READ ALL ABOUT IT: A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE MEDIA’S CONSTRUCTION OF RAPE

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the way the media discusses the topic of rape, with respect to both its overall distribution and description in a spoken news corpus, as well as a qualitative analysis of a more recent article. Past research has shown that the media controls the framing of a story, which in turn, can strongly impact the conceptualization and understanding of that issue. The present study applies this past research to the issue of sexual assault and finds that although the media’s discussion of rape can have positive effects, such as the encouragement of policy changes, it tends to discuss this issue in a way that supports popular rape myths, thus perpetuating the current rape culture of the United States.
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Introduction

Human beings are inundated with news each and every day. We receive this information through television, radio, print, and electronic sources. Although this dissemination of information is imperative for a well-informed citizenry, the media wields great power in how this information is presented, and thus how it is understood and contextualized within society. This paper will investigate the manner in which U.S. media outlets have constructed the topic of rape through both a quantitative analysis of spoken news corpora from 1990 to 2011, as well as a qualitative analysis of an article covering a more recent rape case. This study is of particular importance, because hundreds of thousands of Americans are affected by sexual assault each year, not to mention the thousands more affected internationally. It is crucial that the media presents this issue consistently and accurately, for the media acts as one of, if not the main conduit of this type of information, and thus shapes the current understanding of rape in society, as well as how the issue is handled politically.

The field of Linguistics is marked by the use of various investigative methods, all of which utilize language as the primary data source. At times, these distinctive research methods can be combined to investigate a given topic, which often leads to a more robust analysis of that topic. This paper will blend two seemingly disparate linguistic methods: critical discourse studies and corpus linguistics.

Critical discourse studies (CDS) is marked by its interdisciplinary nature and its unified goal of bringing existing ideologies to the forefront of research, and in doing so, dismantling them (Wodak & Meyer 2015). Unlike other fields, CDS is unified by this goal, rather than by methodology, which allows it to utilize existing methods from other fields. Corpus linguistics
analyzes mass amounts of linguistic data in the search for unearthing patterns of language, and can be used to investigate numerous topics. Although the two were not originally associated, there has been increasing awareness that “corpus linguistic techniques can be harnessed profitably in order to uncover relationships between language and the social,” which is one of the main goals of critical discourse studies (Mautner 2009). Essentially, CDS can utilize corpus research methods in order to help reach its goal of shedding light on existing ideologies. This paper will utilize both corpus methods and a more traditional sociolinguistic analysis of a single article in order to examine the ways in which the media presents and discusses the issue of rape.

**Literature Review**

This research sits at the intersection of multiple fields, most notably linguistics, specifically critical discourse studies and corpus linguistics, as well as feminist studies and criminology. Due to its multi-faceted nature, this review of literature will provide a brief insight into the findings of each field with respect to this topic.

*Rape*

The word “rape” was first introduced as a noun in the early 14\textsuperscript{th} century as a synonym for “booty” or “prey.” In the mid-14\textsuperscript{th} century, the noun had come to describe the actions that would lead to booty, ex. “robbery,” “plundering,” but still lacked any sexual connotation (Harper 2016). Take, for example, the famous “Rape of Helen” that acted as the impetus for the Trojan War; this term merely refers to the fact that she was abducted by Paris. By the end of the same century, rape also appeared as a verb, meaning, “to take by force” from the Anglo-French *raper*. It was not until the 15\textsuperscript{th} century that any type of sexual reference was linked to the term (Harper 2016).
To understand the current notion of rape, it is important to examine how it has been handled historically. Rape was considered a crime even in some of the earliest civilizations. The Code of Hammurabi mentions both rape and incest in some detail. In Hammurabi code, if a man “violated” a virgin woman betrothed to another man, then he would be put to death and the woman would be free of condemnation. On the other hand, if a “man’s wife” was caught with another man, both would be punished, but the husband could pardon her if he so chose (Code of Hammurabi). The wording of these laws clearly demonstrates the way in which women were considered property. This ties in to the original meaning of the word rape; if a woman is considered to be property, violating her could be considered thievery.

In ancient Hebrew times, rape was a matter of geography. If a rape occurred within the city limits, the woman was supposed to demonstrate her lack of consent by yelling; without this loud opposition, she would be sentenced to death along with her perpetrator. However, if the event took place outside of the city gates, then the punishment was lifted, and the perpetrator was made to pay a bride price and marry the woman (Brown 2003). Again, we see the way in which women were viewed as property, and thus rape was viewed as a plundering of another (man’s) property.

Later on, such as in medieval England, women were able to file suit against perpetrators; however, the standard of proof was quite high, requiring evidence such as torn garments and blood. Furthermore, only virginal women were allowed to claim they were raped, otherwise, it was considered “impossible” (Brown 2003). Later, non-virgins were allowed to press rape charges, and played a slightly larger role in the punishment of the offender. Yet spouses continued to be exempt from the accusation of rape (Brown 2003).
In the present day, no single definition of rape exists, including within the legal sphere (Bourke 2007). Rape is often considered a subset of sexual assault, which refers to “sexual contact or behavior that occurs without explicit consent of the victim” (rainn.org). There are additional specific sexual assault types, such as incest, sexual harassment, and child sexual abuse that, although extremely important points of investigation, will not be pursued in this paper.

Variance in definitions of rape includes requirements of an aspect of violence, certain areas being penetrated, and only with specific objects (Bourke 2007). For example, the state of Florida does not use the term rape, instead choosing “sexual battery” to describe this crime, while Pennsylvania separates rape and sexual assault by the level of coercive threat (46 Fl. C.S. § 786.046; 18 Pa. C.S. § 3121; 18 Pa. C.S. § 3122.1). As of January 2013, the Federal Bureau of Investigation defines rape as the following:

“Penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim” (fbi.gov).

As both a federal description and the most widely applicable definition, this is the interpretation that will be adopted for the purpose of this paper.

*Prevalence of Rape*

The present study rises in relevance when one considers the prevalence of rape in our current society. It is estimated that about 293,000 Americans over the age of 12 are sexually assaulted each year and that reporting rates for rape are lower than any other crime, with up to 68% of cases not being reported to the police (rainn.org; U.S. Department of Justice 1997). Moreover, only an extremely small proportion of those reported will result in a prison sentence
Studies show that one in six American women and three percent of American men will be victims of attempted or completed rape in her/his lifetime (U.S. Department of Justice 2003). This crime is more likely to occur to youths, with 80% of rapes occurring to those under thirty years old (U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics 1997). 15% of rape victims are under the age of 12, and females within the age range of 12-34 are more likely than the general population to be assaulted (U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics 1997; rainn.org).

Sexual assault affects females more than males, with 90% of reported rape victims in 2003 being female (U.S. Department of Justice 2003). Within the category of gender, rape disproportionately affects ethnic women, as nearly 82% of female rape victims are non-white (rainn.org). Furthermore, females aged 18-24 who are enrolled at a university are three times more likely than women in general to be assaulted, and those of the same age who are not enrolled in college are four times more likely than women in general to be sexually assaulted (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2014).

With respect to the offenders, approximately 82% of sexual offenders are familiar to their victims in some way: 47% of them are friends or acquaintances, 25% are intimate partners, and the final 5% are relatives (U.S. Department of Justice 2014). The average rapist is about 31 years old and 52% of rapists are Caucasian (U.S. Department of Justice 1997). One third of rapists report being intoxicated at the time of the rape and only 11% of rapists use a weapon to coerce their victims (U.S. Department of Justice 1997).
Rape Culture and Rape Myths

Aspects of the historical understanding of rape have bled into our current conception of the issue. Although certainly not explicitly part of societal discourse, certain types of people have been and continue to be deemed “rapable” and “unrapable.” The term “rapable” has been used to describe types/classes of people that occupy a social position of both racial and gender inferiority, which allows for their objectification in many forms, including sexually. Due to this socialization, “rapable” cases describe sexual encounters that will likely be considered rape (Silver 1991; Baxter 2003; Smith 2005; Lock 2006). Historically, “rapable” people were virginal, or at least unmarried women. In current society, women are considered more “rapable” than men; young or upper class females more “rapable” than those with a lower socioeconomic status; and whites more “rapable” than their ethnic (especially African American) counterparts (Silver 1991).

The combination of both a patriarchal society, as well as this understanding of rape has formed what is known as a “rape culture.” “Rape culture” refers to a society in which sexual violence is not only prevalent and considered the norm, but is also excused by the media and public culture (Herman 1984; Buchwald et. al. 2005). David Lisak demonstrates this apparent disparity between our repugnance of the crime of rape and the lack of prosecution (and reporting) of the crime itself (Lisak 2008). Every rape culture is shaped by prevalent rape myths. These myths may vary in specifics from culture to culture, but they typically provide oversimplified schemas that follow one of four themes: blaming the victim, disbelief of the claims of the rape, exoneration of the offender, and implications that only some types of women are raped (Buddie & Miller 2001; McKimmie, Masser & Bongiorno 2014; Grubb & Turner
American rape myths include the following (Harding 2015):

1. The victim asked for it.
2. It was not a true rape.
3. The offender did not intend to rape the victim.
4. The victim wanted it to occur.
5. The victim is lying.
6. Rape is a trivial crime.
7. Rape is extremely abnormal.

Like all myths, these are entirely untrue, and yet continue to prevail in society without factual substantiation. However unlike many other myths, the effects of their existence and pervasiveness can have a massive effect on society at large, including popular beliefs and policy. Rape myths “enable individuals…to place their actions in a framework that is recognizable by others…while withdrawing legitimacy from people who wish to contest them” (Bourke 2007). These myths can help to form ideas about what a “real” rape situation looks like, including who should be considered “real” victims and perpetrators (Estrich 1987). The prevalence of such myths in society can also increase sympathy for the abuser through justifying their actions in some way, and in doing so, diminishing the claims of the victim (Harding 2015).

Let us consider a standard prototypical rape scenario: a young, attractive female is walking home at night, when a large, unfamiliar male attacks her and forces her to have sexual intercourse with him through violent means, including threatening her with a knife, despite her physical resistance against him (Buddie & Miller 2001; McKimmie, Masser & Bongiorno 2014). This simple description already flouts two of the facts that have already been provided about
rape: atypically, this situation involves a stranger rape, as opposed to the far more likely familiar rape (Mason & Monckton-Smith 2008). Additionally, in this scenario, the perpetrator threatens the victim with a weapon, despite the use of a weapon being a bit of an abnormality. This prototype leaves little room for other types of rape, such as husbands assaulting their wives; males being attacked by other males (or females); and middle-aged women getting assaulted by well-to-do males. The prevalence of these myths become particularly troubling when one realizes the effects they can have on jurors: when a rape incident is being tried, jurors are less likely to find a defendant guilty if the characters/story do not match commonly held rape myths (McKimmie, Masser & Bongiorno 2014).

*Linguistic Studies of the Language of Rape*

There have been past studies within the field of linguistics investigating the language surrounding rape. This research is mostly situated in the broad field of gender and language, but has been approached in multiple ways. Some studies have analyzed how language aids in the societal construction of rape; others have a more forensic focus and thus analyze the way rape is presented, reported, and discussed in the legal system; and a few others have investigated the reporting of rape in the media.

We use language to define the world around us. Thus, language is the tool we employ to construct, discuss, and perpetuate the concept of rape, which is situated within the larger discourse of power. To begin, “linguistic practices give meaning to bodies” (Bourke 2007). The phenomena that are considered to be sexual are not an innate part of society, but rather, “become sexual through…a host of discourses” (Bourke 2007; Cahill 2000). Through language employed
in the legal realm, popular culture, etc. we have constructed our concept of what it is to be “male,” “female,” “sexual,” and “rapable” and these are the concepts we apply to rape. All of this construction is done, at least in part, linguistically through the numerous conduits of discourse in our society. These constructions all combine to form the greater discourse of rape that perpetuates our society that include the rape myths discussed in the previous section that create what we perceive to be the “typical” rape narrative (Lock 2006).

The burgeoning field of forensic linguistics is a perfect home for linguistic research of rape. Language has been inextricably linked to law since the inception of the latter. And this relationship has only grown in strength as laws became codified in society. Law is materialized through language, and thus, “law as we know it is inconceivable without language” (Gibbons 1994). Language infiltrates the legal system at all levels: the formulation of codes, the interpretation of such laws, and the way conflicts are resolved within the legal system. Because rape is a criminal matter, the way laws defining rape are codified, as well as how it is discussed in a courtroom setting, both affects and is affected by the manner in which rape is perceived in general society.

Some research has pursued this idea of linguistic social construction, specifically within the courtroom setting, which not only perpetuates current conceptions of rape, but also gives them a certain level of legitimacy because of its professional and legal environment (Freeman 1993). For example, in an analysis of the infamous Mike Tyson and Kennedy rape trials, Jody Freeman exposes the exploitation of current rape myths on the part of the lawyers that may have added to the final verdict. In the Tyson trial, the victim was young and beautiful, described by her attorneys as “an All-American girl…[who]…taught Sunday school…while on the honor
roll.” This created an “ideal” victim according to current rape myths: young, innocent, beautiful, and easily exploitable. As for Tyson, rape myths often frame African American men as sexually insatiable, which was only worsened by his violent profession. The “characters” in this rape narrative easily fit the prototypes perpetuated by rape myths, which may have added weight to the prosecution’s argument (Freeman 1993). This situation is perfectly contrasted by the William Kennedy Smith rape trial, in which the characters are almost complete opposites of those in the Tyson trial. In the Kennedy rape trial, the victim was an older, single mother. The fact that she had a child erased any ability of obfuscating past sexual activity, making her ineligible as a prototypical, innocent rape victim (Freeman 1993). Kennedy, the defendant, was a handsome, well-bred, white male. As such, he did not fit the mold of a rapist; someone like him would not have engaged in this type of activity, as he would not need to resort to raping a woman in order to engage in sexual relations (Freeman 1993). These two cases clearly illustrate the perpetuation of rape myths, with respect to who can be considered “rapable,” the type of person that should be considered a prototypical rapist, as well as the highly gendered construction of the crime itself.

Susan Ehrlich has examined multiple intersections of forensic linguistics and rape. She investigated the way in which gender and institutional power manifests through language, at the disadvantage of a female rape victim on trial (Ehrlich 1999). Because institutions like the tribunals she investigated are inherently male-based, they “tend to ‘systematically ignore the experiences of women’” (Ellison v Brady in Ehrlich 1999). She also considered the use of non-agency in the testimonials of defendants. For example, a defendant might state that his “shirt came off,” by-stepping the obvious implication that he himself removed his shirt. Ehrlich
demonstrates that such “encoding of sexual events in unaccusative constructions…constitutes a performance of hegemonic masculinity” that was legitimatized by the tribunal’s acceptance of this speech style (Ehrlich 2001). This passive voice causes hearers to lessen both the damage suffered by the victim and the responsibility of the perpetrator (Henley et. al 1995).

Ehrlich also analyzed questions in controlled institutional settings and found that they create and perpetuate ideologies, acting as a perfect environment for circulating rape myths (Ehrlich 2001). For example, questions pointed toward the victim can insinuate that they did not utilize all “appropriate avenues of resistance,” such as in asking pointed questions as to if the victims were alone, had a chance for escape, chose to yell out, attempted to physically resist their attacker(s), etc. (Ehrlich 2001). Additionally, she investigated the way in which differences in gendered language are not only utilized to disguise acquaintance rape as a miscommunication of consent (“Not right now,” rather than a direct “No.”), but also help explain why male-dominated institutions like courtrooms have trouble understanding that what is considered “reasonable” to a male may not be deemed “reasonable” by a woman, in as far as the extent of her resistance (Ehrlich 2001).

Perhaps most important to the present study are the past examinations of the media’s role in the construction of the concept of rape. As mentioned previously, the media has a large impact on the construction of any given concept within society, and thus investigation of the way in which rape is discussed in the media can have a profound impact on how we as individuals and as a society understand the concept itself. Overwhelmingly, it has been found that the media perpetuates current rape myths. To begin, perpetrators are consistently described as deviant from ordinary men, through the use of terms like “beasts” or “monsters.” This not only makes rape
appear to be an abnormal event, but also specifies that only violent stranger-rapes, especially those that include severe harm or even death, constitute a “true” rape occurrence (Carll 2003; Mason & Monckton-Smith 2008; O’Hara 2012). Furthermore, media reports do not usually focus much on the harm caused to the victim, and instead refer to the damage done to the victim’s family, hometown, etc. (O’Hara 2012). Some articles rather explicitly perpetuate rape myths, by describing victims in specific ways, such as mentioning past negative (sexual) behavior (O’Hara 2012). Finally, culpability and blame are often skewed away from perpetrators, through framing the occurrence as something they were “drawn into” or blames other causes, such as alcohol or even the devil (O’Hara 2012; Harding 2015).

*Linguistic Methods*

*Media Discourse*

Discourse analysis can be defined as analyzing language in order to demonstrate the connections between “texts, discourse practices, and sociocultural practices,” and the media acts as a perfect sample of this intersection (Fairclough 1995). The media provides the everyday citizen with access to the occurrences in the world immediately and far beyond them, which undeniably gives the media a certain level of power within society. However, the media is not an isolated monolith, but rather, is situated within a social system, meaning that the media both reflects and contributes to the larger discourse of society (Fairclough 1995). The relationship between the media and society is symbiotic: the public shapes the media, and the media shapes the public. Furthermore, because media outlets must postulate about their potential audiences, the messages embedded in media discourse speak to the larger power and ideological frameworks in society as a whole (Fairclough 1995).
Such power can have massive effects on the shaping of public opinion and even policy decisions (Gamson & Modigliani 1989; Carl 2003). The relationship between the media and the political arena has been studied in particular, which has demonstrated that the media is often one of the most important agents when setting a political agenda (Walgrave 2008).

With these two effects in mind, the importance of understanding how the media discusses rape becomes apparent, as the media is a major actor in the construction of a rape culture as well as how rape is discussed legally.

Framing

It is often said that one’s reality is only one’s perception of reality. This is, in simple terms, the essence of linguistic framing. Framing refers to the cognitive schemas that individuals (subconsciously) use in order to understand and analyze the world in which they live (Lakoff 2007). As a society, we each negotiate our frames with each other, eventually combining them to create major elements of a culture (Goffman 1974; Reese 2001). Many actors are responsible for the perpetuation of these cultural beliefs, one of the most influential of them being the media (de Vreese et al. 2011). Because news sources exercise autonomy in the writing of stories, they have ultimate control over the framing of an issue/story, which in turn, has a strong influence on public opinion (de Vreese, Boomgaarden, & Semetko 2011). Therefore, the way the media frames the discussion of rape directly influences the way it is perceived by society, and thus can have a lasting impact on the existence of a rape culture.

Our society is inherently intertextual. Intertextuality refers to the way in which written and spoken texts influence other texts, each time building a new layer of meaning, that, when all
parts are combined, create a common meaning for the culture at large (Gray 2006). Essentially, intertextuality concerns the building of, and the relationship between, texts. Because every text builds on past texts and contributes to an overall concept in society, the framing of any given idea within a text will shape the way that idea is constructed within society. So the way the media presents any issue is not ephemeral—it adds to the overall understanding of that concept. When that idea is something as critical as the crime of rape, it is extremely important that the media presents accurate facts about sexual assault, so that only truths become part of society’s understanding of the topic.

**Critical Discourse Studies**

Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) (sometimes referred to as Critical Discourse Analysis), is a particular subset of discourse analysis, situated within the field of sociolinguistics. Critical Discourse is concerned with naturally occurring, large language units within the context of society. Unlike other approaches, CDS is not marked by one specific methodology, but rather employs a variety of approaches. CDS is instead unified by a broad goal: the identification and “emancipation” from existing power and ideological hierarchies (Wodak & Meyer 2015). Essentially, Critical Discourse Studies analyzes written and spoken texts with respect to the larger societal context they are found in, with the hope that doing so will bring deeply entrenched hierarchies to light in order for them to be further examined and deconstructed.

CDS views all language as a form of “social practice,” which allows for the circular relationship between discourse and its wider societal context (Fairclough & Wodak 1997). Analysis of this interplay allows for insight into power hierarchies within society. Within the
field of CDS, power is defined as an individual (or group’s) ability to achieve their will, even over that of another’s (Weber 1980). Ideology on the other hand, is defined as “representations…of the world” that authenticate and perpetuate the established hierarchies of domination (Fairclough 2003). Power is both wielded and constructed linguistically, and help to form ideologies. Dominant ideologies appear neutral; this helps to explain why current rape myths are not seen as aberrant, but rather typical of a rape narrative. This study is situated within Critical Discourse Studies, as it aims to both shed light on these ideologies and demonstrate how they are entrenched and circulated in our community.

_Corpus Linguistics_

Linguists analyze data in the attempt of discovering (universal) patterns that allow for interpretation and even prediction. Corpus linguistics utilizes computational techniques in order to analyze large quantities of linguistic data. This area of research relies heavily on the extensional view of language, namely that “language is defined as the set of all utterances produced by speakers of the language” (Kytö 2009). Thus, a corpus represents a set or sample of this infinite pool of utterances, and as such, is used in order to make generalizations about a certain language type as a whole (i.e. the Japanese language, ancient Greek texts, U.S. political speeches, etc.).

Both the increase in computational power and the existence of codified corpora has greatly increased interest and research in corpus linguistics. Of particular interest to many are the massive amounts of easily accessed data found on the Internet. Although certainly a field in its own right, corpus linguistics can be utilized to add empirical evidence to other concentrations,
such as Critical Discourse Studies. CDS has been criticized for ‘cherry-picking’ data to ensure that the conclusions they want to be drawn are supported, but by utilizing corpus research, one can find empirical evidence to either support or debase a conclusion drawn in a CDS study (Mautner 2005). Furthermore, CDS is focused on analyzing language in context and corpus research allows for exactly that, especially when web-based corpora is involved, since the Internet provides unprecedented access to multi-modal and multi-authored texts spanning thousands of topics. Moreover, the Internet has become a key outlet for much of the current cultural construction, and reflects quick changes in opinion (Mautner 2005).

This paper aims to add to these bodies of knowledge in two main ways. First, I hope to add empirical support to past linguistic research of rape, through a quantitative analysis of the way the media reports on rape. Secondly, I will add further qualitative research within the frame of CDS by analyzing an article reporting on the rape accusation against Florida State University quarterback, Jameis Winston, in 2012. This is an important addition to the current research, as the quantity of campus rape has recently risen to society’s attention, but little linguistic research has been focused at this specific situation (Kingkade 2016).

**THE CURRENT STUDY**

**Research Questions**

This aim of this study is to analyze the way in which the media discusses rape, and how this discussion feeds into the current rape culture. This will be investigated in the three following ways:

1. How is the use of the term “rape” distributed between the years 1990 and 2011?
a. Are there reasons behind this distribution? If so, what are they?

2. How is rape described?
   a. What adjectives are ascribed to rape?
   b. What collocations are associated with the term “rape”?
   c. How do these collocations relate to the wider societal discourse about rape?

3. How does the media frame Jameis Winston, with regard to his sexual battery allegations?

Part I: Quantitative Analysis

Data and Methodology

The data for this project was gathered from the Corpus of Spoken Contemporary American English (Davies). This corpus consists of over 103 million tokens, 85 million words, and 37,758 texts taken from various spoken news sources from the year 1990 through 2011. There are a total of nine spoken media outlets: ABC, CBS, CNN, FOX, MSNBC, NBC, NPR, PBS, and “Independent.” The last source consists of data taken from various talk shows, such as the Rush Limbaugh show and the Oprah Winfrey show. This data was accessed and searched through Georgetown University’s CQP Web Interface.

I also utilized Microsoft Excel and the programming tool R when locating and managing data in order to answer the research questions of this study.
Distribution by Year

Based on past personal research, I was interested if there were any clear patterns regarding the use of the term “rape”, historically. Therefore, I first searched for all occurrences of the lemma “rape” in the corpus. Then, using the distribution metrics included on Georgetown’s Web Interface, I gathered the distribution of the use of the term “rape” for each year. I focused on frequencies, rather than simple counts in order to normalize the data for fluctuations in total word count per year. This resulted in the following data:

Figure 1: Frequency of the Lemma “Rape”
I was intrigued by the peaks in the data, and wanted to investigate further into these years, in an effort to determine the reasons for these spikes in usage.

The largest peak, occurring in 1991, coincides with the rape trial of William Kennedy Smith. Out of the 94 unique texts that pertain to rape in 1991, 42 texts, or 44.6% of them are about the William Kennedy Smith case. Considering the fame of his family, this is not entirely surprising, but it is important to note. Rape is a fairly common crime, but is not widely reported, except when regarding a case of this magnitude and infamy. This dramatic increase in the appearance of rape in spoken news discourse in this exceptional situation, adds to the myth that rape is a deviant event. Furthermore, Kennedy was found not guilty. This is not problematic in its own right, but because of the mass amount of media attention it received, the details of his case were added to the intertextual understanding of rape, and many of these details support established rape myths, such as the ideas that a) privileged (white) males are not typical sex offenders, and b) women who have had previous sexual experiences are not “rapable.”

The next highest frequency is in the following year, 1992, which upon further investigation, is the year of the Mike Tyson rape trial. However, only 11.9% of the texts in 1992 pertaining to rape reference Mike Tyson, a noticeably smaller percentage than that of Kennedy. Why such a difference in reporting? At the time, Mike Tyson was more famous than William Kennedy Smith. However, as mentioned previously, Tyson’s situation fell more in line with a typical rape narrative, and thus, was perhaps less shocking (and therefore less deserving of airtime). Or perhaps coverage of celebrity rape trials had become blasé, after Kennedy’s the year before. Regardless, Tyson was found guilty of the charges, and thus more confirmation of rape myths were added to popular understanding of the issue, due to the fact that the details of his
case more closely resembled those of the prototypical conceptualization of rape.

Because the Tyson trial only represented about 12% of the data in 1992, I wanted to see if there was a different way to account for the year’s high frequency of usage. I looked more closely at the sources of the data, and found that 55% of the data comes from ABC and CNN combined; ABC appears to have broadcasted a number of specials on the subject of rape, with one special report by Peter Jennings comprising 40% of all the ABC data. CNN also broadcasted two specials, one on marital rape and another on statutory rape, which accounts for almost 50% of the CNN data. Although one can only conjecture as to why so many of these programs focused on sexual assault, perhaps it was the prevalence of high-profile rape cases (Kennedy and Tyson) that brought the issue to the attention of these media outlets.

1993 sees the next highest frequency of usage. With outside research, I discovered that July 1993 marked an important step in anti-sexual assault legislation: by the end of this month, marital rape was considered to be a crime in the sexual assault codes in every U.S. state (Bennice & Resick 2003). I chose to examine the data more closely for instances of “marital rape,” and found 19 occurrences between 1990 and 2011. More than half of these appearances (11/19) occurred in 1992, in a CNN special that focused on the issue of marital rape laws. This intensive media coverage may have helped in bringing attention to the issue of marital rape, and aided in the inclusion of this issue to the criminal codes at that time. This is a prime example of a way in which media power can be harnessed to help make positive change, especially politically.

However, this still does not explain the high usage of the term “rape” in the year 1993. Looking at the distribution of usage among the media sources, 59% of the usage was from ABC
and Independent media outlets. Investigating further, ABC’s 20/20 reported on a variety of issues that involved rape, with almost 70% of the occurrences stemming from eleven different episodes of this show. Most of these episodes featured a segment that focused on sexual assault, such as the emotional impact rape can have on the male partners of female rape victims. With regard to the Independent sources, 90% of the data came from various episodes of Geraldo, a talk show program hosted by Geraldo Rivera, an attorney. Most of the episodes are rather sensationalistic, with titles such as “My best friend had an affair with my 12-year-old son” or “Teen escorts: Your teen may be moonlighting as a prostitute.” While this is interesting, I did not uncover a clear reason why these two outlets focused so heavily on the topic of rape during 1993. It could perhaps be a residual effect of the prevalence of the issue during the two previous years, but this, unfortunately, cannot be demonstrated empirically.

There then seems to be a slow decrease in usage after 1993, with jarring spikes in 1997 and 2006. There does not appear to be a specific event or media outlet responsible for the high frequency of use in 1997; however, this was the year that a the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics published its National Crime Victimization Survey, which may have piqued media interest in the topic overall. Additionally, 1997 marked the 60th anniversary of the Rape of Nanking, a horrific massacre of Chinese citizens by the Japanese. There was a short segment on this topic on ABC’s Good Morning America, but not enough to explain the peak in the data.

The uptick in usage in 2006 is most likely due to the Duke Lacrosse team rape trial, as it appears in just over 20% of all texts pertaining to sexual assault in 2006. This was an interesting trial, as it did not fit the prototypical rape narrative: an older, African-American stripper/escort accused members of the Duke Lacrosse team (young, white, relatively well-to-do college
students) of raping her. Despite a massive amount of turmoil within Duke University and the surrounding community, all charges were eventually dropped. The details of this case, once again, were added to society’s conceptualization of rape—details that align with a prototypical rape scenario.

Describing Rape

An important aspect of the discussion of any topic is the way the topic is described. I was very interested to see what descriptions the media used when reporting on the subject of rape, as it is a rather graphic and delicate matter. To investigate this, I examined all of the adjectives that directly preceded rape, as well as the collocations associated with the term itself.

As mentioned before, one aspect of a rape culture is the way in which society attempts to make rape appear as an abnormal event, usually by either “other-ing” the rapist, or more often, the victim. However, William Kennedy Smith was not a good prototypical rapist: he is white, handsome, wealthy, and from a well-known family. I was therefore interested in the way the Kennedy rape trial was presented, and so I analyzed the adjectives that were associated with his case. Of all the adjectives that directly preceded the term “rape” in documents referencing the Kennedy rape trial in 1991, “alleged” described 50% of them, the only other repeated descriptive term being “publicized,” (representing only 12% of the data). Furthermore, there are 34 adjectives that directly precede “rape” in the 1991 data; “alleged” constitutes 18 counts of these 34 adjectives. Out of the 18 instances of “alleged”, 17 of them describe the Kennedy Smith trial. By using the term “alleged,” the media linguistically distances Kennedy from his potential crime. This may be proper journalistic principles, but it certainly helps to cast doubt upon the truth of
the accusations, before the final verdict is drawn. This is particularly destructive when this term is used to describe the rape victim, as it is 50% of the time in the 1991 data, for this immediately makes the victim’s accusations seem suspect—directly feeding into the victim-blaming characteristic of many rape myths.

How does this compare with the descriptions surrounding the Mike Tyson rape trial? “Alleged” is only found in two texts that reference Mike Tyson, and neither occurrence refers to his specific case. In fact, “alleged” is actually used to describe Kennedy’s case in a text that discusses both individuals. It is also important to note that “alleged” is used to describe Kennedy’s case even before the verdict was drawn. This would seem to demonstrate that “alleged” only describes situations that do not align with common rape myths, as in the Kennedy rape trial, as opposed to more “normative” cases, like that of Mike Tyson.

Next, I wanted to get a more general understanding of how rape was described in these news sources, and so I analyzed the collocations surrounding the term rape, as “collocations of a given word are statements of the habitual or customary place of that word” (Firth 1957). Using the log-likelihood algorithm in the CQP database, the top fifteen collocations are as follows:
Figure 2: Top 15 Collocations for Rape

*This algorithm balances uniqueness and quantity.

Most of these collocations are not particularly surprising, and clearly ascribe themselves to our prototype of rape. To begin, many of these words specify types of rape, such as “statutory,” (#1) “incest,” (#3) and “date” (#6). The first two of these tokens speak to one very specific type of rape, namely that of children. In addition to “statutory” being the highest ranked collocate, it is also the term most likely to describe rape as it represents 25% of all adjectives that directly precede the lemma “rape.” The high ranking of these two collocates may lead one to think that most rapes involve minors, however 85% of rapes are not statutory in nature. The media highlights these cases because the rape of minors is such an egregious crime; although not necessarily deliberately, this perpetuates the rape myth that a “true rape victim” is an innocent/non-sexual being. Much like ancient conceptions of rape that involved only virgins, our rape culture often portrays rape as “traumatic [only] for a young virgin” but not for more sexually experienced individuals (Harding 2015).

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*a Incest can and does occur to adults, but is more commonly ascribed to children.
Other collocations point to the violent nature of this crime, such as “murder” (#4) and “murdered” (#13). Although rape is indeed a violent crime, the majority of rapes occur without this extreme ending. This association with something that, in the minds of most Americans is relatively abnormal, helps to make rape seem to be a deviant event itself, adding to what is perhaps the most common rape myth: “Rape hardly ever happens” (Harding 2015). Moreover, this adds an aspect of extreme physical violence to our society’s concept of rape, which makes individuals who do not experience a high level of physical violence/bodily injuries feel less assured about reporting an incident as rape (Amir 1971; Pino 1999).

The words “her” (#4) and “women” (#12) properly reflects the fact that most rape victims are female\(^b\). The downside to the gendering of this crime is that it minimizes the number of males that are sexually assaulted each year\(^c\). This adds to the perpetuation of the myth that “male rape can’t happen,” which indeed it can and does (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson 1992). This myth includes beliefs that males should be strong enough to defend themselves against attacks and that rape is “synonymous with the loss of masculinity” (Pino 1999; Finkelhor 1984; Adler 1992). All of these concepts, when taken together, construct the myth that male rape rarely occurs, or only occurs to non-masculine men, which makes male victims less likely to report an attack.

The seemingly most deviant collocation is “Duke” (#14). All of these tokens refer to the Duke Lacrosse team rape trial that occurred in 2006, which was discussed previously. Again we can see how the high-profile nature of this case brings the issue of rape to the attention of the

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\(^b\) 9/10 rape victims were female in 2003 (rainn.org)
\(^c\) 2.78 million males in the U.S. have been victims of sexual assault
media, once again strengthening the myth that “real rape” is a deviant event. And again, like the Kennedy case, the Duke lacrosse players were found not guilty, which once again, strengthens existing rape myths.

In sum, the quantitative analyses performed in this section demonstrate that the media’s presentation of rape feeds current rape myths, and thus perpetuates the rape culture of the United States.

Part II: Qualitative Analysis

I chose to include a qualitative analysis in this study for a number of reasons. To begin, none of the linguistic studies of rape in the media analyzed articles about campus rapes, which are (unfortunately) incredibly relevant and troubling in our current society. As a college student, I wanted to ensure this topic was included. In addition, I am situating this paper within the realm of Critical Discourse Studies, and as such, wanted to pay homage to the original field by adding a qualitative aspect to my analysis. Most importantly, I believe some of the most interesting linguistic research is marked by both quantitative and qualitative properties, as together, they can strengthen a conclusion that is draw by each separately. Qualitative studies are sometimes criticized for being subjective and imprecise, while quantitative studies may overlook aspects of human phenomena (Schulze 2003; Hathaway 1995). Combining both types can circumvent these issues, and can lead to enlightening discoveries.

Data

I chose an article from 2013 regarding rape allegations made against Florida State
University football player, Jameis Winston. I chose this incident for two reasons. First, as mentioned previously, I wanted to incorporate something about campus sexual assaults, and this particular event was a fairly high-profile case. Additionally, I am originally from the state of Florida, and this issue was widely discussed at the time. The specific article I chose comes from USA Today. I chose this particular article for a few reasons. To begin, USA Today is considered to be a relatively trusted news source, falling in line with the ideology of the average American (Mitchell 2014). Additionally, it covers a variety of topics, and thus would not necessarily pay more attention to the athletic component of the story as a source like ESPN might. More importantly, this was the earliest article (and thus earliest reporting) of the event that I could find, and therefore the least affected by other reporting.

Analysis

This article frames Jameis Winston as an unlikely perpetrator in this investigation by devaluing details of the case, as well as building Winston’s likeability through other people’s comments and highlighting his extremely successful athletic career.

Despite there not being an overwhelming amount of publicly known details about the case at this time (it was still an open and active case), this article disseminates ones that support Winston’s innocence. First, the article states that the report does not mention Winston’s name. This seems to be an immediate red flag against the veracity of the report, as Winston was essentially a local celebrity and would most likely be recognized by any FSU student. However, the attack occurred well before Winston was a starting player, and therefore was not as well known, making it less likely that somebody would be able to identify him. The article also
includes the complainant’s description of her attacker as “between 5-9 and 5-11 and 240 pounds”, but immediately follows this description with FSU’s description of Winston as “6-4, 228 pounds.” This clear juxtaposition in description, especially considering that the latter is an official description and thus must be correct, builds a case for Winston’s innocence. This brief, side-by-side comparison does not allow any leeway for an inaccurate description by a young, traumatized woman (or even an individual who is bad at estimating body metrics). Finally, the article reports that the complainant told the police that she “had been drinking alcohol ‘before/during offense.’” This is a frame commonly employed against rape victims; by demonstrating that the complainant is the type of girl to consume alcohol, it helps to construct her as “unrapable.” As discussed previously, “rapable” victims are young, innocent females that do not engage in such “unbecoming” behaviors as wearing risqué clothing or drinking alcohol. This may indeed be a part of the police report; however, this article chose to highlight this detail as opposed to any of the other details that were included (Please reference Appendix B for the report provided to the media).

Winston’s alleged innocence is also constructed through the voices of others. To begin, Winston’s attorney is quoted throughout the article, which is not an unusual choice of representation in this type of situation. His attorney states that the police told him the case had been closed, and he doesn’t “know of any reason for reopening it.” This immediately casts doubt on the legitimacy of the case, as it seems unlikely that somebody who was truly raped would at any point, choose to exonerate her/his perpetrator of her/his own volition, and thus would have no reason to close a case. A statement released by FSU is also included, which mentions that Winston’s status with the team had not changed, insinuating that the university does not think
him guilty. Both Winston’s attorney and FSU state that they hope for “a speedy resolution” to
the issue. This is an interesting way to describe an investigation into a crime; typically, justice,
rather than speed, is the hoped-for characteristic of any trial. However, this trial could really
only be “speedy” if Winston was innocent; otherwise, the situation would entail a lengthy court
case. By using this adjective to describe the desired outcome of the situation, both Winson’s
attorney and FSU imply that Winston is not guilty of this accusation, allowing for a quick
resolution. Finally, the article later says that although Winston’s football coach did not mention
the allegations in his weekly radio show, he did say that he “thinks the world of the young
man.” Because FSU football was so successful at the time of this incident, the coach, Jimbo
Fisher, was a bit of an athletic celebrity, and thus his comments were regarded highly. When an
important individual who knows Winston well speaks so highly of him, it is difficult to imagine
him as they type of abnormal brute who would commit sexual assault. This further built support
for Winston’s innocence.

Finally, Winston’s athletic accolades are found throughout the article. They are
immediately thrust into the spotlight through the title and subheading of the article. The title of
the article does not simply describe him as a football player, which it might have done had
Winston played any other position than quarterback—arguably the most prestigious position on
any football team. The subheading goes even further to call him a “star quarterback,”
emphasizing his talent on the field. Winston’s athletic abilities continue to emerge throughout
the entirety of the article. For example, when discussing his status with FSU’s football team, the
article includes the dependent clause, “…which he has led a 9-0 record and No.2 rank…” which,
again, showcases his skill, and importance to the success of FSU’s football team as a whole. The
final four paragraphs of the article are dedicated exclusively to describing Winston’s athletic history, achievements, and postulations about his future. The article mentions that he joined FSU’s football team “as one of the top recruits in the nation” and “was considered a future star.” The article details his FSU athletic record and states twice that he is favored to win the Heisman trophy (arguably the most prestigious honor a college football player can be awarded). The article goes so far as to postulate that experts expect Winston to be “the No. 1 overall pick when he is eligible in 2015,” an event that is not only years in the future, but also depends on his innocence in this criminal investigation. By detailing Winston’s athletic abilities and achievements, the article builds his identity as not just an athlete, but as an extremely successful one that has a bright future. Because athleticism is extremely valued in U.S. culture, especially in a Southern college town like Tallahassee, these descriptions add to his “likeability,” which is useful in separating him from the prototypical deviant monsters that usually commit such crimes (Dijkstra 2009).

Through the inclusion of only certain details, quotations of others, and highlighting his athletic achievements, this article frames Winston, as a likeable individual who, at the least extent, is an unlikely perpetrator of this crime, and to the furthest extent, innocent.

*Future Directions*

This study has only scraped the surface of the many different ways one could analyze the way the media discusses rape. Other avenues might investigate how synonyms of rape are used in media sources; how the usage of the term “rape” differs between spoken and written texts; if there has been a change in usage over a longer or shorter time span than discussed in this paper;
and still others might look to see if there is an effect of reading reports that include rape myths in people’s understanding or opinion of the topic. The results from these lines of inquiry can be utilized to inform media outlets of the best way to present the issue of rape, in order to bring about the most positive change in this arena.

CONCLUSION

While we openly denounce rape in our current society, we continue to live in a rape culture. This paper provides both quantitative and qualitative evidence that the media adds to this rape culture by framing stories about rape in ways that perpetuate rape myths. The media helps to make rape seem like a deviant event by only bringing massive attention to the issue when the story involves a celebrity like in the case of William Kennedy Smith, or is particularly egregious, such as situations involving minors. Furthermore, the media is defendant-focused, rather than victim-focused in its presentation of this crime. The language used in articles like the ones pertaining to William Kennedy Smith and Jameis Winston, helps to build a case for their innocence by using adjectives like “alleged,” and highlighting positive aspects of the defendant, while only providing negative characteristics of the victim.

With great power comes great responsibility, and as the primary vendor of information, the media should be aware as to how its presentation of news can affect society, such as in the perpetuation of rape culture.
APPENDIX A: USA Today Article

Florida State quarterback Jameis Winston investigated for sexual battery
The Tallahassee Police Department last year received a complaint of sexual battery against Florida State University star quarterback Jameis Winston. No charges have been filed against Winston. VPC

Sean Rossman and Jeff Burlew, Tallahassee Democrat
8:50 a.m. EST November 14, 2013

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. – The Tallahassee Police Department last year received a complaint of sexual battery against Florida State University star quarterback Jameis Winston.

No charges have been filed against Winston, and the investigation remains active. An attorney representing Winston denied the allegation.

"We've been cooperating with the law-enforcement agencies and we're hoping to get a quick resolution in favor of Mr. Winston," attorney Tim Jansen said Wednesday.

The school said in a statement that Winston's status with the Florida State football team, which he has led to a 9-0 record and No. 2 rank in the Bowl Championship Series standings, has not changed.

The complaint was filed Dec. 7, 2012, according to Tallahassee Police Department reports. The complainant is cooperating with the State Attorney's Office, said Officer David Northway, spokesman for TPD.

"The case is open and active and the victim is working with the State Attorney's Office," Northway said.

Jansen said he was told by Tallahassee police last February, about a week after they first contacted him, that the case had been closed. "I talked to the police officer," Jansen told USA TODAY Sports. "He said the case had been closed. I don't know of any reason for reopening it."

He said he found out Monday that a media outlet had requested relevant police records last Friday.

Jansen said Winston has not been interviewed by police or prosecutors.
Winston's regular weekly media availability was canceled earlier Wednesday. Shortly after the incident report had been released, Florida State issued a statement that said Winston and coach Jimbo Fisher would not address the topic. After practice, Winston spoke with reporters but would only discuss football-related topics.

"We are aware of a matter that was investigated by the Tallahassee Police Department almost a year ago," the school said in a statement. "Because the investigation has not been closed by TPD, we cannot comment further at this time. We look forward to a speedy resolution of the issue. There is no change in Jameis Winston's status."

At the site of his weekly radio show, Fisher did not mention the allegations. But he said of Winston: "I think the world of the young man. Always have."

Jansen said he provided eyewitness affidavits Tuesday to the State Attorney, William Meggs. Though Jansen would not disclose the details of the affidavits, he said, "They're witnesses who were present who can provide vital information."

TPD released an incident report on Wednesday in response to a request from the Tallahassee Democrat for any and all reports related to Winston.

The report, which was heavily redacted, does not mention Winston by name. It says the complaint was received at 4:01 a.m. and the alleged victim said sexual battery occurred earlier in the morning of Dec. 7, 2012, between 1:30 a.m. and 2 a.m. The exact location was not listed, though the report says it happened at an apartment.

The suspect – name listed as "Unknown" – is described as a black male with a muscular build between 5-9 and 5-11 and 240 pounds, with "straight" black hair and brown eyes. Winston is listed by Florida State as 6-4, 228 pounds.

The narrative description from the investigating officer is redacted. The incident report indicated that evidence was collected from the complainant's body. Photos also were taken of the complainant. She told police she had been drinking alcohol "before/during offense."

Georgia Cappleman, chief assistant state attorney, said she can't discuss the case because it's an open investigation.

In a news release sent Wednesday night, Northway said TPD had received several requests from local and national media about the complaint of a sexual battery.
"The case was assigned to the Special Victims Unit," Northway said. "TPD is continuing its investigation and has consulted with the State Attorney as to the direction of the case."

The Democrat on Wednesday morning requested police reports involving Winston. Throughout the day, TPD officials said they were redacting documents in response to the request. At 4:59 p.m., Northway sent an email to a Democrat reporter containing the incident report. Minutes later the police department released the incident report, without reference to Winston, to other media.

Winston is a redshirt freshman and is widely considered the current frontrunner to win the Heisman Trophy.

Winston, who grew up in Hueytown, Ala., came to Florida State as one of the top recruits in the nation, choosing the Seminoles over Alabama. He was also rated as one of the top high school baseball prospects and played baseball at Florida State last season.

Despite redshirting last season while E.J. Manuel played quarterback, Winston was considered a future star by Florida State coaches, and he has not disappointed. From his debut in a victory at Pittsburgh in which he completed 25-of-27 passes, his star has only risen. He has passed for 26 touchdowns with only seven interceptions, rising to the top of the Heisman conversation.

Winston has also delivered impressive performances on the Seminoles' biggest stages, leading Florida State to a 51-14 victory at then-No. 4 Clemson and a 41-14 victory against then-No. 6 Miami. Several NFL draft experts project Winston to be the No. 1 overall pick when he is eligible in 2015.

Contributing: Dan Wolken, George Schroeder.
### APPENDIX B: POLICE REPORT

#### Incident Report

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#### Officer

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Tallahassee Police Department
Incident Report

Date of Report: 12/07/2012 04:42
Case #: 00-12-032758

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| Hair Style: Straight |
| Eye Color: Brown |
| Build: Muscular |
| Complexion: Dark |
| General Appearance: Casual |
| Demeanor: Polite |

---

**SEXUAL BATTERY - ORIGINAL REPORT**

**DISPATCH INFORMATION:**

Original Location:
FSU OFC THAT IS VICTIM WILL HAVE MORE INFO

Primary Unit CHANGED To: PD/631-A3

ARRIVAL ON SCENE: Upon my arrival I was met by FSU PD Ofc Harris 432 who stated that the victim was sexually battered by an unknown male in a off campus location.

DESCRIPTION OF SCENE: The victim was not able to provide the address of the incident location.

PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL CONDITION OF VICTIM: The victim had no obvious signs of external injury. She was slightly upset but was able to clearly communicate. As the investigation continued several bruises began to appear on the victim.

OFFENSE/VICTIM'S ACCOUNT: The victim stated that she was at Potbelly's drinking with a male friend (Marcus Jordan) and they were drinking same cup. As she was walking through the club she was offered a shot by an unknown white male who is friend with Jordan. A short time later she texted her friend Monique Kessler. She then stated that she possibly got into a cab and was driven to the unknown incident location. She stated that she can not recall how she met the suspect. Upon arrival at the incident location they went into the suspects room and the suspect removed the victims clothes and began to have sexual intercourse with her. The victim stated that she thinks the suspect was wearing a condom during the incident. At some point a person passably the suspect roommate entered the room and told the suspect to stop. The victim stated that she was telling the suspect to stop but he did not, she further stated that he was trying to kick the suspect off of her but was unable to. The suspect also pinned the victims arms down. The suspect then took the victim to the bathroom and continued the assault. She does not remember dressing herself, the next thing she remembers is riding on a scooter that was being driven by the suspect, and being dropped off at [redacted] then walked back to her [redacted] called FSUPD.

---

**Reporting Officer**
Officer CLAYTON FALUS 631 (28014)

**Department**
Tallahassee Police Department

**Report Status:** Approved

**Secondary Officer Name**

---

**Verifying Officer**
Sergeant FRANK ARIAS 269 (03424)

**Department**
Tallahassee Police Department

**Date/Time**
12/07/2012 10:56
Tallahassee Police Department
Incident Report

| VICTIM/SUSPECT RELATIONSHIP: None |
| WITNESS(ES) ACCOUNT: None |
| OFFICER OBSERVATIONS: Upon my arrival I noted that the victim was slightly upset and was not able to fully recall the incident. She was very cooperative during the investigation. Forensics responded to TMH and took photos of the victim. |
| CONTACT WITH SUSPECT/VICTIM’S DESCRIPTION OF SUSPECT: The victim stated that the suspect was a black male wearing jeans, and a red T-shirt. |
| EVIDENCE RECOVERED: I collected the victim's outer clothes from her, but she was unable to recall where her underpants were. The SANE nurse Walker responded to TMH and collected the SA kit. |
| SEX CRIMES NOTIFIED/RESPONDED: Inv Angulo was notified and responded to TMH. |
| CHARGES/FOLLOW-UP: |

End of Narrative:

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<th>Department</th>
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<td>Officer CLAYTON FALLIS 631 (28014)</td>
<td>Tallahassee Police Department</td>
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<td>Secondary Officer Name</td>
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<td>Sergeant FRANK ARIAS 269 (23424)</td>
<td>Tallahassee Police Department</td>
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