



Научная статья
DOI [10.19181/nko.2026.32.3.6](https://doi.org/10.19181/nko.2026.32.3.6)
EDN [NKHERO](#)
УДК 316.346.2:316.77



L. Pelle¹

¹ Tuscia University. Viterbo, Italy

FRAMING GROUP SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN THE ITALIAN PRESS: NEWSWORTHINESS, INTERSECTIONALITY, AND THE DISTORTION OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Abstract. While media representations play a decisive role in shaping public understanding of gender-based violence (GBV), newspaper reporting on group sexual assault remains an under-researched dimension. Situated within the STEP Observatory's ongoing monitoring of the Italian press, this study examines a corpus of 2,036 articles published across 26 Italian newspapers between 2020 and 2025 to investigate the coverage, newsworthiness criteria, and discursive framing of gang rape. The empirical findings demonstrate a stark discrepancy between press representation and statistical reality: while multi-perpetrator assaults account for approximately 2.06% of recorded rape cases in Italy, they comprise 11.3% of press coverage regarding sexual violence. News coverage is strongly linked to issue continuity, while two primary levers drive case visibility: the elite social status of perpetrators — which lowers news selection thresholds while granting prominent actors platforms to disseminate revictimizing narratives that erase their responsibility — and the intersectional positionality of victims and perpetrators. In cases involving offenders belonging to minoritized groups — more specifically along the axes of oppression of race, migratory status, and social marginality — the press mobilizes femonationalist and securitization rhetorics that conceal male responsibility and attribute GBV to external factors, without questioning fundamental gender power asymmetries. Furthermore, news coverage relies heavily on episodic framing, systematically obscuring the structural roots of GBV. These findings underscore the urgent need for critical media monitoring to foster gender-sensitive press coverage of GBV.

Keywords: gang rape; press representation; male violence against women; intersectionality; power asymmetries; newsworthiness criteria; concealment of male responsibility; frame analysis

For citation: Pelle L. Framing group sexual violence in the Italian press: newsworthiness, intersectionality, and the distortion of gender-based violence. *Science. Culture. Society*. 2026;32(3):86–97. <https://doi.org/10.19181/nko.2026.32.3.6>

Framing male violence against women: power asymmetries, intersectionality, and media logic. Male violence against women has been defined as one of the most persistent human rights violations of the modern age [1], a structural issue that has long been neglected or concealed at best, and reinforced and justified at worst [2]. The enduring power asymmetries between genders [3; 4], generally taken for granted or essentialised through patriarchal dominance [5], constitute the root of male violence against women.

However, in the last thirty years, women's and gender studies have highlighted that gender is only one of many intersecting axes of oppression shaping social positioning [6]. Race, class, sexual identity, migratory status, age, disability and other

variables define the matrix of domination in which each situated subjectivity is embedded [7], requiring an intersectional lens.

Despite legislative advancements framing the social and structural nature of gender-based violence (GBV)¹, stereotypes and prejudices still persist in legal narratives and court rulings [8], reinforced by underlying sexist biases.

In this context, the press plays a crucial role as an arena of socialisation where cultural norms about gender, violence and power are reproduced. Media studies view journalism as a matter of civic education and social responsibility [9], more recently interpreting it as a discursive practice that can either challenge or reinforce sexist, racist, and classist stereotypes [10]. As public attention to GBV has heightened, thanks to feminist movements, scholars have noted an improved yet continuously contested critical analysis of the phenomenon in the press [11; 12]. Researchers [13; 14] and even journalistic associations² have equipped the field with tools to deconstruct harmful narratives.

Nevertheless, in analyzing how newspapers represent male violence against women, a pivotal point is understanding the logic of newsmaking and newsworthiness. Wolf [15] differentiates among five criteria of newsworthiness: substantial; product-related; medium-related; competition or market-related; and public-related. Accounting for these criteria is fundamental to understanding journalists' linguistic choices and why the press facilitates or obstructs certain discursive practices.

Discursive strategies and revictimization in newspaper representation of GBV.

The portrayal of GBV in media has been subject to extensive academic scrutiny, yielding significant critical findings. First and foremost, scholars have highlighted the normalization of male violence, which sometimes renders it difficult to identify the perpetrator (or the violence itself) even from the headlines [16].

Sexist stereotypes in the press contribute to the normalization of male violence by redistributing responsibility between women — who are blamed through secondary victimization rhetoric — and male perpetrators — who are concealed or portrayed as victims of uncontrollable emotions [13]. Perpetrator responsibility is blurred and diminished through communicative strategies — such as linguistic avoidance [2] or misdirection [17]. For instance, passive sentence constructions render the agent implicit or omit the perpetrator entirely while focusing solely on the survivor, making it difficult to assign accountability. Another strategy frequently employed is the offender's "monstrification" [18]: when described as a monster, he is othered rather than recognised as a functional member of a patriarchal society. Readers can thus distance themselves from the violence, viewing it as an anomaly committed by a few deviant individuals. The same rhetoric represents violent men as animals, a "pack" [19] in gang rape cases, further deflecting male responsibility. Moreover, metaphorical language represents women as "prey", while rarely framing men as "hunters": thus, violence is externalized, and perpetrators are absolved [20]. Despite these outcomes, journalists frequently employ such terms to capture attention while fitting tight character limits.

¹ For instance, the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention, 2011) recognizes violence against women in its preamble as a "manifestation of historically unequal power relations between the sexes".

² One example is the Italian Venice Manifesto (Manifesto di Venezia. Giornaliste e giornalisti insieme contro la violenza sulle donne. Venezia: FNSI & Usigrai, 2017), a handbook produced by Italian journalistic associations on how to report on GBV while respecting the victim's dignity.

Frame analysis provides a useful tool in this context, defining a “frame” as the conceptual structure within which information is processed and stored [21; 22]. Studies note that the use of an episodic frame, focused on individual events, is far more frequent than a thematic frame, which instead situates violence against women within a sexist social structure designed to support the patriarchal status quo [23; 24], a tendency clearly reflected in the Italian press [25].

Empirical benchmarks established by the research project *STEP. Stereotypes and prejudice. Toward a cultural change in gender representation in judicial, law enforcement and media discourse*³ provide a crucial theoretical foundation for examining how the Italian press represents male violence against women, in order to highlight harmful stereotypes and prejudices [13]. A primary finding concerns the systematic discrepancy between press coverage and actual statistical incidence of specific kinds of male violence. For instance, while femicide accounts for approximately 1% of recorded gender-based crimes, it receives 44.5% of media coverage due to its extreme severity and heightened newsworthiness. Conversely, pervasive forms of abuse like domestic violence, which account for nearly half of the statistically recorded crimes, make up only 14% of press reporting, contributing to the routine erasure and normalization of everyday systemic violence. Lexical frequency analysis within this literature demonstrates that press reporting centers primarily on the victim, while the perpetrator remains largely invisibilized.

Broadening the focus to the judicial representations of GBV, research highlights three recurring biases: framing violence as “family disputes” (neutralizing power imbalances and privatizing a structural issue); attributing abuse to “jealousy” (depicting deliberate violence as a “natural reaction” that the woman “caused”); and the “raptus” bias (emphasizing loss of control, which dissociates the violent act from daily patterns of abuse). Such reductionist frameworks systematically romanticize GBV, effectively dissociating individual acts of violence from the systemic patterns of power and control perpetrated by men and sustained by a patriarchal society.

Gang rape: an apex of power asymmetries. This study focuses on group sexual violence, grounded in a framework that interprets gang rape as a peak manifestation of symbolic power asymmetry, characterized by numerical dominance and the intertwining of sexual and often physical, psychological and digital abuse. Studies highlight how gang rape victims suffer more severe physical and psychological consequences than survivors of single-assailant rapes [26; 27]. Despite this, literature on GBV rarely addresses group sexual violence, and when it does, it focuses mainly on instances at U.S. campuses [28], wartime violence [29; 30], or high-profile individual cases [31; 32].

Studying gang rape also provides a privileged standpoint to analyse male homosociality and how masculinity is displayed and performed. The survivor becomes “a tool, an object, the centerfield around which boys both test and demonstrate their power and heterosexual desire by performing for one another” [28, p. 7]. Violence thus serves to collectively construct an identity rooted in hegemonic masculinity [33; 34; 35], and to ensure adherence to this role. More recently, public attention

³ The study was funded by the Italian Department of Equal Opportunities of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and coordinated by Professor Flaminia Sacc. Led by Tuscia University in cooperation with the NGO Differenza Donna, the project takes into account the Italian judicial and press representation of GBV from 2017 to 2019, analysing over 16,000 newspaper articles and 282 court sentences.

has turned to the rising issue of non-consensual sharing of intimate images (NCSII), an online form of GBV that frequently intersects with group sexual violence, where assaults are recorded and shared against the victim's will — proving that digital violence is both a reflex and an expansion of offline GBV.

This paper seeks to address the gap in the literature regarding media representations of gang rape, and is situated within the framework of the “STEP Observatory — Research and Information”⁴, which offers ongoing monitoring of the Italian press representation of GBV. Specifically, this study narrows its focus to the Italian press coverage of gang rape, in order to analyse whether media coverage aligns with actual statistical incidence, and to identify the drivers of news visibility. Two research questions guide the analysis: (1) Is the representation of gang rape cases in the press proportional to its effective incidence? (2) What variables explain the higher coverage of some gang rape cases?

Research design and dataset: the STEP Observatory. The study employs human content analysis of a corpus of 2,036 articles selected from the “STEP Observatory — Research and Information”, adopting a mixed-methods design combining quantitative content analysis of article frequencies with qualitative content analysis of narrative frames focused on the sub-sample of articles detailing the ten most covered cases.

The corpus includes articles drawn from 26 national and local Italian newspapers throughout 2020–2025. The database was developed within the framework of two Research Projects of National Interest: PRIN 2020 “*Stereotypes and prejudices: the social representation of gender-based violence and contrast strategies ten years after the Istanbul Convention*”, led by Principal Investigator Professor Flaminia Saccà, analysing the press representation of GBV from 2020 to 2023; and PRIN PNRR 2022 “*STEPSISTER — STereotypes and PrejudiceS In preSs represenTation of gEndeR-violence*”, led by Principal Investigator Doctor Rosalba Belmonte, covering the years 2024 and 2025.

Initial corpus selection was conducted through keyword filtering using the terms “gang rape(s)”, “group sexual violence(s)”, and “pack”⁵. The database was finalized by assigning each article to its gang rape case. The label “Analysis” consists of articles that did not center on a single incident — offering a structural overview of GBV.

Empirical findings: media overrepresentation vs. statistical reality. Analyzing the annual distribution of coverage reveals significant disparities between the media representation of gang rape and its statistical incidence.

As shown in Figure 1, article coverage peaked in 2023, reflecting multiple high-profile cases and a cultural climate highly sensitive to GBV, driven in part by discourse surrounding the femicide of Giulia Cecchettin. Conversely, 2020 recorded the lowest coverage, likely as the COVID-19 pandemic monopolized media attention and restricted social interactions preceding offline group sexual violence.

⁴ A national observatory chaired by Professor Flaminia Saccà and created through an agreement between Sapienza University of Rome, Tuscia University, and the Equal Opportunities Committees of the National Federation of the Italian Press (FNSI), Rai Journalists' Union (USIGRai), Order of Journalists (OdG), and United Free Autonomous Journalists (GiULiA).

⁵ In Italian: “*stupro/i di gruppo*”, “*violenza/e sessuale/i di gruppo*” and “*branco*”.

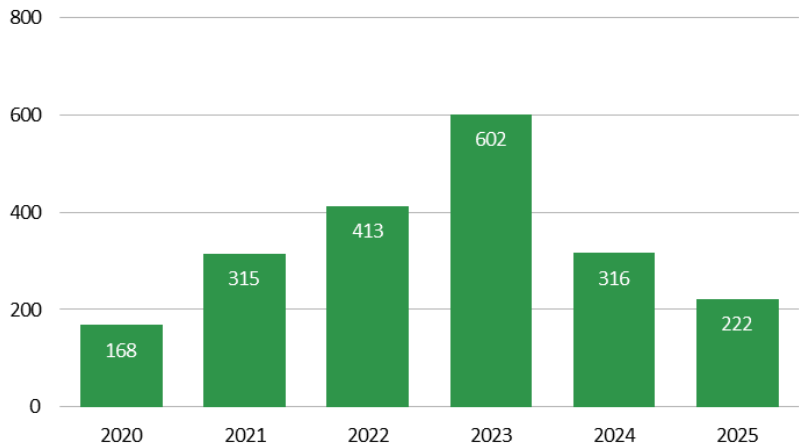


Figure 1. Annual number of newspaper articles covering gang rape cases in Italy (2020–2025)

Source: PRIN 2020 “Stereotypes and prejudices: the social representation of gender-based violence and contrast strategies ten years after the Istanbul Convention”, and PRIN 2022 PNRR “STEPSISTER-STEREOTYPES and PrejudiceS In preSs representATion of gEndeRviolence”.

Contextualizing these figures within total annual coverage of male violence against women shows that gang rape represents a relatively small proportion of overall GBV reporting, averaging around 5.9% of articles in the period studied, with 2024 marking the highest share.

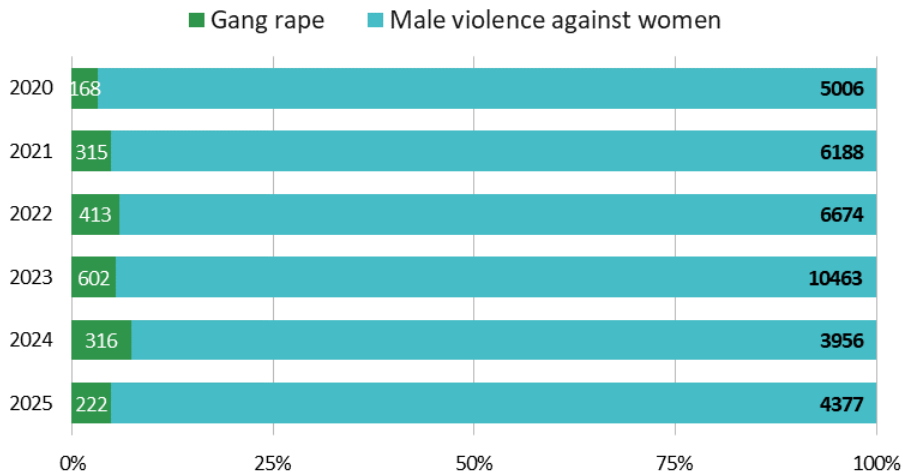


Figure 2. Proportional share of gang rape coverage relative to total male violence against women news coverage (2020–2025)

Source: PRIN 2020 “Stereotypes and prejudices: the social representation of gender-based violence and contrast strategies ten years after the Istanbul Convention”, and PRIN 2022 PNRR “STEPSISTER-STEREOTYPES and PrejudiceS In preSs representATion of gEndeRviolence”.

When narrowing the analytical scope exclusively to sexual violence, we find that gang rape accounts for an average of 11.3% of articles across the observation period.

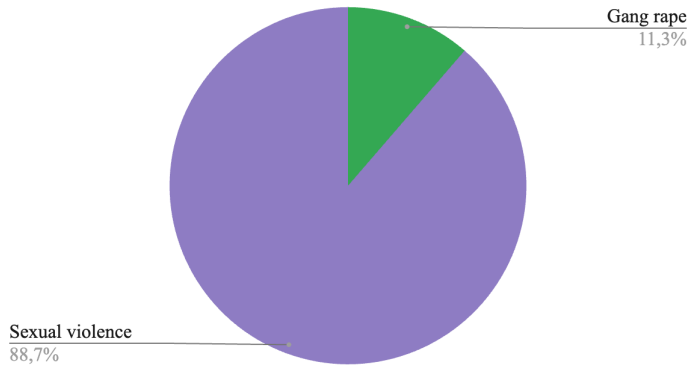


Figure 3. Proportional share of gang rape coverage relative to all sexual violence articles (2020–2025)

Source: PRIN 2020 “Stereotypes and prejudices: the social representation of gender-based violence and contrast strategies ten years after the Istanbul Convention”, and PRIN 2022 PNRR “STEPSISTER-STereotypes and PrejudiceS In preSs repreSenTation of gEndeRviolence”.

Determining whether gang rape coverage aligns with actual incidence requires consulting official Italian data, which is often criticized for its fragmentation, inaccessibility, and reporting delays [36]. While ISTAT⁶ estimates group assaults at under 1.5% of reported cases (excluding partner violence), Ministry of the Interior data⁷ offers a broader baseline, placing multi-perpetrator assaults at an average of 2.06%⁸ of total annual recorded rapes regardless of perpetrator relationship.

Comparing this 2.06% statistical baseline to the 11.3% news coverage share reveals a substantial overrepresentation of gang rape in Italian press coverage. This result aligns with existing literature that highlights how sexual violence receives disproportionate press attention compared to more frequent forms of GBV, such as domestic violence [13]. However, our data reveals an additional layer of distortion specific to the coverage of gang rape cases, reflecting the unique symbolic weight these cases carry in public discourse.

Coverage of gang rape cases: issue continuity, social status and newsworthiness.

Press visibility is rarely a neutral mirror of statistical reality; rather, intersectional hierarchies of social privilege, racialized alterity and migratory status dictate which gang rape cases catalyze attention. Categorizing the corpus by incident reveals how newsworthiness, intersectionality, and power asymmetries shape media visibility.

Table 1 categorizes cases by geographic location and key analytical variables: perpetrator name (for elite status [E]); victim name (in femicides); and minoritized characteristics [I] (racialization, migratory status, social marginality, disability). Non-Italian perpetrators were coded as “foreigners”, to illustrate how media practices weaponize symbolic boundaries.

⁶ ISTAT (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica) is Italy’s national statistical institute. Its 2025 survey (La violenza contro le donne, dentro e fuori la famiglia) provides the first comprehensive national update on male violence against women since 2014.

⁷ Ministry of the Interior, Report “Violenza di Genere: Focus Violenza Sessuale e Violenza Sessuale di Gruppo” (Sept. 2023), analyzing police data on individual and group sexual assault from 2013 to 2022.

⁸ Given that the newspaper data covers 2020–2025, narrowing the report’s broader 2013–2022 scope to the overlapping 2020–2022 window offers a more accurate comparison. The report registers a yearly average of 5,246 of individual rape and 108 instances of gang rape.

Table 1

Most covered gang rape cases and their relative frequency

2020	n.	2021	n.	2022	n.	2023	n.	2024	n.	2025	n.
Martina Rossi	16	Grillo Jr. [E]	100	Milan NYE⁹ foreigners [I]	120	Grillo Jr. [E]	90	Palermo	62	Grillo Jr. [E]	80
Pisticci minors	16	Martina Rossi	35	Grillo Jr. [E]	39	Caivano Green Park minors [I]	61	Grillo Jr. [E]	42	Milan NYE tourist foreigners [I]	16
Grosseto minors	10	Football player Portanova [E]	14	Rome NYE minors	23	Palermo	56	Catania minors foreigners [I]	29	Rome First May Concert foreigners [I]	14
Prato church scandal	10	Lignano	12	Florence tourist	16	Football player Lucarelli [E]	54	Chianciano victim foreigner [I]	23	Rome park foreigners [I]	10
Lignano minors foreigners [I]	7	Savona minors	10	Milan foreigners [I]	12	Milan NYE foreigners [I]	28	Football player Lucarelli [E]	16	Marina di Mancaversa tourist	9
Analysis	6	Fortezza da Basso	7	Garda train minors	8	Analysis	24	Rimini minor sex worker [I]	14	Florence downtown tourist	7
Viterbo Casapound supporters	5	Marina di Bibbona	7	Macerata professor	8	La Russa Jr. [E]	23	Palma di Maiorca Italian aggressors	13	Ravenna foreigners [I]	7
Circeo	5	Caserta disabled [I]	6	Analysis	7	Ponte San Giovanni	19	Robinho [E]	12	Massafra	6
Desirée Mariotti-ni drugs foreigners [I]	5	Desirée Mariotti-ni drugs foreigners [I]	6	Cornaredo foreigners motel [I]	7	Rome NYE minors	14	Massafra	10	Seminara mafia minors [I]	5
Marina di Bibbona	5	Rome minors	6	Martina Rossi	7	Seminara mafia minors [I]	11	Rome victim journalist	8	Padua foreigners [I]	4

Notes: **Bold** text indicates issue continuity: cases that re-entered the news agenda across two or more years within the corpus; **[E]** is code for Elite status: standing for cases where perpetrators possess elevated socio-economic, political, or symbolic capital (e.g. public figures, politicians, professional athletes, or their immediate family members); **[I]** stands for Intersectional dynamics: coding cases involving minoritized subjectivities, both perpetrators and victims, whose press representation is shaped by intersecting axes of oppression, including racialization, migratory status, socio-economic marginality, or disability.

Source: PRIN 2020 “Stereotypes and prejudices: the social representation of gender-based violence and contrast strategies ten years after the Istanbul Convention”, and PRIN 2022 PNRR “STEPMASTER-STereotypes and Prejudices In preSs representation of gEndeRviolence”.

⁹ NYE stands for “New Years Eve”.

High-profile gang rape coverage relies heavily on issue continuity [37], with 11 of 44 prominent cases reappearing across multiple years (bolded in Table 1), led by the Grillo Jr.¹⁰ case. Once on the media agenda, newsrooms routinely revisit these cases, particularly those marked by severe power asymmetries.

As Table 1 shows (code [E]), cases involving high-profile figures — such as Ciro Grillo, Leonardo Apache La Russa, and footballers Portanova, Lucarelli, and Robinho — consistently drive heavy coverage. While high social status enhances substantial newsworthiness, it also exacerbates power imbalances and heightens revictimization risks. Powerful perpetrators often gain unmediated media access to disseminate self-serving narratives, which press outlets frequently adopt or quote directly. The Grillo Jr. case is a paradigmatic example.

Generating over 350 articles (354 in total, averaging 17.38% of all articles, or more than one out of six), the 2019 Grillo case in Sardinia is the dataset's most covered incident. Coverage peaked in 2021 after politician Beppe Grillo published an online video defending his son, resorting to blatant secondary victimization tropes and erasure of male responsibility. He weaponized secondary victimization rhetoric by pointing to an eight-day reporting delay and the survivor's sports activities while framing the accused as “foolish youths” merely “having fun”:

“Beppe Grillo difende il figlio «È coglione, non stupratore»” [Beppe Grillo defends his son «He's an idiot, not a rapist»], Libero, 20 April 2021.

Thus, he simultaneously invoked the rape myth of false allegations [38] and erased male responsibility. This framing heavily influenced the reporting of the case: co-defendants were referred to as “Ciro's friends”, creating a narrative of familiarity that defined them by their peer network rather than the crimes charged. For instance:

“Interrogato in segreto Grillo jr: «Non fu violenza»” [Grillo Jr. questioned in secret: «It was not sexual assault»], Il Fatto Quotidiano, 16 April 2021.

“Il verbale di Grillo jr «Silvia consenziente doveva essere un gioco»” [Grillo Jr.'s statement: «Silvia was consenting, it was supposed to be a game»], La Repubblica, 13 May 2021.

“Ciro, la ragazza addormentata e le foto oscene «Una goliardata»” [Ciro, the sleeping girl, and the obscene photos: «A harmless prank»], Corriere della Sera, 6 June 2021.

Amplified by Italy's hybrid media ecosystem [39], this defense granted perpetrators disproportionate narrative influence, despite some reporting pushing back, quoting the survivor's attorney, who condemned the defense as a “repulsive farce” aimed at dragging “the victim into the dock”.

“Grillo difende il figlio indagato per stupro: «Arrestate me»” [Grillo defends his son under investigation for rape: «Arrest me instead»], Il Manifesto, 19 April 2021.

Intersectional biases: how gender and the structural nature of GBV disappear.

An intersectional lens illuminates how media representations vary by social positioning across race, migratory status, and marginality. Cases involving minoritized groups (coded “[I]” in Table 1) comprise nearly one-third of the corpus, with foreign status as the main marker of alterity. The Milan New Year's Eve assaults' coverage illustrates this dynamic: the incident was weaponized to demand anti-immigration measures; the city was framed as overwhelmed by a “myriad of North Africans with

¹⁰ The press named this case after one of the alleged aggressors, Ciro Grillo, who is the son of Italian politician Beppe Grillo; it will later be addressed as “Grillo Jr. case”, to mirror its press representation.

multiple criminal records”; and femonationalist rhetoric [40] depicted non-Western men as culturally prone to sexual violence. This securitization frame is evident in the press headlines of the period:

“Allarme sicurezza, lite in Consiglio. La Lega: Granelli si deve dimettere”
[Security alert, disputes in City Council. Lega: Granelli must resign], Il Giorno, 11 January 2022.

“Le ragazze aggredite mentre l’assessore faceva i selfie coi vigili”; “Lex vicesindaco ha denunciato la violenza di Capodanno: la sinistra non se n’è accorta”
[The young women were attacked while the councilor was taking selfies with the police; The former deputy mayor denounced the New Year’s Eve violence: the left didn’t even notice], Il Giornale, 9 January 2022.

Social marginality operates similarly, as seen in the Caivano case involving nine young men accused of gang-raping two young girls in a Neapolitan hinterland town. Media and political actors framed the crime strictly as a byproduct of suburban decay, criminality, and parental neglect [19]¹¹: they blame structural factors, but rather than questioning gender inequality, they turned to securitization. When cases mobilize multiple axes of oppression, the press reduces violence to axes other than gender, thus obscuring patriarchal power.

Finally, media omissions reflect core news values. Table 1 shows the scarcity of “Analysis” articles employing data to frame GBV as a systemic phenomenon. This stark imbalance underscores a core tension: framing violence as a pervasive issue directly conflicts with news values, which routinely prioritize episodic coverage over structural analysis.

Conclusions. This study investigated the media representation of group sexual violence in the Italian press, evaluating alignment with statistical reality and identifying variables driving case visibility. Using a mixed-methods content analysis of 2,036 articles (2020–2025) across 26 Italian newspapers from the STEP Observatory, the study focused on the ten most covered cases annually.

First, gang rape is substantially overrepresented: while the Ministry of the Interior data places multi-perpetrator assaults at 2.06% of recorded rapes, gang rape accounts for 11.3% of newspaper coverage devoted to sexual violence. This hyper-visibility carries a severe trade-off: invisibilization of more pervasive forms of GBV, such as domestic violence.

Second, case visibility and news longevity are governed by issue continuity and power asymmetries. Perpetrators belonging to social, political, or sports elites — exemplified by the Grillo Jr. case (354 articles) — receive sustained coverage. However, newsrooms often grant powerful aggressors the right to frame the narrative, reproducing secondary victimization and concealing male responsibility. News values transform public reporting into an exculpatory platform for perpetrators, rather than an arena of institutional accountability.

Third, intersectionality proves to be a powerful analytical tool to unveil how media attention unfolds along the axes of race and class. When perpetrators belong to minoritized groups (defined by race, migratory status, or social marginality), the press mobilizes femonationalist and securitization rhetorics. In incidents like Milan

¹¹ These narratives are mirrored in the legislative measure taken by the Italian government to “respond” to this case, an emergency legislative package (Law No. 159/2023, converting Decree-Law No. 123/2023, or “Caivano Decree”) that expanded juvenile pre-trial detention and criminalized parents in marginalized communities.

New Year's Eve and Caivano, media focus shifts away from structural patriarchal dominance toward border control, racialized criminality, or suburban decay, leaving gender asymmetry unaddressed.

Finally, the overwhelming dominance of episodic framing over thematic analysis reinforces the systemic erasure of collective responsibility, treating gang rape as an anomaly rather than a structural phenomenon embedded in everyday social relations.

Future research could expand this framework by examining how gang rape coverage is amplified across social media platforms within the hybrid media ecosystem, and conducting comparative cross-national studies across the Southern European and Mediterranean region to assess whether these intersectional distortions represent broader regional trends.

References

1. European Institute for Gender Equality. Combating violence against women: European Union. Publications Office; 2017. DOI [10.2839/898324](https://doi.org/10.2839/898324).
2. Romito P. A deafening silence: Hidden violence against women and children. Bristol: Policy Press; 2008. DOI [10.2307/j.ctt9qgvgr](https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt9qgvgr).
3. Saccà F. Le asimmetrie del potere: la prospettiva di genere nell'analisi socio-politica. Una breve introduzione [Power asymmetries: Gender perspective in socio-political analysis. A brief introduction]. *Sociologia*. 2022;(3):3–5.
4. Belmonte R., Raffa V. La violenza maschile contro le donne come prodotto dello squilibrio di potere tra i generi. Uno sguardo socio-politologico [Male violence against women as a product of the power imbalance between genders: A socio-politological view]. *Sociologia*. 2022;(3):41–51.
5. Bourdieu P. Masculine domination. Milan: Feltrinelli; 2014. ISBN 8807884054.
6. Crenshaw K. Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antiracist doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*. 1989;(1):139–167. DOI [10.4324/9781315582924-10](https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315582924-10).
7. Collins P. H. Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment. New York: Routledge; 1990. DOI [10.4324/9780203900055](https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203900055).
8. Saccà F., Massidda L. Stereotypes and prejudices in the legal representation of violence against women. A socio-cultural analysis of the judgments in the Italian courts. *Science. Culture. Society*. 2021;27(2):62–73. DOI [10.19181/nko.2021.27.2.6](https://doi.org/10.19181/nko.2021.27.2.6). EDN XIOZGX.
9. Commission on Freedom of the Press. A free and responsible press: A general report on mass communication: Newspapers, radio, motion pictures, magazines, and books. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; 1974. ISBN 9780226471358.
10. Hall S. [ed.] Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices. London: Sage Publications; 1997. ISBN 0-7619-5432-5.
11. Capecchi S., Gius C. Gender-based violence representation in the Italian media: Reviewing changes in public narrations from femicide to “revenge pornography”. *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*. 2023;15(1):81–100. DOI [10.14658/PUPJ-IJSE-2023-1-4](https://doi.org/10.14658/PUPJ-IJSE-2023-1-4).
12. Zurbano-Berenguer B., Liberia Vayá I. Revisión teórico-conceptual de la violencia de género y de su representación en el discurso mediático. Una propuesta de resignificación [Theoretical-conceptual review of gender violence and its representation in media discourse. A proposal for resignification]. *ZER. Revista De Estudios De Comunicación*. 2014;19(36):121–143. (In Spanish). DOI [10.1387/zer.13494](https://doi.org/10.1387/zer.13494).
13. Saccà F. Stereotipo e pregiudizio. La rappresentazione giuridica e mediatica della violenza di genere [Stereotype and prejudice. The legal and media representation of gender-based violence]. Milan: FrancoAngeli; 2021. (In Italian). ISBN 9788835124474.
14. Sánchez-Ramos M., Zurbano-Berenguer B., Edo-Ibáñez A. Tratamiento ético de la violencia de género en los medios [Ethical treatment of gender violence in the media]. Madrid: Tecnos; 2024. (In Spanish). ISBN 978-84-309-8969-0.
15. Wolf M. Teorie delle comunicazioni di massa [Theories of mass communications]. Milano: Bompiani; 1997. (In Italian). ISBN 978-8845248412.
16. Bullock C. F., Cubert J. Coverage of domestic violence fatalities by newspapers in Washington State. *Journal Of Interpersonal Violence*. 2002;17(5):475–499. DOI [10.1177/0886260502017005001](https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260502017005001). EDN JNNWMZ.
17. Thompson C. Skirting around the issue: Misdirection and linguistic avoidance in parliamentary discourses on upskirting. *Violence Against Women*. 2020;26(11):1403–1422. DOI [10.1177/1077801219870606](https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801219870606).

18. Consalvo M. The monsters next door: Media constructions of boys and masculinity. *Feminist Media Studies*. 2003;3(1):27–45. DOI [10.1080/1468077032000080112](https://doi.org/10.1080/1468077032000080112).
19. Belmonte R., Pelle L. The pack of the “Green Park”. Rhetorics and stereotypes in the press representation of a gang rape case. *Power Asymmetries: Gender, Ideologies and Democracy*. 2025;(1):47–68. DOI [10.13133/3103-4667/132](https://doi.org/10.13133/3103-4667/132).
20. Busso L., Combei C. R., Tordini O. La rappresentazione lessicale della violenza di genere: “donne come vittime” nei media italiani. [The lexical representation of gender violence: “women as victims” in the Italian media]. In: Aldinucci B. [et al.], editors. *PAROLA: Una nozione unica per una ricerca multidisciplinare*. Siena: Edizioni Università per Stranieri di Siena; 2019. p. 261–279. (In Italian). ISBN 978-88-32244-02-1.
21. Goffman E. *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; 1974. ISBN 9780674316560.
22. Entman R. M. Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*. 1993;43(4):51–58. DOI [10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x). EDN [HIJMFJX](#).
23. McManus J., Dorfman L. Distracted by drama: How California newspapers portray intimate partner violence. *Berkeley Media Studies Group*. 2003;13:1–24.
24. Worden A. P., Carlson B. E. Attitudes and Beliefs About Domestic Violence: Results of a Public Opinion Survey: II. Beliefs About Causes. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. 2005;20(10):1219–1243. DOI [10.1177/0886260505278531](https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260505278531). EDN [JNOABH](#).
25. Saccà F., Belmonte R. Women first-person narrative as a tool for deconstructing stereotyped representations of gender-based violence. *Science. Culture. Society*. 2022;28(1):43–53. DOI [10.19181/nko.2022.28.1.4](https://doi.org/10.19181/nko.2022.28.1.4). EDN [GRIRZK](#).
26. Gidycz C. A., Koss M. P. A comparison of group and individual sexual assault victims. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. 1990;14(3):325–342. DOI [10.1111/j.1471-6402.1990.tb00023.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1990.tb00023.x).
27. Ullman S. E. A 10-year update of “review and critique of empirical studies of rape avoidance”. *Criminal justice and behavior*. 2007;34(3):411–429. DOI [10.1177/0093854806297117](https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854806297117). EDN [IRWKRT](#).
28. Sanday P. R. *Fraternity gang rape: Sex, brotherhood, and privilege on campus*. New York: New York University Press; 1990. ISBN 978-0814779026.
29. Card C. Rape as a weapon of war. *Hypatia*. 1996;11(4):5–18. DOI [10.1111/j.1527-2001.1996.tb01031.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.1996.tb01031.x).
30. Danjibo N., Akinkuotu A. Rape as a weapon of war against women and girls. *Gender and behaviour*. 2019;17(2):13161–13173. DOI [10.4314/gab.v17i2](https://doi.org/10.4314/gab.v17i2).
31. Roychowdhury P. The Delhi Gang Rape: “The Making of International Causes”. *Feminist Studies*. 2013;39(1):282–292. DOI [10.1353/fem.2013.0018](https://doi.org/10.1353/fem.2013.0018).
32. Beltr n A. M., Calvet C. C. Fiestas, public space and rape culture. A study of the Wolf Pack case. In: Platt L., Finkel R. [eds.] *Gendered Violence at International Festivals*. London: Routledge; 2020. p. 24–38. DOI [10.4324/9780429344893](https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429344893).
33. Connell R. W. *Masculinities*. London: Routledge; 2005. DOI [10.4324/9781003116479](https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003116479).
34. Pacilli M. G. Uomini duri. Il lato oscuro della mascolinità [Tough Men. The Dark Side of Masculinity]. Bologna: Il Mulino; 2020. (In Italian). ISBN 978-8815286642.
35. Farci M. Quel che resta degli uomini. Sulla mascolinità [What Remains of Men. On Masculinity]. Milan: Nottetempo; 2025. (In Italian). ISBN 979-1254802113.
36. Columbro D. Perché contare i femminicidi è un atto politico [Why counting femicides is a political act]. Milano: Feltrinelli; 2025. (In Italian). ISBN 9788807175107.
37. Galtung J., Ruge M. H. The structure of foreign news: The presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of Peace Research*. 1965;2(1):64–91. DOI [10.1177/002234336500200104](https://doi.org/10.1177/002234336500200104). EDN [JNWXP](#).
38. Burt M. R. Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 1980;38(2):217–230. DOI [10.1037/0022-3514.38.2.217](https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.38.2.217).
39. Splendore S. *Giornalismo ibrido. Come cambia la cultura giornalistica italiana [Hybrid journalism. How Italian journalistic culture is changing]*. Rome: Carocci; 2017. (In Italian). ISBN 9788843088423.
40. Farris S. R. *In the name of women’s rights: The rise of femonationalism*. Durham: Duke University Press; 2017. DOI [10.1215/9780822372929](https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822372929).

Received: 10.08.2026. Accepted: 12.09.2026.

Author information:

Lucia Pelle, PhD student at Tuscia University. Viterbo, Italy.

lucia.pelle@unitus.it

ORCID: [0009-0009-4298-032X](https://orcid.org/0009-0009-4298-032X)

Л. Пелле¹¹ Университет Тушии. Витербо, Италия

ФРЕЙМИНГ ГРУППОВОГО СЕКСУАЛЬНОГО НАСИЛИЯ В ИТАЛЬЯНСКОЙ ПРЕССЕ: НОВОСТНАЯ ЦЕННОСТЬ, ИНТЕРСЕКЦИОНАЛЬНОСТЬ И ИСКАЖЕНИЕ ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНИЙ О ГЕНДЕРНОМ НАСИЛИИ

Аннотация. Средства массовой информации играют определяющую роль в формировании общественного представления о гендерном насилии, однако освещение групповых сексуальных нападений в прессе остаётся недостаточно изученным направлением в рамках политической социологии и гендерных исследований. Опираясь на продолжающийся мониторинг итальянских СМИ, проводимый в рамках исследовательского проекта STEP, в статье анализируется корпус из 2036 публикаций, вышедших в 26 итальянских газетах в период с 2020 по 2025 г. Исследуются особенности освещения групповых изнасилований, критерии их новостной значимости и используемые дискурсивные фреймы. Эмпирические результаты выявляют существенное расхождение между медийным представлением и статистической реальностью: если на нападения, совершённые несколькими преступниками, приходится около 2,06% зарегистрированных в Италии случаев изнасилования, то их доля в публикациях о сексуальном насилии составляет 11,3%. Интенсивность освещения в новостных СМИ в значительной степени связана с непрерывностью темы (периодическим возобновлением обсуждения), при этом видимость отдельных случаев определяется двумя основными факторами: высоким социальным статусом преступников, который снижает порог отбора новостей, но одновременно предоставляет публичным фигурам платформу для распространения нарративов, ведущих к повторной виктимизации жертв и стирающих ответственность самих преступников, а также интерсекциональной позицией жертв и преступников. В случаях, когда правонарушители принадлежат к группам, подвергающимся социальной стигматизации — прежде всего по таким основаниям, как расовая принадлежность, миграционный статус и социальная маргинализация, — пресса обращается к фемонационалистской и секьюритизационной риторике. Такая риторика маскирует ответственность мужчин и объясняет гендерное насилие внешними факторами, не подвергая сомнению фундаментальные гендерные асимметрии власти. Кроме того, освещение в новостных СМИ в значительной степени опирается на эпизодический фрейминг, который систематически скрывает структурные причины гендерного насилия. Полученные результаты указывают на необходимость критического мониторинга СМИ для формирования чувствительного к гендерной проблематике освещения гендерного насилия в прессе.

Ключевые слова: групповое изнасилование; репрезентация в прессе; мужское насилие в отношении женщин; интерсекциональность; асимметрии власти; критерии новостной значимости; сокрытие мужской ответственности; анализ фреймов

Для цитирования: Пелле Л. Фрейминг группового сексуального насилия в итальянской прессе: новостная ценность, интерсекциональность и искажение представлений о гендерном насилии // Наука. Культура. Общество. 2026. Т. 32, № 3. С. 86–97. (In Eng.). DOI [10.19181/nko.2026.32.3.6](https://doi.org/10.19181/nko.2026.32.3.6). EDN NKHERO.

Поступила: 10.08.2026. Принята: 12.09.2026.

Сведения об авторе:

Пелле Лючия, аспирантка, Университет Тушии. Витербо, Италия.

lucia.pelle@unitus.it

ORCID: [0009-0009-4298-032X](https://orcid.org/0009-0009-4298-032X)