



**A content analysis into the framing and representation of
'corrective rape' in three South African newspapers**

Marchant van der Schyff 214568484

Supervisor: Prof. Ruth Teer-Tomaselli

**Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Social Science (CCMS)**

Centre for Communication, Media and Society

University of KwaZulu-Natal

November 2015

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

Declaration - Plagiarism

I, Marchant van der Schyff, hereby declare that the research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research; this thesis has been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university; and, this thesis does not contain other person's data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers; where other written sources have been quoted, the i) their words have been re-written, but retains the meaning and is referenced, ii) where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in quotation marks and referenced. I also declare that this thesis does not contain text, graphics or tablets copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the Reference section.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Supervisor: _____ Date: _____

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my supervisor, Prof. Ruth Teer-Tomaselli for her time, expertise and patience. Thank you to Danillé Janse van Vuuren for editing my work.

Without the support of my family and friends, especially my mother Ina Breytenbach and my partner Stéfan Hofmeyr, my employer, Varsity College, as well as the initial guidance from Beschara Karam, I would not have been able to complete this dissertation.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge a former student of mine, Beeyankah Nkomo, and my sister, Leoni Terblanche, who inspired this research.

Abstract

“cor•rec•tive: intended to make something better” – The word has positive connotations as scientists and activists across disciplines spend their lives finding and developing remedies to problems which plague the planet. However, when coupled with sexual violence against especially black lesbians living in depressed communities, to describe a tool used to ‘rectify’ their personal identity, ‘corrective rape’ becomes an ironic misnomer as it is a term used to describe an act of sexual assault in an attempt to ‘rectify’ deviant lesbian or homosexual behaviour. ‘Corrective rape’ cases are growing and the reasoning varies from a misogynistic culture rooted in traditional perceptions of women faced with a new and emancipatory democracy, to alcoholism and homophobia. This study introduces a discussion on ‘corrective rape’, which necessitates a description of rape and the power relationships which enable its subsistence; the saturation and desensitisation of South African media and citizenry resulting in apathy is argued. The aim of this study is to investigate whether South African media reports on the issue of ‘corrective rape’ and if they report on it, how those reports are framed in an attempt to understand the linear communication and relationship of media-issue-audience. Agenda setting theory as well as Framing and Representation is presented as part of a critical paradigm and then applied in this study in order to understand the media’s representation of the issue of ‘corrective rape’.

Key words: ‘Corrective rape’, ‘curative rape’, rape, newspaper, Agenda-setting Theory, Framing and representation Theory, salience

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

i	List of acronyms	
	Chapter: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1	Contextualising the study	2
1.2	Purpose of the research	4
1.3	Background of the study	5
1.3.1	<i>'Corrective rape' as a category of rape</i>	9
1.3.2	<i>'Corrective rape' in other countries</i>	13
1.4	Relevance of the topic	13
1.5	Relationship of the topic to the discipline of Communication	17
	Chapter 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	19
2.1	Critical realism	20
2.2	Framing and representation	21
2.3	Agenda setting theory	27
2.4	Galtung and Ruge's description of newsworthiness	32
2.4.1	<i>Example: A trichotomy of events and issues according to newsworthiness</i>	34
2.5	Differences, similarities and unexplored theories	35
	Chapter three: METHODOLOGY	38
3.1	Goal and objectives of the study	38
3.2	Formulation of the research problem	39
3.2.1	<i>Formulating the research problem</i>	40
3.2.2	<i>Formulating sub-problems and assumptions</i>	40
3.2.3	<i>Sub-problems</i>	40
3.3	Collecting data in exploring and describing framing and representation of 'corrective rape'	41
3.3.1	<i>Sunday Times</i>	42
3.3.2	<i>Mail & Guardian</i>	43
3.3.3	<i>The Sunday Independent</i>	43
3.4	Reports including articles, photographs, cartoons and quotes	44

3.4.1	<i>Table 1: Example of a weighting table used in the research</i>	44
3.5	Categories and codes	45
3.5.1	<i>Frequency and newspaper position</i>	47
3.5.2	<i>Example of a frequency table in data capturing used in the research</i>	47
3.5.3	<i>Classification of rape</i>	48
3.5.4	<i>Victimology as a category</i>	49
3.5.5	<i>Outcomes</i>	49
3.6	Achieving trustworthiness	52
3.7	Feasibility of the study	53
Chapter four: DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS		54
4.1	Table 2: Weighting of population newspapers including 72 reports (including ‘corrective rape’) concerning rape	55
4.2	Table 3: Weighting of population newspapers including five reports on ‘corrective rape’ exclusively	56
4.3	Findings addressing assumption 1	57
4.4	Table 4: Article frames referring to frequency (positioning) of rape reports within the newspaper	59
4.5	Table 5: Article frames referring to frequency (positioning) of ‘corrective rape’ reports within the newspaper	60
4.6	Table 6: Classifications of rape in 72 reports by the population newspapers	61
4.7	Table 7: Victimology represented in the 72 articles concerning rape	62
4.8	Table 8: Outcomes from the 72 reports concerning rape	63
4.9	Findings addressing assumption 2, sub-problem 2	63
4.10	Table 9: ‘Corrective rape’ reports (five reports) presented in weak- or strong frames	68
4.11	Findings addressing assumption 3	68
4.12	Table 10: ‘Corrective rape’ articles (five reports) framed as axiom or stereotype	70

4.13	Table 11: Power relationships evident in the five ‘corrective rape’ articles.....	71
4.14	Findings addressing assumption 2, sub-problem 3.....	72
	Chapter five: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION	75
5.1	Interpretation of findings.....	76
5.2	Figure 1: Percentage of rape reports identified during the 12 month data collection period from the three local South African newspapers	78
5.3	Figure 2: Percentage of ‘corrective’ rape reports identified during the 12 month data collection period from the three local South African newspapers	79
5.4	Meeting the aims of the research	82
5.5	Recommendations for future studies.....	87

SOURCES CONSULTED

APENDIX A

i List of acronyms

ESPN – Entertainment and Sports Programming Network

GBV – Gender Based Violence

ICC – International Criminal Court

LGBTI – Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual, Transgender, and Intersex

SABC – South African Broadcasting Corporation

SADC – Southern African Development Community

SADF – South African Defence Force

SAPS – South African Police Service

“I am deeply concerned by your refusal to respond to the cries of more than 140, 000 people from 163 countries calling on you to address ‘corrective rape’, the increasingly common hate crime in which men rape lesbian women to ‘turn’ them straight or ‘cure’ them of their sexual orientation.” (Funda, 2013, p.3).

Chapter: INTRODUCTION

“Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly.”

- Martin Luther King, Jr, Civil Rights activist (1964) -

This chapter introduces ‘corrective rape’ and what the research theme, methodology and the research intentions are. Secondly, ‘corrective rape’ is discussed under the larger rape discourse, which include various categories of violence perpetrated against persons, of a sexual nature. The term ‘corrective rape’ was coined in South Africa in the early 2000’s when charity workers started noticing an influx of such attacks (Al Arabiya News 2014). It is used to describe how a man tries to affirm the “immoral” behaviour of lesbians by raping, torturing and mutilating them, usually in groups and sometimes resulting in murder. Such as the 31 reported cases in the Eastern Cape of ‘corrective rape’ and murder in the last 15 years (McCroy, 2014). The definition of ‘corrective rape’ that was used in this study is “the rape of a lesbian purportedly as a means of correcting her sexual orientation or gender identity” (Bryson 2011).

This study support the idea that media does not confer status to the issue of ‘corrective rape’ in such a way that it becomes salient and firstly becomes part of media agenda and secondly transcends media- to public agenda. Duffy and Turow (2009) argue that the social standing, acknowledgement and advocacy of an issue are raised when these command attention in the mass media. As it is a qualitative content analysis, the argument is deductive and seeks to explore and describe how newspapers frame and represent the issue of ‘corrective rape’ over a 12 month period. The study is deductive as it applies existing categories to the analysis of the selected texts. In an inductive approach, the researcher would come up with categories after analysing texts which can yield application to all newspapers, however, this is not the scope or intention of this dissertation. Rather the overall goal would be to understand a real world experience of a think description of social reality mirrored in the selected newspapers.

One of the goals of the research is to understand the relationship between media, their reporting process and 'corrective rape' by investigating whether newspapers write about the issue of 'corrective rape' and how those newspapers report it (Mouton, 1996). The research design is mostly qualitative with a quantitative component, while the study time dimension was conducted over a twelve month period, making the research a longitudinal study. South Africa (national) is the regional focus of the study and was, as such, its geographic location of investigation.

From the longitudinal study, many assumptions and sub-problems concerned with whether the selected newspapers reported on 'corrective rape' in the selected time period needs to be addressed. These questions also posit, in the 'corrective rape' reports, which angles have been used to frame and represent the issue?" As well as what power relationships are evident in the reporters' approach to 'corrective rape'.

1.1 Contextualising the study

A woman is raped in South Africa approximately every 17 seconds (You and rape, 2012). According to the Medical Research Council, in a survey conducted in Soweto, 25 percent of men admitted to raping a woman, while 50 percent of those admitted to raping someone more than once (50 Shades of Black Friday, 2013). Embedded within these incidents are rapes with the intention of 'curing' or 'rectifying', what the perpetrators believe to be, deviant behaviour. This occurrence is known as 'curative rape' or 'corrective rape'. According to Middleton (2011) 'corrective rape' is a practice (not specifically criminalised or even defined in legislature) first seen in South Africa, whereby lesbian women are raped by men, sometimes under supervision of or mandated by members of their families or local communities, reportedly as a means of 'curing' them of their 'gayness', boy-like behaviour or homosexuality. There are many other case studies of therapies and treatments meant to 'correct' homosexuality as immoral behaviour, such as the popular "pray the gay away" campaign or even reparative therapy, which is used especially with lesbian, bisexual, gay, transgender and intersex, hence forth LGBTI, teenagers and has been known to cause depression and suicide in extreme cases. Medical and mental health organisations, as well as non-profit organisations such as Truth Wins Out (TWO) have made it clear that efforts to

change a minor's sexual orientation is not considered as therapy. According to Van Niekerk (2013) "they are relics of prejudice and abuse that have inflicted untold harm." It is a dangerous and deadly lie that sexual orientation is a medical illness or -disorder that can be 'cured' (Van Niekerk, 2013). In recent years the gay-agenda has sparked contentious debates between those who have become aware of the LGBTI community's human right to dignity and equality and those who remain unmoved in their commitment to religious and cultural dogma in relation to gay issues. Some of the most notable gay issues according to Van Niekerk (2013) include Russia's homophobic legislation which allows for violence against homosexuals such as the propaganda claiming that milk cartons are encouraging young Russians to be gay as it displays a rainbow and a purple cow. Russian authorities are investigating the claim made by anti-gay group *Vesyoly Molochnik* as this would be considered a violation of gay publicity laws in the country (Van Niekerk, 2013).

Although many heterosexual survivors of sexual assault attest to the stated intentions of their assailant as punitive, they have done something wrong, and thus 'deserve' to be raped (Moffett, 2007), survivors of 'corrective rape' make it clear that their attackers were interested in humiliating and punishing them for how they choose to express their sexual identity and lifestyle as recompense and in changing them, by coercion, into straight, heterosexual women. Lesbians in homophobic contexts and cultures in which sexual violence is a popular weapon, are often rejected by their communities and become vulnerable to local 'policing' through sexual, psychological and physical assault (Mkhize, Bennett, Reddy and Moletsane, 2010). Especially when dealing with the issue of black lesbianism, there is a lot of cultural (such as the cultural role of women to bear children) nuance at work.

With the marginalisation of black lesbians it is necessary in a democratic society to involve its media in determining how decisions are made concerning disputes. In making informed decisions, media is an important element in the process of public opinion formation. The media often decide which topics and issues are on the agenda or not and which aspects and facts are signified or omitted. The media, therefore, have the ability to influence public opinion which, to a certain extent, is capable of altering the nature of discourse (McCombs, 1972).

The study of violent behaviour and the relationship between human nature and communication is nothing new. This study is an investigation of how the selected newspapers report on sexual assault, with special focus on rape and 'corrective rape'. Through the investigation, there was be a better understanding of whether or not the media is setting the agenda concerning 'corrective rape' and how the issue is being framed in the South African media.

The social movements that brought violence based on prejudice to the forefront, are more recently organised. Hate crime is difficult to show and accuse as the burden of proof lies with the prosecutor and not the offender. This is because 'hate' is difficult to operationalise and prove it as a motivator. That is why hate crime is often defined as the offender's discriminatory use of violence to enforce a particular social hierarchy. A hate crime stems from the stereotypical view of people based on categories of sexual orientation, gender, religion, race, ethnicity and disability. From the wide field of hate crimes, the research focusses on 'corrective rape' (specific) as a category of gender-based violence (GBV). GBV is described as a hate crime against women, although it is often excluded in hate crime policy templates, because the victims often know their attacker (McPhail 2002).

1.2 Purpose of the research

Musa Dube from the University of Botswana said: "When a man rapes a woman, he rapes all women on behalf of all men" (2012, p.39). Dube echo's an important idea about the responsibility of all, including the media as a societal institution, to be the custodians of social egalitarian behaviour. The purpose of the study would be to explore and describe the presence of content about 'sexual assault', focussing on 'corrective rape' in *Mail & Guardian*, *The Sunday Independent* and *Sunday Times* to better understand the level of importance (or salience) media give to the issue. The research is a means to investigate how and if the public is educated about the issue of 'corrective rape' through media reports on the issue and could assist in policy reform to fulfil the South African Constitution of equal rights for every citizen.

1.3 Background of the study

Black lesbians have a triple threat of being violated because they are female, black and homosexual. Violence in the South African societal landscape is a daily occurrence and especially sexual violence against women and the homosexual community is ubiquitous (Rape crisis, 2012). One form of gender based violence is that of rape. Rape is about domination, aggression and gaining control. It is a violent crime that uses sexual acts to intentionally harm and hurt another (Rape crisis, 2012).

The Sexual Offences Act has been in effect since 16 December 2007. This law states that it is a crime to intentionally commit a sexual act without consent. Rape is still defined by the South African legal system as an unlawfully and intentional act of sexual penetration by another person with a complainant (or rape victim), without the consent of the complainant (Bill of Rights, 1996). Thus, the law focuses on penetration and lack of consent to support its definition.

For the above description, penetration refers to any act which causes breach to any extent whatsoever by the genital organs of one person into or beyond the genital organs, anus, or mouth of another person; any other part of the body of one person or any object, including any body part of an animal, into or beyond the genital organs or anus of another person; or the genital organs of an animal, into or beyond the mouth of another person. Consent, then, refers to voluntary or uncoerced agreement (Lim and Roloff, 1999). In this regard the defence of the rape accused has to prove that there was consent, or that no penetration took place to be found not guilty (Rape crisis, 2012).

In the 2011 census it was estimated that approximately fifty-two percent (approximately 26, 07 million of the 50, 59 million South Africans) of the population is female (STATSSA, 2011). While other statistics show that in 2008/9 the police recorded 54 126 cases of rape, this increased to 55 097 in 2009/10 and increased again in 2010/11 to 56 272 (showing a 2.1% increase from the previous year). This demonstrates that there is a growing trend of sexual violence.

Many definitions of rape focus exclusively on penile-vaginal intercourse (Lim and Roloff, 1999), while excluding more elaborate descriptions such as victimology and motivation. However, among the rape cases reported, there are specified types of rapes, which includes 'anger rape'. This type of rape occurs when the rapist attacks their victim out of anger in an attempt to humiliate, hurt and debase them. For the rapist, the act of rape is an act of pure contempt for the victim who represents a psychological issue. The rapist then overpowers the victim with more force than what would normally be necessary to subdue a victim if the objective was penetration and treats the victim with brutality by assaulting them physically and then ultimately sexually (Rape, 2012). The aim of this type of rape is to express the rapist's anger.

Prison rape is another classification of rape which occurs when one inmate or guard rapes another inmate or guard. Even though these cases of sexual assault usually occur between people from the same sex, the perpetrators do not necessarily identify their actions as rape. Some cases of prison rape are committed with a threat of violence often to establish dominance within a prison context (Booth, 2012).

Indicative of war, war rape is where military leaders often encourage soldiers to commit acts of rape as a means to humiliate their enemies and to demoralise them. It is often considered an act of ethnic cleansing and torture. When committing war rape, the perpetrators' intention is to arbitrate psychological warfare to coincide with physical attacks. War rape has been considered a war crime since 1949 (in article 27 of the Fourth Geneva Convention). In 1998, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda established by the United Nations (UN) decided on a ruling that rape is a war crime under international law (Askin, 1997).

When a perpetrator commits rape because of feelings of inadequacy by intimidating, verbally threatening or using weapons to subdue a victim, they are committing what is known as power rape. The objective of the rapist is to assert their competence by subduing the victim with just enough force to commit the sexual abuse. By doing this, the rapist feels in control. This then proves their authority, mastery and strength, which imbues them with

a fleeting sense of power (Rape, 2012). The perpetrators, if not stopped, are likely to repeat the offence to sustain the feelings associated with the rape.

Sadistic rape is another classification of rape where the perpetrator is likely to repeat the offence if not stopped. This type of rape is perpetrated by a sadist, which is someone who derives pleasure from deliberately inflicting pain on others. For the sadistic rapist, anger, power over others and torture is associated with the act of intercourse. Pain becomes something erotic, while the rape itself is usually prolonged and extensive. The rapist usually uses foreign objects to penetrate their victim. This type of rape often ends up in the death of the victim (Rape, 2012).

When people know one another either in a social context as friends, colleagues or have just started dating and one of the parties rapes the other, this is known as date rape. Date rape is often referred to as 'acquaintance rape' or 'hidden rape' (SABC3, 2015).

Gang rape is perpetrated when a group of people (more than one person) rapes one victim (Rape, 2012). Gang rape is not necessarily an exclusive type of rape as 'corrective rape' or 'curative rape' is often perpetrated by more than one rapist (Geron, 2012). Gang rape is one of the more prominent classifications of rape which receives a lot of attention in the media.

The most recent occurrences of gang rape, or "jackrolling", a slang term used to describe gang rape (50 Shades of Black Friday, 2013), which received international media attention was the fatal sexual assault of Jyoti Singh Pandey and Anene Booysen. Pandey was a 23 year-old medical student raped by six men on a bus in Delhi, India on 16 December 2012. Six weeks later the gang rape and murder of Booysen, a 17 year old teenager from Bredasdorp, caught national and international media attention. In both cases, the demonstrative coverage laid bare the tragic epidemics of GBV (Muwoki, 2013).

One of the classifications of rape shrouded in myth and cultural ignorance is spousal rape. This type of rape is committed when a married or de facto partner rapes their spouse. It is also known as 'marital rape', husband rape', 'partner rape' or 'intimate partner sexual assault' (IPSA) (Rape, 2012). The rapist often does not acknowledge that they are

committing a rape as they claim entitlement to sex; believing that consent to marriage extends to the act of intercourse.

The rape of children refers to instances where a child rapes another child (usually younger or weaker) and is also known as 'child-on-child sexual abuse'; when a parent or close relative (such as a grandparent, uncle or aunt) rapes a child it is referred to as incest; or when a child is raped by a non-family member such as a caregiver or teacher (Rape, 2012). Children under the age of 12 years are conclusively presumed, under South African law, to be incapable of consenting to sexual intercourse (Consent judgement welcomed, 2008)

There are many debates surrounding coitus and culture in South Africa, which necessitates a clear legal definition of statutory rape. The national and regional government has an interest in protecting young people by setting an age of consent to engaging in intercourse. In this context, even if there is consent by both parties, statutory rape applies when one of the participants are legally under aged (Rape, 2012). In South Africa, according to The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007, the age of consent was 16 (Consent judgement welcomed 2008). Thus, should a person engage in sexual intercourse with a person under the legal description, they are guilty of statutory rape. In South Africa there is a lot of disagreement with what the legal age of consent should be, arguments whether there should be political and legal interference with cultural practices. For example, *Ukuthwala* is a practice where girls as young as 14-years old are abducted and forcefully married to older men. This illustrates a disagreement on enforcing statutory rape law in South Africa (Du Toit, 2011). There are arguments that even propose age of consent in South Africa to be lowered to 12 (Judge, 2013).

The many instances of elderly women being raped have also made it necessary to classify these occurrences as a type of rape. It is necessary to make mention of this classification of rape (as it occurs daily) to further understand 'corrective rape' in relation to other classifications of rape.

Lastly, it is prudent not to neglect rape by deception as a type of rape. Rape by deception occurs when the perpetrator gains the victim's consent through means of fraud (Rape,

2012). An example of deceptive behaviour would be if a woman asks a man about his HIV status to which the man answers that he is HIV negative. If the woman decides to engage in sexual intercourse with the man and it turns out that he purposefully misled the woman about his positive HIV status, this would be considered rape by deception.

It needs to be said that the types of rapes discussed and described in this study are not exhaustive as there might be other types of rape not uncovered or discovered yet. For the purpose of this study, different classifications of rape are presented in an attempt to highlight 'corrective rape' in an opposing. To further contextualise why the categories of rape are discussed, it is necessary to refer to the work of Ferdinand de Saussure relating to the binary opposition of words and concepts. In 1972 De Saussure explained that binary opposition is the resources by which the units of language have meaning. Each unit is defined in reciprocal determination with another term, as in binary code. It is not a contradictory relation but a structural, complementary one of rape (Britannica, 2015). Thus, 'corrective rape' can be understood as a truthful and exhaustive term when compared to other, related but oppositional concepts. It answers the question of clarification, for example: "How do we know that the report covers 'corrective rape' and not 'gang rape'?"

1.3.1 'Corrective rape' as a category of rape

The body of Duduzile Zozo, a 26 year old Ekurhuleni resident, was found with a toilet brush shoved inside her. Zozo is believed to be one of many victims of hate crimes against lesbians. Director of the Well Being OUT organisation, Davie Nell, said hate crimes such as the ones perpetrated against Zozo were intended to send a message instilling fear among the gay community (Nosarka, 2013). To illustrate how the public reacted to the rape and murder of Zozo, Linda Stupart (@LindaStupart53m) tweeted and took a screenshot of a conversation that appeared between two writers for the men's magazine FHM on Facebook, where they propose 'corrective rape' and phrase rape as "quite fun if executed in a romantic manner." FHM responded to the Facebook conversation with immediate disciplinary action (Radloff, 2013).

'Corrective rape' is most closely related to anger rape when not defined independently. 'Corrective rape' also known as 'curative rape' is unique to other types of rape as it refers to the assault on lesbians meant to humiliate and punish women who do not fit into the heterosexual normative definition of a culture or society. The rapists often believe that they can 'cure' women of being lesbians by raping them (Bryson, 2011). The term 'corrective rape' is utilised in this study as it is the most rudimentary and frequently used and understood definition among activists and sources of information on the issue. Men who rape lesbians in South Africa seem to do so because of a sense of preserving community values – where lesbianism is seen as "unnatural" and "deviant" behaviour (Rape, 2012). Also, lesbian 'butchness' is seen to threaten what it means to be a man. It is rationalised that people have control over the choice of their sexual orientation and gender identity and thus can be corrected by a behavioural conditioning (SABC3, 2015). According to Triangle's 2008 research (Martin, Kelly, Turquet and Ross, 2009), Cape Town support groups are dealing with 10 new 'corrective rape' cases every week and the number is increasing. Charity organisation Luleki Sizwe confirms this figure and adds that in the last three years (2010 - 2013), nine cases of gender-based murders have been officially recorded (Beaty, 2013).

Women are marginalised, especially economically and socio-culturally, where men are seen as the patriarch of a community with a woman as a second class citizen (Bryson 2011). Lesbianism, therefore, threatens the idea that a 'woman belongs to a man' which is a South African perceptual feature of masculinity and gives rise to an opposing force of anger and rage (that is sometimes expressed through verbal and physical abuse and 'corrective rape'). It is because of the economic, social and cultural discrimination that lesbian women are one of the highest risk groups to be attacked (Kinama, 2011). Another reason for the violence against lesbians could be the idea of progeny that a lesbian, not fulfilling her duty to procreate, thus cut off a man's lifeline to genealogical immortality (Warren, 1996). A culture of rape is being passed to a younger generation as "the growing number of 'corrective rape' cases" are reported in schools across the country (Rape crisis, 2012). Whatever the reason for violence against lesbian women, it is underpinned by heteronormativity which is the dominant idea in society that heterosexuality is the only 'normal' inclination and that men

and women have specified gender roles. Those who challenge these roles are often met with discrimination and violence (Martin, Kelly, Turquet and Ross, 2009).

In a documentary of 'corrective rape', Jeremy Schaap (2013), an ESPN anchor, Emmy-award winning journalist and international news correspondent, states that authorities and journalists do not seem to pursue 'corrective rape' cases with the same energy they invest in crimes against heterosexual women. The same assertions were made by an unidentified lesbian couple met by French First Lady, Valérie Trierweiler, to discuss the issue of 'corrective rape'. The assertion was made that despite having some of the world's best legal protection for gay people, South Africa has seen numerous cases of homophobic violence (referring specifically to the issue of 'corrective rape'), including deadly attacks on lesbians (French First Lady meet lesbian couple in South Africa, 2013). In a *Special Assignment* (SABC3, 2015) segment, many victims of 'corrective rape' as well as non-profit organisations representing the LGBTI community called for the community to help resolve occurrences of 'corrective rape' and resocialise its members. They also called for more effective and descriptive hate crime legislation that would recognise 'corrective rape' not only as a sexually violent act, but also as an additional crime based on discrimination and prejudice based on sexual orientation. This is so that hate can be taken into consideration for sentencing purposes. From a prosecutorial perspective, the segment revealed that it is difficult to prove 'hate', while other obstacles include delays where it could take up to 18 months to prosecute a perpetrator and some victims tire of going to court often up to 50 times before their case gets resolved.

As of this report, in 86 member states of the United Nations (UN) it is illegal to be homosexual, while in seven of those countries the offence is punishable by death. South Africa is the only country that protects its LGBTI citizens from discrimination in its constitution – however, in order for the LGBTI community to enjoy their equal rights, it is important for the media-, public- and political agenda to recognise threats to those rights (Martin, Kelly, Turquet and Ross, 2009). GBV, which includes the violent acts against women based on their sexual orientation, transgresses the equal rights of every human being described in the South African Constitution.

The term 'corrective rape' was first used and originated in South Africa after the cases of 'corrective rape' such as those of Eudy Simelane and Zoliswa Nkonyana became public and well-known. There have been reports of 'corrective rape' in Zimbabwe, Ecuador and Canada where gay men have also been victimised (Hawthorne, 2005). For the purpose of this study, the research focusses primarily on South African media and incidents of 'corrective rape' as it pertains to the South African paradigm. The earliest documented case of 'corrective rape' is stated in the 07-07-07 campaign by *ActionAid*, which was started as a result of the Sunday, 7 July 2007 gang rape, torture and murder of Sizakele Sigasa and Salome Masooa. Earlier that evening the women were drinking at a local bar in Meadowlands close to Johannesburg where they lived. They were verbally accosted for being gay as they were leaving and found dead hours later. No arrests were made and two years after the incident the case was closed. A high profile case concerning 'corrective rape' was the gang rape and murder of Eudy Simelane in 2008. Simelane was a soccer player for *Banyana Banyana* (the South African national female football squad), who lived in KwaThemba, Johannesburg (Martin, Kelly, Turquet and Ross, 2009). Simelane's case was also the only example where the perpetrators were prosecuted and sentenced to imprisonment of all 'corrective rape' cases reported (Kinama, 2011).

Some reported cases of 'corrective rape' in South Africa include those of Zoliswa Nkonyana, a 19 year-old openly lesbian teenager who was gang raped and murdered in 2006. This case has achieved notoriety for the police's inefficiency in handling evidence, suspects escaping and postponements. Of the nine men who stood accused of Nkonyana's rape and murder only four were found guilty. The rest of the suspects were released due to lack of evidence (Wesley, 2012). Other cases include those of Sizakele Sigasa, a gay rights activist, who, with her partner Salome Massoa, were tortured, raped and murdered, and Millecent Gaika was a lesbian living in Gugulethu who was beaten and raped for five hours by an attacker who kept saying: "You think you are a man, but I'm going to show you you're a woman", as well as that of Zukiswa Gaca from Khayelitsha who was raped by an acquaintance in 2009. During the attack, her rapist kept telling her that he was going to 'teach her a lesson' (Wesley 2012). For the purpose of this study, only rape (unless specified as a specific type of rape; in which case the specified type of rape is excluded from the definition of rape as well as the study) and 'corrective rape' is investigated and specified. Although the other categories of

rape are briefly described and is indeed a category developed to explore and describe if and how 'corrective rape' is reported on in the media, it merely supports the specific intention of this research. The reason why only rape, without specification of type, and 'corrective rape' (specified) is included in the study is to assist a comparative study into whether or not the media sets or cuts the agenda of 'corrective rape' and how they are framed in the media.

1.3.2 'Corrective rape' in other countries

Although 'corrective rape' is a term coined in South Africa to describe incidences occurring within its national borders, it is not the only country which is dealing with it. There are increasing reports of 'corrective rape' occurrences in India (as can be deduced from the article: "Film lifts lid on "corrective rape" in families of gays in India" (Bhalla, 2015)) and Jamaica ("Jamaican case of woman lured by rapists posing as lesbians in online chatroom gains international attention" (AP, 2015)), while American director/ screenwriter Kimberly Peirce's film "Boys don't cry" shows how the US dealt with the subject matter (even though 'corrective rape' was not used as a signifier) already in the 1990's (Fox Searchlight Pictures, 1999).

1.4 Relevance of the topic

Even though there exists several journal articles about the topic of 'corrective rape', information to support the research on the agenda-setting and framing and representation as well as newsworthiness of the issue in newspapers are limited. Therefore, it is important to the researcher that information gathered from this study would contribute to understanding the issue. It is important to investigate whether the media reports on the issue; and if the media do report on the issue of 'corrective rape', how often it is reported on in comparison with rape (which, as stated previously includes rape (unspecified) and 'corrective rape' (specified)).

The 'corrective rape' issue and whether it is part of the media agenda is a relevant topic to study because the media has the power to influence public opinion and policy making

(McComb, 1972). Also, the media has a cultural transmission function (IIE, 2013:212). Independent LGBTI activist, Genevieve Le Coq says that people need to be sensitised to understand homosexuality. They need to be taught about how to deal with social, cultural, religious and tribal prejudice. Le Coq also claims that even though the South African constitution protects LGBTI individuals against violence, it does not mean that people will change their cultural beliefs (Nosarka, 2013).

McQuail (2000) assert that the media affect people and can cause intended change, unintended change, minor change, can reinforce what exists and can prevent change.

‘Corrective rape’ violates the South African Constitution Chapter 2, section 9, which states:

No person may unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language or birth (Bill of Rights ... 1996).

National legislation must be enacted to prevent or prohibit unfair discrimination. The Sexual Offences act does not include ‘corrective rape’ as a category of rape with aggravated circumstances (as rape because of sexual orientation is an aggravated factor), which would lead to harsher sentencing. South African courts also do not consider ‘corrective rape’ in so far setting up preventative measures allowing the use of magistrates courts as equality courts to address many harassment, discrimination or hate speech cases. Nor do the courts consult with LGBTI human rights groups on sentencing for hate crimes (which includes ‘corrective rape’). According to Hawthorne (2005) ‘corrective rape’ is also not recognised by the South African government as a hate crime – although the South African Constitution protects gay rights, it does little to prevent ‘corrective rape’. There is also a need for understanding around LGBTI cases in the Service Charter for victims of ‘corrective rape’ as well as sensitivity training of South African police officers, the justice ministry and the National Prosecuting Office (Joffe-Walt, 2011), which include formal acknowledgement by the South African government of the reality of ‘corrective rape’, which the government is currently denying the existence of – this is an obstacle when trying to come up with

solutions to solve a social problem when policy makers do not acknowledge that a problem exist, as well as the introduction of school-syllabus of anti-homophobic instruction and information. Another demand made by the Service Charter is for the training of female police officers on all aspects of rape, who would be on duty at all police stations all the time and also a minimum sentence of 25 years to life imprisonment if prosecuted and found guilty of 'corrective rape' as a result of a speedy trial. It is also suggested that victims should receive assistance for example counselling or shelter at a safe-house. Lastly, a *Special Assignment* (SABC3, 2015) described how there is currently no forms for complainants to identify LGBTI or 'corrective rape' crimes in the SAPS, which needs to be addressed.

One of the concerns relating to the South African Sexual Offences Bill is that most of the measures proposed by the South African Law Reform Commission (SALRC) report that were intended to support and protect survivors in court have been removed. It is, therefore, highly unlikely that the Bill will significantly impact the trauma experienced by complainants in court (Grundling, 2007). Dockets are often lost, which necessitates a clampdown on bribery and corruption at police stations and courts (LaVictoire, 2012). Another discussion surrounding South Africa and its "fascination with crime" (Du Preez 2013:187) is that crime is the one topic audiences are guaranteed to see on the front pages of newspapers every day. This leads to crime stories to migrate from the media sphere to the social sphere and become popular topics of conversation. Max du Preez (2013) claims that South Africans not only have personal experience with crime, but also use crime as a barometer of how generally well or badly the country accomplishes in key issues such as race relations, economic performance and incidences of sexual violence. He continues to note that Johannesburg and Cape Town are regularly described as the world capitals of murder, rape, car hijacking and robbery, yet there are other cities in countries such as Sierra Leone, Mexico, Brazil, Honduras, Russia, El Salvador and Colombia that are equal, if not more dangerous, than South Africa. However, South Africa does appear to be at the top of the list when it comes to *violent* crime, such as rape, where contact crimes make up a third of all crime reported to the police (Du Preez, 2013). When analysing the causes of South Africa's crime rate, the country's violent past needs to be a concerted starting point. Apartheid was a violent ideology and practices such as migrant labour, forced removal and influx control traumatised communities and individuals. This leads to human life being valued less in

South Africa and it becomes easier for oppressed groups (such as lesbians) to fall victim to violence and abuse, isolation and being ostracised (Du Preez, 2013).

An example of how public awareness and education through the Internet has led to an effect in public opinion and positive strides in addressing 'corrective rape' is the petition launched by the United States (US) based Change.org, which generated more than 170 000 signatures from supporters in 163 countries against 'corrective rape', prompting the South African Ministry of Justice to establish a national task team in 2011 to address hate crimes against LGBTI South Africans (Joffe-Walt, 2011). To create public awareness in order to educate communities about homophobia and to respect LGBTI rights, through media reporting on the issue and cases, could reduce attacks (Kinama, 2011).

What makes this study unique is that it investigates the reporting behaviour of South African media concerning 'corrective rape' – a prevalent, ubiquitous and escalating trend in South Africa – to provide information on whether South African media give the same credence and attention to 'corrective rape' as it does rape (comparative, quantitative study); whether the media reports on international rape cases the same as it does domestic 'corrective rape' cases (comparative); and how 'corrective rape' is dealt with (content analysis, qualitative study). A comprehensive and extensive search of the issue on popular academic resource sites such as *Sabinet*, *Ebscohost* and even *Google Scholar* reveal limited studies on the issue of representation of 'corrective rape' in the South African media. However, weekly blog comments and other online social media sources can be identified where 'corrective rape' is discussed. Even though these discussions occur throughout communities, South Africa remains a country with limited access to the internet for a large portion of citizens because of expensive data costs, which means that they rely on traditional media for their awareness of important issues. Also, the credibility of information from online social media sources, which do not necessarily have to comply with industry codes of ethics, is questionable. This could lead to misinformation and misunderstanding when trying to resolve the issue.

1.5 Relationship of the topic to the discipline of Communication

In an age where information and communication technology (ICT) permeate all areas of our lives and South Africa forms part of a global debate, where issues transcend boundaries and time, it is becoming increasingly important to shed light on the relationship between mass media and socio-cultural, economic and political issues. The Internet has become a source of information that can satisfy audiences instantly with facts about any topic imaginable. However, with so much information available, the resolve of local issues are often higher on the agenda of the international community leading to a dominant paradigm of solving local problems by implementing international perspectives. Local newspapers, then, is still a credible source of domestic-centric issues and has the power to influence its own audience to become aware of their concerns and become self-efficient. Unfortunately, if South African newspapers do not set the agenda for certain issues such as 'corrective rape', the public could be unaware of it and thus, 'corrective rape' does not form part of the public agenda (except for the victims and a few local and international activists). Because policy makers pay most attention to what is on the public agenda (their aim is, after all, gaining voter share), if 'corrective rape' is not on the media agenda, which has the power to affect public opinion, priority might not be given to solving this social problem.

The study refers to what is considered as 'news' in exploring whether the selected newspapers report on the issue of 'corrective rape' and how it is framed. Gaye Tuchman alludes that news is a framed window to the world, which is only a partial representation of reality – that is, the totality of every condition and view in society which cannot merely be deleted. According to Tuchman, news is targeted, journalists are directly responsible for what and how much an audience see of an issue through the 'news frame' and the outcome of negotiations among those who give news shape, other recognised groups at a news organisation and those outside the news medium (De Wet, 2013).

This chapter introduced 'corrective rape' as a category of the wider rape theme and aimed to contextualise the relevance of the study thereof in the wider Communication-Media discipline within the South African landscape. The next chapter provides an in-depth description of rape and its representation in the media as well as that of LGBTI issues and 'corrective rape'. The literature studied provides the necessary understanding of the issues

and root causes of those issues and became the basis on which the research problem and theoretical framework was based. Later in this study, the literature reflects that incidents of 'corrective rape' are often culminates in the murder of the lesbian victim.

"If we want to understand the media and their impact on our society, we must consider the social relationship between media and the social world."

- David Croteau & William Hoynes, Authors of *Media/ Society: industries, images and audiences* (2003) -

The literature review and theoretical framework chapters have been aligned for logical flow and ease of cross-referencing. The literature review of this study introduces the history and current developments concerning the issue of 'corrective rape', the theoretical paradigm (that is *critical realism*) in which the issue is approached as well as newspapers and other media in terms of dealing with various issues relevant to this study. The theoretical framework aims to explain the theories which support the critical realism paradigm. Critical realism (also known as transcendental realism) describes how laws and nature have to be analysed according to its underlying power structures (Archer, Bhaskar, Collier, Lawson & Norrie, 1998, pp. 34-37). Firstly, *Framing and Representation* as well as *Agenda Setting theories* are presented and explained in terms of its bearing on the study. The aim is to utilise agenda-setting and framing and representation theory to explore the level of priority given to 'corrective rape' by South African newspapers (compared to rape). Other media theories which focus on media content that could have been used in the research is discussed and their exclusion explained. The aims of this chapter is achieved through reading various authors on the theories, including the seminal work of those scholars who developed them and applying theoretical perspectives to the issue of 'corrective rape' and if and how it appears in the selected newspapers. The chapter introduces critical realism as a paradigmatic view of the issue in investigating 'corrective rape' and the media. Finally, multiple theorists, such as Sandra Cleary and Stuart Hall, as well as relevant non-profit organisations (NPO's) such as *Wiser*, *Sonke Gender Justice*, */rant-org* are discussed in an attempt to better understand how and why media case subjects are framed in the mind of its audiences. Then, newsworthiness is discussed as relevance to why certain issues are positioned as salient, while others are less visible or silent with a brief prelude to possible future studies concerning public sphere, public opinion, mass media and policy making (although this is peripheral to the research).

Theories are important to create a frame through which the research can be contextualised. For this investigation of media coverage of the issue of 'corrective rape', the selected theories are used to better understand the relationship between media and the issue with the intention of better appreciating the correlation. In general, a theory is a systematic description of constructs and relationships within a specific discipline. A theory is thus a statement of why and how specific concepts are related, assisting the transformation of information into knowledge (Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis and Bezuidenhout, 2014). In the research, the primary theories of framing and representation are used to investigate and explore socio-cultural practices within print media to generate an understanding and new ways of thinking and experiencing power relationships and coverage of the media on the issue of 'corrective rape'.

2.1 Critical realism

In his book, *A realist theory of Science* (1975), Roy Bhaskar can be identified as the first contributor to the philosophy of critical realism (Archer, Bhaskar, Collier, Lawson & Norrie, 1998, pp. 34-37). Bhaskar's work is rooted in the contemporary parts of Marxist economic and political theory. Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2007, in Du-Plooy-Cilliers *et al*, 2014) explain that our ideas of reality are a result of social conditioning. Reality is experienced based on how people perceive that reality. This idea is echoed by Bhaskar (1998) who claims that social reality may be very different from its empirically observable surface. Therefore, critical realists conduct research to try and understand and explain rather than predict (as is the case with the interpretivist paradigm) by maintaining that social scientists have a responsibility to influence social relationships by exposing, changing and critiquing unjust practices evident in society. The main aim of these studies is therefore to contribute to the conscientisation of society, the emancipation of marginalised groups and empowerment of those groups by exposing myths (Du Plooy-Cilliers *et al*, 2014). The epistemological position of critical realism is that knowledge should aim to spark action from audiences and should therefore have practical value. Critical realists argue that power relationships (where one ideological framework dominates and oppresses another) are based on distortions and illusions about how society operates (Du Plooy-Cilliers *et al*, 2014). The methodological position identified in critical realism propose that research start with a critical analysis of

existing knowledge of the issue, believing that knowledge in itself should be questioned to further investigate the structural relationships that exist (Du Plooy-Cilliers *et al*, 2014). For example the relationship between media and government – investigating this relationship should aim to uncover power relationships and deep structures.

Critical realist philosophy has been increasingly influential, in the 21st century, in the field of International Relations (IR) (Archer, Bhaskar, Collier, Lawson & Norrie, 1998, pp. 34-37). From the literature review chapter it is clear that the issue of ‘corrective rape’ is an international phenomenon (though the term was coined in South Africa where is a serious LGBTI issue). The ability and functioning of framing and representation and agenda setting theories to investigate, explore and uncover these power relationships makes them suitable for this paradigm.

2.2 Framing and representation

According to Robert Entman (2006) framing involves two basic elements of salience and selection. When an issue is reported on, the media selects an aspect of the perceived reality to make the issue more salient in communication text (such as a newspaper article) as to Susan Fiske and Shelley Taylor (1991) explain how human beings are natural *cognitive misers* who utilise *frames* to process information rather than investigate an issue to uncover its truth. Vincent Price and David Tewksbury (1997, cited in Zelizer, 2004) described framing and representation as the ability of media reports to alter the kinds of consideration people use in forming their opinions. A theory which supports this view is framing, where framing and representation are closely related to Agenda Setting theory as it describes how the angles are used to communicate an issue by the media. Robert Entman (1993, cited in Zelizer, 2004: 141) said, “to frame is to select some aspect of a perceived reality and make them more salient...these frames create mentally storied clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ processing of information.” Linda Venter (2007) explains that angles are the interpretive and ideological frameworks from which journalists report about an issue and the contextualisation of news reports within a specific framework. In other words, the media may choose to report on an issue in a certain way – the results are that audiences, being confronted by the ways in which the media choose to report on an issue, have similar

perceptions of the issue. In the research themes such as 'type', 'victimology', 'outcomes' and 'axiomatic reality versus stereotypical representation' is used to investigate the way in which the selected newspapers frame and represent the issue of 'corrective rape'.

Framing has its origins in sociology and communication. Todd Gitlin (1980) first described the concept in the 1960's in his analysis of how the news media trivialised the *New Left* student movement. He described framing as a schema of interpretation and collection of narratives, anecdotes, stereotypes and generalisations used by audiences to understand issues. These mental 'filters' are influenced by culture and society and is used to make sense of the world. As an extension, choices made by audiences are influenced by the creation of frames. In the research frames such as 'victimology', 'type of rape' and pro-gay bias versus pro-heterosexual bias's seek to explore frames set up by the selected newspapers on the issue of 'corrective rape' (Zelizer, 2004). David Altheide (1997) supports the idea by stating that "frames and formats shape mass media content." Communication and media formats enable the audience to recognise various frames that provide a general definition of what they are exposed to. Studies of formats and media forms supported findings from studies of media content, while also giving it a conceptual foundation in the practices of reporters of issues. Framing asks *how* issues (such as 'corrective rape') are represented and packaged to audiences who may interpret the message in a variety of ways (Altheide 1997). For Gitlin, framing offered a way to understand the systematic and predetermined organisation of news reports into types facilitated by emphasis, presentation and pattern selection. This means that framing is a way to organise the world both for journalists who report on issues and the audience who rely on a journalist's report. Framing studies offered journalists a means of examining the filters that made the news understandable (Zelizer 2004: 140). Other contributions to the contemporary understanding of framing came from the works of Ervin Goffman. Goffman's *Frame analysis: an essay on the organisation of experience* (1974) explained how frames are used by media to shape audience understanding of issues. Goffman's work, in turn, is heavily influenced by Kenneth Boulding's *concept of image* (Gitlin, 1980). For the purpose of the study, the theory of framing merely refers to its origin. The reference to framing and representation in the research of South African newspapers' coverage of the 'corrective rape' issue is based on the works of Gitlin, Claes De Vreese and Chong and Druckman as these offer the most descriptive work relevant to the study. De

Vreese (2000) conducted a study of how the European media reported on the introduction of the Euro as a currency in 1999 by distinguishing between issue-specific news frames and generic news frames. Issue-specific news frames concentrated on topics and events. Chong and Druckman (2007), in their study, described how frames can be classified as weak or strong. Strong frames are considered more persuasive, while weak frames are generally less influential.

In showing how the newspaper media frame an issue, Jesper Falkheimer analysed 924 articles found in two of Norway's major newspapers following the first two weeks after the terrorist attack in Oslo, Utöya, which resulted in the killing of 77 mainly young people on 22 July 2011. The issue Falkheimer wanted to investigate was whether newspapers favoured or counteracted the propaganda of 'the terrorist'. The results of the research found that coverage of the attacks were descriptive and focussed on the perpetrator as an individual. It was also found that newspapers gave the terrorist political exposure without analysing reasons and consequences on a socio-political level. The research also concluded that the news framing function depoliticized the terror attack by reporting on the attack as conducted by a lone, mentally unstable individual and not as a politically motivated terrorist linked to right-wing extremism (Falkheimer, 2015). The findings of Falkheim's research contribute to the study of how the selected South African newspapers report on 'corrective rape' by supporting the idea that media frames an issue. How the media frames the issue needs to be investigated and explained to uncover underlying power relationships. Thus, frames and emerging frames and how it relates to an issue is also important to understand. Frames have become a parameter for discussing a particular event as frames focus on what is discussed, how it is presented and even how it is not represented (Altheide, 1997). An exam is treating 'corrective rape' as a "public health and social awareness issue" as opposed to a "criminal justice issue." These are two different frames that present a way of discussing the issue, or the kind of discourse that follows.

Frames and how frames emerge from thematic content analysis, was the focus of a study on how newspaper columnists' frame Kenyan politics in post-2007 election violence, the attribution of responsibility frame was used to examine who, between Prime Minister Raila Odinga and President Mwai Kibaki, was blamed for the problems concerning Kenya. The

focus of the study was to look at whether the two leaders were framed positively or negatively. The 90 opinion columns analysed within an 18-month period, showed that the conflict frame was the most prevalent, followed by the international interest, attribution of responsibility, economic consequences and human interest. Kibaki was blamed more, and as a result was framed more negatively than Odinga (Irereri, 2015). Another study using both agenda-setting and framing was a study done by Sung-Yeon Park, Xiaoqun Zhang and Kyle Holody (2012), where the 2007 Virginia Tech and Columbine shootings were examined. From the study, insights into the agenda-setting and framing lens in analysing rape and 'corrective rape' in the media can be gathered. Through agenda-setting it was found that where race was prominently featured in reports on the Virginia Tech shootings, it was almost completely absent from the Columbine shooting articles; framing analysis discovered that the media framed Virginia Tech shootings around the perpetrator's race and generalised criminal culpability to his ethnic description. Ethnic and racial references were also regularly displayed in prominent positions (Park, Zhang and Holody, 2012). A similar hypothesis can be investigated as to whether rape is reported on more than those of 'corrective rape'.

To further understand the possible framing function of the media to create an 'othering' perspective when it comes to 'corrective rape' and its relationship with homosexuality and possible power relationships which motivate if and how the issue is reported on, a study by Athanasia Batziou can reveal some insight. In the article exploring photojournalistic practices of framing immigrants as 'others' in newspapers in Spain and Greece, Batziou (2011) explained how photographs are capable of transmitting ideologically rich messages in subtle ways and impelling perception and interpretation of news. Batziou (2011) drew on framing theory and content analysis to focus on images as texts loaded with cultural meaning. Findings revealed that certain techniques were used to frame immigrants as 'others', for example depicting groups including immigrants and how people from the local population appear around them. The study explains that the practice of creating a symbol of 'otherness' assigned to immigrants not only reflects dominant ideology towards them in the local societies, but it also further confirms, fixes and consequently eternalises their perception as outsiders that cannot be incorporated into the local society. By framing immigrants as 'others' it confirmed, fixed and consequently eternalised local perceptions of

outsiders that cannot be incorporated into local societies (Batziou, 2011). Another discussion on 'othering' was covered by Debbie Goh in her article: "It's the gay's fault: news and HIV as weapons against homosexuality in Singapore" (2006). In the article, Goh examines homosexuality in the context of its illegal status in Singapore, where homosexuals are stigmatised and the local media avoid issues concerning homosexuality. Through discourse about homosexuality in local newspapers, Goh investigated how government officials claimed that the rise of HIV/ AIDS cases in Singapore was due to the promiscuous nature and deviant traditional values. This was done in an attempt to subvert homosexuality in Singapore. Finally, in understanding media's ability to frame homosexual issues such as 'corrective rape' as an 'other', Raul Reis uses framing theory to examine how the five largest daily newspapers in the United States of America have covered Proposition 8 in the six weeks before elections. Proposition 8 refers to a plan which would make same-sex marriage illegal in the state of California (Reis, 2009). Although the research does not explicitly prove biased framing by the newspapers, it does support the research hypothesis that newspapers use frames when report on homosexual issues.

As discussed, Framing is closely related to Agenda Setting theory as it assumes that *angles* are used in a news story on an issue by the media to influence the audience. Venter (2007) explains that angles are the ideological and interpretive frameworks from which reporters about an issue and the contextualisation of news reports within a specific framework such as a politically oppressive country would make it difficult for a free media to exist. In other words, the media may choose to report on an issue in a certain way which could result in audiences, being confronted by the ways in which the media choose to report on an issue, having similar perceptions of the issue. In the event that the study yield reports on the issue of 'corrective rape', framing could be used in a similar way that De Vreese (2000) and Chong and Druckman (2007) used the theory in their investigations. Framing can be used to examine how newspapers in South Africa report on 'corrective rape'. The research on how newspapers frame the issue of 'corrective rape' does not describe the effect or impact of media on audiences. The study rather focusses on the application of framing and representation and focusses on frame building as the research merely investigate and explore which frames are created and adopted by journalists (Chong and Druckheim, 2007). Thus, the research addresses the criticism of media effects on passive audiences, by

excluding frame setting – that is, how frames *influence* audiences – to only exploring how media *build* and issue (such as ‘corrective rape’).

Stuart Hall, a theorist in the culturalism perspective (and not agenda setting or framing), described many of the key concepts used in the research such as *representation*, which he defined as a process whereby items, issues (such as ‘corrective rape’), events and people are arbitrarily correlated with a set of mental representations; therefore *how* language (thus, the words, phrases, sentences, et cetera) is used to encode a message becomes a system of how they are represented (Hall, 2013). Even though Hall refers to why culture is sometimes defined in terms of shared meaning or shared conceptual maps, it becomes relevant to the research aim to explore and describe the angles used in reports of ‘corrective rape’. The work of Hall closely relates to that of Ferdinand De Saussure, Emile Durkheim, and Jean Baudrillard, however, an overview of their work will be tangential to the focus of this study. Even though the work of Roland Barthes, in *Mythologies* (1972), describes how everything that is perceived is myth (and thus omission or presenting of reports on ‘corrective rape’ which could be an example of heterosexual normativity) and Michel Foucault, in *The history of sexuality* (1976), where he argued how sexuality is formulated and sustained through discourse which is fluid and changes over time (an example of which could be that because of the legislative acknowledgement of the rights of lesbians, they are being targeted more as a result), is relevant to the study, it does not support the effort to answer the research hypotheses (Britannica, 2015). Therefore, only an introduction to their work is provided.

According to Barbie Zelizer (2004) framing research focusses on story presentation as a way of explaining the news and is often invoked in conjunction with agenda setting and priming. This idea is supported by Robert Entman (2006) who described framing as the selection of certain aspects of a perceived reality and then making them more salient in a report in such a way as to promote causal interpretation, problem definition, moral evaluation and also treatment recommendation of an issue. Erving Goffman (1974) notes that in frame analysis for a qualitative investigation (thus, excluding holistic, reductionist and computer-assisted) involves inductive frame construction analysing a small number of reports. This allows for a qualitative content analysis which enables a context sensitive and comprehensive exploration and description of ‘corrective rape’ presentation in South African newspapers.

A criticism of framing and representation theories is that it is a “fractured paradigm.” What this allude to is that other structures such as schema, scripts and themes filled many of the same functions as frames (Zeliser, 2004). She also maintains that framing performed a second-level agenda setting in linking a theory, method or neither. For the purpose of this research these criticisms were addressed by applying framing and representation theory as an important pathway for thinking about language use and the ability to identify themes through categories and codes to highlight the use of language for a communications discipline in which language was not necessarily an obvious target of analysis.

Framing is a theory of media effects (although for the purpose of this study, framing process is referred to and not the causal effects of media texts on the audience). Dietram Scheufele (1999) explained that framing occur through three stages: an input, process and finally output stage. In regards to the input stage the audience and media do not represent the issue as yet; however there are pre-existing tensions that would influence their approach to the issue. For the media there are organisational pressures (such as a need to increase circulation or attract more advertisers), ideologies, other elites and the publication’s codes of practice. For the audience, the input stage could include their existing or established frames such as a bias against the issue, personal beliefs, values and attitudes. Being confronted with the issue, the media enters the process of frame building and frame selling which would result (outcome stage) in media frames, while the audience is affected by the process in terms of attributes of responsibility and behaviours. This research does not explore the outcomes of the selected media reports on its audiences rather it explores and described the media’s approach to framing the issue of ‘corrective rape’.

2.3 Agenda setting theory

The theory of Agenda setting refers to the process by which the creators of media content set up an issue that the media will focus on and which audiences might subsequently view as more important than others (O’Shaughnessy and Stadler 2012). Agenda setting theory describes the ability of the media to influence the importance of issues on the public agenda. That is, if a news issue is covered frequently and prominently the audience will regard the issue as salient. The mass media is very successful at telling audiences what to

think about (Park, Xiaoqun and Holody, 2012). With regards to how the media can create awareness of an issue, Rebecca De Souza explained how the media played an important part in the social construction of the HIV/ Aids problem. In using grounded theory as well as the concepts of media framing to understand how the Indian media made sense of HIV/ Aids. De Souza's analysis focussed on multiple frames and resources used by readers with respect to topic categories such as severity of HIV/ Aids in India, causes and solutions, and most at-risk groups. The article expands on the relationship between different HIV/ Aids frames (De Souza 2007). For the purpose of this research, whether newspapers in South Africa created salience of the 'corrective rape' issue is not the primary focus (as the research merely explores and describes if and how reports on the issue is presented to the audience and not whether those reports influence or affects the audience). However, agenda setting theory does refer to the intentionality of reporters when considering and constructing their reports on the issue. This can be extracted from the definition of agenda setting theory provided by David Weaver (2007) whereby agenda setting is explained as occurring through a cognitive process known as *accessibility*. Accessibility suggests that the more frequently and importantly the news media cover an issue, the more instances of that issue become accessible in the audience's memory (that is, their ability to recall what they have been confronted with). When respondents are asked what the most important issues in the country are, they answer with the most accessible news issue in memory, which is usually the issue the news media focused on the most. The agenda-setting effect is not the result of receiving one or even a few messages but is due to the aggregate impact of a large number of messages, each of which has a different content but all of which deal with the same general issue. Mass media coverage has a powerful impact on what individuals think that other people are thinking, and as such audiences tend to allocate more importance to issues that have been extensively covered by mass media (Weaver, 2007).

Agenda-setting describes the ability of the media to influence the salience of topics or issues, such as 'corrective rape' of the public agenda. If a news item is covered frequently as well as prominently by the media the audience will regard the issue as relevant. The theory was developed by Max McCombs and Donald Shaw in an article published in *Public Opinion Quarterly* (1972) in a study done on presidential elections in 1968 (McCombs, 1972). In the 1968 "Chapel Hill study," McCombs and Shaw revealed a correlation ($r > .9$) between what

100 residents of Chapel Hill, North Carolina thought was the most important election issues and what the local and national news media reported as the most important issue. By comparing the salience of issues in news reports with the public's observations of the most important election issue, McCombs and Shaw were able to determine the degree to which the media determines public opinion (Dearing & Rogers 1996: 7). The writings of McCombs also refer to framing, which is a related theory applied in the research. Framing can be traced back to the work of Gregory Bateson in his 1973 book, *Steps to an ecology of mind*, where he used an analogy of a picture frame in order to understand what frames do. Bateson's work was later used by McCombs and Shaw, but also by Todd Gitlin in 1987 to investigate an abundance of sociological issues which occurred in the 1960's. Gitlin's work using frames was published in: *The sixties: years of hope, days of rage*. With these separate theories, with the writings of McCombs and Bryan Jones and Frank Baumgartner (2004) become converged. For the investigation as to whether newspapers publish reports (including visuals and advertisements), the theory of Agenda Setting (including reference to agenda-cutting) frames to scope of the investigation. A criticism of this theory, however, is that it takes a superficial look at the meaning creation effects of audiences, audience response and audience perceptions of reports on issues. Thus, the research only refers to those theoretical components relevant to exploring whether (setting) or not (cutting) newspapers report on the issue of 'corrective rape' and not to whether the coverage (or lack thereof) leads to an influence in public agenda. The research also does not include the agenda-building theory, which describe how there is some form of reciprocity between media and society in influencing public policy.

The premise of Agenda Setting theory – for the purpose of this study – is that, whether intentional or unintentional, the media creates an image of reality. For example, when reading the newspaper, the audience is confronted with topics and events considered important or prioritised by the media on issues including war, politics and the economy. Thus, if the editor and the newsroom staff as well as other producers of news content does not consider an issue to be newsworthy or in the public interest, they do not report on it (this is an example of agenda-cutting). The omission of certain issues, and the over emphasis of others, establish a particular way for media audiences to think about reality. The attention given in news coverage to issues influences the rank order of public awareness

and attributes to the significance of an issue (McQuail, 2000). Agenda setting focuses on what issues are reported on as well as how information on those issues is presented to media audiences. The symbols, viewpoints and legitimising of an issue by the media influence the audiences' perception of reality (O'Sullivan *et al*, 1994). This in turn could affect public opinion, which occur in the public sphere where media audiences as well as the media are active forces. Agenda setting theory can also be traced back to the work of Walter Lippmann's *Public Opinion* (1922). Lippmann described that the media dominates over the creation of visualisations in our head and memory. He believed that the public reacts not to the actual event produced but the picture of the actual event in their memory. Lippmann then argued that the mass media is the principal connection between events in the world and the pictures in the minds of the public (Dearing and Rogers 1996).

According to McCombs (1972), in choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff and broadcasters play an important part in shaping reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. In reflecting what is happening in society, newspapers may well determine the important issues – that is, the media may set the public agenda. In this study the agenda setting theory will be explored in more detail to investigate the level of priority given to 'corrective rape' by newspapers in South Africa, compared to the level of priority given to rape (unspecified; domestic and foreign cases). The Agenda Setting theory (as well as Framing and Representation) could support the study in investigating how newspapers report on 'corrective rape'. Influenced by the writings of James Dearing and Everett Rogers (1996) the research into the agenda setting process of creating salience for the issue of 'corrective rape' can claim that rape (including 'corrective rape') is a highly emotional public and LGBTI issue in South Africa. Therefore, while other scholars might study portrayals of rape in newspapers to determine whether media coverage favours one perspective of rape over another, the agenda setting scholar would ask: "How important is the rape issue in newspapers?" That is, how does the issue of rape compare with other issues such as xenophobia or rhino poaching, as well as the amount of news coverage and placement (positioning) it receives. Rather than focussing on negative or positive attitudes toward the issue of 'corrective rape', agenda setting scholars focus on the salience of the issue. The salience of the media agenda setting tells audiences what issue to

think about as previously discussed. Therefore, research on the agenda setting process foster the idea that relative salience of an issue on media agenda determines how public agenda is formed (Dearing and Rogers, 1996).

The two approaches – Framing and Representation and Agenda Setting – intersect to bolster but also contradict one another. In viewing the issue of ‘corrective rape’ and its presence in media, agenda setting provides the theoretical framework to determine the significance behind whether the selected newspapers report on the issue. How much coverage the issue receives in comparison to other issues (rape is used as a comparative variable) as well as the positioning of the reports is explained in how the media go about determining what issues to focus on and how this process could possibly influence public opinion. Framing supports agenda setting in extending the scope of the research to include not only whether the issue is set as a focus point, but also how the issue is presented to audiences. Where agenda setting describes recall (through accessibility) of an issue by audiences, the framing and representation theory explains the narrative – how people think about the issue. By using these theories in tandem, the research has the ability to sufficiently explore and explain if and how the issue of ‘corrective rape’ is used. This is the main aim of what the research wants to investigate. How they contradict one another, however, becomes clear when the research considers the criticisms of both approaches. Agenda setting scholars investigate narrowly defined research problems, such as “how important the rape issue is in the media compared to other issues”, whereas framing and representation seek answers over and above this and can become very abstract, especially because the researcher has to rely more on emergent codes and adjust those codes regularly to arrive at a conclusive answer in addressing the research problem. This means that framing and representation could become a “fractured paradigm” (Zelizer, 2004). The way these contradictions will be dealt with in the media is by specifying which elements of each theory is relevant to the research problem and its sub-problems as to only rely on those elements which collaborate. Framing and representation are used in tandem (and not as separate sections) because they collaboratively uncover the information required to accurately explore the research problem. A discussion on agenda setting will be incomplete without the reference to the effects of gatekeeping. Gatekeeping refers to information sharing or information blocking (Zelizer, 2004).

2.4 Galtung and Ruge's description of newsworthiness

The research investigates whether newspapers report on 'corrective rape' and if reports are identified, how these reports are framed by applying Agenda Setting theory and Framing and Representation. It is relevant then to consider press selection of issues to report on based on the criteria these issues comply with. Including a discussion about newsworthiness can assist understanding of why newspapers may or may not publish reports on 'corrective rape'. Although the research does not investigate *why* reports on 'corrective rape' are selected for publication, but rather *how*; Galtung and Ruge's (1965) work on newsworthiness contribute to the research in terms of helping the reader understand why it is important to look at where those reports are located in newspapers as a frame in itself. Alteide (1997) notes that private as well as public concerns have been joined through the advancements made in information technology and mass media frames and that this collapse of symbolic boundaries has produced a collaborative message and views of social reality. This has been described as post-journalism news media. According to Du Preez (2013) during the period of apartheid the international and underground media romanticised and glorified the political violence experienced in South Africa and it became newsworthy on an international scale (even if it was suppressed under the rule of the National Party within the South African media landscape). Extrajudicial torture and assassinations by 'death squads' such as the *Vlakplaas* unit and the *Third Force* activities fomenting violence between black groupings continued with impunity up until the early 1990's. This violence is still echoed when the ANC sings its struggle songs which include the controversial "Kill the Boer" and Jacob Zuma's signature "*Awuleth' Umshini Wami*" (which means "bring me my machine gun"). These are the violent language still permeating news reports and infiltrate the minds of South African citizens. This, coupled with the gross inequality in South Africa, which arguably contributes more to violent crime than poverty does, leads to anger and frustration (Du Preez, 2013).

Scholarships about news values have remained relatively similar since the writings of Galtung and Ruge in 1965 (Nel, 2009). Galtung and Ruge (1965) posited that an event or issue (such as 'corrective rape') should be reflected as news when, in escalation of importance, it satisfy the conditions of *frequency* (lowest importance), *threshold* (including

absolute intensity and intensity increase), unambiguity, meaningfulness (including cultural proximity and relevance), consonance (including predictability and demand), unexpectedness (including unpredictability and scarcity), continuity, composition, reference to elite nations, reference to elite people, reference to persons and reference to something negative (highest importance). For the issue of 'corrective rape', according to the conditions of newsworthiness, the more the issue satisfy the criteria mentioned, the more probable it becomes to be registered as news (selection). Also, once an incident or information concerning 'corrective rape' was selected, what made it newsworthy, according to the factors, was accentuated (distortion or framing) and both the selection (thus, setting the agenda) and the process of distortion took place at all steps in the chain from the incident or information to the reader.

Galtung and Ruge (1965) explain how an issue is considered newsworthy by means of two general hypotheses. The first is an additivity hypothesis, which describes how an issue or event will become news and even make headlines the higher the rank of such an issue or event. An additive hypothesis example would be the debate surrounding the early parole and house arrest (F12: reference to something negative) of paralympian Oscar Pistorius (F9: reference to elite persons) in 2015 would then be considered newsworthy as the total score is quite high. The second refers to a complementarity hypothesis, which explains that an issue or event does not have to rank high on any 12 factors in order for it to be considered newsworthy as the issue or event might score low on one dimension or factor, but may compensate for that by scoring high on another. Since there are 12 factors, the principle gives rise to $(12/2) = 66$ hypotheses in the following form: $F_i \longleftrightarrow F_j, i \neq j; i, j = 1, 2, 3, \dots, 12$. If an event or issue ranks low on F_i , then it will have to rank high on some F_j to be considered newsworthy. Thus, for any case of two factors, F_i and F_j , there are three kinds of events or issues indicated in the example below:

2.4.1 Example: A trichotomy of events and issues according to newsworthiness

	Fi	Fj	Score of newsworthiness
Type 1. <i>Prominent news</i>	high	high	2
Type 2. <i>Ordinary</i>	high	low	1
Type 3. <i>Events/ issues, not news</i>	low	low	0

The example (above) was adapted from the work of Galtung and Ruge (1965). The additivity hypothesis focusses on type 1, while the complementarity hypothesis focusses on type 2. Type 3 are events or issues which are not considered newsworthy.

Some of the criticisms of Galtung and Ruge's hypothesis, which the research does not explicitly require in its investigation, include Gert A. Shultz's (1976, in Westerståhl and Johansson, 1994) addition of *geographical dimensions* and *commercial relations* to improve on news values which only refer to cultural proximity. Another criticism originates from Tony Harcup and Deirdre O'Neill who had put the widely cited taxonomy of news values established by Galtung and Ruge's 1965 writing to the test in an empirical analysis of news published in three national daily United Kingdom newspapers (Harcup and O'Neill, 2001). In their research, Harcup and O'Neill (2001) found that coding newspapers according to the 12 factors espoused by Galtung and Ruge, frequently confronted them with questions such as: "What is an ambiguous event?" and "Reference to something negative for whom?" Thus, Harcup and O'Neill questions the subjectivity of researchers when utilising Galtung and Ruge's factors to determine newsworthiness of an article. The work of Galtung and Ruge, including criticisms of their additivity hypothesis, is important to consider the context of why or why not the selected media for this research would include or omit reports on 'corrective rape'. To understand the contemporary news environment (both international and national) *TIME* magazine as well as *Noseweek* articles could act as a indicator of what news organisations are focussing on. In the conversation-section of *TIME* magazine volume 185, number 11 (2015) the war on ISIS is discussed and debated as well as renewable resources, in particular solar power, and pop culture (with references made to Nicki Minaj); while in the same section of *Noseweek* issue 185 (2015), the issues discussed ranged from

wine, Eskom's failings as a stable provider of electricity to South Africa, the "politically neutered press", how Zuma's ineptitude as president is harming the economy. In providing a sense of what the most top of mind topics are in leading magazines (as a comparative medium to newspapers) there is a sense that the farm murders, killing of police officers and other violent crimes (including 'corrective rape') does not dominate the media agenda universally.

2.5 Differences, similarities and unexplored theories

The primary difference between framing and agenda-setting theory, is that while framing is concerned with *application*, agenda-setting has an *accessibility* ideological foundation. Framing application describes the relevance between the message presented by the media and the axiomatic nodes held by audiences; agenda-setting accessibility refers to how much and recently audiences are exposed to an issue. Both these theories are useful to investigate and explore how and how often the issue of 'corrective rape' is reported on by South African newspapers (Weaver 2007: 145). Even though there are important differences between the Framing and Agenda-setting theories, both are concerned with ways of thinking rather than objects of thinking – that is, how issues are depicted in media, rather than which issues are predominantly reported on.

Two media theories which were not considered are Cultivation Theory and Priming. Cultivation theory, developed by Prof. George Gerbner, assumed a causal relationship between exposure to television and programming on viewer's ideas of reality (Chandler 2015: 87). Because this theory focusses both on the explicit impact of media on audiences and electronic media consumption, it does not support the premise of this study.

Priming, which is considered the predecessor of agenda setting theory, is a concept through which media present issues as already held beliefs of its audiences. Thus, through priming it enables audiences to evaluate an issue and conclude how effective the media was in providing a frame of reference – that is, the media create influence among the audience to make judgements or decisions (Chandler 2015: 89). Priming is primarily concerned with

media effects and does not provide for sectional application (which is the case with framing and representation and agenda-setting theories) it would be irrelevant to the research.

To conclude this chapter, Jürgen Habermas (1989) defined the public sphere as an open space where ideas, thoughts and opinions of a country's citizens are accumulated in a rich, interactive exchange. This forum should ideally be accessible to as many people as possible and arguments should be constructive and rational (Habermas, 1964). The media is crucial in moulding the public sphere, which, even though not a focus of this study, is a possible future study concerning the media and its relationship with the issue of 'corrective rape'. Habermas states that for any democracy to function well, citizens need to debate, discuss and reach rational decisions about issues that affect them, which includes an active and independent newspaper media. The public sphere becomes the discursive space between citizens and policy makers. It is informed by the private sector, public sector and shared experiences of a country's citizens (Borchers, 2006). With this in mind, Habermas (1989) also argued that the contents of public opinion are essentially managed by the culture industry. These statements support the work of Tony Harcup (2004) who argued that facts must be given a shape (thus a frame) if they are to become news – that is, they are *constructed* or *manufactured*. It is not that facts are invented by journalists, but that the identification, selection and presentation of facts in a news story are a social constructs viewed through a 'cultural prism'. The construction of news – in this research it would focus on 'corrective rape' – simultaneously provides a framework for audiences to interpret facts provided. The research study investigated how the issue of 'corrective rape' is framed and represented to the readers of the selected newspapers as it might clarify how, why and what public opinions are formed around the issue. Although these are themes not explicitly dealt with in the research, it could be a possible theme to extend the understanding of the relationship between media, society and 'corrective rape'.

This chapter discussed the framing and agenda-setting theory as a context to investigate how South African newspapers deal with 'corrective rape'. Firstly, framing and representation describes how frames are used to report on issues. A brief origin of the theory is given to understand its intention, while a more in depth discussion highlights that the research only utilises the frame building qualities of the theory in the study (as the study

does not assume that the newspaper audience were influenced by reports on 'corrective rape'). Secondly, agenda-setting is described by referring to the seminal works of McCombs and Shaw (1972), based on the work of Lippman on public opinions and the political economy of media. Lastly, the cultivation theory and priming was offered as relevant, but ultimately omitted theories in the theoretical framework of this research.

Chapter three: METHODOLOGY

“...the [philosophical] evaluation of how knowledge and inquiry are framed within an academic discipline...epistemology.”

- Oxford dictionary, defining the importance of how research is done to collect data -

The aim of this chapter is to reintroduce the goal and objectives of the research alluding to stating the research problem (uncovered through the literature review of the topic of ‘corrective rape’) and structuring the analysis of the problem by separating it into assumptions and sub-problems as well as the methodologies used to address them. Therefore, discussions on the research technique, the units of analysis as well as categories and codes are presented. The final aim of this chapter is to discuss how the research was done in a credible, valid and reliable manner.

3.1 Goal and objectives of the study

As basic communication research, this study aims to expand the general understanding of a phenomenon by investigating *whether* newspapers report on an issue and *how* (if the selected newspapers do report on the issue) those newspapers report on the issue. Thus, the primary aim of this basic research project is to expand knowledge of gender based violence in South Africa with specific credence given to ‘corrective rape’ and possibly lay down some theoretical scaffolding for understanding newspaper’s reporting dynamics that may be explored further in future studies (Mouton, 1996). The methodology chosen to investigate is structured to support exploring and describing objectives and not to yield solutions or recommendations in dealing with the issue of ‘corrective rape’. Therefore this research intends to obtain new insights as part of a comparative study of articles reported in the newspapers on *rape* compared to those articles reporting on ‘*corrective rape*’. The research also seeks to contribute to the understanding of ‘corrective rape’ and add to the existing body of knowledge concerning the issue; to develop hypotheses; and to confirm assumptions. Currently the discourse surrounding ‘corrective rape’ remains active, but mostly exclusively, to the LGBTI community. In a *Special Assignment* (SABC3, 2015) segment dedicated to ‘corrective rape’ the need for better understanding of the severity of the issue

was called for and information sharing and building of understanding and acceptance from conservative communities where many of these incidences occur.

The research can also be seen to have a descriptive objective which is the objective to “describe the characteristics of an issue, or the relationship between a number of variables” (Du Plooy, 2009, p.49). In this regard, a content analysis was conducted to observe how the newspapers frame reports on ‘corrective rape’. The content analysed included the reports as units of analysis in the newspapers selected. The reason why the contents of the reports as well as the reports themselves were analysed was to explore whether newspapers set the agenda for the issue of ‘corrective rape’ and also investigated how the issue was framed. A content analysis will describe what the newspapers focus on the most and these were qualified and elaborated on through a narrative analysis (Stacks and Hocking, 1992).

For example, if a report on ‘corrective rape’ does appear in a newspaper on a particular Sunday, the opportunity to set the agenda in the mind of the reader exists by being present. The researcher will then read the report and identify specific codes which explore whether the report is framed in such a way as to suggest urgency (that is, strong codes) or whether the report represents information (that is, weak codes). According to Du Plooy-Cilliers *et al* (2014) analysing the content (of newspapers concerning the issue of ‘corrective rape’) creates meaning.

3.2 Formulation of the research problem

In formulating the research problem, the researcher kept the four criteria of relevance, researchability, feasibility and ethical acceptability in mind to ensure the study fulfils its intended goal and objectives (Du Plooy 2009:53). The research sub-problems and assumptions assisted the research in systematically and incrementally answer the broader research problem as part of supporting the aims of the research.

3.2.1 Formulating the research problem

A qualitative content analysis was conducted which intends to explore and describe *if* and *how* selected South African newspapers report on 'corrective rape' over a twelve month period by looking at the frames used in those reports in comparison to those used when reporting on rape.

3.2.2 Formulating sub-problems and assumptions

The main research problem is a qualitative investigation, which include a quantitative approach when counting reports on *rape* and '*corrective rape*', to whether and how South African newspapers report on the issue of 'corrective rape'. From the research problem this study is thus a longitudinal investigation, focussing on a national geographic location. The extent of the research include 'rape', 'corrective rape', '*Mail & Guardian*', '*The Sunday Independent*' and '*Sunday Times*'. To properly research the main research problem the following premises are identified.

3.2.3 Sub-problems

Assumption 1: Newspapers report on the issue of 'corrective rape', however they report differently on rape than 'corrective rape', awarding credence to the issue of rape more than the classification of 'corrective rape'.

Sub-problem 1: To determine whether more reports on rape appear in the media than on 'corrective rape'.

Assumption 2: Newspapers publish articles with bias referring to the issue of 'corrective rape'.

Sub-problem 2: Compare the angles used when newspapers report on rape and 'corrective rape' respectively to better understand the newspapers' narrative when reporting on the issue.

Sub-problem 3: What classifications of power relationships are evident in the reports on 'corrective rape'?

Assumption 3: There are more generic frames of ‘corrective rape’ reports in the selected newspapers.

Sub-problem 4: Are there more generic frames of ‘corrective rape’ reports in the selected newspapers than issue-specific frames?

To clarify what is meant by *generic frames*, Chong and Druckman (2007: 635) describe that these frames refer to reports which include general information about ‘corrective rape’, but do not refer to a particular occurrence. For example ‘corrective rape’ mentioned as a gender based violence issue, not an occurrence of a lesbian being raped.

3.3 Collecting data in exploring and describing framing and representation of ‘corrective rape’

Babbie and Mouton (2001) explain that a researcher needs to consider the type of data required to answer the research question, where such data will be sourced, the amount of data required to satisfy the research question and how the collected data will be recorded.

The research hypotheses guide the kind of data required to properly explore and describe how the media frame and represent ‘corrective rape’. To do so with distinction, the research considers data relevant to resolve whether the selected newspapers report on rape, including ‘corrective rape’. To assume that all media report on the issue of rape and ‘corrective rape’ would build the rest of the research on porous foundation. The research also consider the frames used to represent rape and the issue of ‘corrective rape’ as well as the power relationships which exist in the media when the media reports on issues of rape and ‘corrective rape’. The data was used to uncover patterns and trends in an attempt to better understand the issue (Mouton, 1996). The qualitative design of this research is used to interpret data from a content analysis of reports on rape and ‘corrective rape’ found in the target population newspapers to describe and investigate the framing and representation of the issue.

To investigate how media frame and represent the issue of ‘corrective rape’, three South African newspapers have been selected as population to explore whether the issue of

'corrective rape' is being reported on and if so, which frames are used to report on the issue. Newspapers are still considered a reliable source of information by media consumers, as they employ journalists to produce text which reflect relevant occurrences in society by adhering to a professional code of conduct. To standardise the investigation, but still achieve a reliable and valid study, each of the three identified newspaper, are considered on comparability, but also merit. Each newspaper appears weekly, has an established readership figure, is available online and is written in English. Each report becomes the unit of analysis where categories develop from emergent codes by using content analysis as a testing device.

To ensure that a proper investigation to the framing and representation of 'corrective rape' is present, the research occurred over a twelve month period from 1 March 2012 until 28 February 2013. These newspapers formed the universe and scope of the study, which provided 156 newspapers from which the study could extract data. Each week a newspaper (from all three publications) was bought and a purposive sample of 100 percent of all reports that included the key words 'rape' and 'corrective rape' from the universe were selected, coded and stored. Therefore, each identified report was catalogued and analysed through a series of categories and codes. The catalogue includes type of report (rape or 'corrective rape'), date in which it appeared, page number on which it appeared, journalist or publisher as well as in which publication the report appeared.

3.3.1 *Sunday Times*

The *Sunday Times* newspaper, owned by Times Media Group (Sunday Times, 2013), was selected as it ranks as the number one paper by copy sales (estimated 253 721 per edition) in 2011 (Sunday, weekly publication) (Audit Bureau of Circulation of South Africa, 2011) and is widely regarded as the most influential weekly newspaper in South Africa and the largest Sunday paper in sub-Saharan Africa (Media history, 2015). The *Sunday Times* is also voted as the most quoted source of information (Media Tenor, 2013). The significance of being considered the most quoted source of information refers to the credibility of the content of the publication as well as its utility and influence in reader opinion. Although reader opinion is not an explicit objective of this study, it might be of consequence to future studies on this

subject. The weekly newspaper offers different supplements focussed on speciality issues and often includes information on GBV and rape – for example, the article: “Let’s scream rape from the rooftops,” which appeared in the ‘Review’ supplement (Tlhabi, 2013) or the article: “A terrible sickness in the soul of our society,” in the ‘Opinions’ section of the publication (2012).

3.3.2 *Mail & Guardian*

Published by M&G Media (Mail & Guardian, 2013), the *Mail & Guardian* is ranked third in terms of sales (35 324 per edition) compared to other national weekly publications. The paper appears every Friday (and is ranked in terms of sales only after *Soccer Laduma* and *Illanga*) (Audit Bureau of Circulation of South Africa, 2011). There is a difference between circulation figures and readership. Actual readership is usually higher than circulation figures. To clarify, the *Mail & Guardian* ranking is based on circulation and not readership. The focus of *Mail & Guardian* is on politics, government, the environment, civil society and business. ‘Corrective rape’, as proposed in this research, could be a socio-cultural, political and even economic issue, which makes the *Mail & Guardian* a relevant source of data for this study. The online version, in partnership with *Media24* (a subsidiary of Naspers) provide readers with an up-to-date current news feature (Media Club South Africa, 2013) – for the purpose of comparison in this study, only the hard copy version of the publication was used.

3.3.3 *The Sunday Independent*

The Sunday Independent owned by Independent News and Media, exceeded 80 000 readers per publication in 2012 (Media Club South Africa, 2013). The publication is selected as it is comparable with the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Sunday Times* in terms of its subject focus and content, which is to provide information on news it considers newsworthy in the socio-cultural, political, economic and technological sphere. The publication includes supplements such as ‘Opinion’ and ‘International’ (The Sunday Independent, 2013).

Each publication is selected as it commits itself to the Press Code of Professional Practice, which describes that news must be reported in a truthful, accurate, fair and balanced

manner (Media Club South Africa, 2013) and would contribute to the validity and reliability of the research.

3.4 Reports including articles, photographs, cartoons and quotes

Reports considered in the research included genre conventions of written articles (editorials, features, syndicated reports and domestic- and international news stories), advertisements, pictures and cartoons whereby the newspaper can set the public agenda. Although agenda setting (or cutting) is not the explicit aim of the research, there has to be a superficial reference to whether or not actual reports on rape and ‘corrective rape’ appear in the selected newspapers. Each report is selected purposively as it appears within the selected timeframe published in the *Mail & Guardian*, *Sunday Times* and *The Sunday Independent*. Counting newspaper reports yielded nominal results (absent or present) to partially investigate the research problem: “Have the selected newspapers reported on the issue of ‘corrective rape’ in the selected time frame?”

3.4.1 Table 1: Example of a weighting table used in the research

Newspaper	Number	Percentage of total sample
<i>Sunday Times</i>	25	34.7%
<i>Mail & Guardian</i>	23	31.9%
<i>The Sunday Independent</i>	24	33.3%

The table above shows an example of how the actual articles reporting on rape (including ‘corrective rape’) are compared with the percentage of the sample of all three newspapers in providing a comparative view of the three selected newspapers and was developed based on the research done in collecting raw data from the sample newspapers. Thus, the table shows the number of reports which appeared on rape (including ‘corrective rape’) as well as indicating the percentage (compared to the other selected newspapers) of total reports on rape. Another weighting table showed the number and percentage of each newspaper in regards to ‘corrective rape’ exclusively. Table 1 will be discussed in the data collection and

analysis chapter. The contrast and comparison of each table could provide some insight to the relative credence of each category (rape or 'corrective rape') given by each newspaper.

Counting does not, however, provide information about the framing of each category (Du Plooy, 2009). Therefore, hermeneutic analysis focusing on the associations with the concepts of rape and 'corrective rape' as it is dealt with by the selected newspapers was used to explore and describe the issue. This necessitates the developing of categories from emerging codes from reading the selected articles as units of analysis (Du Plooy, 2009).

3.5 Categories and codes

Defining and assigning categories is important as it will determine the success of a study. According to Berger (1991) categories need to satisfy three requirements: they need to be exhaustive, mutually exclusive and equal. It is only when all units of analysis are allocated to a category or categories that content analysis can occur. A *priori* codes were developed prior to the coding of each article to support the initial data collection. Throughout the research period, emergent codes were added to each category to accurately reflect the data of each report.

There were eight categories developed to investigate the research problem and applied to each selected report. These categories included *weighting of reports on rape* and then 'corrective rape', *reports positioning (frequency) within the sample universe*, *classifications of rape*, *victimology*, *outcomes*, *weak versus strong frames*, 'corrective rape' reports based on facts and observation versus those published based on stereotypes and power relationships. Each of these categories, along with their relevant codes, will be discussed later in this chapter and the data collection and analysis chapter to provide a more comprehensive understanding of their mechanics and consequence to the research. When referring to the weighting of the rape and 'corrective rape' reports, the research explores the first assumption of the research that newspapers report on the issue of 'corrective rape' and how it compares to how media reports on rape.

Each identified report was assigned a code for 'rape' or 'corrective rape' and the discrepancy between their weighting was tabulated and compared by transposing the number of reports into percentages as to improve accuracy when being compared. This category attempted to answer the sub-problem of whether reports on rape and 'corrective rape' appear in the media. Another code was developed to try and identify the salience given to the issue by using the work from Galtung and Ruge (1994) on newsworthiness. The codes used in this category included reports which appeared on the 'cover page' assigned a newsworthiness identifier (1A) (which is most credence given to the topic), 'news: domestic' (assigned (1B)), 'news: international' (assigned (1C)), 'editorials, including reviews and advertorials' (assigned (2A)), 'opinions, including columns, syndicated columns, quotes and cartoons' (assigned (2B)) and lastly 'letters to the editor' assigned a newsworthiness identifier (2C) (which is considered least newsworthy). This category explores and describes the assumption that newspapers do not create salience for the issue of 'corrective rape' when compared to the difference in where rape and 'corrective rape' reports appear within the publications. The classifications of rape category expand the definition of rape to include the various different types of rape that exist.

Although not exhaustive, as many different types of rape emerge, the intention of this category is to reflect on the salience of 'corrective rape' given by the media compared to other types of rape to investigate whether reports of 'corrective rape' as a singularity is reported on more or less than other types of rape. The classifications of rape were discussed in the context of the study chapter. As a result of many of the reports not being appropriate to a specific type of rape thus being assigned as 'non-descript' the research wanted to operationalise this code by introducing secondary frames such as victimology (who is the victim identified in the report and who is the perpetrator) and outcomes (whether the report includes a call to action or describes any affectations as a result of the issue being reported on). To explore the third assumption of the research problem which is that newspapers write in passive and generic frames when reporting on 'corrective rape', the categories of weak versus strong frames and reports based on empirical observation and first person primary sources compared to stereotypes and generalisations were developed based. Emergent codes in the latter category was based on an article written by Sheila Liming called "Lesbian texts" (cited in Peele, 2011). These codes included 'axiomatic of

lesbian reality’ and lesbians being presented as a stereotype or based on hearsay. Each category was developed with a concerted idea of answering the sub-problem. Many categories were considered and ultimately altered or discarded as they needed to properly and exhaustively investigate the study universe in order to uncover the data necessary. The codes which form part of the categories mostly emerged from the literature review and theoretical framework readings done.

3.5.1 Frequency and newspaper position

To explore and describe how much importance each newspaper placed on reports of rape and ‘corrective rape’, reference to *frequency and prominence* as an element of newsworthiness described by Galtung and Ruge (1994) was made. The codes include reports which appear on the ‘cover page (1A)’, ‘news: domestic (1B)’, ‘news: international (1C)’, ‘editorials (2A)’, ‘opinions (2B)’ and ‘letters to the editor (2C)’.

3.5.2 Example of a frequency table in data capturing used in the research

Article	Galtung & Ruge (1994: 271) reference to frequency and prominence of articles					
	Cover page (1A)	News: Domestic (1B)	News: International (1C)	Editorials, including Reviews and Advertorials (2A)	Opinions, including Columns, Syndicated columns, Quotes & Cartoons (2B)	Letters to the editor (2C)
TOTAL	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
1						
2						
3						

The frequency table is an example of where reports appear in the selected newspapers and is adapted from the work by Galtung and Ruge’s description of what makes issues

newsworthy, the research codes the data found in the selected reports based on where each report appears (page) in the newspaper (1965). Reports that appeared on the cover page would be considered more important than those appearing on subsequent pages. The same perception of importance could appear for domestic- compared to international reports, news to opinions and editorials to letters.

3.5.3 Classification of rape

To understand the concept of rape (including 'corrective rape') better, the research needed to acknowledge the different *classifications* of rape as discussed in the literature review chapter. Each selected article was coded in terms of type of rape reported on or discussed. In some reports a specific type of rape might not be evident – those articles were regarded as not relevant to this particular category. For example, a review of Kagiso Lesego Molope's book called "This book betrays my brother" (2012), might not belong to any of the categories and therefore was not coded and included as a specific classification of rape. The aim of this category is to understand what value 'curative rape' is assigned in comparison with other types or forms of rape. Thus, if the term 'rape' is used as a comparative constant, the meaning would be clear (so far as what is meant by the term and what it include). It was impossible to separate rape from 'corrective rape' as a form of rape; however, the generic term used in comparison with its specific type, had shed more light on the credence afforded to 'corrective rape'. An example to illustrate how an article is classified as a specific type of rape from the selected reports, is the opinion piece by Phylcia Oppelt called: "One more horror, so many lost pieces in a nation's soul" (*Sunday Times*, 2012). The writer used phrases such as "...this has been a week of outrage in our little country and so much despair about one story that almost every single media outlet has latched onto – the alleged gang rape of a mentally disabled 17-year old..." The article continues to lament the occurrence of gang rapes and meanders into an activist stance on the issue, which calls for community mobilisation. Even within this example, there are other categories evident, such as victimology ("17 year-old girl"), outcomes ("we should stand together as communities to illuminate this scourge plaguing our society") and frequency (the article appears in the opinions section (2B)) and that is why one report can and should be analysed to be represented across the full spectrum of categories in this study in order to properly answer

the research problem and its assumptions. Each *type of rape* (classification) as well as the concept of *rape* itself is discussed in more detail in the literature review chapter of the research.

3.5.4 Victimology as a category

Victimology was another category used in explaining how the selected newspapers report on rape and 'corrective rape'. Victimology in this research refers to the description of the person/s who has been raped by an assailant. The sub-categories include 'child on child' rape, where both victim and assailant are considered as minors by law. In South Africa age of consent is between 12 and 15, depending on the context. A 12-year-old may consent to sex with a person two years older than they are (Sexual Offences and related matters - Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2015). The research also contains 'multiple victims', whereby the article or report makes reference to more than one victim. For example, in the report: "Quotes" (*Sunday Independent*, 2012), South African political and entertainment figures comment on issues of rape involving children and vulnerable women. Another sub-category refers to 'adult on adult: heterosexual', 'adult on adult: homosexual' and 'adult on child', whereby the age of consent and sexual orientation is used to distinguish the focus of the report (unless the victim or rapist (older than 16) are mentally disabled, in which case the report would be coded accordingly and the data captured in the *child* sub-categories). This sub-category does not discriminate whether the victim or assailant is male or female as the research merely seek data to explore and describe how 'corrective rape' (in relation to rape as a whole) is framed and represented. The last two sub-category refer to 'commercial rape' (whereby the victim or rapist work in the sex industry) and 'rapist' (whereby the rights of the rapist is discussed, for example: "FB page 'infringes on rights of sex offender'" (*Sunday Independent*, 2012)).

3.5.5 Outcomes

The research includes *outcomes* as a category in its investigation to explore and describe which call to action is evident in the reports or what the end result of an article or report refers to. For example, in the *Mail & Guardian* article titled: "Violence in the villages: the

quiet scourge of rural rape” (2013) the outcomes from the article is informative as it provides facts and statistics as well as calling for social activism from government and communities. Therefore, each report could have multiple outcomes and is coded accordingly and captured in each relevant sub-category.

The eight independent, mutually exclusive and exhaustive sub-categories of *outcomes* include ‘pure discussion’ (whereby the outcome is merely an argument surrounding the issue of rape and ‘corrective rape’), ‘political- and legal debate’ (whereby the writer/s comment and discuss what the political and legal responsibilities surrounding rape and ‘corrective rape’ should be), as well as ‘HIV/ Aids, STD’s and health issues’ (whereby the rape led to a discussion of health issues, including HIV/ Aids and sexually transmitted diseases). It also includes ‘facts, figures, information and statistics’ (the report reflects quantitative information as a comment on rape and ‘corrective rape’), ‘judicial failure and non-prosecution’ (these reports categorically question the effectiveness of South African courts in dealing with the issue of rape by highlighting insufficiencies), ‘social mobilisation and movement’ (these articles call for the reader to take some form of action or reflect cases where action is being taken to stop the occurrence of rape), ‘prosecution and punishment’ (reports on cases where the rapist is caught or tried or jailed or punished) and ‘no outcome presented’ (these reports have no clear call to action or description of what should be done regarding rape and ‘corrective rape’). An example of the ‘no outcome presented’ sub-category would be reviews where no explicit action concerning rape is required or reported on.

So far the categories have been developed to explore and describe the frames in which the selected newspapers present rape and the issue of ‘corrective rape’ as part of an indistinguishable whole. However, to fully understand ‘corrective rape’ within the discussion surrounding rape and the specific attention needed to consider the added variable of sexual orientation and the gay agenda, more categories were developed. These categories not only describe the frames used to report on ‘corrective rape’, but also seek to understand the power relationships present when senders of news report on the issue.

The first such category refers to ‘weak frames’ and ‘strong frames’. Based on the work by Druckman and Chong (2007), reports which rely on weak frames are not considered to be of critical importance to the reader. It is only when the reader has special interest in the subject or belongs to a niche audience that the information would be considered relevant, whereas strong frames communicate a sense of urgency to its audience. For this research, two sub-categories are developed to apply to reports in determining whether they are strong frames (namely ‘information and awareness’ about ‘corrective rape’ and ‘narrative’ referring to a victim or lesbian’s personal account), while weak frames are applied to reports by looking at *book launches/ reviews or exhibitions*, and other *generic information* which might deal with the theme of homosexuality and sexual violence, but which is not explicitly or necessarily focussed on ‘corrective rape’ (that is, it merely mentions ‘corrective rape’ or refers to it superficially).

Homosexuality and sexual orientation was given credence in a discussion surrounding ‘corrective rape’. Although other factors such as culture, economic status and other macro and micro environmental factors do play a role, the focus of this study is to explore a very specific component of the issue. Thus, the research has to acknowledge that power relations exist in the media concerning gatekeeping and the issues that are reported on. The question here is: “Does the journalist or writer reflect a true, first person account of ‘corrective rape’ or do they rely on personal thoughts, opinions or beliefs when reporting on the issue?” The answer to this question speaks to the authority of the journalist on the subject. It is here that power relationships are highlighted.

To explore this question, inspired by the article: “Lesbian texts” (Liming, cited in Peele, 2011), the sub-categories of *article is axiomatic of real life in regards to ‘corrective rape’* and *article relies on stereotypes to describe lesbianism in regards to ‘corrective rape’* are applied to each unit of analysis.

Finally, a more direct category of power relationships are developed by identifying reports as ‘journalist appears to be pro-gay rights’, where the writer seems to champion the gay agenda. Here the work by Hall (2013) is used to refer to language in how it is used in a system of representation. Words and phrases are coded and assigned to categories. The

writer describes 'corrective rape' and homosexuality as an "I-we" inclusive concept. For example: "...the Traditional Court Bill (discriminating against gays and lesbians) is a throwback to apartheid inequalities" (Underhill 2012). The juxtaposition of the sub-category of 'journalist appears to be anti-gay rights' contains all the reports whereby an *othering* is described (that is "us-them"). Here the style and tone of the writer is judgemental and polarising. If no clear power relationship either pro- or against the LGBTI community can be identified, the report is classified as 'neutral' where the writer is read as factual and unbiased.

After each newspaper was read during the specified timeframe (and supplemented with online searches of the newspapers to ensure that no article was omitted) and the relevant articles were selected, each category was applied to every unit of analysis whereby they are coded and the data tabulated for analysis.

3.6 Achieving trustworthiness

Being able to duplicate the results under similar conditions by using similar data is crucial to the accuracy of a study along with a clear and consistent focus on addressing the research problems to achieve credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Du Plooy-Cilliers and Bezuidenhout, 2015). These considerations are paramount to the relevance of the research. Possible limitations to the study included nuisance variables such as inexperience (or human error) in the empirical stages of the research as qualitative research is hermeneutic in nature. To address this issue, library clippings published online (appearing concurrently with the print reports within the selected time period) were used to supplement the collected articles. To further ensure that the study is reliable, the categories, sub-categories and codes are continually updated and adjusted as new data emerge from the readings.

Results of the research cannot be valid unless it is also reliable (Du Plooy, 2009). Validity was achieved by comparing the operational definitions of key concepts such as '*corrective rape*', *rape*, *strong frames*, *weak frames* and *generic information* with the theoretical understanding thereof. Because limited information about 'corrective rape' exists, this study

defined concepts clearly to achieve face validity, whereby the content of measured items seemed to measure what it claimed to measure (Du Plooy, 2009). This is why continuous testing of the research categories, sub-categories and codes was done. The research started with developed thematic coding where *priori* codes were used for initial frame investigation. Thereafter more emerging codes are used as new data are uncovered and coding took on a more substantive form. Another possible limitation of the study is the question of audience (of the selected newspapers). It might be possible that the lack of coverage on the issue of 'corrective rape', prevalent in communities where black lesbians are marginalised, is not something that would be of interest to the readership of the chosen newspapers.

3.7 Feasibility of the study

This study is feasible in terms of cost, time allocated to the study of the target population as well as the time allowance for the actual research and writing of the research document. There was no harm done to any individual directly or indirectly as a result of conducting this research. Personal cost incurred by the researcher is the purchasing of three newspapers every week (to an approximated cost of R56, 75 per week). Auxiliary costs such as Internet cost for researching and printing were minimal. The resources necessary to investigate the research problem is available; the researcher has done research before and also has access to relevant information (Du Plooy, 2009).

In concluding this chapter the aim was to reintroduce the goal and objectives of the research, which was achieved in the first chapter heading. The discussion introduced three assumptions and four sub-problems which made the investigation and contribution to the research problem possible by being systemic and specific. A discussion on the content analysis of rape and 'corrective rape' reports in three selected newspapers as well as the categories and codes used to investigate each report was offered. With the description of the methodology used in the research, the next chapter will reflect the data collected as well as the analysis thereof. The final heading in this chapter described how the research complied with the standards of ethics, in its execution, necessary to deliver valid and reliable results.

Chapter four: DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

“Journalism – an ability to meet the challenge of filling the space.”

- Rebecca West, novelist and journalist (1947) -

In this chapter the raw data retrieved from the selected newspaper reports within the described 12 month period is assigned to a *priori* and emergent categories. Firstly, tables are presented to show categories, sub-categories and data from reports in an attempt to better understand frames used to represent reports on rape and ‘corrective rape’ and how such data are collected. Then, after each table a description of the data-tables provides context to how it contributes to addressing the research problem. Qualitative research seeks to avoid linear interpretation in which certain variables are mechanistically related to each other. Here, data interpretation focuses on integrating the data to provide a coherent and meaningful understanding of the categories developed (Struwig and Stead, 2013). In other words, giving meaning to the raw data. The findings section of this chapter refer to the data tabulated in the data collection and analysis sections and tries to translate the raw data into information which can be used to answer the research problem stated in the methodology chapter. There are ten distinctive categories, which include sub-categories, discussed by using the data and interpreting it. Each research assumption and sub-problem will be introduced as well as the relevant data to address them.

The first two tables (table 2 and table 3) reflect numeral data from identifying reports on rape and ‘corrective rape’ in the selected newspapers from 1 March 2012 until 28 February 2013.

4.1 Table 2: Weighting of population newspapers including 72 reports (including ‘corrective rape’) concerning rape

Newspapers	Number of total sample	Percentage of total sample
<i>Mail & Guardian</i>	23	32%
<i>The Sunday Independent</i>	24	33.30%
<i>Sunday Times</i>	25	34.70%

The weighting table (Table 2) shows how many reports on rape (including ‘corrective rape’) were identified during a 12 month period and was developed based on the research requirements in uncovering raw data to address the assumption of whether the selected newspapers reported on or did not report on rape. There were 72 reports in total including articles on domestic and international news, book reviews, supplement reports, cartoons, advertisements, advertorials and letters. Every report is categorically assigned to its paper of origin to explore the weighting of reports per publication. An example from each of the selected newspaper brands, include: “Rape cases mothballed in Paarl”, which describes more than 50 rape cases that remains unregistered for investigation in the Western Cape since 2009 until 2012 (Underhill, 2012) appearing in the *Mail & Guardians*. Another report on rape appears in the *Sunday Times*: “With the help of a dove, rape victim tries to find peace” (Maphumulo, 2012); and *The Sunday Independent’s* “The hidden ins and outs of sex trade” (Harper, 2012).

4.2 Table 3: Weighting of population newspapers including five reports on ‘corrective rape’ exclusively

Newspaper	Number	Percentage
<i>Mail & Guardian</i>	4	80%
<i>The Sunday Independent</i>	0	0
<i>Sunday Times</i>	1	20%

Table 3 was developed based on the data uncovered from the selected newspapers to determine whether it included reports on ‘corrective rape’. For the research to uncover trends in media in how the issue of ‘corrective rape’ is framed and represented, it is important to identify that such reports are present. Table 3 shows which newspapers reported on the issue and also indicated how many reports appear in the publication. Although no reports explicitly dealing with the issue of ‘corrective rape’ were found in *The Sunday Independent*, an example of such reports appeared in the *Mail & Guardian* (“Gender violence requires broader lens”, which describes how the homosexual community increasingly claim that political and social space and women challenge cultural systems that undermine their rights and that this resistance is partly why ‘corrective rape’ occurs” (Judge, 2012). Another report on ‘corrective rape’ appeared in the *Sunday Times* (“Books of 2012”) which is a book review of Kagiso Lesego Molohe’s *This book betrays my brother* (2012) wherein the reviewer notes that this book should evoke discussions on issues such as rape, ‘corrective rape’ and the male sense of entitlement (Mda, 2012).

The following tables include the data relevant to the angles used to frame and represent the issue of ‘corrective rape’ embedded in the broader concept of rape and also which power relationships appear to be present when reporting on the issue.

4.3 Findings addressing assumption 1

Assumption 1: Newspapers report on the issue of ‘corrective rape’, however they report differently on rape than ‘corrective rape’, awarding credence to the issue of rape more than the classification of ‘corrective rape’.

Sub-problem 1: To determine whether more reports on rape appear in the media than on ‘corrective rape’.

By referring to “Table 2: Weighting of 72 newspaper reports (including ‘corrective rape’) concerning rape”, the table is divided into three rows and three columns to accommodate the data from all three population newspapers over a 12 month period. The data was collected and assigned to the ‘number’ of reports appearing in each newspaper. From the numbers, a comparative percentage is calculated. The findings of this table reveals that, from the 72 reports on rape (including ‘corrective rape’), 23 of those reports appeared in the Mail & Guardian (31.90%), 24 of those reports appear in The Sunday Times (33.30%) and 25 of those reports appear in the Sunday Times (34.70%). The data reveals that the number of reports is spread evenly among the selected publications. This is not unexpected as high profile cases of rape as well as events of activism (for example, the International Day of No Violence Against Women annual campaign on the 25th of November) receive relatively equal page space across newspapers. From the data, each newspaper reports on rape.

Sub-problem 1: To determine whether more reports on rape appear in the media than on ‘corrective rape’.

By referring to “Table 3: Weighting of population newspapers including five reports on ‘corrective rape’”, the table is divided in a similar way to Table 2. Data from all three population newspapers over a 12 month period was collected and assigned to the ‘number’ of reports appearing in each newspaper. From the numbers, a comparative percentage is calculated. The findings of the table reveal that, four of the reports concerning ‘corrective rape’ were to be found in the *Mail & Guardian* (80%), one report was found in *The Sunday Independent* (20%), while no reports on ‘corrective rape’ appeared in the *Sunday Times*. While reports on rape are equally spread over the three selected newspapers over a 12

month period, there is a clear difference in report weighting when focussing on 'corrective rape' as a classification of rape. Most of the reports found on 'corrective rape' appeared in only one newspaper, which means that there is a difference in approach to the issue of 'corrective rape'. *The Sunday Times* does not set the agenda for the issue and cannot be included in how the issue is framed and represented in the media. The research selected three newspapers specifically in the event should one or more newspapers not include any reports on 'corrective rape'. Thus, to address the sub-problem of the research, two newspapers report on 'corrective rape' even though the issue agenda is set more by *Mail & Guardian* than by *The Sunday Independent*. Also, no reports on 'corrective rape' appeared in the selected 12 month period in the *Sunday Times*.

To ensure the reliability and validity of the research, other classifications have to be considered to contextualise the number of 'corrective rape' reports which appear in the selected newspapers. "Table 6: classifications of rape in the 72 reports by the population newspapers" includes 12 different types of rape as explained in the literature review chapter, as well as one 'non-descript' column as described in the methodology chapter. From the *Mail & Guardian* data collected, it reveals that the publication included one report on 'power rape', seven on 'gang rape', one on 'spousal rape', one on 'statutory rape', four on 'corrective rape' and nine reports are not classified (that is, 'non-descript'). Thus it is clear that the *Mail & Guardian* covered the widest classification spectrum (five) among the three publications selected. The research did not seek to explore liberalism present in newspapers however the data reveals that the *Mail & Guardian* sets the agenda for the most types of rape in comparison with the other selected newspapers. From *The Sunday Independent* data collected, the Table reveals that the publication included one report on 'date rape', 10 on 'gang rape', three on 'statutory rape', one on 'corrective rape' and nine reports are not classified (that is, 'non-descript'). With the second most classifications of rape presented (four), *The Sunday Independent* also sets the agenda for types of rape (and not only classifies rape as a homogenous concept). From the *Sunday Times* data collected, it reveals that the publication included one report on 'sadistic rape', 13 on 'gang rape', while 11 are not classified (that is, 'non-descript'). From the data collected, it appears that the *Sunday Times* focus on the salacious nature of rape (two classifications: 'sadistic rape' and 'gang rape').

For this purpose agenda-setting theory can be applied by providing scope to the results of the data captured and analysed. Agenda-setting theory acknowledges the newspapers' ability to influence the salience of rape and 'corrective rape'. Although agenda-setting theory explains prominence of an issue by referring to public opinion, this research focusses on the agenda building section of the theory to contextualise the results. Here, the research shows each newspaper's media agenda. For example, while *The Sunday Independent* and *Mail & Guardian* set the agenda for 'corrective rape', the *Sunday Times* has a cutting media agenda.

Thus, each newspaper reports on the issue of rape, but not all newspapers report on the issue of 'corrective rape'. The *Mail & Guardian* is the only newspaper that actively sets the agenda across multiple classifications of rape and includes the majority of reports of the issue of 'corrective rape'. *The Sunday Independent* is less diverse in its reporting of different types of rape, but does assign reports to multiple types of rape, including 'corrective rape'. The *Sunday Times* is the most conservative in its approach to rape as it appears to be reported as a heterogeneous concept. The *Sunday Time* does not include reports on rape being used as a form of affirmative action against homosexuals.

4.4 Table 4: Article frames referring to frequency (positioning) of rape reports within the newspaper

Article	According to Galtung & Ruge (1965:70) from most important 1A to least important 2C					
	Cover page (1A)	News: Domestic (1B)	News: International (1C)	Editorials, including Reviews and Advertorials (2A)	Opinions, including Columns, Syndicated columns, Quotes & Cartoons (2B)	Letters to the editor (2C)
TOTAL	0	15	14	10	28	5

Inspired by the work undertaken by Galtung and Ruge (1965) on newsworthiness, this table includes data on how an issue is framed and represented by where reports appear within the newspaper. Even though the explicit focus of this research was not to determine agenda setting (or cutting) of media in regards to 'corrective rape' it supports the idea of news

attention or state whether the publications consider the issue newsworthy. This information can be used for future studies of the issue. Also, the research explores and describes how the media frames and represents rape and ‘corrective rape’ by indicating where they appear. If a report, for example, appears on the front page of the newspaper, according to Galtung & Ruge (1965), it would be considered more important than reports on subsequent pages. In this category the research studies the prominence of each report coded according to placement. An example of an article coded as ‘News: Domestic (1B)’ is: “What stats do not say about rape” (Gould, 2012) in the *Sunday Times*. This code describes a South African report on the issue of rape and or ‘corrective rape’, which appears on any page or section within the selected newspapers except on the front page. An example of a ‘News: International (1C)’ code is: “BBC launches inquiry into Saville allegations” (2012); ‘Editorials, including Reviews and Advertorials (2A)’: “No cause to celebrate a racist Pride” (Schutte, 2012); ‘Opinions, including Columns, Syndicated Columns, Quotes and Cartoons (2B)’: “No more gender-based activism” (Moonsamy, 2013); and ‘Letters to the editor (2C)’: “End this epidemic of violent abuse” (2012).

4.5 Table 5: Article frames referring to frequency (positioning) of ‘corrective rape’ reports within the newspaper

Cover page (1A)	News: Domestic (1B)	News: International (1C)	Editorials, including Reviews and Advertorials (2A)	Opinions, including Columns, Syndicated columns, Quotes & Cartoons (2B)	Letters to the editor (2C)
0	1	0	1	3	0

This table compares how frequently ‘corrective rape’ reports appeared on newspaper sections (as indicated by the sub-categories) with reports on rape adapted from the work of Galtung and Ruge (1965). The table referred to the articles on ‘corrective rape’ and coded

each of the articles according to whether it is a domestic story, an editorial or an opinion. The five reports on ‘corrective rape’ were coded as ‘News: Domestic (1B)’ (“No cause to celebrate a racist Pride” (Schutte 2012: 21)), ‘Editorials, including Reviews and Advertorials (2A)’ (“Book review” (Mda, 2012)) and “Opinions, including Columns, Syndicated columns, Quotes & Cartoons (2B)’ (“Opening spaces to challenge prejudice” (Arnott and Judge, 2012), “Love in a brutalised world” (Zvomuya, 2012) and “Gender violence requires broader lens” (Judge, 2012)). Each report was coded by considering the theme and intention of the article as described in the methodology chapter.

4.6 Table 6: Classifications of rape in 72 reports by the population newspapers

Newspaper	Anger rape	Prison rape	War rape	Power rape	Sadistic rape	Date rape	Gang rape	Spousal rape	Rape of children	Statutory rape	Rape by deception	Corrective rape	Non-descript	TOTAL
<i>The Sunday Independent</i>						1	10			3		1	9	24
<i>Mail & Guardian</i>				1			7	1		1		4	9	23
<i>Sunday Times</i>					1		13						11	25
														72

This table was developed based on the raw data uncovered and coded from the selected newspapers. As indicated in the literature review chapter, to better understand rape and the different types of rape (including ‘corrective rape’), the classifications need to be deliberated. In the table, the classifications include *anger rape*, *prison rape*, *war rape*, *power rape*, *sadistic rape*, *date rape*, *gang rape*, *spousal rape*, *rape of children*, *statutory rape*, *rape by deception*, *corrective rape*, and *non-descript*. *Non-descript* refer to reports where the classification of rape is not clear. For example: “Rape services under threat” (Smallhorne, 2012). In the article the author describes how “55 000 crimes of rape and sexual violence are reported each year, according to the South African Police Service’s crime report for 2010/2011...” but does not explain a specific classification of rape.

4.7 Table 7: Victimology represented in the 72 articles concerning rape

Article	Child on child rape	Adult on child rape	Adult on adult rape (heterosexual)	Adult on adult rape (homosexual)	Commercial rape (sex workers)	Rapist	Multiple victims	Victimology not relevant
TOTAL	3	27	22	3	1	1	13	7

This Table was developed based on the emergent codes and raw data coded from the selected newspapers. To better understand, explore and describe the issue of rape and ‘corrective rape’ a victim-profile is necessary. The selected newspaper reports embed a wealth of data on which actions of rape are committed against which victim; which victim group receives most credence and which group least attention. The two sub-categories of ‘multiple victims’ and ‘victimology not relevant’ might appear to be vague, but describe reports from which data does not explicitly refer to a specific classification. ‘Multiple victims’ sub-category is explained in the methodology chapter, while ‘victimology not relevant’ refers to reports where rape or ‘corrective rape’ is discussed without making mention of the victim. For example: “No cause to celebrate a racist Pride”, an article written by Gillian Schutte (2012), refers to ‘corrective rape’ (which makes it relevant for the research), but does not describe a victim of rape or ‘corrective rape’.

In this category, a report could present multiple sub-categories. For example, a letter might make reference to how ‘commercial rape’ plays a role in increased numbers of ‘adult on child’ rape incidences.

4.8 Table 8: Outcomes from the 72 reports concerning rape

Article	Pure discussion	Political- and legal debate	HIV/Aids, STD's & Health issues	Facts, figures, information & statistics	Judicial failure & non-prosecution	Social mobilisation & movement	Prosecution & punishment	No outcome presented
TOTAL	5	5	1	10	10	44	18	2

This table was developed based on the emergent codes and raw data uncovered from the newspaper reports on rape (including ‘corrective rape’). Outcomes, as described by the methodology chapter, refer to the point of report; that is, the call to action or the result. ‘No outcome presented’ are reports where there is no outcome present. The report does not provide information on a specific case of rape or ‘corrective rape’ to affect social mobilisation or report on a case where the rapist was caught and jailed or for the purpose of persuasion on health related grounds. For example, a book review where rape or ‘corrective rape’ is mentioned might influence the reader to buy the book, but not necessarily take cause to act against rape or ‘corrective rape’.

In this category, a report could comply with the criteria to appear in more than one sub-category. For example, a statistical report on rape cases by referring to a particular case study might have ‘judicial failure and non-prosecution’ elements, while also sparking a ‘political and legal debate’.

4.9 Findings addressing assumption 2, sub-problem 2

Assumption 2: Newspapers publish articles with bias referring to the issue of ‘corrective rape’.

Sub-problem 2: Compare the angles used when newspapers report on rape and ‘corrective rape’ respectively to better understand the newspapers’ narrative when reporting on the issue.

Where the reports appear within the pages of the newspaper also set the level of importance assigned to them (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). Referring to “Table 4: Article frames referring to frequency (positioning) of **rape reports** within the newspaper”, the findings reveal that while there are no reports found on the front page of any of the newspapers (excluding those reports which appear on the front page of supplements), 15 reports appear relatively prominently as they are reports on domestic news, 14 reports appear concerning foreign news, ten reports are editorial in nature (including editorials, reviews, advertorials and advertisements), 28 (and the majority of reports) are opinions of leaders and columnists (including columns, syndicated columns, quotes and cartoons (such as those drawn by the bardic journalist, Zapiro) and five are letters to the editor (that is, opinions from the readers).

When compared to *where* the reports appear within the pages of the selected newspapers of ‘**corrective rape**’, the results are different. When referring to “Table 5: Article frames referring to frequency (positioning) of ‘corrective rape’ reports within the newspaper” the data revealed that one report appeared prominently as it was a report on a domestic news event. One report appeared in the editorial pages, while the remaining three reports appeared in the opinions sections of the newspapers. The work of Fiske and Taylor (1991) provide context to the data by referring to how human beings use frames to process information and determine its relevance and prominence, rather than investigating the issue to uncover its truths. Thus, where the reports are embedded within the pages of the newspaper is an important consideration when exploring and describing how it is presented to a reader. From the data and theory described, the results yield that the majority of articles on rape as well as ‘corrective rape’ appeared in the opinions sections of the newspapers. The issue of rape and ‘corrective rape’ were less likely to be reported on by journalists than commented on by columnists and cartoonists. While domestic- and international news on rape share similar weighting in reports, the editors of the publications provide less credence to the issue.

Another category describing and exploring the angles used when reporting on rape (including ‘corrective rape’) is presented in “Table 7: Victimology represented in the 72 articles concerning rape.” As described in the methodology chapter, the victimology in this

regard refers to the classification of the victim of rape identifiable in the report. As indicated, a report could identify more than one classification of victim of rape. From the selected newspapers the results show that three reports on 'child on child rape' (3.89%), 27 on 'adult on child rape' (35.06%), 22 on 'adult on adult rape (heterosexual)' (28.57%), three on 'adult on adult rape (homosexual)' (3.89%), one on 'commercial rape (sex workers)' (1.29%), one report on the rapist as the victim (1.29%), thirteen reports appear where more than one classification of victims of rape are identified (16.88%) and seven reports where the victim is not evident in the report (9.09%). Most of the reports focus on 'adult on child rape'. By referring to Fiske and Taylor's (1991) work in framing and representation the data shows that newspapers present the rape of children as the most important consideration when dealing with the issue of rape (including 'corrective rape').

When comparing two classifications of rape victims which are explicitly based on sexual orientation ('adult on adult rape (heterosexual)' and 'adult on adult rape (homosexual)'), the research showed that the frame used by newspapers were seven times more likely to favour reports on heterosexual cases of rape than homosexual incidences of rape (even though lesbians are three times more likely to become victims of rape than their heterosexual peers as stated in the literature review chapter).

Outcomes as a category relevant to the research also revealed information to investigate the angles used when reporting on rape (including 'corrective rape'). As with the victimology category, reports can also represent more than one outcome. In fact, many of the reports include information on one aspect of rape and a call to action different to the initial information. Each of the sub-categories is explained in more detail in the methodology chapter of the research. The data revealed that five reports on rape (including 'corrective rape') resulted in a pure discussion of the issue (5.26%), while five reports result in a political- or legal debate (5.26%), one resulted in information about HIV/Aids, STD's and other related health issues (1.05%), 10 in 'facts, figures, information & statistics' (10.05%), 10 in 'judicial failure & non-prosecution' (10.05%), 44 resulted in a call for the social mobilisation of communities and political or popular figures (46.31%), 18 in 'prosecution & punishment' (18.46%) and two reports did not have a specific identifiable outcome presented (2.05%). It is not unexpected that the majority of reports called for social

mobilisation and movement (46.31%), because most of the reports on both rape and 'corrective rape' are the opinions (see *Table 4* and *Table 8*), as reports written by columnists and cartoons drawn by artists – in the data collected – are social commentary.

When referring to the data collected in "Table 8: Outcomes from the 72 reports concerning rape", the theory of framing and representation is also used to explain the frame building function of newspapers. Thus, from the findings the results show that rape is framed and represented differently to 'corrective rape'. As a summary of the data, the frequency of where reports on rape in comparison to 'corrective rape' would score higher on the priority register of readers. A formula inspired by Galtung and Ruge's (1965) trichotomy of events and issues according to newsworthiness, shows this clearly:

Formula variables include 'x', where x equals the frequency value; 'y', where y equals the percentage calculated ($x * 100/72$); 'z', where z equals points allocated to each sub-category from most prominent to least prominent. For example, 'cover page (1A)' = 6 points, 'news: domestic (1B)' = 5 points, 'news: international (1C)' = 4 points, 'editorials... (2A)' = 3 points, 'opinions... (2B)' = 2 points and 'letters to the editor' = 1 point. The final variable 'A' is where A equals the total points accumulated out of a possible 2100 points (600 + 500 + 400 + 300 + 200 + 100). 'A' needs to be calculated out of 100 to be used to compare rape with 'corrective rape'.

The formula applied to rape and 'corrective rape' respectively to arrive at a comparative value out of 100 possible points is: $y * z \text{ of } 1A + z \text{ of } 1B + z \text{ of } 1C + z \text{ of } 2A + z \text{ of } 2B + z \text{ of } 2C = A$; $100/2100 * A$.

	Rape	'Corrective rape'
1A (6 points)	0 +	0 +
1B (5 points)	104.15 +	20 +
1C (4 points)	77.76 +	0 +
2A (3 points)	41.64 +	20 +
2B (2 points)	77.76 +	180 +
2C (1 point)	6.94	0
TOTAL	308.25	220

Points out of possible 100	14.67	10.47
----------------------------	-------	-------

From the calculation above, it is clear that even though rape did not appear high on the agenda of newspapers concerning positioning of reports (14.67), it was still higher than the credence given to 'corrective rape' reports (10.47). The above calculation assumes that in perfect utopia each sub-category could possibly possess a 100% score, which is improbable. Thus, the formula is developed on the flaws of the content in order to illustrate a comparison.

The findings also conclude that the victims of rape are skewed 88% ($22/25*100$) in favour of a heterosexual orientation compared with the 12% ($3/25*100$) homosexual orientation. Framing and representation theory as described by Gitlin (1980) can contextualise the data by explaining how newspapers trivialise the issue of 'corrective rape' by reporting on the

issue through the placement of ‘corrective rape’ reports as well as the reference to who is affected by rape (and by omission or under representation, who is not).

4.10 Table 9: ‘Corrective rape’ reports (five reports) presented in weak- or strong frames

Article	Strong frames		Weak frames
	Article is informative & creates awareness	First person narrative	Generic information & reports
1		✓	
2		✓	
3			✓
4			✓
5			✓

This table was adapted from the work of Druckman and Chong (2007) and De Vreese (2000), each ‘corrective rape’ report is read and identified (holistically) as either a report concerning information and awareness or a first person narrative. These sub-categories are considered strong frames as they are indicative of communication which would directly address the issue of ‘corrective rape’. These type of reports are about activism, driving awareness, calling for action and advocating change. ‘Generic information’ refers to those reports that present facts or news in a manner that is superficial and/ or part of another agenda. For example, in the letter: “Gender violence requires a broader lens” (Judge 2012: 3), the writer discusses the violence perpetrated against the LGBTI community (which itself might be considered as activism); however, the reference made to ‘corrective rape’ (which makes it relevant as a report on the issue) is broad and does not describe it or call for any action to prevent it.

4.11 Findings addressing assumption 3

Assumption 3: There are more generic frames of ‘corrective rape’ reports in the selected newspapers.

Sub-problem 4: Are there more generic frames of ‘corrective rape’ reports in the selected newspapers than issue-specific frames?

Because the research focussed primarily on exploring how South African newspapers frame and represent ‘corrective rape’, the research also had to include explicit frames constructed when reporting on the issue. Referencing the work of Druckman and Chong (2007), the category in “Table 9: ‘Corrective rape’ articles (five reports) presented in weak- or strong frames” describes how the reports on the issue can be regarded as weak or strong. The three sub-categories include ‘article is informative & creates awareness’ and ‘first person narrative’, which are both strong frames. While the final sub-category of ‘generic information & reports’ is a weak frame. Two of the reports (40%) on ‘corrective rape’ are ‘first person narratives’, while three reports (60%) are generic information which does not inform the reader about what ‘corrective rape’ is or that it is an issue of importance. From the data the results show that most of the reports on ‘corrective rape’ use weak angles to frame and represent the issue.

Based on the work of Druckman and Chong (2007) (discussed in Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework) the result from the collected and analysed data showed that the issue of ‘corrective rape’ were framed using generic information more than framed by using recorded information to create awareness or first person narratives (by the Mail & Guardian and The Sunday Independent) in newspapers. Thus, even though there was a strong call for social mobilisation, the journalists did not provide the reader with the information required to become actively involved in the discussion around the issue, such as providing telephone numbers for reporting cases, including a reminder of their social responsibility in regards to the issue, or using action words (such as “we have to educate men in our communities by...” or “stop raping women in an attempt to ‘cure’ them”).

4.12 Table 10: ‘Corrective rape’ articles (five reports) framed as axiom or stereotype

Article	Article is axiomatic of real life in regards to ‘corrective rape’	Article relies on stereotypes to describe lesbianism in regards to ‘corrective rape’
1	✓	
2	✓	
3		✓
4		✓
5		✓

This table was developed from the raw data uncovered from the selected newspapers and emergent codes. To explore the power relationships present in the reports, this category answers the question whether the writer used real lesbian experiences to write the report (axiomatic) or whether they relied on personal beliefs, attitudes or values of the journalist or writer to construct their opinion (whether pro-gay rights or anti-gay rights). Because journalists and other authors who contribute reports about the issue of ‘corrective rape’ drive the knowledge readers would have about the issue, it is necessary, in exploring and describing the issue, to examine at how they frame the issue (and what they base their knowledge on). Although this table reflect data on the information-process of the writer, it is not an exclusive comment on the power relationship which exist in their report – not all writers on the issue are gay, consult a lesbian person or victim of ‘corrective rape’. This does not mean that their contributions are less important.

4.13 Table 11: *Power relationships evident in the five ‘corrective rape’ articles*

Article	Journalist appears to be pro-gay rights	Journalist appears to be anti-gay rights	Journalist appears to be neutral
1	✓		
2	✓		
3			✓
4	✓		
5			✓

This table was developed based on the emergent codes and raw data uncovered from the selected newspapers. Stuart Hall (2012) discussed how language in the encoding process of messages can reveal much about the dynamic between sender and message and receiver. Although this research does not consider the impact of the message on the reader, it takes away from Hall’s work the importance of considering the language used to write a report and the bias it shows. Each report is read holistically and considered for each sub-category. For example, in the article “Love in a brutalised world” (Zvomuya, 2012) the writer uses words and phrases such as “Muholi is always out there overtly *fighting prejudice, questioning dogmas* around sexuality” and “documenting the lives of a *frightened, brutalised* community [gay] are gone” which appears to endear them to gay rights; while in the article “Gender violence requires broader lens” (Judge, 2012) uses no descriptive nouns when presenting facts to report on the issue of ‘corrective rape’. Here the writer appears to be neutral in their approach to the issue. The code does not seek to provide an absolute description of the five identified reports, but merely an investigation into the possible power relationship which exist between the journalists and the issue of ‘corrective rape’. Reports were also scanned for other linguistic markers and homosexual taxonomies that could identify sexual identities as “normal” from those which are “abnormal.” This could draw attention to the homosexual community framed positively or negatively. Normative assertions could include words such as “homosexual” or “gay”, while framing lesbians as *abnormal* could include reports which use words such as “dyke” or “un-African” as a description (McKaiser, 2012).

This chapter reflected the data gathered through the selection, methodology and coding process of the research. The most time of this research was spent on this chapter considering, planning, coding, collecting, tabulating and analysing the three selected newspapers and then the articles extracted from them during a twelve month period. Weighting tables showed the relationship between how the media dealt with the issue of rape to that of 'corrective rape'. Tables showing data concerning both a *priori* and emergent codes were presented in a prelude to the next chapter which seeks to extrapolate knowledge and information from the presented data. In the next chapter, findings will be based on the theories presented (as a window to view the issue) as well as the raw data reflected.

4.14 Findings addressing assumption 2, sub-problem 3

Sub-problem 3: What classifications of power relationships are evident in the report on 'corrective rape'?

McCombs (1972) noted that journalists, editors and other newsroom staff have an important part to play in shaping public opinion. Journalists, editors and other newsroom staff are able to influence reader knowledge of the issue by framing the issue in a specific way. Thus, to comprehensively explore and describe how newspapers frame and represent 'corrective rape', the contribution by the writers of newspaper content cannot be ignored.

By referring to "Table 10: 'Corrective rape' articles (five reports) framed as axiom or stereotype", two reports written by the journalist were based on interviews with lesbians raped by assailants with the intent of "curing" them, while three of the reports relied on secondary knowledge or information. The problem with relying on information, even well intentioned, resides in the fact that opinions, attitudes and beliefs are formed by experience, subjective observation and synthesis – if a journalist does not belong to a subject-group described in the report, they run the risk of creating an "us-them" frame relying on stereotypes and generalisations instead of 'n first person narrative. The purpose of the research is merely to explore and describe the framing of the issue of 'corrective rape' and not to suggest that a journalist has to be homosexual in order to report on the

issue sympathetically. To avoid the study becoming reductionist (that only women can report on woman's issues or only homosexuals can report on "gay" issues) the research merely explores the sub-problem and contemplates the data. However, future studies on such a relationship (to uncover power dynamics and institutionalised homophobia) can utilise this research findings as part of a literature review. Here, Queer Theory can be used as a theoretical framework to further explore an "us-them" hypothesis, but for the purpose of this study the data merely reveals whether or not the reporter used field observations, ethnographic study, a case study or interviews were performed to enable the construction their report. As Halavais (2015) explains in his study on framing big social data theory, journalists tend to rely on methods to frame and represent general information and apply those methods to specific groups, whereas new, bigger sociological imagination (including participatory or collaborative journalism) should be used in re-examining the ways in which articles are written. From the data collected and analysed the results are that most of the reports (60%) rely on data from secondary and unreliable or unsubstantiated or biased sources.

Based on the work by Hall (2013) on representation of issues by analysing words, phrases and sentences to determine explicit or underlining power relationships between journalist (including editor and other newsroom staff) and an issue, whereby those issues are arbitrarily correlated with a set of mental representations – that is, the journalist produced a report with a noticeable framing footprint on it when critically examining their use of language. By referring to "Table 11: Power relationships evident in the five 'corrective rape' reports", three of the reports show language which appear to be pro-gay rights, while no reports are representative of an anti-gay rights viewpoint. Two of the articles appear to be written in a neutral tone and style. The methodology chapter include more details on the language categories and sub-categories used to determine which reports are assigned to which column. The information is not unexpected as most reports written on the issue of 'corrective rape' are opinions by columnists and call for social mobilisation and movement – these types of reports are often include more emotive tones and styles and less stoic, neutral expression.

To conclude this chapter the raw data retrieved from the selected newspaper reports within the described 12 month period were assigned to a *priori* and emergent categories. Tables were presented to show categories, sub-categories and data from reports and were discussed to better understand the frames used to represent reports on rape and 'corrective rape' and how such data were collected. After each table a description of the data tables provided context to how the data contributes to addressing the research problem. The qualitative research, through theoretical frameworks, gave meaning to the raw data to properly scrutinise the research problem. The aims of this chapter was also to translate the raw data presented in the data collection and analysis stage of the research into information through an in-depth discussion on how each Table addressed the assumptions and sub-problems. Each assumption considers the overall theme of the research, which is to explore if and how 'corrective rape' is framed and represented in South African newspapers. In the following chapter the data and considered information will be discussed by applying the framing theory as part of the critical realist paradigm to viewing the information and what it uncovered about the data in terms of answering the research question. Then, based on the conclusions, recommendations (limited by the scope of the research to merely explore and investigate) were offered. By combining the data collection and analysis section with the findings component of the research, the research was able to provide a clear and systematic guide to explore and describe how the selected South African newspapers report on the issue of 'corrective rape'.

Because it is one of the key objectives of this study, discourse and power relations need to be addressed. In the book 'Feminism/ Postmodernism' Linda Nicholson (1990) explain the work of Michel Foucault in discussions of power and the emancipation of women. Foucault begin to describe that when power is considered in the construction of societal mechanisms, it is related to masculinity. The issues affecting women (such as 'corrective rape') only become salient when those power relationships are better understood in the context of the power position of women in society. Ultimately Foucault fails to provide a theory of power for women though.

Chapter five: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

“Live, love and learn from one another.”

– Zanele Muholi, LGBTI visual activist (2013) –

‘Corrective rape’ incidents against lesbians are on the rise in South Africa (McCroy, 2014) and while sexual orientation and women’s rights are protected by the Constitution, the everyday experience by lesbians is maligned with violence and segregation. Authorities do little to prevent the violence from occurring. Homosexuality is still widely and unopposed regarded as “un-African, ungodly and unnatural” (Museveni, 2014), while patriarchy is ubiquitous within the South African society. The example from senior political figures such as Jacob Zuma does nothing to improve the profile of inequality between men and women in the country. Before becoming president, Zuma allegedly raped a 31-year old woman, which is the daughter of a family friend. His defence referred to how the woman (who identifies as lesbian, although the case does not register in a literature review as a ‘corrective rape’ incident...the then Deputy President just did not care) was wearing a skirt and sitting with her legs crossed obligated him, as a Zulu man, to satisfy an aroused woman (Hunter-Gault, 2015). The division in gender equality is felt most in marginalised communities where the economic and socio-cultural wellbeing of women are often ignored or becomes subservient to that of male members.

In this chapter the findings of the research is interpreted to address the research problem stated in the introduction of this dissertation, which is to explore and describe how the issue of ‘corrective rape’ is framed by the newspaper media in South Africa. The interpretation of qualitative data is different from that of quantitative research as it does not focus on prediction, causal determination or generalisation. The data being interpreted in qualitative research tries to avoid linear interpretations in which certain variables mechanistically relate to one another. Here, the data interpretation focuses on integrating the data to provide a meaningful understanding of the themes and categories developed – that is, it gives meaning to the raw data. The intention of this chapter is to provide reasonable insights to the issue that were not clear or obvious at first glance. Secondly, this chapter states how the aims were accomplished and lastly recommend possible future research on issues which

were uncovered throughout the research, but that were irrelevant to the scope of this investigation.

The argument for utilising the Agenda Setting- and Framing and Representation theories as well as a content analysis as a qualitative method of investigation lies in the intention of the study as well as the research problem. To explore and describe how the media report on 'corrective rape', the research first needs to establish that 'corrective rape' reports exist. For this, a content counting is ideal to identify 'corrective rape' reports; though this is a quantitative research design activity, the theme of the research requires a qualitative approach. Without repeating the rationale of why a content analysis was done and framing theory applied (covered in the methodology chapter), Fiske and Taylor's (1991) work in framing and representation supports the critical relativist aim of the research by helping to uncover how the issue of 'corrective rape' is approached by the media.

5.1 Interpretation of findings

To properly explore and describe if and how the newspaper media in South Africa report on 'corrective rape', the research problem was fragmented into assumptions and sub-problems which could be utilised to find specific data to enable accurate claims. The first assumption was to prove that selected newspapers did indeed include reports on the issue of 'corrective rape'. Other assumptions included whether the selected newspapers published articles with bias referring to the issue of 'corrective rape', and whether there were more generic frames of 'corrective rape' reports in the selected newspapers than reports framing the issue as a topic in need of recourse.

The data was collected by means of a content analysis whereby selected reports from the sample newspapers relevant to the study was coded and captured in various category tables. These categories were designed to answer sub-problems to support or disprove the assumptions made. A longitudinal study of three South African newspapers over a twelve month period yielded 72 reports on rape (including 'corrective rape'). When only 'corrective rape' reports were specified, five reports could be identified. To improve the accuracy and scope of the investigation, rape was also then introduced as a comparative constant. The

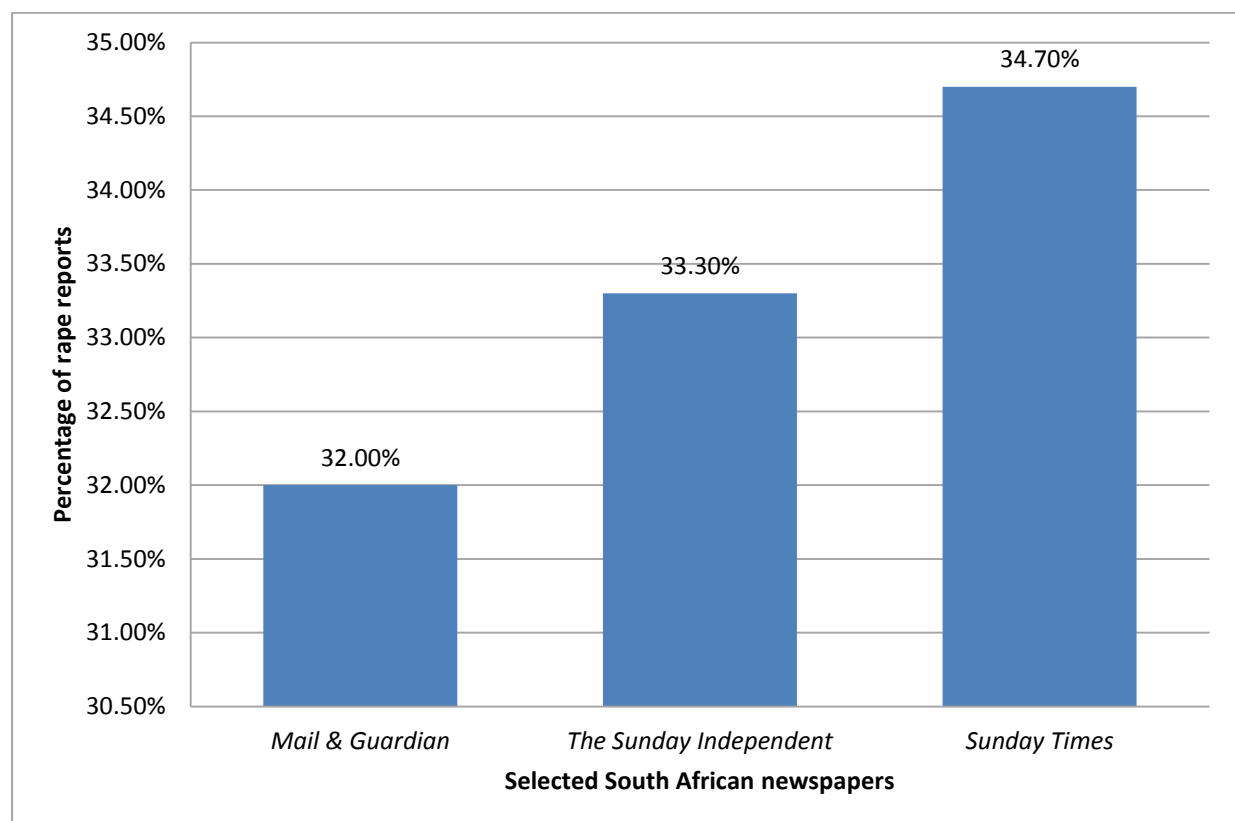
majority of those ‘corrective rape’ reports can be found in one of the selected newspapers (the *Mail & Guardian*), while the *Sunday Times* did not include any reports on the issue even though it is an “increasingly practiced form of violence perpetrated against lesbians”, according to Hunder-Gault (2015). Of the reports on the issue, only one report pertained to ‘corrective rape’ as domestic news, while the other reports appeared in the opinions section of the newspapers. Because newspapers have a cultural transmission, influence and information function (IIE, 2013), opinions of others in newspapers are less effective in setting the agenda and creating awareness than stories which appear on the front page, domestic- and international news sections (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). South African newspapers trail international reporting on the issue of ‘corrective rape’.

During the course of this research a program called ‘google alerts’ was used to supplement the researcher’s understanding of the issue of ‘corrective rape’ and reading the articles its weekly updates presented gave the researcher the sense that most ‘corrective rape’ reports (mostly referring to South Africa) came from periphery sources (in regards to the South African media which is the central node in this study). This is problematic as international news agencies often describe local issues in hyperbole – for example, one international report claims that South Africa has more than 500 000 annual reports of rape (independent.co.uk, 2014), while statistics from the South African Police Department (SAPS) reported 56 272 cases in 2010/2011 (STATSSA, 2011). Whereas the SAPS’s statistics are publicly scrutinised and audited for its validity by the media as well as independent auditing firms such as PriceWaterhouseCoopers (Middleton, 2011), international reports are rarely tested and criticised. Therefore, it is important that local media report on local issues as it can create a healthy, relevant debate surrounding the issue.

In addressing the assumptions, the selected newspapers seemed to favour reports on rape occurrences where an adult assaulted a child. While no one can argue the merit of the subject, the subject seems to polarise the attention of newspapers in reporting on rape. ‘Adult on child’ rape reports could still improve the priority given to the issue of rape, it does so in a heterosexual discursive space as no reported cases can be found where an under-aged lesbian was raped (even though such cases could, and probably does, exist). By this

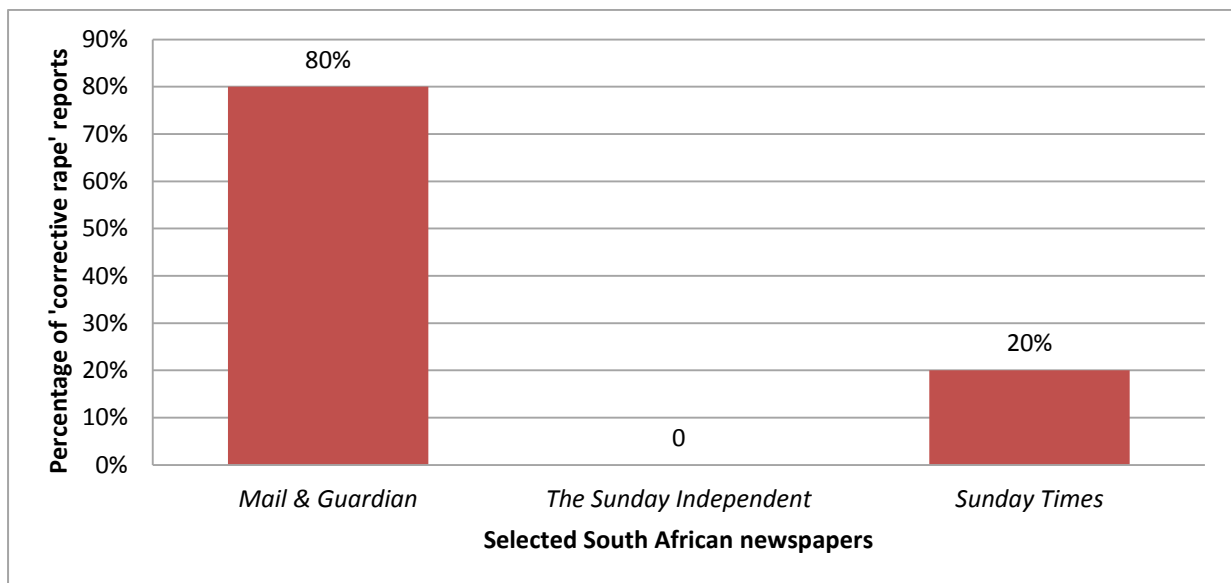
lack of participation, 'corrective rape' can be perceived as less important on the media's agenda.

5.2 Figure 1: *Percentage of rape reports identified during the 12 month data collection period from the three local South African newspapers*



The figure (above) shows a relatively even coverage of the issue of rape among the selected newspapers. The figure was developed based on a statistical analysis of the information uncovered from the selected newspaper reports on rape. *Figure 2* shows the unequal attention given to the issue of 'corrective rape' and was developed based on the statistical analysis of the information uncovered from the selected newspaper reports on 'corrective rape'.

5.3 Figure 2: Percentage of 'corrective' rape reports identified during the 12 month data collection period from the three local South African newspapers



To investigate the assumptions on how the media frames the issue of 'corrective rape', six categories were used to investigate. Based on the work of Galtung and Ruge on newsworthiness, by identifying where the reports on an issue is placed in the newspaper or in which section it appears, the newspapers seemed to place reports on rape (including 'corrective rape') mostly in the 'opinions' sections of newspapers. The 'opinions' section include columns, syndicated columns, quotes and cartoons concerning the issue (28 reports), while domestic incidences or reports on rape (15 reports) enjoy only a slight advantage over international reports (14 reports). Some reports on rape were identified in the 'editorial' section (10 reports), while five reports were identified in the 'letters to the editor' section of the newspapers. No reports on rape appeared on the cover page of the newspapers even though, during the period of data collection, high profile rape cases such as the *Modimolle Monster trial*, *Anene Booysen* and *Indian student in Delhi gang rape* cases frequently and prominently trended in other media and public platforms. To address the angles used when reporting on rape, it would appear that the newspapers assigned the issue to a social discussion forum and did not treat rape as a newsworthy issue. Often international incidences of rape were reported on more actively than those incidences happening within national borders, creating the sense that newspapers might consider

rape only newsworthy when it occurs as a central node and not a peripheral occurrence. The skewed contribution of columnists and editors compared to that of the readers (38 reports/ 5 reports) could possibly be viewed as public apathy toward the issue. Because the medium of communication is the newspapers discussed, the reasoning could indicate that the newspapers fail to create interest in the issue. When comparing this data applied to 'corrective rape' articles exclusively, one domestic incidence of 'corrective rape', one 'editorial' review and three opinion pieces were identified. Then, by the same measure as the reports on rape by way of newsworthiness, the newspapers failed to create any interest in the issue of 'corrective rape'. The newspapers did not report on one international incident of rape where the intention was to 'cure' the victim of their homosexuality and no articles appeared on the front page.

From the data it can be concluded that even though no articles on 'corrective rape' appeared in *The Sunday Independent*, the mere identification of issue-specific reports found in the other two units of analysis, newspapers do set the media agenda for 'corrective rape' (Though not as a relative salient issue). As described in the theoretical framework chapter, agenda setting theory defines the process of media to create salience of an issue (Dearing and Everett, 1996). Even though, compared to reports on rape, the issue of 'corrective rape' is not reported on consistently, the selected newspapers did include reports on the issue, which, similar to a sighting of only one extra-terrestrial would be enough to definitively prove the existence of life on other planets, conclusively prove that incidences of 'corrective rape' occur in South Africa. Whether the media agenda had any influence in setting public agenda is a topic for future study.

To better understand 'corrective rape' in relation to rape as a whole, other classifications of rape (such as *power rape*, *date rape*, *prison rape* and *spousal rape*) were described (in the literature review chapter) to investigate whether the amount of reports on 'corrective rape' were unique in terms of credence given to that of other taxonomies of rape. The only rape-types identified during the data collection period, were *power rape* (1), *sadistic rape* (1), *date rape* (1), *gang rape* (30), *spousal rape* (1), and *statutory rape* (4). In the *non-descript* classification where the 'type' of rape could not be identified (rape is used here generally) there were 29 reports. By far, the most reports appeared on or concerning *gang rape*. Even

though gang rape is a common and obviously worrisome occurrence, it is clear that the selected newspapers favour events and discussions relating to gang rape instead of, for example, *war rape* which can be considered as heinous and might occur as frequently. Also, lesbians are often gang-raped in an attempt by perpetrators of the act (and sometimes even family members) to *rectify* their homosexuality however none of the gang rape reports mentioned that LGBTI groups are victims of gang rape. Here, gang rape is assigned a heterosexual narrative. 'Corrective rape' received more attention than some of the other classifications of rape, but when applying Levi-Strauss' binary opposition perspective when looking at heterosexual versus homosexual reports to create a 'gender binary', the 'corrective rape' issue remains underrepresented. Another category used to reflect data on 'corrective rape' frames is "Table 9: 'corrective rape' reports (five articles) presented in weak- or strong frames", which used the work of Drukman, Ching and De Vreese to code and identify whether the relevant articles framed the issue as a general- or as a salient topic. Of the five articles, three of those framed the issue of 'corrective rape' as generic information and reports, which could result in the reader viewing the issue similarly. The aim of this research is not to prove audience effect, but rather to explore how the selected newspapers frame the issue. The issue, here, is framed in a way that would not suggest its significance in contemporary South African society.

When referring to the style and tone in which reports were written, even though there does not appear to be an explicit example of *anti-gay* rights in the reports on 'corrective rape' – in fact, most of the reports appear to be written from a *pro-gay* rights perspective – the risk of using emotive language (affirming either the antecedent or consequent of an argument) is that it aligns with or contravene a reader's own value systems causing them to have to defend their position on the issue (even though they might not have a well-defined position). Neutral, fact based, logical and reasoned reports effectively support informed debate and decision making.

To round out a conversation in the understanding of weak- versus strong frames in relation to framing, Drukman and Chong (2007) describe an example about a Ku Klux Klan rally where citizen's opinions are framed as either free speech (weak frame) or a public safety issue (seen as a strong frame).

As an institution of conscience within society, it is the duty of an independent and effective media to remind communities (civil- and political) of their responsibilities (which are enshrined in Chapter two, Section 16 of the Constitution of South Africa), which states:

“Everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes freedom of the press and other media; freedom to receive or impart information or ideas; freedom of artistic creativity; and academic freedom and freedom of scientific research. The right to subsection (1) does not extend to propaganda for war; incitement of imminent violence; or advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm” (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development 2015).

5.4 Meeting the aims of the research

The aims of the research were to explore and describe if and how the media reported on the issue of ‘corrective rape’. The research also investigates the salience of the issue in South Africa and the media. Based on the work of Entman (2006) in which he writes about frames in terms of which themes, topics and arguments are granted prominence in the reports as a whole (thus to reveal dominant frames), the reports on ‘corrective rape’ revealed that the selected newspapers had indeed outlined the issue. These aims were achieved by including a breakdown of the data collected in the findings- as well as conclusion and recommendations chapters of this dissertation as well as providing a context of the issue in the introduction chapter. The first report on ‘corrective rape’ was Melanie Judge and Jane Arnott’s (2012) article in the *Opinions* section of the *Mail & Guardian*: “Opening spaces to challenge prejudice.” The *Mail & Guardian* (refer to APPENDIX A) reported on the issue more than any of the other two selected newspapers (80 percent of the total number). In this article, Judge and Arnott write about the International Day against Homophobia which was celebrated by LGBTI communities and other human rights groups on the 17th of May 2012. Although the article concentrates on the LGBTI issues, it does make reference to a growing problem in South Africa of lesbians (especially those living in rural areas) being targeted and sexually assaulted in an attempt to ‘cure’ them of their orientation. The article include the sections “lesbian, bisexual, gay, transgender and intersex”, “same-sex sexual practices”, “corrective rape” and “homophobia” multiple times throughout the text. As presented in the tables in the data collection chapter, this article

appears in the *Editorials* section of the paper on the 35th page, which relegates it to the back end of the paper. The writers, both board members of the *Triangle Project*, which is a human rights group helping to address LGBTI issues, appeared to be pro-gay in their narrative, using phrases such as: “The Traditional Courts Bill, which vehemently oppose the equal rights of same-sex citizens of South Africa, are a **throwback to apartheid inequalities**.” The words appear in bold to highlight the coded sections which resulted in the report being qualified as a particular category. The connotation of “apartheid” introduced when discussing the marginalisation of same-sex citizens takes on an activist perspective pro-gay. The writers also make reference to real events, when they state: “One example is our *gogo* (grandmother) talks, during which older, heterosexually identified women and young, openly lesbian and bisexual women come together to talk, listen and learn that their struggles are not separate.” In this frame, the report presents an axiomatic picture of lesbian experience and does not rely on a stereotype or myth to present the issue. When touching on the issue of ‘corrective rape’, the article does not make mention of any child- or teen involvement and is thus framed as an ‘adult on adult’ occurrence, while the *outcome*-frame present in the article is social mobilisation when Arnott and Judge write: “By laying claim to rights and holding leaders to academic account, many South Africans **should be contesting these prejudices and should seek to make good on constitutional aspirations to public participation and justice**” (Arnott and Judge, 2012).

The second article on ‘corrective rape’ was “Love in a brutalised world”, written by Percy Zvomuya (2012). He writes an article based on a photo exhibition by Zanele Muholi, about the what the images of the lesbian subject reveal concerning LGBTI issues. The article appears in the *Editorials* section of the *Mail & Guardian* and appears to take on a pro-gay narrative, when he writes: “If some people find her [Muholi] abrasive, it is a siege role she **has been forced** to take on, given that lesbians are “correctively” raped, sometimes even killed, especially in the townships.” Zvomuya (2012) writes the article based on an axiomatic lesbian narrative and not a stereotype as he included quotes from Muholi taken from an interview. Even though the article does not explicitly refer to an adult-on-adult rape occurrence when discussing ‘corrective rape’, it includes photographs of lesbians in their twenties and early thirties indicated in the photo caption: “*Fighting prejudice: Zanele Muholi’s portraits of Dikeledi Sibanda (22), Tash Dowell (31) and Thembi Khumalo (26).*”

Therefore it can be reasonably assumed to assign an adult-on-adult code to this article in terms of its victimology frame. Finally, the outcomes of this article call for social mobilisation, when the writer pens: **“You cannot talk about citizenry and then exclude a certain part of it”** (Zvomuya, 2012).

The third of the five reports on ‘corrective rape’ was “Gender violence require broader lens,” written by Melanie Judge (2012) (refer to APPENDIX A). This is the third report on ‘corrective rape’ to appear in the *Mail & Guardian* identified during the study period. In the article, Judge wrote about the sexual assault against lesbians and general homophobia in society. She posed a few relevant arguments which support the aim of this research stated in the introduction chapter: that the media does not confer status to the issue of ‘corrective rape’ in such a way that it becomes salient. The article is positioned in the *Editorials* page of the publication on the 26th page. The writer here seems to take a more neutral attitude to the topic as no pro- or anti- descriptive nouns can be identified, while the article includes fact based descriptions such as: **“Victoria John’s report (June 29 to July 5)** on the murder of Thapelo Makhute made for...” and “LGBTI people increasingly claim political and social space and women challenge cultural systems that undermine their rights. This resistance is partly why violence based on sexuality and gender occurs.” In the first quote the writer referred to a report (factual), while the second quote is an example of an opinion expressed without the use of emotive language to indicate her personal bias. Again, no children were mentioned when the ‘corrective rape’ issue was discussed and therefore can be assigned as a reasonable ‘adult-on-adult’ code captured assigned to the victimology category. Judge makes an interesting statement about power relationships when she writes:

“Violence tells us something about who we are, both as injured and the privileged. It calls us to ask: How are gender hierarchies sustained through homophobic violence? How do sexism, racism and class inequalities enable violence? Whose political and social interests are served by peddling prejudice? What happens when we do not hold to account leaders who actively promote hatred in the name of culture? We must consider these contextual issues” (Judge 2012: 26).

The outcome of this article does not call to action any audience parties; it merely discussed the effects of homophobia and violence perpetrated against lesbians in the name of preserving a prejudiced notion of cultural autonomy and purity (Judge 2012: 26).

The fourth article: “No cause to celebrate a racist pride” was a report on an incident which occurred during the Jo’burg Gay Pride parade held in Johannesburg on 6 October 2012. The report was written by Gillian Schutte, who wrote about the “nasty response to a protest by black lesbians” that showed how the event had lost its political relevance. The report read like a scathing criticism to the organisers of the parade, however it did include what the black lesbians were protesting about, which included reference to ‘corrective rape’ (which made it a relevant report for the purpose of this study). The journalist seems to take on a pro-gay narrative when she wrote: “It was **entirely** necessary that *One in Nine* ambushed the depoliticised parade and **forced a point**” (Schutte, 2012). A dominant frame which emerged from this text is that of social mobilisation and –movement. Schutte wrote: “**We need more civil disobedience** from organisations and movements if we are to confront...” and “To find out **how to become a part of...** South African Civil Society Information Service (sacsis.org.za)...” (Schutte, 2012). The report appeared on the 21st page of the *Mail & Guardian* 12 to 18 October 2012 edition and was therefore coded as a domestic news item, while the victimology referred to an adult-on-adult (homosexual) code. The report is also based on axiomatic lesbian account and does not rely on stereotypes to frame the issue. Schutte wrote: “Let me described what happened...” and then proceeded to recount an eyewitness account of the event (Schutte, 2012).

The fifth, and final, report appeared in *The Sunday Independent*, in the reviews section of the publication. Although not a report explicitly on ‘corrective rape’, the report is a review of a book by Zakes Mda which includes a reference to ‘corrective rape’. Even though the mention in the review on the issue is slight, it does create the opportunity for audiences to view the concept and, if intrigued, to find out more about it. This rationale thus made this report relevant to the study. For the discussion surrounding dominant frames, the analysis revealed about as much as the short 156 word review did: The report did not rely on a real lesbian experience to draw its argument and because it is a book review (and not a discussion on ‘corrective rape’) the journalist, in this regard, remained impartial (neutral) with no call to action (Mda, 2012).

Although the two main theoretical perspectives used to coalesce and understand the data uncovered in the research were agenda setting- and framing and representation theories, newsworthiness based on the work of Galtung and Ruge (1965) was also used to describe why or why not the issue of 'corrective rape' was or was not reported on based on the three hypotheses of 'newsworthiness', including the additivity hypothesis which describes how the more factors in the classification of newsworthiness an event or occurrence or issue satisfy, the higher the probability of it being reported on; the complementarity hypothesis then describes that the factors tend to exclude each other. Thus, if one factor is present it is less necessary for the other factors to be present for the event or occurrence or issue to become news. Lastly, the exclusion hypothesis describes that events or occurrences or issues which satisfy none or very few factors will not become news (Harcup and O'Neill, 2001). To contribute to the research relating to new values to determine newsworthiness of an issue, another study from Harcup (2010) was referred to. As previously discussed in the data collection chapter, the study involved a content analysis of British newspapers which aimed to shed light on the news selection process by examining the news values currently operational in British newspapers. The study looked at Galtung and Ruge's widely used taxonomy of news values established in their 1965 study and had put these criteria to the test in an empirical analysis of news published in three national daily British newspapers. The findings of the content analysis were used to critically evaluate Galtung and Ruge's original criteria and to propose a contemporary set of news values. As a result, the research relied on the newsworthiness taxonomy proposed by Galtung and Ruge (1965) as well as new and emergent news values to explore and describe the research problem.

From the analysis of the five reports on 'corrective rape' identified in the selected newspapers during the described research period, two questions related to framing of the issue, arise: Emotional-, visual- and moral evaluations as well as country-specific frames are missing from the analysis as a pure content analysis does not necessarily reveal the necessary information to comprehensively and exhaustively investigate the issue; and how can changing frames be dealt with? For the first shortcoming of the analysis, the research required the exploration and description of the issue and whether or not it appeared in the selected newspapers (proven) and how these reports were framed (explored and described in terms of outcomes, victimology, axiomatic realities, power relationships and positioning).

Secondly, over time frames change as society do (Goffman, 1974) and these 'new' frames will have to be operationalised and applied in a completely new study.

The aims of the dissertation were also to show the aptitude of the researcher to construct and present a document which is coherent, reliable and circumspect. These aims were achieved in part by showing the process of research in stating a research problem, developing relevant assumptions and sub-problems to investigate the research theme, conducting an extensive literature study of the issue, executing an appropriate methodology and data collection technique to gather data and to discuss those findings by applying theoretical perspectives which ultimately uncovered answers to the research problem.

5.5 Recommendations for future studies

This research dissertation does not provide any recommendations of action or assumptions on audience effect. This is in scope of the research intention of describing and exploring how the media frame and represent the issue of 'corrective rape'. Thus, this investigation does not presume any effects or actions from its results. However, throughout the research process many possible avenues of research were uncovered and warranted the inclusion of a 'recommendations' section. Research should be conducted to test how LGBTI human rights groups can be consulted more when addressing issues of relevance (such as 'corrective rape') to its community. Instead of rape (including 'corrective rape') being assigned to columnists and other opinion leaders, newspapers could take a more active role in setting the agenda and framing the issue in a way that would call politicians and the public to be accountable.

In concluding this dissertation, the research problem explored was to conduct an investigation on how South African newspapers frame the issue of 'corrective rape' by, in juxtaposition, also analysing how reports on rape were framed. Both the issue of 'corrective rape' and rape became relevant to the field of communication science and media as soon as these fields were able to influence audiences through education, mass dissemination and production of information and persuasive messaging. Because it would be impossible to separate the obligations of a communicologist and media expert from issues affecting the

environment, social issues become relevant as soon as it enters media- and or public discourse. As Tuchman said, because news is developed and distributed according to a free economy which is consumer driven, the journalist is directly responsible for what issues, how much of that issue and how the issue is seen by audiences (De Wet, 2013). The research problem was then investigated by selecting three prominent newspapers in South Africa, constructing a longitudinal study whereby reports on rape and 'corrective rape' were identified, coded and captured for analysis and the theories of Agenda Setting and Framing and Representation (along with descriptions of newsworthiness) were used to contextualise the discoveries. The findings revealed that although South African newspapers report on 'corrective rape' (issue and incidences), albeit skewed to only two of the newspapers, it underreports on it when compared to the rape-statistic-to-reporting-ratio (that is a conservative rape statistic of more than 55 000 reported rape cases in 2009/10 (STATSSA, 2011) and 72 reports on rape identified from the 2012-2013 research). This is compared to the 10 new cases of 'corrective rape' being reported every week (Marting *et al*, 2009) in Cape Town alone with the five reports on 'corrective rape' identified from the 2012-2013 research. These findings can be used to address the research problem, but also for further research on the issue. 'Corrective rape' is not merely an LGBTI issue. It should not be relegated to communities or politicians who address issues based on their idiosyncratic agendas; Desmond Tutu once encapsulated the idea of humanity and human obligation perfectly when he said: "If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor. If an elephant has its foot on the tail of a mouse and you say that you are neutral, the mouse will not appreciate your neutrality" (Tutu and Carlton Abrams, 1990). Our moral obligation, cross-sectionally, should always be the equality and respecting dignity of all.

SOURCES CONSULTED

50 Shades of Black Friday [online]. 2013. Available WWW:

<http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/50-shades-of-Black-Friday-20130404> (Accessed 5 April 2013).

Alteide, D.L. 1997. The news media, the problem frame, and the production of fear. *The Sociological Quarterly* 39(4): 647-668.

Al Arabiya News. 2014. *South Africa's lesbians fear shocking 'corrective rape'* [online]

Available WWW: <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/features/2014/01/05/South-Africa-s-lesbians-fear-shocking-corrective-rape-.html> (Accessed 1 June 2015).

AP. 2015. *Jamaican case of woman lured by rapists posing as lesbians in online chatroom gains international attention* [online]. Available WWW:

<http://www.sanfrancisco.cbslocal.com> (Accessed 1 November 2015).

Archer, M., Bhaskar, R., Collier, A., Lawson, T. & Norrie, A. 1998. *Critical realism: essential readings*. London: Routledge.

Arnott, J. & Judge, M. 2012. Opening spaces to challenge prejudice. *Mail & Guardian*. June 8:5.

Askin, K.D. 1997. *War crimes against women: Prosecution in International War Crimes Tribunal*. Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Audit Bureau of Circulation of South Africa. 2011. *Third Quarter release, ABC certified* [online]. Available WWW:

http://www.medioclubsouthafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=73%3#weekly (Accessed 16 March 2013).

Babbie, E. & Mouton, J. 2001. *The practice of social research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Baldauf, S. 2011. In South Africa, lesbian murder case highlights justice system's slow response. *Christian Science Monitor* 23(1):1.

Bateson, G. 1973. *Steps to an ecology of mind*. Illinois: University of Chicago Press.

Batzliou, A. 2011. Framing 'otherness' in photographs: the case of immigrants in Greece and Spain. *Journal of Media Practice* 12(1):41-60.

Beaty, Z. 2013. The shocking rise of "queericide". *Grazia*, September 20: 40.

Becker, A.B. 2012. Determinants of public support for same-sex marriage: generational cohorts, social contact, and shifting attitudes. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 24(4):524-533.

Bhalla, N. 2015. *Film lifts lid on corrective rape in families of gays in India* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.reuters.com/article/india-lgbt-rape-idUSKBN0OR1KF20150611> (Accessed 10 November 2015).

Bill of Rights [online]. 1996. Available WWW: <http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/96cons2.html> (Accessed 13 May 2012).

Booth, M.J. 2013. *Words of hope from a prison rape survivor* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.truth-out.org/speakout/item/13480-words-of-hope-from-a-prison-rape-survivor> (Accessed 15 January 2013).

Borchers, H.J. & Yngvason, J. 2006. *Partially commutative moment problems* [online]. Available WWW: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com> (Accessed 8 August 2013)

Britannica. 2015. *Ferdinand de Saussure* [online]. Available WWW: <http://global.britannica.com/biography/Ferdinand-de-Saussure> (Accessed 21 November 2015).

Bryman, A. 2012. *Social research methods*. 4th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bryson, D. 2011. *Only a matter of time before next corrective rape* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2011-05-11-only-a-matter-of-time-before-next-corrective-rape.html> (Accessed 12 June 2012).

Change.org. 2011. *South Africa: Take action to stop 'corrective rape'* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.change.org/petition/south-africa-take-action-to-stop-corrective-rape> (Accessed 10 May 2014).

Chandler, D. 2015. *Cultivation theory* [online]. Available WWW: <http://visual-memory.co.uk/daniel/Documents/short/cultiv.html> (Accessed 18 April 2015).

Chong, D. & Druckman, J.N. 2007. Framing Theory. *Annual Review of Political Science* 10(1):103-126.

Cleary, S. 2003. *The communications handbook: a student's guide to effective communication*. 2nd edition. Lansdowne: Juta & Co. Ltd.

Communication theories: all about theories for communication [online]. 2015. Available WWW: <http://communicationtheory.org/priming> (Accessed 18 April 2015).

Consent judgement welcomed [online]. 2008. Available WWW: <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Consent-judgment-welcomed-20081126> (Accessed 9 February 2013).

Corrective rape: S Africa's shocking cure to lesbianism [online]. 2014. Available WWW: <http://www.thedailystar.net/world/corrective-rape-5527> (Accessed 1 June 2015).

Cover, R. 2013. Queer youth resilience: Critiquing the discourse of hope and hopelessness in LGBT suicide representation. *M/C Journal*, (e-journal) 16(5): 9. Available through EBSCO

Host website:

<http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.ukzn.ac.za:20167/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=0c70ece-1b43-4b09-98e2-641123be7831%40sessionmgr10&vid=2&hid=9> (Accessed 3 August 2014).

Craven, E. 2015. *ActionAid South Africa* [online]. Available:

[http://www.actionaid.org/search/apachesdr_search/corrective%20rape?gids\[0\]=247](http://www.actionaid.org/search/apachesdr_search/corrective%20rape?gids[0]=247) (Accessed 7 July 2015).

Crotau, D. & Hoynes, W. 2003. *Media/ Society: industries, images and audiences*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

De Souza, R. 2007. The construction of HIV/ Aids in Indian newspapers: a frame analysis.

Health Communication, (e-journal) 21(3): 257-266. Available through EBSCO Host website:

<http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=c12cdvg064-03e8-4516-b765-4813a224de37%40sessionmgr11&vid=2&hid=10> (Accessed 4 June 2014).

De Vreese, C.H., Peter, T. & Semetko, A.J. 2000. Framing Europe: television news and

European integration. *Political Communication*, (e-journal) 18(3):107-122. Available through EBSCO Host website:

<http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.ukzn.ac.za:20145/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=4ed95f6d-853b-43f7-9123-cb105e1c13ef%40sessionmgr13&vid=2&hid=12> (Accessed 12 June 2013).

De Wet, J.C. 2013. *The art of persuasive communication: a process*. 3rd edition. Lansdowne: Juta & Co. Ltd.

Dearing, J.W. & Everett, R. 1996. *Agenda-setting* [online]. Available WWW:

<http://books.google.co.za> (Accessed 10 June 2014)

Du Plooy, G.M. 2009. *Communication research: Techniques, methods and application*. Kenwyn: Juta & Co. Ltd.

Du Plooy-Cilliers, F., Davis, C., & Bezuidenhout, R. (eds). 2014. *Research matters*. Lansdowne: Juta & Co. Ltd.

Du Preez, M. 2013. *A rumour of spring: South Africa after 20 years of democracy*. Cape Town: Penguin.

Du Toit, S. 2011. *Mandla Mandela: "Sexual age of consent is a white, Western notion"* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.2oceansvibe.com/2011/11/25/mandla-mandela-sexual-age-of-consent-is-a-white-western-notion.html> (Accessed 19 May 2012).

Dube, M. 2012. *Southern Africa: who is to blame for GBV? All of us* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.allafrica.com/stories/201212060316.html> (Accessed 5 august 2013).

Duffy, B.E., & Turow, J. (eds). 2009. *Key readings in media today*. New York: Routledge.

Entman, R.M. 2006. Framing public life: perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world. *Political Communication*, (e-journal) 23(1): 121-122. Available through EBSCO Host website: <http://ebSCOhost.com.ezproxy.ukzn.ac.za:2045/ehost/detail?sid=3452cd13-92cf-4f2f-87edf40b6028d81e%40sessionmgr110&vid=2&hid=118> (Accessed 12 August 2014).

Falkheimer, J. 2015. Depoliticizing terror: The news framing of the terrorist attacks in Norway, 22 July 2011. *Media, war & conflict*, 8(1), 70-85.

Fiske, S.T. & Taylor, S.E. 1991. *Social cognition*. 2nd edition. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Foucault, M. 1976. *The history of sexuality*. Michigan: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.

French First Lady to meet lesbian couple in South Africa. [O]. 2013. Available: <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/10/french-first-lady-meet-lesbian-couple-south-africa/#sthash.lvKOfw5r.dpuf> (Accessed 15 October 2013).

Funda, N. 2011. *Petition South Africa: take action to stop corrective rape* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.change.org/p/south-africa-take-action-to-stop-corrective-rape> (Accessed 21 November 2015).

Galtung, J. & Ruge, M.H. 1965. The structure of foreign news: The presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of peace research* (e-journal) 2(64), 64-91. Available through Google Scholar website: <http://www.google.scholar.com/the-structure-of-foreign-news-the-presentation-of-the-congo-cuba-cyprus-crisis-in-four-norwegian-newspapers.pdfviewer?sid=de9a9f63-cd6c-4c37-8cf2-41bc0f03bf%65=119> (Accessed 12 October 2013).

Galtung, J. & Ruge, M.H. 1994. Foreign News: News values and ideologies. *European journal of communication*, (e-journal) 9(1), 271-272. Available through EBSCO Host website: <http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.ukzn.ac.za:2045/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=34b13260-f87d-47e8-b277-919d1fb5b9e%40sessionmgr10&vid=6&hid=119> (Accessed 16 April 2014).

Geron, T. 2012. *The business behind Change.org's activist petition* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.forbes.com/sites/tomiogeron/2012/10/17/activism-for-profit-change-org-makes-an-impact-and-makes-money.html> (Accessed 19 October 2012).

Gitlin, T. 1980. *The whole world is watching: mass media in the making and unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gitlin, T. 1987. *The sixties: years of hope, days of rage*. New York: Bantam Books.

Goffman, E. 1974. *Frame analysis: an essay on the organization of experience*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Goh, D. 2006. *It's the gay's fault: news and HIV as weapons against homosexuality in Singapore* [online]. Available WWW: <http://research.easybib.com> (Accessed 14 August 2014).

Grundling, J.P. 2007. *The South African Sexual Offences Bill and HIV: male rape now recognised* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.mrc.ac.za/public/facts18.htm> (Accessed 1 November 2015).

Habermas, J. 1964. The public sphere, an encyclopedia article. *New German Critique* (e-journal) 3(1):49-55. Available through EBSCO Host website: <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer?sid=3540e51-84f9-4476-82f9-59bbd7bc0b01d%40sessionmgr13&vid=2&hid=120> (Accessed 5 November 2014).

Habermas, J., 1989. *The structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*. Cambridge: Polity.

Halavais, A. 2015. Bigger sociological imaginations: framing big social data theory methods. *Information, Communication & Society*, (e-journal) 18(5). Available through EBSCO Host website: <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail/detail?vid=8&sid=36814a61-92f7-4a78-801ed799b46c219%40sessionmgr110&hid=123&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=ufh&AN=101712643> (Accessed 1 June 2015).

Hall, S. 2013. *Representation*. 2nd edition. London: Sage.

Harcup, T. 2010. Pulling newspapers apart: analysing print journalism. *Journalism London* 11(2), 246.

Harcup, T. & O'Neill, D. 2001. What is news? Galtung and Ruge revisited. *Journalism studies* 2(2), 261-280.

Hawthorne, S. 2005. Ancient hatred and its contemporary manifestation: The torture of lesbians. *Journal of Hate Studies*, (e-journal) 4(1), 33-58. Available through EBSCO Host website:

<http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.ukzn.ac.za:2048/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=38b134550-f80d-47e8-b276-919d1bf9ef%40sessionmgr10&vid=6&hid=8> (Accessed 23 July 2014).

Hunter-Gault, C. 2015. *Corrective rape: discrimination, assault, sexual violence and murder against South Africa's LGBT community* [online]. Available WWW: http://www.the-root.com/articles/culture/2015/05/corrective_rape_the_epidemic_of_violence_against_south_africa_s_lgbt_community.html (Accessed 2 June 2015).

IIE. 2013. *Interpersonal communication (COSC5111)*. Sandton: Independent Institute of Education.

IOL. 2013. *The Sunday Independent* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.iol.co.za> (Accessed 16 March 2013).

Ireri, K. 2015. A study of newspaper columnists' framing of Kenyan politics in post-2007 election violence. *African Journalism Studies*, (e-journal) 34(2), 109-127. Available through EBSCO Host website:

<http://www.web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail/detail?vid=7&sid=86c916a4-47f6-48d4-8a9e-3627b9a391c0%40sessionmgr4004&hid=4104&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=89986626&db=ufh> (Accessed 13 July 2015).

Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R. & Dunkle, K. 2009. *Understanding men's health and use of violence: interface of rape and HIV in South Africa* [online]. Available WWW: http://www.mrc.ac.za/gender/violence_hiv.pdf (Accessed 3 July 2015).

Joffe-Walt, B. 2011. South Africa responds to 'corrective rape' campaign with national task team. *Gary McKinnon supports* [online]. Available WWW:

<http://agarymckinnonsupportsite.blogspot.com/2012/01/south-africa.html> (Accessed 2 July 2012).

Jones, B.D., & Baumgartner, P. 2004. Representation and Agenda Setting. *The Policy Journal*, 32(1), 1.

Judge, M. 2012. Gender violence requires broader lens. *Mail & Guardian*. August 3:3.

Kalus, P. & Thorpe, J. 2011. *'Corrective rape' as a hate crime in South Africa: legal and practical considerations*. Cape Town: Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust.

Kerr, T. 2015. *Can Christian ethics take down stigma and bias against women with HIV?* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.thebody.com/content/75538/can-christian-ethics-take-down-stigma-and-bias-aga.html> (Accessed 16 November 2015).

Kinama, E. 2011. *South Africa:Classifying 'corrective rape' as a hate crime* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.allafrica.com/stories/201105260375.html> (Accessed 18 December 2011).

King, M.L. 1964. *Letter from a Birmingham jail* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.africa.upenn.edu> (Accessed 1 July 2014).

Kogen, L. & Price, M.E. 2011. Deflecting the CNN effect: Public opinion polling and Livingstonian outcomes. *Media, War & Conflict* 4(2):109-123.

LaVictoire, B. 2012. *South African political groups want to strip LGBT people of rights* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.lezgetreal.com/2011/01/corrective-rape-petition-causes-chaos-for-south-african-authorities.html> (Accessed 3 June 2012).

Lim, G.Y. & Roloff, M.E. 1999. *Attributing sexual consent* [online]. Available WWW: <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail?vid=5&hid=111&sid=d141b2c2-2aa1-4588-aed2.html> (Accessed 19 May 2012).

Lippmann, W. 1922. *Public Opinion*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Lulekisiswe. 2013. *Sheltering a victim* [online]. Available WWW:
<http://www.lulekisiswe.com/news/sheltering-a-victim/> (Accessed 2 March 2013).

Martin, A., Kelly, A., Turquet, L. & Ross, S. 2009. "*Hate crimes: the rise of 'corrective rape' in South Africa*" [online]. Available WWW:
http://www.actionaid.org.uk/doc_lib/correctiveraperep_final.pdf (Accessed 21 April 2012).

McCombs, M. & Shaw, D. 1972. *The agenda-setting function of mass media* [online].
Available WWW: <http://www.oxfordjournals.org/content/36/2/176.abstract> (Accessed 13 June 2012).

McCroy, W. 2014. "*Corrective rape*" against lesbians rises in South Africa [online]. Available:
http://www.edgemedianetwork.com/news/international/News/153873/%22corrective_rape%22_against_lesbians_rises_in_south_africa (Accessed 2 June 2015).

McLaughlin, S. 2015. *Corrective rape: the homophobic fallout of post-apartheid South Africa* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/11608361/Corrective-rape-the-homophobic-fallout-of-post-apartheid-South-Africa.html> (Accessed 16 November 2015).

McPhail, B. 2002. Gender-bias hate crimes: a review. *Trauma, Violence, Abuse*, 3(125), 68-79.

McQuail, D. 2000. *Mass communication theory*. 4th edition. London: Sage.

MediaClubSouthAfrica. 2013. *South African newspapers* [online].
Available WWW:
http://www.medioclubsouthafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&

view=article&id=73%3Apress&catid=36%3Amedia_bg&Itemid=54 (Accessed 22 October 2013).

Media Tenor. 2013. *Media tenor online* [online]. Available WWW: http://www.mediatenor.co.za/smi_MT_research.php (Accessed 16 March 2013).

McKaiser, E. 2012. *Homosexuality un-African? The claim is an historical embarrassment* [online]. Available WWW: <http://.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/homosexuality-un0african-claim-historical-embarrassment> (Accessed 3 November 2015).

Mda, Z. 2012. Zakes Mda, novelist and professor in the English Department at Ohio University. *The Sunday Independent*. December 23:5.

Middleton, L. 2011. *'Corrective rape': fighting a South African scourge* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2057744,00.html> (Accessed 13 June 2012).

Mkhize, N., Bennett, J, Reddy, V & Moletsane, R. 2010. *The country we want to live in: Hate crimes and homophobia in the lives of black lesbian South Africans*. Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.

Moffett, H. 2007. 'These women, they force us to rape them': Rape as narrative of social control in post-apartheid South Africa. *Journal of South African studies*, (e-journal) 32(1):129-144. Available through EBSCO Host website: <http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.ukzn.ac.za:2048/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&hid=12&sid=95232865-7684-4215-bd29-a89b8c521651%40sessionmgr15> (Accessed 10 October 2014).

Monroe, I. 2012. South Africa's "corrective rape" of lesbians. *Bay Windows*, (e-journal) 30(27):7-9. Available through EBSCO Host website: <http://web.ebscohost.com.ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=5612089ac-ff1f-45b3-d78f-b667342eca0f%40sessionmgr10&vid=2&hid=7> (Accessed 20 July 2014).

Moody-Ramirez, M. 2015. The 2013 Steubenville Rape Case: An Examination of Framing in Newspapers and User-generated Content. *Southwestern Mass Communication journal*, (e-journal) 30(2), 1-22. Available through EBSCO Host website:

<http://web.ebscohost.com.ehost/pdfviewre/pdfviewer?sid=c18cf064-03e7-4216-bc713-4812d224de37%40sessionmgr11&vid=2&hid=3> (Accessed 21 July 2014).

Mouton, P. 1996. *Understanding social research*. Pretoria: JL Van Schaik Academic.

MRC. 2007. *The South African Sexual Offences Bill and HIV: male rape now recognized* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.mrc.ac.za/public/facts18.htm> (Accessed 13 May 2012).

Museveni, Y. 2014. *Uganda: away with unnatural, unafrican and ungodly beasts of the forest* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.jambonews.net/en/news/20140307-uganda-away-with-unnatural-unafrican-and-ungodly-beasts.html> (Accessed 4 November 2015).

Muwoki, K. 2013. *Rape is rape* [online]. Available: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/kate-muwoki/rape-is-rape_1_b_2980866.html (Accessed 5 April 2013).

Nel, F. 2009. *Writing for the media*. 3rd edition. Johannesburg: Oxford University Press.

News24. 2012. *Age of consent goes to ConCourt* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Age-of-consent-goes-to-ConCourt-20080828.html> (Accessed 15 May 2012).

Nicholson, L.J. (ed). 1990. *Feminism/ Postmodernism*. New York: Routledge.

Nosarka, A. 2013. Woman's murder a 'gay message crime'. *The Citizen*, July 4:3.

Onlineqda. 2012. *Online qualitative data analysis* [online]. Available WWW: http://www.onlineqda.hud.ac.uk/Intr_QDA/how_what_to_code.php (Accessed 8 August 2012).

Oppelt, P. 2012. One more horror, so many lost pieces in a nation's soul. *Sunday Times*, April 22:5.

O'Shaughnessy, M. & Stadler, J. 2012. *Media and society*. 5th edition. Victoria: Oxford.

O'Sullivan, T., Hartley, J., Saunders, D., Montgomery, M. & Fiske, J. 1994. *Key concepts in communication and cultural studies*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge.

Park, S., Xiaoqun, Z. & Holody, K. 2012. Race in media coverage of school shootings: a parallel application of framing theory and attribute agenda setting. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, (e-journal) 89(3): 478-494. Available through EBSCO Host: <http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail/detail?vid=11&sid=86c916a4-47f6-48d4-8a9e-3627b9a391c0%40sessionmgr4004&hid=4104&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=79920942&db=ufh>. (Accessed 24 July 2015).

Peele, T. (ed). 2011. *Queer popular culture: literature, media, film, and television*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Peirce, K. 1999. *Boys don't cry* [Film]. Boston: Fox Searchlight Pictures

Pressreference. 2015. *Media history* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.pressreference.com/Sa-Sw/South-Africa.html#xzz3gmgCzFkS> (Accessed 30 July 2015).

Pullen. C. 2012. *LGBT transnational identity and the media*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Radloff, L. 2013. *FHM writer's joke about correctional rape* [online]. Available WWW: <http://t.co/2ZzbDjdOH4> (Accessed 16 July 2013).

RAINN. 2009. *Statistics* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.rainn.org/statistics?gclid=CI6034TBkK8CFYdKpgodBXtXzQ> (Accessed 30 March 2012).

Rape. 2012. *Rape* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.soc.ucsb.edu/sexinfo/article/rape> (Accessed 11 October 2012).

Rapecrisis. 2015. *Rape in South Africa* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.rapecrisis.org.za/rape-in-south-africa/> (Accessed 12 November 2015).

Rape crisis. 2012. *You and rape* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.rapecrisis.org.za/downloads/You%20and%20Rape%20English.pdf> (Accessed 31 March 2012).

Reis, R. 2009. *Same-sex marriage as contested political terrain: media coverage of California's Proposition 8* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.csulb.edu/rreis> (Accessed 12 April 2014).

SABC3. 2015. 'Corrective rape' Special Assignment, 15 September 2015.

Schaap, J. 2013. *Exploring gendered lives* [Video]. Boston: ESPN. Available WWW: <http://espn.go.com/video/clip?id=5181871> (Accessed 15 October 2013).

Schäfer, M.S. 2009. *Analysing framing in comparative studies on climate change in communication* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.slideshare.net/mikesschaefer/schaefer-framing-theory-and-methods-overview-and-open-questions> (Accessed 22 November 2015).

Scheufele, D.A. 1999. Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of communication*, (e-journal) 49(1): 103-122. Available through EBSCO Host website: <http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.ukzn.ac.za:2035/ehost/detail?sid=ad911438-eccd4-9869-bd73->

8c57510088ae%40sessionmgr115&vid=1&hid=128&gdata=JnKpdGU9ZWhvc3tbG12ZQ%3d%3d#db=a9h&BN=677347 (Accessed 5 January 2013).

Schutte, G. 2012. No cause to celebrate a racist pride. *Mail & Guardian*. October 12:21.

Segar, M. 2015. *Gay men tell UN Security Council of being Islamic State* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.stuff.co.nz/world/middle-east/71452056/Gay-men-tell-UN-Security-Council-of-being-Islamic-State-targets> (Accessed 12 November 2015).

Sei-Hill, K., Miejeong, H., Doo-Hun, C. & Jeong-Nam, K. 2012. Attribute agenda setting, priming and the media's influence on how to think about a controversial issue. *International Communication Gazette*, (e-journal) 74(1):43-59. Available through EBSCO Host website: <http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.ukzn.ac.za:2048/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=5610889ac-fcad-4579-fcad-8709-9cae-2dc0b2a9fad2%40sessionmgr11&vid=2&hid=9> (Accessed 16 June 2014).

Sexual Offences and related matters - Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. 2015. *Department of Justice and Constitutional Development* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/2007-032.pdf> (Accessed 22 September 2015).

Stacks, D.W. & Hocking, J.E. 1992. *Essentials of communication research*. New York: Harper Collins.

STATSSA. 2011. *Statistical release P0302* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022011.pdf> (Accessed 12 November 2012).

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. 1998. *Basics of Qualitative research: grounded theory procedures and techniques*. 2nd edition. Newbury Park, Sage.

Struwig, F.W. & Stead, G.B. (eds). 2013. *Research: planning, design and reporting*. 2nd edition. Cape Town: Pearson.

Tayeebwa, W. 2008. *From conversational toward new frames of peace journalism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Timeslive. 2013. *Sunday Times* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.timeslive.co.za> (Accessed 16 March 2013).

The Independent Institute of Education. 2013. *Communication Science5111*. Johannesburg: IIE.

Tlhabi, R. 2013. Let's scream rape from the rooftops. *The Sunday Independent*. January 6:2.

Thamm, M. 2014. *Self-confessed homophobe Jon Qwelane quietly vacates Ambassadorial position in Uganda* [online]. Available: http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2014-11-18-self-confessed-homophobe-Jon-Qwelane-quietly-vacates-Ambassadorial-position-in-Uganda/#,VksWU_5xkdU (Accessed 12 November 2015).

Toledoblade. 2009. *Rape as a weapon* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.toledoblade.com/Editorials/2009/03/20/Rape-as-a-weapon.html> (Accessed 8 August 2012).

Tutu, D. & Carlton Abrams, D. 1990. *God's dream*. New York: Barnes & Noble.

Van Niekerk, R. 2013. California bans 'Ex-Gay' therapy for kids. *Gay Pages*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Associated Business Networks (Pty) Ltd.

Underhill, G. 2012. *Apartheid and censorship: the more things change...* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za> (Accessed 1 June 2015).

Venter, L. 2007. Exploring contextual influences on the architectural structure of South African television news programmes. *Communication – South African journal for*

communication theory, (e-journal) 33(2):10-24. Available through EBSCO Host website: <http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.ukzn.ac.za:2048/ehost/detail?sid=0d4cfc8b-5a5a-4344-8ccf-330d70afc%40sessionmgr116&vid=2&hid=127&ddata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvd3Q%3d%3d#db=a9h&AN=59879> (Accessed 16 June 2015).

Warren, P.N. 1996. *The front runner*. San Francisco: Warren.

Weaver, D.H. 2007. Thoughts on Agenda-setting, Framing, and Priming. *Journal of Communication*, (e-journal) 57(1), 142-147. Available through EBSCO Host website: <http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.ukzn.ac.za:2036/ehost/detail?sid=05htt7-5a5a-4344-8ccf-330d70afc%40sessionmgr116&vid=2&hid=127&ddata=JZWhvd3Q%3d%3d#db=a9h&AN=59855> (Accessed 5 June 2015).

Wesley, T. 2012. *Classifying 'corrective rape' as a hate crime: A call for justice* [online]. Available: <http://osisa.org/buwa/south-africa/classifying-%E2%80%98corrective%E2%80%98rape-hate-crime-call-justice> (Accessed 25 October 2012).

West, R. 1947. *BrainyQuotes* [online]. Available WWW: <http://www.brainyquotes.com> (Accessed 9 October 2015).

Westerståhl, J, & Johansson, F. 1994. Foreign news: News values and ideologies. *European Journal of Communication*, (e-journal) 9(71):70-79. Available from EBSCO Host website: <http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.ukzn.ac.za:2082/ehost/detail?sid=34gf4722-5g22309ae%40sessionmgr223&vid=1&hid=1348&gdata=JvNN543529ac%3d%3d#db=a9h&BN=22130> (Accessed 15 February 2014).

Who is to blame for GBV? All of us! [online] 2012. Available WWW: <http://www.thezimbabwean.co.uk/news/analysis/62775/who-is-to-blame->

for.html?utm_source=thezim&utm_medium=homepage&utm_campaign=listarticle&utm_content=headinglink (Accessed 2012/12/14).

Worthington, N. 2008. Encoding and decoding rape news: how progressive reporting inverts textual orientation. *Women's studies in communication*, (e-journal) 3(31): 344-367.

Available from EBSCO Host website:

<http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.ukza.ac.za:2045/ehost/detail?sid=ae228-8ha4470%40sessionmgr156&vid=4&ffi=701&htdata> (Accessed 23 October 2013).

Zelizer, B. 2004. *Taking Journalism seriously: news and the academy*. California: Sage Publications.

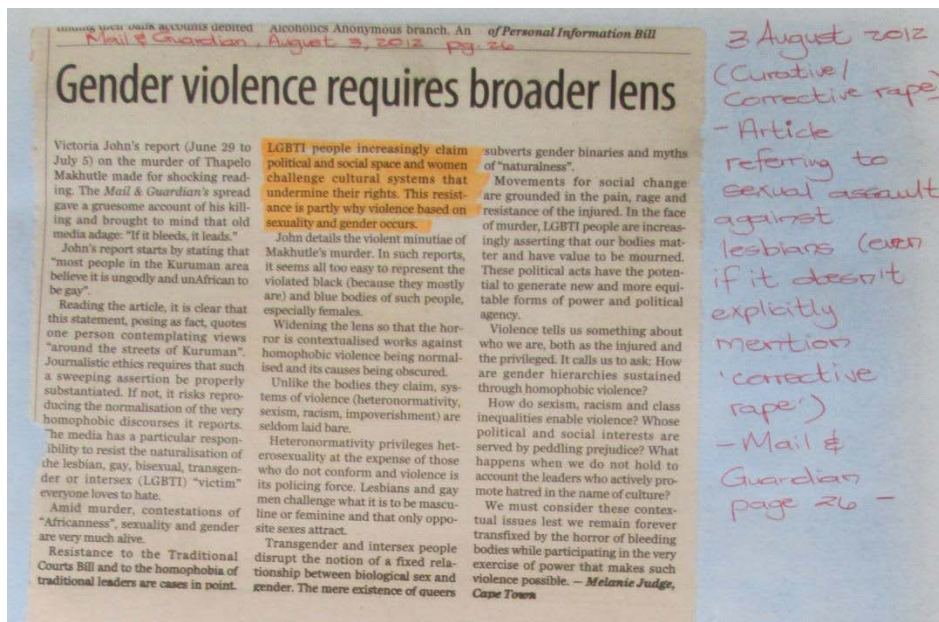
Zvomuya, P. 2012. Love in a brutalised world. *Mail & Guardian*. June 8:7.

APPENDIX A

Photo's taken of two (of five) 'corrective rape' article from the sample group prior to coding



(Arnott and Judge, 2012)



(Judge, 2012)