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Caste-ing Gender Violence in *The Times of India*, 1970-2020

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Abstract: Gender violence has consistently pockmarked the Indian mediascape since the 1970s. The mass-mediation of gender violence, particularly through news reporting, is connected to the political economy of Indian media, the politicization of gender violence by Indian women's rights movements, and the construction of moral panics and sensationalism. This study uses both computer-assisted content and textual analyses of the headlines of *The Times of India (TOI)*, India's oldest English newspaper, between 1970 and 2020 to ascertain how news media reporting of gender violence has changed alongside sociopolitical contexts and in relation to social inequality, namely class and caste. I argue that *TOI's* reporting is catered to an urban, upper-class reader-subject through case labeling practices around geography, use of victim and perpetrator names, as well as consistent use of sensational reportage which obscures the intersectional reality of gender violence in India as consistently presenting the violence as exceptional. These changes and consistencies across the time frame reveal not only *TOI's* prioritization of elite readers but constructs an upper-class and upper-class reader-subject and ideology which constructs an elite urban sensibility of gender violence that is removed from its actuality at the crux of gender, class, and caste inequality. These reportage practices sustain class and caste inequalities and are barriers to mitigating the continual victimization of minority women in India with impunity.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	4
DEFINITIONS AND CONTEXT	8
LITERATURE REVIEW	11
<i>HISTORICAL OVERVIEW AND POLITICAL ECONOMY OF INDIAN NEWS MEDIA</i>	11
<i>WOMEN’S RIGHTS MOVEMENTS AND THE POLITICIZATION OF GENDER VIOLENCE</i>	15
<i>MORAL PANICS AND MEDIA SENSATIONALISM</i>	19
DATA AND METHODOLOGY	22
<i>QUANTITATIVE METHODS</i>	23
<i>QUALITATIVE METHODS</i>	25
DATA PATTERNS AND ANALYSIS.....	27
<i>QUANTITATIVE RESULTS</i>	27
<i>QUALITATIVE RESULTS</i>	30
<i>CONSISTENCIES</i>	30
<i>CHANGES</i>	40
<i>TRACKING SENSATIONALISM DECADE BY DECADE: HEADLINE TEXTUAL ANALYSIS</i>	41
<i>THE TIMES OF INDIA AND CONSTRUCTING CLASS AND CASTE IDEOLOGIES</i>	52
CONCLUSION.....	55
APPENDIX A - ABBREVIATIONS AND DEFINITIONS.....	58
APPENDIX B - TIMELINE OF MAJOR HISTORICAL EVENTS AND LEGISLATION	58
APPENDIX C - QUANTITATIVE AND TEXT MINING ANALYSES	66
APPENDIX D - QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS AND CASE CLUSTERING	75
BIBLIOGRAPHY	131

Introduction

Gender violence is an issue that has consistently pockmarked the Indian mediascape since the 1970s. The level of publicization and different forms of politicization of gender violence in Indian media have had significant implications for historical and contemporaneous political events and shifts. Gender violence has emerged as a pivotal political issue in the wake of several major historical events including the end of the government-enforced Emergency period,¹ the Indian print-newspaper revolution, and the beginning of the Indian women's rights movement. Contemporarily, gender violence has gained political traction in the context of renewed narratives, rhetoric, and government policies reflecting Hindu supremacy and Hindutva or Hindu nationalism in its current iteration. Indeed, while gender violence is not something new to South Asia, it has gained attention as a national and eventually international issue through its presence through mediascapes and more prominently, Indian news media and reporting. Starting in the 1970s, gender violence incidents began to occupy a highly mediatized status within the Indian newscape, invoking an outpouring of moral and affective reactions at local, national, and international scales.² Recent cases such as the 2012 Delhi gang rape have not only remained in the public conscience beyond its reporting life-cycle but have also given rise to new iterations of women's rights movements and activism.³

Given India's active history of print news and representation of gender violence incidents, this thesis focuses on how newspapers construct readers' ideologies through the representation of violence and intersectional inequality in reportage. As gender violence has

¹ The Emergency was a period in India from 1975-1977 declared by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi during which elections were canceled and the press censored by centering all power away from individual states and with the federal government.

² Sakhrani, Monica. "Reading Rape Post Mathura" *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*. Vol. 23, Iss: 2, page(s): 260-285 (2016).

³ Biswas, Bidisha. "From Mathura to Jyoti" in *New Feminisms in South Asia: Disrupting the Discourse Through Social Media, Film and Literature*. Ed. by Sonora Jha, and Alka Kurian. New York: Routledge. (2018)

become a protracted, mass-mediated phenomenon, how does a newspaper with such large and relative exclusive readership such as *The Times of India (TOI)* represent an issue that consistently incites widespread affective responses? Specifically, this study asks: How has the reporting of gender violence incidents changed over time? What do these changes reveal about the relationship between Indian news ecology, the public sphere, and gender violence? What do changes and consistencies in reporting reveal about the intersectionality of gender violence in India, namely the relationship between class and caste categories? And finally, how is the reportage of these issues part of the construction of class-positionalities, that is, the ideological perspectives and identities of the target, addressed reading subjects?

Using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, I draw a larger picture of how reporting practices have changed over the course of five decades. Quantitatively, I use the headlines of articles containing the term “rape,” and search for numerical changes in the term usage as well as different word frequencies. Taken with the qualitative textual analysis, I inductively search for frequencies of words indexing sensationalism (such as *shock*, *horror*, and *outrage*), as well as the terms *caste* and *dalit*. Qualitatively, I construct event clusters of highly publicized cases in each decade and analyze the reporting tactics of each case, including headline word choices, geography, and incident details through both headline and article content textual analysis.

Results are categorized into changes and consistencies across the time frame, both of which reveal *TOI*'s prioritization to cater to an urban, elite, upper-class and as I will argue, ultimately upper-caste readership. Tracking reportage across the time frame reveals three consistent dimensions in how cases are labeled: the geographical location of the case, (not) using the name of the victim, and (not) using the name of the perpetrator. Across these consistencies,

there are three major changes across the time period. First, *TOI*'s reportage and publicization of gender violence, even those categorized as highly publicized, has increased. Secondly, *TOI*'s reportage has expanded beyond North Indian urban centers to urban centers across the nation. Finally, *TOI*'s reportage practices have been consistently sensational, but the shape of sensationalism has changed significantly over time. Sensational reportage is ultimately historically contingent. Originally harkening themes such as national outrage and violation of a shared morality, reportage moves to centralize explicit descriptions of violence, affective and emotive details, the reactions of Bollywood actors and actresses, and ultimately what has been coined 'infotainment.' While *TOI*'s reportage style has been established as 'infotainment,' in the literature, the nature of how 'infotainment' presents itself changes over time.

I ultimately argue that *TOI*'s reportage of gender violence is targeted towards a particular reader-subject, one that is urban and upper-class, and synonymously upper-caste. *TOI*'s consistent use of sensationalism, despite changes in format, ensures the continued centralization of an urban, upper-class and caste reader-subject to maintain readership numbers in an increasingly competitive news media market. Sensationalism is key to *TOI*'s prioritization of upper-class and upper-caste readers which represents crime as not only relevant to the elite, urban reader, but potentially entertaining and titillating. That is, through sensational reporting, the public construction of upper-class and upper-caste subjectivity is enacted in the media, including *TOI*, through how gender violence is reported in its pages. The representation of gender violence as sensational while its onset simultaneously hinges on diffused practices of caste and class inequality ultimately serve to construct the upper-class and upper-caste reader-subject identity as such in public discourse. This both sustains and erases the centrality of class and caste inequalities in the continuation of gender violence.

While caste and gender do appear together in reportage of gender violence incidents in more recent decades, the consistent use of sensationalism in its representation places attention on the spectacle and exceptionalism of gender violence rather than the structural factors that continually enable it. Additionally, the use of sensational reportage also erases the reality that the vast majority of gender violence incidents such as marital rape and domestic violence in India is neglected by the media if they are even reported to begin with. The continued use of this reporting style presents the narrative that those incidents which receive media attention are representative of gender violence incidents across India and enhances an urban, upper-class public sensibility that rape is an exceptional occurrence when it is not.

This thesis will proceed with a brief section of definitions and embedding the framing questions in India's historical and political contexts. Next, a literature review detailing a historical overview of changes to the political economy of the Indian newscape and media ecology; the historical alignment of the Indian women's rights movements and politicization of gender violence; and how both the media and symbolizations of the violation of national figurations of the Indian woman form the essence of media sensationalism and moral panics in India will follow. I then describe the data collection process and methodology and present both quantitative and qualitative data patterns as well as a decade-by-decade textual analysis of sensational reportage practices. I follow with an analysis and conclude with questions for future research and the broader implications of these findings on intersectionality in media and centering potential real-life reverberations for minority and marginalized communities.

Definitions and Context

Gender violence is not synonymous with sexual violence and extends beyond rape; rape is not something solely women are victimized by. Due to the volume of data, I constrain my definition of gender violence to sexual violence in order to focus on clearly identifiable incidents of violence against women. Despite mainstream media's representation of gendered violence, I acknowledge that men and other gendered identities are also victims of sexual violence and rarely garner comparable (if any) media representation. This study focuses on violence against women with the hopes the future research can focus on the (lack of) representation of sexual violence against men, transgender, and other gender identities.

While this thesis operationalizes a narrower definition, all gender violence never solely concerns gender and cannot be understood without incorporating other dimensions of inequality—most importantly for the sake of this thesis, the intersecting dimensions of class and caste. Considering the intersectionality of caste, class, and gender draws attention to the fact the onset and incidence of gender violence is always influenced by pervasive patriarchal values which permeate both the family and the public sphere.⁴ Both the conditions of patriarchy and intersecting inequalities are further exacerbated by the current political climate in which upper-caste masculinity is conflated with the populist-Hindutva administration of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) which reigns as the nation's primary personal and political ideology.⁵ In short, with

⁴ Aikat, Deb. "Mitigating Misogyny in India: Theorizing Digital Age Feminist Activism in the World's Largest Democracy" in *Misogyny Across Global Media*. Ed. by Maria Marron. Lanham. (2021)

Battacharyya, Rituparna. "Understanding the Spatialities of Sexual Assault Against Indian Women in India" *Gender, Place and Culture*. Vol. 22, Iss: 9, page(s): 1340-1356 (2015)
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2014.969684>

Battacharya, Himika. "Performing Silence: Gender, Violence, and Resistance in Women's Narratives From Lahaul, India" *Qualitative Inquiry*. Vol. 15, Iss: 2, page(s): 359-371 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800408326844>

⁵ Bajpai, Arunoday. "BJP in 21st Century: Issues and Challenges" *Global Multidisciplinary Research Journal*. Vol 1 Iss 1 (2016): 15-25. <https://gdsfzd.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Chapter-03-1.pdf>

Kamat, Sangeeta, and Biju Mathew. "Mapping political violence in a globalized world: The case of Hindu nationalism." *Social Justice* 30, no. 3 (93 (2003): 4-16.

an intersectional perspective, it becomes clear that gender violence cannot be separated from these interrelated processes: 1) dimensions of social inequality, 2) how these inequalities compound the reality of gender violence in India, 3) how gender violence incidents are then represented in the media and impacts public discourse, particularly the construction and bolstering of class and caste identities.

Indian news media, while not static, is a generative arena to structure questions of representation, social inequality, and violence. Media historically occupies a unique role in Indian politics as intertwined with colonial legacies and early independence-nationalist movements, for both of which news media was critical.⁶ Newspapers continue to play a critical role in the dissemination of nationalist ideologies by taking and forming political stances—a legacy which has bled into contemporary Indian politics. Today, the political positionality of newspapers is increasingly divisive, demonstrative of both narratives which are clearly aligned with the BJP and of government censorship of opposing and critical media publications.⁷

Indian newspapers therefore have an intimate relationship with Indian electoral politics, historically and contemporarily constructing the political in the public. As it pertains to gender violence, news media utilizes particular reporting tactics which facilitate the politicization of gender violence through mass-audience centered narratives and motifs. These narratives warrant further scrutiny—which incidents they respond to, how they are constructed, how their proliferation impacts both the onset and specific forms of public discourse and mobilization, and which identities are centralized, and which are not.⁸ Women’s rights movements in India and

⁶ Jeffrey, Robin. *India’s Newspaper Revolution: Capitalism, Politics, and the Indian-Language Press. 1977-1999*. Hurst. 2000.

⁷ Sharma, Kalpana. *The Silence and the Storm*. Aleph Book Company. 2019.

⁸ Shandilya, Krupa. “Nirbhaya’s Body: The Politics of Protest in the Aftermath of the 2012 Delhi Gang Rape” *Gender and History*. Vol 27 Iss 2 (2015) <https://doi-org.proxy.uchicago.edu/10.1111/1468-0424.12134>

subsequent legislative, judicial, and social outcomes as a result of mobilization are inextricable from newspaper and media discourse and dissemination.⁹ With the majority of women's rights mobilization in India immediately following highly-publicized cases of gender violence, the study of newspaper discourse over an extended period of time reveals larger patterns connecting representations of gender violence to subsequent public mobilization and enduring patterns of discrimination.

Moreover, media in India is an influential and constant presence within the political and public sphere. Analyses of newspaper representations and discourses of gender violence in India productively connects the politicization and continuation of violence and inequality as an integral part of constructing public discourse and facets of identity. This study focuses specifically on *The Times of India (TOI)*, India's longest-running and leading English newspaper, from 1970-2020. The publication was chosen not only because of its constancy in the Indian mediascape—throughout the colonial period, independence movement, and different iterations of Indian nationalism— but also because it is written in English.

Most of India's newspapers are written in local languages, including the current leading publication, *Dainik Jagran*, which is written in Hindi.¹⁰ Publishing in English presumes a particular level of education, one through which the reader has not only gained a grasp of English, but also seeks out news in English instead of or in addition to local-language papers.¹¹ By focusing on *TOI*, this thesis focuses on the presentation of gender violence to an upper-echelon of the public, which has unique implications in the amount in the amount of social and

⁹ Shandilya, Krupa. "Nirbhaya's Body: The Politics of Protest in the Aftermath of the 2012 Delhi Gang Rape" *Gender and History*. Vol 27 Iss 2 (2015) <https://doi-org.proxy.uchicago.edu/10.1111/1468-0424.12134>

¹⁰ Jeffrey, Robin. *India's Newspaper Revolution: Capitalism, Politics, and the Indian-Language Press. 1977-1999*. Hurst. 2000.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

financial capital this sector of the public may have access to and the performance of elite identities within pre-existing social hierarchy. This sector of the public also aligns with the ideologies and political trajectories of many social and women's rights movements in India which historically center upper-class, and ultimately upper-caste narratives and identities while often overtly excluding lower-castes and minorities.¹²

Selecting India's longest running English newspaper is ultimately helpful to understand the kind of reader to whom *TOI*'s reporting and publishing practices are positioned and constructed towards. Additionally, by focusing on a single newspaper, cross-publication comparison of reportage practices is not possible but instead strengthens a single-case analysis which can be leveraged into comparison. *TOI*'s reportage practices and target audience instantiate a particular type of public while newspapers with different or more diverse audiences and political agendas may portray violence and inequality differently, contributing to the constructing of different kinds of political identity, public discourse, and subsequent mobilization or action. Future comparative research should include other newspaper with more specifically or different classed audiences to compare analyses of gender violence representation in the context of both the target audience and publications' different political positionalities.

Literature Review

Historical Overview and Political Economy of Indian News Media

The Times of India was founded in 1838, during the Indian colonial period, as a periodical originally intended to cater to the British residents of Western India.¹³ *TOI* was India's

¹² Malhan, Sangeeta P. Menon. *The TOI Story*. Harper Collins: Delhi. 2013.

¹³ *Ibid.*

leading newspaper throughout the country's national and independence movements of the late 19th century and 20th century and continued to dominate the mediascape even after India gained independence from England in 1945.¹⁴ However, *TOI*'s leading position was shaken during what many scholars including Robin Jeffrey have called India's newspaper revolution, which began in the late 1970s until approximately the late 1990s.¹⁵

Jeffrey highlights how the end of the Emergency in 1977 resulted in a print newspaper boom for several reasons.¹⁶ Most important were contemporaneous murmurings of capitalism and economic liberalization which led to increases in both national and international capital investment and potential gains from advertising.¹⁷ Newspapers were able to stay economically solvent and compete for burgeoning readerships primarily through advertising, which in turn, required that papers be able to prove to interested businesses that *TOI* had a significant pool of readers who would see their advertisements.¹⁸ The solution was for newspapers to significantly localize the content (and languages) of their papers, focus on regional and local events, and find ways to represent the readers themselves in their reporting. In his study, Jeffrey demonstrates how, in the late 1970s and 1980s, newspapers adopted a process of intense localization by reporting in regional or local Indian languages and on remote and rural events and communities.¹⁹

This shift impacted *TOI*, how the publication interacted with its readership, and its revenues significantly. While prior to this shift, *TOI* earned the majority of advertising revenues

¹⁴ Malhan, Sangeeta P. Menon. *The TOI Story*. Harper Collins: Delhi. 2013.

¹⁵ Jeffrey, Robin. *India's Newspaper Revolution: Capitalism, Politics, and the Indian-Language Press. 1977-1999*. Hurst. 2000.

¹⁶ The Emergency period in India consisted of an exercise federal government over state government powers including a crackdown on newspapers and media.

¹⁷ Jeffrey, Robin. *India's Newspaper Revolution: Capitalism, Politics, and the Indian-Language Press. 1977-1999*. Hurst. 2000.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

of all Indian newspapers, it experienced a significant decline in advertising revenues throughout the 1980s. For the first time, *TOI* had less than 50% of the national advertisement revenue.²⁰ Because *TOI* reports exclusively in English, the publication was unable to shift to cater to more local populations who mostly consumed news in their native language. Jeffrey recounts an episode in which *TOI* unsuccessfully attempted to expand to the state of Gujarat in 1991 and print in Gujarati. Jeffrey attributes this failure to the prevalence of local-language newspapers already functioning successfully within Gujarat with relatively loyal readers who do not or will not read their news in English.²¹

This presented a dilemma for India's longest running English-language newspaper. While it needed to remain in English to retain its urban, elite, and professional population (and because it was clearly not welcome in the Indian-language newspaper market), the publication needed to find a way to compete in a market where localized and regionalized paper were succeeding. It was not that urban elites no longer had a demand for newspapers, but middle and lower-classes, non-urban, and rural populations presented a significant demand for newspapers as well, though not in the style and substance of reporting which caters to the urban elite.²² One result was that *TOI* began to increasingly report on urban crime— such as those of sensational gender violence that concern this piece— where most of its English reading audience resides.

Currently, *TOI* has over 13 editions in several Indian languages and major urban centers across India. Its major publication remains *The Times of India*, the English news daily. It is the third most read newspaper in India with a readership of approximately 13.5 million daily readers

²⁰ Jeffrey, Robin. *India's Newspaper Revolution: Capitalism, Politics, and the Indian-Language Press. 1977-1999*. Hurst. 2000.

²¹ *Ibid.* pp. 112

²² Jeffrey, Robin. *India's Newspaper Revolution: Capitalism, Politics, and the Indian-Language Press. 1977-1999*. Hurst. 2000.

and is currently the world's largest-selling English newspapers.²³ There are no statistics regarding the demography of *TOI*'s readers or its journalists such as how many female versus male journalists are hired or what the general class or caste demography of writers and editors are. *TOI*'s website was launched in 1999 and is now part of the larger media conglomerate, the Times Group that has expanded into television, social media, and multiple digital editions in addition to the daily newspaper.

Sahana Udupa, building on Robin Jeffrey's work, has utilized class inequalities and stratification in her analysis of India's newscape, particularly those specific to *TOI* and its readership. Jeffrey's research establishes *TOI*'s practices of sensationalism and upper-class centrality from the 1970s to the late 1990s while Udupa's research extends Jeffrey's claims well into the contemporary period. Udupa and Jeffrey have both classified *TOI*'s reporting style as sensational, often using a tactic many have coined 'infotainment.' This tabloid-like reporting style cannot be removed from the status of the publications' target audience: English readers, who are elite, urban, and upper-class. Infotainment functions to grab the attention of the growing number of elite and urban readers and retain readership, and ultimately revenue in the media-market. Udupa's 2015 book, *Making News in Global India: Media, Publics, and Politics*, connects the influx of global capital through the process of Bangalore, a South Indian city, becoming a tech-hub to *TOI*'s expansion into the city.²⁴ She argues that *TOI* infiltrated Bangalore to more successfully cater to the educated young-professional population who moved to the city for tech-related jobs, ultimately pointing to the up-and-coming upper-class caste urban population that *TOI* targets.

²³*Times Internet*. <https://www.timesinternet.in/about>

²⁴ Udupa, Sahana. *Making News in Global India: Media, Publics, Politics*. Cambridge University Press. 2015.

As the newspaper revolution continued unabated into the 1980s, 1990s, and beyond, the increase in national and eventually international advertising investment and subsequent revenue was influenced by the increasing prioritization of capitalism, which took explicit shape in the early 1990s with the liberalization of India's national economy.²⁵ In addition to the host of changes and developments that accompanied liberalization, including impressive economic growth, technological and scientific discoveries, and the expansion of the welfare state (to address growing economic inequality), the 1990s saw several other significant changes to India's news and mediascape.²⁶ These changes included the shift towards television, for both entertainment and information, the 24-hour news cycle, cell-phones, and social media, all of which served to increase competition in the media, especially news media.²⁷ Particularly, the proliferation of television since the 1990s underscores the adaptation of media's political positionality within national and electoral politics and its role in constructing gender, class, and caste identities and discourse in order to succeed in an increasingly competitive media-market.²⁸

Women's Rights Movements and the Politicization of Gender Violence

Gender violence in India, the public sphere, and the newscape have a protracted relationship, cyclically gripping the nation with motifs of outrage and panic. Literature in this

²⁵ Gupta, Akhil. "Red Tape: Bureaucracy, Structural Violence, and Poverty in India." Durham: Duke University Press. (2012)

²⁶ Mazzarella, William. *Shoveling Smoke: Advertising and Globalization in Contemporary India*. Duke University Press. 2003.

²⁷ Doron, Assa and Robin Jeffrey. *Cell Phone Nation: How Mobile Phones Have Revolutionized Business, Politics, Ordinary Life in India*. Hachette. 2013.

Krishnakumar, "Internet in India" Rajagopal, Aravind. *The Indian Public Sphere: Readings in Media History*. Oxford University Press. 2009.

²⁸ Mankekar, Purnima. *Screening Culture, Viewing Politics: An Ethnography of Television, Womanhood, and Nation in Postcolonial India*. Duke University Press. 1999.

Rajagopal, Aravind. *Politics After Television: Hindu Nationalism and the Reshaping of the Public in India*. Cambridge University Press. 2001.

field overviews the historical trajectory of women's rights movements and public discourse in India demonstrating how it is tightly interconnected with cycles of publicization of gender violence in India newspapers. As newspapers began to take off in the late 1970s and 1980s, so did Indian women's rights movements, both of which were marked by the first widely publicized case of gender violence, the Mathura case.²⁹ This case spurred widespread protest, culminating in the inception of the Indian women's rights movements, and subsequently led to major legislative amendments to the Criminal Law Amendment Act (CLAA) to address specificities of victim consent and domestic violence.³⁰ The aftermath of this case set a precedent for a larger pattern relating gender violence and the news media: highly publicized cases can influence the level and shape of political activism and protest, spurring legislative or institutional action against gender violence or movements to protect women.

Given that the history of gender-related legislation is inseparable from the landscape of highly publicized cases of gender violence and public mobilization, scholars ask which cases have become highly publicized (versus the numerous cases that are left behind or completely ignored within public and media discourse), and are thus used to inspire legislative or institutional change? The aforementioned Mathura case inspired large-scale protest across the nation as well as intense publicization in the early 1980s, when the case went to the Supreme Court.³¹ Since then, there have been several widely publicized cases taken up by women's rights activists across the nation that have led to legislative, institutional, or criminal-procedural changes, pointing to the interrelated nature of news reporting, gender violence, and large-scale

²⁹ Sharma, Kalpana. *The Silence and the Storm*. Aleph Book Company. 2019.

³⁰ Sakhrani, Monica. "Reading Rape Post Mathura" *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*. Vol. 23, Iss: 2, page(s): 260-285 (2016).

Biswas, Bidisha. "From Mathura to Jyoti" in *New Feminisms in South Asia: Disrupting the Discourse Through Social Media, Film and Literature*. Ed. by Sonora Jha, and Alka Kurian. New York: Routledge. (2018)

³¹ Sharma, Kalpana. *The Silence and the Storm*. Aleph Book Company. 2019.

changes as a result of India's active public sphere.³² For example, in 1992, the Vishaka Guidelines, addressing sexual harassment, were passed following the highly publicized Bhanwari Devi case (also called the Bhateri case) and ratified in 1997.³³ A large set of major amendments to the CLAA were passed in 2013, after the 2012 Delhi gang rape (also known as the Nirbhaya case), which garnered not only national activism, but also international media attention.³⁴

Beyond the legislative changes that followed the protest and reporting of the 2012 Delhi gang rape, this case was also a catalyst of an explosion of academic articles at the intersection of media, the Indian public sphere, gender violence, and what many scholars began to term a new wave of Indian feminism.³⁵ Many of these analyses as well as comparative case studies of similarly highly publicized cases have presented new methodologies for media studies and highlighted the significance of media framing practices in understanding institutional and legislative responses to gender violence holistically.³⁶ Poulami Roychowdhury was one of the first scholars to argue that the Nirbhaya movement and the strains of feminism it inspired erased the victim's class and caste identity in order to purport the movement as one for "everywoman."³⁷ The movement also constructed the perpetrators as outsiders, slum-dwellers,

³² ³² A detailed 51-year timeline of major gender violence-related legislation and their correlated gender violence incidents is included in the Appendix, specifically section B.

³³ Kannabiran, Kalpana. "In the Footprints of Bhanwari Devi: Feminist Cascades and #MeToo in India" *Outlook*. 2018. <http://www.csdhyd.org/MeToo%20Kannabiran.pdf>

Sakhrani, Monica. "Reading Rape Post Mathura" *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*. Vol. 23, Iss: 2, page(s): 260-285 (2016).

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Shah, Anushka. "How episodic frames gave way to thematic frames over time: A topic modeling study of the Indian media's reporting of rape post the 2012 Delhi gang-rape." *Poetics*. Vol 72, (2019) pp. 54-69

³⁶ Shandilya, Krupa. "Nirbhaya's Body: The Politics of Protest in the Aftermath of the 2012 Delhi Gang Rape" *Gender and History*. Vol 27 Iss 2 (2015) <https://doi-org.proxy.uchicago.edu/10.1111/1468-0424.12134>

Gupta, Hemangini. "Taking Action: The Desiring Subjects of Neoliberal Feminism in India" *Journal of International Women's Studies*. Vol 17 Iss 1 (2016): pp 152-168. <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol17/iss1/11/>

³⁷ Roychowdhury, Poulami. "'The Delhi Gang Rape: The Making of International Causes,'" *Feminist Studies*. Vol. 39, No. 1, pp. 282-292.

and a “threat to the sanctity of the upper-caste woman,” despite the similarity in the background between the victim and the perpetrators— a theme found in many comparative studies.³⁸

For example, both Shalu Nigam and Ranae Sullivan’s research compare the aftermaths of different highly publicized incidents to uncover the nature of the resulting movements as well as differential institutional or legislative responses. Sullivan’s study contextualizes the aftermaths of older gender violence incidents against newer ones to further contextualize and reveal how women’s rights discourse in India is tinged with upper-caste supremacy, lower-caste exclusion, and neoliberal cosmopolitanism.³⁹ Nigam compares the public responses to more recent high-visibility cases such as the 2016 Farooqi case to older cases such as the Mathura case in order to unravel why recent cases have not elicited similar legislative or institutional responses.⁴⁰ She focuses specifically on how the Indian judiciary in contemporary political contexts has refused to adhere previous legislative changes such as the 1983 CLAA amendment and investigates the negative repercussions the decision had for women’s rights and addressing gender and caste-based violence as a whole.

Taken together, the multitude of studies reveal how the representation of gender violence in news media is inseparable from the particular shape of subsequent women’s rights movements and mobilization as often upper-class and caste-centric and shaded by neoliberal cosmopolitanism.⁴¹ In the aftermath of the 2012 Delhi gang rape, Indian feminism split into two distinct strands, Savarna feminism, which was coined by the emerging oppositional strand, Dalit-

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Sullivan, Ranae. "Sexual Violence in India: The History of Indian Women’s Resistance," *McNair Scholars Research Journal*: Vol. 11 : Iss. 1 (2015).

⁴⁰ Nigam, Shalu, “From Mathura to Farooqi Rape Case: The Regressive Patriarchy Found Its Way Back” (2017)

⁴¹ Shandilya, Krupa. “Nirbhaya’s Body: The Politics of Protest in the Aftermath of the 2012 Delhi Gang Rape” *Gender and History*. Vol 27 Iss 2 (2015) <https://doi-org.proxy.uchicago.edu/10.1111/1468-0424.12134>

Gupta, Hemangini. “Taking Action: The Desiring Subjects of Neoliberal Feminism in India” *Journal of International Women’s Studies*. Vol 17 Iss 1 (2016): pp 152-168. <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol17/iss1/11/>

Bahujan-Adivasi (DBA) feminism, claimed that the 2012 women's rights movement was a Savarna feminist movement and fixated on remaking the Delhi gang rape victim to be an upper-caste and class, cosmopolitan woman despite her rural and low-caste origin.⁴² Women's rights formation and mobilization in India is ultimately inseparable from gender violence in India and more specifically, its portrayal in Indian media. The analytical history of women's rights movements in India have revealed that they often explicitly revolve around upper-class and upper-caste women and represent an elite portion of Indian women, implicitly excluding minoritized women by explicitly centering upper-caste and class women. The trajectory of these historical movements erases the multiple, compounding dimensions of inequality endemic to continuing victimization and violence with impunity which characterizes the vast majority of gender violence incidents.

Moral Panics and Media Sensationalism

Sensationalism is, according to Katerina Molek-Kasakowksa, a "discourse strategy of packaging information in news headlines, in such a way that news items are presented as more interesting, extraordinary, and relevant than might be the case."⁴³ Building on this definition and the general scholarly consensus, I identify sensationalism as when word and phrase choices are making an equally or more of an affective or emotive move in reportage as an informational one. Word and phrase choices in the news are ostensibly chosen to convey information, however, when a particular word undeniably incites an emotional response, as in the case of terms such as *outrage* or *horror*, I identify that instance as sensationalism. Despite the volume of literature at

⁴² Savarna feminism has come to represent an exclusively upper-class and caste practice and understanding of Indian feminism while Dalit-Bahujan-Adivasi feminism advocates for more grassroots approaches centering the voices of Dalit, Adivasi (tribal), Bahujan (all-encompassing term for minorities) women.

⁴³ Molek-Kasakowska, Katerina. "Towards a Pragma-Linguistic Framework for the Study of Sensationalism in News Headlines." *Discourse and Communication*. Vol. 7, Iss. 2, 173-197.

the crux of media studies and sensationalism, few focus on media and their sensational representations of gender violence. Those that do establish sensational representations of gender violence and crime as a symbolic origin for public moral panics.⁴⁴ Kathryn Fox argues that the role of local news reporting plays a significant role in sustaining moral panics around sex offenders in the United States, particularly by displaying violence as exceptionally abhorrent.

The social theory of moral panics, as defined by Stanley Cohen, is “a condition, person or group of persons [which] emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests.”⁴⁵ Cohen describes five broad stages of moral panics: 1) something is defined as a threat to established social norms and society more generally, 2) media and the community portray the threat simply so it becomes quickly recognizable to the greater public, 3) the public becomes concerned through media representation of the threat, 4) the threat, whether real or perceived, is addressed by a figure of authority, and 5) social change is enacted in the community.⁴⁶ Cohen’s skeleton of this social process is a generative framework. However, when adapted to gender violence reporting in Indian news media, it becomes clear that the complex positionalities of the media outlets themselves are neglected. Cohen’s view treats media as sites through which moral panics— defined on other criteria (having to do with perceived social threat)— are cultivated, rather than as sites wherein the problem of sensationalism itself (and thus moral panics) are given root. Media in India, as elsewhere, is intertwined with the increasingly competitive media-market which influences the nature and style of reportage, the identities of their targeted readers, the current political climate, and ultimately shapes the nature

⁴⁴ Tyagi, Aastha and Atreyee Sen. “Love-Jihad (Muslim Sexual Seduction) and ched-chad (sexual harassment): Hindu Nationalist Discourses and the Ideal/Deviant Urban Citizen in India” *Gender, Place and Culture*. Vol. 27, Iss. 1, page(s): 104-125 (2020). 10.1080/0966369X.2018.1557602

⁴⁵ Cohen, Stanley. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of Mods and Rockers*. Routledge. 1972. pp. 1

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

of public responses and understandings of a social moral panics such as gender violence. Media markets themselves produce sensationalism and moral panics through their own logics of competition as well as economies of attention and affect.

Additionally, the diffusion of moral panics around gender violence in India are mired in particular historical connotations of the development of Indian nationhood and independence politics, complicating Cohen's procedural five-step framework considerably. This underscores the necessity to study how moral panics around the same issue, gender violence, are consistently generated over time, how and why they become to subject to sensational crime reportage, and what the potential repercussions are for the continuation of violence.

In India, the symbol of the Indian woman has been sanctified through different political dimensions, such as the personification of India as a nation as maternal, or 'Bharat Mata,' throughout discourses of independence and nationalism.⁴⁷ These symbolic discourses of the feminized nation having been violated or gone without protection, assisted through sensational reportage, have inevitably played a role in generating moral panics and motifs of outrage at the center of women's rights-centric and public discourse on gender violence.⁴⁸ The study of media sensationalism in India is salient because the national symbolizations and meanings shading the violation of the Indian woman consistently and tacitly construct public moral panics, have tangible implications for the continued victimization of minority women and subsequent representations of gender violence, and are concurrently impacted by ideologies of patriarchal,

⁴⁷ Gupta, Charu. "The Icon of Mother in Late Colonial North India: 'Bharat Mata', 'Matri Bhasha' and 'Gau Mata'" *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol. 36, Iss. 45. pp. 4291-4299. 2001.

⁴⁸ Rao, Neomi and Lakshmi Lingam. "Smartphones, Youth and Moral Panics: Exploring Print and Online Media Narratives in India." *Mobile Media and Communication*. Vol. 9 Iss. 1, page(s): 128-148 (2020).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2050157920922262>

Hindu, upper-caste supremacy.⁴⁹ Ultimately, understanding sensationalism in tandem with the generation of moral panics, particularly around gender violence and symbols of the feminized nation demonstrate the intimate and intricate relationship news reportage, inequality, and the Indian public sphere. News reportage of gender violence presents a uniquely situated space to analyze how practices of information dissemination impact how certain public discourses and mobilizations are shaped and how certain sensibilities of how gender violence are understood within certain sectors of the public that highlight the centrality of class and caste inequalities.

Data and Methodology

This project exploits the extensive archives of *The Times of India* ranging from 1970 to 2020 provided by the University of Chicago Library. The temporal frame for this study is based on the scholarly consensus of when the first case of gender violence was highly publicized and catalyzed collective within the post-Independence Indian public sphere (the Mathura case).⁵⁰ It is meant to capture recent changes to the Indian mediascape, such as digitization, including the advent of the Internet, cell-phones, and social media. The five-decade temporal frame also allows for incorporating the impact of political and economic shifts and relevant legislation within *TOI's* gender violence reportage trajectory. This includes but is not limited to the duration and end of the Emergency period (1975-1977), India's economic liberalization in 1991 and its resounding impacts, and major political shifts such as the victory of the Bharatiya Janata Party in 2014 and 2019. In recent decades, alongside the growth of the Times Media Group conglomerate, *TOI* has expanded beyond a single English-language publication and currently has

⁴⁹ Battacharyya, Rituparna. "Understanding the Spatialities of Sexual Assault Against Indian Women in India" *Gender, Place and Culture*. Vol. 22, Iss: 9, page(s): 1340-1356 (2015)
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2014.969684>

⁵⁰ Nigam, Shalu, "From Mathura to Farooqi Rape Case: The Regressive Patriarchy Found Its Way Back" (2017)

several offshoot newspapers operating out of many of India's urban centers.⁵¹ The data for this article is gathered exclusively from *TOI*'s main, English-language newspapers rather than any of its secondary or city-specific publications.

Because of the expansive time frame, this project utilizes a mixed-methods approach of both quantitative and qualitative methods to holistically analyze multi-decade reporting patterns against context or case-specific ones and their potential relationship. The methods taken together allow for the construction of a larger picture of reporting tactics and patterns coupled with deep textual and reportage analysis of individual cases, contextualized within and juxtaposed to a given temporal frame or political environment.

Quantitative Methods

The quantitative methods used in this study begins with a broad search of the term, *rape* within *TOI*'s database between 1970 and 2020. I limited my search to this term as a signifier of criminal sexual violence for several reasons. The explicit use of the term *rape* is different from assault, harassment, domestic abuse, and other violence included in the overarching term, 'gender violence.' However, while gender violence includes other categorizations of violence, as well as structural violence. I use the single term, *rape*, which not only includes those specific instances of criminal sexual violence and has considerable overlap with other terms that index other acts of physical violence against women. For example, some articles reporting rape also contain accounts of acid attacks against women. I continue to use the label of gender violence throughout this study because even with the search of *rape*, there is no way to distinguish from cases reported as domestic violence from public or criminal violence. Moreover, the relationship

⁵¹ Udupa, Sahana. *Making News in Global India: Media, Publics, Politics*. Cambridge University Press. 2015.

between domestic violence and sexual violence in India are tightly interrelated, both in publicized incidents as well as legislation, hence the continued use of the all-encompassing phrase, ‘gender violence.’⁵²

I analyze the headlines of all articles referencing ‘rape’ using computerized, hand-coded text analysis programming to construct patterns in the timeline of gender violence reporting within *TOI*.⁵³ The dataset consists of *TOI* headlines from articles containing the word ‘rape,’ from January 1970 to December 2020. It contains 67,649 headlines and 637,539 words.⁵⁴ I used computerized, hand-coded text analysis programming to construct patterns in the timeline of gender violence reporting. First, I ascertained how many articles exist containing the word *rape* (and associated tenses, *raped*, *raping*) per year, as well as the total number of words in every headline per year within this search. I excluded a custom set of stopwords, or words and phrases which were irrelevant to the search, but which could muddle the results (ex. “rapeseed oil”). This coding reveals how the use of these terms are reflective of zoomed-out changes in gender violence reporting over the temporal frame and in relation to which timeline events.

Next, I found word frequencies per year and per decade. Specifically, I extracted word frequencies per year and per decade for the term *rape* as well as the top ten most frequent words per year when controlling for *rape*. I used a training set of headlines to generate a dictionary of words that indicate sensationalized coverage of gender violence by *TOI*. This is an inductive and qualitative method that requires close engagement with the text, but which yields more accurate results than analyzing the data with a pre-define dictionary. Using this hand-tailored dictionary, I analyzed word frequencies across the data in the time period. I expected that sensationalism

⁵² Roychowdhury, Poulami. *Capable Women, Incapable States*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2020.

⁵³ In future iterations of this project, I hope to use Optical Character Recognition to compile and analyze a larger dataset of full-article texts.

⁵⁴ For a decade-by-decade breakdown of all results see Appendix.

would be clear and present, increase over time, and reveal patterns about inequality and gender violence by focusing on the class and caste status of both subjects of reportage and *TOI*'s target audience. For my qualitative analyses, I inductively searched for word frequencies of other terms such as *caste*, *dalit*, as well as a dictionary of words broadly related to media sensationalism, specifically: *outrage*, *shame*, *shock*, *horror*, and *anger*.

These representations are juxtaposed against the total number of words used in all headlines per year and the total count of articles published per year, reflecting changes in use of a single term over time and against large-scale changes to newspaper publishing patterns such as *TOI*'s broader expansion throughout India and increase in number of publications. The comparison of the word frequency of rape is compared to the total number of words used in all compiled articles based on the initial search of *rape*. The number of times *rape* and associated terms are used are represented as a percent of the larger number of total words and represent unequivocal changes in reporting patterns over the five-decade time frame.

The primary function of the quantitative analysis is to deconstruct the overwhelming number of results and construct an image of a larger temporal arc to contextualize differences and changes to word frequency. However, the numerical headline content analysis alone cannot account for the tangible textual and linguistic choices that consist of *TOI*'s gender violence reportage tactics, how they have changed over the time frame, and what broader impacts they may have had. For this, it is necessary to use qualitative methods of textual content analysis.

Qualitative Methods

The qualitative analysis forms the bulk of the methodology employed in this thesis and the basis for my subsequent argument. While the quantitative aspects compile data and assists in

making the broad time frame of reportage legible and accessible, the qualitative compiles articles of individual cases of gender violence, determines which were more publicized than others, and analyzes their content and language choices. This process involved combing through the total results compiled from the data base and flagging cases of gender violence which recurred within the given year or decade, and the headline label given to the case. Additionally, I carefully read, analyzed, and annotated the content of the article itself to determine what information was presented and to which potential reader-subject.

This process of compilation and constructing event clusters through past reporting was based on levels of publicity I constructed, inductively informed as I compiled articles. A case was flagged as highly publicized case when headlines involving the case title or central details to a particular case were repeated several times throughout the year. Until 1999, all cases that were categorized as highly publicized were included in my list of event clusters. However, after 1999, there were too many cases that could ostensibly be classified as highly publicized. Subsequently I chose event clusters which were reported relatively more frequently throughout the decade compared to the other cases which still garnered considerable reporting attention. Despite the choices made in narrowing the larger list of highly publicized cases of gender violence, after 1999, there is still a significant increase in the number of highly publicized cases.

Decade	Number of Highly Publicized Cases
1970s	6
1980s	12
1990s	14
2000s	30
2010-2020 (inclusive)	86

The definitions of what classified a highly publicized case also shifted as the qualitative data processing progressed. In the 1970s, a total of one to three articles regarding a particular

case was enough to classify an incident of gender violence as highly publicized. By the 1980s and 1990s, the threshold number of reports per incident of gender violence to be classified as highly publicized increased significantly. While there were still cases that had a small total number of reports within a given decade, other cases have as many as 30 or more, which I ultimately attribute to the reporting practices and priorities of the publication within an increasingly competitive media environment.

During the 2000s and beyond, the number of total articles was not only enormous, but the number of articles per incident were as well. For a case to be classified as highly publicized, an article not only had to be reported on consistently throughout a given year, but also throughout the decade as well. Even within this criterion, the 74 cases categorized as highly publicized between 2010 and 2020 merely scratch the surface of the number of cases initially compiled as highly publicized within this time period. For the sake of feasibility, the cases originally compiled within this final decade were reduced from approximately 150 to 74 cases. As the list of highly publicized cases and event clusters took shape, I noted the important details provided within each articles including the location of the incident, how the headline was presented, how cases were labeled, and the content of the article.⁵⁵

Data Patterns and Analysis

Quantitative Results

Due to the volume of data, the quantitative portion of the analysis parsed out the data and constructed clearer textual patterns throughout the time frame. The results from the quantitative

⁵⁵ All data and figures can be found in the Appendix.

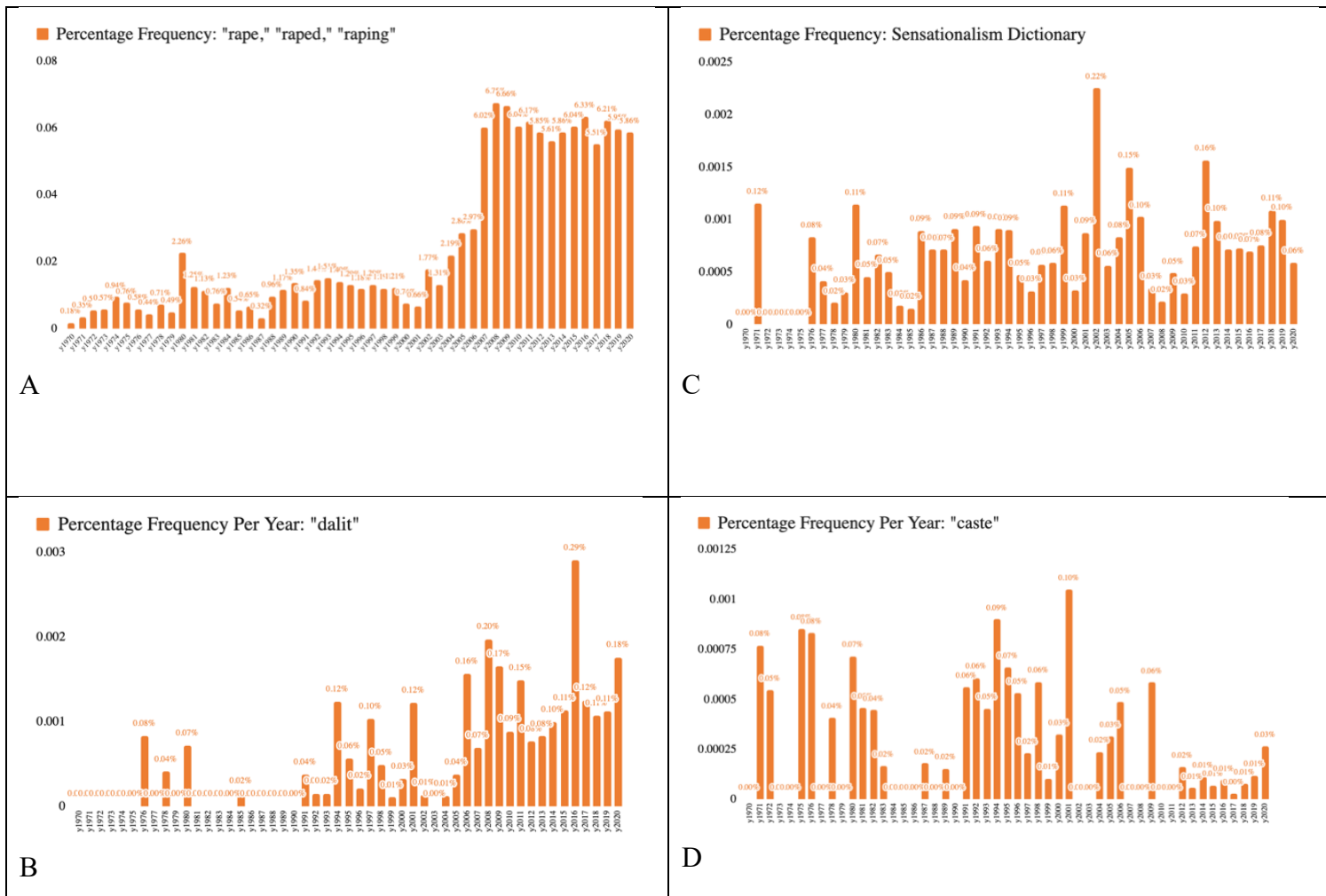
analysis did not reveal any strong patterns around particular events on the timeline.⁵⁶ However, Figure A represents the percentage frequency of *rape* and associated terms (*raped, raping*) against the total number of words in *TOI* headlines; it shows an undeniable increase in the use of *rape* terms over the time frame. The percentage use of *rape* words increased from approximately 1% until around 2002, to just less than 2%, and almost to 6% by 2007. The increase appears gradual from 1970 until approximately 2006 but increases by almost 4% in 2007. This increase could be attributed to when *TOI* began to publish articles digitally in addition to in print, decreasing publication limitations. Additionally, there are no highly publicized cases' reportage that coincide with this major increase.

There is an unequivocal numeric increase in the use of terms in the sensationalism dictionary (*outrage, shame, shock, horror, anger*). However, Figure B portrays the percentage frequency of the sensationalism dictionary which reveals no clear increase, implying that these terms, identified as sensational, are more or less, constantly present. Finally, Figures C and D portray the percentage change in use of the term *dalit* and *caste* respectively. While the percentage frequency of *caste* declines over the time frame, the percentage frequency of *dalit* increases. The appearance of *dalit* is negligible prior to 2006 while use of *caste* drops after approximately 2010.

While the quantitative analysis reveals an unequivocal increase in the use of the term, *rape* and thus an increase in gender violence reporting over five decades, the results found through the sensationalism dictionary and caste-words are inconclusive. The results demonstrate that both sensationalism and caste are significant aspects of gender violence reporting and are

⁵⁶ Because of the Delhi gang rape in December of 2012, I anticipated 2012 and 2013 to be consistently coded as outlier years. However, despite the increase in the number of articles in 2013, the percentage frequencies do not represent an outlier.

consistently present but necessitate contextualization of how and when sensationalism and caste identities are employed in reportage, which can only be accomplished through qualitative analysis.



Figures A, B, C, D Axes represent years and percentage frequency changes. [All included figures show only percentage increase of word use, not numeric frequencies. See Appendix for all figures]

Qualitative Results

From the compilation of highly publicized gender violence reporting clusters, several larger themes stood out in terms of what is similar between how cases are reported and what has changed over the time period, particularly relating to sensational reportage practices.

Consistencies

There are three major themes of how cases were labeled that remained relatively consistent across the five decades. The first is that many cases are labeled according to where in the country they occurred, but more importantly, where in relation to a major urban center. Secondly, cases are labeled according to the actual name or media assigned name given to the victim of the gender violence incident. Finally, cases are labeled according to the name of the perpetrator. There are also a considerable number of cases which did not fit into any of these three categorizations, but the labels used to identify them still ultimately fit into the larger schematic of how gender violence cases are reported and curated for particular purposes and audiences.

Geography

Most cases compiled as highly publicized are labeled according to the geographic area in which they occurred. These labels ranged from the name of an entire Indian state (Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Orissa, West Bengal), large city or urban center (Delhi, Mumbai, Hyderabad), smaller urban cities (Gurgaon, Pipli, Badaun, Kurla), popular tourist attractions or towns (Vasco, Gulmarg), to very rarely a small town or village (Siswa). The majority of these case identifiers and labels are based on the urban city the incident purportedly occurred in. However, as gleaned from the information presented in the articles themselves, in many of these cases, the

neighborhood the case actually occurred in is not in the city center or downtown areas as these labels allude. The majority of these cases occurred in the outskirts, slums, or lesser-known areas of the cities but their identifiers and the headlines used to report them suggest otherwise.

Simultaneously, cases which actually occurred in the downtown sectors of urban areas, richer neighborhoods, popular destinations, or university areas are always labeled as such in their headlines and the broader labels pertaining to the city more generally are foregone. Additionally, as will be elucidated further in the following section, cases which are labeled according to the name or given name of the victim are almost exclusively upper-class victims and do not include any geographic information. This led me to look further into the caste identities of the victims of those cases labeled in relation to where the incident occurred. Many of the cases labeled based on the city the violence occurred in involve low-caste or Dalit women, and this detail is left out of case reporting, instead focusing on the location of the incident and violent details of what occurred. Specifically, between 2010 and 2020, out of the 36 cases labeled based on their geographic location, approximately 27 (75%) of them involve a Dalit or minority woman as the victim. These cases, with the exception of the Faridkot Dalit minor case, are not forthcoming with the caste identity of the victim in the headline or in the content of the articles themselves.

Victim Name

The vast majority of cases labeled by the name of the victim involved in the crime, the name of the victim given by newspapers or activist, have involved women who can be easily identified as upper-class. For example, the rape and murder of Priyadarshini Mattoo not only dominated *TOI's* news cycle in 1996, when the incident occurred, but through the remainder of

the decade and well into 2000s. The case was labeled the “Mattoo case,” and involved a 25-year-old law student who was raped and murdered in her house in New Delhi.

There are several other cases in which the name of the victim was used as a commonly proliferated identifier of the violent incident, but none are more well-known in public and academic discourse than 2012 Delhi gang rape or the Nirbhaya case. The name Nirbhaya was given to the victim, Jyoti Singh Pandey, by the media and activists immediately as the incident infiltrated the news cycle. Pandey’s case, however, is an important exception to this pattern and is emblematic of not only *TOI*’s gender violence reporting patterns but the presentation of gender violence in India more generally.

Pandey was a Dalit woman from a poor, rural community outside Delhi. The media consistently identified her as a medical student and resident of Delhi, with no acknowledgement of her identity, which played a role in the violence she was subjected to, especially because her attackers were from a similar background and community. Poulami Roychowdhury, as well as many other scholars, have argued and demonstrated how Pandey’s caste and class identity were neglected in order to transform her into a symbol representing the upper-class, cosmopolitan, urban “everywoman,” particularly as part of the women’s rights movement and associated ideology in response to the incident.⁵⁷ While Nirbhaya was not herself an upper-class woman, the way *TOI* and Indian news media more generally portrayed her, muddied her identity represented her as an unequivocally upper-class, urban woman. Particularly by seizing on her educational status (as a medical student) which is stereotypically associated with elite status, as also demonstrated in Priyadarshini Mattoo’s case.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Roychowdhury, Poulami. “The Delhi Gang Rape: The Making of International Causes,” *Feminist Studies*. Vol. 39, No. 1, pp. 282-292.

⁵⁸ Rape shield law was instituted in India directly following the reportage of the 2012 Delhi gang rape despite the use of ‘Nirbhaya’ as her primary identifier in the media. Rape shield law prohibits the use of a victim’s name in

While it is undeniable that a clear majority of these cases labeled by the name of the victim are upper-class women, there are three significant exceptions to this generalization. The first is the Imrana case which involved a Muslim woman who was sexually assaulted by her father-in-law in 2005 near the North Indian city of Muzaffarnagar. Soon after the incident, she was asked to leave her husband and children and declare her marriage null and void. This case could be construed as one through which Hindu supremacy is exerted over Fatwa, an expression of Islamic law, and through which Indian newspapers can exercise their ability to create and present discourse that criticizes Islamic law and Muslim communities, potentially explaining the reason why her name was used to identify the case. However, this aspect of the analysis remains unclear because this study does not focus on the representation of Muslim women in Indian gender violence reporting, despite its marked importance. Instead, I have flagged this case as a deviation from the generalization that cases identified based on the name of the victim represent an upper-class, urban woman and warrants further study.

The second major exception within this theme is the case of Bhanwari Devi, a low-caste woman and anti-child marriage activist from Bhatari, Rajasthan who was gang raped in 1992. The majority of *TOI*'s reporting on this case identified it as the Bhatari rape case and was subsequently changed to the Bhanwari Devi case when the incident and her activism gained international media attention and recognition. While the incident occurred in 1992, the case was not officially identified as the Bhanwari Devi case until the late 1990s. Bhanwari Devi was clearly represented as a low-caste woman throughout most of the relevant reporting about the incident and until her case garnered wider media attention in the late 90s, *TOI* continued to refer

news reporting. Despite the institution of rape shield law, many cases, particularly highly-publicized incidents blatantly ignored rape shield law in reportage. The Jisha rape case, detailed later in this section, blatantly violates rape shield law as does the reportage of many cases after 2012.

to the case as the Bhatari case. Additionally, the case had a prolonged life-cycle length in relation to other cases reported in the 1990s despite the change in incident name and differences in how she was represented, which could be due to the level of international media attention the case received.

The third major exception to this generalization is the Jisha rape case which occurred in 2016. This case was one of the first highly publicized cases in which the caste identity of the victim was centrally included in the reporting. Jisha, who went only by her first name, was a 29-year-old Dalit woman and law student in Perumbavoor, a small town in the state of Kerala. Within *TOI* reporting, the case was not originally called the Jisha rape case, toggling between several labels including the town, nearest urban center (Kochi), and entire state of Kerala. Sometime after the initial reporting, particularly in response to the level of public protest surrounding the case and the popular hashtag, *#JusticeforJisha*, it began to be called the Jisha rape case. Like the Bhanwari Devi case, it was only after the case gained considerable traction, in this case via public protest rather than international attention, that the name was changed. Both these cases are emblematic of a media threshold required to name a case, where a victim is granted their name in the news only after it becomes the subject of mass public recognition and mobilization.

The Jisha rape case represents a unique liminal space in relation to the previous categorization regarding the geographic label of the case as well as the use of a victim's name to identify it. In *TOI*'s reporting timeline, it was originally called the Perambavoor rape-murder, and then switched to the Kochi rape case after a large city in Kerala, opposed to the smaller town of Perambavoor where she was from. The case then switched to being labeled based on the name of the victim, who like other cases which were labeled based on the victim's name such as the

Mattoo or Nirbhaya case, occupied ostensibly upper-class identities such as being a student in higher education, specifically law school in Jisha's case. Additionally, the general media reportage, public protest, and discourse surrounding the case aimed to draw attention to the caste dimensions central to the incidence of violence in this case, as well as the particularly aggressive level of violence, which was also included in *TOI*'s reporting of the case.

The Jisha and Bhanwari Devi cases are both incidents originally labeled based on their geographic location that changed to be labeled based on the name of the victim in response to media movement and discourse outside the publication. This process of naming, may, more broadly, be representative of a particular presupposition of contextual information through initial reporting, so that when Jisha's case is then mentioned, the reader automatically associates the region it occurred in as Perambavoor, Kochi, or Bhatari. While this certainly may be an informative reporting tactic, in the collection and compilation of case-related articles, amongst the sheer number of gender violence cases in reporting, there is no way to know whether the case is about the same woman or incident until her name is used. The switch to the use of the victim's name in case reporting indicates a distinct practice of recognition that follows a demand created by the mobilizing public, and ultimately *TOI*'s receptivity to their readers. Additionally, the consistent use of victims' names indicates a larger practice of recognition, one where victims who are clearly upper-class through their education status are tacitly labeled with their names to make reportage more accessible to *TOI*'s upper-class readers.

Perpetrator Name

The final cluster of how gender violence cases have been labeled and identified within *TOI* reporting is based on the name or identifier of the perpetrator. The major finding with regard

to this category of cases is that they are presented in a way that is meant to be, more than anything else, entertaining. The majority of those implicated in these cases are men (with one exception, Pinki Pramanik, a female athlete whose gender identity is consistently debated within *TOI*'s articles). Some of the men implicated belong to a wide variety of class categorizations occupying middle-class professions such as a police officer (Bitty Mohanty case), primary school teacher (Cyanide Mohan), or journalist (Pyari Mian case). However, many of the perpetrators, however, were easily identifiable and more generally prominent figures such as Bollywood actors (i.e. Shiney Ahuja case, Karan Oberoi case, Alok Nath case), or well-known public figures in religion, politics or media (i.e. Asaram Babu/Narayan Sai case, Nithyananda case, Chinmayanand case, Gayatri Prajapati case).

For example, several of the headlines used in Shiney Ahuja's case in which his maid accused him of rape in 2009 read: "Everybody loves bad boys and a bit of scandal." Other headlines for this case described Ahuja's daily activities, or perhaps attempt to humanize him to an audience that was invested in his life, detailing his visit to the temple and travels to Delhi. Additionally, headlines relating to the crime itself rather than Ahuja's life read, "The maid trap!" and "Maid to order in India," sounding similar to the title of television episodes, using wordplay and an exclamation mark to draw the reader to what the newspaper puts forth as a dramatic and titillating story in which the ideal reader can invest. The headlines used in the delineation of this incident parallel the reporting tactics and word choices in most headlines used in other cases involving prominent or well-known figures. However, after 2010, the headlines involving prominent figures became significantly more detailed, often including violent details of cases rather than presenting them in the previously more whimsical infotainment fashion. The change is akin to a shift towards the explicit descriptions of violence rather than surface level, yet still

intriguing descriptions of the perpetrator or the incident—a change that is elucidated further in the later section on sensationalism.

Despite the current prevalence of labeling gender violence cases based on the perpetrators, this did not emerge as a *TOI* reporting practice until the late 1990s and did not become common until the 2000s. The nature and content of the reporting and articles of this category of cases primarily serves to be sensational to the *TOI* reader, similar to tabloids. The majority of them involved well-known actors and religious figures and are represented as interesting or riveting to any reader of *TOI* who would recognize the name or connotations of the name rather than caution or inform readers about instances of violence perpetrated by influential and powerful figures (i.e. Chinmayanand is a well-known religious figure across India and within the Hindu diaspora).

Between 2010 and 2020, many of those classified as highly publicized cases involved actors, which in part is attributed to the onset of the *#MeToo* movement, but which presents news about well-known public figures, particularly actors, to a reader-subject that is indubitably invested in the Bollywood industry and the personal lives of actors. *TOI*'s focus on tabloid-like, or infotainment news reporting, particularly stories related to well-known figures, is a practice the newspaper uses to cater to an urban, elite audience, implicitly signaling the status and interests of their target audience to their reader-subject. Simultaneously, those that are the primary consumers of *TOI*'s reportage may internalize the way that news is presented as a central part of their understanding and performance of their own identities as an elite, urban audience.

Labeling Exceptions

These cases do not fit neatly into the three aforementioned categories yet reveal what kinds of cases *TOI* prioritized reporting on, how they report them, and ultimately to what kind of audience. First, across the time span, there are five cases involving the victimization of nuns. While the physical number of cases is not necessarily overwhelming, the number of articles published on each of these within both the years and decades they occurred in is significant (1990s, 2000s, and 2010s). These are labeled as “nun rape cases,” often without any geographic qualifier, instead represented as occurring across the country from Kerala in the South to Orissa in the Northeast. The reporting style of these cases tokenize minority women and ultimately present violent incidents as sensational, one-off crimes against Christian women and not part of a larger nexus of power, implicated by class, caste, or Hindu supremacy. It is interesting to note that while Christians are a religious minority in India, within all the cases compiled, the term “nun” is explicitly stated in headlines across the five decades more than any other minority, religious or otherwise, including caste.

Another grouping within those not categorized within the three major themes is tourist and foreigner rape cases. These cases began to emerge in the 1990s with titles such as “German tourist rape case,” “Japanese tourist rape case,” “Swiss gang rape case,” and “South African model rape case.” The relative prevalence of these cases can be attributed to what *TOI*’s primary audience is, globally fluent and invested in areas frequented by foreigners, which are usually, if not exclusively, in urban centers. Similar to Sahana Udupa’s argument about who *TOI* caters to, these readers are those whose livelihoods are centrally impacted and governed by the influx of global capital.⁵⁹ Part of India’s economic liberalization, as well as globalization more generally,

⁵⁹ Udupa, Sahana. *Making News in Global India: Media, Publics, Politics*. Cambridge University Press. 2015.

is an increase in foreigners and tourists, both of which *TOI*'s urban, educated, elite readers have a vested interest in. Moreover, as India gained international affluence and status and news media embraced digital realms an English newspaper like *The Times of India* gained a more international audience, making it preferable to report on cases involving foreigners and tourists rather than hyper-local ones. *TOI*'s readers are projected as invested in how India is understood and represented in the international sphere. Gender violence becomes a platform through which India can project its political capacity, especially in relation to global power politics. Only a certain class of Indians, particularly those *TOI* caters to, are those who are invested in how India is portrayed to an international audience.

TOI, as a publication, is not necessarily responsible for how particular cases get labeled and which identifiers they are assigned but the publication is responsible for which cases earn the most print time and are reported on with the highest frequency. Ultimately, the major categorizations of how gender violence cases are labeled and reported on reveal the target audience of *TOI*, which is an urban, upper-class, elite readership. The frequent use of sensationalism obscures victim identity through shifting geographic and name-based labeling practices. These categorizations point to larger repercussions around *TOI*'s reportage practices beyond simply reaching an upper-class, elite, urban reader. Reporting gender violence according to these practice inaccurately communicates the reality of gender violence in India, which is inextricable from the intersection of class, caste, and gender inequality. The reportage of gender violence in *TOI*, even though dispersed into multiple labeling practices creates a gap between how gender violence is understood by elite readers and the actuality that the vast majority of gender violence in India goes unreported (both by police and media) and rarely achieves similar levels of mass-mediation and public mobilization.

Changes

Thus far, the analysis of the data has focused on consistent themes within *TOI* gender violence reporting. However, there have been several changes to reporting that become clear through the inductive mixed-method analysis. The first is that gender violence reporting within *TOI* has undeniable increased since the 1970s. While the quantitative word frequency measurements reveal an increase in the usage of “rape,” there is also an undeniable increase in the level of publicity afforded to gender violence incidents. Highly publicized cases have grown from six in the 1970s to 74 (a low estimate) in the 2010s. Additionally, while the usage of the term *rape* has grown, the percentage of gender violence reportage that uses *rape* has grown amongst all words in all gender violence headlines per year, as shown in Figure A.

Secondly, *TOI*, while remaining a North India-centric newspaper, has expanded geographically. The cases that were highly publicized towards the beginning of the temporal range almost exclusively occurred in North India, particularly in or around Delhi. However, by the 1990s and beyond, *TOI* was reporting on gender violence incidents across the nation in addition to continuing to focus on the North Indian region. *TOI* has expanded branches to Bangalore, a large urban metropolis in the Southern Indian state of Karnataka, which could, in part, be responsible for the regional expansion in reporting.⁶⁰

The third change, and arguably most important for the purposes of this article is that *TOI*'s reporting of gender violence has not only always been sensational but has increased and morphed to centralize graphic and violent details alongside explicitly include caste identities within the headlines and content analysis. The total number of times the sensationalism dictionary words are used unequivocally increases across five decades. However, as shown in

⁶⁰ See Appendix D for geographic variation in cases.

Figure B, the percentage of times these words are used varies and reveals no clear pattern of increase or decrease but does reveal that these sensational words have consistently been present within *TOI* reporting. Word frequency analysis of caste-related words reveals similar results: caste-related terms are consistently present with no clear pattern of growth or decline.

As I compiled highly publicized cases, however, themes of sensational reportage became clear— not necessarily in the explicit use of terms in the sensationalism dictionary, but in the growing use of explicitly violent descriptions and emotive and affective language and details, distracting from any structural factors undergirding the violence to present victimization and the specificities of the violence as novel or exceptional. Ultimately, sensationalism remains an essential reporting tactic for *TOI* although the nature of sensationalism itself has changed over time. The section that follows provides an in-depth textual analysis of the headlines of several cases which were reported on in each decade, detailing analyses of word choice, highlighting instances of sensationalism, and considering how they have changed over time.

Tracking Sensationalism Decade by Decade: Headline Textual Analysis

During the 1970s, there were six highly publicized gender violence cases. The two with the most reportage (at six and four articles) are the Gulmarg rape case and the Delhi campus rape case, respectively, which occurred in 1973. There is little trace of explicitly sensational terms in the in the articles aside from the mention of a potential political vendetta involving the agricultural minister of Jammu and Kashmir at the time, whose son was the accused perpetrator in the Gulmarg case. The Delhi campus rape case's reports establish *TOI*'s focus on both urban cases and upper-class related crimes for a particular reader subject, especially by focusing on a college campus.

The 1980s had a total of twelve highly-publicized cases, including what is broadly considered India's first case of highly publicized gender violence, the Mathura case. While the Mathura case originally occurred in the early 1970s, it only became publicized in the early 1980s when it became a Supreme Court case. The Mathura case is often cited contemporaneously with the beginning of the women's rights movement in India as it incited wide-scale protest, particularly relating to concurrently debated legislative amendments of the Indian Penal Code (IPC). Despite the focus on legislative and juridical events, *TOI*'s headlines for this case were as informative and germane to these events as they were sensational. For example, the headline "Redefine rape in IPCS, demand women," juxtaposed with headlines such as "Sex- an instrument of oppression." The headlines pertaining to the law and court proceedings tended to be straight-forward and informative while these headlines, which make a normative claim about the oppressive nature of sex, with no qualifiers or further case details, serve no other purpose than to inspire fear and panic, particularly in a setting where gender violence related protests and women's rights discourses are especially prevalent. However, even if the goal of this particular reportage was to be informative, the word choices used still evoke affective reactions and also solidify the larger point that *TOI* reportage is catered to a particular type of upper-class audience, especially because the women's rights movements of this time period consisted almost exclusively of upper-class, upper-caste, urban women.⁶¹ Consider the following headlines concerning the 1972 Mathura Rape Case:

[Mathura Rape Case, 1972]
 "Bill soon to deal with woman-baiting"
 "Redefine rape in IPC demand women"
 "Sex- an instrument of oppression"
 "More teeth in law on criminal assault"

⁶¹ Sakhrani, Monica. "Reading Rape Post Mathura" *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*. Vol. 23, Iss: 2, page(s): 260-285 (2016).

The Mathura case has 31 articles in *TOI*, and while the Elphinstone College had the same number, it did not inspire the same level of national protest and mobilization. However, it did inspire considerable student activism. This case was reported on with the following headlines:

[Elphinstone College Rape Case, 1989]
 “Elphinstone outrage, a difficult situation,”
 “Elphinstone incident a reflection on city colleges,”
 “Moral outrage,”

The consistent use of the word *outrage*, not only in describing the Elphinstone case reflects *TOI*'s larger commitment to the use of language that garners affective reactions from readers. Similarly, the headline claiming that the incident is a reflection not only on colleges, but on colleges in urban centers, points to the role of specific journalism practices in normative, moral meaning-making, inevitably having a larger affective impact on *TOI* readers and how they view and perform their identities as urban citizens. Additionally, the same level of reportage between a higher-education-centric case and the Mathura case, which involved a Dalit girl from a rural village, indicate the importance of how education signals upper-class status and points to what *TOI* believes its readers are invested in. The upper-class centrality of *TOI* reporting, coupled with clearly sensational word choices, particularly in relation to markedly urban incidents such as the Elphinstone incident, underscores the publication's dedication to their urban, upper-class readers and commitment to curating reporting practices to them.

In the 1990s, there were 14 highly publicized cases and the maximum number of articles published about a single case more than doubled from the 1980s; 63 articles were published on the Jalgaon rape case. In 1994, Pandit Sapkale, a well-known religious figure, was accused of abducting, gangraping, and kidnapping several women. Many of the headlines used in the

reportage of this case are unapologetically sensational, and make broad affective claims about the state of society and civilization:

[Jalgaon rape case, 1994]

“Year marred by Jalgaon rapes,”

“The way we treat a rape victim is a mark of how civilized we are,”

“Sex scandal rocks Nagpur city,”

“Sex and blackmail scandal rocks Jalgaon,”

The use of word *scandal* points to the choice of the publication to define something as scandalous, signaling to its wider audience that something abhorrent and completely out-of-the-norm has occurred— otherwise understood as a moral panic. This reportage, however, neglects that coercion and exploitation of young women by an affluent and influential public figure was central to the incident, and ultimately the structural factors endemic to how this violence occurred. The reportage on this case is indicative of the larger role *TOI* has in constructing moral panics among the public, especially within headlines that make not only a moral claim but a civilizational one.

The second headline noted above highlights how the judicial process is not kind to rape victims and the court proceedings related to this case have taken an emotional toll on the victims. While this is true for any judicial process involving gender and sexual violence, the article headline makes a broader claim about the civilization of Indian society. By extension, rather than the claim, “the prevalence of rape is a mark of how civilized we are,” the article purports that it is the treatment of victims after she is made a victim is what determines Indian society’s level of civilization. Similarly, words such as *mar* and *rock(s)* reflect the resounding and anxiety-inducing impact *TOI* has deemed this case to have within the Indian public sphere. These language choices demonstrate *TOI*’s dedication to making sensational reportage choices which

may contribute to public affective reactions towards gender violence and rape as shocking and incidental, not as structural and systemic issues. The issue is then not about the fact that a rape occurred, but how social and public spheres respond and understand gender violence in India. Those who read these headlines may ultimately become more concerned with the civilizational depictions and meanings of Indian society rather than focusing on the discrete and acute practices and traditions that enable not only widespread violence, but the mechanisms of abuse and power, coercion, and exploitation central to the Jalgaon rape case. *TOI*'s reportage ultimately frames these incidents in a way that invites these particular stances or understandings of the actualities of gender violence.

There are 30 highly publicized cases in the 2000s, marking several shifts in sensational reportage. Rather than simply the use of terms such as *outrage*, or *scandal*, which continued to occur, *TOI* reporting shifts towards focusing on explicit violent details of cases as well as using pithy, undeniably affective headlines meant to catch the reader's eye. The reportage in this decade, in addition to increasingly affective language, marks a shift from a more third-person objective reportage style to direct quotes presented in the first-person perspective and novelistic headlines. This transition, particularly grounding reportage discourse in the first-person makes the narratives presented more vivid. As the headlines begin to read more like television shows and movie titles, with a clearer intent to reel the reader in, this shift has the effect of making the headlines even more sensational than previous decades.

[Mattoo Rape and Murder Case, 1996-2006]

"A generation awakens,"

"A modicum of justice,"

"Nailing Mattoo's killer,"

"Strike one for justice,"

"Who gives a damn about the law,"

[Sahar Rape Case, 2006]

“I am shocked and anguished,”

“Intoxicated by power and alcohol,”

[Goregaon Cancer Patient Case, 2007]

“Raped cancer patient delivers stillborn baby,”

[Orissa Nun rape Case, 2008]

“Two men stood on my hands, the third raped me,”

“God will punish the sinners,”

“Hindu saved me from gangrape,”

[South African Model Rape Case, 2008]

“She came to start a new life,”

“Model’s trauma,”

“Lust and envy in the city, “

“Crying shame – city tops state rape list,”

[Scarlett Keeling Rape Case, 2008]

“The Tragedy of Goa,”

“Scarlett’s Tragedy,”

The Priyadarshini Mattoo case, discussed in the previous section, first appeared in reportage in 1996 and reappeared following the court proceeding and death sentence of the perpetrator, Santosh Kumar Singh, in 2006. There was consistent reportage of the case in the beginning of 1996 but the subsequent headlines during the trial and sentencing became increasingly sensational. The selection of headlines from this case point to a larger pattern of affective reporting as well as moral claim-making, insinuating that justice had been denied and was finally served, rather than attempt to present the court proceedings objectively. The Sahar rape case and Goregaon Cancer Patient case, although not publicized to the same level as other cases, are reporting with headlines following similar moral claims as well as word usage meant to evoke an emotional reaction.

The Sahar rape case involved a police officer accused of rape and the headline, “I am shocked and anguished,” is supposedly a direct quote from the victim, although no other

information about her is provided in any of the articles. Instead, the next headline for this case, “Intoxicated by power and alcohol,” focuses on the prevalence of alcoholism in the police force, rather than a wider imbalanced power structure that facilitates powerful men taking advantage of women on the margin. Additionally, of all cases compiled during this decade, six of them involve the police as either the highly criticized investigators or perpetrators themselves. Regarding the Goregaon Cancer Patient case, similarly very little information is provided about the victim, yet the personal information that she delivered a stillborn child, is considered headline worthy information rather than any other factors in the case that played a central role in her victimization such as her medical condition or her caste or class status which remain unknown to the reader.

In tracing the theme of affective reportage, violence, and word-use, the Orissa nun-rape case is a clear example: a minority woman, a Christian, is clearly the victim and incredibly explicit detail is used to describe the violence, particularly in the headline: “Two men stood on my hands, the third raped me.” Prior to this decade, this level of detail and violence as well as the first-person vantage point had not been used to describe any case of gender violence and it is striking that it is employed in a case explicitly involving a religious minority. The other two headlines selected for this case also point to the role religion, particularly the Christian identity of the victim, played in the sensational and affective reportage of this case.

The Scarlett Keeling rape case is consistently called a “tragedy,” as she was a minor from Britain, who was raped and murdered in a popular tourist destination in Goa and *TOI* may not have wanted to taint Goa’s reputation as a tourist destination, especially with *TOI*’s increasingly international audience during this decade. The reportage of the South African Model Rape case similarly employs affective and emotive language through painting an idealistic picture of the

victim's outlook before she was the victim of violence and how she has now been deflated by trauma. The headline, "Crying shame..." is reminiscent of patterns of sensationalism shown in previous decades and demonstrative of the continuation of sensational reporting practices alongside the use of new ones, particularly explicitly affective, and emotive language, and details of violent and personal information in headlines.

Between 2010 and 2020, there were 74 highly publicized cases. A major change in reportage during this decade was a shift towards focusing on violent incidents involving prominent figures. 16 of the cases compiled centrally involve a high-profile male perpetrator (or accused perpetrator), including actors, politicians, and religious figures. Additionally, the reportage of gender violence cases in the last eleven years of this study are consistent with the larger trends of sensationalism, affective and emotive reporting, novelistic headlines, and transitioning to first-person narratives demonstrated via each decade. These tactics are clear in these headlines and case compilations:

[Bulandshahr Rape Case, 2016]

"Bulandshahr gang rape accused brought to court crying, pleading innocence,"

"Bulandshahr gangrape: She shouted 'Papa!' when NH gang assaulted her, father says,"

"Bulandshahr gang rape horror: Who'll foot the bill to light up our highways?"

[Hathras Rape Case, 2020]

"Kangana Ranaut reacts to Hathras gang-rape victim's demise: Shame on us we failed our daughters,"

"Abhishek Bachchan condemns Hathras gang-rape, says he is 'beyond disgusted',"

"Anupama Parameswaran says #CastrationForRape, reacting to Hathras gang rape incident,"

"Hathras horror: Hundreds protest at Jantar Mantar,"

"Bolly Buzz: [...] Bollywood celebs demand justice for Hathras gang-rape victim,"

The reportage of the Bulandshahr gang rape case, a case in which a woman and her daughter were gangraped on a highway near Noida, is emblematic of larger trends of sensationalism seen in the previous decade of reporting with the use of words like "*horror*"

which have been seen in previous decades. The headline, “She shouted ‘Papa!’ [...]” is particularly indicative of a continuation of the kind of affective and emotive reporting and novelistic headlines meant to draw the reader in. The headlines for this case overall are clearly sensational, using first-person perspective, specific descriptors of both the victims and the perpetrators, describing them as crying, pleading their innocence, and the victim calling out to her father, conjuring specific images in the reader’s head as well as intense affective reactions, of pity, empathy, disgust, etc. Finally, the headlines detailing a call to light up highways and the trending hashtag, #*LawlessUP*, while pointing to how structural issues may have played a role in the incidence of violence, can also be seen as inciting panic and doubt in infrastructure, the law, law enforcers, and the state. People reading this headline may then focus on the issue being lack of law enforcement or poor infrastructure rather than the larger issue, which is structural dimensions of inequality and power which render women vulnerable to violence.

Finally, the Hathras district rape case, which occurred in September 2020, during the COVID-19 pandemic, formed the basis for widespread mass protests. There are 103 articles reporting on this case and had this study extended to include reportage from early 2021, there would likely be many more. The case involved a 19-year old Dalit girl from a village in Hathras who was gang-raped by four upper-caste men from the same village. After she was turned away and abused by the police, local politicians, and media, she was finally admitted to the hospital where, after several days, she subsequently died. Her body was then cremated by the Uttar Pradesh police force in the middle of the night, without the consent or knowledge of her family.

First, the headlines of this case reflect the larger pattern of sensational and affective word choices and reporting, demonstrated in the use of the word *horror*, as previously shown. Second, other than the 2012 Delhi gang-rape, (which was mostly reporting on in 2013 because the

incident occurred in December 2012), only the Hathras district rape case's reportage highlighted reactions from celebrities. The condemnation of the violence by Abishek Bachchan, a famous actor, alongside the quote that he is "beyond disgusted," is clearly a priority for *TOI*'s reportage of this incident, signaling that who they view as their audience, ultimately an urban, upper-class one, would find his perspective on the violence important. Additionally, including the opinions of those who have nothing to do with the victim or perpetrators in the case serves to increase the interest and attention to the story as well as the attention on Bachchan as a celebrity, who then has more reasons and ways to be relevant and part of public media discourse. Furthermore, new forms of sensationalism, as well as the focus on high-profile figures' reactions can be gleaned from Anupama Parameswaran, an actress, who tweeted the hashtag, "*#CastrationforRape*." The focus on both an actress' perspective, as well as her message advocating for a particularly violent punitive action in the headline, is demonstrative of the trajectory of gender violence sensationalism within *TOI* reporting, alongside their construction of urban, upper-class ideologies of their targeted reader-subjects.

The headline detailing the reaction of Kangana Ranaut, an Indian actress, filmmaker, and central figure of the Indian *#MeToo* movement uses language that points to a collective shame at the failure to protect "our" daughters. These motifs are particularly important juxtaposed to the caste identity of the Hathras victim, who was a Dalit woman, and the perpetrators of the crime were four upper-caste men from the same village. While the affective language used in the reporting creates a collective responsibility around "our," or India's women, it also underscores how low-caste women have been simultaneously incorporated into and marginalized from the social fold. Through these reporting practices of representation, language, and affect, there is a simultaneously recognition and affective representation of gender violence as an issue of national

or collective responsibility, as well as a refusal to acknowledge the pervasive issue of caste inequality in the incidence and onset of this violence, demonstrated in the absence of the victim's (or the perpetrators') caste identities in any of the headlines.

The continuation of these sensational reportage practices coupled with an unapologetic style of infotainment ultimately indicate the direction in which *TOI*'s reporting is evolving—toward more sensational and affective reporting geared towards urban and upper-class readers. Additionally, the discourse of famous actors becomes important for *TOI* to include in its reportage of different violence incidents, particularly those that have been deemed particularly violent or abhorrent. This practice is representative of *TOI*'s explicit turn to infotainment, where the words and reactions of popular figures are important to represent as news in itself. *TOI* presents articles that focus more on these prominent figures than quotidian gender violence incidents, which, of course, are far more prevalent in reality. Ultimately, this practice underscores *TOI*'s prioritization of a specific type of reader— an urban, upper-class one— which is more invested in high-profile or particularly gruesome cases of gender violence and the reactions of high-profile figures than everyday incidents of violence which are still reported on but not to a remotely comparable extent or manner.

The textual analysis of specific cases from each decade reveals patterns of sensationalism and how they have changed over the time frame of this analysis. Academic literature has clearly established *TOI*'s reporting style as sensational and as infotainment. However, popular understandings of *TOI*'s reportage, such as in Encyclopedia Britannica, claims the paper is known for its “insistence on accuracy, its avoidance of sensationalism, its serious tone, and its coverage of international news [which] enhanced its prestige in India, where over the years it

became known as an intellectual newspaper.”⁶² The quantitative analysis of sensational words, while not all-encompassing, reveals inconclusive results regarding the increase of sensationalism, but does ultimately indicate that sensational words have been a consistent practice since 1970. The textual analysis of these cases, many of them the most highly publicized in their respective decades, reveals not only the consistent use of sensational words such as *outrage* and *horror* but also reveals changes in the modes of sensationalism. Particularly increased use of explicit details of the case, affective and emotive language regarding victims and perpetrators, as well as a larger turn towards infotainment by using catchy headlines and popular figures primarily meant to present news as relevant to a particularly classed audience.

Sensationalism is ultimately historically contingent upon the context in which reportage is happening and responding to. From the vantage point of this study, it is impossible to determine whether readers found *TOI*'s reportage in the 1970s to be sensational or whether readers deemed the reportage practices objective and appropriate for the issue of gender violence. However, contemporarily, *TOI*'s reportage is undeniably sensational, necessitating an understanding of how reportage has changed and shifted into its current iteration. Tracing the current modes of gender violence reportage back to the very first cases of highly publicized gender violence, while the reportage style may not have been considered sensational at that time, still provide the foundation upon which contemporary sensational reportage as emerged and evolved and has consequences for understanding gender violence in tandem with caste and class.

***The Times of India* and Constructing Class and Caste Ideologies**

⁶² “The Times of India,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Times-of-India>

Considering these various patterns of *TOI*'s gender violence reportage, I argue three main claims. The first is that not only does *TOI*'s reportage cater to an urban, upper-class reader, by doing so, it simultaneously constructs this elite category, the ideologies it consists of, and the nature of gender violence discourse in urban India. By consistently signaling the education status of victims, specific upper-class and urbanized centers, and prominent, popular figures in the style of infotainment, the *TOI* reader subject becomes intertwined with an upper-class narrative and identity that signals the status of the newspaper as much as those who read it. By catering to an ultimately constructing this particular audience, *TOI* shapes the class and caste identities of their readers as much as their identities shape *TOI*'s political positionality and subsequent reportage practices. *TOI* has a vested interest in creating and disseminating news in this way, historically having been an urban-centric elite newspaper which prioritizes maintaining readership numbers by continually reinforcing its relationship with its readers through instantiating the particular kind of public it caters to.

Secondly, upper-class ideologies include many dimensions including cosmopolitanism and professional and educational status as demonstrated through several cases, but importantly, centralizes an implicitly *upper-caste* identity and ideology. The construction of an upper-class reader-subject through the texture of reportage becomes synonymous with an upper-caste reader-subject, achieving what *TOI* cannot acknowledge in its own reportage: the mutual impact of class and caste in gender violence. Here, what is elided as central to gender violence is enacted in its reportage, further contributing to the elision of caste privilege itself within public discourse. *TOI*'s reporting presents some cases and victims as separated from caste, their upper-class identities allowing them the potential to be casteless. Simultaneously, reporting involving lower-

caste victims are unable to be casteless, and furthermore, are rarely portrayed beyond their caste identities.

Finally, the conflation of caste and class in the presentation of news to a constructed audience has repercussions not only for the caste identities of the victims but for understanding and addressing gender violence in India more generally. *TOI*'s fixation on an upper-class and caste reader-subject exacerbates divides of class and caste through the ideologies of readers and detracts from the intersectional and multi-dimensional realities that underpin the prevalence of gender violence (as activists of various stripes have tried to bring public consciousness, not always successfully, perhaps given the dominance of outlets like *TOI* which elide such intersectionalities). The use of sensationalism in *TOI*'s reportage is not necessarily erasing intersectionality. However, its continual portrayal of gender violence as sensational, particularly when caste identities are central to its incidence, serves to exceptionalize the violence rather than underscore the long-standing institutional, structural, and systemic factors at the core of its endurance. Sensationalism, therefore, becomes a vehicle to further stratify class and caste inequality in India by not only representing gender violence in a way that forms the identities of the urban, elite public, but also prohibits the larger understanding within the public sphere that gender violence is inseparable from class and caste inequality working in tandem. The motifs of outrage consistently at the center of the mass-mediation of gender violence in India serve to exceptionalize the violence rather than point out how social structures and systems of power converge at the occurrence of caste-based gender violence.

Ultimately, media such as *TOI* benefit from operating within and bolstering caste and class supremacy, particularly as these identities are now centralized within the regime of Hindu nationalism and supremacy in contemporary politics. News media in India is a sphere with

influential political positionalities and clear interests in politics and public discourses that may not be able or willing to unequivocally call out the structures that uphold caste and Hindu supremacy as well as class inequality that have and continue to undergird gender violence in India. It is ultimately in the interest of news media in India, especially under harsh conditions of government media suppression and censorship, to work within a system that engenders caste-based gender violence and report the violence as sensational and an exceptional moral aberration rather than gesture to a much larger nexus of power that may unravel what statehood, nationalism, and citizenship, and even humanity mean and are built on. The consequences of this, however, lead to the continual portrayal of gender violence as separate from the systems of power that uphold the mechanisms of victimization with impunity and is detrimental to combatting the sustenance and roots of violence, which also uphold the structure of news media like *TOI* itself.

Conclusion

This study argues that *TOI*'s reportage tactics are emblematic of their upper-class urban readership, the increasingly competitive media-market, and pervasive culture of market-based journalism. These have, in turn, led to progressively sensational reportage practices of violence involving caste and gender, which is further revelatory of *TOI*'s target readership and selective and entertainment-centric representations of gender violence. Sensationalism not only obscures the intersectional realities of gender violence in India, but also serves to represent gender violence as novel and exceptional rather than an issue that goes vastly unreported where minoritized women are primarily victimized and with impunity. *TOI*'s reportage flattens identities along multiple dimensions, prioritizes upper-classes and castes and ultimately points to

news media's unwillingness or inability to present gender violence as underpinned by structures of inequality.

TOI's reporting practices, over time, and contemporarily, instantiate a particular kind of upper-class and upper-caste urban public and reader-subject. This construction of specific publics based on caste and class identity only strengthen social inequality in India. This contributes to a particular upper-class and urban sensibility that gender violence occurs as it is represented in mass media, as a novel moral aberration rather than an issue that has always been intertwined with social inequality and the operation of gender, class, and caste inequality in India. Representational politics, particularly the political positionality of news media, have significant implications which reverberate beyond the construction of ideology and public sensibilities into material consequences. *TOI's* reportage practices parallel the top-down ideologies of Savarna, or upper-caste feminism which lends to upper-class centric, symptomatic, and incidental treatments of gender violence.

From these conclusions, there are several points of departure for further study and theoretical interventions. The first is that this study has clearly focused on the relationship between caste and class inequalities in India without focusing on other religious minority groups, particularly Muslims. Muslims in India have often been targets of violence in the name of Hindutva or Hindu supremacy as well as marginalization across and well beyond the time frame of this study. Additionally, in evoking intersectionality, as is a priority of this article, Muslim and Christian women in India are likely to experience violence not only on the basis of their religious identity, but their gender, and class identities as well. Further studies should examine newspaper representation practices of violence against Muslim women, particularly attune to the Hindu-

supremacist agenda of many news publications, especially in the current political context of Hindutva and BJP administration.

Beyond focusing on other minoritized women in India, this study could benefit from a cross-comparative analysis between English and Indian-language newspapers as well as between other English-language Indian dailies such as *The Hindu*. A comparison between national or major newspapers with regional or local-level papers meant to cater to more idiosyncratic audiences could also reveal different patterns in gender violence reporting, that may support, further contextualize, or challenge the findings of this study but nonetheless contributing to the lacking scholarship at the intersection of gender violence and the Indian mediascape.

Importantly, further comparative media research could serve to further substantiate the use of sensationalism in gender violence reportage, either as a practice exclusively utilized by *TOI* or a common method across many newspapers, despite the audiences and publics they may center reportage around. Additionally, the analytical emphasis on sensationalism and gender violence in this study would benefit from an application to other countries and media-markets, including global media. The impact of the mass-mediation of violence, as evidenced by this thesis, is resounding and bound up in the construction and instantiation of public spheres, their sensibilities, and capacity of mobilization, ultimately impacting the level and type of potential institutional reform. Media and violence, particularly as it relates to intersectional inequalities is a fruitful arena to understanding the roots of inequality but how they are sustained and shaped into violence.

The appendix is split into four sections. Appendix A and B contain abbreviations, definitions, timeline of major historical events and legislation. Appendix C has all figures from quantitative analysis and Appendix D contains the maximum, minimum, average, and mode for the number of articles published for highly publicized cases and each decade and an overview of each case over the 51-year time span.

Appendix A - Abbreviations and Definitions

AIDWA – All India Democratic Women’s Association
 AIIMS – All India Institute of Medical Science
 SC – Supreme Court
 CBI – Central Bureau of Investigation
 IPC – Indian Penal Code
 IPS – Indian Police Service (top branch in Indian police hierarchy)
 Morcha – protest, often hostile, against the government
 Gherao – political protest during which no one is let in or out of a building
 Dacoity – burglary, bandits
 RI - Rigorous Imprisonment
 NHRC – National Human Rights Commission of India
 POCSO – Protection of Children from Sexual Offences
 HC – High Court
 SIT – Special Investigation Teams
 FIR – First Investigation Report

Appendix B - Timeline of Major Historical Events and Legislation, 1970-2020

Year	Violent Incidents	Legal Reform	Political Movements	General Historical Events	Popular Culture
1970			Women’s movement in India concerns nationalist imaginations		
1971			UN urges India to form a Committee on the Status of Women		
1971/72				Pakistan/Bangladesh conflict	

Year	Violent Incidents	Legal Reform	Political Movements	General Historical Events	Popular Culture
1972	Mathura rape case garners national protest (doesn't appear in the TOI until early 1980s)				
1975			Height of Dalit Panther movement (founded 1972)		
1975				Emergency period begins	
1977				Emergency period ends, Indira Gandhi voted out of office, increased print freedom	
1979				Mandal Commission	
1981	Behmai Massacre, Phoolan Devi a Dalit women, outlaw and eventual politician leads a massacre in a village where she was gang-raped.				

Year	Violent Incidents	Legal Reform	Political Movements	General Historical Events	Popular Culture
1983		SC Mathura case indirectly (directly) leads to major amendments in the Indian Penal Code (498a and 304B)			
1984		Family Courts Act			
1986		Three major pieces of legislation passed in relation to GV including earlier amendments to the IPC (Indecent representation of women prohibition act), Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, Sections 376 (A, B, C, D,) to the Indian Penal Code)			
1986		Child and Adolescent Labour (Prohibition and regulation) act			
1989		SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989 (Amendments in 1995, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2018)			
1990		National Commission for Women Act			
1991				Liberalization of India's	

Year	Violent Incidents	Legal Reform	Political Movements	General Historical Events	Popular Culture
				Economy	
1992			Babri Masjid mosque conflict in Ayodhya leads to widespread communal violence		
1994		Prohibition of Sex Selection Act, makes illegal gender-sex selection prior to birth			
1995				Internet becomes publicly available in India	
1996			BJP gains majority in Lok Sabha		
1997		Vishaka Guidelines (sexual harassment in the workplace, indirectly from Bhanwari Devi case)			
2002		86th Amendment proposed - education is a natural right for all citizens/children			
2003		Goa Children's Act			
2004			Indian National Congress electoral victory- Manmohan Singh becomes PM		
2005		Protection of Women from Domestic Violence			

Year	Violent Incidents	Legal Reform	Political Movements	General Historical Events	Popular Culture
		Act			
2007				Pratibha Patil becomes India's first female president	
2009		Stemming from 86th Amendment- all 6-14 year old children will be granted free and compulsory education (2014 ruled this is not applicable to minority institutions)			
2010		SC ruling on Babri Masjid			
2012		Protection of Children from Sexual Offenses Act			
2012/13	Nirbhaya case (Delhi gang rape)				
2013			Beginning of the Dalit Lives Matter movement		
2013		POSH Act (Protection of women from sexual harassment) - amendment to Vishaka Guidelines			

Year	Violent Incidents	Legal Reform	Political Movements	General Historical Events	Popular Culture
2013		Verma Committee Established in response to Delhi gang rape- government committee to prosecute rape cases			
2013		Implementation of the Fast-Track judicial system (cases can be closed in as little as 7 days)			
2014		Criminal Law Amendment Act, Indian Evidence Act, Code of Criminal Procedure Act (Nirbhaya Act)			
2014					Gulabi Gang (film) released, about a vigilante group of rape survivors in the Banda district, UP
2014				Delhi bans Uber	
2014			Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)'s landslide victory		

Year	Violent Incidents	Legal Reform	Political Movements	General Historical Events	Popular Culture
2014		NALSA v. Union of India- recognition of transgender as a third gender			
2017			Northern India Riots in Panchkula, relating to the Sikh Organization, Dera Sacha Sauda, after the leader Gurmeet Ram Rahim Singh was convicted of rape.		
2018					Padmaavat (film) released, garners controversy over the issue of Sati.
2018		NDSO (national database) created for offenders			
2018			Beginning of the #MeToo Movement		
2019		Triple Tilaq Bill, criminalizes triple tilaq through which a woman can be removed from the house or any financial assets when her husband says 'Tilaq' three times			

Year	Violent Incidents	Legal Reform	Political Movements	General Historical Events	Popular Culture
2019		Disha Act (Shakti Bill), Andhra Pradesh bill awarding death sentence for rape following the Hyderabad/Priyanka Reddy rape case			
2019			BJP reinforces landslide victory		

Appendix C - Quantitative and Text Mining Analyses

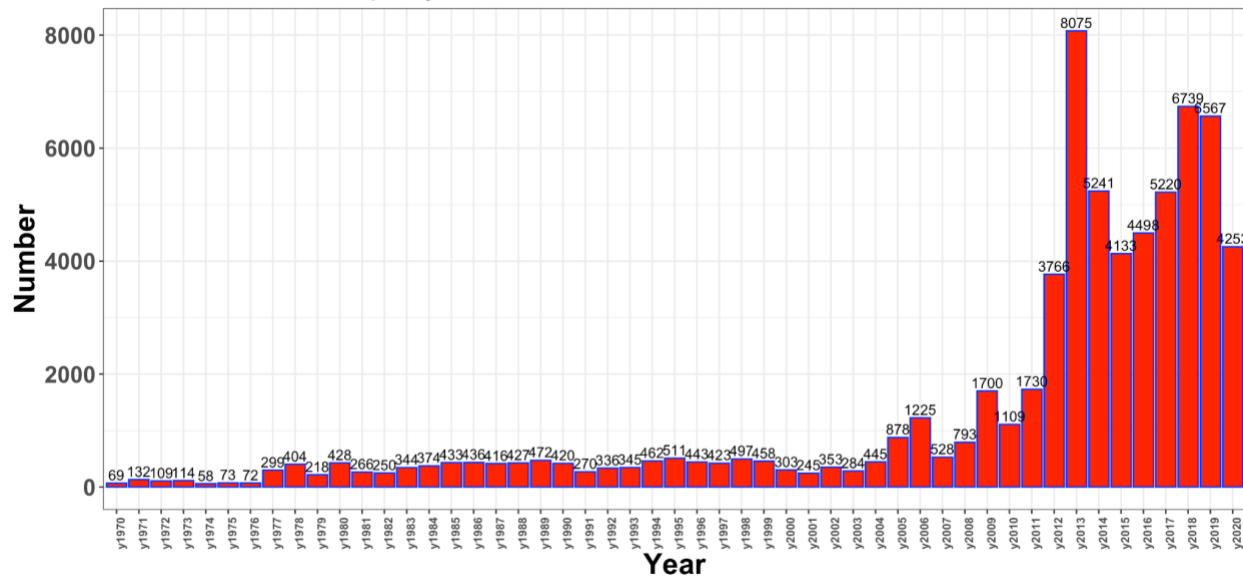


Figure 1: Number of articles published per year containing the word “rape.” *

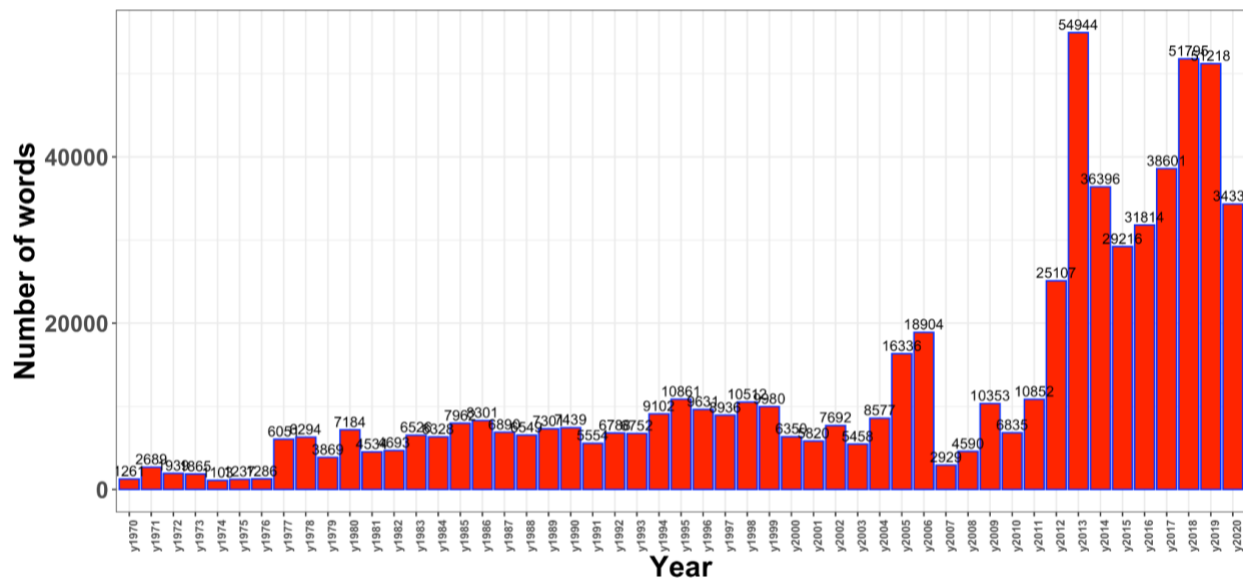


Figure 2: Number of words in all published articles per year *

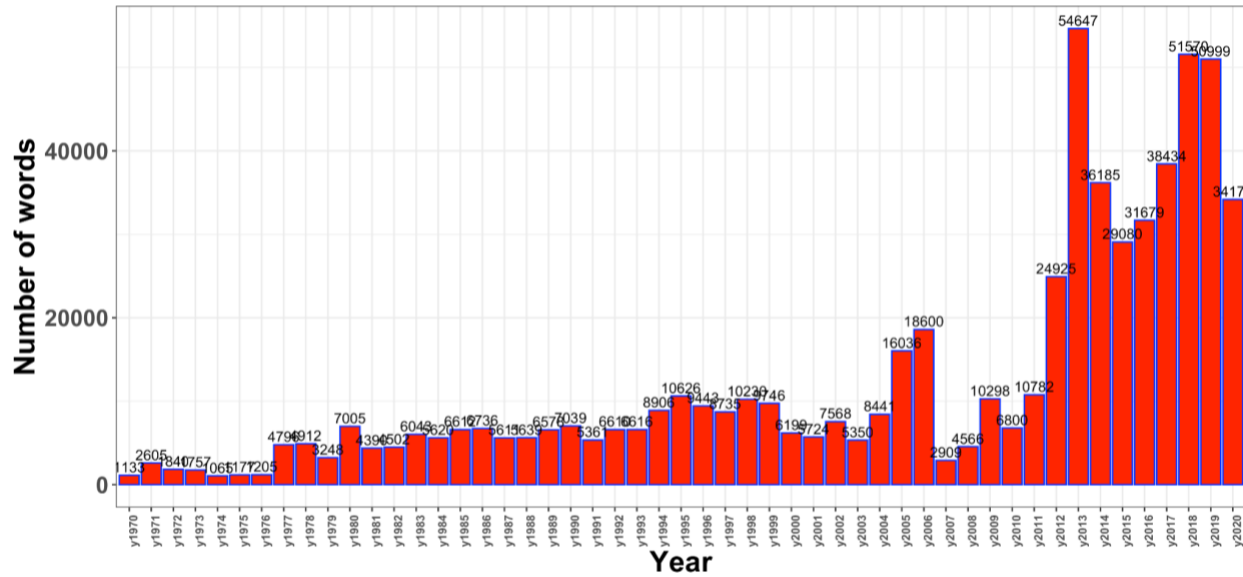


Figure 3: Number of words in all headlines per year excluding stop-words related to rapeseed oil and common words such as “and” “with” “to,” etc. *

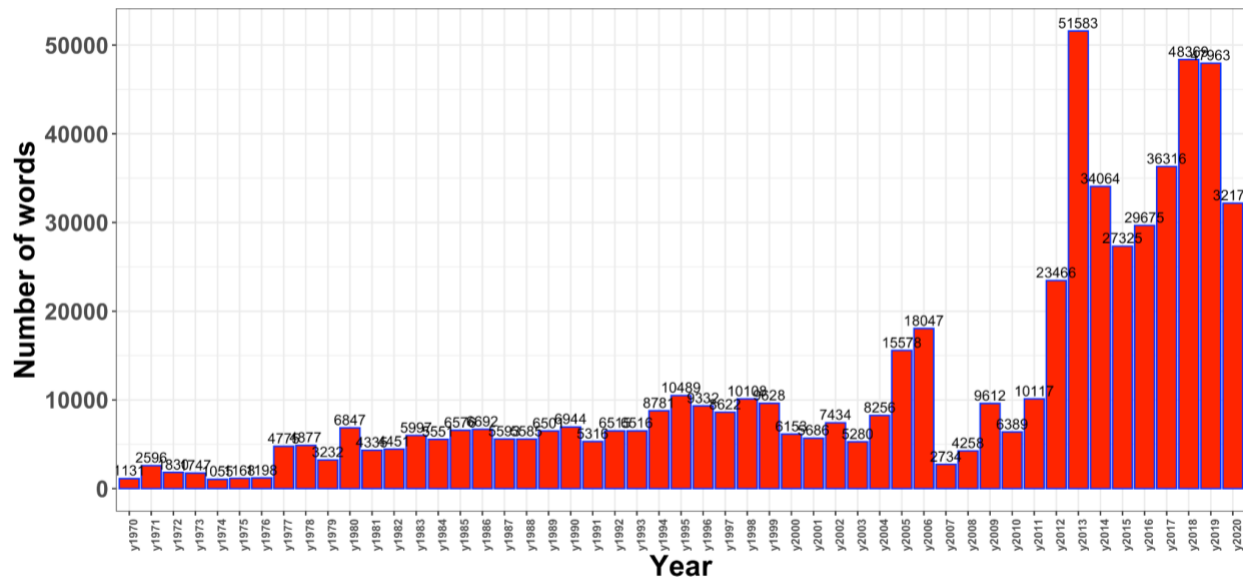


Figure 4: Number of words in all headlines per year excluding “rape,” “raped,” and “raping.” *

*Note the spike in 2013, due to the Delhi gang rape case which occurred in December 2012 and resulted in the majority of relevant articles published in 2013.

Word Frequencies

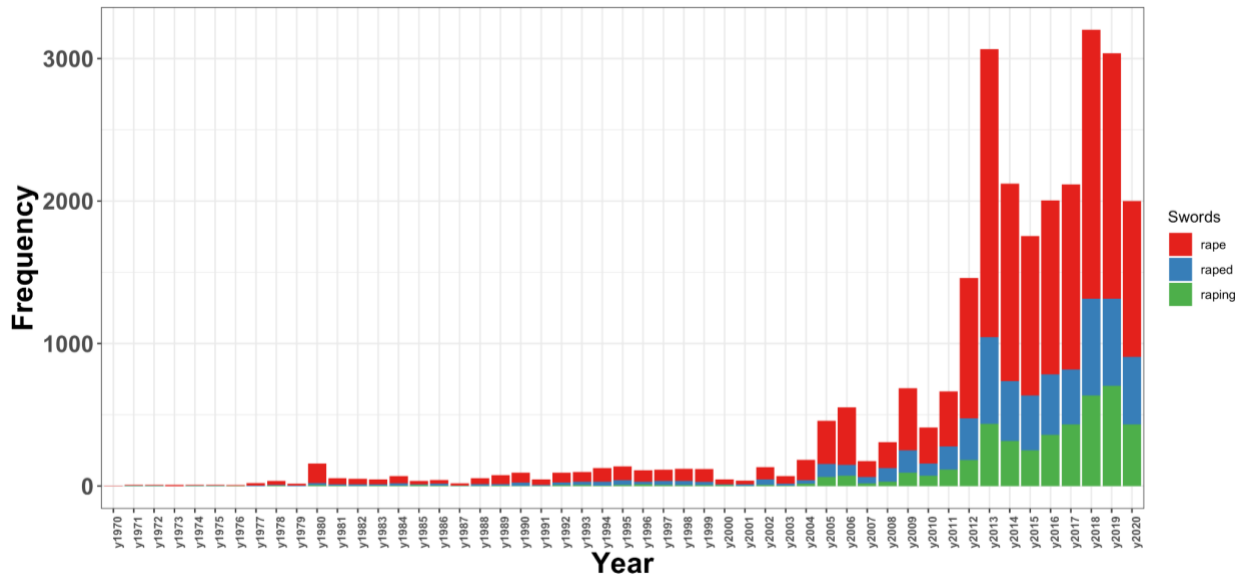


Figure 5: Numeric word frequency of “rape,” “raped,” “raping.”

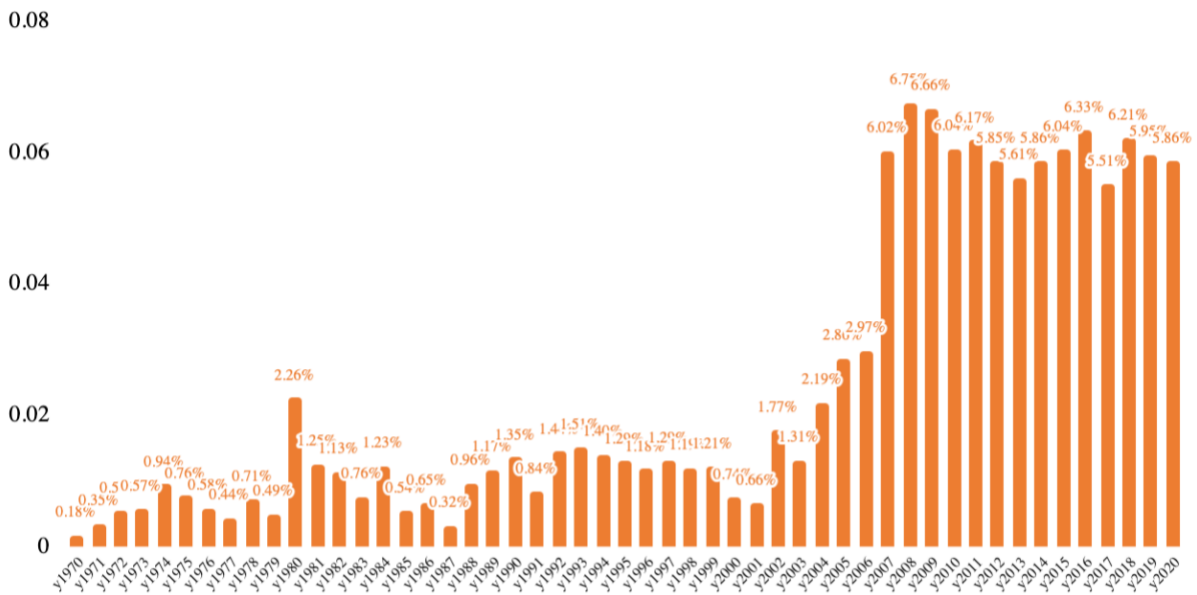


Figure 6: Percentage frequency of “rape,” “raped,” and “raping,” calculated with the total number of words in all articles per year.

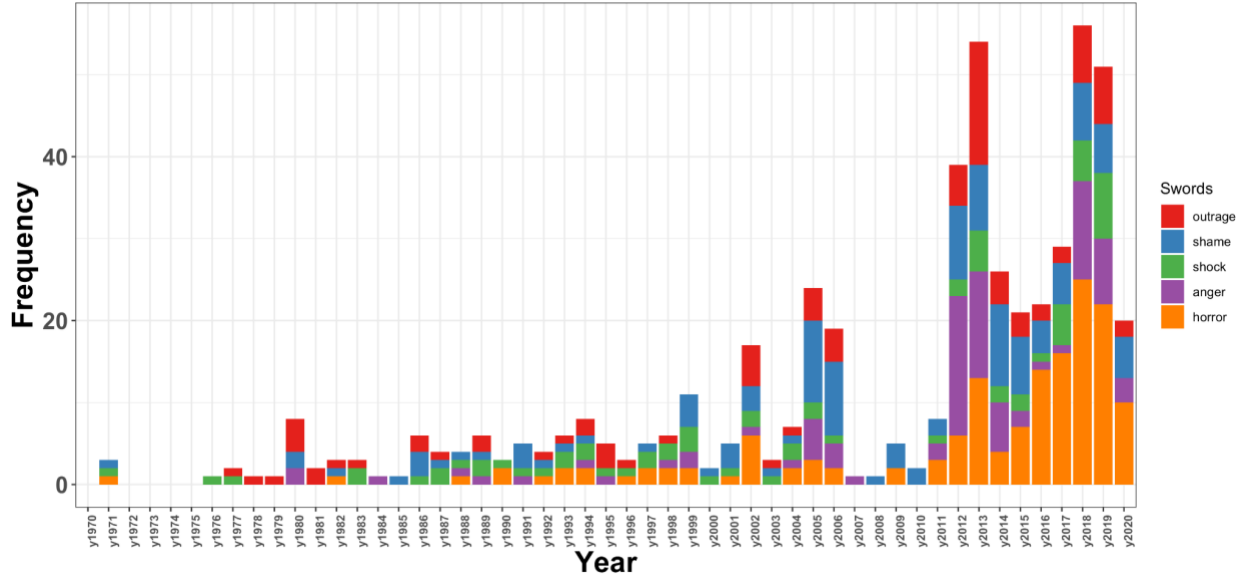


Figure 7: Numeric word frequency of the sensationalism dictionary (“shame,” “outrage,” “shock,” and “anger,” and “horror”)

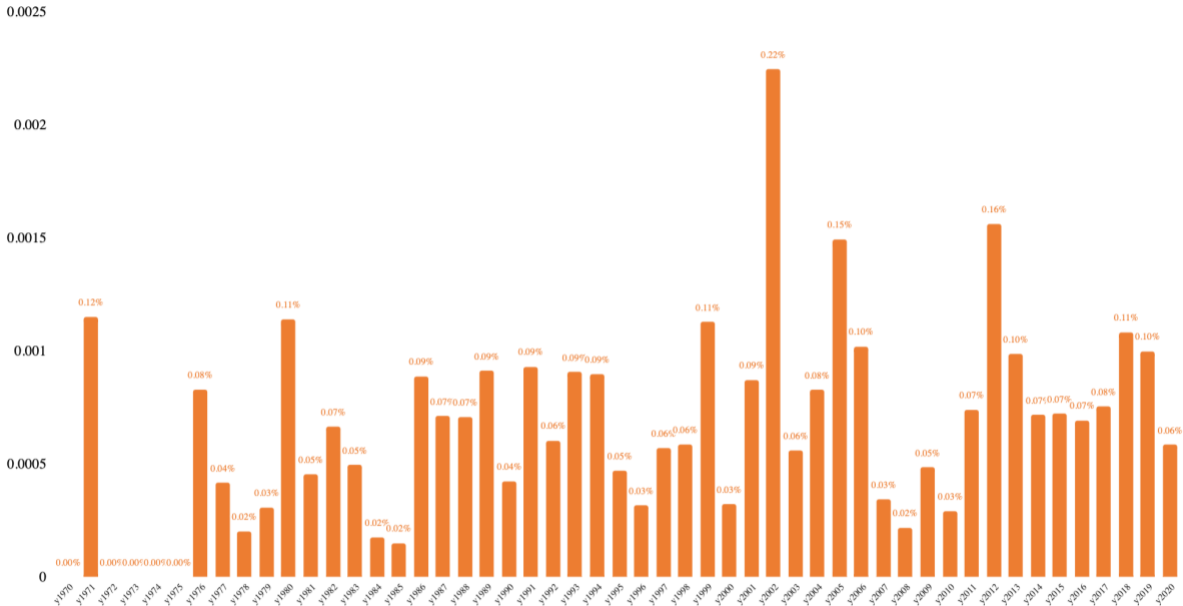


Figure 8: Percentage frequency of sensationalism dictionary (“shame,” “outrage,” “shock,” and “anger,” and “horror”) calculated with the total number of words in all articles per year.

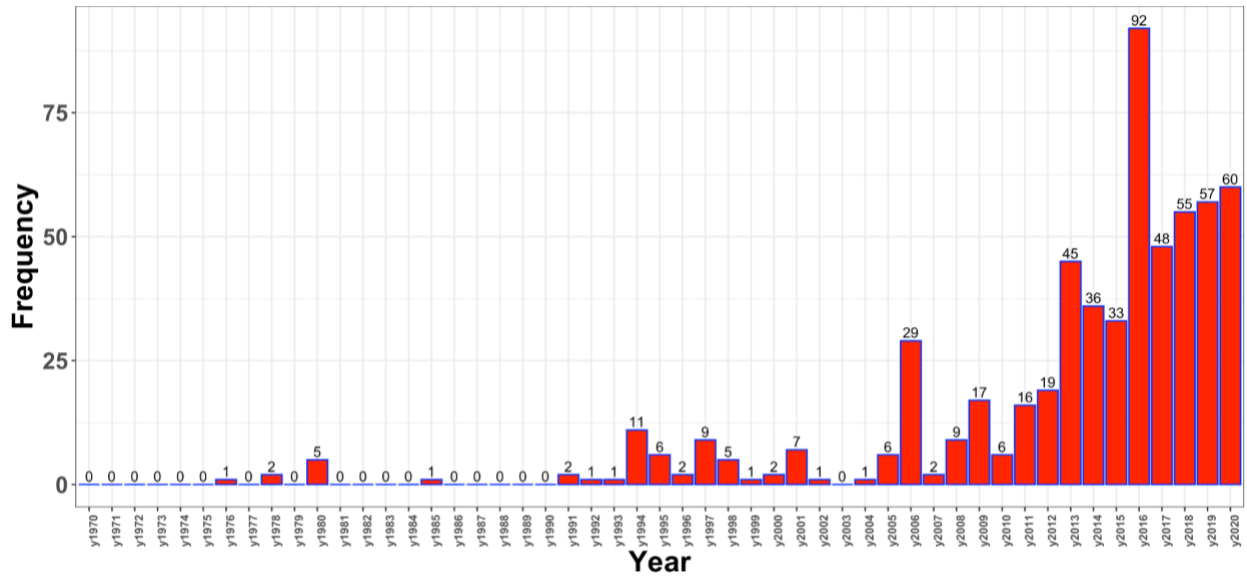


Figure 9: Numeric word frequency per year of “dalit.”

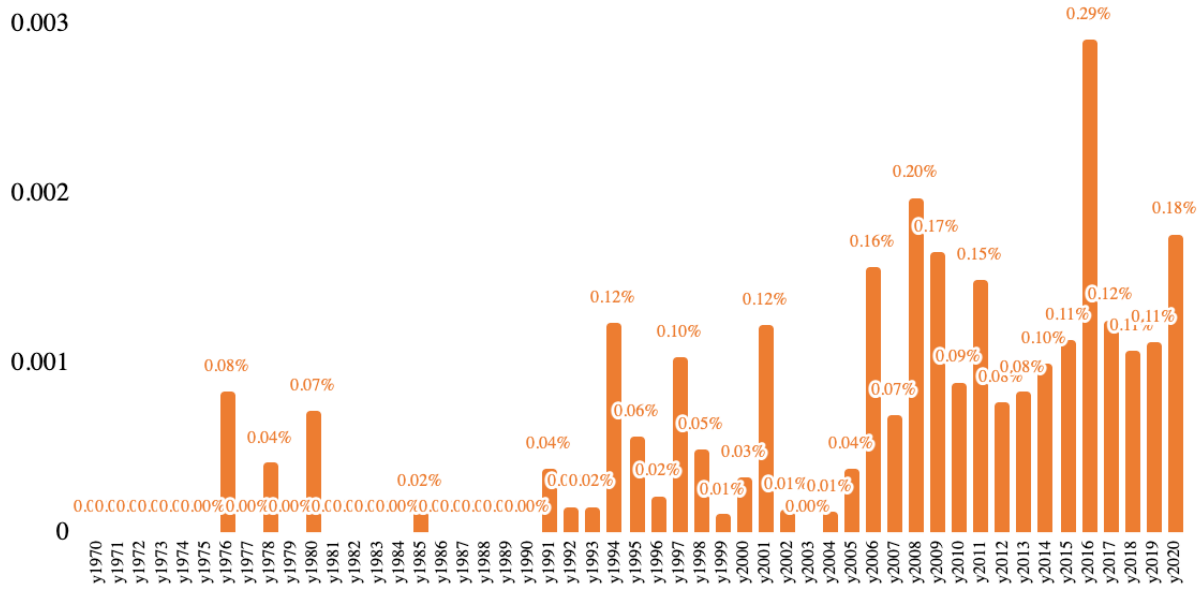


Figure 10: Percentage frequency of “dalit.”

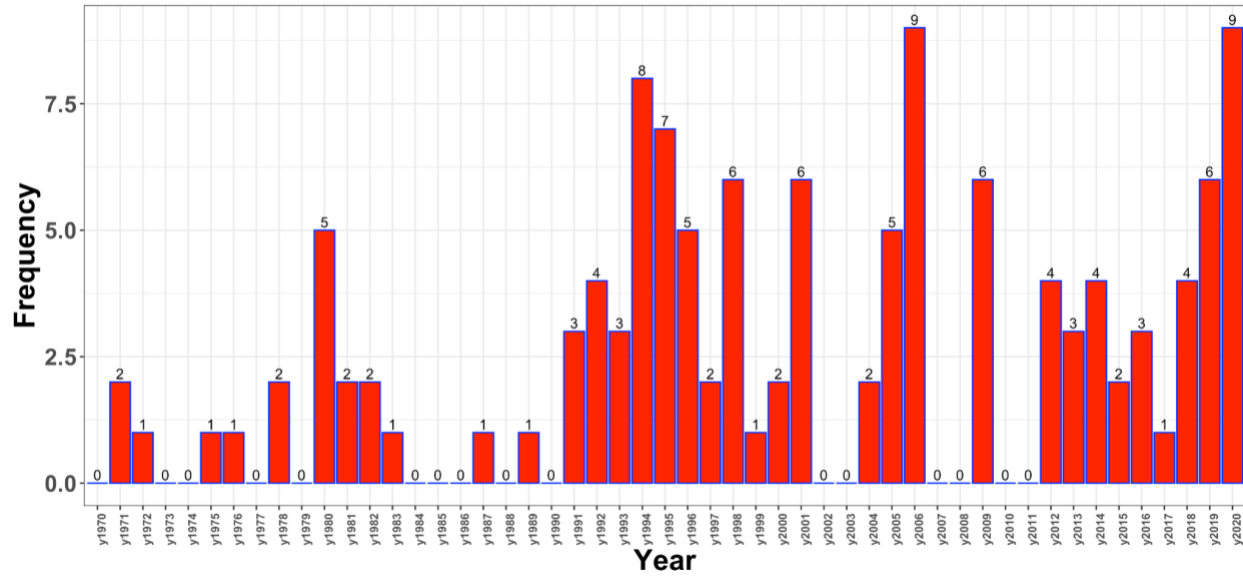


Figure 11: Numeric word frequency per year of “caste.”

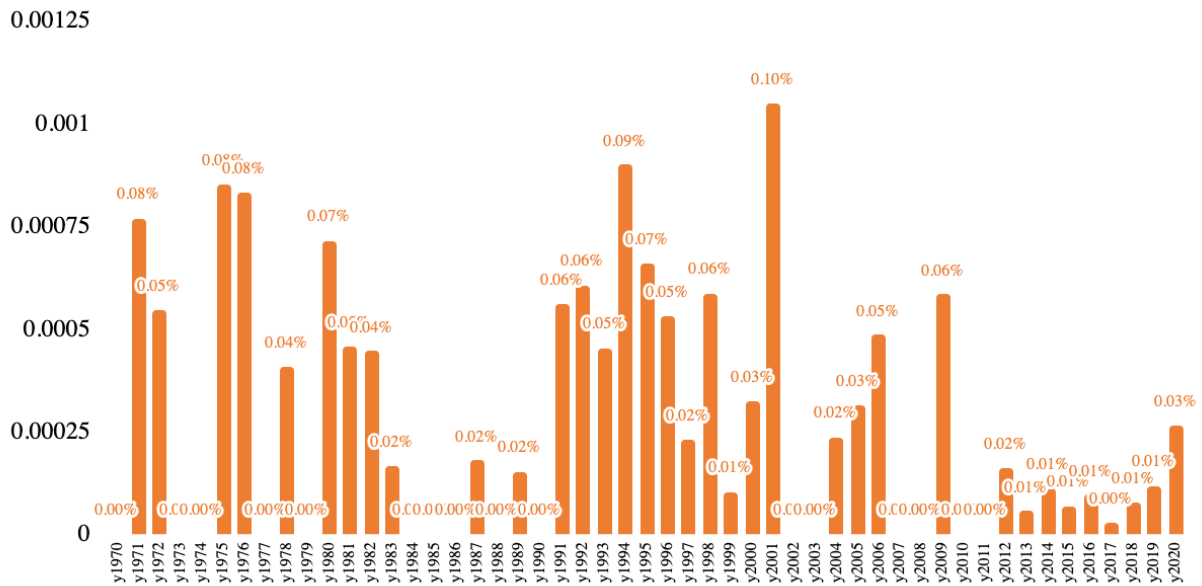


Figure 10: Percentage frequency of “caste.”

Figure 11: Most frequent word per year**

year	Top word	Number of times
y1970	bombay	10
y1971	bangla	37
y1972	bangladesh	16
y1973	today	19
y1974	minister	10
y1975	today	9
y1976	bombay	11
y1977	bombay	109
y1978	bombay	135
y1979	today	62
y1980	rape	136
y1981	rape	43
y1982	rape	40
y1983	bombay	42
y1984	bombay	69
y1985	bombay	123
y1986	bombay	139
y1987	bombay	91
y1988	today	65
y1989	today	67
y1990	rape	72
y1991	rape	37
y1992	rape	69
y1993	rape	69
y1994	rape	94
y1995	rape	97
y1996	rape	81
y1997	rape	77
y1998	rape	86
y1999	rape	89
y2000	women	54
y2001	mumbai	56
y2002	rape	89
y2003	rape	53
y2004	rape	144

y2005	rape	304
y2006	rape	404
y2007	india	196
y2008	rape	182
y2009	rape	436
y2010	rape	253
y2011	rape	388
y2012	rape	985
y2013	rape	2019
y2014	rape	1385
y2015	rape	1119
y2016	rape	1220
y2017	rape	1301
y2018	rape	1886
y2019	rape	1721
y2020	rape	1096

Figure 12: Top five most frequent words per year**

Year	1	freq.	2	freq.	3	freq.	4	freq.	5	freq.
y1970	bombay	10	today	9	minister	8	week	6	government	5
y1971	bangla	37	desh	35	pakistan	24	bengal	20	east	20
y1972	bangladesh	16	today	15	pakistan	13	war	12	government	11
y1973	today	19	government	11	minister	10	rape	10	case	9
y1974	minister	10	today	10	bombay	9	rape	7	government	6
y1975	today	9	two	7	woman	7	bombay	6	rape	6
y1976	bombay	11	city	7	film	7	government	6	indian	6
y1977	bombay	109	today	106	local	40	items	32	turned	27
y1978	bombay	135	today	121	items	41	narrowly	35	rape	27
y1979	today	62	bombay	58	local	20	may	18	trading	17
y1980	rape	136	today	74	police	53	minister	47	law	44
y1981	rape	43	police	32	women	32	today	30	alleged	20
y1982	rape	40	today	33	women	32	police	29	government	27
y1983	bombay	42	today	42	police	38	government	37	rape	34
y1984	bombay	69	today	67	rape	51	police	34	government	30
y1985	bombay	123	today	104	local	38	government	32	police	29
y1986	bombay	139	today	136	turned	44	police	37	government	33
y1987	bombay	91	today	79	city	34	government	30	industry	28

y1988	today	65	bombay	52	rape	41	police	37	city	31
y1989	today	67	rape	63	bombay	61	police	41	case	38
y1990	rape	72	women	53	today	51	bombay	49	police	42
y1991	rape	37	police	34	two	26	women	23	state	21
y1992	rape	69	police	59	women	40	india	37	rights	35
y1993	rape	69	police	55	rights	52	human	44	women	36
y1994	rape	94	police	78	women	69	case	50	court	44
y1995	rape	97	women	93	police	60	court	57	today	49
y1996	rape	81	police	80	court	47	women	47	case	42
y1997	rape	77	women	69	police	68	delhi	63	mumbai	48
y1998	rape	86	police	81	delhi	76	women	68	mumbai	60
y1999	rape	89	delhi	66	women	52	police	50	mumbai	46
y2000	women	54	mumbai	39	court	36	delhi	35	rape	34
y2001	mumbai	56	women	50	police	40	rape	26	can	21
y2002	rape	89	mumbai	77	gujarat	55	police	46	delhi	36
y2003	rape	53	mumbai	51	delhi	48	police	39	india	22
y2004	rape	144	mumbai	95	case	75	police	71	delhi	62
y2005	rape	304	mumbai	266	police	237	case	123	women	108
y2006	rape	404	mumbai	242	police	175	case	162	court	142
y2007	india	196	rape	113	delhi	82	mumbai	48	ahmedabad	46
y2008	rape	182	india	179	delhi	142	chandigarh	97	raped	96
y2009	rape	436	delhi	247	mumbai	236	india	198	chandigarh	192
y2010	rape	253	delhi	141	mumbai	133	india	105	case	99
y2011	rape	388	delhi	229	mumbai	204	india	196	held	164
y2012	rape	985	delhi	542	india	414	kolkata	325	mumbai	306
y2013	rape	2019	delhi	1169	india	974	case	639	mumbai	625
y2014	rape	1385	delhi	554	mumbai	515	india	500	case	440
y2015	rape	1119	delhi	533	india	456	raped	387	girl	337
y2016	rape	1220	raped	425	girl	413	minor	391	held	379
y2017	rape	1301	chandigarh	699	minor	472	girl	471	held	437
y2018	rape	1886	girl	755	yearold	711	raped	680	minor	666
y2019	rape	1721	man	726	girl	718	raping	704	minor	687
y2020	rape	1096	girl	511	minor	482	raped	472	man	448

Top 10 most frequent words available upon request.

**All word frequencies are calculated based on the total number of words excluding stop-words

Appendix D - Qualitative Analysis and Case Clustering

Dataset A:

Total, Average, Maximum, Minimum, and Mode of the number of headlines of the compilation of highly publicized cases per decade.

1970-1979	
Total	18
Average	6
Maximum	6
Minimum	2
Mode	3

1980-1989	
Total	118
Average	9.83
Maximum	31
Minimum	1
Mode	3

1990-1999	
Total	192
Average	13.71
Maximum	63
Minimum	2
Mode	6, 5, 9

2000-2009	
Total	794
Average	25.61
Max	106
Min	2
Mode	8

2010-2020	
Total	2781
Average	37.58
Max	602
Min	6
Mode	19

Dataset B:

Case details of all highly publicized cases per decade. Contains case name as labeled by *The Times of India*, year the incident occurred, number of articles published, 3-4 headline samples, the location, including where it was reported from and where it occurred (if they differ), and a short synopsis of case details, according to the news reports.

1970s

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	location	Abstract/Case Details
Gulmarg rape case	1973	J & K minister's son charged with rape Political vendetta behind rape case alleged Rape case complainant intercepted at airport	6	Srinagar	In Gulmarg, a small ski-town in Jammu & Kashmir, the son of the agricultural minister was accused of assaulting a young Dutch girl, Nicolette Gubberts.
Ballia rape case	1975	Doctors' finding rebuts charge of rape Top people implicated in Ballia rape scandal	3	Ballia	Two young girls were raped and murdered at Rajkiya Nari Niketan, a shelter for women. Ballia is a large city in Uttar Pradesh.
Delhi campus rape case	1973	Rape case- prime suspect held Campus assault 2 Delhi students get 7 years' in RI in rape case	4	Delhi	Prithipal Singh, a first year B.A. student and one of five was suspects was arrested in the rape of a student on the campus of Delhi University
Chandrakala rape case	1976	Chandrakala murder case for sessions Life term for three on appeal- Chandrakala murder case	3	Ratnagiri	Chandrakala Liiltikar murder case, six arrested and accused of conspiracy to destroy evidence. Ratnagiri is a large city in Maharashtra.
Nurse rape case	1977	The death of a nurse Nurse was killed after rape, alleges colleague	2	New Delhi	Harbans Kaur, a nurse, was raped and murdered in the hospital leading to widespread protests and strikes of nurses.

Nurse rape case (Baste)	1979	Outrage in Basti UP leader for Basti- alleged rape of nurses Goonda gang had links with some Basti nurses	3	Lucknow	Reported as occurring in Lucknow, a group of nurses raped in Basti.
Total: 6 cases					

1980s

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Mathura rape case	*1972 did not appear until 1980s	Delhi women's protest march Bill soon to deal with woman-baiting Redefine rape in IPC demand women Sex- an instrument of oppression More teeth in law on criminal assault	31	Mathura	This case originally occurred in the early 70s but was only publicized in the early 80s when it went to the Supreme Court. Named after the town of Mathura, the claimed birthplace of Hindu-god and well-known sacred city.
Akola rape case	1980	He's probably someone you know Sentence in Akola rape, murder set aside	3	Akola	Location set as New Delhi while case reported occurred in Akola, the rape and murder for a five-year-old girl named as Sunita
Bandra rape case	1982	Police hush up Bandra rape 2 more questioned- Namdra rape case	2	Bombay	Location set as Bombay, the incident occurred in a small neighborhood in the city. A middle-aged housewife was gangraped in her house by five minors.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Baghpat outrage	1981	The Baghpat Outrage Congress isolated on Baghpat issue Baghpat - Lok Dal rally urges action Protest against inaction	15	Baghpat	Location set as New Delhi in most reports, occasional reports come from Baghpat, earlier on in the case. As political protests increased, reports came from Delhi. Involved the rape of the wife of an alleged member of a criminal gang. After she was assaulted she was paraded naked through the streets. The incident was coined a "story" and <i>TOI</i> was inconsistent about the basic information of this case throughout the articles, saying that no assault happened in one but claiming it was an outrage in another.
Bhiwandi rape case	1989	16 held in Bhiwandi rape case	1	Bhiwandi	Location set as Bhiwandi, a major warehouse hub in Asia more generally. Police were forced to arrest 16 men on suspicion of raping an Adivasi woman by a Janata Dal party member at the time
Dahanu rape case	1986	Alleged rape bid on woman activist Dahanu case letters Morcha over activist's rape Team indict CPM over Dahanu rape	6	Dahanu	Rape case of an activist, all cases reported as Bombay (Mumbai) when the incident occurred in a small coastal town, Dahanu.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Siswa gang rape	1982	Siswa outrage Debate soon on atrocities against women Judicial probe into Siswa mass rape Men hate women	11	Siswa	Reported in Lucknow and Delhi, Siswa is a small Indian village near Nepal. The case was relatively large scale, involving several police men who were accused of raping a mass of women.
Gunta Behent case	1986	Shame of Gujarat SC find Gujarat lax in rape case	3	Devidao	Incident occurred in a small village, Devidao, case labelled based on Guntabehn's name, and the state of Gujarat. She was raped by police officers.
Mukti Dutta/Ansari case	1989	A matter of honour In defense of rape victims Mukti Datta- a born fighter Muslims shocked at rape allegation	8	Delhi	Mukti datta was a social activist, the case was named based both on her name and the name of her assailant, the minister for environment and forests, and a Muslim, Z.A. Ansari.
Roop Kanwar case	1989	Women's rights can't be won at cocktail parties A decade of laws	3	Deorala	Roop Kanwar's case was not a case of sexual violence but a highly publicized case of <i>sati</i> , where she was burned alive after the death of her husband (details still debated).
Suman Rani rape case	1989	A decade of laws Women in India- law and reality Dismay over SC stand on custodial rape case	4	Bhiwani	Case gained publicity because of the Supreme Court's dismissal of the review petition of the case on the basis of the "loose character and morals" of the victim.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Elphinstone College rape case	1989	Elphinstone outrage a difficult situation Elphinstone incident a reflection on city colleges Moral outrage Students demand arrest of alleged rapist	31	Mumbai	Gang-rape on Elphinstone college's campus, located in city-center of Mumbai. Involved large-scale student and public protesting.
Total: 12 cases					

1990s

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Bhateri case (aka Bhanwari Devi case)	1992	Atrocities on women condemned Caste conflict From Mathura to Bhanwari- crimes increase but women fight back No verdict is enough to punish the rapists The rape of justice in Bhanwari case	29	Bhateri	The majority of reports regarding this case are about the political protesting in major cities, particularly Jaipur, Mumbai and Delhi. The case involved a low-caste woman who was an anti-child-marriage activist who was raped by men in her village who were ultimately acquitted.
Banaras Hindu University rape cases	1993	Violence in BHU over gang rapes Peace returns to BHU over gang rapes	2	Varanasi	Articles are about student activism on Banaras Hindu University's campus regarding the rape and murder of two "Harijan" women, following

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
					"rumours" of the crime (note word choice, in quotes). Varanasi is also a sacred city, known for the birthplace of Rama, another Hindu god.
Gajraula rape case	1990	Gajraula affair Nuns terrified after rape Rape doesn't demean the victim- it brutalizes the rapist School kids anti-rape protest unjustified	14	Gajraula	Incident reported as occurring in Gajraula, a town in Uttar Pradesh, but most of the focus is on the identity of the victims as nuns as well as controversial accounts on the resulting protests.
Jalgaon rape case	1994	Year marred by Jalgaon rapes The way we treat a rape victim is a mark of how civilized we are Sex scandal rocks Nagpur city Sex and blackmail scandal rocks Jalgaon	63	Jalgaon	Jalgaon is a large city in Maharashtra but reported as near Nagpur, a major city in the state. Pandit Sapkale was accused and convicted of gang rape and several counts of abduction, wrongful confinement with rumours of blackmailing. 7 others were accused but acquitted.
Kolhapur rape case	1998	Opposition rashes ruckus in house over Kolhapur rape Social worker's doggedness leads to SC convicting builder for rape	4	Kolhapur	This case involved legislative politics and party politics heavily, not focusing on the details of the incident but the way the case itself was used as political leverage. Took place in

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
					Kolhapur, a sacred town in Maharashtra.
Rajasthan University hostel gang rape case		Rape incident rocks Rajasthan house again Sit-in protest held in Delhi against Rajasthan gangrape Taking a beating-endemic violence against women	13	Jaipur	Case of gang-rape at the college hostel of Rajasthan University, which is in Jaipur, the largest city in the state of Rajasthan. Article reporting focuses on the implications of protesting for party politics more than the case itself.
Tamil Nadu gang rape case	1992	Police ravage TN tribal village TN police image takes another beating CBI to probe TN gang-rape case	6	Vachathi	TOI describes the village as "a tribal village in the backward Dharmapuri district," but labels the case as the Tamil Nadu case more generally, which is a large state in South India. The articles track how police attacked a group of tribal women. Information in this case is not linear and often contradictory.
Suryanelli rape scandal	1999	DNA tests conducted to curb exploitation of tribal women Kerala's example Kurien offers to quit over Kerala sex racket	5	Suryanelli	Suryanelli is a tribal area in Kerala which is also a popular tourist destination. The articles introduce a serial rape case with minimal information provided. Most of the articles focus on P.J. Kurien, the

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
					minister of state for non-conventional energy, who offered to resign to prove his innocence.
Anjana Mishra case	1997	Anjana Mishra alleges gang-rape AIADMK demands action against accused in Anjana Mishra rape case Govt destroying proof in Anjana case CBI files case against Orissa A-G for alleged bid to rape	19	Bhubaneswar	Anjana Mishra, the wife of a Forest Service Officer, accused the Chief Minister and Attorney General of Orissa of attempting to rape her in 1997. In 1999, she was raped on her way to meet her lawyer by strangers near Cuttack, a large city in Orissa. Bhubaneswar is also well-known in Orissa as a sacred city.
Priyadarshini Mattoo case	1996	CBI begins scrutiny of Mattoo murder "proof" Indians succeed, India fails Unfair acquittal Justice in the dock	5	Delhi	Priyadarshini Mattoo was a law student who was raped and murdered in 1996 in New Delhi. The case was reported on extensively in the 2000s.
Nehar Bano case Phoolbagan case	1992	Bengal political scene hotting up Calcutta burns over police rape Nehar Bano could be Basu's enemy Rape politicized in West Bengal	9	Phoolbagan	Phoolbagan is a neighborhood in the capital of West Bengal, Kolkata. Phoolbagan is known for tourist attractions and a popular neighborhood. Nehar Bano was a "pavement dweller" who was raped by a police officer. The case gained political traction when Chief

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
					Minister Mamata Banarjee took a special interest in the case.
Jogeshwari nun rape case	1990	2 held in nuns' murder case Hasty conclusions reached about nuns' murders Police flayed- nuns' murder case Press role in nuns' case queried	8	Jogeshwari	Jogeshwari is a suburb in Western Mumbai and known for tourist attractions. The articles detail how two Catholic nuns were murdered in Jogeshwari. The Catholic church demanded an apology from the several newspapers including <i>TOI</i> for publishing false claims about the lifestyle of the nuns.
Nun rape case (Orissa)	1999	Nun gang-raped near Baripada Sadhvis assail nun's rape in Orissa New twist to nun rape case in Orissa	6	Bhubaneswar	A nun is gang-raped in Bhubaneswar, the case is reported as occurring in the state of Orissa. The case is also reported near Baripada, a large city and municipality in Orissa.
Nun rape case (Madhya Pradesh)	1998	BJP wants death rape for nuns' rapist Four nuns gangraped by armed men in M.P. National panel for women seeks judicial probe into nuns' case Perverse attitude	9	Jhabua	The case is labelled as Madhya Pradesh but occurs in the small town of Jhabua in Madhya Pradesh. Four nuns are gangraped by several men, 22 men are brought in under suspicion of being involved.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Total: 14					

2000s

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Brief Abstract, Case, and Geography Details
Sriram Mills Case (aka Kasliwal case)	2006	Why did Abishek take woman to mill? An all-women police station? Kasliwal claims consensual sex, sent to police custody? What Kasliwal 'victim' told police Shaky cops unsure of where to start Cops clueless about rape victim	64	Worli, Mumbai	Case is mostly identified based on Abishek Kasliwal, the perpetrator, more than Shree Ram Mills in Worli, a seaside upscale neighborhood in Mumbai. where the incident occurred. A 52-year old woman solicited a ride from Kasliwal, who took her to Worli and attacked her.
Antop Hill case	2004	Forensic report picks holes in Antop Hill rape Medical tests rule out rape in Antop Hill case Dying declaration used to chargesheet men	8	Kismat Nagar, Mumbai	Antop Hill is a city-center neighborhood in Mumbai, the incident occurred in a smaller neighborhood called Kismat Nagar. The case involved the assault of a 24 year old woman and three men ' <i>allegedly</i> ' accused. (note <i>TOI</i> word choice).
Aksa rape case	2006	Cops clueless about Aksa victim's identity Aksa murder victim is Poinsur housewife	2	Aksa	Kiran Tiwari, a 22-year old housewife, was found in a shack at Aksa beach, a popular beachside tourist destination and neighborhood in Mumbai by a former tenant of Tiwari's parents. Articles

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Brief Abstract, Case, and Geography Details
					focus on Tiwari's identity as a middle class and newly married woman.
Belapur rape case	2007	Increase police vigil at night near pubs, hotels Belapur rape case tough to crack, says cops Most crimes in Navi Mumbai are thefts, breakings Belapur victim still unidentified	8	Navi Mumbai	Two men are accused of raping a Latvian woman in Belapur, which is in Navi Mumbai, a planned urban city in Maharashtra.
Goa rape case German minor rape case	2008	Another Goa min's kin dragged into rape case Goa rape 'victim' refuses to testify Goa rape- mother now wants justice Goa rape- German won't pursue case against min's son Probe into German minor rape neither just nor fair Raped German heads home	28	Panaji	Case is titled mostly Goa rape case, but often the label German minor rape case. A German teenager was raped by Goa education minister Atansio Monserrate's son, Rohit Monserrate.
Alwar rape case (Bitty Mohanty case)	2006	When no means no Rapist had professed love for German girl Quick justice only for raped foreigners?	31	Alwar	City near Jaipur and Delhi, in the national capital region. Articles detail the rape of a German student ("scholar") by Bitti Mohanty, the son of B B Mohanty, the Director of

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Brief Abstract, Case, and Geography Details
German student rape		How safe is India for tourists? German rapist gives police the slip Alwar verdict-intimacy no consent to sex			General Police in Orissa. The case gained traction when Bitti Mohanty jumped bail and was missing for several years with alleged help from his father.
Jodhpur case	2006	How safe is India for tourists? Fast-track justice Cases that shocked the nation Why did trial take a year, asks activists	8	Jodhpur	An auto driver and one other (unspecified) are sentenced to life imprisonment for the rape of a German woman in the outskirts of Jodhpur, a large city in Marwar.
Jalgaon rape case	2000	No medical evidence of Jalgaon rape Sex, lies, and politics Media needs to be more responsible, says expert panel	7	Jalgaon	See Jalgaon rape case from 1994
Kothewadi case	2001	Kothewadi case Five get lifer in Kothewadi rape case Govt. is ready for debate in house on Enron	6	Kothewadi	Kothewadi is a small village in Maharashtra, articles detail a mass rape and dacoity case. Two of the accused are acquitted.
Malwani resort rape	2006	Cops close in on gangrape accused Rape accused worked as sena driver Resort rape Rapist lured victim to resort with job promise	6	Mumbai	Rape of a woman looking for a job at Malwani resort in Mumbai, a popular tourist beach area.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Brief Abstract, Case, and Geography Details
Marine Drive rape case Sunil More case	2006	I am shocked and anguished No lessons learnt from Marine Drive rape A shameful past- the Marine Drive rape Activists gherao DGP Enough is enough! More for more Shamed, police force aims to improve image	106	Marine Drive, Mumbai	Marine Drive is a major road in Mumbai with several tourist attractions and goes through the city center. Sunil More, a police officer was arrested and sentenced to 12 years RI for the rape of several victims. The case is called Marine Drive rape case but majority of headlines are about the perpetrator.
Nerul rape case	2005	No lessons learnt from Marine Drive rape, Nerul and Sahar rapes Nerul bar girl lands up in jail Nerul victim done in by past in bar Immigrants' progress- An organized journey Police feel gangrape 'victim' may be lying Nerul volte-face leaves cops with one less rape, but stains stay on khaki	15	Navi Mumbai	Nerul is a commercial sector in Navi Mumbai. A Bangladeshi immigrant alleges rape by a police officer, she ultimately recants and is arrested herself. She is repeatedly identified as both an immigrant and a "bar girl."
Nithari killings	2005	Perverse politics of pornography Nithari killings- 16 cases pending Nithari 'rapist' beaten to death	47	Nithari	Nithari/Noida serial killings, occurred in the house of businessman Moninder Singh Pandher and his servant Surinder Koli. Nithari is a small village in Maharashtra,

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Brief Abstract, Case, and Geography Details
		<p>Moninder admits sexcapades</p> <p>CBI finds 40 bags of full human remains at Noida</p> <p>Incest, murder, rape- Why are we hooked on horror?</p>			adjacent to the larger city, Noida.
Saki Naka rape case	2008	<p>Saki Naka 'rape'- 5 accused get bail</p> <p>Traumatized 12-year-old recounts ordeal</p> <p>Med tests confirm rape of 12-year old</p> <p>6th accused held for rape of girl from Saki Naka</p>	21	Saki Naka, East Mumbai	Saki Naka is a neighbourhood in East Mumbai. A 12 year old girl was raped by an unspecified number of men, including family members, over an extended period of time.
** Suryanelli case	1996	<p>Manufacturing consent- rape verdicts reflect social prejudice</p> <p>Suryanelli Sex Scandal- Kerala gov't to move SC</p>	4	Suryanelli	See Suryanelli case from 1996.
Aarushi case	2008	<p>We deserve our police Not trial but plenty of errors</p> <p>Give Noida rapists death</p> <p>Children of a lesser god</p> <p>CBI questions Aarushi's uncle, mom</p> <p>Aarushi lab records vanish</p>	13	Noida	Case took place in Noida, a large planned city in Uttar Pradesh, involving the rape and death of Aarushi, a 13-year old girl and the death of a 45 year-old live in domestic worker (who was missing from headlines and reporting more generally) The case was eventually called the Noida double murder.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Brief Abstract, Case, and Geography Details
Bijal Joshi gang rape	2008	Bijal gangrape Lucre lure for rape victim's kin Rape victim was flogged into submission Bijal gangrape- life for Delhi trader	6	Ahmedabad	Case identified with the perpetrators being from Delhi while the crime occurred and the crime is from Ahmedabad, the largest city in Gujarat
Imrana rape case	2005	Imrana case- debate rages on Fatwa Rapist walks free, victim punished Speaking up for Imrana Sister-in-law sues Imrana for defamation Cases that shocked the nation Cry freedom	37	Charthawal village, Muzaffarnagar	Case involves a Muslim women who was assaulted by her father-in-law in Chatharwal village, near the large city of Muzaffarnagar in Uttar Pradesh. Articles detail a widespread debate on Fatwa and the applicability of Muslim law.
** Priyadarshini Mattoo case	1996	A generation awakens A modicum of justice Death for Mattoo killer correct Jessica case gives Mattoo father hope Nailing Mattoo's killer Police killed her, not the accused Should media activism be curbed? Strike one for justice Who gives a damn about the law?	43	New Delhi	See Priyadarshini Mattoo case from 1996

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Brief Abstract, Case, and Geography Details
Ruchika case	1990/2009	Another Ruchika in Gzb? Centre strips Rathore of police medal Crime against women rise fastest Many cases like Ruchika's are ignored Protect our children Weak law allowed molester DGP to get a light term	21	Haryana	This case involved a 14 year old girl who was molested by the Inspector General of Police, S. P. S. Rathore, in Haryana. This case occurred in 1990 but the family and victim were harassed and the Inspector General was only convicted in 2009.
Sahar rape case	2006	I am shocked and anguished' Activists gherao DGP Intoxicated by power and alcohol Stung by double rape, force seeks to convict rogue cops	17	Sahar, Mumbai	Police Constable Chanrakant Pawar accused of raping a 15 year old 'ragpicker,' who was dismissed with rumours of having alcohol problems. Sahar is a small village in East-Mumbai.
Scarlett Keeling rape case	2008	Two accused 'confess' to raping British girl in Goa The tragedy of Goa Scarlett's tragedy Scarlett was not raped before she died	46	Anjuna Beach, Goa	Scarlett Keeling, a British teenager, was raped and murdered and left on a beach in a popular tourist destination in Goa. The city and specific geographic location was not provided. Only her name, often just her first name are used to identify the case.
Bilkis Bano case	2004	I'm scared of going to Gujarat.' Bilkis trial has Modi govt on edge	40	Gujarat	Bilkis Bano, an activist, gang-raped in the state Gujarat (specific location not included) during the 2002 post-Godhra riots and became

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Brief Abstract, Case, and Geography Details
		Can a law stop him-treating me like I was his property Cases that shocked the nation Fearing backlash, family flees home Justice denied Will best luck rub off on other cases?			pregnant because of the crime.
Gopinath Desai case	2004	Rapist cop sacked by police Cop gets seven years for raping minor Cop held for rape, abduction of minor	4	Goa	Police officer Gopinath Desai accused of abducting and raping a 14 year old girl in Goa. Desai was an officer in Kasturba Marg, East Mumbai.
Shiney Ahuja case	2009	The maid trap! When she cried rape Shiney's lawyers try to pick holes - Maid rape Shiney's a soft target, has been framed Shiney visits temple, may head to Delhi today Maid to order in India Little contradictions by victims shouldn't sway judges Everybody loves bad boys and a bit of scandal Any publicity is good	56	New Delhi	Shiney Ahuja, a well-known Bollywood actor was accused of raping his maid. In 2011, she recanted her accusation but Ahuja was still convicted and received 7 years RI.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Brief Abstract, Case, and Geography Details
BPO rape case	2008	Rape redefined Police to rescue women @ risk Hang the rapist, cry call center workers Hubby, friend held for bit to rape BPO staffer BPO girls dread night right back home	39	Bangalore	Hewlett-Packard BPO employee, Pratibha Patil was raped and murdered by her taxi driver in Bangalore. This case is part of a series of BPO rape cases and calls for employee safety via driving agencies.
German tourist rape case	2008	Fast justice- 7-day trial nails 5- German rape case German girl didn't resist rape, says jurist German woman abducted, molested Rape of justice	8	Chandigarh	20-year old German tourist was raped by five men in Chandigarh "posh sector 17," the capital of the states of Punjab and Haryana.
Goregaon cancer patient case	2007	Raped' cancer patient delivers stillborn baby But she is still welcome here, says doctors Patient's parents allege cops are trying to 'protect' hospital Tata hospital 'rape' victim dead, family seeks probe	4	Goregaon	In Goregaon, a suburb of Mumbai, a cancer patient was raped and murdered in Tata hospital.
Orissa nun rape case	2008	God will punish the sinners' 'Hindu saved me from gangrape' 'Two men stood on my hands, the third raped me"	49	Bhubaneswar, Orissa	Nun gangraped in Kandhmal a district in Orissa in a town called Baliguda during a period of communal violence. The articles highlight how a local Hindu man rescued her from being gangraped.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Brief Abstract, Case, and Geography Details
		Raped nun ready to return for probe Orissa won't fund church repairs			
South African model rape case	2006	The drug trap She came to start a new life SA model returns to battle rapists Model's trauma Now a movie on South African models' rape case Lust and envy in the city Don't send us to Arthur Road- accused Crying shame- city tops state rape list Are foreign women perceived differently?	42	Mumbai	South African model drugged and gangraped near Bawa International Hotel near Santacruz, Mumbai by "youths" from Ulhasnagar, a city in the outskirts of Mumbai.
Total: 30 cases					

2010s

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Park Street rape case	2012	<p>Park Street rape accused, uses cell from jail, cops red-faced</p> <p>Students' play revisits Park Street rape horror</p> <p>Park Street rape accused uses cell from jail, cops red-faced</p> <p>Park Street rape case: Why influential</p> <p>Bengali actress Nusrat Jahan not named in chargesheet?</p> <p>Kolkata Park street rape case: Kader Khan shows no remorse in court</p> <p>Govt counsel against 'extreme punishment' to Park Street convicts</p> <p>Park Street gang-rape main accused arrested from Greater Noida</p>	42	Park Street, Kolkata	<p>Suzette Jordan, "mother of two," was gangraped by five men in Kolkata's famous Park Street area, known for Mother Teresa's legacy. In 2013, she revealed her name leading to protesting across the state and country.</p>
Gurgaon gang rape	2012	<p>Cops called victim, captors said all's well</p> <p>Four Gurgaon courts looking only at cheque bounce cases</p>	18	Gurgaon	<p>Gang rape of 23 year old "mother," who was dragged from a taxi by several men, raped, and left at a metro station in "outsourcing mega city south of Delhi"</p>
Bhatta-Parsaul rape case	2011	<p>No rape case reported from Bhatta-Parsaul</p> <p>Bhatta-Parsaul case: Yet to get notice from SC/ST panel, says DGP</p>	16	Bhatta and Parsaul, two villages in UP	<p>After a gangrape, Bhatta and Parsaul villagers protest in Delhi.</p>

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		Bhatta rape: More 'victims' emerge, head to dist court			
Faridkot Dalit minor case	2012	Faridkot minor Dalit rape case: Main accused discharged from hospital, arrested Punjab Congress chief, director-general of police in war of words over abduction row of minor in Faridkot Nishan terrorized me, says Faridkot minor Faridkot girl undergoes abortion Faridkot abduction: Girl found pregnant, rape charges slapped on accused	19	Faridkot	In Faridkot, a historic city in Punjab, a Dalit minor is abducted, with several allegations of what happened to her in different news articles throughout the years including a pregnancy and abortion,
Barasat rape fury	2013	Arm yourselves, Adhir urges Barasat women After Barasat, 'rape-murder' in Gaighata Barasat unites in protest frenzy Barasat reign of terror a Sutiya played all over again 5 arrested after Barasat rape fury Nightmare on Barasat streets	16	Barasat	A 9 year-girl is raped in Barasat, causing widespread outrage and protest. Barasat is a city in West Bengal.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Patiala gang rape	2012	<p>Victim' tells court former Patiala mayor concocted story of her rape</p> <p>Patiala gang rape and suicide case trial begins</p> <p>HC slams shoddy probe into Patiala girl's gang-rape</p> <p>Patiala gang-rape case: SIT looking for source of poison</p> <p>More heads likely to roll in Patiala case</p> <p>Insensitivity towards crimes against women in villages, feels Patiala residents</p> <p>'Victim' tells court former Patiala mayor concocted story of her rape</p>	20	Patiala	Woman gang-raped in Patiala and commites suicide. Patiala is a large city in Punjab.
Sikar rape case	2013	<p>Sikar rape survivor undergoes 19th surgery, one more to go</p> <p>16 months after gang rape, Sikar girl not fit enough to come home</p> <p>Surgery a month away, Sikar rape victim has nowhere to go</p> <p>Sikar gang rape: Cops failed to act immediately after kidnap</p>	19	Sikar	Woman gang-raped in Sikar, needed extensive medical attention and operations as well as political attention.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		Sikar gang-rape victim in ICU to prevent infection Outrage continues in Sikar rape case Governor Margaret Alva visits Sikar rape victim in hospital			
Rayagada rape victim	2013	Rayagada teacher death: Govt sacks four officials Rayagada 'rape' victim loses battle for life Rayagada 'rape' victim makes final journey home Rayagada rape victim critical, put on ventilator Rayagada erupts in anger over gang rape of 16-year-old	10	Rayagada	Woman gang-raped and eventually died from injuries sustained in Rayagada, a municipality in Orissa. She was a 16 year old student.
Vasco rape case	2013	Vasco shuts protesting rape of school girl Vasco rape: Victim shows courage, is calm and playful Vasco tense, crowd gathers outside school	12	Vasco da Gama, Goa	A 7 year-old girl was raped in a school toilet in Vasco de gama, a beach town in Goa.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Ujire gang rape case	2012	<p>Ujire case: Accused, parents to take truth test</p> <p>Ujire rape, murder case: Victim's family demands CBI probe with Supreme Court intervention</p> <p>Ujire rape case: BJP too demands CBI investigation</p> <p>Protests demanding justice to Ujire victim held</p> <p>Youth launches online campaign for Ujire rape victim</p> <p>Divine intervention to be sought in Ujire rape case</p> <p>Seer was closure on Ujire rape, murder case</p>	51	Ujire, Karnataka	Nirmala, the name given to the victim was the name given to the college student who was raped and murdered in Ujire, a town in Karnataka.
Kamduni rape case	2013	<p>Trial for Kamduni case progresses at snail's pace</p> <p>Cops raid Kamduni protest leaders</p> <p>SC says 'no' to fresh inquiry in Kamduni rape</p> <p>Kamduni victim's family accepts government's help offer</p> <p>Key witness in Kamduni rape-murder case dies</p>	48	Kamduni, Bengal	A 20-year old college student was abducted, gang-raped, and murdered in Kamduni, a village near Kolkata in the state of Bengal.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		Kamduni meet to remember rape victim CID goof-up seeks to quash Kamduni case			
Manipal University rape	2013	Manipal rape goes viral on Twitter After rape, Manipal University gags students Manipal University chief security officer resigns Siddaramaiah directs police to step up efforts to arrest the Manipal rape culprits Porous campus is vulnerable, avers chancellor of Manipal University Manipal student rape case: Udupi police warm up to auto rickshaw drivers' display system School students join 'do-justice' chorus, demand justice for Manipal rape victim Students from Kerala condemn Manipal gang rape, hold protest	41	Manipal, Karnatak a	Three men abducted and gang-raped a medical student from Manipal University in Kerala, causing widespread protest online and in-person.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		Manipal shocker: Manipal blog vents out fears of girl students Manipal rape goes viral on Twitter			
Turbhe rape case	2013	Dad of accused 'taunts' raped Turbhe girl's kin Turbhe rape victim's dad wants age test Turbhe rape case: 4 accused 'confess' crime	16	Turbhe, Navi Mumbai	Four juvenile boys remanded for the rape and murder of a 10 year-old girl in Turbhe, a neighbourhood in Navi Mumbai.
Kurla rape case	2010	9-year-old raped, found killed in police quarters Accused dumped body at cop bldg to take revenge Recent probes don't inspire confidence Suspect in Kurla rape-murderers to be set free	9	Kurla, Mumbai	Kurla is a neighbourhood in East Mumbai- a nine year old was raped and murdered and found on the terrace of the police quarters in Kurla.
Kurla serial rape murders	2010	Porn influenced Kurla rapist Police nab one of Kurla's child rapist-murderers Fear still stalks Kurla, case accused held Cops comb Kurla for serial rapist	26	Kurla, Mumbai	Serial rape case in Kurla, a neighbourhood in East Mumbai. Most articles are about the mental state/lead up to the murders and rapes of the perpetrators.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		Census duty cripples forensic lab work Kurla rape a case of necrophilia			
Shakti Mills rape case Mumbai gang rape case	2013	Shakti Mills juveniles spared harsher terms Award for probe team of Shakti Mills gang-rape case Mumbai cops honoured for cracking Shakti Mills cases Shakti Mills gang-rape case: Prosecutor demands death for 3 repeat convicts Shakti Mills rapes: Court adds charges that attract death	63	Mahalaxmi, South Mumbai	22 year-old photojournalist was gang-raped when she had gone to the Shakti/Mahalaxmi Mills compound with a male colleague, when they were both attacked. PHotos were taken of the victim and threatened to be released, later an 18 year-old also reported she was raped at the mill.
Bengal gang rape	2014	Womanifesto' calls for safety in Bengal, thousands join in West Bengal govt sets up anti-rape squad, finally Bengal's long wait for justice in rape cases Nightmare once again in Mamata's West Bengal Women no longer safe in Bengal	28	Subolpur village, West Bengal	A 20-year old tribal girl was gangraped in a Subolpu village in West Bengal, also called Bengal as part of a "kangaroo court"'s punishment for an affair she had with a boy of a different community. She was raped publicly as public punishment.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Badaun gang rape case	2014	Like Badaun case, year full of twists for CBI Badaun victims' kin claim witness was involved in murder 'Forced suicide' twist to Badaun girl' case 3 accused in Badaun case get bail Badaun village to get a new identity	86	Katra village, Badaun district, Uttar Pradesh	Two teenage girls were gangraped and murdered in Katra village in Badaun district. The field where the incident occurred was in a field for open defecation and the two girls did not return. Many of the articles discussed the need for safe bathrooms for women, the CBI investigation's conclusion no rape had occurred in conflict with the POCSO court's conclusion that there had been one.
Pollachi rape case	2014	Rural police file chargesheet in Pollachi rape case Goondas Act slapped against Pollachi home rape accused State to take over custody of two Pollachi rape survivors Pollachi rape puts the focus back on violence against women Man sentenced to imprisonment for kidnap, rape of minor girls at Pollachi children's home	13	Pollachi, Tamil Nadu	In Pollachi, a town near Coimbatore a major city in Tamil Nadu, two minor girls were kidnapped and raped in a children's home by a 23-year old Veerasamy.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Mohanlalganj rape and murder case	2014	Mohanlalganj rape and murder: Evidence, autopsy indicate brutality Mohanlalganj rape and murder: Protesters brave rain to flay govt on rape, murder I will never take up any probe if this case fails test of trial: DIG on Mohanlalganj rape-murder case	14	Mohanlalganj, Lucknow	A widow and mother of two in her early 30s was raped and murdered by security guard Ram Sewak Yadav, using motorcycle keys to inflict injuries.
Meerut (conversion) rape case	2014	Twitter turns battleground after Meerut woman's U-tur Main accused arrested in Meerut rape-conversion case Police look for man behind 'explosive' Meerut video Insufficient lighting, police make city suburbs unsafe Twist in Meerut 'rape' case	24	Meerut, Uttar Pradesh	A 20-year old college student was abducted, gang-raped, and converted to Islam as part of a marriage scheme, that was also reported as the victim choosing to elope. Meerut is an industrial town in UP.
Little Nirbhaya case	2016	Little Nirbhaya case: DNA test of main accused positive Less than a week after 'Little Nirbhaya', another minor raped Little Nirbhaya case: Police probe under question, survivor's	26	Dehradun, Uttarakhand and Meerut, UP	Three year old raped and murdered in Meerut, a large city in UP, the case was reported as occurring in Dehradun or the family was potentially Dehradun, the capital of Uttarakhand. The case was called Little Nirbhaya, most articles detail family and father's reactions.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		<p>mother says 'we were pressured'</p> <p>Rape of 3-yr-old in Meerut: Outraged residents take out candle-light march for 'Little Nirbhaya'</p> <p>'Little Nirbhaya's' father gets threat calls</p> <p>Father of Little Nirbhaya moves HC</p>			
Salt Lake gang rape case	2016	<p>Fear rules supreme in Salt Lake</p> <p>Chargesheet finally submitted in Salt Lake</p> <p>Sector 5 gang-rape case</p> <p>Woman with schizophrenia raped for years in Salt Lake home</p> <p>No cop action in Salt Lake rape case</p>	6	Salt Lake, Kolkata	In Salt Lake, one of Kolkata's premier tourist neighborhoods, a woman in housing community is raped several time over a significant period of time by a 32 year old
Murthal mass rape case	2016	<p>No Murthal rape victims found, says SIT</p> <p>Evidence shows rapes did take place in Murthal, find culprits: Punjab and Haryana High Court to cops</p> <p>Rapes took place at Murthal, find the culprits: High court to cops</p> <p>Murthal gang rapes: Two 'witnesses' cooked up proof</p>	26	Murthal	Several women (at least 10) were stripped and raped by gang-members, "goondas." Majority of the articles go back and forth on the CBI probe and whether or not a rape occurred.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		<p>Book witnesses for fabricating evidence in Murthal case</p> <p>SIT report says no concrete proof on Murthal rapes</p>			
Bulandshahr gang rape case	2016	<p>Bulandshahr gang rape accused brought to court crying, pleading innocence</p> <p>Bulandshahr rape: 'Third woman was disrobed, her saree used to tie other 2'</p> <p>Bulandshahr gang rape horror: Who'll foot the bill to light up our highways?</p> <p>Want to be IPS officer, says Bulandshahr rape survivor</p> <p>Bulandshahr gangrape: She shouted 'Papa!' when NH gang assaulted her, father says</p> <p>Bulandshahr horror: Another rape at same spot just 12 days ago</p> <p>Bulandshahr gangrape: #LawlessUP trends on Twitter, people question Akhilesh govt</p> <p>Bulandshahr gang-rape horror: Police detain 15</p>	59	Bulandshahr, UP	<p>There are several Bulandshahr rape cases over the decade. The 2016 case involved a 35-year old Noida woman and her teenage daughter who were gang-raped by several robbers on a highway.</p>

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		suspects, identify main accused			
Nari Niketan rape case	2012	Nari Niketan rape case: 9 get 10-yr rigorous imprisonment Dehradun shocked by rape, abortion of deaf-mute inmate of nari nikanetan Speech, hearing impaired inmate 'raped' in Nari Niketan, case registered	8	Dehradun	Deaf woman was raped in Nari Niketan, an orphanage organization across India. Occured in Dehradun, the capital of Uttarakhand.
Pataudi gang rape case	2016	Only one woman in Gurgaon fray; none in Pataudi, Badshahpur and Sohna Cops release sketches of 5 Pataudi gang rape suspects Pataudi gang rape - 4 states team up to nab 8 rapists	13	Pataudi	Reported in Gurgaon, a city in Haryana but the case is called Pataudi gang rape. 2 women were raped by 8 men at a Pataudi factory, which is in a smaller town in Haryana.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Bhopal gang rape case	2017	Bhopal gang rape: HC seeks action report in 2 weeks Bhopal gang rape: SIT submits FIR delay report against cops Bhopal gang rape: HC takes note of 'junked' medical report Bhopal gang rape: SIT submits FIR delay report against cops	9	Bhopal	19 year-old woman gang raped in Bhopal. Articles detail how Sultania hospital doctors made mistakes and wrote a misleading medical report after further inquiry and protest.
Ranaghat rape case (nun rape case)	2015	Ranaghat convent nun rape: 2 arrested, 1 from Mumbai Nun gang raped in a Convent by dacoits at Ranaghat, Nadia Ranaghat rape case: Prime convict sentenced to imprisonment till death Nun held captive in convent rescued	16	Ranaghat	Ranaghat is a city in Nadia, a municipality in West Bengal where a nun was held captive and gang raped in a convent .
Nirbhaya rape case Delhi gang rape case	2012	Delhi rape case: Kanpur demands justice for victim Delhi gang rape: No let-up in protest 'Give death to rapists Delhi gang rape: Police use water cannons on protesters Protesters demand justice for Delhi gang-rape victim	602	Delhi	Young woman was gang raped by 5 men on a moving bus, left with her male friend on the side of the road in Munirka, a neighborhood in Delhi. Incident overtook the news cycle for the entire year (2013) if not the next 5 years.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Muzaffarnagar rape case	2013	Muzaffarnagar police to crackdown on riot accused Case of gang-rape during Muzaffarnagar riots against three Muzaffarnagar gang-rape victims move SC against police inaction Condition of Muzaffarnagar relief camps very poor: Rahul Gandhi Muzaffarnagar riots: Three months on, women worse off Women from Muzaffarnagar villages burn jeans and tops	19	Muzaffarnagar	Gang rape of several women after Muzaffarnagar riots of communal violence between Hindus and Muslims in 2013.
Jisha rape case Kochi rape murder Perambavoor rape and murder	2016	Kerala govt seeks review of apex court ruling on SC/ST Act Mixed response to Kerala shutdown, Dalit leaders detained Jisha murder: Ameer-ul-Islam files appeal against death sentence; seeks re-probe Justice For Jisha: Ameerul Islam To Hang Jisha murder case: Prosecution seeks death for Ameerul	36	Perumbavoor, Ernakulam, Kerala	Jisha, a 29 year-old law students was raped and murdered in her home in Perumbavoor in Ernakulam by Ameer-ul-Islam who was given a life sentence.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		Perumbavoor murder: 11 days on, cops still draw a blank Crucial evidence in Perumbavoor murder; It was a planned murder, ADGP Perumbavoor murder: Accused used to harass women back home			
Dhaura Kuan gang rape case	2010	Dhaura Kuan gang rape: Life term to five upheld Movie on Dhaura Kuan rape case Dhaura Kuan prone to crime Drill devised after Dhaura Kuan rape yields little results when tested Dhaura Kuan rape case: Police find accused's clothes Detained in Dhaura Kuan rape case, man freed by HC	15	Dhaura Kuan, New Delhi	30 year-old woman, also a BPO employee is taken from Dhaura Kuan, in city center to Mangolpuri, in outer Delhi, gang-raped and left on the road. The five accused get life sentence.
Kathua minor rape case	2018	Alleged mastermind behind Kathua minor's rape, murder surrenders Kathua minor rape-murder: Lawyers stop cops from filing chargesheet	149	Kathua, Jammu Kashmir	An 8 year-old is abducted, gang-raped, and murdered in Kathua, J&K.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		'Rape-murder in Kathua meant to drive out Muslim tribe' Kathua rape-murder of minor over cow slaughter: Cops Kathua rape-murder: Union Minister VK Singh tweets demanding 'justice for Ashifa', says 'we have failed her as humans'			
Unnao gang rape case	2017	Teenager raped at gunpoint in Unnao Next door neighbor killed Unnao family, held Unnao rape case: Three arrested Unnao gang rape: After death of survivor's father, 5 cops suspended Unnao gangrape survivor's father dies in custody, victim blames BJP MLA; magisterial probe ordered	29	Unnao, Uttar Pradesh	17 year-old is gang raped in Unnao, UP, a town between Kanpur and Lucknow. Former BJP member, Kuldeep Singh Sengar was accused and ultimately sentenced to life imprisonment.
Kerala nun rape case	2019	Kerala nun rape case: Cross-examination of survivor begins Kerala nun rape case: Charges framed against Bishop Franco Mulakkal, trial to begin on September 16	47	Kottayam	Nun is raped and tortured in Kottayam, a small town in Kerala, the case is named for the state. The only accused, Franco Mulakkal, a bishop from Jalandhar.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		<p>Kerala nun rape case: Don't force us to hit the streets again, nuns to Kottayam SP</p> <p>Tortured, persecuted for stand against 'rape', say Kerala nuns</p> <p>Kerala nun rape case: Church representative in Jalandhar condoles key witness' death</p>			
Muzaffarpur children's home rape case	2018	<p>Shelter home inmate alleges rape at mother's instance</p> <p>Muzaffarpur rape case: Child rights body takes suo motu cognizance</p> <p>SC summons CS, DGP in Muzaffarpur government children home rape case</p> <p>HC: Muzaffarpur children's home rape a matter of shame for Bihar</p>	12	Muzaffarpur	Several cases of sexual and abuse were reported at Muzaffarpur children's home in Muzaffarpur, the case was reported from Patna.
Alwar Dalit gang rape case	2019	<p>Alwar Dalit rape survivor to become a constable</p> <p>Alwar Dalit gang-rape: Hundreds of protesters march towards CM house</p> <p>Govt inquiry to look into cops' role in handling case</p>	6	Jaipur	Dalit woman was gang raped by two men in Alwar when she went to use the bathroom in a field.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
JNU woman rape case Delhi cab driver rape case	2019	JNU girl raped by cab driver had gone to pray at shrine JNU woman's rape: Delhi Police has a lot of questions to answer JNU student drugged and raped by cabbie	13	Delhi	21 year-old Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) student raped in a cab while returning to JNU campus from Mandir Marg, an area near a temple in Delhi.
Hathras rape case	2020	Hathras rape survivor critical, moved to Delhi's Safdarjung Hospita Swara Bhasker takes a dig at Ramdas Athawale supporting Payal Ghosh: I wish he supported the Hathras gang-rape victim and his family too Kangana Ranaut reacts to Hathras gang-rape victim's demise: Shame on us we failed our daughters Abhishek Bachchan condemns Hathras gang-rape, says he is "beyond disgusted" 19-year-old Dalit girl in UP admitted to ICU after gangrape by four upper caste men Anupama Parameswaran says #CastrationForRape, reacting to Hathras gang rape incident	103	Hathras	A 19 year-old Dalit woman was gang-raped in a field in Hathras village by four upper-caste men. She was later cremated at night by UP police. Many of the articles after the crime originally occurred are <i>TOI</i> reporting on famous actors' reactions to the crime rather than details of the event.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		Hathras horror: Hundreds protest at Jantar Mantar			
Divya case	2010	Court frames charges in Divya murder case, next hearing on Oct 4 Divya's family allotted house Divya's mother wants main accused hanged Cops trying to save school authorities, alleges Divya's mother	18	Kanpur, UP	Divya, a Class 6 student was raped and murdered on her way to school,
Nayana Pujari case	2014	Four years on, no closure in sight in Nayana Pujari case Nayana Pujari murder: Prosecution appeals for speedy trial Nayana Pujari case: Police book Raut for forgery, conspiracy Nayana Pujari case: Witness didn't go to cops due to fear	56	Pune	Nayana Pujari, a software engineer from Kharadi was abducted for many years, found raped and murdered near Pune, a major city and tech hub in Maharashtra.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		Family, friends seek justice for Nayana Pujari			
Aruna Shanbaug case	2011	Aruna Shanbaug showing signs of life Caregivers keep Aruna Shanbaug alive Now, a film on rape victim Aruna Shanbaug's life Aruna Shanbaug's attacker lives in UP, says didn't rape her	12	Parel, Mumbai	Aruna Shanbaug was a nurse who was raped and injured by Sohanlal Bhartha Walmiki in 1973 and was in a vegetative state until 2011, when the Supreme Court provided a landmark ruling of allowing passive euthanasia. The case was not in <i>TOI</i> until 2011.
Aashiana rape case	2011	Public support swells for Aashiana victim Lawyers give support to Aashiana victim Aashiana case: Activists hail juvenile board verdict Crucial verdict in Aashiana rape case today Aashiana gang-rape: JJB's no to astrological proof of DOB Pain must end: Aashiana rape survivor's dad Aashiana rape case: will Zahira now get justice?	59	Delhi	Rape that took place in a housing development in Delhi, accused claims he was a minor when the rape occurred in 2005. Zahira was the name of the victim.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Jyotikumar i case	2012	Jyotikumari case: Convicts to be produced in HC Quantum of punishment in Jyotikumari case today Jyotikumari rape- murder: Prez rejects mercy plea Duo who raped and brutally killed BPO exec to hang, confirms HC	8	Mumbai	Two men raped and murdered a BPO employee, Jyoti Kumari. Both are sentenced to death. Occurred in Mumbai.
Preeti Jain case	2012	Madhur Bhandarkar's on a divine spree Relief to Madhur Bhandarkar in rape case Preeti Jain rape case: Supreme Court grants relief to Madhur Bhandarkar Madhur Bhandarkar has no lawyer now: Pretti Jaiin I will not forgive Bhandarkar even if he begs: Pretti Jaiin Plot to kill Madhur Bhandarkar: HC suspends Preeti Jain's jail sentence, grants her bail	24	Mumbai	Preeti Jain, an actress, accused director Madhur Bhandarkar of rape. Years later, Preeti Jain was arrested under conspiracy to kill Bhandarkar. Unclear the exact geography of the case considering they are famous, Jain initially reported the incident to Versova police, near an upscale beach area in Mumbai.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Pallavi case	2012	<p>Mumbai law graduate Pallavi Purkayastha's killer was driven by lust</p> <p>Police to file chargesheet in Pallavi murder case next week</p> <p>Guard cut power supply to Pallavi Purkayastha flat twice before</p> <p>Wadala watchman wanted to rape, not murder, Pallavi Purkayastha</p> <p>It was an act of perversion: Mumbai police on Pallavi's murder</p> <p>Security guard convicted for killing Mumbai-based lawyer Pallavi Purkayastha</p> <p>'Boyfriend was involved in Pallavi murder'</p>	19	Mumbai	Pallavi Purkayastha, a lawyer in Mumbai, was raped and killed in her apartment with stolen keys by the apartment watchman, Sajjad Ahmed Mughal.
Suryanelli case	1996	<p>Suryanelli victim wasn't a deviant girl: Kerala HC</p> <p>24 get jail term in Suryanelli case as high court reverses 2005 verdict</p> <p>Suryanelli case: High court special bench recuses from hearing plea</p>	26		See case details from 1996.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		Suryanelli rape victim entitled to be hear: High court Kurien gets reprieve in Suryanelli rape case			
Bilkis Bano rape case	2004	Convict in Bilkis Bano case wants bail for ayurvedic treatment Bilkis Bano names daughter after one killed in 2002 riots	13		See case details from 2004
Esther Anuhya murder case	2014	Esther Anuhya case: Non-DNA evidence will nail murder suspect, Mumbai police says Esther Anuhya murder case: Accused's mother saw blood on his clothes, told him to flee Thief posing as cabby raped and killed techie Esther Anuhya Horoscope led police to Esther's killer, HC told Spare Esther killer death as he showed remorse: Defence	36	Mumbai	A software engineer, Ether Anuhya, was raped and murdered by a cab driver in Mumbai. The accused, Chandrabhan Sanap, was given the death sentence.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Hyderabad rape murder Telangana rape murder Priyanka Reddy case Disha rape murder	2019	From Anushka Shetty; Kajal Aggarwal to Keerthy Suresh; Rakul Preet, Telugu heroines react hard on the brutal murder of Priyanka Reddy Cops confirm Telangana veterinary doctor was gang-raped and murdered, say four arrested Govt vet with flat tyre looks for help at night, 'raped' & killed Telangana veterinary doctor rape-murder: Burn alive accused in full public glare, demands mother	19	Hyderabad, Telangana	A 26 year-old veterinarian is gang-raped in Shadnagar, a neighborhood in Hyderabad. Shadnagar is a town near Hyderabad in Telangana.
Pinki Pramanik case	2012	I hope this bad dream will end someday: Pinki Pramanik I felt like committing suicide, says Pinki Pramanik Pinki Pramanik's medical report unclear on rape Medical experts doubt Pinki Pramanik can rape	19	Delhi	Pinki Pramanik, an athlete, who has been subject to controversy regarding her gender (whether she is a man or a woman, based on hormone testing and rumours, generally) has been accused of rape with controversy around whether "it's even possible"
Bitty Mohanty case	2006	Bitti Mohanty admits to jumping parole, gets new sentence Bitti Mohanty to be brought back to Jaipur	9	Alwar	See Alwar/Bitti Mohanty Case of 2006, Mohanty was found in Jaipur and faces court.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		Court grants bail to Raghav Rajan alias Bitti Mohanty Bitti Mohanty's arrest: I'm Shocked 'Rajan' did such a thing, mentor says			
Tarun Tejpal case	2013	Judge recuses from hearing Tarun Tejpal's case Supreme Court grants bail to Tejpal, relaxes bail regime Sexual assault case: SC grants bail to Tehelka founder Tarun Tejpal Tarun Tejpal rape case: Robert De Niro replies to Goa police OMG: Anurag Kashyap defends Tarun Tejpal Tejpal's mother hospitalized in Mapusa The '196 seconds' and '85 seconds' that sent Tarun Tejpal behind bars Political class unites in call for tough action against Tarun Tejpal	109	Goa	No further geographic info provided. Tarin Tejpal, the editor of <i>Tehelka</i> , a magazine based in Goa, was accused of sexual assault by a female colleague with video, email, and text evidence. He was acquitted.
Pulsar Suni case Actor rape case	2017	Attack on Actress: HC Denies Bail to 'Pulsar' Suni Pulsar Suni moves court with fresh bail plea	19	Kerala	Kerala actor Pulsar Suni was accused of raping an actress. No regional information provided, articles detailed, emotional court accounts.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		Actor rape case: How pulsar suni was nabbed 'Pulsar' Suni to approach court to record new statement Probe launched into convict Pulsar Suni's use of mobile in jail			
Piyush Sahdev Actor rape case	2017	Piyush Sahdev is back on television with 'Ishq Subhanallah' Piyush Sahdev: Nobody likes to be in jail, I have lost many days of my life Beyhadh fame Piyush Sahdev's bail plea gets rejected TV actor Piyush Sahdev arrested on rape charges	6	Delhi	Piyush Sahdev arrested for the rape of 23 year-old woman. His bail application was rejected but articles account questionable accuracy of the accusation.
Gurmeet Ram Rahim Singh rape case	2017	Haryana: Police wanted to avoid face-off with Gurmeet Ram Rahim's followers How vandals of Dera violence got away Dera Sacha Sauda head Gurmeet Ram Rahim, 3 ardent followers nominated in Bir theft case Violence, Convictions, Riots, Arson, Patiala India, Chander, Subhash, Singh, Gurmeet Ram Rahim	28	Panchkula, Haryana	Germeet Ram Rahim Singh, the head of Dera Sacha Sauda, a Sikh social group, was arrested on several counts of violence and sexual assault. His protege, Honeypreet Insan was arrested for similar charges and inciting violence after Rahim Singh's arrest.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		Ex-Dera manager murder case: CBI completes final arguments No relief for Dera chief, HC rejects his wife's plea for parole			
Cyanide Mohan cases	2017	Cyanide Mohan gets life term in fifth case Court acquits Cyanide Mohan for murder of Bantwal woman Serial killer Cyanide Mohan, who killed 20 women, sentenced to life in fourth case Karnataka: Cyanide Mohan gets life for murder in 20th case Cyanide Mohan sentenced to death for murdering Kerala woman	23	Mangalore, Karnataka	Cyanide Mohan, the nickname given to Mohan Kumar, is a serial killer. He lured women through false marriage promises and killed approximately 20 women and sentenced to death.
Farooqui rape case	2015	Filmmaker Mahmood Farooqui acquittal in rape case challenged in SC Mahmood Farooqui rape acquittal 'extremely well decided', says Supreme Court, dismissing appeal against earlier verdict	27	Delhi	Mahmood Farooqui, a popular television personality was accused of rape by an American National who was on the TV show with him. She said she did not give consent but the court acquitted Farooqui, saying that by not speaking up, the victim gave consent.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		Cops want Farooqui in jail for life, he seeks clemency Bollywood filmmaker Mahmood Farooqui held guilty of raping an American national			
Nithyananda rape case	2018	HC cancels godman Nithyananda's bail Revoke bail of Nithyananda: Complainant Nithyananda dares mutt heads to install CCTVs in their rooms Rise and fall of Nithyananda Missing sisters 'spice up' Nithyananda's Eden	20	Tamil Nadu (no specific geographic info)	Nithyananda, a well-known religious figure, also called "godman" in several articles, was accused of abduction and rape. Accusations originally were reported on 2010 with the incident recurring regularly in reporting.
Gayatri Pajapati rape case	2017	Witness in Gayatri Prajapati rape case alleges threat calls Didn't lodged FIR against ex-minister Gayatri Prajapati, woman tells court Charge-sheet filed, more trouble in store for Gayatri Prajapati Rape charges framed against Gayatri Prajapati, 6 aides Allahabad HC suspends judge who granted bail to rape accused Gayatri Prajapati	32	Lucknow	UP minister and politician Gayatri Prajapati and accused of rape. Articles also detail accusations of conspiracy, and illegal mining.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Karan Oberoi rape case	2019	<p>#MenToo poster boy Karan Oberoi and 'Section 375' writer Manish Gupta organise screenings of the film for men facing fake rape cases</p> <p>Karan Oberoi's lawyer writes to top cop, calls probe 'shoddy'</p> <p>#Mentoo: Woman who accused TV actor Karan Oberoi of rape gets arrested</p> <p>#MenToo: Karan Oberoi - The rape charge was more damaging to my mind than my career</p> <p>Karan Oberoi gets bail in rape and extortion case</p> <p>Oberoi rape accuser to be chargesheeted, held for 'plotting attack on self'</p>	50	Delhi	Karan Oberoi, a famous actor and personality, was accused of rape as part of conspiracy on part of the accuser, sparking the viral hashtag #MenToo
Monserrate case	2016	<p>Cops charge Monserrate with rape of minor in 2016</p> <p>Bail granted to MLA Atanasio Monserrate in minor girl rape case</p> <p>Monserrate's police custody extended</p> <p>Goa rape case: MLA Atanasio Monserrate's</p>	21	Goa	BJP politician Atanasio Monserrate accused of raping a 16 year-old girl in Goa. No geographic info provided.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		<p>police custody extended by 3 days</p> <p>Monserate rape survivor alleges molestation by stepfather</p>			
Vinta Nanda rape case Alok Nath case	2018	<p>Main Bhi' producer Imran Khan: Distributors not buying my film due to Alok Nath</p> <p>Tanushree Dutta condemns Ajay Devgn for working with Alok Nath; calls him "morally bankrupt"</p> <p>#MeToo: Here's what Vinta Nanda has to say on Mumbai Sessions Court saying Alok Nath must have been falsely implicated</p> <p>Alok Nath may have been framed in rape case, observes court</p> <p>#MeToo movement: Dindoshi Sessions Court grants anticipatory bail to Alok Nath in Vinta Nanda rape case</p>	80	Delhi	<p>Actor and director Alok Nath accused of rape by producer Vinta Nanda. Article details how courts are not set on whether or not a rape happened, Nath is eventually acquitted and the case is exclusively reported as part of the #MeToo movement.</p>

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
Aditya Pancholi case (allegations)	2019	Rangoli Chandel claims Aditya Pancholi extorted Rs 1 Crore from Kangana Ranaut Aditya Pancholi gets interim relief in rape case filed against him This is what Kangana Ranaut has to say on charges levied against actor Aditya Pancholi Aditya Pancholi files FIR against Kangana Ranaut, claims Kangana's lawyer threatened to file a rape case against him	20	Delhi	Allegations that Aditya Pancholi and Kangana Ranaut, both are actors.
Chinmayanand case	2019	Rape allegation: Chinmayanand, law student taken to Lucknow for voice samples Chinmayanand case: Role of 3 BJP leaders, 3 college staff under scanner 'Chinmayanand tore girl's clothes despite her refusal' Chinmayanand case: Another 'extortion' video surfaces, SP workers denied nod to meet law student in jail Chinmayanand case: Law student records statement, hands over	65	Shahjahanpur	Law student accused Swami Chinmayanand, very well-known religious figure and former politician of attempted murder and rape. Shahjahanpur is a district and city in Uttar Pradesh, the case is reported all over UP.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		43 videos as 'proof' to SIT Ex-Union minister Swami Chinmayanand accused of rape, murder attempt			
Pyare Mian case Bhopal sexual abuse case	2020	Bhopal: Pyare Mian, aides booked for abuse of minors Bhopal: Pyare Mian sent to police remand for four days Bhopal: Pyare Mian's 'drug mafia links' under cop scanner	9	Bhopal	Pyare Mian, local newspaper owner, as well as several accomplices, were accused and book for the rape of several minor girls. Victims were lured based on the pretext of domestic help. Bhopal is an industrial town in Madhya Pradesh.
Anurag Kashyap case Payal Ghosh case	2019	Anurag Kashyap reaches Versova police station for questioning in connection with sexual assault case Bolly Buzz: Suhana Khan slams troll for calling her 'Kaali', Police summon Anurag Kashyap in sexual assault case, Bollywood celebs demand justice for Hathras gang-rape victim Mumbai Police summons filmmaker Anurag Kashyap in	25	Versova, Mumbai	Several rape allegations brought against Anurag Kashyap, a film director and producer by Payal Ghosh, another actress. The articles heavily involve Tweets and Twitter presence.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		connection with sexual assault case Anurag Kashyap likely to be interrogated by the Mumbai police over Payal Ghosh's rape FIR			
Narayan Sai, Asaram Bapu case Surat case	2013	Sisters accuse Asaram, Narayan Sai of rape Followers gather outside court to get a glimpse of Narayan Sai Narayan Sai rape case: No clue in attack on survivor's husband 1,000-page chargesheet filed in Narayan Sai rape case Narayan Sai works his charm on jail inmates Narayan Sai case: People's faith holding back probe's pace Rape accused Narayan Sai tried to bribe top cop	54	Surat	Narayan Sai, the son of Asaram Bapu, both of which are well known religious figures, was accused of raping multiple women as well as fathering children. He was allegedly on the run across several states and bribing the police.
Swiss gang rape case	2013	Six get life imprisonment in Swiss tourist gang-rape case Swiss gang-rape victim 'untraceable' Witness turns hostile in Swiss tourist gang-rape case in MP	21	Bhopal	Six men get life sentences for the gangrape of a Swiss tourist in Bhopal, a city in Madhya Pradesh.

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		Swiss woman gang raped last month wouldn't appear before court 5 men raped Swiss tourist, test reveals Swiss woman's rape forces MP cops to sign up for English classes Swiss gang-rape case: Congress demands MP home minister's resignation			
Japanese tourist case	2015	Japanese tourist raped, feared Nirbhaya-like fate Japanese tourist accuses cabbie of rape in Manali Many Japanese students scared to study in India: Consul	10	Manali	Japanese tourist is raped in a cab in Manali, a popular tourist town in Himachal Pradesh.
Uber rape case	2015	Uber rape case: Driver Shiv Kumar Yadav gets life sentence Cab rape case: Police to seek life term for convic Accused Uber cabbie alleges flaws Delhi Uber rape survivor drops case in US	32	Delhi	An Indian woman, who is also a resident of Texas, United States, was raped in an Uber in Delhi. The driver, Yadav, received life sentence and she sued Uber.
Ola vehicle rape case	2015	TaxiForSure, Ola ready to make peace with Delhi regulations	9	Delhi	Woman rape in Ola vehicle, both Uber and Ola banned in Delhi, part of a larger trend of

Case Name	Year	Headline Samples	Number of Headlines	Location	Abstract/Case Details
		High court upholds ban on Ola in Delhi			cab, uber and Ola vehicle rape cases.
Actress rape case Actor Rape case	2018	Dileep's plea for CBI probe dismissed Actor rape case: Dileep, other accused watch visuals in court No action against Dileep now: AMMA KPAC Lalitha hits back at criticism regarding her meeting with Dileep in jail Rape case: Dileep to seek visuals of crime	18	Kochi	Dileep, a Malayalam actor, among 8 others, was accused of abducting and raping a Malayalam female actor because of an alleged grudge. Articles detail video footage and evidence.
Total: 74					

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