

How Ageist and Sexist Framing Is Used in Turkish Media To Normalize Femicide: A Content Analysis

MERVE BASDOGAN
ZULFUKAR OZDOGAN
LESA HUBER

Indiana University, Bloomington, USA

More than 2,800 women in Turkey were murdered by male partners or family members between 2010 and 2020. Research on domestic violence against women in Turkey indicates that exposure to physical or sexual domestic violence increases with age, yet femicide against older women is rarely studied. We conducted a content analysis of 66 publicly archived Turkish mainstream media news stories about the murders of older women from 2010 to 2017. Textual and visual content was analyzed to examine how the femicide of older women was portrayed. Story writers used three primary communication frames in the text and visual content and structure: (1) attribution of responsibility, (2) morality, and (3) human interest. Word choice, sentence structure, and story content used ageist and sexist biases to portray the victim as morally reprehensible or troublesome, while promoting sympathy and excusing responsibility for the perpetrator. Implicit and explicit ageism and sexism in Turkish news deflect from the social injustice of femicide, normalizing violence against aging women.

Keywords: femicide, ageism, sexism, Turkish news, framing violence

Violence against women, including femicide, is a long-standing, worldwide violation of human rights (World Health Organization, 2012). Femicide is the gender-based killing or maiming of a woman or girl, most often by an intimate male partner or family member. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2018) reports that 50,000 women a year are killed by intimate partners. Globally, the proportion of women killed by intimate partners is more than 6 times higher than for men killed in similar situations (Stöckl et al., 2013).

In Turkey, 2,895 women were killed by a male partner or family member between 2010 and 2020 (The Platform of We Will Stop Femicide, 2020). Police records report that 932 women were murdered in Turkey in 2016, 2017, and 2018; more than 2,000 were murdered between 2010 and 2018 (Tastan & Yıldız, 2019). Most of these murders (72.8%) were committed in the home; 1 of every 2 women killed in Turkey was murdered by her husband or boyfriend ("Nearly 2,000 Women," 2017). The perpetrators' justifications include

Merve Basdogan: basdogan@iu.edu

Zulfukar Ozdogan: zulfozdo@iu.edu

Lesa Huber: lehuber@indiana.edu

Date submitted: 2020-11-20

Copyright © 2021 (Merve Basdogan, Zulfukar Ozdogan, and Lesa Huber). Licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution Non-commercial No Derivatives (by-nc-nd). Available at <http://ijoc.org>.

suspicion of being cheated on, jealousy, divorce requests, rejection, so-called honor killings, unemployment, and infertility (Celik & Kirca, 2018). Turkish sociologist Cetin (2015) argues that these killings indicate a conflict between modern women's independent status and traditional patriarchal values, which promote men's sense of ownership and possession over women. He proposed the term *revolt killing* to refer to femicides in Turkey (Cetin, 2015, p. 354). Femicide is "a result of her objection, of coming up against the ongoing [patriarchal] system, rejection of the man and a statement of her will" (Cetin, 2015, p. 353).

Exposure to physical or sexual domestic violence increases with age (Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2015). Older femicide victims are targets of accusations ranging from being ill-natured to poor housekeeping. The number of older femicide victims is likely to increase; Turkey has the second-fastest aging population in The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development countries (The Aging Readiness and Competitiveness [ARC] Report, 2019). The over-65 population represented 8.2% of the total population in 2015 and is expected to grow to 20.8 % by 2050 (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2019).

As the population ages, so does the perpetuation of ageism. The pandemic of 2020 fanned implicit ageism around the globe. Public discourse through mass media and social media portrayed anyone over 70 as frail, vulnerable, and of no use to society (Ayalon et al., 2020). Ageism has a firm footing in Turkey. Dedeli, Yildiz, and Kiyancicek (2013) reported that among 339 participants from professions in Turkey, including the police, the iman/hodja, the constabulary, and tradespeople, most held false ageist beliefs and attitudes. More than half (187) of the participants stated that being elderly meant having decreased physical, social, and mental abilities; 87.3% of participants felt that being elderly was synonymous with being abused and neglected.

The intersection of ageism and sexism in the media results in discrimination and oppression against older women (Loos & Ivan, 2018). Analyzing the discourse and rhetoric about the murders of older women in Turkish mainstream media is critical to understanding Turkish society's perception of femicide. It is foundational to supporting just policy and effective intervention.

The Intersection of Ageism and Sexism in the Media: Framing Violence Against Older Women

The intersection of ageism and sexism results in higher incidences of oppression, prejudice, and discrimination against older women (Sabik, 2015). Ageism was initially defined as "a process of systematic stereotyping and discrimination against people because they are old" (Butler, 1995, p. 35). Ageism is widespread, complex, implicit, and often unchallenged (Ayalon, 2014; Ayalon et al., 2020; Officer & de la Fuente-Núñez, 2018).

Ageism and sexism are socially constructed beliefs and attitudes influenced by personal interactions (Cruikshank, 2013). Socially constructed beliefs and opinions are highly influenced by the media; consequently, the media's portrayal of women and aging adults reflects how a society views and treats women and the aged, at both the individual and broader social levels (Taylor, 2009).

Age- and gender-based discrimination is evident in all forms of media. Women, especially older women, are underrepresented and often negatively portrayed (North & Fiske, 2012). Older male characters

are associated with more positive traits, such as leadership and power, than female characters (Lauzen & Dozier, 2005). Although recent examples of positive portrayals of older women exist, the media has perpetuated ageism and sexism and shaped the social construction of crimes such as domestic violence as normative (Loos & Ivan, 2018).

Story framing is one of the strategies used by the media to construct and influence public perceptions by selecting what to include and what to exclude from a story (Cissel, 2012). Frames may be just or unjust. They are often not recognized by the reading public, yet encourage readers to categorize, label, and create an understanding of the social phenomenon (Gillespie, Richards, Givens, & Smith, 2013). Communication frames about domestic violence have been studied across diverse media sources and countries. Five communication frames have been associated with domestic violence: (1) blaming the victim by focusing on the victim's behavior, (2) excusing the perpetrator by suggesting he is "disordered," (3) normalizing the event by marginalizing details to suggest that it is mundane, (4) telling the story in a way to make it seem like an isolated event, and (5) describing the victim or perpetrator in ways to suggest that she or he is different from the norm (Gillespie et al., 2013).

Alat (2006) studied how the Turkish press frames domestic violence against women. Using linguistic and intertextual analyses, she identified victim-blaming as the most prevalent linguistic form of framing used by the four mainstream newspapers: *Hurriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Aksam*, and *Sabah*. In addition, Turkish papers excused perpetrators by focusing on their mental states or trivialized the crime by using words such as "murder out of love" (Alat, 2006, p. 306).

Stephenson (2015) conducted a content analysis of reports of femicide in daily newspapers in Guyana. Victim-blaming language against women appeared in 85 articles of 159. Examples included "Victim engaged in argument/dispute/ignored perpetrator," "Victim was not cautious enough," or "Perpetrator lost control due to perceived victim rejection/infidelity" (Stephenson, 2015, p. 17). A similar study examining Ghanaian media coverage of violence against women concluded that the media fails to portray domestic violence as a social and public health issue, instead framing violence against women as isolated incidents (Owusu-Addo et al., 2018). Similarly, Bouzerdan and Whitten-Woodring (2018) analyzed news coverage of femicide in Massachusetts in 2013 and argued that most violence against women was portrayed as isolated incidents rather than violations of human rights.

Roberto, McCann, and Brossoie (2013) explored how the U.S. media conceptualizes and reports intimate partner violence among older adults. They analyzed 73 news stories about murder cases involving older women as victims and their male caregivers as perpetrators. In 88% of the stories, the reporters or editors framed murder cases in which the victim had chronic health problems as "mercy" killings or as "choosing" the right to die (Roberto et al., 2013, p. 237). This framing suggests that the victims are different from the norm and the murder was an everyday event, a relief for both the victim and murderer.

Through the choice of words in the title and the content, story writers influence the readers' construction of the event and the people involved (Gillespie et al., 2013). Reports of domestic violence sometimes use sensationalism and sexualized details to frame the victim or perpetrator as different from

the norm. Phrases such as “his [the perpetrator’s] wife was cheating on him with her ex-husband” (Gillespie et al., 2013, p. 234) reinforce traditional gender stereotypes and blame the victim.

An and Gower (2009) describe crisis communication frames used frequently by reporters in the media, including three that are particularly relevant to reporting on domestic violence: (1) attribution of responsibility, (2) human interest, and (3) morality. The attribution of responsibility frame shifts responsibility for a cause or solution to either the government or an individual or group (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The human interest frame presents the event, issue, or problem from an emotional or sensational angle. The morality frame “puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of morals, social prescriptions, and religious tenets” (An & Gower, 2009, p. 108).

Similar to frames in language, the visual elements of an article can magnify the verbal framing of a persuasive message (Seo, Dillard, & Shen, 2013). The visual aspects of news stories include photographs and images, headlines, and story length. The subject, or content, of pictures directs the reader’s attention. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) suggest that social distance, the represented distance of the individual to the viewer in photographs, may influence the level of intimacy. For example, close-up shots showing only the face and head are perceived as being emotionally acquainted with the viewer. Social and public shots may be perceived as distant from the viewer (Kapidzic & Herring, 2015). Visual modality is another factor impacting the perception of the image (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). Pictorial expressions, such as color saturation and high resolution, can maximize the sensory pleasure of the visual by amplifying the feeling of realness.

The imagery, meaning, and size of headline frames is often the first element of a story that a reader encounters. The use of large font or sensational details can draw the reader’s attention. The structure of the headline frames what the media has decided is remarkable about the story. Similarly, the length of the article suggests whether the story is socially relevant or an isolated event (Sela-Shayovitz, 2018).

In summary, the media frames domestic violence against women in ways that create, sustain, and perpetuate socially constructed stereotypes and prejudices against aging women. Newspaper articles are the “public arenas where images of domestic violence are constructed, debated, and reproduced” (Berns, 2001, p. 263). Research from such diverse societies as Turkey, Israel, Guyana, the United States, and Ghana finds that the media minimizes social responsibility for domestic violence by reporting stories as isolated events at the level of the individual. Perpetrators are excused while victims are blamed. Society is held blameless and unaccountable for solutions (Gillespie et al., 2013).

This study aims to understand how ageist and sexist biases frame the discourse on femicide in the Turkish mainstream media. By reviewing news stories about older women’s murders in Turkish newspapers, we examined how older victims of femicide are portrayed in Turkish media. We use content and visual analysis through the lens of framing theory to examine 66 news stories about femicide from Turkish mass media. We identify examples of implicit and explicit ageism and sexism and how they are used to normalize the femicide of older women for the reading public. The distinct feature of the current study from the previous research is that it focuses on older victims and analyzes the news’ visual frames and structure in addition to the textual frames. The findings can elucidate how the media shapes the perception of violence

against older women as isolated events and support the conversation about social responsibility for femicide. The following research questions guide the current study:

RQ1: How are femicide cases among older victims framed by news story writers in Turkish mainstream media?

RQ2: How do the visual content and visual structure frame news stories about the murders of older women?

Method

We conducted a qualitative content analysis (Rapley, 2008) of the text of 66 news stories about femicide published in Turkish mainstream media from 2010 to 2017. We also conducted a visual content analysis of 66 news stories (Bell, 2004) and their visual structure, including the headlines and story length (Bell, 2004).

Sampling and Data Source

Data for this study are from the Turkish organization Kadincinayetleri. This organization is one of the primary sources of reliable data on femicide in Turkey; statistics on femicide are not maintained by the Turkish government (Cetin, 2015). Kadincinayetleri.org collects information directly from the press and families of victims, reflecting the number of murders more accurately than information available through the government (Cetin, 2015). The data are accessible and regularly updated based on the articles published in leading mass media outlets, including *Hurriyet*, *Milliyet*, *HaberTurk*, *NTV*, *Demirören News Agency (DHA)*, and the local press.

A total of 1,964 news stories about femicide published between 2010 and 2017 were obtained from Kadincinayetleri.org. After filtering data for victims 55 years of age and older, 72 murder cases and associated news stories were identified. Six of the news stories were not accessible and were removed, resulting in 66 murder cases and related news stories (see digital Appendix A: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/12bA5MOQ15ohloWRQM0XRehdTIZXBSPaH/view>).

Descriptive Statistics

To obtain descriptive statistics about the 66 news stories, we classified the stories by location, media source, and age of the victim. Figures 1–3 present the results of this classification. Figure 1 presents the distribution of the 66 murder cases across Turkey's map. The incidence of the murders correlates with population density, with more murders in cities such as Istanbul ($n = 22$) and Izmir ($n = 15$) than rural areas.

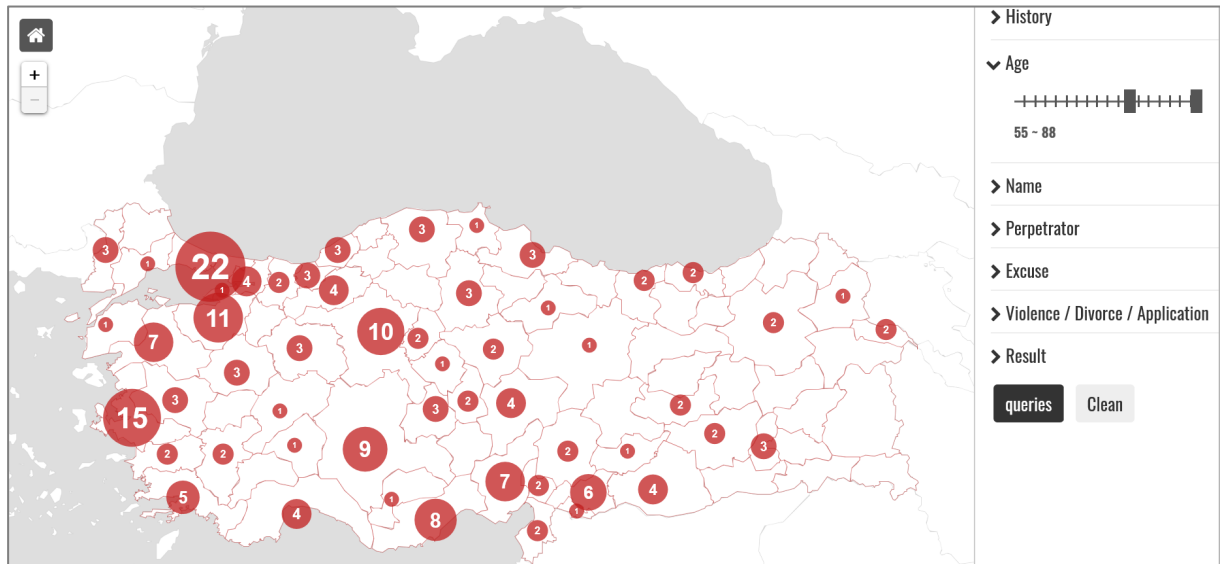


Figure 1. Distribution of reported murder cases of women over age 55 across Turkey, 2010–2017.

Figure 2 shows that most of the news about the murders of older women came from the main Turkish newspapers: *Milliyet* ($n = 20$), *Hurriyet* ($n = 20$) and *HaberTurk* ($n = 8$).

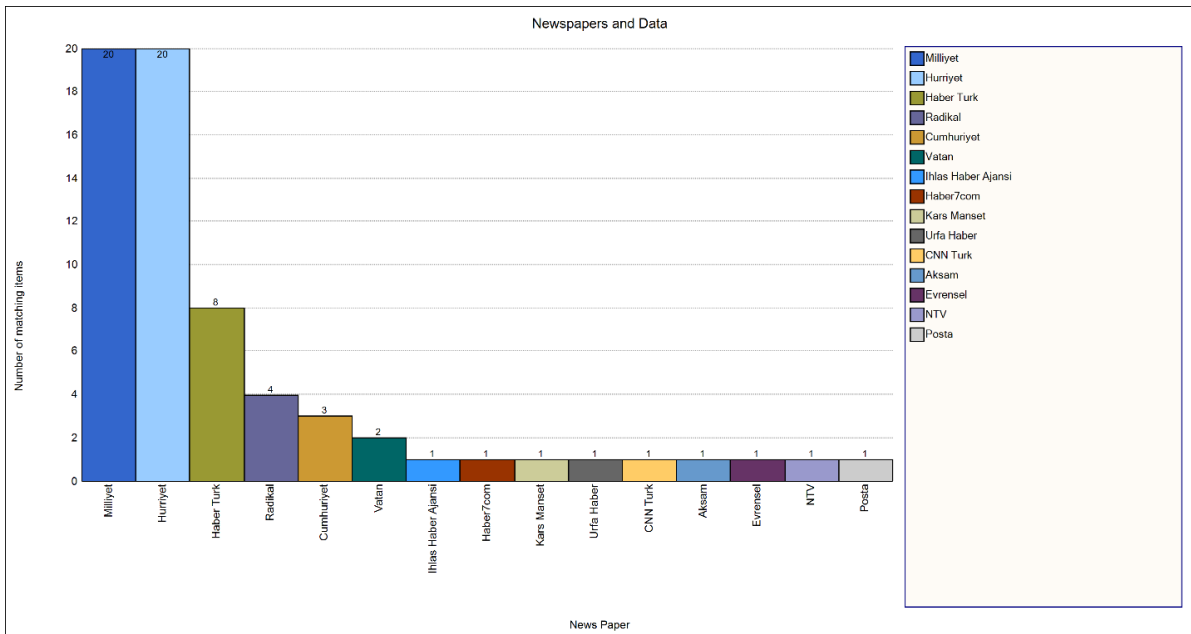


Figure 2. Number of news stories by news source of murder cases of women over age 55 in Turkey, 2010–2017.

Figure 3 displays the distribution of the news stories by the age of the victims. The majority of the victims (84%) in the analyzed stories were women 65–84 years of age. Only 16% of the victims were 55–64 or 85 and older.

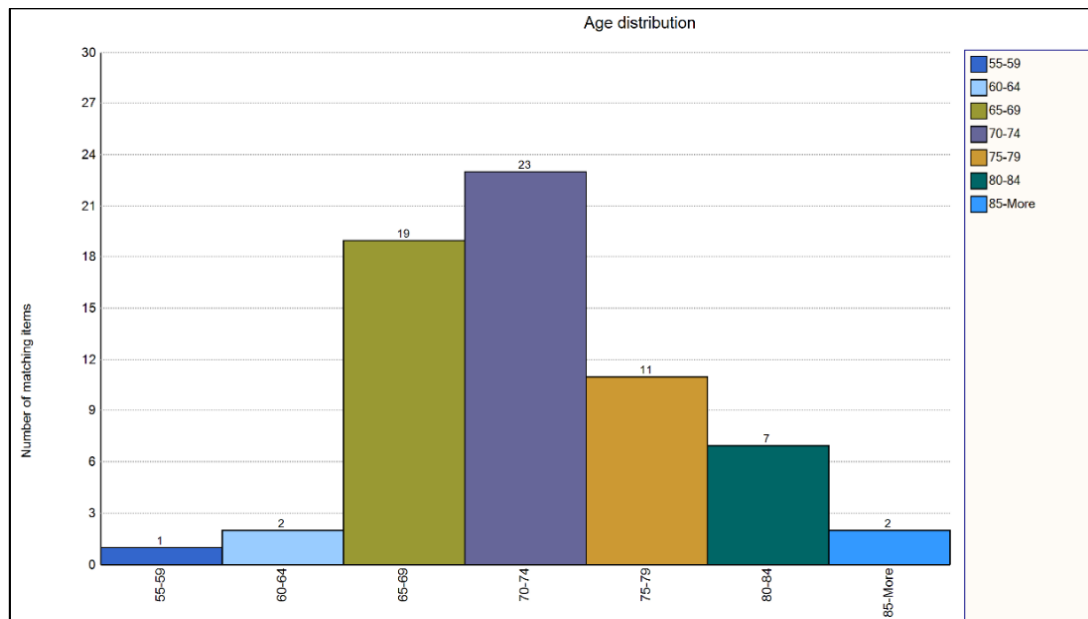


Figure 3. Age distribution of victims over age 55 in news stories of murder cases of women in Turkey, 2010–2017.

Data Processing and Analysis

Textual Coding and Reliability Checks

Two researchers coded the text in the news stories. To obtain interrater agreement, the two researchers each coded 15% of the news stories (10 of 66). After reaching an agreement in coding for (a) victim descriptions, (b) perpetrator descriptions and relationship to victims, and (c) reported reasons of the crime, the remaining 56 stories were then coded by the two researchers during four face-to-face meetings. We developed a codebook with each code's definition and an example quote from a news story. We iteratively refined the codes and updated the codebook to maintain consistency through the coding process. The coding categories were developed in NVivo 12 (QSR International, 2018). Codes and subcodes were organized so that we could understand the differences and similarities among the discursive content of the news. While coding the text of the news story, we also coded the visual elements of the story to see elements in context.

The list of the codes in NVivo was then exported into Excel. Two researchers grouped individual codes under higher order categories. For example, victim descriptions, such as "living alone," or reported reasons for the crime, such as "encouraging jealousy," "not satisfying desires of the murderer," "filing for divorce," and "arguing with the male authority figure," were classified under the category of "normative descriptions."

In the next step, we formulated more general descriptions of the categories to align with the generalizable crisis communication frames proposed by An and Gower (2009). For example, normative descriptions was categorized as the "morality frame."

Analysis of Visual Elements

Visual elements included visual content (i.e., images) and visual structure (i.e., headlines and article length). Images used in the news stories were coded for visual content, social distance, and visual modality (Bell, 2004; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). Two researchers who had experience with image analysis coded 66 news stories. Intercoder reliability was 88% (i.e., 58 news) for visual content, 90% (i.e., 59 news) for social distance, and 95% (i.e., 63 news) for visual modality.

Visual Content

All images were coded for "What is represented in the visual content?" Values were: (a) murderer, (b) victim, (c) victim and murderer (d) other people, (e) abstract figure, (f) place, and (g) no image.

Social Distance

All images were coded for the social distance categories proposed by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996): (a) intimate (i.e., face or head only), (b) close personal (i.e., head and shoulders), (c) far personal (i.e., waist up), (d) far social (i.e., whole figure with space around), and (e) public (i.e., the torso of at least four people).

Visual Modality

The images were also coded for the visual modality, the images' quality in terms of color and resolution. Following Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) modality categories, we used (a) high, (b) medium, and (c) low values.

Visual Structure

Headlines were analyzed by word choice and sentence structure. Article length was analyzed by word count.

Findings

Findings are presented based on the (1) communication frame analysis, (2) visual content analysis, and (3) visual structure analysis.

Communication Frame Analysis

Qualitative content analysis of the news stories was coded and categorized to align with the three communication frames proposed by An and Gower (2009): (1) attribution of responsibility, (2) morality,

and (3) human interest. The content analysis found five subcategories used by story writers to shift responsibility for the crime away from the male perpetrators. Story writers used five categories of moral behavior to prescribe normative codes and behaviors for women in the morality frame. The human interest frame included four categories used to promote sympathy by providing personal and emotional details about the murderer.

Attribution of Responsibility Frame

Attribution of responsibility was the frame used most frequently by the writers: "This frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group" (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 96). In this analysis, responsibility for the murders was attributed to defensible individual-level factors, such as murderer's (1) mental illness, (2) failure to manage anger, (3) alcohol and drug dependence, (4) previous criminal record, and (5) financial problems. More than half (57%) of the 66 stories analyzed attributed the femicide to individual-level factors that excused the murderer himself from direct responsibility (Table 1).

Table 1. Number of News Stories in the Five Categories of the Attribution of Responsibility Frame.

Attribution Factors	Number of News Stories
Mental illness	13
Failure to manage anger	5
Alcohol and drug dependence	2
Previous crime history	4
Financial problems	14
Total	38

Mental illness ($n = 13$) included mainly claims of depression, schizophrenia, and psychosis. The following are translated excerpts from the news stories that present examples of the mental illness category: "Allegedly, E.B [the murderer], who had been in contact with mental health services, killed his mother, Hatice Ozturk, by beheading of her" (Appendix A, Row 27), and "In the Uzunköprü District of Edirne, a person who is suffering from schizophrenia beat his mother to death with a stick" (Appendix A, Row 49).

Next, *failure to manage anger and nervous breakdown* were identified in five news stories as the reason for the domestic violence: "In his testimony, Yusuf Gökçen confessed killing to his wife with a hammer due to a sudden nervous breakdown" (Appendix A, Row 1), and "Veysel Aksoy said that he killed his wife with a sudden anger while arguing with her" (Appendix A, Row 33) are the example excerpts.

Alcohol and drug dependence were indicated as a cause of the crimes in two stories, such as, "In the Osmangazi District of Bursa, Selami Yıldız claimed to be drunk. He stabbed his wife with a dagger due to an inheritance dispute" (Appendix A, Row 67). The perpetrator's previous criminal history was presented as another attribution of the responsibility factor in four news stories, as seen in the following examples: "It was found out that that Üzeyir E. had previously raped and killed a 7-year-old boy and was released after being imprisoned in prison for 16 years" (Appendix A, Row 40), and "The man who was released from prison

three months ago, and had a total of 17 records of theft and drug use crimes, killed an old woman by hitting the head with a stick" (Appendix A, Row 59).

Finally, the *financial problems of the perpetrator* were emphasized in 14 news stories. Inheritance disputes, land ownership conflicts, alimony issues, and debts were the significant issues indicated by the story writers, such as, "A 22-year-old unemployed young man horrifically killed an 84-year-old woman due to his debts" (Appendix A, Row 45).

Morality Frame

Through content analysis of the 66 news stories, we identified 29 stories that used the morality frame. In those stories, we found five categories to suggest that the victims' immoral behavior was just cause for the murder. Examples of amoral behavior include (1) encouraging jealousy, (2) living alone, (3) not satisfying desires, (4) filing for divorce, (5) arguing with the male authority figure (see Table 2).

Table 2. Number of News Stories in the Five Categories of the Morality Frame.

Morality Frames	Number of News Stories
Encouraging jealousy	4
Living alone	8
Unsatisfied desires	3
Filing for divorce	2
Arguing with the authority figure	12
Total	29

The *encouraging jealousy* frame refers to statements by four story writers about the suspicion of victims' "unethical" behaviors, such as having sexual intercourse or being involved in a romantic relationship with someone who is not their husband.

"I have been in prison for five years," said Köseci [murderer] who was arrested in the park. "I suspected my wife was cheating on me. There were rumors that she was seeing others. I got into a jealous crisis. I do not remember the rest," he said in his testimony. (Appendix A, Row 55)

The *living alone* frame, which represents women's independence and challenges traditional patriarchal values, was emphasized in eight news stories. The story writers described the victim by pointing out that she was living alone, presenting the concept of being independent in a negative way, as seen in the following examples: "Hatice U. was found dead in February last year by her daughter, who came to visit her apartment where she *lives alone* [emphasis added]" (Appendix A, Row 13), and "Ayla Coşkunlar was attacked by an unidentified person when she *was alone* [emphasis added] at home on May 27" (Appendix A, Row 24).

Unsatisfied desires of the perpetrator were reported as a reason for the murder in three news stories. Rejecting the normative and cultural roles expected from women, such as providing sex, preparing

food, and taking care of household chores, was identified as a rationale for the murders. For example, "In the district of Çevril in Denizli, the old man shot his wife since 'allegedly she did not take care of her husband and household chores'" (Appendix A, Row 64).

Next, *filing for divorce* and asking for separation were found in two news stories as the reason for the murder. In describing the victim, the writers drew attention to the fact that the women had initiated the legal process to divorce. For example, "In the Gölçük district of Kocaeli, Ziya Karakoyun killed his wife, who had applied for divorce, and his mother-in-law and his brother-in-law and after that committed suicide" (Appendix A, Row 29). The final morality frame was arguing with the male authority figure, found in 12 news stories. In these stories, the writers stated that the incident happened after an argument between the victim and the killer. Similar to the previous category, filing for divorce, arguing with a man is framed as a problematic behavior that might lead to unpleasant consequences for women: "Muteber Polat began to *argue* [emphasis added] with her husband Yasar Polat for an unknown reason. Yasar Polat went into the kitchen and took the bread knife on the bench and came to the living room" (Appendix A, Row 44).

Figure 4 displays the frequency of the Turkish words "tartışma" ("arguing") and "tartıştı" ("argue") as coded in the arguing with the male authority figure category.



Figure 4. Turkish/English word cloud of the "arguing with the authority" category of the morality frame (the Turkish word in the middle, "tartışmanın," means "arguing").

Human Interest Frame

The human interest frame uses an emotional angle to present information (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). In this research, we identified three categories that story writers used to promote sympathy for the perpetrator or disinterest in the victim to legitimize domestic violence against women: (1) emotional background of perpetrator, (2) prestige of perpetrator, and (3) disinterest in the victim (see Table 3).

Table 3. Number of News Stories in the Three Categories of the Human Interest Frame.

Human Interest Frame	Number of News Stories
Emotional background	7
Prestige	4
Disinterest in the victim	47
Total	58

Emotional Background

Story writers included an emotional background that encouraged taking the perspective of the murderer. For example, a 38-year-old man killed four members of his family in Adana. This incident was reported as follows: "Denizhan argued with his relatives, who didn't approve of his decision to marry his girlfriend, with whom he has been in a relationship for six years. . . . he was already preparing for wedding [emphasis added]" (Appendix A, Row 9).

In Sivas, a man killed his 74-year-old wife by cutting her throat. The writer introduced the killer by referring to his religious identity. Religious identification might establish a positive perception for the audience from same religious background: "The father of four children, Yasar Polat, came to his house after the morning prayer in the mosque [emphasis added]. After a while, Polat began to argue with his wife Muteber Polat for an unknown reason" (Appendix A, Row 44).

Prestige

Human interest framing was also accomplished by providing prestigious job titles of the murderers. There is no information about the past and previous job titles of many female victims, such as "38-year-old Denizhan [murderer], who is in the *medical business* [emphasis added]" (Appendix A, Row 9), and "A *lawyer* [emphasis added, murderer] who served in Bafra district of Samsun" (Appendix A, Row 30).

Disinterest in the Victim

We identified 47 references to "old woman" in 11 of the murder cases. The frequent use of "old woman" in the news stories is used to anonymize the victim, strip her of identity, and reduce human interest in her fate. Instead of referring to the victims by their names, the writers used "yaşlı kadın"—"old woman" in Turkish. The expression "old woman" connotes negative imagery in the Turkish context. "Yaşlı kadın" is derived from words that are associated with being unintelligent, asexual, unattractive, unpleasant, and of no use to society, such as "koca karı," "nine," and "ebe."

Visual Content Analysis

Visual content analysis includes image content, visual modality, and social distance. Analysis of the image content showed that pictures of the murderers were predominant in 36.4% of the news stories (see Table 4). Only 15.3% of the stories included a photo of the victim and 7.6% of them presented victim and murder together.

Table 4. Count and Percentage of Image Content Categories Represented in News Stories About Femicide.

Image Content	Count	%
Murderer	24	36.4
Abstract figures	12	18.3
Victim	10	15.3
Place	9	13.6
Victim and murderer	5	7.6
No photo	4	6.1
Other people	2	3.0
Total	66	100.00

The photos of the murderers were classified into four categories: (a) social media photos ($n = 3$); (b) family album photos ($n = 2$); (3) identification photos ($n = 3$); and (4) perp walks ($n = 16$). In the most prevalent category, perp walk, the criminals were portrayed in different behaviors, such as "looking straight at the camera," "looking down," and "blurred face." Most of the victim photos, on the other hand, were classified under the identification photos ($n = 13$) that have blank and neutral expressions, as presented in Figure 5. Only two photos ($n = 2$) appeared to have been taken from a social media platform in the victim category.

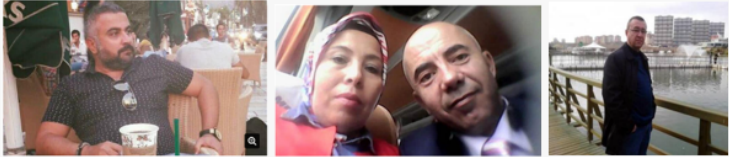
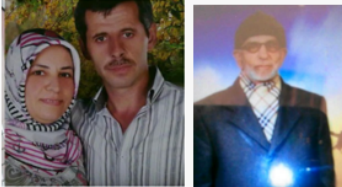

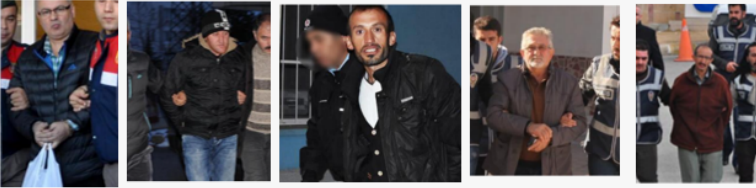

Murderer Photos		Sources <i>(from left to right)</i>
Social media photos		(Hürriyet, 2017) (Hürriyet, 2015) (Milliyet, 2016)
Family album photos		(Hürriyet, 2016) (Milliyet, 2015)
Identification photos		(Hürriyet, 2015) (Milliyet, 2011) (Milliyet, 2012)
Perp-walks		(Hürriyet, 2017) (Hürriyet, 2017) (Hürriyet, 2016) (Cumhuriyet, 2015) (Milliyet, 2016)
Victim Photos		
Identification Photos		(Hürriyet, 2017) (Hürriyet, 2014) (Hürriyet, 2014) (Milliyet, 2012) (Milliyet, 2011) (Milliyet, 2011) (Milliyet, 2014) (Cumhuriyet, 2017) (Haber7, 2017) (HaberTurk, 2012)

Figure 5. The categories of the murderer and victim photos.

Other images included *abstract figures* (18.3%), such as a knife, a gun, and fire; outdoor *places* (13.6%), such as backyards, hospitals, and apartment buildings; and photos of *other people* (3.0%), such

as police, health-care personnel, and neighbors (see Figure 6). In addition, 6.1% of the news did not include any images as detailed in Table 4.

Other Photos	Sources (from left to right)		
Abstract Figures			(NTV, 2016) (<u>Milliyet</u> , 2014)
Place			(HaberTurk, 2017) (<u>Radikal</u> , 2015)
Other People			(Milliyet, 2014) (HaberTurk, 2016)

Figure 6. Image examples for the abstract figures, places, and other people.

Table 5 shows the visual modality variable in the 66 news stories analyzed. Most of the photos used high visual modality (51.5%) in terms of color saturation and resolution of the images—70.8% of the photos of the murderer, 41.7% of the abstract figures, all of the photos of other people, and 88.9% of the place photos had high visual modality. However, only 10% of the photos of victims had high visual modality. Half of the victim photos had low visual modality.

Table 5. Count and Percentage of the Visual Modality Across the Visual Content Categories.

Visual Modality	Low	Medium	High	N/A	Total
*Murderer	8.3%	20.8%	70.8%	0.0%	100.0%
	2	5	17	0	24
*Abstract Figures	16.7%	33.3%	41.7%	8.3%	100.0%
	2	4	5	1	12
*Victim	50.0%	40.0%	10.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	5	4	1	0	10
*Place	0.0%	11.1%	88.9%	0.0%	100.0%
	0	1	8	0	9
*Victim & Murderer	0.0%	80.0%	20.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	0	4	1	0	5
*No Photo	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	0	0	0	4	4
*Other People	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	0	0	2	0	2
Total	13.6%	27.3%	51.5%	7.6%	100.0%
	9	18	34	5	66

* percentage by row total to normalize the numbers.

Finally, Table 6 displays the frequency of the social distance variable across the murderer and victim photos.

Table 6. Count and Percentage of the Social Distance Across the Murderer and Victim Photos.

Social Distance	*Murderer	*Victim	*Abstract Figures	*Place	*Victim and Murderer			*Total
					*No Photo	*Other People		
Intimate (face or head only)	4.2%	40.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.6%
	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	5
Close personal (head and shoulders)	12.5%	50.0%	8.3%	0.0%	80.0%	0.0%	0.0%	19.7%
	3	5	1	0	4	0	0	13
Far personal (waist up)	25.0%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	12.1%
	6	1	0	0	1	0	0	8
Far social (whole figure with space around)	29.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	10.6%
	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Public (the torso of at least 4 people)	29.2%	0.0%	0.0%	77.8%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	24.2%
	7	0	0	7	0	0	2	16
N/A	0.0%	0.0%	91.7%	22.2%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	25.8%
	0	0	11	2	0	4	0	17
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	24	10	12	9	5	4	2	66

* percentage by column total to normalize the numbers.

Victims' photos were presented mostly in intimate (40.0%) and close personal (50.0%) distances that take viewers' focus to the eyes and facial emotions of the individual (Bell, 2004). Murderers' photos, on the other hand, were shown mostly in far social (29.2%) and public (29.2%) distances that take the attention from the individual to the environment (see Table 6).

In Figure 7, the majority of the victim photos have low and medium visual modalities and are cut off to eliminate parts of the face. The use of intimate social distance focuses attention on the facial expressions depicted as being unhappy and helpless individuals. Conversely, pictures of the murderers show full faces and bodies, including the surrounding environment. In Figure 7, one murderer (Milliyet, 2016) is shown in professional attire, standing calmly on a pier. The other murderer (Hurriyet, 2017) is presented in a casual attire, posing in a coffee shop.

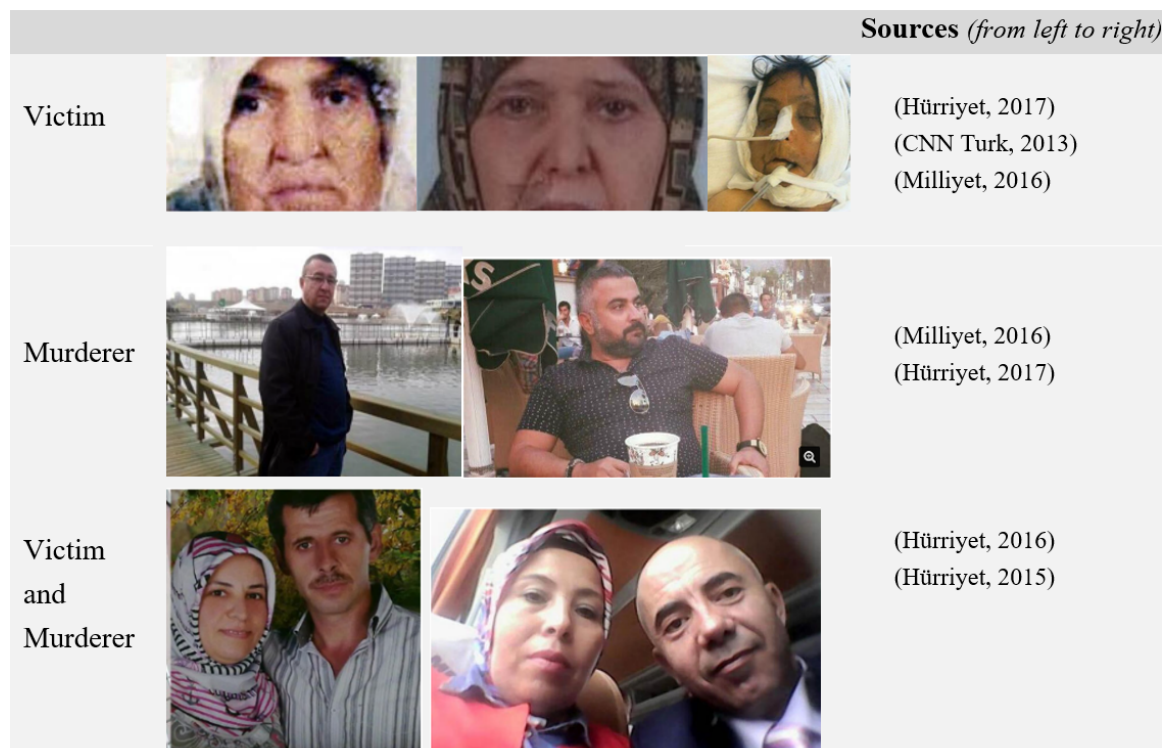


Figure 7. Examples of the use of visual modality and social distance categories in the victim and murderer photos.

Finally, in the victim and murderer category, both victim and murder photos are presented together. In the first case, the husband killed his 45-year-old wife and his 68-year-old mother-in-law. In the second case, the boyfriend killed his 42-year-old fiancée and her 75-year-old mother. In both incidents, only daughters' pictures were presented, whereas their mothers were not represented visually (see Figure 7). Contrary to the older victims' pictures depicted in Figure 7, young victims' positive facial expressions were included in the stories. The victim is shown smiling in the first picture from Hurriyet (2016). In the

second picture from Hurriyet (2015), the young woman [victim] looks down at the camera, which is defined as a “demand/submission behavior” representing the power of the individual in the image (Bell, 2004, p. 31).

Visual Structure Analysis

The visual structure of news stories includes the length of the stories and the structure of the headlines. A word count was calculated to provide a picture regarding the length of the news stories. The average word count of the 66 stories was 168; the longest story was 459 words, and the shortest was only 51 words.

The headlines of the news stories were examined in terms of their structures. Five of the main news sources—Radikal, Milliyet, Hurriyet, Haber Turk, and Cumhuriyet—showed similarities in terms of their headline structures. In 50 of the 66 news stories, major news sources used mainly active-voice sentences (Table 7).

Table 7. Number of Active Voice Headlines by News Source.

News Source	Number of Headlines Coded as Active Voice
Radikal	4
Milliyet	11
Hurriyet	25
HaberTurk	8
Cumhuriyet	2
Total:	50

They focused on the murderer, by using an “X killed someone” structure. As depicted in the word frequency cloud in Figure 8, the phrase “he killed” (or “öldürdü” in Turkish) is the most frequently repeated phrase in the story titles. The perpetrator is the active subject, and the woman becomes the passive object of the action verb.

The headlines of the news stories were examined in terms of their structures. Five of the main news sources—Radikal, Milliyet, Hurriyet, Haber Turk, and Cumhuriyet—showed similarities in terms of their headline structures. In 50 of the 66 news stories, major news sources used mainly active-voice sentences (Table 7). They focused on the murderer, by using an “X killed someone” structure. As depicted in the word frequency cloud in Figure 8, the phrase “he killed” (or “öldürdü” in Turkish) is the most frequently repeated phrase in the story titles. The perpetrator is the active subject, and the woman becomes the passive object of the action verb.

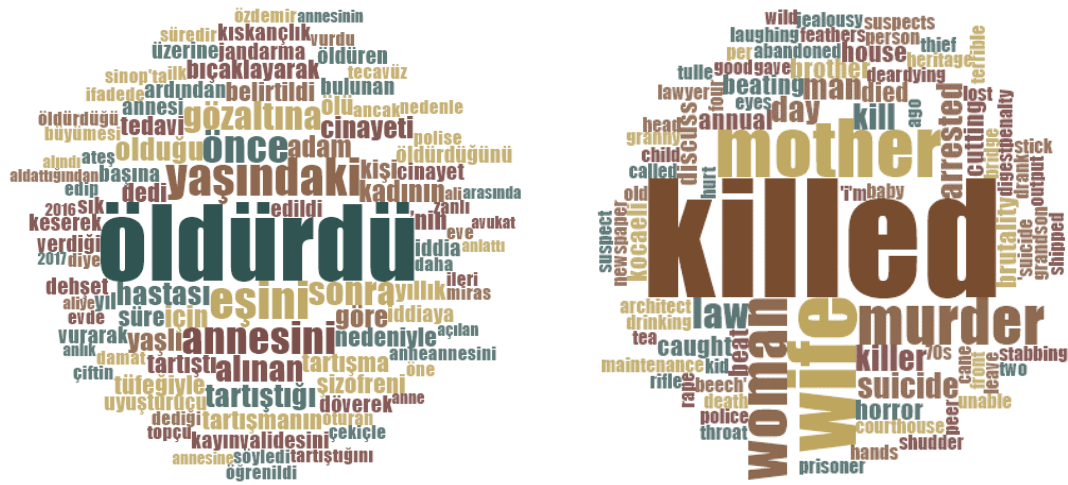


Figure 8. Turkish/English word cloud of the headline analysis.

Discussion

Mass media shapes public opinion and perception about social issues, norms, and values (Knight, 1999; Sela-Shayovitz, 2018). In this study, we conducted a content analysis of 66 news stories to examine how sexist and ageist framing is used in the reporting of femicides in the Turkish media. We analyzed the communication frames used by news story writers in the text, and each story's visual content and structure. Content analysis of the text aligned with previous research using crisis communication framing: attribution of the responsibility away from the perpetrator, blaming women for "amoral" behavior, and using emotional language to focus human interest on promoting sympathy for the murderer. Each of the frames is implicitly sexist, justifying "the unequal and harmful treatment of women" (Benokraitis, 1997, p. 11). The human interest frame uses ageist language to promote sympathy for the murderer while marginalizing the victim because of her age (Harris, 1994). Ageist language such as "yaslı kadın" ("old woman") reinforces negative cultural beliefs about age and the value of aging members of society. Levy and colleagues (2020) defined stereotype embodiment theory as the assimilation of ageist ideas based on observations of how older people are treated. These beliefs are reinforced through the media and other channels, resulting in implicit, unexamined ageism.

The frame most frequently used in news stories was the attribution of responsibility for the crime to a killer's mental illness, emotional problems, alcohol or drug dependence, or financial hardships (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). This frame attributes blame to the killer's uncontrollable mental state and portrays the victim as the source of stress and a trigger for the crime. None of the story writers discussed the efficiency/inefficiency of the mental health-care system in the country or the media's responsibility in how murders are reported. Completely lacking were data on mental illness, domestic violence, and perspectives from advocates for social change. There was no discussion of the need for research on the risks, precautions, and possible interventions for domestic violence. In other words, story writers avoided talking about the responsibility of public and private organizations or social conscience; instead, they attributed the murders to allegedly unmanageable mental conditions of the killer, which the victim triggered.

A form of attribution of responsibility framing is the social level of responsibility. Iyengar (1994) describes the level of responsibility frame, in which the media can present issues as either an individual or social responsibility. By focusing on the individual level, the media marginalizes femicide to the mundane and episodic, rather than elevating fatal domestic violence to a growing public health and social crisis. Turkey is not alone in using the level of responsibility framing to shape readers' marginalization of domestic violence. Studies in the United States, Israel, and Ghana all found that the media frames domestic violence as isolated cases, not as a public health issue (Gillespie et al., 2013; Owusu-Addo et al., 2018; Sela-Shayovitz, 2018).

The morality frame (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) places the blame for the murder entirely on the female victim. This frame is commonly called "victim blaming." Alat (2006) found victim blaming to be a linguistic frame frequently used by mainstream newspapers in Turkey:

Headlines always contain the reason for the crime. . . . Hence, loyal readers who are exposed over and over to this notion . . . probably come to believe that "men's action must have been provoked by women" and "women deserve punishment" (p. 303)

In the current study, victims are held to sexist moral codes that are accepted and prescribed by the Turkish patriarchal society. These norms, roles, and moral codes are assigned to women, therefore, women who violate these codes can be blamed for the aggression and violence of the killer. The social norms of a sexist, patriarchal society are reinforced through the language of the news. Claims about morality and immorality are justified by associating patriarchal norms of male privilege and power with family life stability. The contexts and conditions of patriarchal morality provide normative grounds for male killers to justify their criminal actions (Stephenson, 2015).

Finally, the human interest frame uses emotional language to evoke sympathy for the perpetrator. Providing killers' prestigious job titles and emphasizing that the victim was already "old" were some of the strategies used to garner sympathy toward the killer and away from the victim. In a U.S. study on femicide, Roberto and colleagues (2013) found that when older female victims had chronic health problems, the murder was framed as a "mercy" killing or as "choosing" the right to die by the reporters.

The news stories' image content and visual structure provided additional insights into how framing is used to reinforce ageist and sexist bias. There were only 10 pictures of older female victims, compared with 24 images of male perpetrators. Photos of victims were very close up and cropped off, with low color saturation and resolution. They were unhappy faces of individuals devoid of a surrounding environment—faces that would be easy to forget and that would not be missed. Reporting of mother–daughter murders focused solely on the daughter as a victim, implicitly supporting the ageist assumption that younger women have more value than older women. Pictures of the murderers were full face and included more of the man's body and the surrounding environment. One picture presented a confident, professional man unperturbed in his daily life. The choice of this photo of the perpetrator could be interpreted as an implicit example of sexism; the man is portrayed as a rational and professional person, and the woman "did something" to provoke him (see Figure 7). Another picture in Figure 7 presented a seemingly charismatic, socially engaged man sitting in a coffee shop. This photo could have been obtained from the perpetrator's social media profile, where he presents himself as attractive and approachable. In contrast, the photos of female victims were taken from institutional identification

documents with no facial expressions or in hospital rooms with disturbing marks of violence apparent. These choices illustrate implicit sexism and ageism. The use of only identification photos for female victims underscores the digital exclusion of the aged. Identification photos may have been the only retrievable image source for aging women, who are typically underrepresented online. As discussed by Gill (2019), universal design principles should be followed by developers to facilitate the use and access of digital resources by aging adults. Finally, photos of the crime tools analyzed under the abstract figures are glorified—shown in action—much like action movies use weapons as iconic symbols for the movie character.

The visual structure of news stories about femicide contributes to the communication framing (Sela-Shayovitz, 2018). The visual structure includes the size of the headline, content and structure of the headline, and the length of the article. These visual structures contribute to how the reader constructs information and confirms biases. In addition, Turkish mainstream media classified and indexed news about the violence against women under the “breaking news” or “crime-related news” categories as isolated, individual forensic cases rather than social and political cases.

Headlines shape how a story is read and how it is remembered through explicit and hidden meanings (Sela-Shayovitz, 2018). In 50 of the 66 news stories analyzed, major Turkish news sources used active voice headlines. They focused on the murderer by using an “X killed someone” structure. The word frequency cloud in Figure 8 provides an overview of the choice of words in the headlines. “He killed,” or “öldürdü” in Turkish, is the most frequently repeated phrase in the story titles, showing the male perpetrator as the active subject and associating the story with the name of the murderer. Although many journalistic writing guides advise against using the passive voice, in Turkish language and culture, the active voice empowers the male perpetrator while diminishing the passive victim. Unlike many European languages, the semantic structures in Turkish are as crucial as the grammatical ones to decode the meaning of a message. Thus, it is difficult to compare sentences in English and Turkish solely based on the active-passive dichotomy. For example, in Turkish, one can emphasize a particular element in a sentence by placing it closest to the verb. The active sentence “He killed her by crushing her head with a brick,” (i.e., adam kadının kafasını tuğla ile ezerek [by crushing] öldürdü [killed]) and the passive sentence “She was killed after her head was crushed with a brick” (i.e., kadın kafası tuğla ile ezilerek [by crushing] öldürüldü [was killed]) both emphasize the abusive behavior—“by crushing with a brick” (i.e., taş ile ezerek/ezilerek)—given that the behavior is located closest to the verb. However, in the first sentence, the use of “he” as the owner of the action stresses the killer’s capability and manpower to commit the crime and puts the “her” (i.e., victim’s presence and name) in the background as an object.

Headlines may also include sensational details to get the attention of the reading public. The reporting of femicide, particularly of younger women, is often sensationalized to focus on the individual event and take attention away from the social injustice of murder. In 2009, the media reported on the murder of a young girl, Münevver Karabulut, by her boyfriend, who was from a well-known, wealthy Turkish family. The story of the 17-year-old’s murder received extensive coverage between March 2009 and September 2009; a total of 338 stories were identified in Turkish newspapers (Tunc, 2010): “The media’s interest in the case was consistent and continuous . . . sensationalizing the content by using large and colorful photographs and flashy headlines” (p. 651).

Conversely, the average word count of the news stories about the murders of older women in this study was shockingly low. The shortest story was only 51 words. With an average of just 168 words, Turkish stories on the murders of older women are shorter than most American obituaries. Short stories tell the reading public that the story is about a single individual, commonplace, and of no great social importance.

Limitations

This study's limitations include the use of only one database and a limited number of newspapers from which to retrieve the data. Future studies might consider social media or other sources known to influence public opinion. The outcomes of court cases and additional reporting on instances of individual femicide may provide further insight into the use of framing to normalize violence against women. While Turkey is not the only country that has normalized femicide through ageist and sexist media coverage, it is a strongly patriarchal society. The framing of femicide may differ in more egalitarian societies. Our study also points to the need for more analysis of the influence of politics on media's coverage of femicide in Turkey. Future studies might include an intersectional analysis of stories about femicide, considering characteristics such as profession, race, and ethnicity.

Conclusion

The present study contributes to the literature on the use of framing in the media. Framing in the Turkish mainstream media reinforces cultural ageism and sexism to normalize femicide and marginalize older, female victims of domestic violence. We examined 66 news reports of the femicide of older women in mainstream Turkish media using content analysis of textual and visual data informed by crisis communication frames proposed by An and Gower (2009).

Qualitative content analysis of textual data identified three major frames, aligned with the previous research, with an ageist and/or sexist bias in the reporting of the murder of older women: attribution of responsibility at the individual level; immorality of the victim as a rationalization for the murder; and human interest promoting sympathy for the murderer. The analysis of the visual content and structure of the news stories found selective use of photos, minimal word count, and active voice headlines that reinforced the framing of the text. The verbal framing and visual structure of the news stories about femicide degrade and minimize older women while affirming male power and privilege. News stories about femicide are an example of how public discourse institutionalizes ageism and sexism through communication frames.

The femicide of older women is an outcome of intersectional oppression at its worst. Only through critical analysis of public discourse can we see how the media manipulates how we perceive and understand social issues. Without reflective analysis, ageism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination remain undisputed norms for judging marginalized populations. This research adds to the emerging body of critical literature that reframes domestic violence from a series of individual incidents to social crises deserving of just policy and ethical practice.

References

- Alat, Z. (2006). News coverage of violence against women: The Turkish case. *Feminist Media Studies*, 6(3), 295–314. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680770600802041>
- An, S. K., & Gower, K. K. (2009). How do the news media frame crises? A content analysis of crisis news coverage. *Public Relations Review*, 35(2), 107–112. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2009.01.010>
- ARC Report. (2019). The Aging Readiness & Competitiveness Report, Turkey. Retrieved from <https://arc.aarpinternational.org/File%20Library/Full%20Reports/ARC-Report---Turkey.pdf>
- Ayalon, L. (2014). Perceived age, gender, and racial/ethnic discrimination in Europe: Results from the European social survey. *Educational Gerontology*, 40(7), 499–517. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03601277.2013.845490>
- Ayalon, L., Chasteen, A., Diehl, M., Levy, B. R., Neupert, S. D., Rothermund, K., . . . & Wahl, H. W. (2020). Aging in times of the COVID-19 pandemic: Avoiding ageism and fostering intergenerational solidarity. *The Journals of Gerontology: Series B*, 76(2), 49–52. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geronb/gbaa051>
- Bell, P. (2004). Content analysis of visual images. In T. van Leeuwen & C. Jewitt (Eds.), *The handbook of visual analysis* (pp. 10–34). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications. <https://www.doi.org/10.4135/9780857020062>
- Benokraitis, N. V. E. (1997). *Subtle sexism: Current practice and prospects for change*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Berns, N. (2001). Degendering the problem and gendering the blame: Political discourse on women and violence. *Gender and Society*, 15(2), 262–281. <https://doi.org/10.1177/089124301015002006>
- Bouzerdan, C., & Whitten-Woodring, J. (2018). Killings in context: An analysis of the news framing of femicide. *Human Rights Review*, 19(2), 211–228. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12142-018-0497-3>
- Butler, R. N. (1995). Ageism. In G. L. Maddox (Ed.), *The encyclopedia of aging: A comprehensive resource in gerontology and geriatrics* (2nd ed.; pp. 35–39). New York, NY: Springer.
- Celik, A. S., & Kirca, N. (2018). Prevalence and risk factors for domestic violence against infertile women in a Turkish setting. *European Journal of Obstetrics & Gynecology and Reproductive Biology*, 231(1), 111–116. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejogrb.2018.10.032>
- Cetin, I. (2015). Defining recent femicide in modern Turkey: Revolt killing. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 16(2), 346–360. Retrieved from <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol16/iss2/22/>

- Cissel, M. (2012). Media framing: A comparative content analysis on mainstream and alternative news coverage of Occupy Wall Street. *The Elon Journal of Undergraduate Research in Communications*, 3(1), 67–77.
- Cruikshank, M. (2013). *Learning to be old: Gender, culture, and aging*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Dedeli, O., Yildiz, E., & Kiyancicek, Z. (2013). Perceptions of elder abuse, neglect and attitudes toward ageism: Volunteers public non-health staff and tradesmen in Manisa/Turkey. *Journal of Gerontology & Geriatric Research*, 2(2), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.4172/2167-7182.1000120>
- Gil, H. (2019). The elderly and the digital inclusion: A brief reference to the initiatives of the European Union and Portugal. *MOJ Gerontology & Geriatrics*, 4(6), 213–221. <https://doi.org/10.15406/mojgg.2019.04.00209>
- Gillespie, L. K., Richards, T. N., Givens, E. M., & Smith, M. D. (2013). Framing deadly domestic violence: Why the media's spin matters in newspaper coverage of femicide. *Violence Against Women*, 19(2), 222–245. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801213476457>
- Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies. (2015). *Research on domestic violence against women in Turkey*. Ankara, Turkey: Elma Technical Publishing. Retrieved from http://www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/eng/english_main_report.pdf
- Harris, M. B. (1994). Growing old gracefully: Age concealment and gender. *Journal of Gerontology*, 49(4), 149–158.
- Iyengar, S. (1994). *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Kapidzic, S., & Herring, S. C. (2015). Race, gender, and self-presentation in teen profile photographs. *New Media and Society*, 17(6), 958–976. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444813520301>
- Knight, M. G. (1999). Getting past the impasse: Framing as a tool for public relations. *Public Relations Review*, 25(3), 381–398.
- Kress, G. R., & van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*. Abingdon, UK: Psychology Press.
- Lauzen, M. M., & Dozier, D. M. (2005). Maintaining the double standard: Portrayals of age and gender in popular films. *Sex Roles*, 52(7–8), 437–446. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-005-3710-1>

- Levy, B. R., Slade, M. D., Chang, E. S., Kanno, S., & Wang, S. Y. (2020). Ageism amplifies cost and prevalence of health conditions. *Gerontologist, 60*(1), 174–181. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gny131>
- Loos, E., & Ivan, L. (2018). Visual ageism in the media. In L. Ayalon & C. Tesch-Rømer (Eds.), *Contemporary perspectives on ageism* (pp. 163–176). Cham, Switzerland: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73820-8_11
- Nearly 2,000 women killed in eight years in Turkey. (2017, November 26). *Hurriyet Daily News*. Retrieved from <http://www.hurriyetaidailynews.com/nearly-2-000-women-killed-in-eight-years-in-turkey-123079>
- North, M. S., & Fiske, S. T. (2012). An inconvenienced youth? Ageism and its potential intergenerational roots. *Psychological Bulletin, 138*(5), 982–997. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0027843>
- Officer, A., & de la Fuente-Núñez, V. (2018, April 1). A global campaign to combat ageism. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization, 96*, 295–296. <https://doi.org/10.2471/BLT.17.202424>
- Owusu-Addo, E., Owusu-Addo, S. B., Antoh, E. F., Sarpong, Y. A., Obeng-Okrah, K., & Annan, G. K. (2018). Ghanaian media coverage of violence against women and girls: Implications for health promotion. *BMC Women's Health, 18*(1), 1–11.
- The Platform of We Will Stop Femicide. (2020). *The Monument Counter to commemorate women who lost their lives due to domestic violence*. Retrieved from <http://anitsayac.com/>
- QSR International Pty Ltd. (2018). NVivo (released in 2018). Retrieved from <https://www.qsrinternational.com/nvivo-qualitative-data-analysis-software/home>
- Rapley, T. (2008). *Doing conversation, discourse, and document analysis*. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Roberto, K. A., McCann, B. R., & Brossoie, N. (2013). Intimate partner violence in late life: An analysis of national news reports. *Journal of Elder Abuse & Neglect, 25*(3), 230–241.
- Sabik, N. J. (2015). Ageism and body esteem: Associations with psychological well-being among late middle-aged African American and European American women. *The Journals of Gerontology: Series B, 70*(2), 189–199. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geronb/gbt080>
- Sela-Shayovitz, R. (2018). "She knew he would murder her": The role of the media in the reconstruction of intimate femicide. *Journal of Comparative Social Work, 13*(1), 11–34. <https://doi.org/10.31265/jcsw.v13i1.157>

- Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication, 50*(2), 93–109.
- Seo, K., Dillard, J. P., & Shen, F. (2013). The effects of message framing and visual image on persuasion. *Communication Quarterly, 61*(5), 564–583.
- Stephenson, J. (2015). *Reporting on violence against women: How Guyanese journalists cover violence against women in 2014* (Unpublished bachelor's thesis). Södertörn University, Huddinge, Sweden. Retrieved from <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:787899/FULLTEXT01.pdf>
- Stöckl, H., Devries, K., Rotstein, A., Abrahams, N., Campbell, J., Watts, C., & Moreno, C. G. (2013). The global prevalence of intimate partner homicide: A systematic review. *The Lancet, 382*(9895), 859–865.
- Tastan, C., & Yıldız, A. K. (2019). *Women's murders in the world and Turkey 2016–2017–2018 data analysis*. Ankara, Turkey: Police Academy Press.
https://www.pa.edu.tr/Upload/editor/files/Kadin_Cinayetleri_Rapor.pdf
- Taylor, R. (2009). Slain and slandered: A content analysis of the portrayal of femicide in crime news. *Homicide Studies, 13*(1), 21–49. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088767908326679>
- Tunc, A. (2010). Mediated justice: Turkish newspapers' coverage of controversial criminal cases. *Turkish Studies, 11*(4), 643–661.
- Turkish Statistical Institute. (2019). *TurkStat, Population Projections: 2018–2080*. Retrieved from <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2018). *Global study on homicide: Gender-related killing of women and girls*. Retrieved from https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/GSH2018/GSH18_Gender-related_killing_of_women_and_girls.pdf
- World Health Organization & Pan American Health Organization. (2012). *Understanding and addressing violence against women: Intimate partner violence*. Retrieved from <https://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/77432>