

Differences in presentation between male and female victims of sexual violence in news articles

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1. Abstract

There is a widely held view that men are less often victims of sexual violence, and this view is arguably promoted by the media. This research, explores whether if there are differences in the portrayal of male and female victims of sexual violence in newspaper articles. Fifty newspaper articles are analysed with the help of a codebook to identify differences in reactions from and towards people, as well as the language use, general tone of the article and the types of reactions observed.

Following the analysis, a number of differences are noted between the portrayals: reactions from the general population, females get more reactions than males, the general tone of the articles tend to be more positive when the victim is female, the word 'rape' is used more often for female victims, and 'sexual violence' for male victims; and the victim blaming is more prevalent when the victim is male. The word 'victim' appears at approximately the same frequency in articles concerning male and female victims. Different rape myths are discussed in reference to males and females. In conclusion, there are differences in the portrayal of male and female victims of sexual violence, but these are not sufficiently clear to draw firm conclusions.

2. Introduction

2.1 Anne Faber and Orlando Boldewijn

Anne Faber, a 25-year-old woman went missing on 29 September 2017. After looking for her throughout the afternoon, her boyfriend and family made use of social media to expand the search. After just one day, news of her disappearance had spread across the Netherlands and the police investigation was moving quickly (Nos, 2017). Many news articles were written about the disappearance and social media were flooded with posts about her. Anne Faber's body was later found and the offender arrested. Without the help of (social) media, it is unlikely that hers would this would have become such a well-known case. All commentators saw Anne Faber as an innocent victim.

Then there was the case of Orlando Boldewijn, a 17-year-old boy who went missing in February 2018. An amber alert was issued for him after he had been missing for a week. It is unknown why so much time elapsed before the amber alert was issued, and it is notable that many commentators did not depict Orlando Boldewijn as an innocent victim. According to RTL (2018), Anne Faber was regarded as the classic girl missing girl, whilst Orlando was presented as simply a homosexual teen who disappeared after a date with a man. It took several days for the media to give attention to the case. Only after the family began using social media to expand the reach of the search did, the police also begin looking. If the family had not utilised the power of (social) media, the police may not have properly investigated Orlando's disappearance.

Despite the Anne Faber case receiving much media attention, it did not end well, with the missing women eventually found dead. Here one can see a clearly difference in how quickly a young woman and a young man, respectively, recognised as victim. Media were an important factor in these two cases.

Besides the famous cases such as Anne Faber and Orlando Boldewijn many men and women around the world become victims of sexual violence every day. Approximately 100.000 people are victimised in this way each year in the Netherlands (Centrum Seksueel Geweld, 2017). One in eight women and 1 in 25 men is raped during their lifetime, in the Netherlands. (Centrum voor Seksueel Geweld, 2015). Research has shown that in the United States an estimated 43.9% of women and 23.4% of men experience some form of sexual violence during their lifetime (Breiding, 2014). Due to the huge numbers of men and women, who fall victim to sexual violence, it is essential to ensure the subject is given sufficient attention in research and media.

According to the World Health Organisation (WHO) (n.d.) sexual violence can be defined as: ‘Any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person’s sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work’. Rainn (n.d.) describes sexual violence as an “all-encompassing, non-legal term that refers to crimes like sexual assault, rape, and sexual abuse’. Sexual violence is an overarching term to describe all crimes with a sexual motive. As a result of victimisation, victims of sexual violence can experience depression and anxiety disorders such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (World Health Organization & Garcaia-Moreno, 2013). It is essential that victims of sexual violence receive adequate attention due to the severity of the detrimental effects that can result.

In the Netherlands, in 99 % of cases of sexual violence committed against girls and women, the offender is male. Amongst male victims under the age of 16, 59 % of the offenders are male. However, amongst male victims above the age of 16, 21 % of the offenders are male (Seksueel Geweld, 2015). It may be that males are less frequently seen as victims due to the higher rate of male offenders.

Although there are large numbers of male victims, there remains an assumption that victims of sexual violence are exclusively female, with women more readily recognised as victims. In a study by Emmers-Sommers (2015), respondents were shown scenarios of male and female victims and male and female perpetrators. According to their results, the respondents generally attributed less psychological damage to male victims of sexual violence than to female victim of sexual violence. When a female victim says ‘no’ to the perpetrator this is taken more seriously than when a male victim says the same. According to Stemple, Flores and Meyer (2017), some identified factors of minimizing male victimisation include reliance on gender stereotypes, outdated definitions of sexual victimisation and sampling biases. Examples of these gender stereotypes are sexually insatiable, male victims experience less physical force comparing to female victims and that real man could always protect himself against attack (Stemple and Meyer, 2014)

The effects of sexual violence, on female victims are generally better known than those on male victims. However, men and boys also experience significant effect, suffering responses from others that include hostility, disbelief and blame (Davies, Pollard & Archies, 2006). Male victims can also experience depression, suicidal thoughts, social isolation, sexual dysfunction and vulnerability (Chapleau, Oswald, Russel, 2008). According to victim surveys, male victims often experience blame from people they see as close connections, such as friends or family (Davies, Pollard & Archies, 2006). When male victims are not seen as victims these effects are forgotten.

2.2 Social support

A lack of necessary social support is often discussed as the ‘second rape’ or secondary victimisation. This may take the form of being blamed for one’s own assault or disbelieved by others in one’s close environment. Rape victims who fail to obtain assistance from their community are at risk of secondary victimisation (Cambell and Raja, 1999). Social support

can come from people whom a victim does not know personally, including producers of news and media. If one does not receive the necessary social support as a victim of sexual violence or rape, there is a greater risk of suffering secondary victimisation. Social support affects health perceptions, psychological health and psychic distress (Kimerling and Calhoun, 1994). Social support can have a strong influence on those factors that lead to secondary victimisation. Thus it is important to investigate whether the needs of certain types of victims are less likely to receive social support than others.

2.3 Role of the media

Social support refers to experiences of an individual of getting responses, care for and help from people in an individual's social group (Liang, Ho, Li and Turban, 2011). Media responses can therefore also be seen as a type of social support: if a victim receives the responses they want and need from the media, they can have a sense of being cared for. As mentioned above, men also can become a victim of sexual violence. However, a lack of recognition of male victims is apparent from simple search engine results. When keywords such as 'sexual violence worldwide' are entered, the first six results concern sexual violence against female victims. Examples of these results are: "Violence against women from the World Health Organisation", "Facts and figures: Ending violence against women from UN women". Without specifying female victims of sexual violence, these are deemed to be the most relevant publications. Certainly, there are greater numbers of female victims of sexual violence if you look at the numbers, however, male victims of sexual violence deserve equal attention.

News and social media can have a significant influence on how people interpret cases of sexual violence. Noteworthy headlines, specific statements and certain facts are presented in the media which can draw the attention of audiences. Most people are updated on the latest news events through (online) newspaper articles. The way in which a story is reported, the

language it uses and the overall feeling are important for people to form an idea of the events. The media can thus have an enormous influence in all sorts of ways. O'Hara(2012) notes that the perpetrator can be transformed into a 'sick monster' when a case of rape is sensationalised. The use of rape narratives, such as offenders often being a 'sick monster', can help to make a case more interesting for readers. The chance is high that society already has a negative image of a perpetrator yet the press can enhance this feeling in society.

However, this can also happen to victims as well as perpetrators. Van Dijk (2009) wrote about the word 'victim', people who are affected by crime are often named 'victim'. The word victim refers to the sacrificed ones. By giving people who are affected by crime the name sacrificed one, you label them in a certain way. This labelling is often done by the media. Therefore, media can have a great influence on the image we have of a victim. If an article states that there was a female victim who had no chance of fighting back against her attacker, describes her experience as 'awful', and notes that she was young and innocent, many readers will view the woman as victim, and have an emotional response to that. On the other hand, if an article is published where there is a male victim who is tall and strong, and notes that he was raped by a smaller, weaker woman, they will less likely be seen as an innocent victim. When the media shares such details in news reports, it is quite obvious the first victim will be seen as an 'ideal' victim, sooner than the second victim (Christie, 1986, p.19). Consequently, media play an important role in the improvement of the recognition of male victimization. If the media does not recognise this, people who consume the media will not recognize this either.

Media interest is greatest when the affected person has the most legitimate claim to victim status (Greer, 2017). A clear illustration of this, is the example of the victim in the beginning of this thesis, Anne Faber. The media exploits a hierarchy of victimisation, with the ideal victims given most media attention and those less than ideal receiving less attention.

Greer (2017) makes a distinction between different sorts of victims and the different media attention they receive. Greer (2017) gives two examples from the UK, one of them is the case of Holly Wells and Jessica Chapman, two 10-year-old girls who went missing in 2002. This case received international attention from the media and was closely followed by a lot of people worldwide. In comparison another example Greer(2017) gives, Patrick Warren and David Spencer, of similar age, who went missing in 1996, whose media attention went no further than the regional news. The differences between these two examples Greer (2017) names are: middle-class versus working class, girls versus boys, perfect school records versus troubled behaviour at school. Many different factors can determine the media attention case receive. However, as seen in this comparison and the comparison between Anne Faber and Orlando Boldewijn, gender is often one of these factors why certain cases get more attention than the other.

A recent movement that grew mostly through (online) media is the #MeToo movement. The phrase #MeToo was coined in 2006 by the American woman Tamara Burke, an activist in the US, who wanted to give victims of sexual violence a voice, especially those who did not get the chance to have their voice be heard. However, it took until October 2017 when the word, and after that the hashtag MeToo became a worldwide phenomenon. It happened when actress Alyssa Milano used the hashtag after it became worldwide news that the famous Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein had been accused of sexual intimidation and rape. Following her tweet, the hashtag MeToo was open for use by anyone who had ever been a victim of sexual violence or intimidation (Nos, 2017). Online media, particularly Twitter became an important channel for victims of sexual violence; as large numbers of people used the tool to communicate about what had happened to them.

If social media had not been available as the vehicle for this hashtag, the reach of the movement would undoubtedly have been limited. This illustrates how important media can be

for the changing societal view identifying perpetrators ,and giving a voice to victims of sexual violence. Awareness about certain topics can increase through their presence in the media, which can in turn draw the needed attention from society. In the Netherlands, the number of reports of sexual violence per month to the Centre for Sexual Violence doubled after the start of the #MeToo movement (Nos, 2017). Recognition in this case means more awareness for victims. Victims of sexual violence are now more easily able to share their experiences.

A critical victim highlighted by the #MeToo movement in the Netherlands is journalist Jelle Brandt Corstius, one of the few men to come forward in the Dutch media about #MeToo. Due to the fact Jelle Brandt Corstius is a well-known man in the Netherlands, and the fact that he is a male victim, Jelle receives a lot of media attention (Nos, 2017). The majority of accusations in the #MeToo movement (especially in Hollywood) made by women against male offenders; Jelle Brandt Corstius was one of the exceptions of an accusation from a man. Jelle is a man and therefore not seen as the 'ideal' victim' (Christie, 1986, pp.19), however he showed in certain periods a lot characteristics of idealistic victimhood such as reacting emotional, being drugged and lower in work related hierarchy of the offender(Mulder and Bosma, 2018). According to the research of Mulder and Bosma (2018) this could be one of the reasons Jelle got a lot of positive twitter reactions in certain periods about his story.

Although there are male victims known in the #MeToo movement, the vast majority of the victims are female. Nonetheless, as the data on sexual violence reveal, a large percentage of the victims of sexual violence are male. As seen in recent developments in the media world, media plays an important role in encouraging recognition of sexual violence and it is therefore important to look critically at the media writings about victims of sexual violence, both male and female.

2.4 Research purpose

Media tend to show more interest in famous cases of female victims, and there are arguably noteworthy differences between the presentations of male and female victims in the newspaper articles? This is the main area of consideration in this research. Specifically, the study will investigate whether if such differences exist, they are evidenced by variation in language use, such as the frequency of using the word victim . Or are these differences in presentation more clear to the general tone of a journalist different when there is a male victim when comparing to a female victim?

The purpose of this research is to identify whether there are differences in the ways male and female victims of sexual violence are portrayed in newspaper articles. . The results of earlier experimental research highlight widespread acceptance of the view that men are less likely to be the victim of sexual violence, and furthermore, that when they are victimised in this way, the effects are typically minimal. This study will consider whether these views are also discussed in the media and whether there are other differences in the portrayals of male and female victims. Thus, the main question of this research is as follows: how are victims of sexual violence portrayed in news articles and are there differences in portrayal of male and female victims?

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Gender stereotypes

As mentioned earlier, there is evidence to suggest that differences exist between the media portrayals of male and female victims of sexual violence. There tends to be a social assumption that men are less likely to be victimised. The first reason for this may be that male victimisation is not recognised as much because of the dominant view that victims are female, and not male. As mentioned above, according to Greer (2017), some victims are more readily legitimated as ‘ideal victims’ than others. Nils Christie (1986, p.19) defines this ‘ideal victim’ as one who is weak in relation to their offender (women, children, older people), blameless, legitimate, not in a relationship with the offender, and overwhelmed by an offender who is big and bad. This leads to observers more easily seeing certain types of people as victim. Females, for example, are more readily seen as ideal victims because they are more likely to be physically weak in relation to their offender. If the ‘common sense view’ is that a woman is a more ideal victim, this becomes difficult for individuals to challenge.

Carpenter (2003) researched gender differences in the use of the term ‘innocent civilian’ by a number of actors during the Bosnian war of Srebrenica. She noted the promotion of the view of women as vulnerable, and more easily victimised, in the principle of ‘women and children first’. In dangerous situations where people need to be saved, this is often expressed. Carpenter (2003) attributes this to certain ‘gender norms’, such as the obligation on men to protect, rather than harm women. The male norm is thus to protect, which tends not to be the case for women.

According to United Nations Human Rights (n.d.), a gender stereotype is: “a generalised view or preconception about attributes or characteristics, or the roles that are or ought to be possessed by, or performed by women and men. A gender stereotype is harmful when they limit women’s and men’s capacity to develop their personal abilities, pursue their

professional careers and make choices about their lives”. To summarise, certain stereotypes can be harmful for men and women if it will limit their own personal abilities.

According to Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson (1991), people assume that men, especially adult men, are too big and too strong to be overpowered, and thus cannot be sexually assaulted or raped and therefore cannot become a victim of sexual violence. A male is therefore not seen as weak in relation to their offender and is not considered an ideal victim.

Potential harmful effects of gender stereotypes can also be seen in gender differences in the reporting of sexual crimes, male victims are less likely to give a statement about a prosecutable sexual act than female victims, especially when the offender of the crime is a woman. Ensing (2016) describes the research of Miriam Wijkman who researched 135 lawsuits with female sexual suspects and found that male victims of female suspects less quickly give a statement to the police. Additionally, Smith, Pine and Hawley (1988) conducted a research in which respondents were presented a story where there was either a male or female victim of sexual assault and either a male or female offender. After reading the story the respondents answered some questions and concluding from that questionnaire, Smith, Pine and Hawley (1988) argued that male victims of sexual assault by a female offender were judged more negatively than female victims of sexual assault. The respondents of this research sooner assumed that male victims of sexual assault encouraged or initiated the episode. This idea that male victims initiated the sexual assault sooner than female victims could be one reason why male victims of sexual assault give a statement to the police less quickly.

For Miriam Wijkman, the main reason male victims are reluctant to come forward is shame. Gender stereotypes dictate that a man should be tough and should always be willing to have sex. When a man is molested, especially when the offender is female, he is seen to have failed to meet this stereotype (Ensing, 2016).

3.2 Rape myths

A third reason why men are less readily seen as victims of sexual violence is the existence of rape myths. The expression ‘rape myth’ appeared in the 1970s, coined by sociologists and feminists to describe ‘a complex set of cultural beliefs [that] were thought to support and perpetuate sexual violence against women from males’ (Payne, Lonsway, Fitzgerald, 1999, p.27). However, these rape myths solely concern female victims, such as ‘Only bad girls get raped’, ‘Any healthy woman can resist a rapist if she really wants to’, ‘Women ask for it’, and ‘Women “cry rape” only when they have something to cover up’ (Burt, 1980, pp.217). However, there are new rape myths that specifically target male victims and are used to justify the assumption that men cannot be raped.

Many people believe that it is impossible for a man to have an erection or to perform sexually without his consent (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1992). Although an erection does indicate sexual excitement in most cases, it is not always so. In research of male sexual molestation by women, Sarrel and Masters (1982) found that men can respond sexually in varied emotional states, including anger and terror. Thus, a man could have an erection despite fear of being raped, and this would not necessarily indicate that he desired any sexual interaction. However, people tend to believe that having an erection means that a man wants to have sex. In other words, men are less readily seen as victims because the presence of an erection is considered consent to sexual interaction. .

Male-specific rape myths include the beliefs that men cannot be raped, the impact of a rape is less severe for a man than for a woman, and ‘Men do not believe that rape could ever happen to them’ (Davies, 2002, pp. 203). As mentioned previously, men are seen as physically strong and therefore unable to become victims of sexual violence. As a result of these myths, male rape victims sometimes blame themselves for their experiences, believing

that it could not have happened or that they should have done more to prevent it (Davies, 2002). These rape myths provide society with ‘excuses’ as to why men cannot be raped.

It is interesting to note that the older rape myths focus solely on women, reflecting an expectation that only women can become victims of rape. The difference between the old female-focused rape myths and male rape myths are that in the old myths they assume that the victims of rape are female, due to the use of only the word women, and in the male rape myths that there is no assumption that males can become victims of rape, this due to myths such as men cannot be raped. If a man is raped, many excuses are given as to why he is not a genuine victim. The old myths assumed that only women could be victims. Similarly, of the modern male rape myths, the most prominent remains the view that men cannot be victims of rape.

3.3 Use of language

Some existing research analyses the use of language in newspaper reports of rape. For example, O’Hara (2012) focused on rape myths such as ‘bad girls deserve to be raped’ and ‘rape victims are asking for trouble’. She found that most newspaper articles give no attention to the impact of the crime on the victim, focusing more often on the emotive aspects of the story and on the offender. Sensationalism is important for news media, as people must be attracted to a story to read it. This is often achieved using attention-grabbing titles and the victims are often forgotten. The use of certain language can enhance the feeling of sensation towards the reader and can help to gain more readers. This work by O’Hara (2012) is limited to female victims, thus an exploration of the language used in reports on male victims of sexual violence would be a valuable addition.

An important linguistic factor is noted by Bohner (2001), whose research concerns the passive voice. The passive voice can put the victim into the foreground, suggesting their responsibility for the action (verb), through expressions such as, ‘The woman was raped’. The

passive voice seems to be in English language convenient to suggest more direct responsibility towards the victim. Bohner (2001) found that his subjects used the passive voice more frequently when describing the rape itself, compared to other actions they watched.

Henley, Miller, and Beazley (1995) also found that the passive voice was used more than other modes in rape reports, however in their research only males, not females, attributed less victim harm with the passive voice comparing to the active voice. The male and female participants expressed greater acceptance towards rape cases when the passive voice was used in the reports. Thus, it is observed that verb tense alone can influence how people interpret the newspaper articles that they read.

In addition to the language, the images used in newspaper articles can be of great importance for people how to interpreter articles. Schwark (2017) conducted research into the representation of sexual violence, examining newspaper articles and the images used to illustrate them. One theme he examined was the portrayal of victimhood, identifying the most common theme as passivity, with the women in the images depicted as weak and helpless. Although this study will focus solely on language, and not consider images, useful further research could investigate the differences in images used to illustrate articles concerning sexual violence against males and females.

To analyse the differences in news reports of male and female victims, it is important to consider the differences in language use; that is, whether some words used more frequently in one category of articles than another. It will also be considered whether the word 'victim' is used more often in reference to women. Equally, there will be an assessment of the prevalence of the words 'rape', 'rapist', and 'sexual offence' in reports of otherwise similar cases involving male and female victims.

3.4 Research questions

The importance of media has been detailed above, as this research will focus on the differences in portrayals of sexual assault cases in newspaper articles. In addition to the language differences already mentioned, differences in other aspects will be explored, such as the general tone of the article, blame attributed to the victim, and reactions on (social) media and amongst the general public; that is, whether there are more reactions by and to the general population, when the victim is a woman. Certain reactions in newspaper articles are specific from and towards people from the general population. These are all subjects that hopefully can partially be answered in this research.

To study whether there are differences, a few research questions were formulated. Namely, the following main question: How are victims of sexual violence portrayed in news articles and are there differences in portrayal of male and female victims? The main question will be supported by the following sub-questions:

1. Are the reactions from and towards the general population different in news articles when there is a male victim of sexual violence? ‘
2. Is the general tone of a journalist different when there is a male victim of sexual violence when comparing to a female victim?
3. What are the language differences between male and female victims of sexual violence?
4. Is the blame towards a victim higher when there is a male victim of sexual violence?
5. Are general rape myths more seen in articles where there was a female victim of sexual violence?

4. Method

4.1 Raters

For the purpose of this research, a total of 50 articles were collected, coded, and analysed. To analyse the newspaper articles using a specially prepared codebook, three people (raters) were selected to work in addition to the researcher. The news articles were coded by the researcher, with two articles analysed additionally per rater to ensure the reliability and hence validity of the findings. Using the same codebook as the researcher, they received a brief explanation of their instructions. The three raters were found in the environment of the researcher. They differed in gender and age. The researcher had no specific requirements for the raters.

4.2 Materials

Online databases

The first thing that was done was searching for newspaper articles concerning female and male victims of sexual violence. This search was made possible with the help of Google. The aim was to use only Dutch articles regarding victims of sexual violence. Moreover, the articles could not be older than five years. All the articles were found through 13 different Google searches. The following 13 searches were used: (they are all translated from Dutch to English) 1. Female victims rape 2. Raped women 3. Volkskrant women raped 4. Telegraaf women raped 5. Raped men 6. Male victims of rape 7. Volkskrant men raped 8. Volkskrant male victims of sexual violence 9. Jelle Brandt Cortius victim 10. Boys abused by the church 11. Telegraaf men raped 12. Jimmy Bennet victim 13. NRC men raped. The first five of these searches were used to locate articles on female victims and the other searches were used to locate reports on male victims. The three papers who were used for the search were Volkskrant, Telegraaf and NRC. These were chosen with the reason that they have a large database and are popular newspapers. Not all the articles came from these three papers, other

articles came forward in one of the other searches. The news articles that were used were all Dutch or Dutch Belgian . All the articles were found online and not necessarily also printed in newspapers.

In total, 35 articles were identified concerning female victims and 30 regarding male victims, from both groups there were 25 articles used. This was due to the fact that a couple of articles did not meet the requirements which were needed such as seriousness of the article, not the right content and purpose of the article.

Codebook

During the search for the articles, a codebook was created with which the articles could be checked. The entire codebook can be found in Appendix 1. The codebook was separated in five categories: 1. Reactions from who? 2. Reactions towards who? 3. General tone of reaction 4. Are these words used? 5. Subject of reaction. These five categories had each a certain number of subjects. Examples of words used in category four of the codebook are: victim, rape, rapist, guilt. During the research, some new words were added to the codebook after seeing it come forward very often. Beside words, reactions from and towards certain groups and the tone of the article were important factors in the codebook. The codebook ensured to the same checklist was used for each article and to made it possible for others to analyse the articles using the same framework by. Due to creating the codebook, it was easier to code the articles and therefore have the opportunity to compare them.

Atlas.ti

The coding process was conducting using the online tool Atlas.ti. This is a programme that helps with qualitative analyses of large data. It was possible to adjust all the news articles to the program and adjust all the codes from the codebook. This made it possible to code the articles and maintain a clear list of the frequency with which certain codes appeared. The coding was done with Atlas.ti version eight with a six month trial programme.

4.3 Procedure

Research

The research took place over two different time periods. The main period was from August 2018 to September 2018, with the researcher working alone. During this period, the newspaper articles were analysed using Atlas.ti. The second research period ran from October 2018 to November 2018, with the three other raters each analysing two different news articles, using Atlas.ti.

The research started with searching for news articles with male and female victims of sexual violence in Google. During this search, the codebook was created by reading a lot of newspaper articles. This way, the right words (that were used the most) and reactions could be found for the codebook. After finding the articles, the decision was made that the researcher would not only look at language differences but also look at general tone and reactions from and towards different groups.

After completion of the codebook, the remaining newspaper articles were chosen. The researcher began by analysing the articles in Atlas.ti. with the help of the codebook. As mentioned above, certain terms were added to the codebook during this process. When all the articles had been analysed by the researcher, the three raters were provided with a clear explanation of the codebook and the coding programme Atlas.ti and asked to analyse two articles each. After that, a start could be made with writing the results.

Thematic analyses

The method thematic analyses were used for analysing the data that was found through the news articles. Thematic analysis is a method of identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data. According to Aronson (1995) the method has several stages: 1. Collecting the data and familiarise oneself with it; 2. Identifying all the data and design codes for oneself; 3. Searching for themes and combining and relating certain patterns and codes

into these; 4. Building a valid argument for choosing the themes, and review and refining the themes; 5. Formulating statements to develop a story line; 6. Producing the end product, by combining all the information and data in a report.

In this research this can be translated as follows: 1. Finding all the news articles with the help of Google and read them thoroughly; 2. Developing the codebook to determine what codes can be used and make a decision which articles will be used; 3. Combining the different codes to a group such as, reactions from and towards certain groups, use of words and general tone from journalist, population etc.; 4. Explaining why these groups were chosen and showing their importance; 5. After analysing all the articles in Atlas.ti there was a list with all the codes what helped to make certain statements about the articles; 6. Writing down all these statements in a result section.

Reliability

To make sure the reliability was high when the news articles were analysed, a codebook was created. Reliability means: can we rely on the measurement we just did? If the research would be repeated, or someone else would want to replicate, would the result be the same (Mook, 2001)? In qualitative research it is difficult to measure reliability on the grounds that typically the research is conducted by one person and it relies on their own objectivity. This codebook contained a few check points. Examples of words, types of reactions and interpreting the overall feeling of the article are in the codebook. After, all the articles were then analysed with three other people analysing some of the articles using the codebook. This helped to make the research more objective, as a research conducted by one person can be fairly subjective.

4.4 Type of research

For this study, a qualitative research method was chosen. This made it possible to analyse the differences between reports of male and female victims of sexual violence in

language use and overall feeling in newspaper articles about sexual violence. Certain subjects in this research are subjective and thus could not be done with a quantitative research, and some subjects could be done quantitative such as the amount of certain codes. Therefore the decision was made to do a combination of qualitative and quantitative with the main focus on qualitative. There was less interest in the statistical validation (quantitative research) but more in the manner the differences express themselves, however certain subject were interesting to analyse quantitative. The qualitative research was done in a way that news articles about sexual violence were analysed with the help of a codebook. The articles were analysed by checking if there were differences in language use, tone, reactions and overall feeling in the article if there was a female victim or a male victim of sexual violence. The quantitative part was done by counting the amount of codes were used.

5. Results

5.1 Articles

A total of 50 newspaper articles were used for this research. Specifically, 25 articles concerning female victims of sexual violence and 25 articles concerning male victims of sexual violence. The articles showed us victims of sexual assault or rape. The articles were mostly descriptions of the crime by the journalist, or were more told from the perspective of the victim. Examples of the articles are : a silent march for a victim of rape, description of the crime and the punishment for the offender, two Dutch women who had been raped in a club in Antwerp, a young women who was raped in daytime on the street, a fake doctor who raped more than nine women in his practice, research into male rape victims, three day during rape of a male, a male victim who was raped by his roommate, the accusations of #MeToo activist Asia Argento who had raped a young minor, young boys had been raped in the church environment, Jelle Brandt Corstius, the torture and rape of three males, a psychiatrist who had sexually abused victims, the accusations against Kevin Spacey.

Because this is a combination of qualitative and quantitative research, there are tables in the results section with numbers of the research. These numbers provide the date required to answer the research sub-questions, and there will also be a deeper analysis of the codes.

There are five tables, each of them stand for one section of the codebook that was made, namely: 1. Reactions from who? 2. Reactions towards who? 3. General tone of the article 4. Which words are used in the articles 5. Different kind of reactions in the articles. As mentioned, the entire codebook can be found in Appendix 1. All the quotes are translated from Dutch to English. All the original Dutch quotes can be found in the Appendix. The articles are coded from F1-25 female or male victims. In the results there will be pointed to for example article F1, this stands for the first article from female victims, or M1 this stands for the first article from male victims, that can be found in Appendix 2.

5.2 Other raters

As mentioned above, three raters also analysed two articles each to ensure the objectivity of the findings. The majority of the raters results are aligned with those of the researcher. In one article, the use of the word ‘rape’ had been missed by the researcher, and in another, the rater highlighted an extra category of ‘attention paid to gender’. After discussion of this point, the researcher added this to the observed reactions. The category at greatest risk of subjective results was the general tone of the articles, as this focused on the researcher’s own feelings about the articles. However, the raters’ assessments of tone were aligned with those of the researcher.

5.3 Reactions

The first sub-question that will be discussed is: Are the reactions from and towards the general population different in news articles when there is a male victim versus a female victim of sexual violence?

This first research question can be answered using the first and second sections of the codebook, namely from who all the reactions came in the newspaper articles and towards who the reactions were. The general population can be seen as everyone who is not personally involved (that is anyone other than the victim, offender, formal bodies and family and friends) in the case.

Table 1 shows that, of the 50 articles, nine mentioned reactions from the general population, and all 9 of them were found in the articles regarding female victims. Examples of reactions from the general population is: ‘‘This touching event led to thousands of Indian women taking to the streets to protest against a culture of sexual violence’’(F2) ‘‘ Women activists are very happy with Verna’s message, if you have the guts, even influential rapists in the primitive, patriarchal Pakistan cannot avoid their punishment. Rather than the raped women, but the perpetrator must be ashamed’’(F15) . Although there are few mentions of

reactions from the general population, the reactions that are there are all in the female victim articles. Hence, it can be said that there are differences in the observed reactions of the general population regarding male and female victims. These differences are interesting to find for the reason that if the general population has a certain opinion about victims of sexual violence a lot of people will stick to that opinion. If you read in a newspaper about a victim such as Anne Faber and the general population gives reactions as: this young innocent girl is a victim, the chance is high you will stick to that opinion either. Observed reactions from the general population can have a strong impact on one's own judgement, and therefore it is interesting to see that there are no reactions from the general population in the articles concerning male victims. Has the general population no opinion about of victims?

Table 1. *Reactions from*

Who?	Total codes	Female victim	Male victim
The victim	29	1	28
Family and friends of the victim	21	4	17
Formal bodies	85	54	31
The offender	16	4	12
The general population	9	9	0
The journalist	31	25	6
(Social) Media	38	20	18

Table 2. *Reactions towards?*

Who?	Total codes	Female victim	Male victim
Victim	16	12	4

Family and friends of the victim.	5	2	3
Formal bodies	7	6	1
The offender	5	4	1
The general population	39	18	21

Table 2 reveals that there were many more reactions towards the general population, 39 reactions in total, 18 in the articles from female victims and 21 in the articles from the male victims. The general population is everyone who is not personally involved with the crime and formal bodies. Examples of statements by journalists directed at the general population are: “The population has to realise that this is not only a war against girls, women and children but against the whole community. That community has to unite, to cope with the horrors” (F6). Another example is, “The frequently heard sound that males cannot be raped by women is a myth. It is important not to ignore males as a victim of sexual violence” (M1).

The frequency of the reactions towards the general population are almost the same in both female and male victim articles. Thus, in this area there are no clear differences in numbers between the articles about female and male victims. However, whilst the numbers may not differ but the content does. In the examples above in articles F6 and M1 the main difference is that the female victim is believed by the general population but looks more for a way to cope with the problem, in comparison to the example of M1 the main message towards the general population is that we need to believe that males can also become a victim of sexual violence. In article M25 is written: ‘’ Everybody knew. Nobody dared to come out. I think it is important we all need to consult about the future’’. This is a clear message from the victim to us all, the general population, we need to make changes for the future. A male victim needed to step forward to give a message to the general population. This message was not found from female victims in the articles.

To conclude, the reactions from and towards the general population are different when there are male victims of sexual violence, however this difference in numbers is only noticeable regarding the reactions *from* the general population and not towards the general population. However, besides the numbers the differences in reactions towards and from the general population are noticeable in the content of the reactions. There tends to be no doubt from the general population that females can be a victim of sexual violence, this doubt is more noticeable in reactions towards the general population in articles about male victims.

Also coded are the reactions from and towards other groups such, as victims, formal bodies (law enforcement, victim organizations, criminal justice authorities), family and friends of the victim and the offender are also coded. However, there is no specific research question about these codes thus there will be no extended analyse of these codes. In table 1 reactions from the victim are virtually only in the articles with male victims. This leads to the question of why is it that male victims talk to the media, are approached by the media, quoted by the media when compared to female victims? Is that with the reason that male victims are more an exception comparing to female victims? Or do male victims feel more need to talk about the crime because they are not believed?

Table 2 indicates that there are more reactions towards female victims in contrast to male victims. As can be seen in table 1, a lot of reactions come from formal bodies towards male and female victims, this are people who know what they are talking about can many reactions in the media, this seems a positive note. The other reactions towards people seem to be roughly the same. The content of these reactions is for further research.

5.4 General tone

The second sub-question that will be answered is: Is the general tone of a journalist different when there is a male victim of sexual violence when comparing to a female victim? The general tone of the articles was analysed using the third section of the codebook. A

distinction was made between a positive, negative and neutral tone in the article. This tone was checked throughout the entire article. This aspect is a bit subjective due to the feeling the researcher has towards the article. This general tone will be checked as well by other raters to make it less subjective.

Table 3 shows that for the 50 articles in total, 32 of the articles were seen as neutral. In these articles the journalist made no clear positive or negative tone towards the victim in the articles. There are a couple of more male victim articles where the tone was neutral. More specifically, 18 articles about male victims had a neutral tone and 12 of them were articles with female victims. On the other hand, more articles with female victims had a positive tone compared to male victims. Examples of sentences that made that an article was rated positive are: "It is unbelievable terrible, but for a young woman this morning her worst nightmare came true. As she biked home at 5AM from Rotterdam Central to home she was attacked by a man. There she was brutally raped, on the street" (F11). Another example of an article with a positive tone towards the victims is : "The nightmare did not stop there for the women"(F18). The journalist here clearly believes this victim and feels compassion towards the victim, this was seen as a positive tone towards the victim. An example of a positive tone towards a male victim is : "The boy tried to resist, but in vain. After raping the poor boy the two criminals escaped " (M4). This tone was clearly positive towards the victim by using the words poor boy.

The examples of positive tone of the journalist towards male and female victims seems to have comparative content, the main focus is showing compassion towards the victim. No articles evidences a clearly negative tone towards the victim. Nevertheless, there were articles that featured some negative quotes about the victim, this was not directly written by the journalist, however the journalist chooses to communicate this quotes with the readers. Therefore this is a doubtful point.

To summarise, the general tone of a journalist is different when there is a male victim when comparing to a female victim. In numbers there is a more positive tone towards the female victim comparing to the male victim. However, the content of the positive tone seems to be comparative between the victims. The tone of the journalist is more often neutral when discussing male victims, this could have something to do with the idea of gender stereotypes. Even though in some case it is already proven that there is a male victim of sexual violence, due to gender stereotypes such as males cannot be raped, or males are too strong to be raped the general idea of the journalist could be biased. Therefore the tone of the journalist can be often more neutral than positive when discussing male victims.

Table 3. *General tone of the article*

Tone	Total codes	Female victim	Male victim
Positive	18	12	6
Negative	0	0	0
Neutral	32	13	19

5.5 Language

The third sub-question that will be answered is: What are the language differences between male and female victims of sexual violence? The differences in language are seen as differences in using words. How the crimes and victims are mentioned. To find out if there are language differences between male and female victims, an analysis of differences in word use was done. There was chosen for the words that have any affection with the sexual violence and for the words that occur most often in the articles. The word rape was used most frequently in the articles, as can be seen in table 4. To be specific, 169 times in total of which

120 times in articles with female victims and 49 in articles concerning male victims. This is a considerable difference.

On the other hand, the expression 'sexual violence' was used more often in articles with male victims when comparing to articles with female victims. The same occurs with the word sexual assault. Why is it that the word rape is used more often with female victims? And the word sexual violence more with male victims? Is using the word violence in combination with the sexual part important for male victims? Due to gender stereotypes males, the idea is that males are seen as strong and therefore cannot be raped, if the violence part is more pronounced people might believe earlier that males can also become a victim of sexual violence? The media might think that the word rape 'belongs' more to female victims, due to early rape myths males cannot be raped and therefore do not 'deserve' this word. The crimes in the articles differ, with cases reported of sexual assault and rape.

The word 'victim' appears very frequently, 115 times in total. This is not surprising due to the main subject of the articles, it is about victims. In male articles the word victim appears a little bit more when comparing to articles regarding female victims. The expectation was that females are seen more as a victim comparing to males, and therefore the word victim would be used more in articles about female victims comparing to male victims. This is however not the case and this an interesting result. Even though females are seen more often as a victim, this does not correspond with the use of the word victim.

In summary, there are some differences in language use between the articles on male victims and those on females, especially the differences in rape versus sexual violence are particularly interesting.

Table 4 *Words used in the news articles*

Words	Total codes	Female victim	Male victim
Victim	115	50	65
Sexual violence	39	8	31
Sexual assault	15	2	13
Rape	169	120	49
Rapist	12	7	5

5.6 Blame

The fourth sub-question asks the following: Is the blame towards a victim higher when there is a male victim of sexual violence? This section of the study examined whether there was blame towards the victim, the offender and the general population. The least frequent target of blame is towards the victim (see table 5), the blame towards the offender and the general population is approximately the same. The blame towards a victim is almost twice as often with male victims. Examples of sentences where blame towards a victim was noticed are: “It is not that you can walk in and out. If there are suddenly five unknown males for the hotel we do not let them in. We work with codes. The numbed or drugged women must have unwillingly helped the rapist” (F13). Even though the word unwanted was used it is clear some sort of blame towards the victim is present. The victims must have helped the rapist, this idea for the victims that they have helped their rapist is a clear example of the phrase ‘blaming the victim’. The victim should never be blamed for the crime they had to undergo.

Another example is, “In a statement the lawyer of Argento explained that Bennet(the victim in this case) in 2004 was also accused of having sex with a minor and possession of child pornography. The public offender in Los Angeles let USA Today know that there are no records known of any associated prosecution” (M22). In this case the blaming of the victim

was expressed in another way. The victim himself is being accused of crimes he committed, a counterattack is done against the victim. However, this is also blaming the victim, because of his past he is not seen as a victim.

In both examples, the victim is blamed for their experience of assault. In the female example the blame is that it is the own fault of the victim and in the male example are accusations in the past used to make the victim less believable. Therefore, the sub-question if male victims have a higher blame towards the victim can be answered positive if you look at the numbers, however, the amount of codes are not much. The content of the blame towards the victim can differ a lot per case.

Table 5 *Subject of reaction*

Subject	Total codes	Female victim	Male victim
Blaming the victim	14	5	9
Blaming offender	26	19	7
Blaming general population	23	12	11
Believing the victim	50	25	25
Doubting credibility	14	9	5
Showing support	34	18	16
Showing no support	1	0	1
Paying extra attention to the gender	44	25	19
Rape myths	8	3	5
Gender stereotypes	16	8	8

5.7 Different rape myths

The fifth sub-question asks the following: Do news articles about female victims feature different rape myths than articles about male victims? There were not many rape myths found in the newspaper articles. In table 5, it can be seen that the total rape myths that were found were eight, three of them concerning female victims and five of them with male victims. The frequency is thus approximately the same. However, it is interesting to examine whether the myths that were found are different.

Examples of rape myths acknowledged by the journalist, quotes from others such as victims are included, that were found are: “Even though the idea is persistent that women who file an accusation against sexual violence are lying. That applies also to the view that women can resist easily” (F5). “ One of the comments was that Nafissatou Diallo could of course resist herself, after all she was taller than her rapist” (F5). Another examples are: “I never thought I would be raped. Women are told that they can be raped, but it happens to men too” (M19). “Man are told that they cannot let it happen and that they cannot talk about it because they are males. They have to be manly “ (M19).

There are notable differences in rape myths with male and female victims are present, female victims could not be believed by formal bodies and there are always reasons how they could resist themselves against the rapist. Male victims often struggle to believe that something did happen to them, that is not possible because rape does not happen to man. And talking about what happened to them is not manly, and therefore not common.

These rape myths are really present in daily life. This rape myths will continue to exist if the common ideas about rape are not changed. Males can be raped, victims cannot always protect themselves against their offender, victims of sexual violence should be taken serious by formal bodies, media and society.

6. Summary of results

The main question asked in this research is: how are victims of sexual violence portrayed in news articles, and are there differences in portrayal of male and female victims? The findings indicate that these differences do exist, and are most pronounced in the reactions from the general population, which are detailed exclusively in the female victim articles. Differences are also observed in the general tone of the articles, with positivity more often expressed towards female victims than towards males. However, the positive tone is qualitatively similar for male and female victim articles. The language differences are most evident in the use of the words 'rape' and 'sexual violence', with female victim articles more frequently using the word 'rape' and male victim articles utilising 'sexual violence' and 'sexual assault'.

Victim blaming is more evident when the victim was male. The content of the blame attributed to male and female victims differs, with females accused of behaving in such a way as to 'help' the rapist, and males blamed through attacks on their credibility. Another difference in their respective portrayals is in the discussion of rape myths. The myths referenced in discussion of female victims include not being believed by formal bodies, whilst for male victims, there is mention of the view that sexual violence simply does not happen to males.

There are no large differences observed in the respective portrayals of reactions concerning the general public, use of the word 'victim', or number of articles discussing rape myths.

In conclusion, there are some differences in portrayals of male and female victims of sexual violence, but there are also many similarities and thus no conclusive answer to the research question.

7. Discussion

7.1 Research and theory

The differences observed between the reactions of the general population to male and female victims are unsurprising. In famous cases, such as those of Anne Faber and Orlando Boldewijn, it was seen that the strongest reactions were in response to the female victim. The same reaction is noted by Greer (2017), who argues that those victims seen as more ‘legitimate’ than others – such as females, as compared to males – receive stronger responses and more attention from the general population. The male victim articles analysed in this research cite no reactions from the general population, which is important as these types of reactions have influence the judgement of others. If the general population offers no reaction to male victims, this is likely to discourage others from doing so. In terms of the reactions to the general public, there are no clear differences between the reporting of male and female victims. This was unsurprising, as no previous research exists to suggest that such a difference would be noted.

The expectation was that there would be a more positive tone in the female victim articles than the male victim articles. This expectation was due to the idea of the ‘ideal victim’ as necessarily female (Christie, 1986, p.19). Male victimisation is less likely to be recognised and accepted than female victimisation, partially due to this notion of the ideal victim. If a victim is more readily seen as such, the expectation is that the reporting on their case is more likely to take a positive stance towards them. The results of this research indicate that the tone of the reports of female victims is more often positive than that of male victims. However, the content of this positive expression seems to be comparable in both categories, with a focus on expressing compassion for the victim. Male victims may less often meet the criteria for definition as an ‘ideal victim’ than female victims, but the compassion felt for those recognised as victims appears to be the same.

It was expected that there would be differences in language use between the two categories of articles. Schwark (2017) describes the depiction in newspaper reporting imagery of female victims as weak and helpless. In addition, O'Hara (2012) notes the importance of sensationalism in reporting of sexual violence, with this enhanced through use of emotive language. This research shows that language is used differently, depending on the gender of the victim, with the word 'rape' possibly considered more emotive for readers than the expression 'sexual violence'. 'Rape' could also be seen as more helpless than 'sexual violence', due to the emphasis of the violent aspect. There is perhaps an assumption that violence is needed to achieve the crime because males are strong, and therefore if they are raped, there must have been violence involved.

It should be noted that the articles analysed for this research considered various type of crimes involving sexual violence, including sexual assault and rape. This could have affected the results, specifically in terms of language use, thus this should be accounted for in future research.

Finally, in terms of language: due to earlier research findings, it was expected that females would be seen more readily as victims. However, the word 'victim' was used with equal frequency in the male and female victim articles. Therefore, although males are not so frequently seen as legitimate victims, they are just as often referred to as such by the media.

Victim blaming was expected to be more common with male victims. Davies (2002) identifies some common male rape myths, such as the belief that being physically strong prevents one from becoming a victim of sexual violence. For many, it is considered easier to blame someone thought to be able to avoid the crime than those less able to do so, and this is more often the case for male victims than for female. However, the findings regarding content are notable. The justification for victim blaming differed significantly, with rape myths having a strong influence on this.

The differences in rape myths observed were expected, and the number of myths referenced in the articles is approximately the same for the male and female victim articles. However, the differences in rape myths were striking. Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson (1992) found that male rape myths include the view that men cannot be raped at all and that it is impossible to have an erection or perform sexually without consenting to sexual interaction. This idea emerged in this research, with one victim (M19) stating that he had believed that this could not happen to a male. Female rape myths tended to be based on the idea that ‘only bad girls get raped’ and that women ‘ask for it’ (Burt, 1980, pp.217). Article F5 notes the common view that a woman is frequently lying when she files a complaint of sexual abuse: ‘she is a bad girl, so she is lying’. These differences in common rape myths are reflected in the current research.

7.2 Validity

Validity is a key consideration in research. When research is valid, it measures what it is supposed to measure (Mook, 2001). An example of invalid qualitative research is that in which the researcher only selectively makes notes from observations. To ensure the validity of this research, the codebook was used to structure all that needed to be measured. In qualitative research, there is always some subjectivity due to the need to interpret the data. It is not possible to avoid this completely. However, the subjectivity in this research was assured by the work of three other raters, whose opinions were seen to align closely with those of the researcher.

7.3 Limitations

The most importation limitation of this work remains its subjectivity. The main analysis was conducted by one researcher, thus it is difficult to ensure complete objectivity.

This limitation will almost be always present in qualitative research. Notably, the judgements of the general tone of the articles is subjective and based solely on the feeling of the researcher. However, this is not a severe limitation.

Another limitation is the number of articles, and a greater number would give more certainty to the results. However, due to the timeframe and the reliance on a single researcher, it was not possible to select more articles for analysis.

The third limitation is the use of articles concerning different forms of sexual violence. As a range of crimes were discussed, some aspects of the articles could not be appropriately compared.

7.4 Further research

There are many possibilities for further research. These include an investigation of potential gender differences in the use of passive voice in reports of sexual violence. The presentation of images in newspaper articles and their effect on the portrayal of male and female victims would also be worthy of consideration. More research into gender stereotypes around sexual violence could usefully illuminate the differences in the respective portrayals of male and female victims, with all these questions offering greater insights and more conclusive results.

7.5 Practical implications

This research could support those making media statements that include portrayals of sexual violence victims. Further research into this subject could provide media producers with greater awareness of the impact of gender portrayals in news reporting. If gender bias in news reports could be eradicated, this could have a positive effect on society as a whole.

7.6 Conclusion

Some victims are seen more readily by the general public as 'ideal victims' than others. Media can give a certain direction to public opinion through their use of certain words,

their promotion of rape myths and gender stereotypes, and the tone they take in discussions of a victim. However, the differences between the media portrayals of male and female victims are not always clear. Further research is needed to allow firm conclusions on this subject.

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9. Appendix 1

Codebook for analysing newspaper articles about male and female victims of sexual violence

Reactions from who?

1. The victim
2. Family and friends of the victim and people in the direct environment.
3. Formal bodies like the police, the public offender etc. → Reactions from formal bodies.
4. The offender
5. The society → Reactions from the public.
6. The journalist → Personal reaction from the writer of the article.
7. (social) media → Reactions in the article from (social) media accounts.

Reaction towards who?

1. The victim
2. Family of the victim
3. Formal bodies
4. The offender
5. The society

General tone of reaction

1. Positive reaction towards the victim → A positive feeling towards the victim like showing respect, understanding, believing.
2. Negative reaction towards the victim → Opposite of the positive reaction.
3. No reaction towards the victim → Not a specific reaction towards the victim.

Are these words used in the article?

1. Victim
2. Guilt
3. Sexual violence
4. Sexual assault
5. Rape
6. Rapist

Type of reaction

1. Blame towards the victim
2. Blame towards the offender
3. Blame towards the society
4. Believing the victim
5. Doubting about the credibility of the victim
6. Showing support towards the victim
7. Showing no support towards the victim
8. Paying (extra)attention to the gender of the victim → More attention than mentioning in the beginning that it was a male or female victim.
9. Rape myths (male and female myths)
10. Gender stereotypes

Appendix 2

Article	Title (in Dutch)	Newspaper/website	Date	Male/female victim
1	Stille tocht voor slachtoffer brute verkrachting dat niemand hielp was de trigger	RTL nieuws	31-07-2018	Female
2	Vrouwelijke student interviewt honderd Indiase verkrachters	One world	14-09-2017	Female
3	Brute overval en verkrachting: na negen jaar alsnog twee mannen de cel in	Omroep Brabant	02-02-2018	Female
4	Verdachte verkrachting student aangehouden	NRC	26-07-2018	Female
5	Na verkrachting volgt vaak karaktermoord	Volkskrant	31-08-2011	Female
6	Kathryn is verkocht door de rebellen	Warchild	No date	Female
7	Zeven jaar cel en tbs voor verkrachten bejaarde vrouwen	Het Parool	16-05-2017	Female
8	18 maanden celstraf voor verkrachting prostituee Asten	De Rechtspraak	06-09-2017	Female
9	Nederlandse vrouwen verkracht na feest met 'loerende mannen' en belabberde beveiliging	Het AD	19-03-2018	Female
10	Leger Myanmar verkracht	NOS	11-12-2017	Female

	stelselmatig Rohingyavrouw			
11	Verschrikkelijk! Jonge vrouw op brute wijze en OP STRAAT verkracht in Rotterdam, buren grepen niet in ondanks “kapot harde” gil slachtoffer	De Dagelijkse Standaard	21-07-2018	Female
12	Nederlandse vrouwen gedrogeerd en verkracht in Antwerpen	Hart van Nederland	19-03-2018	Female
13	’Nederlandse vrouwen (21 en 22) slachtoffer groepsverkrachting in Antwerpen’	De Telegraaf	19-03-2018	Female
14	Nederlandse vrouwen verkracht tijdens weekendje Antwerpen	Cosmopolitan	19-03-2018	Female
15	Verkrachte Pakistaanse vrouwen brengen familie schande	One world	10-01-2018	Female
16	Verkrachte vrouw Rotterdam niet aanspreekbaar, politie deelt signalement mogelijke dader	Linda Nieuws	22-07-2018	Female

17	'Jonge vrouw' op straat verkracht, raakt ernstig gewond, in Rotterdam	The Post Online	21-07-2018	Female
18	Vrouw op gruwelijke wijze verkracht en vervolgens vastgebonden achtergelaten	WNL	28-06-2018	Female
19	Schokkend incident in Zweden: vrouw verkracht in de tribunes	Goals and Glamour	03-04-2018	Female
20	Vrouw (19) door twee jongens van 16 verkracht bij station Eindhoven	De Stentor	02-11-2017	Female
21	Tilburgse neparts zou tenminste 9 vrouwen hebben verkracht	Brabants Dagblad	09-06-2016	Female
22	Beuningse vrouw in Nijmegen verkracht	De Gelderlander	13-07-2010	Female
23	Hoogbejaarde vrouw (85) urenlang verkracht in Den Haag: Vijf jaar cel en tbs	Omroep West	05-04-2016	Female
24	Amsterdammer verkracht twee vrouwen in hun eigen huis	NH Nieuws	18-11-2016	Female

25	Neparts Tilburg wordt verdacht van 9 verkrachtingen	De Volkskrant	09-06-2016	Female
1	Onderzoek: mannen verrassend vaak slachtoffer van seksueel geweld door vrouw	HP de tijd	28-03-2014	Male
2	Onderzoek: mannen in Libië stelselmatig verkracht	NRC	03-11-2017	Male
3	Man gedrogeerd en verkracht door groep vrouwen tijdens driedaagse ontvoering	Broadly	01-06-2017	Male
4	Italië: jongen wordt verkracht door 2 Pakistaanse mannen terwijl hij wacht op een trein	Fenixx	25-02-2018	Male
5	Twee jaar celstraf voor verkrachting in Maastricht	De Limburger	25-02-2015	Male
6	#MeToo-activiste Asia Argento ontkent seksueel misbruik tiener	De Volkskrant	22-08-2018	Male
7	#metoo: Ook Jelle Brandt Corstius slachtoffer misbruik	Het Parool	24-10-2017	Male
8	Ik ook. Maar ik kan het niet vertellen.	Trouw	23-10-2017	Male
9	Jelle Brandt Cortius: Ik ben	Nu	23-10-2017	Male

	ook slachtoffer van seksueel misbruik			
10	Bisdom erkent misbruik jongens door bisschop Gijsen	Het Parool	11-04-2014	Male
11	Australische aartsbisschop schuldig bevonden aan verzwijgen misbruik	NOS	22-05-2018	Male
12	Kerk: 'Geen doofpot in misbruikzaak'	Het AD	21-02-2017	Male
13	Hoewelaker misbruikt jongens in Amersfoortse kerk	Nijkerk Nieuws	03-10-2016	Male
14	Waarom verzweg kerk misbruik door man uit Hoewelaken?	Omroep Gelderland	04-10-2016	Male
15	Kerk in Amersfoort onderzoekt seksueel misbruik	Metro Nieuws	02-10-2016	Male
16	Boemerang: Gezicht #MeToo zelf onder vuur voor verkachting	Sceptr	20-08-2018	Male
17	Martelingen Goeree-Overflakkee: 15 jaar cel	NRC	23-02-2018	Male
18	Gijs van Dam ontkent verkrachting Jelle Brandt Corstius	Media courant	31-10-2017	Male
19	Sam (22) werd brutaal verkracht door twee mannen na een avondje uit:	Nieuwsblad	25-07-2017	Male

	“Ik kon niet stoppen met huilen”			
20	Nederlandse psychiater moet 7 jaar brommen	De Telegraaf	03-12-2018	Male
21	Masseur klaagt Kevin Spacey aan voor recente aanranding	De Telegraaf	29-09-2018	Male
22	Beschuldiger Asia Argento stapt naar politie	De Telegraaf	06-09-2018	Male
23	Moeder laat zoontje misbruiken door pedo's via dark web	De Telegraaf	07-08-2018	Male
24	Eis: cel voor leraar om misbruik in jaren 90	De Telegraaf	06-06-2018	Male
25	Acteur Yorick van Wageningen: 'Na seksueel incident met Job Gosschalk ben ik decennialang in de ban gedaan'	De Volkskrant	07-11-2017	Male

Appendix 3

1. Deze aangrijpende gebeurtenis leidde ertoe dat duizenden Indiase vrouwen de straat opgingen om te protesteren tegen de cultuur van seksueel geweld (F2).
2. Vrouwenactivisten zijn heel blij met de boodschap van Varna; als je het lef hebt, kunnen zelfs invloedrijke verkrachters in het oerconservatieve, patriarchale Pakistan hun straf niet ontlopen. Niet de verkrachte vrouw, maar de dader moet zich schamen (F15).
3. De bevolking moet beseffen dat dit niet alleen een oorlog is tegen meisjes, vrouwen en kinderen. Maar tegen de hele gemeenschap. Die moet zich verenigen, om de gruwelijkheden het hoofd te bieden (F6).
4. Het veelgehoorde geluid dat mannen niet verkracht kunnen worden door vrouwen is een mythe. Het is belangrijk om mannen als slachtoffer van seksueel geweld niet te negeren (M1).
5. Iedereen wist het. Niemand durfde naar buiten te komen. Ik denk dat het belangrijk is dat we allemaal te rade moeten gaan hoe wij de toekomst ingaan (M25).
6. Het is ongelooflijk erg, maar voor een jonge vrouw werd vanmorgen vroeg haar ergste nachtmerrie werkelijkheid. Toen ze rond vijf uur in de ochtend van Rotterdam centraal naar huis fietste werd ze aangevallen door een man. Vervolgens werd ze op brute wijze verkracht (F11).
7. Daar hield de nachtmerrie niet op voor de vrouw (F18).
8. De jongen probeerden zich te verzetten maar tevergeefs. Na de arme jongen te hebben verkracht ontsnapten de twee criminelen (M4).
9. Het is niet zo dat je hier zomaar binnen en buiten loopt. Als hier 's nachts plots vijf onbekende mannen staan laten we ze niet binnen. We werken met codes. De

verdoofde of gedrogeerde vrouwen moesten ongewild de verkrachters hebben geholpen (F13).

10. In het statement verklaarde de advocaat van Argento ook dat Bennet in 2004 is aangeklaagd voor seks met een minderjarige en kinderporno. De openbaar aanklager in Los Angeles liet desgevraagd aan USA Today weten dat daar niets over bekend is bij het OM (M22).

11. Toch is het idee hardnekkig dat vrouwen die een aanklacht wegens seksueel geweld indienen, liegen. Dat geldt ook voor de stelling, dat vrouwen zich gemakkelijk kunnen verzetten (F5).

12. Ik dacht er nooit aan dat ik verkracht zou kunnen worden. Vrouwen wordt verteld dat je verkracht kan worden, maar het overkomt mannen ook (M19).