

## **Through the looking glass: How the mass media represent, reflect and refract sexual crime in Ireland.**

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## **Abstract**

Sexual crimes, against adults and children, represent significant social problem in Ireland as indicated in the SAVI report (McGee et al., 2002). This paper examines the framing, representation and construction of sexual crime in the Irish Times 1993-2002 and RTE news reports.

Drawing on the SAVI report as a national prevalence study of sexual abuse, and on the Gardaí sexual crime figures, the paper elaborates the extent to which media reports reflect and distort the reality of sexual crime. The media data are based on a content analysis of a random of sample of five weeks for each year in the study, fifty weeks in all.

The findings focus on the differences that exist between prevalence study outcomes and the media representation of the extent and nature of sexual crime. The nature of coverage prevents the development of appropriate public outrage, allows abuse to continue, and works against the production of effective public policies. Finally, the paper examines a potential role for media content and media professionals in terms of creating better public policy.

## Introduction

The publication of the Sexual Abuse and Violence in Ireland (SAVI) report (McGee, 2000) was a landmark event in the documenting of sexual crime in Ireland. The core of the report was based on the results of a survey of more than 3,000 members of the general public about their attitudes and beliefs and their own lifetime experiences of sexual violence. Commissioned by the Dublin Rape Crisis Centre and carried out by the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, the report chronicled as never before the extent of sexual abuse and violence in Ireland. The results were startling.

One in five women (20.4 per cent) reported experiencing contact sexual abuse in childhood with a further one in ten (10.0 per cent) reporting non-contact sexual abuse. In over a quarter of cases of contact abuse (i.e. 5.6 per cent of all girls), the abuse involved penetrative sex – either vaginal, anal or oral sex. ... One in six men (16.2 per cent) reported experiencing contact sexual abuse in childhood with a further one in fourteen (7.4 per cent) reporting non-contact sexual abuse. In one of every six cases of contact abuse (i.e. 2.7 per cent of all boys), the abuse involved penetrative sex – either anal or oral sex. ... One in five women (20.4 per cent) reported experiencing contact sexual assault as adults with a further one in twenty (5.1 per cent) reporting unwanted non-contact sexual experiences. Over a quarter of cases of contact abuse in adulthood (i.e. 6.1 per cent of all women) involved penetrative sex. ... One in ten men (9.7 per cent) reported experiencing contact sexual assault as adults with a further 2.7 per cent reporting unwanted non-contact sexual experiences. One in ten cases of contact abuse in adulthood (i.e. 0.9 per cent of all men) involved penetrative sex. (McGee, 2002, Executive Summary)

These figures clearly indicate the need for further research and the authors of the report identify several strands of research that need to be done. Among these they include a strand for media research:

The role of the media is crucial in developing an accurate and comprehensive understanding of sexual violence among the general public. Strategies to support the media in its representation of sexual violence should be considered as part of the public awareness campaign (McGee et al., 2002, p. 290).

This paper is part of a response to that recommendation. It seeks to identify the nature and extent of media reporting on sexual crime in Ireland, with a specific emphasis on the reporting of such crime in the national newspaper of record, the Irish Times.

## Theory & Literature

The literature dealing with the power of the press in shaping and informing public opinion is extensive, as is the literature dealing with the reporting of sexual crime.

It is well established that the mass media play a role in the formation of public opinion. They are also selective in the messages transmitted, they are directive in trying to shape and mould opinion (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). While there are clearly external forces at work in terms of what enters the news, it is abundantly evident that there is much left to the choices of the individual editor or journalist, as well as many influences that act from within media organizations (White, 1950; Breed, 1960; Weaver, 1979; Schudson, 1989; Salwen & Garrison, 1989; Shoemaker, 1991). The media carry out a surveillance function for the public. The central task confronting the media is to engage the attention of the public and then to activate that public without overwhelming it with information by distinguishing effectively between that which is important and that which is not.

Agenda setting theory states that those issues that receive prominent attention in the media become the problems the reading and listening publics regard as the nation's most important. Lippmann referred to the 'pictures inside the heads' of individuals which were altered by information (1922, p. 5). He also developed the idea that the 'pictures' influenced by the media were not a matter of random chance, but arose directly from media choices (p. 12). Items only get placed in the news stream if they are a matter of media routines or if they are made into an issue in some fashion (p. 15).

Whatever about the manner of how items get into the news stream, it is those items that have influence, for clearly the public cannot be influenced by that of which it does not have any knowledge. As Cohen puts it:

That is to say, then, that the press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. (1963, p. 13).

McCombs and Shaw (1972) examined the connections between media content and issue salience, building on Lippmann's assertion that it is the 'pictures in our heads' that drive our behaviours. Expanding on Cohen they wrote:

Agenda setting is considerably more than the classical assertion that the news tells us what to think about. The news also tells us how to think about it. Both the selection of objects for attention and the selection of frames for thinking about these objects are powerful agenda-setting roles. Central to the news agenda and its daily set of objects – issues, personalities, events, etc. – are the perspectives that journalists and, subsequently, members of the public employ to think about each object (1993, p.62).

The clear consequence of agenda setting theory is that it is the framers of the news who wield a vast amount of control over how the public views various events and personalities. Agenda setting is not simply a function of journalistic choice. Becker (1980) points out that agenda setting is driven in part by a number of elements including individual desire to be informed, the needs that are met by the mass media, and the ability of the individual consumer to respond to media cues (p. 530).

According to Iyengar and Kinder, people hold 'tacit theories' regarding national problems. Included in these tacit theories are what they perceive as causes and moral accountability. The notion of tacit theories is interesting. Such opinions, they say, are apparently formed primarily by the media. The public can only make decisions on the information that it has at its disposal, which Iyengar (1991) calls 'accessibility of information', which is highly dependent on the pattern of news coverage (p. 132). While it is clear that other elements enter into the accessibility equation, such as political leanings, socioeconomic status, personal values, religious orientation, and cultural perceptions, Iyengar argues that accessibility of information on public affairs is primarily dependent on media content.

The framing of stories is of key relevance in the issue of agenda setting. According to Kitzinger (2000) media templates are routinely used to emphasize only one clear perspective, to serve as rhetorical shorthand/shortcuts, and to help audiences & producers contextualize stories. These templates have a threefold effect: they shape narratives around specific issues, they guide public opinion & discussion, and they set the frame of reference for the future. Research analysis of media templates allows researchers to develop understandings of how reality is framed, how various elements of social life are constructed and how media power is operationalized in society.

Thus 'Vietnam' is a template for a failed or mired war, and is routinely used in relation to the US invasion of Iraq. 'Watergate' refers to political scandals, and is such a strong template the suffix -gate carries its own derived meaning. 'Jamie Bulger' is shorthand for a host of events related to child abuse, child abduction and child murder. And most recently, '9/11' has become a multifaceted template that references a gamut of issues from terrorism to public panic to security to xenophobia. The power of these templates lies in their association. 'Vietnam' references political failure, political cover-up, public protest, military failure, the draft, body bags, tenacious enemies, My Lai, the Tet offensive, war veterans, and, above all, military failure.

Media templates are key events with an ongoing shelf life beyond the conclusion of news happenings. They are defined by their retrospective use in secondary reporting rather than contemporaneous coverage and therein lies their power. Because they are used to explain current events, they emerge of themselves as a point of comparison and as proof of an ongoing problem. Templates are used to highlight patterns in particular issues or social problems. Media templates have a single primary meaning or sense rather than being the focus for debate, and they are rarely questioned.

There are, says Kitzinger, a number of operating implications that follow from the use of templates: simplification/distortion, minimization of alternate textual readings, and osmosis. Simplification and distortion

indicate that details may be blurred, dissenting accounts forgotten and various pertinent facts (from past or present) may be misrepresented or disregarded. Minimal opportunity for alternative readings implies that the various events are pared back, often simplistically, to their essence, without nuance, that alternative interpretations from audiences are neither facilitated nor accommodated because the audience is only exposed to secondary accounts of events, and the very events themselves are recalled differently by those who were aware of the contemporary reporting, such is the power of the template. By osmosis Kitzinger means that the meanings attached to template events are, in part, created by the interaction between such episodes and subsequent linked cases. The meaning of media templates may be both reinforced and altered as they are applied to events as they unfold.

The literature on sexual crime provides a second backdrop to this research. Wilczynski's 1999 content analysis of 1302 child abuse reports in 1995 in New South Wales established that criminal justice agencies were the predominant sources. Incongruity between offender and offence emphasised and law and order agendas promoted. Abusers in authority situations were 47.2% of all cases (priests, teachers, police officers, scoutmasters, politicians, lawyers, etc). Often the authority status was signalled in headlines (Scoutmaster lured children; Priest fondled girl's breast in blessing). She argues that the large amount of media coverage is certainly not in most instances an indication of quality. Public assumptions about what is real child abuse often remain unchallenged.

One analysis a sample Irish Times reports in 1997 disclosed a single case of child neglect. Only two years earlier in 1995 the Eastern Health Board reported 222 cases of child neglect while during the same period the Mid-Western Health Board had 313 reports (McDevitt, 1998).

Other research deals with the different foci used in news reporting of sexual crime. Stephenson (1987) contentiously argues that the escalation of the problem of child abuse might prove to be something of a 20th century cultural myth. Kitzinger (1995) records the disproportionate focus on abuse outside the home. Franklin and Parton (1991), writing about the media reporting of Cleveland and other child abuse cases in the UK, state that events are sensationalized and trivialized, vital issues are misrepresented, and scapegoats are sought<sup>1</sup>. Colling's work on child abuse in South Africa concluded that

The results suggest that newspaper reports of child sexual abuse do elicit spontaneous attributional activity, that

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<sup>1</sup> In 1987, a significant number of allegations of child sexual abuse were made in the Cleveland area of England. Two consultant paediatricians at a Middlesbrough hospital were responsible for many of these allegations, based on an unproven medical diagnosis termed the anal dilatation test. A Public Inquiry was set up and was chaired by Justice Butler-Sloss. More than 80% of the allegations were found to be false. In 1991, children were taken into care in Orkney following false allegations of ritual abuse by their parents. In 1992, a Public Inquiry criticised Orkney Social Services and produced 194 recommendations for changes in child care practices. In 1994, In 1994 a government report found that there was no basis to the multitude of satanic child abuse claims.

statements implying offender culpability are the most frequently employed attributional category, and that attributional activity is inhibited by stereotype congruent depictions of abuse (p. 1135).

Goddard & Liddell express specific concern about tabloid reporting, stating

Child abuse is political and media coverage cannot be avoided. When things go wrong as they can on occasions the temptation to introduce 'legislation by tabloid' may be hard to resist. Given that policy and practice will be influenced by the media, those concerned with child protection need to make greater efforts to use the media constructively (p. 361).

There are clearly a number of issues about the nature and extent of sexual crime reporting, especially in relation to offences against children. As Cheit (2003) put it

Several recent studies suggest that coverage of child sexual abuse is unlikely to be widespread in the sense of covering a wide range of cases. Rather, the cases that receive significant coverage are likely to follow a common pattern in crime reporting: one that exalts the unusual, thereby turning the most uncommon events into the ones that seem common. ... The content of the top 10 stories bears out several traditional concepts of newsworthiness. These stories tended to involve "the bizarre and the unusual," the dramatic, and/or the famous (p. 609).

This paper examines the Irish Times coverage of sexual crime over a ten year period in light of the literature documented above. The primary research focus is to document the co-relation between the media portrayal of sexual crime and its reality on the ground, while the secondary focus is to compare Irish coverage with that of the UK and US on the same topic,

## **Method**

The data for the content analysis were drawn from the Lexis-Nexis database. For each year between 1993 and 2002, five weeks were chosen at random using the random selection function in MS Excel. In the event of the same week being sampled in any given year, an additional week was randomly selected. The total number of weeks selected was 50. For each week, the above databases were searched using a date-gate limiter with a search term encompassing variations of sexual crime:

(sex! w/2 (abuse or assault or attack or offence or harassment or molestation)) or rape or bestiality or buggery or incest or (gross w/1 indecency) or paedophil! or (child! w/3 molest!)

This term automatically netted all stories related to the search term and variations thereof such as 'molestation of children', 'child molestor', 'sexual abuse' etc. The term 'child abuse' was deliberately omitted from the search as the term is ambiguous, covering physical, emotional and

sexual abuse of children as well as child neglect. For the purpose of this paper, matching Irish law, only victims under the age of seventeen were deemed to be children. The MediaWeb library of television news stories at RTE was searched with the same terms and programme details were downloaded for story. While these are not full text data, they do give an account of RTE news coverage of the topic.

The stories were downloaded and transferred into an Excel database. This number of stories yielded by this initial search is given in Column 1 of Table 1. Column 2 indicates the number of stories remaining after all non-relevant stories were purged; these included stories about sexual crime in other countries, rape in wartime, and EU subsidies for oil-seed rape.

**Table 1 Number of stories initially sampled and finally selected by source**

	Source		Total
	The Irish Times	RTE News	
Initial Sample	1127	48	1175
Final Sample	571	38	609

These stories were then coded according to a predefined coding scheme by three independent coders. The full variable list is given in Appendix 1. Scott's pi for each variable was in excess of 0.93 indicating a very high level of intercoder reliability.

The statistics on sexual crime, both known to Gardaí and those in which criminal proceedings were commenced, were drawn from the Annual Reports of An Garda Síochána, 1993-2002. An Garda Síochána supplied the researcher directly with a breakdown of sexual crime according to victim age for the 10 years in question.

## Findings

Table 2 shows the breakdown of stories across newspapers in terms of sexual crimes against children and adults. Over the ten years, 66.7% of all the Irish Times stories in the sample were about child sexual abuse compared to 65.8% in RTE.

**Table 2 Number and percentage of stories by victim type by newspaper**

		Source Title		Total
		The Irish Times	RTE News	
Category of crime	Child	381	25	406
		66.7%	65.8%	66.7%
	Adult	176	7	183
		30.8%	18.4%	30.0%
	Unspecified	14	6	20
		2.5%	15.8%	3.3%
Total		571	38	609
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%



Table 3 shows a similar table with a breakdown by specific crime type. RTE news gives more coverage to rape than any other type of crime, with sexual assault the second most frequent crime. The reverse is true for the Irish Times. Murder with sexual assault accounts for only 3% of the Irish Times sex crimes coverage whereas it accounts for more than 6% of the RTE news stories. Sexual harassment constitutes 3.5% of stories in the Irish Times but is absent entirely from the RTE news sample. Incest features in 2.8% of Irish Times stories but most at all in RTE news. It is important to note there that in both the Irish Times and RTE, incestuous cases are covered but the term ‘incest’ appears not to be used.

**Table 3 Number and percentage of stories by specific crime type by newspaper**

		Source Title		Total
		The Irish Times	RTE News	
Specific crime	Rape	161	10	171
		30.6%	62.5%	31.5%
	Sexual assault	311	5	314
		59.0%	31.3%	57.8%
	Buggery	11	0	11
		2.1%	.0%	2.0%
	Incest	15	0	15
	2.8%	.0%	2.8%	
	Murder	16	1	17
		3.0%	6.3%	3.1%
	Sexual Harassment	13	0	15
		2.5%	.0%	2.8%
Total		527	16	543
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Tables 4 and 5 show the data for the reporting of gender in the sampled stories across the news sources. Stories with male victims make up 21.7% of the Irish Times stories whereas the RTE news sample represents male and female victims in equal numbers.

**Table 4 Number and percentage of stories by victim gender by source**

		Source Title		Total
		The Irish Times	RTE News	
Victim gender	Male	124	8	132
		21.7%	50.0%	22.5%
	Female	257	8	265
		45.0%	50.0%	45.1%
	Unspecified / Not Applicable	190	0	190
		33.3%	.0%	32.4%

Total	571	16	587
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In Table 5 we see a similar breakdown for the gender of the perpetrator. The Irish Times samples has 7 stories with female perpetrators (1.2%) and 417 stories with male perpetrators (73%). There is no example of a female perpetrator in the RTE news sample.

**Table 5 Number and percentage of stories by perpetrator gender by source**

		Source Title		Total
		The Irish Times	RTE News	
Perpetrator's gender	Male	417	26	443
		73.0%	100.0%	74.2%
	Female	7	0	7
		1.2%	.0%	1.2%
	Unspecified / Not Applicable	147	0	147
		25.7%	.0%	24.6%
Total		571	26	597
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The stories were coded for the relationship of the victim to the perpetrator. These data are shown in table 6 (child victims) and table 7 (adult victims). In relation to child victims, excluding the 'Other' category, both the Irish Times and RTE news have 'Authority figures' as the most frequent relationship in the sampled stories (42.6% and 90.0%). The RTE news stories have 'Strangers' at 5.0% whereas the Irish Times has 2.9% of stories in that category. There is a wide variation in the total percentages for child victims where there is a familial involvement: 16.4% of stories in the Irish Times compared to 5% in the RTE news stories.

**Table 6 Number and percentage of stories by victim perpetrator relationship by source for child victims**

Category of crime			Source Title		Total
			The Irish Times	RTE News	
Child	Relationship to Perpetrator	Stranger	10	1	11
			2.9%	5.0%	3.0%
		Parent	38	1	39
			10.9%	5.0%	10.5%
		Sibling	3	0	3
			.9%	.0%	.8%
	Uncle/Aunt	10	0	10	
		2.9%	.0%	2.7%	
	Other relative	6	0	6	
		1.7%	.0%	1.6%	

	Authority figure	149	18	167
		42.6%	90.0%	45.1%
	Boyfriend/girlfriend	1	0	1
		.3%	.0%	.3%
	Other	131	0	131
		37.4%	.0%	35.4%
	New acquaintance	2	0	2
		.6%	.0%	.5%
Total		350	20	370
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7, for adult victims, shows a very different distribution. In the Irish Times stories, excluding the ‘Other’ category, the highest number of stories are about ‘New acquaintances’ (9.3%), ‘Authority figures’ (9.9%) and ‘Strangers’ (7.4%). In the RTE news stories the breakdown is 50:50 between ‘Strangers’ and ‘Authority Figures’.

**Table 7 Number and percentage of stories by victim perpetrator relationship by source for adult victims**

Category of crime		Source Title		Total	
		The Irish Times	RTE News		
Adult	Victim's relationship to Perpetrator	Stranger	12	1	13
			7.4%	50.0%	7.9%
		Parent	1	0	1
			.6%	.0%	.6%
		Uncle/Aunt	1	0	1
			.6%	.0%	.6%
		Other relative	3	0	3
			1.9%	.0%	1.8%
		Authority figure	16	1	17
			9.9%	50.0%	10.4%
		Boyfriend/girlfriend	2	0	2
			1.2%	.0%	1.2%
		Partner/Spouse	5	0	5
			3.1%	.0%	3.0%
Other	106	0	106		
	65.4%	.0%	64.6%		
	New acquaintance	15	0	15	
		9.3%	.0%	9.1%	
	Colleague	1	0	1	
		.6%	.0%	.6%	
	Total	162	2	164	
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Table 8 details the word counts for stories, broken down by victim type and by victim gender in the Irish Times. Stories overall about male victims are longer than stories about female victims; this is statistically significant ( $t=4.6$ ,  $p<.001$ ). Child stories are also longer; this is also

statistically significant ( $t=3.18$ ,  $p<.01$ ). Stories about male adult victims are longer than stories about female adult victims, and statistically significant ( $t=3.41$ ,  $p<.001$ ).

**Table 8 Mean of newspaper word count by victim type and gender**

				Source
				The Irish Times
Victim	Child	Victim gender	Male	414
			Female	305
	Adult	Victim gender	Male	301
			Female	287

Tables 9 and 10 show the categories of perpetrator professions, in those stories where they are identified as such, for each newspaper. Table 9 is for child victims and table 10 for adult victims. In the Irish Times data, 68.1% of stories about sexual crimes against children, where the profession of the perpetrator is identified relate to clergy and religious. The corresponding figure is 70% for RTE news. The next most common category of perpetrator in the Irish Times is Teacher/Coach (13.1%), followed by Police/Military (6.9%). In the RTE news sample, the Teacher/Coach category covers 25% of stories.

**Table 9 Number and percentage of stories by perpetrator category by source for child victims**

Category of crime			Source Title		Total
			The Irish Times	RTE News	
Child	Professional Category	Cleric/Religious	109	14	123
			68.1%	70.0%	68.3%
		Medical	1	0	1
			.6%	.0%	.6%
		Teacher/Coach	21	5	26
			13.1%	25.0%	14.4%
		Police/Military	11	0	11
			6.9%	.0%	6.1%
		Farmer	3	0	3
			1.9%	.0%	1.7%
		Other (Named)	7	1	8
			4.4%	5.0%	4.4%
		Entertainer	1	0	1
	.6%	.0%	.6%		
Business	2	0	2		
	1.3%	.0%	1.1%		
Professional	1	0	1		
	.6%	.0%	.6%		
Blue Collar	4	0	4		
	2.5%	.0%	2.2%		
Total			160	20	180
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The pattern is somewhat different in the case of sexual crimes against adults. In those stories where the profession of the perpetrator can be identified, Police/Military have the highest number of stories in the Irish Times (34.5%). No valid conclusion can be drawn about the RTE news sample as there is only one story in the adult category where the perpetrator profession is identified.

**Table 10** Number and percentage of stories by perpetrator category by newspaper for adult victims

Category of crime			Source Title		Total
			The Irish Times	RTE News	
Adult	Professional Category	Cleric/Religious	4	0	4
			13.8%	.0%	13.3%
		Medical	4	0	4
			13.8%	.0%	13.3%
		Teacher/Coach	1	0	1
			3.4%	.0%	3.3%
		Police/Military	10	1	11
			34.5%	100.0%	36.7%
		Farmer	2	0	2
			6.9%	.0%	6.7%
	Business	5	0	5	
		17.2%	.0%	16.7%	
	Student	1	0	1	
		3.4%	.0%	3.3%	
	Blue Collar	2	0	2	
		6.9%	.0%	6.7%	
	Total	29	1	30	
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The Irish Times stories were also coded for prominence, as being either on page 1 of the newspaper or not. Table 11 shows numbers and percentages of stories for the various professional categories of perpetrators. Overall sexual crime stories with clergy as perpetrators constituted 69.2% of all sexual crime front page stories in the Irish Times sample. These figures must be interpreted with caution as the N is quite small.

**Table 11** Number and percentage of stories by perpetrator category by front page by newspaper

Professional Category	The Irish Times			
	Page 1		Other Pages	
	N	%	N	%
Cleric/Religious	9	69.2%	104	58.8%
Medical	0	.0%	5	2.8%
Teacher/Coach	0	.0%	22	12.4%
Police/Military	3	23.1%	18	10.2%
Farmer	0	.0%	5	2.8%

Other (Named)	0	.0%	7	4.0%
Entertainer	0	.0%	2	1.1%
Business	0	.0%	7	4.0%
Professional	0	.0%	1	.6%
Student	0	.0%	1	.6%
Legal	0	.0%	0	.0%
Sports	0	.0%	0	.0%
Blue Collar	1	7.7%	5	2.8%
Politics	0	.0%	0	.0%

Table 12 gives the same data for sexual crimes against children only. Of all such stories in the Irish Times 90% were about clergy/religious perpetrators but the same caveat as to interpretation applies.

Table 12 Number and percentage of stories by perpetrator category by front page by newspaper for child victims

Professional Category	The Irish Times			
	Page 1		Other Pages	
	N	%	N	%
Cleric/Religious	9	90.0%	100	66.7%
Medical	0	.0%	1	.7%
Teacher/Coach	0	.0%	21	14.0%
Police/Military	0	.0%	11	7.3%
Farmer	0	.0%	3	2.0%
Other (Named)	0	.0%	7	4.7%
Entertainer	0	.0%	1	.7%
Business	0	.0%	2	1.3%
Professional	0	.0%	1	.7%
Student	0	.0%	0	.0%
Legal	0	.0%	0	.0%
Sports	0	.0%	0	.0%
Blue Collar	1	10.0%	3	2.0%
Politics	0	.0%	0	.0%

Table 13 shows the Garda Crime Statistics for sexual crimes. These data are drawn from the Annual Reports of the Garda Síochána. Table 14 shows similar data but only for those under 18. These figures were supplied to the researcher by An Garda Síochána, but they were unable to supply an age breakdown for 1998 and 1999. It is important to note that the categories for sexual crime were changed in 2000 with the introduction of the Pulse computer system. For the purpose of clarity in these two tables, all crimes of rape, including male rape is included in the rape category. Similarly all unlawful carnal knowledge of under-15 and under-17 females has been folded into a single category.

Table 13 Garda Crime Statistics for sexual offences 1993-2002

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
<b>Sexual assault</b>	368	382	604	551	602	598	431	549	1048	1600
	63.67%	61.81%	68.33%	67.36%	60.62%	61.15%	56.19%	60.53%	65.62%	68.6%
<b>Aggravated sexual assault</b>	14	9	17	8	11	11	5	12	18	10
	2.42%	1.46%	1.92%	0.98%	1.11%	1.12%	0.65%	1.32%	1.13%	1.0%

<b>Rape * inc Sec. 4</b>	143	184	191	180	256	292	218	290	401	4
	24.74%	29.77%	21.61%	22.00%	25.78%	29.86%	28.42%	31.97%	25.11%	20.9
<b>Buggery</b>	12	9	17	34	80	29	78	23	36	3.9
	2.08%	1.46%	1.92%	4.16%	8.06%	2.97%	10.17%	2.54%	2.25%	3.9
<b>Unlawful carnal knowledge</b>	27	18	40	34	34	30	27	15	78	1
	4.67%	2.91%	4.52%	4.16%	3.42%	3.07%	3.52%	1.65%	4.88%	4.3
<b>Incest</b>	14	16	15	11	10	18	8	18	16	1.1
	2.42%	2.59%	1.70%	1.34%	1.01%	1.84%	1.04%	1.98%	1.00%	1.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	578	618	884	818	993	978	767	907	1597	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100

**Table 14 Garda Crime Statistics for sexual offences against persons under 18, 1993-1997, 2000-2002**

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	2000	2001	2002
<b>Sexual assault</b>	250	267	391	288	310	87	106	141
	69.60%	71.60%	71.70%	69.20%	65.00%	58.80%	55.50%	57.80%
<b>Aggravated sexual assault</b>	7	5	5	4	4	0	0	4
	1.90%	1.30%	0.90%	1.00%	0.80%	0.00%	0.00%	1.60%
<b>Rape</b>	53	69	85	71	97	48	67	47
	14.80%	18.50%	15.60%	17.10%	20.30%	32.40%	35.10%	19.30%
<b>Buggery</b>	9	5	11	13	20	4	5	13
	2.50%	1.30%	2.00%	3.10%	4.20%	2.70%	2.60%	5.30%
<b>Unlawful carnal knowledge</b>	30	20	47	35	41	5	8	18
	8.40%	5.40%	8.60%	8.40%	8.60%	3.40%	4.20%	7.40%
<b>Incest</b>	10	7	6	5	5	4	5	21
	2.80%	1.90%	1.10%	1.20%	1.00%	2.70%	2.60%	8.60%
<b>TOTAL</b>	359	373	545	416	477	148	191	244

Tables 15 and 16 should be examined together. Table 15 is a summary of the Gardaí sexual crime statistics 1993-1997 and 2000-2002. Table 16 represents the same period from the content analysis data. In the official statistics, the most common crime against children is sexual assault (67.29%). The same is true of the content analysis data (76.4%). The figures for rape in relation to children are also broadly similar, 18.8% in the official statistics and 16.9% in the media reports. Incest accounts for 2.2% of the official statistics but 5.1% of the media reports. In relation to adults, the official figures indicate that sexual assault is the most common offence (64.3%) whereas the media reports have rape as the most frequent (67.3%). In the comparisons between adults and children, a different picture emerges. In the official figures rape is committed almost three times as often against adults as against children (73.1% v. 26.9%) whereas in the media reports it appears twice as often (62.6% v. 37.4%). According to the Gardaí the majority of victims of sexual assault are adults (63.9%) whereas media reports imply that children are overwhelmingly more commonly such victims (85.8%). In the official statistics, buggery is a more common crime against adults (70.5%) whereas in the media reports the reverse is true (66.6% for children) but the N here is very small.

**Table 15 Total counts, row and column percentages for sexual crime 1993-1997, and 200-2002.**

	U18	Adult	All
<b>Rape</b>	576	1566	2142

	<b>Row %</b>	26.9%	73.1%	100.0%
	<b>Column %</b>	18.8%	27.5%	24.4%
<b>Sexual assault</b>		2067	3663	5730
	<b>Row %</b>	36.1%	63.9%	100.0%
	<b>Column %</b>	67.3%	64.3%	65.4%
<b>Buggery</b>		90	215	305
	<b>Row %</b>	29.5%	70.5%	100.0%
	<b>Column %</b>	2.9%	3.8%	3.5%
<b>Incest</b>		67	60	127
	<b>Row %</b>	52.8%	47.2%	100.0%
	<b>Column %</b>	2.2%	1.0%	1.5%
<b>Aggravated sexual assault</b>		33	80	113
	<b>Row %</b>	29.2%	70.8%	100.0%
	<b>Column %</b>	1.1%	1.4%	1.3%
<b>Unlawful carnal knowledge</b>		239	109	348
	<b>Row %</b>	68.7%	31.3%	100.0%
	<b>Column %</b>	7.8%	1.9%	4.0%
<b>TOTAL</b>		3072	5693	8765
	<b>Row %</b>	35.0%	65.0%	100.0%
	<b>Column %</b>	100%	100%	100%

Table 16 Total counts and percentages for sexual crime 1993-1997, and 200-2002 from the Irish Times and RTE news.

		Category of crime		Total
		Child	Adult	
<b>Specific crime</b>	<b>Rape</b>	43	72	115
	<b>Row%</b>	37.4%	62.6%	100.0%
	<b>Column%</b>	16.9%	67.3%	31.9%
	<b>Sexual assault</b>	194	32	226
	<b>Row%</b>	85.8%	14.2%	100.0%
	<b>Column%</b>	76.4%	29.9%	62.6%
	<b>Buggery</b>	4	2	6
	<b>Row%</b>	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	<b>Column%</b>	1.6%	1.9%	1.7%
	<b>Incest</b>	13	1	14
	<b>Row%</b>	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
	<b>Column%</b>	5.1%	.9%	3.9%
<b>Total</b>		254	107	361
		70.4%	29.6%	100.0%
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%



## Discussion

The findings detailed provide some insight into media reportage of sexual abuse in Ireland, as represented by the Irish Times and RTE news. In both these sources, stories about child abuse are twice as frequent as stories about sexual crimes against adults, although the Garda statistics report that the opposite is true. (One important caveat here is that the Garda crime figures are often questioned in terms of their reliability, but it is certainly reasonable to suggest that sexual crime is underreported to the Gardaí, based on the evidence of the Rape Crisis Centres and other agencies.) Sexual crime against children is over-reported in the media and sexual crime against adults is under-reported. Stories with female victims predominate, in keeping with prevalence data from the SAVI report that women are more likely to be victims of sexual crime than men. Perpetrators in the media reports are overwhelmingly male, with little reporting of sexual crime female perpetrators, although the SAVI report indicates a higher incidence of female perpetration that is evident in the media reports.

Within the media reports of sexual crimes against children, 15.6% of such crime is attributed to parents or family members, 3% to strangers and 45% to authority figures. This contrasts very strongly with the SAVI figures which suggest that strangers are responsible for about 20% of child abuse, 16.8% by family members (fathers, uncles, cousins, siblings) and 4.6% by authority figures (clergy, teachers).

Victims of sexual crime are also differentiated on the basis of the amount of coverage. In the Irish Times, male child victims get most coverage followed by female child victims. Among adult victims, male victims get more coverage than female victims. In those stories where the profession of the perpetrator of sexual crime against a child is identified, 68.3% focus on clergy/religious perpetrators, although SAVI indicates that such perpetrators are responsible for 3.2% of child sexual abuse. Similarly, 14.4% of such stories are about teachers and coaches as perpetrators, whereas SAVI indicates that the true figure for this category is about 1.2%.

Rape of children is over-reported and rape of adults under-reported. The rape of adults is also more frequently reported than the sexual assault of adults although sexual assault is a much more prevalent crime against adults than rape. Compared to the official figures, the sexual assault of children is also over-reported.

The nature of coverage outlined above is problematic in some respects. While there are important points of convergence between the media reports and official statistics, there are also areas of strong dissonance. In particular, the focus on sexual crimes against children prevents the development of appropriate public outrage about sexual crimes against adults. Current media reportage of sexual crimes against children is inadequate in that it fails to document the totality of the nature and reality of such crimes.

It would also be highly desirable to extend the current research beyond the two chosen media forms, as these do not constitute the total spectrum of Irish news media. It would also be useful to investigate whether linear forms of reportage are different from non-linear forms, and whether

the content of radio reporting is different from television reporting which is heavily reliant on visuals.

The mass media exert powerful influences in society. In relation to the uncovering of sexual crime against children, the media have been major players by revealing the extent of a problem that had been hidden for many decades. The cases of Brendan Smyth and the McColgan family<sup>2</sup> are excellent illustrations of what the media can achieve. While much has been done, much remains to be done. The reporting of the findings of the SAVI report, summarised at the top of this paper, did not produce the kind of outrage that might have been expected given what was revealed. At the time of writing this paper, The Irish Times itself had only 22 references to the report since it was published in April 2002.

The power of the media as an influence for public policy cannot be overstated. It is therefore critical for Irish society that, in the matter of sexual abuse and violence, its citizens are as well informed as can be about the reality of the problem. The current patterns of reporting are somewhat deficient in this respect. This is especially true in relation to the level of reporting on sexual crime against adults. As the SAVI report indicates, 42% of women respondents reported some form of sexual abuse or assault in their lifetime, as did 28% of men respondents. This clearly an ongoing social problem and tackling it into the future will require comprehensive and accurate media reporting.

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<sup>2</sup> Brendan Smyth was a Norbertine priest who was convicted of child sexual abuse crimes in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. The media played a significant role in highlighting the inadequate response to his crimes by the Catholic church and by the state and led to the downfall of the government in 1994. The McColgan children went public in revealing years of abuse by their father, Joseph McColgan, who was sentenced to 238 years in prison in 1995. The McColgans' courage in coming forward publicly was seen a landmark in encouraging other incest victims to take action against their abusers.

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## APPENDIX 1

The coding scheme involved the following variables:

Story ID

Source Title

Date

Year

Page

Words

Category of crime

Crime type (specific)

Victim gender

Victim age then

Victim age now

Victim's Profession

Victim's relationship to Perpetrator

Victim's marital status

Perpetrator's gender

Perpetrator's age then

Perpetrator's age now

Perpetrator's Profession

Perpetrator's Identified

Perpetrator's marital status

No of allegations or charges

Stage of legal process

Sentence in Months

Story genre

Perpetrator's Professional Category

Headline descriptor victim

Headline descriptor perpetrator

Headline descriptor crime

Story focus

Region of country

Perpetrator cannot be named for legal reasons? Y/N

Actual Incest

Headline perpetrator gender

Headline victim gender