between the two analysed countries.

Moving forward to the next section of the literature review, it is going to be discussed what the explanations are in the existing literature regarding what may influence the willingness to report violence.

3.2 Explanations to unreported gender-based violence

The existing literature offers several factors that may explain the motivation behind not reporting the violence. There are studies which focus on partner violence, on non-partner violence, and there are articles which explore one specific type of violence such as rape. The explanations are sometimes overlapping regarding the different types of violence. Sometimes it is not specified what type of violence the article focuses on, but it is only defined as violence against women. Therefore, I am going to discuss all the explanations covered by the existing literature. However, as the focus of the thesis is on rape, the explanations regarding rape specifically are discussed more exhaustively.

As it was pointed out in the introduction, the FRA report outlines some possible explanations for the results of the survey. Two of them are relevant here too as factors that may influence the willingness to report. These are 1) whether it is acceptable to speak about violence with other people and 2) the degree of gender equality. The former one is important because this open attitude may encourage women to speak about their experience and report it. The latter is a relevant explanation because in countries where gender equality is relatively high, reported gender-based violence is also higher, than in countries with lower degree of gender equality (FRA, 2014). These two factors are special in the sense that these encourage women to report, while the other ones which are presented in this chapter below, are factors which motivate not reporting the violence.

Gracia (2004) discussed domestic violence and separated personal and societal reasons of unreported violence. The following personal reasons were mentioned in the article: "embarrassment, fear of retaliation and economic dependency" (ibid, p. 536). Societal reasons can be "imbalanced power relations for men and women, privacy of family and victim blaming attitudes" (ibid, p. 536). He also pointed out that it is important to know whether the unreported violence is visible to the persons around the victim such as family and friends. If it is and persons act passively, or even blame the victim, it may create a climate where people are tolerant towards domestic violence, thus making it more difficult for women to report the case.

Donnelly & Ward (2015) emphasised that stigmatisation often occurs regarding sexual violence. They outlined that in case of non-partner sexual violence, the fear of being blamed and the uncertainty to get support from friends, family and services are explanations for unreported violence (p. 52).

Moreover, concerning rape, the literature mentions that confidence in police and women's movements campaigning for gender equality are both possible factors that may influence reporting rates (Lovett & Kelly, 2009).

3.3 Media as an explanation

As seen above, previous literature mentions several possible explanations why violence against women is often unreported. The thesis focuses on media coverage as an explanation, so there is a deeper review regarding that.

Meyers (1997) emphasises the importance of news coverage and claims, that "the news media represent violence against women is important not only because the news shapes our view and understanding of the world around us but also because it affects how we live our lives." (p. 2).

Some studies show that media may have a role in the sense that it uses victim-blaming, and as seen in the previous section, it is an explanation for unreported violence. Berns (1999) analysed how domestic violence is portrayed in popular women's magazines in the US, from 1970 to 1997 and found that the domestic violence is outlined as a private problem, instead of speaking about it as a public issue. Furthermore, victim-blaming was found to be a common characteristic of the articles.

Another research conducted by Ardovini-Brooker and Caringella-MacDonald (2010) focused on specific rape cases and investigated possible victim-blaming attitude in the media regarding them. They focused on special characteristics of the victims and offenders such as

race, class, number of offenders, and analysed whether the media's attitude towards the different cases varied.

As in the thesis framing theory is used, one of the focuses will be the analysis of the causes of rape. One possible scenario concerning causes is victim-blaming, so the focuses of Berns, and Ardovini-Brooker and Carinella-MacDonald's papers are close to this study, however they focus on only the victim-blaming aspect of the articles, while the thesis analyses the articles through other aspects as well. Therefore the difference is that this research focuses on countries and aims to compare whether two EU member states' media show different attitudes towards rape, while Berns (1999) for example analysed how women's magazines cover this topic in one country, and Ardovini-Brooker and Caringella-MacDonald (2010) focused on specific rape cases.

3.4 The FRA report in the scholarly literature

The results of the FRA report were released in March 2014, so it is a recent publication. However, it has already received the attention of scholars. This section is going to present a study based on the FRA results to show how the report has been received in the scholarly literature.

Römkes, de Jong, and Harthoorn (2014) released a publication in which they analysed the results of the FRA report in the Dutch context. The results of the EU survey were compared with previous Dutch data and they found that these seem to correspond to each other regarding various kinds of violence.

This study is not only outlined here to show the usage of the FRA report in the existing literature, but it is also discussed because it offers possible explanation to the large difference between the EU member states regarding the FRA survey results. They outlined four possible explanations. Firstly, it is pointed out that in some countries it is still a taboo to speak about gender-violence, which may undermine the willingness to report to the police. Secondly, they emphasised that countries where there is a public debate about violence and there is a wide range of facilities to help victims, the reported rates are higher. Thirdly, gender equality and social awareness through women's movements may have an important role in encouraging women to report their violent experience. Finally, they discuss that women who work outside of the home have a greater risk of facing certain kinds of violence (ibid.).

As it can be seen, the FRA results are thus corroborated by independent researchers at least in relation to the Dutch statistics, however, there are some differences in the statistics as

well (e.g. Regarding sexual violence, the FRA report shows lower results in the Netherlands than previous Dutch studies.)

Moreover, they offer quite similar explanations to the different prevalence rates in the different member states. Both mention explanations that justify the importance to analyse the role of media.

3.5 Identified gap in the literature

As it is seen above, the existing literature is quite extensive about violence against women in the context of explanations on the willingness to report violence. What is missing from previous studies is the analysis of different explanations in different countries and the investigation whether the prevalence of violence against women shows a correlation with them. Moreover, the existing literature does not use framing theory extensively in the context of gender-based violence.

The analysis of all the explanations regarding violence against women as a whole would go beyond the scope of a master's thesis. As the research aim and questions indicated in Chapter 1, the topic is narrowed down to one specific type of violence: rape, and the analysed explanation is the media (newspaper articles) in two chosen countries: Hungary and the UK.

The contribution of the thesis is to see whether the way the media speaks about rape correlates with the prevalence of reported rape.

4. Theory

In this chapter, the theoretical foundation of the thesis is presented. Firstly, social constructivism (Bacchi & Eveline, 2010, p. 117) is discussed as it is the ontological approach of the thesis. Afterwards, the main concepts of the paper are outlined, which are sometimes strongly related to the above-mentioned ontological approach. One of the key notions of the thesis is media, which is highly relevant regarding social constructivism. The other concept, which is discussed within the conceptual framework, is violence against women. It is important because it is a major issue, and to make the thesis feasible, the concept of violence against women was narrowed down to one form of sexual violence, rape. The third part of this chapter discusses framing theory (Entman, 1993), which is an important tool in the thesis and gives the framework of the analysis.

4.1 Ontological standpoint of the thesis – social constructivist theory

The broadest theory in which the thesis is identified is social theory (ontology). The ontological starting point of the thesis is based on the social constructivist theory according to which the society in which we live influences our lives, thoughts and knowledge. In other words it means that the way we understand the world is influenced by social forces (Bacchi & Eveline, 2010, p. 117). There are several factors that have an impact on this process. Media is analysed according to this social constructivist approach as an influence in our lives, thoughts and the goals we set. This ontological approach has a strong implication regarding the concept of media. Social constructivism is also relevant in the sense that the history of research regarding the effect of media has four different phases and since the 1980s it has been the era of social constructivism which emphasises both the importance and strong effect of mass media and the significance of the relation between the recipients and media (McQuail, 1994 cited by Scheufele, 1999).

4.2 Conceptual framework

4.2.1 Media

Media, its role and its importance, has been extensively discussed in theoretical literature. However, in this thesis it is crucial to conceptualise and discuss media in terms of the thesis' aim and focus. The thesis discusses a social issue (rape and in a wider context violence against women) and investigates how media frames it, which in turn has probable impact on people's activities (on women's choice to report or not report). Thus the relevant part of mass media theory, which is used here, is the concept of mediation. Media can be defined as a process by which "the media to a large extent serve to constitute our perceptions and definitions of social reality and normality for purposes of a public, shared social life, and are a key source of standards, models and norms" (McQuail, 2000, p. 64). In other words, the role of the media is to transfer knowledge about social phenomena, which we have not seen and experienced ourselves, but which affects our understanding of society.

This conceptualisation is crucial within the thesis because in this context it refers to a process how the media mediate knowledge about a problem, rape. There are several forms of media (television, radio, newspapers, etc.), and newspaper articles were chosen to be analysed in the thesis because they are comparable in different countries and available on the internet for

several years. On the contrary, TV News programmes for example are available only for a certain period and the sampling procedure would have been more difficult with them.

Furthermore, it is also important to conceptualise how violence against women is used in the thesis, so the next part of the conceptual framework discusses that.

4.2.2 Violence against women – rape

Violence against women consists of several kinds of violence both in terms of the nature of the crime (physical, sexual, psychological) and the context in which it happens (partner violence, non-partner violence). The literature and official reports define it according to the specific focus they take. Here, the most comprehensive definition is presented and then this is adjusted to a paper-specific definition and concept. The United Nations, in the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993), states that it is "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (Article 1).

This broad definition and context need to be narrowed down to the thesis' emphasis. Regarding the nature of the violence, one type of sexual violence was chosen to be analysed in the thesis, rape. The reason is the fact that the thesis focuses on explanations which may undermine the willingness to report violence, and according to the literature, the highest underreporting is related to sexual violence, more specifically rape (Lovett and Kelly, 2009).

Regarding the context of the violence, non-partner violence is in the focus of this thesis. It is justified by the following reasons. Firstly, the thesis' background is the results of the FRA survey which show a larger gap between the countries in this respect than in partner violence. Secondly, based on a first overview of the articles, partner violence articles are less available.

All in all, the concept used in the thesis as violence against women is rape cases committed by non-partners (friends, strangers, colleagues, relatives etc.).

4.3 Framing theory

The core theory of the thesis is framing theory, which is also the method in the process of analysing the newspaper articles. The literature separates individual and media frames (Scheufele, 1999). The former ones are "mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals'

processing of information" (Entman, 1993, p. 53). It means that they focus on the recipients. The thesis works with media frames, this is why these are discussed in more detail below.

Media frames are defined in different ways in the existing literature. Gamson and Modigliani (1987) define it as "a central organising idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events" (p. 193). Entman (1993) describes the act "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (p. 2).

Framing theory lacks a general operationalisation technique (Scheufele, 1999), which makes it difficult to use it on a certain extent. However, Entman's definition can be operationalised which helps constructing the framework of the analysis. According to Entman (1993), framing theory 1) defines how a problem is framed, 2) what the causes of this problem are and 3) what the possible solution is. These three main clusters are used in the next chapter of the thesis when the research is operationalised.

Entman (1993) describes that in the process of framing there are different actors such as the communicators, the text, the receiver, and the culture. If it is applied to this thesis, the journalists (the communicators) write about rape in newspaper articles (the texts), and people (receiver) read them in the context (culture) of Hungary and the UK. How the communicators frame the problem, its causes, and possible solutions, may have impact on the way the receiver acts (report violence or not).

In countries, different frames may occur because of the context (culture) in which they are written. Moreover, the political affiliation may also influence the usage of the frames. That is why it is worth analysing media country specifically through framing theory.

5. Design of the research project

5.1. Analytical framework

In the thesis, qualitative text analysis is used to test the hypotheses in online newspaper articles in Hungary and in the UK. The analysis follows the framework of framing theory and has three parts: framing of the problem, framing of the causes, and framing of the possible solutions. The analytical framework is based on the following guiding questions: (1) How is rape as a problem framed in the newspaper articles? (2) What are the discussed causes of rape,

who are blamed for it in the newspaper articles? (3) What are the suggested solutions to rape in the newspaper articles and who are targeted by the suggested solutions?

I aim to answer all these questions through a system of categories that guide the analysis. These are presented in section 5.3. Before analysing these categories in the articles, I will present how the results of the FRA survey were perceived in the media in Hungary and in the UK. This gives a starting point in the analysis and some background information about the newspapers that are analysed.

In the analysis, the two countries are going to be compared. However, if it is relevant and there are interesting results, the analysis is going to emphasise variations within one country concerning the two newspapers with different political affiliations.

5.2 Sampling procedure of the empirical material

5.2.1 Sampling of the countries

Due to the scope and the length of the master thesis, two countries are analysed in this research. The choice of the countries has been influenced by several factors. In order to illustrate the justification of the selection of the countries, the results regarding the prevalence of non-partner violence in the FRA report are available below in Table 1.

Table 1. Prevalence of non-partner violence in EU-28 (%)

Prevalence of non-partner violence	Countries
10-19%	Greece (10), Portugal (10), Poland (11), Austria (12), Cyprus (12), Croatia (13), Bulgaria (14), **Hungary (14)**, Romania (14), Malta (15), Slovenia (15), Estonia (16), Lithuania (16), Italy (17), Latvia (17), Ireland (19)
20-29%	Czech Republic (21), Estonia (22), Slovakia (22), **EU-28 (22)**, Germany (24), Belgium (25), Luxembourg (25),
30-39%	**United Kingdom (30)**, Finland (33), France (33), Sweden (34), Netherlands (35)
40% -	Denmark (40)

Source: Data: EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (2014). *Violence against women. An EU-wide survey.* http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014-vaw-survey-main-results_en.pdf Accessed on 2014-11-14; Table: author's own work

The first important factor was the location related to the EU average: one country was chosen that has a lower result than the EU-28 (Hungary) and the other one has higher results (United Kingdom). Secondly, the countries' results had to be relatively far from the EU-28. This second factor narrowed down the group of possible countries because it excluded the whole 20-29% group, and countries with the highest results in the 10-19% group. With this criteria system, my aim was to pick two countries with quite different results to analyse whether their media covers the topic differently. Another important aspect was that the country has reliable newspaper portals accessible on the internet. This factor did not narrow down the sample very much. After these scholarly aspects, personal skills, especially language skills, also played a role in choosing two countries from the possible countries that remained to be analysed. After taking practical issues into account, Hungary and the UK were chosen for the analysis.

5.2.2 Selection of the newspapers

The next step of the sampling procedure was the choice of the newspapers. Articles are analysed from *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* from the UK, and *Népszabadság*[2] and *Magyar Nemzet*[3] from Hungary. The first criterion was to exclude tabloid news portals because this thesis focuses on the discussion about violence against women written by the major political newspapers. Tabloid newspapers are mostly for sensation, and those news portals can of course be analysed and could contribute to the research of violence against women, but they fall outside the scope of this thesis.

Secondly, from the major political newspapers, the two most widely read daily newspapers were chosen (Magyar Terjesztés-Ellenőrző Szövetség, 2014; Hollander, 2013) that are available in the whole country and available online. This latter reason was important because the research has a 3-year-long timeframe (2012-2014) and it would have been difficult to find printed versions for past years and search in those. This timeframe was set because after a preliminary search there are enough articles to analyse and it is long enough to see whether there are any patterns in the way the texts are written. Furthermore, the FRA report was released in March 2014, so there are articles both before, after and about the report.

Finally, the newspapers' political affiliations were considered in their selection. One newspaper was chosen from both political sides (liberal and conservative) to avoid that analysing only one political view. *The Guardian* and *Népszabadság* are considered left-wing,

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[2] In literal translation it means People's Freedom.
[3] In literal translation it means Hungarian Nation.

and *The Daily Telegraph* and *Magyar Nemzet* right-wing newspapers. The aim of the research is not to analyse whether different political affiliations describe the problem differently, however, during the analysis it may give an interesting aspect to the analysis. Because it is not a core part of the analysis, the newspapers' political affiliation (self-perception, public perception) is not discussed here further.

5.2.3 Sampling of the articles

In the sampling process of the articles, the aim was to get an overall picture of the news in the particular newspapers. Due to the fact that all four newspapers have online internet portals, the first idea was to use their search engines. However, on *The Guardian*'s portal only 100 articles are available after searching for specific key words and it is possible to sort them by relevance or by date. Taking the limitations of this method into account, the Factiva database[4] was used to find the articles. The two English newspapers are available in the database, so their articles were sampled from there. The Hungarian portals do not have any limitation to search for articles and they are not available in Factiva, so regarding the Hungarian newspapers, their online portals were used.

The words which were used in the sampling regarding the UK newspapers were *rape and UK* (UK was important to use, because without including it, the number of articles was too large). Regarding the Hungarian newspapers, the Hungarian version of rape (nemi erőszak, megerőszakol)[5] was used in the search process. The sampling was done in four steps: first of all, I searched for rape and UK on Factiva concerning the UK newspapers, and the Hungarian version of rape on the Hungarian newspapers' webpages. In the second step, all the articles were checked briefly (with reading the title of the article and the first paragraph) which popped up after searching for the above-mentioned words, according to a specific criteria system. These criteria were the following: whether the rape happened in the UK/Hungary, one or several women were raped by one or several rapists, and the victim is not in a partner relationship with the offender. After taking these criteria into account, the third step was to read through all the remaining articles, and decide whether it fulfils all the criteria or not. The fourth step was to randomly choose 10 articles from the remaining ones with the help of a random number

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[4] Factiva is a database where thousands of articles are available from both The Guardian and The Daily Telegraph. The sampling procedure was done on Factiva, then, however, the original articles were used from the newspapers' webpages to rule out that the database contain the articles with any amendments or in a shorter version.

[5] In Hungarian there are different words for the rape as a noun (nemi erőszak) and as a verb (megerőszakol). Sometimes, it occurs in the articles as sexual violence (szexuális erőszak), so erőszak (violence) as the common part of nemi erőszak and szexuális erőszak was also checked in the search process.

generator. According to the saving date of the articles, I assigned one number from one to each, so it became possible to use a generator. In Table 2 it is shown how many articles were found according to the system. The list of the selected articles is available in Appendix 3.

Table 2. Sampling of the articles (number of articles)

	Step 1	**Step 2**	**Step 3**	**Step 4**
The Guardian	1593	47	34	10
The Daily Telegraph	980	19	16	10
Magyar Nemzet	415	28	19	10
Népszabadság	313	25	17	10

Source: author's own work

5.3 Methodological technique

This chapter outlines how framing theory is used in the thesis and the categories, which are formed and used in the analysis. As the thesis follows a deductive approach, the categories are based on the existing literature. The large categories such as problem, cause, and solution are based on the framing theory (Entman, 1993).

5.3.1 Problem

The first part of the analysis focuses on the question: how rape as a problem is framed in the newspaper articles. Ardovini-Brooker & Caringella-MacDonald (2002) focused on 10 specific rape cases and they used four categories in their analysis: the media variables, victim variables, offender variables, crime characteristics categories. In order to cover all the important aspects that can be raised regarding this part of the analysis, I added a fifth *other* category. Table 3 below gives an overview of the categories that are going to be used in the process of analysis and the characteristics that are going to be analysed in the chosen newspaper articles in Hungary and in the UK.

Table 3. Categories in the analysis of framing the problem

Categories	Characteristics
media	- length of the article - speakers in the articles except the author (e.g. victim, police, experts etc.)
crime: rape	- How detailed is the article about the rape case? - analyse the adjectives and adverbs that were used to describe it (communicates only the facts or it expresses anger, resignation, sadness, or discomfort through different adjectives and adverbs?)
victim	- analyse how the victims are described in the articles (e.g. age, job) - analyse the anonymity of the victims
rapist	- analyse how the rapist is described in the articles - analyse the anonymity of the rapist
other	- other possible characteristics how the problem is framed

Source: author's own work

5.3.2 Causes

The second part of the analysis investigates what the causes of the crime are in the newspapers, so the guiding questions in this section are what the discussed causes of rape are and who are blamed for it in the newspaper articles. Berns' (1999) article about domestic violence guided the creation of the categories. According to his classification, individuals, institutions or societal and cultural reasons can be blamed for the crime. His fourth category integrates some of these categories. I created a fourth category, called *other* which is not similar to Berns' fourth category, but rather it includes any other possible reasons. This way, the categories cover all the possible attitudes. Furthermore, I created a fifth category *not mentioned*. The categories and some possible characteristics are outlined below in Table 4.

Table 4. Categories in the analysis of framing the causes

Who are blamed for the rape?		Search for statements in the articles that indicate them
individuals	victim	- she was wearing short skirts - she was alone at night in the street etc.
	rapist	- the woman did not give consent to have sexual intercourse

		- he drugged the woman etc.
society, culture	societal, cultural reasons	- there is not enough discussion in the country about the problem - society is tolerant towards violence etc.
institutions	legal system	- the police does not emphasize the danger of particular situations etc.
	police	
other	-	-
not mentioned in the article	-	-

5.3.3 Solutions

Finally, the analysis investigates what the suggested solutions, remedies, to rape are in the newspaper articles and then, who are targeted by the suggested solutions. So firstly, there is a yes or no question whether there is a solution, and secondly, it is important to analyse who is recommended to do something as a solution. Solutions can be interventions (when the rape already happened) and prevention (to prevent possible cases in the future). It will also be analysed in this part whether the suggested solutions are interventions or preventions. The categories are the same as in the second part (Berns), however, some are added to see how the journalist speaks to the reader. In Table 5 the categories regarding the solutions are presented.

Table 5. Categories in the analysis of framing the solutions

Are there suggested solutions to prevent rape cases?		
Yes (Who can/should do something?)		**No**
Individuals	Victim	The article does not discuss possible solutions to prevent rape cases, or it does not suggest interventions when the rape has already happened.
	Rapist	
	Reader	
Institutions	Police	
	Court	
Society	Civil organisations	
Other		

5.4 Quality issues

5.4.1 Justification of the choice of the design

Violence against women is a sensitive issue; this is the fact that influenced the choice of the research design. The research aim and questions refers to a larger topic: why do women who experienced violence chose to report or not report it? There are other research designs which could have been relevant such as interviews or surveys, however these would have required direct connection with the victims. It raises the importance of ethical issues because women would think and speak about their trauma of being raped in other possible methods, which may require a psychologist's help (for example during the interviews). However, even if we solve these ethical issues, another difficult question is how to reach women who experienced rape but did not want to report it, or how we would know that they want to speak about it in the framework of master thesis.

The above outlined design was chosen because of several reasons. First of all, the above-mentioned ethical issues played a crucial role in it. Secondly, the proposed research question can be adequately answered with the design. Thirdly, due to the fact that the research aims to compare different countries through one explanation (media) a design was required that can be carried out in different countries with the available resources (e.g. financial). Qualitative text analysis does not require financial background because the chosen newspaper articles are free and are available online and so it does not require travelling to different countries.

All in all the choice of this research design is justified with ethical issues, the available resources and the fact that it is in harmony with the research aim and questions.

5.4.2 Transferability, validity and reliability

Kvale (1995) claims that quality issues (e.g. generalization, validity and reliability) "have obtained the status of a scientific holy trinity" in modern social sciences. These issues are discussed in this section. Qualitative studies are not generalizable, it is the aim of quantitative studies to generalize the studies' results (Silverman, 2011, p. 385). As this research is a qualitative study, it is not aimed to be generalizable because it is not possible to interpret the results as equally applicable in other countries. Qualitative studies give an insight into social and cultural specificities, and allow for a deeper analysis of a few cases that can give insights that are impossible in quantitative studies.

Regarding a qualitative study a more important quality issue is transferability which means whether the thesis' design can be transferred and used in other cases. The above outlined research design can completely be transferred to other countries because there are not any country specific parts of the design that would make it impossible. The transferability of the design is not only possible but also encouraged in further research to have results from several countries.

The next two quality issues that are discussed here, are the validity and credibility of the results. The reliability of the thesis was guaranteed by an extensive literature review in which different explanations were analysed, and by showing that the analysed explanation in the thesis, media, is well-grounded in research literature. Moreover in the design, two newspapers are analysed per country to get more credible data. Furthermore, the categorisation system is based on previous research studies which also increases credibility. In terms of validity, it was taken into account that the categorisation system should be applied strictly and systematically. So all these factors contributed to the validity and reliability of the thesis.

5.4.3 Delimitations

As it is seen in the previous section, the thesis is well-grounded in terms of the quality issues, however, the design has some delimitations as well.

Firstly, the contextualisation of the research design is discussed. This research design focuses on the question whether the media frames rape differently in Hungary and in the UK, and there is less emphasis on the reasons behind possible differences in framing more on the consequences (i.e., willingness to report). This design offers limited possibilities to analyse these reasons extensively, however, the author is aware of the fact that there are important factors that may have impact on the framing of the issue in newspaper articles: other than differences in general attitude towards rape victims these factors might include different legal regulations or different press traditions. Regarding legal regulations, the specific countries examined may have some legal regulations which may influence the media framing on rape. An example is the anonymity of the victim or rapist which may be regulated by law (Boyle, 2012). Another important issue regarding contextualisation is the possible different press traditions. This means that the countries may have some country-specific traditions (e.g. regarding the length of the articles, how detailed the articles are), and then these traditions may also have impact on media framing.

The researcher is aware of these problems regarding contextualisation, and suggests that the analysis of these contextualisation issues could be a possible continuation of the current research, however in this current research these details were not discussed in depth because a review of all relevant legal regulations and press traditions of the countries would have gone beyond the scope of this study.

Another limitation of the research is the possible influence of the researcher. Flick (2007) discusses that in the case of text analysis it may happen that the researcher is biased and it may have negative impact on the quality of the research. In this thesis it means that based on previous research and statistics there are some expected results (UK: more open about rape, victim-blaming is not prominent; Hungary: more victim-blaming, lack of detailed articles), and it could have influenced the process of analysis. In order to avoid and mitigate this problem as much as possible, there was a strictly outlined sampling procedure and the articles were analysed according to a clearly set system of categorisation. Moreover, the fact that the author is fully aware of this issue has also helped mitigate this problem.

6. Analysis and results

This chapter presents the analysis of the articles and the results. The structure follows the schema outlined in the analytical framework, so the findings regarding the framing of the problem, the causes, and the solutions are discussed separately. Table 3, Table 4, and Table 5 in Chapter 5 guided the presentation of the analysis and the results.

6.1 The FRA report in the media

When the results of the FRA's survey were released in March 2014, it received some media attention. Before going into the main analysis of the thesis, it is shortly presented how the analysed newspapers wrote about the report. This may be of interest because the two countries display very different results from the report. The analysis focuses on the questions how many articles were written about the release of the FRA report and whether the articles only communicated the facts, or if they pointed out the importance to fight against violence against women.

There is one article about the FRA report in each of the Hungarian newspapers. *Magyar Nemzet* presented the results in detail from all over the EU and highlighted that Hungary is

under the EU average, while *Népszabadság* presented only the Hungarian results, pointed out that the number of women suffering from violence in Hungary is very large and highlighted the importance of the Hungarian accession to the Istanbul Convention.

In *The Guardian*, there were four articles about the report, two focused on the results only, and two which also emphasised the importance to tackle the issue and join the Istanbul Convention. It appears that *The Daily Telegraph* did not cover the topic.

After this short overview, the main analysis is done in the next sections.

6.2. Problem

6.2.1 Media variables

In the analysis of the problem framing, the first step was to analyse the media variables. These are the characteristics describing how a particular newspaper frames and presents its topic. Below the length of the articles, and the quoted speakers in the texts are analysed. As Table 3 indicated there was a category called *other* which was set to make sure that all the possible similarities and differences are covered in the articles. After reviewing the articles another relevant category among the media variables turned out to be the possible reference to other newspapers, news portals in the articles, which is the third factor which will be analysed below.

Length of the articles

Regarding the length of the articles, the number of words has been counted in all the articles sampled in the third step of the analysis. It means the average word count and standard deviation of 50 articles from the UK and 36 from Hungary were checked. The results are the following:

Table 6. Number of words in the articles

	Average	Standard Deviation
The Guardian	874,03	436,72
The Daily Telegraph	849,69	464,08

Magyar Nemzet	300,84	251,15
Népszabadság	250,65	173,95

Source: author's own work

The importance of this variable is closely connected to the possible detailed nature of the articles. Longer texts have the potential to have more information about a specific issue and outline it from different perspectives, while shorter articles may communicate only the basic facts about an issue.

The first impression of the table is that the Hungarian articles about rape are much shorter than the ones from the UK. However, it is very important to mention that the differences in the two languages may have influenced these results. The Hungarian language uses suffixes, so the different prepositions and auxiliaries are merged to the end of the words. It may be that the Hungarian articles are shorter in general due to the language differences.

However, the question is whether the differences are large enough to say that, after taking the language differences into account, the media coverage in the UK is more detailed about the rape cases than in the Hungarian media. Considering that the average word count is three times or nearly three times more in the UK than in Hungary, it appears that UK articles are more detailed.

Another result which may show the difference is the fact that the shortest article among the 50 English articles consists of 202 words. From the 36 Hungarian articles, half of them, 18, consist of fewer than 200 words, so fewer than the shortest from the English ones, and from these 18, 14 have even fewer than 150 words.

As mentioned above, beside the country comparison, the two newspapers from the same country with different political affiliations are also part of the analysis. Regarding the length of the articles, it is highly relevant to compare the newspapers within the countries because it is more reliable to compare them with the same language.

Regarding the newspapers from the UK, the average length of the articles are close. The difference is larger in the Hungarian newspapers, the data shows that the conservative *Magyar Nemzet* has longer articles, however, there is an outlier article in this subsample which has 1087 words (the second longest is 624), and if the average and standard deviation are calculated without it, the two Hungarian newspapers show a really close pattern: *Magyar Nemzet*: 257,17 average and 168,56 (standard deviation); *Népszabadság*: 250,65 (average) and 173,95 (standard deviation). So the political affiliation does not seem to have an impact on the length of the articles.

Speakers in the articles

The second media variable was to analyse the *speakers* cited in the articles. It shows through whom the rape cases are framed in the articles, whose perspectives are represented by the references. It needs to be noted that in general, the UK newspapers use real quotations, so they cite the persons directly, while the Hungarian articles only refer to the speaker indirectly. During the analysis process this fact was taken into consideration, so the analysis has two parts here: collect the directly cited persons and also analyse who else are cited indirectly in the articles.

All the 20 articles from the UK use real quotations, and there are no speakers to whom the authors refer only indirectly. On the contrary, only 4 out of 20 Hungarian articles use real quotations from the speakers, and 14 use indirect references[6]. The difference may stem from different journalistic styles, thus the important part was to analyse who are cited directly or indirectly in the articles. Table 7 below summarises the findings regarding the speakers and then the results are discussed in more detail with quotations from the articles.

Table 7. Speakers in the articles (number of articles)

	overall number of articles which directly or indirectly cited others	victim	rapist	police	court	expert/ organis ations
Hungary	17	3	0	8	3	1
United Kingdom	20	7	4	6	5	4

Source: author's own work

In the UK newspapers, 7 out of 20 articles have quotations from victims which may affect the readers emotionally, moreover, other victims can realise that they are not alone and

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[6] The two groups (4 and 14 articles) are overlapping in 1 article.

that other victims have the same feelings. Thus, framing through the victims may have an important impact. The following statements are from victims:

> "All these years I have never brought it to anyone's attention. I chose not to say anything. I thought I was to blame (…)" (The Guardian, article 1)
>
> "Rape is still a taboo. People don't want to talk about it and it seems easier for people to blame the victim (…)" (The Guardian, article 5)

In Hungary the number of articles that refer to the victims is only 3 and all are from the liberal newspaper, *Népszabadság*. This is one of the quotations from a victim:

> "(…) I know exactly how victims are treated in such situations, it's horrible that they [the courts] do not believe them, and they're put through hell."[7] (Népszabadság, article 5)

The second group is the rapists who overall get less attention in terms of citations. Among the analysed articles in Hungary, none of them refers to the rapist directly or indirectly, while in the articles from the UK, 4 rapists are cited.

The police are highly represented in the articles in both countries. 8 out of 17 articles in Hungary refer to the police, in the UK only 6 out of 20 times is the police cited. According to the analysis these quotes have two roles: emphasise the commitment of the police to investigate the cases, and give information about what happened. For the former one here is a quotation:

> "My officers carried out a painstaking investigation to identify all historic and current evidential opportunities, to ensure this case was brought to trial. I hope this gives other victims the courage to come forward, knowing we will make every effort to investigate their allegations regardless of the passage of time." (The Guardian, article 4)

These quotes may have an important role in expressing the commitment of police and encourage victims to report the crime.

The next group is the court, which consists of judges, prosecution, defence, and lawyers. In the UK, 5 articles mention at least one of them, while in Hungary, only 3. It shows that besides the police, courts also gain attention in the media at times. In the UK, sometimes even the judges' names are mentioned.

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[7] All the Hungarian quotations and the titles of the Hungarian articles (Appendix 3) have been translated by the author.

Regarding the comparison within one country, it is interesting to note that all the 5 references from the court are in articles from *The Guardian*, and none of them are from *The Telegraph*.

Experts and the representatives of organisations dealing with rape are not often visible in the articles. In Hungary, there is only 1 article which mentions a group consisting of experts. In the UK, there are 4 articles that mention such persons (e.g. Women Against Rape, UK charity Rape Crisis).

References to other portals, newspapers

In the categorisation system (See Chapter 6.3), regarding the problem description, there is a category called *other* in order to cover all the important similarities and differences in the articles. After going through all the articles, there is another relevant factor among the media variables: the fact whether the article refers to another newspaper. When reviewing the articles in this respect, it is shown whether the newspapers collect the information on their own, or if they refer to other portals. The important question is what this factor means. It can be seen as a way to highlight that the information is from another source. Secondly, it can be seen as a lazy attitude towards the discussed topic as the newspaper has not collected its own information about the topic. To sum up, an in-depth analysis behind the real motivations would be needed, however, the thesis has a different focus, and the findings contribute to the aim of investigating how these newspapers frame rape.

Among the 20 Hungarian articles there are 14 which refer to another newspaper or news portal. Regarding the two political affiliations, 5 are from *Magyar Nemzet* (conservative) and 9 from *Népszabadság* (liberal). The articles cited different sources. There were 3 from the police's webpage. Here is an example below how the articles refer to it:

"(…) - the Zala county police department stated on its official website on Wednesday. (Népszabadság, article7)

8 times other news portals occurred in the articles as references as in the following quotations:

"Although the police refused to give a statement, according to Index, the investigators have at least a hundred photographs." (Magyar Nemzet, article 6)

"According to Hír24, (…)." (Népszabadág, article 1)

In 3 cases, there are references to a tabloid newspaper:

"Blikk discovered that Sándor Szilárd K. [rapist] had already been convicted multiple times for other violent crimes (…)" (Magyar Nemzet, article 7)

"The details of the case, as reported by Blikk (…)" (Népszabadság, article 6)

"(…) – states in Blikk" (Népszabadság, article 10)

These examples prove that the newspapers use other sources in their articles. The important question here is not the number of the references to other portals, but the genre of these portals. As we could see, they are eclectic in terms of genre (police webpage, tabloid paper, news portals).

It is interesting to see that in the articles in *The Guardian* and in *The Daily Telegraph* there are no references to other sources, the references are quotations from other persons in the cases seen above. However, in Hungary, there are not many references. It may show whether the newspaper collects its information on its own or if it uses other sources (e.g. tabloid newspapers) as well. However, it is a very newspaper specific result and other sources would probably show other patterns.

6.2.2 Presentation of the rape case

After going through all the media variables (length, speakers, citation of other sources), now I turn to analysing how the rape cases were presented and framed in the articles. There are two important questions: how detailed is the article about the rape case and what kind of adjectives and adverbs does the article use to present the rape? The latter is worth analysing because it may show whether the article only communicated the facts or it expresses some feelings such as anger, sadness, resignation, and discomfort through the different adjectives and adverbs.

Detailed nature of the articles

It is difficult to measure how detailed an article is about the rape case. Nearly all the articles include some information about the time when it happened (year or day), about the place where it happened (city, sometimes part of the city as well), and some basic information about the victim and the rapist (age, sometimes social background). The focus of this thesis goes further, and tries to find out whether the articles present actual details about how the crime happened (e.g. how the rapist or the victim behaved). It is important to analyse the articles from

this aspect because the details may have greater impact on the reader and it also shows how openly the newspaper speaks about rape.

From the UK newspapers, there are 4 articles that are very detailed about the case. To illustrate them, some quotations are presented here from the articles:

"She said he didn't kiss her or talk to her or take any clothes off – hers or his own – but simply pushed her underwear to one side and penetrated her." (The Guardian, article 1)

"They wanted me to give them a blow job and have sex with them and that," she said. "When I said no, they would become more relentless about it and say more and more nasty stuff." (The Guardian, article 2)

"They would routinely steal her mobile phone and then tell her that if she wanted it back she would need to meet them. When she did so, she would have to perform oral sex and was raped. Instances of abuse were filmed and she was threatened with this footage being circulated around her school." (The Guardian, article 7)

"I have no memory of my journey home and I woke up with the pain and crashing reality that something terrible had happened. After inspecting my clothes, which were torn and wet with urine, I began to realise what the horrendous reality may be and I called the police." (The Daily Telegraph, article 5)

Regarding the Hungarian newspapers, there are 2 articles in *Népszabadság* where the description is more detailed than the average:

"When she woke up after an uncertain amount of time, she was already half naked and someone was sitting on her, pinning her down with his body and masturbating." (Népszabadság, article 5)

"After that, the young woman wanted to leave but the molester followed and attacked her, covered her mouth with his hands and beat the victim's head repeatedly into the asphalt. When she could no longer protest, Béla H. ripped off her clothes and raped her." (Népszabadság, article 6).

In conclusion, there is not a big difference between the two countries regarding this factor, articles that are very detailed about the case are rare in both countries.

Adjectives and adverbs in the articles

The second sub-part regarding the presentation of the rape case is the usage of adjectives and adverbs. The analysis focuses on adjectives and adverbs that refer to the rape. As it is noted in Table 3, the aim of this part is to see whether the article only focuses on the facts without mediating clearly expressed emotions, or there are different words through which the author expresses different feelings.

In *The Guardian*, there were 6 articles which referred to the case through the following adjectives and adverbs: cold and calculated manner, disgusted, extreme, horrifying, inappropriate, and indecently. In *The Daily Telegraph* articles, there were 3 which mentioned these kinds of words such as deeply saddening, horrible, horrifying, and horrific.

In *Magyar Nemzet*, adjectives and adverbs referred to the cases were used in 4 articles. The words were the following: brutally (brutálisan), sorely (alaposan), firmly (erősen), heavily (súlyosan). *Népszabadság* used these kind of words only in one article, and the following adjective was mentioned: harsh (durva).

Although, articles used some words of this type, the a priori assumption was that there would be more of them. There are some articles which do not contains any of these words related to the case.

6.2.3 Description of the victims in the articles

One of the most relevant characteristics of the articles is to analyse how the victims are portrayed in them. As the thesis focuses on the possible impact of media in reporting the crime, it is indispensable to analyse the way victims are framed in them. So the analysis focuses both on the *description of the victims* in the articles (how detailed the article is about them regarding their age, social background, occupation) and see whether the *anonymity* of the victim as a very important factor is respected and highlighted in the articles.

Anonymity

Among the 40 analysed articles, 37 discuss cases in which the victim is still alive, there are 2 articles in which the victim died before the article, and there is 1 which refers to both a living victim and one who died. From the 38 articles, there was only one article from Hungary in which the victim was called by a first name and it was not highlighted whether it is a fake

name or not. However, the article referred to another news portal where the victim revealed her case and on that portal, it was stated that the name is fake. It means that the anonymity of the victims was respected in the articles both in Hungary and in the United Kingdom.

However, it is an important factor to analyse whether it is pointed out in the articles that it is the victims' right to be anonymous or if victims are identified clearly with fake names, so that a reader can be sure that it is not a coincidence that the victim is not named, but there are legal reasons for it. In this aspect, there was a difference between the two countries. The following quotations are from articles from the UK, and they highlight the importance of anonymity:

"The woman, who cannot be named (…)" (The Guardian, article 1)

"(…) the girl, who cannot be identified for legal reasons (…)" (The Guardian, article 2)

"The manager of the home refused to pay the fare when asked by Girl B; and Girl A had been taken back to Oxford (…)" (The Guardian, article 2)

"If you are sure [girl X] is telling the truth (…)" (The Guardian, article 5)

"(…) principal of the RNCM, Professor Edward Gregson, received a letter from [name redacted] alleging that whilst a student at the college in 1989 (…)" (The Guardian, article 6)

"Professor Gregson returned [name redacted's] correspondence (…)" (The Guardian, article 6)

"One girl, "Rochelle", said she was sexually exploited (…)" (The Guardian, article 7)

"All [rape survivors] are using a hashtag that we cannot print here for legal reasons." (The Daily Telegraph, article 1)

"Juliet did not wish to supply her surname" (The Daily Telegraph, article 5)

"In 1976, the Labour government introduced rape trial anonymity for both the alleged victim and the accused." (The Daily Telegraph, article 6)

"The student, who cannot be named for legal reasons, said (…)" (The Daily Telegraph, article 8)

Other than these quotations, the victims are identified as woman, victim, rape survivor, and girl, and sometimes their age is given.

Regarding the Hungarian articles, it is not common to point out and clarify that articles must not identify victims, they simply do not do it. However, in one case, they do:

"The girl mentioned using the alias Réka …" (Népszabadság, article 2)

As the articles from the UK, Hungarian ones identify the victims as girl (lány), woman (nő), and offended party (sértett). Thus, the main difference is the fact that *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* highlight explicitly and quite often that the victim is entitled to anonymity, while the two Hungarian newspapers use it implicitly without pointing it out. The importance of this fact is whether a possible victim feels more comfortable with seeing all these references to anonymity and feel more secure to report her case or not.

The cases about dead victims are discussed separately because they show a different pattern regarding anonymity. There are not enough articles to claim that there is a difference in general regarding these cases. However, it is worth mentioning that 2 English and 1 Hungarian articles are relevant in this question. The 2 from the UK discuss a case where the victim committed suicide after being witness as a victim in a rape trial. The Hungarian 1 mentions a case in which a woman was raped and was afterwards killed by the offender. In all these articles, the victims were called in their full names and their age was also specified.

Description of the victims

The part about the description of the victims aims to outline how the articles frame the victims and how detailed their characteristics are. To analyse it, some basic information was collected about them: age, social background, or job.

In 18 out of all the 40 articles nothing specific (age, name, background, or job) is mentioned about the victims. Regarding the results, the countries seem similar because in both there were 9-9 articles. As will be shown in the next part, the framing of the rapists is more open, there are only 6 articles that mention nothing about them.

Among the mentioned characteristics in the articles, the most common one is the age of the victim. There are 16 articles out of 40 which explicitly mention their age, 3 which only give a broader context (e.g. young woman, woman in her 40s) and 1 where we only know that the girl is an undergraduate student.

Other than the age of the victim, it is very rare that the reader gets to know more information about the victim. 2 articles (one from the UK, one from Hungary) mentioned their occupation (violinist, tax inspector), and 1 mentions the victim's social background (chaotic).

So in summary, it can be seen that the articles in both countries protect the victims' personal information and give very basic or no information about them. However, there is a difference whether the articles highlight anonymity explicitly or only use it implicitly.

6.2.4 Description of the rapists in the articles

In this part, two factors are going to be analysed: whether the articles guard the rapists' anonymity, and what basic information is mentioned in the articles about them (e.g. age, family background, occupation, or race). With these characteristics, it is shown how openly the article identifies the rapist and whether his anonymity is protected.

Anonymity

Regarding anonymity there is a considerable difference between the two analysed countries. Through the analysis, three groups were identified: articles which protected the rapist with anonymity and only revealed his age, articles which used his whole name, and articles which used part of his name (with full first name and the last name's first letter). It is important to note that the difference between the two countries is visible in the titles[8] of the articles as well. In 6 articles from the UK, the rapists' full names are included in the titles, while in Hungary none of the titles give the rapists' names partly or fully. The following results were found in Hungary and in the UK:

Table 8. Identification of the rapists in the articles

	anonymity	**partial anonymity**	**full name**
Hungary	14	5	1
United Kingdom	4	0	16

Source: author's own work

It is interesting to see the big difference between the two countries. The first explanation that comes to mind is the question of where these cases are in the trial process. It may be the case that men are not named before they are proven guilty. However, both in the English and in the Hungarian articles there are cases in different steps of the process. Another explanation could be that famous persons are named with full name for sensation, but concerning non-famous rapists, this is not a factor. Among the Hungarian ones, there is only one article that

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[8] The titles of the articles do not show any other main differences, or relevant characteristics regarding the analysis that is why an own section was not included in the thesis about the titles.

mentions a famous person as an abuser and it is the one with full name. In the English ones, both non-famous and famous persons are identified with full names. The rapists' anonymity seems an issue in the UK because related to a case where the assumed rapist was cleared for the charges, there is a whole article which discusses the importance of rapists' anonymity and the opinion that they "should have been considered innocent until proven guilty" (The Daily Telegraph, article 9). Finally, another explanation is that in the UK the media is more open about the rapists and they are not protected with anonymity, while in Hungary, their names are not mentioned usually. The results and their possible implications will be discussed in the next chapter.

Description of the rapists

The second factor concerning rapists is whether basic information is mentioned in the articles. It may give the impression that the article explored the case in details and give some information about the abuser.

In total, there are 6 articles that mention nothing specific about the rapist, not even his age. 22 articles mention the abusers' age (13 in Hungary, 9 in the UK), 10 their jobs, 4 where they come from (Asian in *The Guardian*, African and Italian in *Magyar Nemzet*, and Italian in *Népszabadság*). Their social background is not detailed directly, however sometimes through their occupation it is possible to make an assumption (e.g. actor, media person).

So in conclusion, the articles are much more open about the rapists than the victims, however, the main difference does not concern factors such as age, job, social background, but rather their name through which they are easily identified. The main findings about the victims and rapists identification in the analysed articles is summarised below in Table 9.

Table 9. Description of the victims and rapists (number of articles out of 20 per country)

		full anonymity	partial anonymity	full name	any information	no information
Victim	**Hungary**	19	1	0	11	9
	UK	19	1	0	11	9
Rapist	**Hungary**	14	5	1	16	4
	UK	4	0	16	18	2

Source: author's own work

6.3 Causes

In Entman's (1993) discussion about framing theory, the second group that needs to be analysed is how the causes of a specific issue are framed in newspapers. In this thesis it means that it is analysed who are blamed for the rape according to the articles. The analysis followed Berns' (1999) categorisations, so there are three plus one groups[9]: *individuals* (e.g. victims, rapists), *culture* (e.g. societal and cultural reasons), *institutions* (e.g. legal system, police), or any *other* factors. After reading all the articles it is evident that not only are the causes of the crime discussed, but also the causes of not reporting it. In the first sub-part, the causes of the rape cases are presented from the articles, and then the causes of not reporting them are discussed.

6.3.1 Causes of the rape cases

In order to illustrate the material on which the findings are based, some relevant quotations are going to be cited from the articles, and at the end of this sub-chapter there is a table that summarises the number of references to each cause. It is important to note that many of the quotations are real quotes from specific persons, so these are not the journalists' own. However, it is the journalist' choice to include one quote and exclude another, so if there is not a discussion after the quote that the article disagrees with it, than it will be counted as if the article represented that cause.

Individual responsibility often occurred in the articles as the quotations show below. The ones that focus on the rapists and the victims are collected separately. It is interesting to note that victim-blaming is not often visible in the articles. Out of all 40 article, there were only 3 which engage in victim-blaming, and all were self-blaming from the victims. No other victim-blaming could be identified.

"The woman said she didn't tell anyone because she thought it was her fault (…)' (The Guardian, article 1)

"Furthermore, the raped girl blamed herself (…)" (Népszabadság, 2)

The prevalence of articles which blame explicitly, or sometimes implicitly the rapists is higher. These are some examples of it:

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[9] Berns' fourth category is the integration of the previous categories. Here, it is called other category which contains causes other than the previous ones.

"He would take her for long drives in his yellow Jaguar and wooed her parents with promises to make their daughter the UK version of Jodie Foster, while secretly molesting her and forcing her to perform sex acts on him." (The Guardian, article 4)

"To each victim, he spun a lie about how he had won thousands of pounds on the lottery or at the casino and invited them to toast his success with a glass of champagne." (The Daily Telegraph, article 4)

The second group of causes is *society and culture.* In the articles from the UK, cultural, societal reasons were mentioned, more specifically, the background from which the victim comes. In a case of gang rape in Oxford against young girls the article mentions that:

"(…) the men targeted young girls as young as 11 from vulnerable and chaotic backgrounds (…)" (The Guardian, article 2)

Another article mentions another relevant information regarding this category, the fact that in the past society was more tolerant towards sexual assaults:

"These offenses may have taken place a long time ago when inappropriate and trivial sexual misbehaviour was more likely to be tolerated or overlooked (…)" (The Guardian, article 4)

Berns' third category is *institutional responsibility* which occurred in one article regarding a children's home:

"Girl B had tried to go back their children's home in Henley. The manager of the home refused to pay the fare when asked by Girl B; and Girl A had been taken back to Oxford because she could not pay. That evening she was forced to perform sex act on two men." (The Guardian, article 2)

In both countries, there are factors that can be put into the *others* category. Four times the place where the crime happened was mentioned. Once the victims' naivety, once the student union president (a person that convinced the victim not to report the crime), once the loud music, and once a friend who did not help were mentioned. Here are some quotations from the articles regarding this category. These are some examples from the articles of the above mentioned factors:

"Worboys used his taxi as a lure to trick unsuspecting young women into believing their safety was ensured two things – the black cab and the licenced driver" (The Guardian, article 3)

"Even though she was screaming, in the uninhabited area, no one helped her." (Magyar Nemzet, article 8)

"However, the freshmen camp was organised in a way that basically encouraged committing crimes." (Népszabadság, article 2).

Table 10 below summarises the results of the analysis regarding blame in the articles. The discussion of the results is presented in the next chapter, however, it is interesting to see that victim-blaming is not visible explicitly in general.

Table 10. Blaming in the articles

Who are blamed for the rape?		Number of articles[10]	
		Hungary	**United Kingdom**
individuals	victim	1	3
	rapist	16	6
society, culture	societal, cultural reasons	0	2
institutions	legal system		
	police	0	1
other		6 (1 Student Union president, 2 freshmen camps, 1 friend, 1 loud music, 1 uninhabited area)	2 (taxi, naivety)
not mentioned in the article		2	10

Source: author's own work

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[10] Some articles mention more than one cause that is why the number of articles in total is more than 40.

6.3.2 Causes of not reporting

Another part of the analysis is to examine how the articles write about the events after the rape (e.g. why reported the crime, why not, how the police treated the victims). This part is placed in the causes' category because the cause of not reporting is often mentioned in the articles, and it may give another important insight to the analysis.

As it was seen, in the blaming part, *individuals* was the most prominent group, however here, there is a shift to other categories. Nevertheless, there is one example where the rapist played a role in not reporting:

> "Such perpetrators silenced their victims "by seeing how far they can go, and secondly by saying things like 'it's our secret'" she said." (The Guardian, article 5)

In the UK *societal reasons* were mentioned sometimes. A victim assaulted long time ago mentioned as an explanation why she did not report the case earlier that:

> "(…) in those days you didn't talk about things like that" (The Guardian, article 1)
>
> "Fiona Elvines, operations coordinator of UK charity Rape Crisis, says: "The thing that's interesting for us is that for a lot of women why they don't report was more about social stigma than about fear of police or anything like that."" (The Daily Telegraph, article 1)
>
> "(…) in most cases it is the sense of shame and stigma that prevents women from coming forward." (The Daily Telegraph, article 1)
>
> "Rape is still a taboo." (The Daily Telegraph, article 5)

Institutions were mentioned in the articles most frequently regarding reasons why victims may not report. In an article, a victim who killed herself after the trial felt that:

> "(…) she had not received enough support from Great Manchester police before and after the trial, and said that she felt as though she had been "raped all over again" after undergoing a gruelling cross-examination in court." (The Guardian, article 8)

Another article discussed the same case and stated the other side of the case:

> "Vulnerable victims giving evidence in courts are offered the opportunity to give evidence behind a screen or via video link. Andrade turned down these special measures, preferring instead to appear in open court and face Brewer. (…) Judge Martin Rudland

said on Thursday that Blackwell[11] had been: "perfectly proper and correct in her examination of all the witnesses in this case." (The Guardian, article 10)

Other negative opinions were mentioned in the articles about the institutional process:

"Tony Lloyd, police and crime commissioner for Greater Manchester (…) said: "Many, many rape victims say that the court process is as traumatic as their original ordeal. This can't go (…)" (The Guardian, article 8)

"Being raped was horrible. Trying to report it and then being made feel it was my fault was worse" (The Daily Telegraph, article 1)

"Women Against Rape's Lisa Longstaff said: "The trial has shown, once again, that with serial rapists police and CPS[12] have a serial response – they believe the rapist rather than the victim" (…)." (The Guardian, article 9)

Finally, in this analysis the *others* group also played a role. Sometimes it was fear that motivated victims not to report.

"Many children are quite rightly frightened for their personal safety, and the safety of their families. (…) These same children have also said that there were clear signs that they were being abused but that nobody asked questions." (The Guardian, article 7).

Moreover, in a case in Hungary, the responsibility of the student union in the freshmen camps was discussed:

"The student union's representatives convinced her not to call an ambulance or inform the police" (Magyar Nemzet, article 1)

As in the previous sub-chapters, there is a table that summarises the findings of the analysis, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Table 11. Causes of not reporting in the articles

Why did women not report the crime?		Number of articles	
		Hungary	**United Kingdom**
individuals	victim	0	0

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[11] rapist's barrister
[12] Crown Prosecution Service

	rapist	0	1
culture	societal, cultural reasons	0	3
institutions	legal system		
	police	1	4
other		4 (3 Student Union, 1 fear)	1 (fear)
not mentioned in the article		15	12

Source: author's own work

6.4 Solutions

In this part of the analysis the possible suggested solutions to the issue of rape are analysed. In case of domestic violence, Berns (1999) used the concept of frame of responsibility, which means that focus is on who is assigned to solve the problem, who has the responsibility. This same logic is used here to see whether there are suggested solutions and who is assigned responsibility. Another important question is to analyse whether the suggested solutions in the articles can be seen as prevention of possible further cases, or intervention to investigate cases that happened in the past. The analysed groups are the same as regarding the causes: individuals, societal reasons, institutions, and others.

Regarding *individuals*, two groups can be recognised through the articles who are targeted by the solutions: the readers and the potential victims. When the articles targeted the readers, it also focused on previous victims, however, the two groups are separated because there is one article which focuses on the victims in another way. All the examples in which the readers are targeted are interventions, not prevention. The one that targeted the potential victims focused on prevention. Here are some examples from the articles when the focus is on the readers:

"Though the dead cannot be prosecuted, Greater Manchester Police are keen to talk to any former pupils with information about Bakst or other teachers as they attempt to understand the culture at Chetham's and the RNCM in the 1970s, 80s and 90s." (The Guardian, article 6)

"Detectives appealed for any other young people who were affected to come forward and contact police on 0208 217 6531 or Crimestoppers on 0900 555 111." (The Guardian, article 7)

"Detective Inspector Michael Murfin (…) said Witty, 41 was a predatory rapist, and urged anyone who believed they had been raped or assaulted by him to contact police." (The Guardian, article 9)

"If you have been affected by sexual violence, get in touch with Rape Crisis on 0808 802 9999." (The Daily Telegraph, article 1)

"Get help…Don't feel isolated. You don't have to suffer in silence." (The Daily Telegraph, article 5)

These examples are from the UK because in this way, the Hungarian articles did not speak that directly to the readers. However, the one example which targets the victims is from Hungary. A police station released 3 videos in November 2014 to draw attention to the fact that girls can also do certain things to protect themselves and avoid sexual assault and rape. The videos triggered intense debates because many people thought the videos blame the victims for the assault. An article about the videos is among the analysed publications and this is the one which targeted the potential victims with a solution and it focused on prevention, what women should do to avoid sexual assault:

"Young girls going out may face dangerous situations (…)" (Magyar Nemzet, article 10)

After presenting the results about individuals, the next group is the possible *societal* solutions. Two relevant solutions here mentioned by the articles are to raise awareness and to protest against rape:

"(…) the hashtag is serving to educate and raise awareness about the true extent of rape, and its varied forms and effects." (The Daily Telegraph, article 1)

"Women's groups have been protesting this week about comments from Todd Akin, a Republican congressman, who said victims of "legitimate rape" rarely get pregnant." (The Daily Telegraph, article 2)

The final two quotations are from the same article and they are focusing on the rapists. The article discussed how society should treat a convicted rapist in relation to an example in which a football club let his player come back after he was convicted for rape. The quotations show both perspectives:

"The club rejects the notion that society should seek to impose extrajudicial or post-term penalties on anyone." (The Daily Telegraph, article 10)

"I think it's a really bad message that we still think this is OK and that we're debating that a convicted rapist who still hasn't shown remorse is allowed to go back into the club." (The Daily Telegraph, article 10)

After societal solutions, the next group is the *institutions*. The offered solutions mainly target the police, more precisely emphasise the commitment of police to investigate the cases and give every support:

"Our special trained officers will continue to work tirelessly with my colleagues at the Crown Prosecution Service to bring sex offenders, whether recent or not, to justice. Over the last 12 months we have seen an increase of 1,436 allegations of sexual abuse reported to the Metropolitan police." (The Guardian, article 4)

"Commander Peter Spindler, head of the specialist crime command at the Met, said: "We are absolutely committed to tackling this type of offence and are using significant numbers of officers to do so." (The Guardian, article 7)

"Clifford will go on the sex offenders' register for life, meaning that when he is released he will only be able to live at an approved address and will have to notify authorities of his movements, including travel abroad." (The Guardian, article 4)

"A report by deputy children's commissioner for England last year called for agencies to actively look for cases of child sexual exploitation and on-street grooming of young people by gangs of men." (The Guardian, article 7)

There are some solutions regarding judicial matters:

"(…) prompting Great Manchester's police chief and his crime commissioner to call for "root and branch" changes to the way vulnerable witnesses are dealt with in court." (The Guardian, article 8)

"He said the system put too much weight on the victim, adding: "The focus should be more on the ways in which we can control this type of offender." (The Guardian, article 8)

"Restructuring student unions is expected to be one of the first steps taken by the legislation next year (…)" (Magyar Nemzet, article 1)

"The undersecretary of higher education thinks it possible that there might be legislative amendments because of the sexual violence in the Fonyódliget freshmen camp." (Magyar Nemzet, article 6)

Another solution is to protect the victims, once the crime happened:

"However, Sapphire moved under the command of the Specials Crime Directorate in September 2009, with the aim of providing a more consistent service to victims whose care and wellbeing is at the heart of each investigation." (The Guardian, article 9)

"Vulnerable victims giving evidence in courts are offered the opportunity to give evidence behind a screen or via video link." (The Guardian, article 10)

"Chetham's and other establishments have and continue to provide help and support at what is clearly a very difficult time for their respective staff and pupils." (The Daily Telegraph, article 3)

The last group of solutions is the category *others*. Here it was found that publicity may have an important role:

"Publicity about the Savile scandal has led to a dramatic rise in people reporting sexual abuse to the police (…)." (The Daily Telegraph, article 7)

The presented results are summarised in Table 12 below. Regarding the institutions, legal and police solutions are not separated because sometimes they were closely interrelated and difficult to decide who are targeted by the solutions.

Table 12. Solutions offered by the articles

	Are there suggested solutions to prevent rape cases?		Number of articles[13]	
	(Who can/should do something?)		Hungary	UK
Yes	Individuals	Victim	1	0
		Rapist	0	0
		Reader (who or whom relative/friend faced the same problem)	0	4
	Institutions	Police	2	6
		Court		
	Society	Civil organisations	0	4
		Politicians		
	Others	Others	0	1
No	The article does not discuss possible solutions			

[13] The articles are sometimes overlapping when one article mentions several solutions.

		17	6
to prevent rape cases in the future, or it does not suggest what the reader can do if she as a reader or his/her friends/relatives faced the same problem.			

Source: author's own work

As it can be seen, the major difference regarding the two countries is that the Hungarian articles rarely addressed the question of solution, while in the UK it is often mentioned. Moreover, it is true in both countries that the solutions focus on intervention, rather than prevention.

7. Conclusions, discussion of results, and ideas for further research

In this chapter, the research questions of the thesis are answered and discussed, it is shown whether the hypotheses can be supported with the results, I will highlight the contribution of the thesis to the field of European studies, and some suggested further research is outlined.

The thesis addressed the following research question: *"How is rape framed in two major newspapers in Hungary and in the United Kingdom?"* To answer this question, three sub-questions were posed:

- *How is rape as a problem framed in the newspaper articles?*
- *What are the discussed causes of rape, who are blamed for it in the newspaper articles?*
- *What are the suggested solutions to rape in the newspaper articles and who are targeted by the suggested solutions?*

First of all, these three sub-questions are answered, and their related hypotheses are discussed. Then, the major research question is answered.

The first question is about the *framing of the problem*, rape. Regarding this question the first group which was analysed is the media variables. The results show that the articles from the UK are considerably longer, as the analysed articles are about three times longer than in Hungary (even after taking the language differences into account), so they have the potential to be more detailed. Secondly, in both countries the articles refer directly or indirectly to different persons regarding the rape case. The important results concern who speaks in the articles. In

both countries, police seems to have a major role with several quotations, while supporting services and organisations do not get much attention. The results show that these organisations are only rarely visible in the analysed media, however they have important role in victims' lives, thus they need to make sure that they reach the victims through other channels. Another interesting result is that in both countries, victims do sometimes speak in the articles, however in the UK they get greater attention. The final media variable was the question whether the articles refer to other portals or newspapers. Regarding this factor, there is a major difference between the two countries: 14 out of 20 articles from Hungary refer to other portals, while in the articles from the UK none of them does.

The second point concerning problem framing was to analyse how the rape cases are presented, how they are framed. Firstly, it was analysed how detailed the framing of the actual rape cases were. I found that 16 out of 20 in the UK and 18 out of 20 in Hungary did not go into details other than the place or time of the case. However, there were 6 articles which framed the topic in a very detailed manner. Secondly, the used adjectives and adverbs were collected, and in both countries there were some articles that expressed their feelings through them.

The third point of analysis was the description of the victims, and the fourth analysed cluster was the description of the rapists. The results are presented together because they are closely interrelated. Regarding both groups the persons anonymity was analysed, and it was explored how many basic details (age, job, and social background) the articles presents. In both countries the anonymity of the victims and personal information were respected, however, regarding the identification of the rapists, there was a big difference in the respective countries. In the UK, in 16 articles, the rapists' full name was disclosed, while in Hungary, only 1 article mentioned it and in 14 cases the rapists had full anonymity. It may express that the media is more protective regarding the rapists which may have implication on the willingness to report.

The results summarised above were found regarding the problem, and now it will be analysed whether the hypothesis can be supported or not. Regarding the first research question, the following hypothesis was presented:

H1/a: In countries where the prevalence of reported rape is higher (United Kingdom), the discussion about rape is more open and detailed in the media, while, in countries where the reported prevalence of rape is lower (Hungary), the media describes rape cases briefly.

This hypothesis is supported by the findings of the thesis. Especially the part that the UK newspapers are more detailed about rape (longer articles, more detailed description of the cases). Moreover, regarding the Hungarian articles, we could see that many of them are very brief and focus only on the basic information.

The second sub-question focuses on the *framing of the causes* and the question of who are blamed for the rape cases. During the analysis, I found that there are two separate things that can be recognised: the causes of the rape cases and the causes of not reporting it. The research question focused on the former one, and the results concerning it are the following: victim-blaming was not explicitly mentioned in the articles, only self-blaming was mentioned. Furthermore, the Hungarian articles blamed the rapists more than the English ones. In the English articles, many times, no cause was mentioned.

Regarding the cause of not reporting, more reasons are mentioned in the articles in the UK than in Hungary, such as societal reasons and institutional reasons.

The hypothesis related to the second sub-question was the following:

H1/b: In countries where the prevalence of reported rape is higher (United Kingdom), victim-blaming is not dominant in the media, while, in countries where the prevalence of reported rape is lower (Hungary), the media describes violence against women with victim-blaming.

The empirical results of the thesis do not support this hypothesis. The results show that neither of the countries used victim-blaming. However, the thesis analysed only two newspapers per county, so the results are not generalised based on these results.

The third question focused on the *framing of the solutions* and asked whether solutions are outlined in the articles and if yes, who are targeted by them. According to the results, articles in the UK have a bigger emphasis on the solutions, in Hungary only 3 out of 20 articles discussed solutions, while in the UK 14 out of 20. In the UK, the target groups were the society, the institutions and the readers. In Hungary, the institutions and in one case, the potential victims. It was also part of the analysis to see whether the solutions are prevention (prevent rape), or intervention (a measure to solve the case which has already happened). According to the results, most of the suggested solutions are interventions, there were only 2 which were preventive.

The hypothesis related to this sub-question was the following:

H1/c: In countries where the prevalence of reported rape is higher (United Kingdom), solutions target more the society, while in countries where the prevalence of reported rape is lower (Hungary), the media does not discuss possible solutions exhaustively and the target group is the victims who should be careful.

This hypothesis can be supported partly with the results because it is true that in Hungary the discussion is limited about solution, however, we cannot claim that the victims are targeted because in total there were only 3 examples in Hungary. Moreover, according to the results it is true that in the UK, society was targeted, but beside society, institutions also played a major role.

So, in conclusion, the main research question can be answered: *"How is rape framed in Hungary and in the United Kingdom in two major newspapers?"*

In Hungary, rape is framed in the following way:

- the articles are short and focus on basic facts
- the discussion about the cases are not detailed
- adjectives and adverbs are rarely used
- neither the victims nor the rapists are identified with names in the articles
- rapists are blamed for the rape in most of the cases
- discussion about solutions is very limited
- solutions are interventions instead of preventions

In the UK, the results show that:

- the articles are long and sometimes very detailed about the case
- adjectives and adverbs are rarely used
- the victim is protected explicitly by not identifying her
- the rapists are not protected with anonymity
- various causes are mentioned in the articles, society and institutions as well
- discussion about solutions are frequent and focuses mainly on society and institutions
- solutions are interventions instead of preventions

Regarding the different political affiliations, no big differences were found. Even the length of the articles were quite the same within one country.

Now, it is important to discuss the results in the context of the existing literature, moreover, to reflect on how the results may have impact on the willingness to report rape. According to previous studies, a large amount of rape cases are not reported. The broad context of the thesis is explanations that may affect the willingness to speak about violence. Media is

the one explanation (e.g. Meyers, 1997; Ardovini-Brooker and Caringella-MacDonald, 2010) that has been analysed in the thesis. It is relevant to highlight some results regarding the media which may have impact on the reporting rates. There are no major differences between Hungary and the UK, but it is important to point out what the minor changes mean when it comes to reporting.

The first question is how protective the articles are regarding the victims. In both countries they protect the victims' identity, however, an important difference is whether this protectiveness is expressed explicitly or only implicitly. The results from the UK show that articles often state explicitly the legal reasons behind anonymity which may make the victim feel more comfortable to report. Moreover, the rapists are named in the UK, while in Hungary they also have anonymity, partial or full. This can also have implications on the reporting because then the victims see that the perpetrators are the ones who are named, not the women and they are protected. Thirdly, an important result is that the journalists directly speak to the readers to encourage them to report rape and in some cases they also write the relevant telephone numbers to contact. These three results are considered to be the most important regarding the willingness to report the rape, however, there may also be other results that can be seen as influencing factors such as the length of the articles.

Moving on to discuss another part of the results, it is presented what reasons were mentioned that encouraged women not to report the rape. It was not expected to get an insight from the articles into the reasons why women choose not to report rape. However, 13 out of 40 articles did mention it. The findings are in line with the explanations offered by the existing literature that for example fear, societal reasons and institutional reasons cause not reporting among the victims (e.g. Gracia, 2004; Donnelly & Ward, 2015).

Another unexpected result was that the articles did not refer to victim-blaming. However, there were some controversial statements in the articles about which it is difficult to decide whether it is only presenting the facts or if it is victim-blaming. One of the facts that most often occurred and was controversial from a research point of view is that victims were drugged in many cases by the rapists. It can be problematic to decide whether it is only a circumstance presented about the rape, or implicitly the article blames the victim questioning how it was possible that she got drugged.

It was an interesting result to see that Hungarian newspapers referred to other portals, among others, to tabloids as well. This result and also the fact that tabloids discuss rape may encourage women to not report if she does not want to be in tabloids. Different news portals

and newspapers report rape in various ways, thus it makes interesting when the different kinds of articles refer to each other.

Before discussing the results in relation to the FRA report, the final result that has to be discussed is the absence of references to helping services in the articles. In Hungary, there was only 1, in the UK, 4 articles referred to experts and helping services. However, it would be important to point out these organisations in the articles to show the victims that there are other places than the police where they can get help.

After discussing some results, the relation between the results of the thesis and the results of the FRA report is presented and the question whether the results correlate with the prevalence of reported rape presented in the report is examined. Although the second hypothesis was not supported, there are some differences between the two respective countries, namely that the articles from the UK are more encouraging to report the rape while in Hungary it is not that explicit. Thus, the results of the thesis and the prevalence rates are in line because in some key points the countries show considerable differences in a way that can contribute to the prevalence rates.

The contribution of the thesis to the field of European studies is twofold. On the one hand, it analysed the results of an EU-wide survey, and expanded it through analysing and understanding the prevalence of reported rape in the context of previous literature. On the other hand it showed, with an empirical example, how a part of the possible differences among the member states regarding gender-based violence can be captured through media.

The thesis took a considerable step to show the importance of the relation between the prevalence rates of gender-based violence and the factors that may influence the willingness to speak about it. However, further studies are suggested here that would deepen and expand the understanding about the issue. Firstly, it is recommended to analyse other EU member states from the media's perspective because it would complement the current thesis and probably show new insights regarding media. Furthermore, it would be important to conduct research that analyses a possible causal relationship between the reporting behaviour and the media. Another suggestion which is not closely related to this thesis, but may have important results considering the broader context of the thesis, is to analyse other explanations (e.g. personal reasons, trust in institutions) in connection with prevalence rates. Furthermore, the last recommendation is to analyse violence against women from another perspective such as partner-violence or a different type of violence such as physical or psychological. All these suggestions would give a more detailed picture about reporting behaviour regarding violence against women.

8. Appendices

Appendix 1 – Prevalence of partner violence in the EU (current or previous partner since the age of 15, 2014)

Figure 2.1: Physical and/or sexual *partner* violence since the age of 15, EU-28 (%)
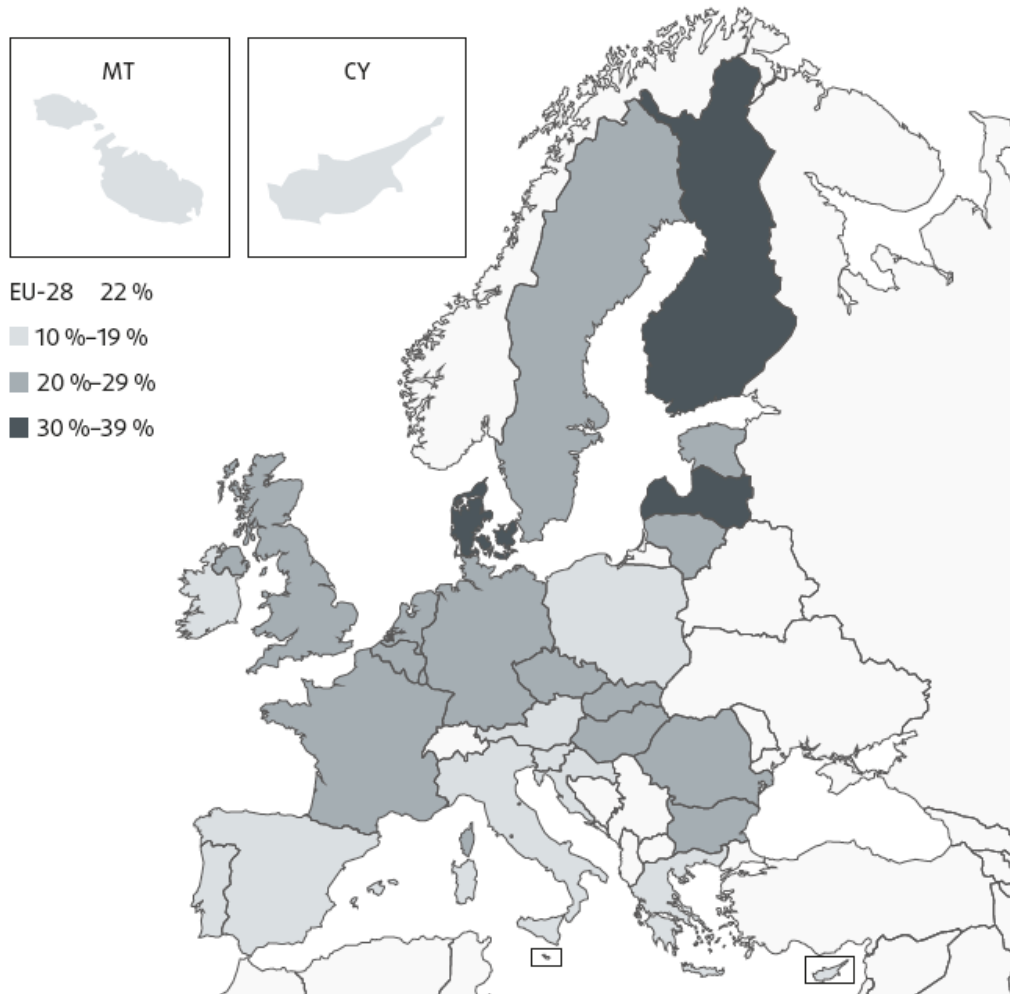
MT   CY

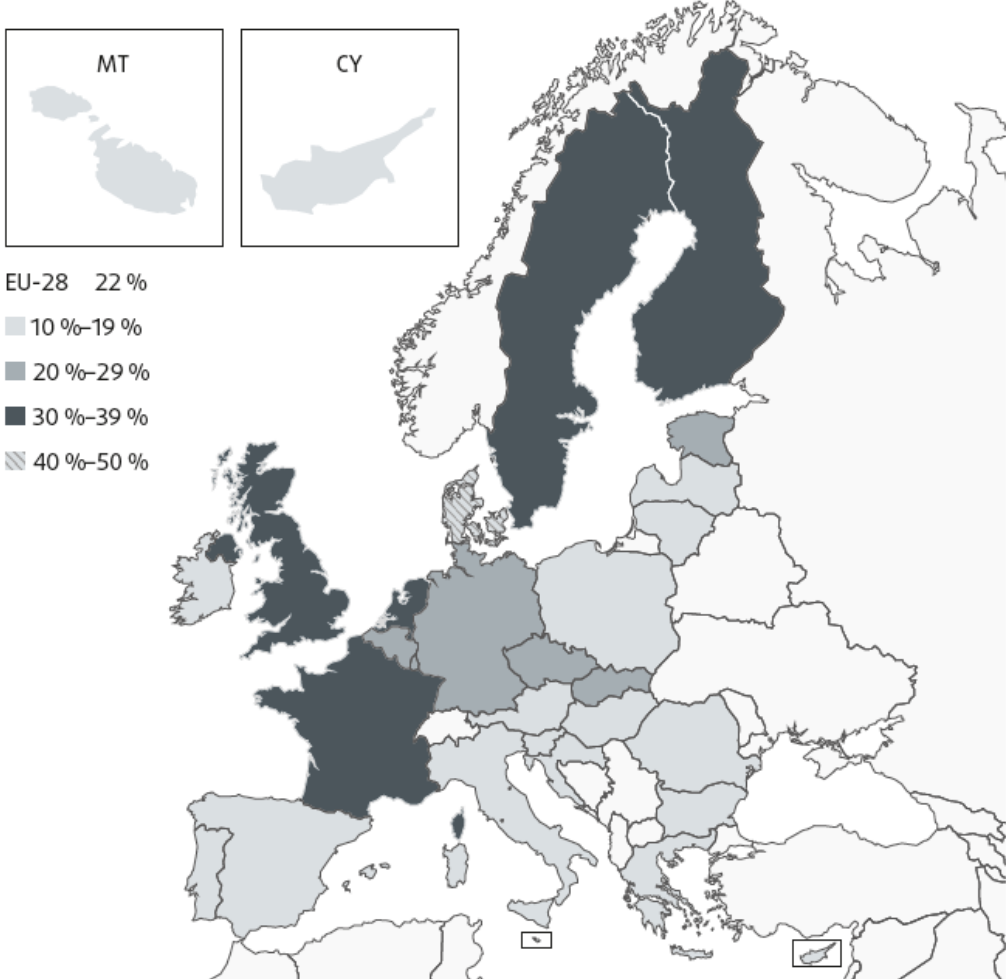EU-28   22 %

☐ 10 %–19 %

▨ 20 %–29 %

▧ 30 %–39 %

Source: FRA gender-based violence against women survey dataset, 2012

Source: EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (2014). *Violence against women. An EU-wide survey.* p. 29 http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014-vaw-survey-main-results_en.pdf Accessed on 2014-11-14

Appendix 2 – Prevalence of non-partner violence in the EU (since the age of 15, 2014)

Figure 2.2: Physical and/or sexual *non-partner* violence since the age of 15, EU-28 (%)

Source: FRA gender-based violence against women survey dataset, 2012

Source: EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (2014). *Violence against women. An EU-wide survey.* p. 30
http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014-vaw-survey-main-results_en.pdf Accessed on 2014-11-14

Appendix 3 – List of the articles analysed in the thesis

The Guardian:

1. "Bill Roche raped 15-year-old in his own home, trial hears" (2014-01-16)

2. "Oxford abuse trial: woman tells of rape at 15 and treatment as a 'piece of meat'" (2013-01-15)

3. "John Worboys rape victims lose case for damages" (2012-06-25)

4. "Max Clifford sentenced of eight years for his crimes and contempt of women" (2014-05-02)

5. "Michael Le Vell's accuser telling absolute truth, court told" (2013-09-09)

6. "Music schools sex abuse inquiry focuses on key suspects" (2013-02-18)

7. "Police arrest eight men suspected of grooming and raping girl" (2013-03-06)

8. "Police chief calls for rape cases rethink after women's death" (2014-02-04)

9. "Serial rapist was arrested and freed three times over 16 years" (2012-04-24)

10. "Sexual abuse victim killed herself after giving evidence at choirmaster trail" (2013-02-08)

The Daily Telegraph:

1. "Female rape survivors trust Twitter more than police" (2014-10-31)

2. "One in nine rape complaints 'written off' by police" (2012-08-21)

3. "Police arrest man, 58, in sex abuse probe into Royal Northern College of Music and Chetham's School of Music" (2013-05-10)

4. "Black cab passengers are not insured against rape in taxis, judge rules" (2012-06-25)

5. "'I was raped and can assure you, it's never the victim's 'fault'" (2013-06-04)

6. "Why anonymity for men accused of rape is imperative" (2014-06-21)

7. "Jimmy Savile accused of over 30 rapes in decades of abuse" (2012-12-12)

8. "Oxford Union 'rape victim knew her claim was false'" (2014-06-29)

9. "Oxford Union president is cleared of rape charges" (2014-06-18)

10. "Ched Evans allowed to train with Sheffield United following release from prison for rape" (2014-11-11)

Magyar Nemzet:

1. Gólyatáborok: szigorúbb szabályok [Freshmen camps: stricter rules] (2014-12-17)

2. Bedrogozhatták és megerőszakolhatták a lányokat egy budapesti hotelben [Girls might have been drugged and raped in a hotel in Budapest] (2012-03-30)

3. Brutális erőszak: épp csak szabadult a gyanúsított [Brutal rape: suspect recently released] (2014-06-08)

4. Ketten erőszakolták meg a részeg tinit [Two men raped a drunk teenager] (2013-07-25)

5. Bedrogoztak és megerőszakoltak egy lányt a VOLT-on [A girl was drugged and raped at VOLT [festival]] (2013-07-04)

6. Módosulhat a törvény a nemi erőszak miatt [Laws may change due to rape case] (2014-09-06)

7. Nem fenyegeti a három csapás a fonyódligeti erőszakolót [The three-strike law does not apply to the Fonyódliget rapist.] (2014-09-03)

8. Kihalt környéken erőszakolta meg a nőt, négy évet kapott [Woman was raped in an uninhabited area, rapist got 4 years] (2013-04-23)

9. Megerőszakoltak egy nőt Makón [A woman was raped in Makó] (2014-06-07)

10. Ismét a rendőrségi videókról [Once more about the police videos] (2014-12-01)

Népszabadság:

1. Elfogtak egy erőszaktevőt Budapesten [A rapist was caught in Budapest] (2014-09-12)

2. Gólyatábori erőszak: "Emlékszem, én csak feküdtem, ő meg csinálta [Rape in freshmen camp: I remember just lying there, while he was doing it] (2014-12-16)

3. Megalázó procedúra vár a megerőszakolt áldozatokra [Humiliating procedure awaits rape victims] (2013-01-07)

4. Magatehetetlen tinit erőszakoltak meg egy házibuliban [Helpless teenager was raped at a house party] (2013-07-25)

5. Jogászhallgatók tussolták el a nemi erőszakot [Law students hushed up the rape case] (2014-10-01)

6. A csepeli erőszakoló gyilkolhatott tavaly Soroksáron? [Could the Csepel rapist be the Soroksár killer?] (2014-09-13)

7. Megerőszakolta sógornőjét majd elmenekült [He raped his sister-in-law and fled] (2014-01-08)

8. Megerőszakolta és fogva tartotta a nőt, hat és fél évet kapott [He raped and held her captive, he got 6,5 years] (2012-02-24)

9. Megtámadták és megerőszakolták a 16 éves lányt Miskolcon [A 16-year-old girl was attacked and raped in Miskolc] (2013-08-06)

10. Megerőszakolta kolléganőjét a NAV egyik munkatársa [Tax inspector raped one of his colleagues] (2013-09-15)

Articles about the FRA report:

1. Let's use International Women's Day to fight violence against women. (The Guardian, 2014-03-08)

2. Report reveals 'extensive' violence against women in EU (The Guardian, 2014-03-05)

3. The real voices behind the EU's report on violence against women (The Guardian, 2014-03-07)

4. Violence against women: what the EU-wide survey tells us (The Guardian, 2014-03-05)

5. Így bánnak az európai férfiak a nőkkel [How European men treat women] (Magyar Nemzet, 2014-03-05)

6. Magyarország csatlakozott az Isztambuli Egyezményhez [Hungary signed the Istanbul Convention] (Népszabadság, 2014-03-14)

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