

*People's Democratic Republic of Algeria Ministry of  
High Education and Scientific Research  
Mohamed Khider University of Biskra  
Faculty of Letters and Languages  
Department of English Language and Literature*



---

## **A Content Analysis of the Portrayal of Femicide Crime News in Local Newspapers in the United States of America**

---

*Thesis Presented to the Department of English Language and Literature in Candidacy for the  
LMD Doctorate Degree in Language Sciences*

***Submitted by:***

*Ms. Bochra DAKHANE*

***Supervised by:***

*Prof. Hanane SAIHI*

### **The Board of Examiners**

<b>Chair:</b>	Prof. CHELLI Saliha	University of Biskra
<b>Supervisor:</b>	Prof. SAIHI Hanane	University of Biskra
<b>Examiner:</b>	Dr. MIZAB Manel	University of Tebessa
<b>Examiner:</b>	Dr. SALHI Ahlem	University of Biskra
<b>Examiner:</b>	Dr. GHEZOULI Ikhlas	University of Setif 2
<b>Examiner:</b>	Dr. NASRI Chahira	University of Biskra

**2025 – 2026**

*“If we change the story,  
we can change the ending.”*

— Bell Hooks

## Declaration

I, *Bochra Dakhane*, hereby declare that the thesis entitled “A Content Analysis of the Portrayal of Femicide Crime News in Local Newspapers in the United States of America” is my own original work. It has been submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctorate LMD in Language Sciences to the Department of English Language and Literature at Mohamed Khider University of Biskra. To the best of my knowledge and ability, I have followed ethical conventions and made due reference to all works relied upon, whether in terms of theory or practice. The present thesis has not been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for any other degree or qualification at this or any other university.

Bochra Dakhane

May 2026



## Dedication

This thesis is a piece of my heart, lovingly offered to the most precious souls in my life, those whose love shaped me, strengthened me, and carried me through every storm.

To my beloved parents, *Fatima Dahmani* and *Ahmed Dakhane*, the roots of my being and the reason I stand where I am today. Your sacrifices were silent but powerful, your love endless, and your faith in me unshakable. Every step I took on this long path was guided by your prayers and sustained by your devotion. This achievement belongs to you as much as it belongs to me, for I am the reflection of your kindness, your patience, and your unconditional love.

To my dear sister, *Latifa Dakhane*, my heart's companion and my quiet strength, thank you for your constant presence, your gentle reassurance, and your unwavering belief in me. In moments of exhaustion and doubt, your support reminded me that I was never alone.

To my precious nieces and nephews, *Taki*, *Ritadj*, *Farah*, and *Iyed Bouziane*, you are the light that softened my hardest days. Your laughter, innocence, and pure love filled my soul with warmth and gave me renewed strength when the journey felt overwhelming. This thesis carries the joy you brought into my life.

I am deeply grateful to my dearest friend, *Yousfi Bouchra*, whose unwavering belief in me and constant encouragement brightened even the darkest days of this journey. Her presence was my comfort, her words my strength, and her faith in me a light that guided me through every challenge.

And to *myself*, for the courage to continue, the strength to endure, and the love I chose to give even when the road was heavy. For every silent tear, every lonely night, and every moment I rose again despite the weight of it all. I honour my resilience and my unwavering belief in my own dreams.

## Acknowledgments

In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful.

First and foremost, I offer my deepest gratitude to Allah the Almighty, whose grace illuminated my path when the journey grew heavy. His mercy granted me the strength to rise after every setback, the patience to endure long nights of uncertainty, and the serenity that carried me to the completion of this work. Without His constant presence and kindness, none of this would have been possible.

I extend my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, *Prof. Hanane Saihi* for her guidance, patience, and constant support throughout this journey. Her encouragement and steady presence made this challenging path easier to navigate, and I am truly grateful for the trust she placed in me.

I am also sincerely grateful to the distinguished members of the jury for their time, insightful comments, and constructive evaluation. My profound thanks go to *Prof. Saliha Chelli, Dr. Ahlem Salhi, Dr. Ikhlas Ghezzouli, Dr. Chahira Nasri, and Dr. Manel Mizab* whose expertise and valuable feedback have significantly enriched this thesis.

## Abstract

Femicide represents the most extreme manifestation of violence against women and a profound indicator of gender inequality. Despite decades of feminist research exposing its structural and patriarchal roots, how femicide is discursively produced and socially understood through media representations remains significantly underexplored. The present study critically investigates how U.S. digital local newspapers construct, frame, and represent femicide between 2010 and 2019, emphasizing the ideological, linguistic, and visual mechanisms through which such crimes are narrated to the public. Addressing a persistent scholarly gap, the study employs a mixed-methods content analysis of 403 digital newspaper articles, using NVivo for thematic coding and linguistic categorization, complemented by Python-based tools for sentiment analysis and image interpretation. Findings show that U.S. media coverage of femicide is fragmented, sensationalized, and ideologically charged. It predominantly uses episodic framing, portraying femicide as isolated private tragedies rather than systemic gendered violence. The coverage is overwhelmingly victim-centered, often implying victim responsibility while downplaying perpetrator agency, driven by a strong bias toward drama and emotional appeal. The representations perpetuate gender stereotypes, normalize patriarchal power, and contribute to public desensitization. In response, the study develops the “Optimal Framework for Ethical Femicide Reporting,” an interdisciplinary model designed to guide scholars, journalists, and policymakers toward more responsible, accurate, and socially transformative representations of femicide, ultimately arguing that changing the story of femicide is essential for challenging patriarchal narratives and advancing gender justice.

**Keywords:** Femicide; Media and Crime; Media Framing and Representation; Mixed-Methods; Content Analysis; Ethical Reporting Framework.

## **List of Abbreviations and Acronyms**

- VAW:** Violence Against Woman
- GBV:** Gender Based Violence
- IPV:** Intimate Partner Violence
- NPSV:** Non-Partner Sexual Violence
- IPF:** Intimate Partner Femicide
- Non-IPF:** Non-Intimate Femicide
- SV:** Sexual Violence
- FGM/C:** Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting
- CDA:** Critical Discourse Analysis
- RSA:** The Repressive State Apparatus
- ISAs:** The Ideological State Apparatuses
- PTC:** Policing the Crisis
- VADER:** Valence Aware Dictionary and Sentiment Reasoner
- WHO:** The World Health Organization
- CEDAW:** Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
- UNODC:** The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
- CDC:** The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
- OSCE:** Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
- ICCS:** The International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes
- CFOJA:** Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability
- FRA:** European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights

## List of Tables

<b>Table 1:</b> Gender Attributes: Oppositional Descriptions.....	25
<b>Table 2:</b> A Global and Regional Analysis of Lifetime Non-Partner Sexual Violence Among Women Aged 15–490.....	47
<b>Table 3:</b> Prevalence of non-partner sexual violence across African regions.....	48
<b>Table 4:</b> Number of Females Murdered by Males in Single Victim/Single Offender Femicides by State in the US from 2010 to 2020.....	75
<b>Table 5:</b> Distribution of Articles Across Newspapers in the Femicide Corpus.....	193
<b>Table 6:</b> Frequency and Percentage of Victim and Perpetrator Names.....	194
<b>Table 7:</b> Frequencies of Victim and Perpetrator Age Groups in Femicide Coverage.....	195
<b>Table 8:</b> Frequencies and Percentages of Femicide Motives.....	197
<b>Table 9:</b> Frequencies and Percentages of Methods of Killing.....	199
<b>Table 10:</b> Frequencies and Percentages of Locations of Femicide Cases.....	202
<b>Table 11:</b> Frequency and Percentage of Language Tone in Femicide Coverage.....	207
<b>Table 12:</b> Heatmap of Framing and Language Tone in Femicide Coverage Without Images (N = 156).....	211
<b>Table 13:</b> Heatmap of Framing and Language Tone in Femicide Coverage With Neutral Images (N = 123).....	211
<b>Table 14:</b> Heatmap of Framing and Language Tone in Femicide Coverage With Sympathetic Images (N = 104).....	212
<b>Table 15:</b> Heatmap of Framing and Language Tone in Femicide Coverage With Sensational Images (N = 20).....	212
<b>Table 16:</b> Examples of Interconnected Framing, Language Tone, and Visual Tone in Femicide Coverage.....	213
<b>Table 17:</b> Summary of Femicide Portrayal Characteristics.....	217
<b>Table 18:</b> Linguistic Strategies by Victim and Perpetrator Depictions.....	218
<b>Table 19:</b> Distribution of Gender Dynamics Indicators Across Articles.....	221
<b>Table 20:</b> Excerpts of Harmful Language with Context.....	230
<b>Table 21:</b> Prevalence of Victim and Perpetrator Characteristics by Newsworthiness Levels in Femicide Coverage.....	232
<b>Table 22:</b> Prevalence of Contextual and Incident Characteristics by Newsworthiness Levels in Femicide Coverage.....	234
<b>Table 23:</b> Sentiment Analysis of Article Titles by Newsworthiness Levels.....	236

## List of Figures

<b>Figure 1:</b> Types of Harmful Acts Experienced by Women and Girls Across Their Lifetime.	39
<b>Figure 2:</b> Global Prevalence of Lifetime Intimate Partner Violence Among Women Aged 15–44.	43
<b>Figure 3:</b> The Number of Female Victims of Intimate Partner/Family-related Femicide by Region (2021).	71
<b>Figure 4:</b> Distribution of Framing Types in Femicide Coverage.	204
<b>Figure 5:</b> Distribution of Framing Types by Newspaper in Femicide Coverage.	205
<b>Figure 6:</b> Distribution of Image Presence in Femicide Coverage.	208
<b>Figure 7:</b> Distribution of Image Types by Tone in Femicide Coverage.	209
<b>Figure 8:</b> Adjective Usage Disparities for Victims vs. Perpetrators.	224
<b>Figure 9:</b> Association of Metaphors with Gender Stereotypes in Episodic Framing.	225
<b>Figure 10:</b> Donut Chart of Blame Attribution Themes.	226
<b>Figure 11:</b> Stacked Area Plot of Active and Passive Verbs in Femicide Reporting.	227
<b>Figure 12:</b> Prevalence of Language Types Across Articles.	228
<b>Figure 13:</b> Language Type Distribution by Stereotype-Based Depiction.	229

## Table of Content

Dedication .....	I
Acknowledgments .....	II
Abstract .....	III
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms.....	IV
List of Tables .....	V
List of Figures .....	VI
<b>General Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1 Background of the Study.....	3
2 Statement of the Problem.....	7
3 Research Aim.....	9
4 Research Objectives.....	9
5 Research Questions.....	9
6 Significance of the Study.....	10
7 Research Methodology.....	11
8 Thesis Structure.....	14
<b>Chapter I: Femicide: The Fatal Expression of Violence Against Women.....</b>	<b>17</b>
Introduction.....	17
1.1 Gender, Patriarchy, and Violence: The Foundation of Femicide.....	18
1.1.1 Gender and Violence.....	19
1.1.1.1 Gender vs. Sex.....	19
1.1.1.1.1 Sex : Biological Perspective.....	19
1.1.1.1.2 Gender: Sociocultural Perspective.....	23
1.1.1.1.2.1 Gender Stereotypes.....	23
1.1.1.1.2.2 Gender Identity.....	25
1.1.1.1.3 Sex-Gender Overlap.....	26
1.1.2 The Social Construction of Gender and Its Role in Violence.....	27
1.1.2.1 The Gender of Violence.....	27
1.1.2.2 The Roots of Gendered Violence.....	28
1.1.2.2.1 The Genealogy of Violence.....	29
1.1.2.2.2 Symbolic and Structural Violence.....	30
1.1.2.3 Patriarchy: Individuals or Society.....	32

1.1.2.4 From Gender based violence to Violence Against Women .....	34
1.1.3 Violence Against Women.....	35
1.1.3.1 The Nature of Violence Against Women.....	36
1.1.3.1.1 Types of Violence Against Women.....	41
1.1.3.1.1.1 Intimate Partner Violence.....	42
1.1.3.1.1.2 Non-Partner Sexual Violence.....	46
1.2 Femicide:The Fatal Expression of Violence Against Women.....	50
1.2.1 Definitional and Conceptual Clarifications.....	50
1.2.1.1 Homicide or Femicide.....	52
1.2.2 Typologies of Femicide.....	56
1.2.2.1 Intimate Partner Femicide (IPF).....	57
1.2.2.2 Non-Intimate Femicide (Non-IPF).....	58
1.2.2.3 Sexual Femicide.....	58
1.2.2.4 Femicide Based on Honor.....	58
1.2.2.5 Femicide Associated with Dowry Practices.....	59
1.2.2.6 Feticide / Infanticide Femicide.....	59
1.2.2.7 Femicide Associated with Genital Mutilation.....	60
1.2.2.8 Femicide Associated with Conflict or State Dynamics.....	60
1.2.2.9 Femicide Associated with Criminal or Gang Activities.....	60
1.2.2.10 Intersectional and Other Emerging Forms of Femicides.....	61
1.2.3 Theoretical Approaches to Femicide.....	61
1.2.3.1 Feminist Theory.....	61
1.2.3.2 The Ecological Framework: A Multilevel Theoretical Approach to Understanding Femicide.....	64
1.2.3.3 Criminological Perspectives on Femicide.....	67
1.2.4 Global and Regional Prevalence of Femicide: Patterns, Gaps, and National Case Studies.....	70
1.2.5 Risk Factors for Femicide.....	77
1.2.5.1 Principal Risk Factors for Victimisation.....	78
1.2.5.2 Characteristics of Perpetrators and Contextual Influences.....	79
1.2.5.3 Multi-Tiered Risk Determinants .....	80
1.2.5.4 Instruments for Femicide Risk Evaluation .....	82
1.2.6 Consequences and Impacts of Femicide and VAW .....	82
1.2.6.1 Economic Costs .....	83

1.2.6.2 Social Consequences .....	85
1.2.6.3 Psychological Impact .....	85
1.2.6.4 Effects on Children .....	86
1.2.6.5 Impacts on Health .....	86
1.2.6.6 Heterogeneity and Structural Factors .....	87
1.2.7 Legal Frameworks and Institutional Responses to Femicide .....	87
1.2.7.1 International Legal Instruments .....	87
1.2.7.2 National Legal Approaches and Limitations .....	89
1.2.7.3 Role of Law Enforcement and Judicial Bias .....	92
Conclusion .....	94

## **Chapter II: Discourse, Gender, and the Media: Exploring the Language of Crime and Power.....95**

Introduction.....	95
2.1 Media as a Social Institution and Ideological Force .....	95
2.1.1 Media: Concepts, Forms, and Functions .....	95
2.1.2 The Role of Media in Contemporary Society .....	100
2.1.3 Media and the Construction of Ideology .....	102
2.1.3.1 The Concept of Ideology in Media Studies .....	104
2.1.3.2 Theoretical Foundations of Media and Ideology .....	106
2.1.3.2.1 Althusser’s Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) .....	107
2.1.3.2.2 Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) .....	112
2.1.3.2.3 Stuart Hall’s “Policing the Crisis” and Moral Panics .....	115
2.1.3.2.4 Feminist Media Theory and Representation .....	119
2.2 Media Discourse and the Construction of Crime .....	123
2.2.1 The Social Construction of Crime .....	123
2.2.2 Discourse in Media Studies .....	127
2.2.2.1 Defining Discourse: An Intricate Concept .....	128
2.2.2.2 Media Discourse and Linguistic Change .....	130
2.2.2.2.1 Media Linguistics .....	131
2.2.2.3 Varieties of Media Discourse in Crime Reporting .....	132
2.2.2.3.1 Ideological Implication and Metaphor in Crime Discourse .....	134
2.2.2.4 Media Discourse as a Reflection of Social Crime Consequences .....	136
2.3 Gendered Dimensions of Media Discourse in Femicide Reporting .....	137

2.3.1 Media Framing of Gender-Based Crime .....	137
2.3.2 The Framing Theory and Gender-Based Crime .....	137
2.3.3 Representation of Women in Violence Against Women Coverage .....	139
2.3.3.1 Historical and Cultural Patterns of Victim Representation .....	139
2.3.3.2 Stereotypes, Symbolic Annihilation, and the Concept of the "Ideal Victim" .....	141
2.3.3.3 Women in the Context of Victimhood, Survival, and Perpetration .....	143
2.3.4 Representation of Male Perpetrators and Violence Against Women .....	145
2.3.4.1 The Humanisation VS Demonisation of Perpetrators .....	145
2.3.4.2 Rationalising Violence: Crimes of Passion and Domestic Conflicts .....	147
2.3.4.3 Exploring Gender Norms and Masculinity within Crime Narratives .....	148
2.3.5 Global and Regional Variations .....	150
2.3.5.1 Regional Variations in Europe .....	151
2.3.5.2 Regional Variations in Latin America .....	152
2.3.5.3 Regional Variations in Africa and the Middle East .....	152
2.3.5.4 Regional Variations in North America and Asia-Pacific .....	153
2.3.6 Feminist Critiques and Counter-Narratives .....	154
2.3.6.1 Media Advocacy and Feminist Counter-Narratives .....	156
2.3.7 Digital Media and Counter-Discourse .....	157
2.3.7.1 Social Media Activism .....	158
2.3.7.1.1 The #NiUnaMenos Movement .....	160
2.3.7.1.2 The #MeToo Movement .....	163
2.3.7.2 Digital Media's Role in Shaping Femicide Narratives .....	165
Conclusion .....	167
<b>Chapter III: Research Methodology .....</b>	<b>168</b>
Introduction .....	168
3.1 Research Design .....	168
3.2 Justification for Methodological Choices .....	169
3.3 Data Collection .....	171
3.3.1 State Selection Based on Femicide Rates.....	172
3.3.2 Newspaper Selection Based on Digital Audience.....	173
3.3.3 Article Retrieval and Purposive Sampling .....	174
3.3.4 Data Management .....	177
3.4 Data Analysis Procedures.....	177

3.4.1 Overview of Data Analysis Approach.....	178
3.4.2 Development of Coding Scheme.....	179
3.4.3 Justification and Treatment for Each Coding Category.....	181
3.4.4 Computational Analysis.....	187
3.4.5 Inter-Coder Reliability.....	188
3.4.5.1 Validity.....	189
3.4.6 Ethical Consideration.....	189
3.4.7 Methodological Limitations.....	190
Conclusion.....	191
<b>Chapter IV: Research Results and Discussion.....</b>	<b>192</b>
Introduction .....	192
4.1 Research Results.....	193
4.1.1 Descriptive Data of the Articles .....	193
4.1.2 Victims and Perpetrators Demographic Overview .....	194
4.1.3 Results of Portrayal, Framing, Language Tone, and Visual Elements .....	204
4.1.4 Results of Linguistic Strategies and Gender Dynamics .....	218
4.1.5 Results of Direct, Indirect, and Other Harmful Language .....	228
4.1.6 Results of Victim, Perpetrator, and Crime Characteristics Associated with Newsworthiness .....	232
4.2 Research Discussion.....	238
4.2.1 Discussion of Descriptive Data and Demographics of Victims and Perpetrators .....	238
4.2.2 Discussion of Portrayal, Framing, Language Tone, and Visual Elements .....	245
4.2.3 Discussion of Linguistic Strategies and Gender Dynamics .....	251
4.2.4 Discussion of Direct, Indirect, and Other Harmful Language .....	257
4.2.5 Discussion of Victim, Perpetrator, and Crime Characteristics Associated with Newsworthiness .....	260
4.2.6 General Synthesis of Key Findings and Interpretive Insights .....	266
Conclusion .....	268
<b>Chapter V: Implications, Recommendations &amp; Limitations .....</b>	<b>270</b>
5.1 Implications.....	270
5.2 Recommendations.....	271
5.2.1 Recommendations Framework for Title Construction in Femicide Portrayal.....	272
5.2.2 Recommendations Framework for Image Use in Femicide Portrayal.....	275

5.2.3 Recommendations Framework for Content and Language Use in Femicide Portrayal.	277
5.3 Limitations.....	283
<b>General Conclusion.....</b>	<b>285</b>
References.....	290
Appendices .....	
Résumé.....	
الملخص.....	

## **General Introduction**

### **1. Background of the Study**

Violence has long been recognised as one of the most pervasive threats to human security and dignity. The World Health Organisation (2013) defines violence as the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation. Within the expansive spectrum, gender-based violence (GBV) emerges as a distinct and pervasive phenomenon, predominantly enacted by men against women, encompassing a spectrum of acts that inflict physical, sexual, psychological, social, or economic harm or coercion. When perpetrated by men against women, it encompasses a continuum of physical, sexual, psychological, social, and economic abuse, which collectively sustains gender hierarchies and patriarchal domination.

At the end of the continuum lies femicide, the intentional killing of women and girls because they are females. It is the most fatal manifestation of gender-based violence, exposing the lethal intersection of misogyny, inequality, and power. The term femicide functions as a counter-discursive alternative to the gender-neutral homicide, making explicit the gendered motive behind these killings and challenging the linguistic erasure of women's victimisation from legal and media discourses. Despite its prevalence, the phenomenon remained obscured and depoliticised for centuries, rendered invisible within patriarchal justice systems and social consciousness.

The concept was revitalised and given modern visibility through the work of feminist scholars and activists such as Diana E. H. Russell, who first articulated femicide at the International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women held in Brussels in 1967, defining it as "the killing of females by males because they are female." Russell's use of the word female rather

than woman was deliberately intended to include girls and infants within the spectrum of gendered killing, thereby underscoring that misogynistic violence operates across all stages of the female life cycle. Furthermore, The Vienna Declaration (2013) further refined the understanding, categorising femicide into eleven distinct manifestations: murders stemming from domestic or intimate partner violence, misogynistic torture and slayings, honor-based killings, targeted assassinations in armed conflicts, dowry-related deaths, killings linked to sexual orientation or gender identity, the gender-specific murders of aboriginal and indigenous women, female infanticide and sex-selective foeticide, femicide associated with genital mutilation, witch-hunt executions, and those tied to gangs, organised crime, drug trafficking, human exploitation, and the proliferation of small arms.

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2022), approximately 47,000 women and girls worldwide were intentionally killed by intimate partners or family members in 2020 alone, an average of one woman every eleven minutes. The statistics, while alarming, represent only the documented cases; many more remain unreported, misclassified, or rendered invisible by systemic failures in law enforcement and data collection. It underscores the urgent need to address femicide not merely as isolated incidents of interpersonal violence, but as a structural and ideological phenomenon sustained by gender inequality and institutional neglect.

Within the broader field of criminology, the media assumes a pivotal role as both producers and mediators of social knowledge about crime, deviance, and justice. As Greer (2013) and Jewkes and Linnemann (2017) note, mass media do not simply reflect social realities but actively construct them, framing crimes, victims, and perpetrators in ways that influence collective perceptions, policy responses, and moral discourse. Public understanding of crimes such as domestic violence or femicide is therefore primarily mediated through journalistic representation. Consequently, the manner in which these acts are reported,

through linguistic choices, visual framing, and narrative emphasis, can either reproduce harmful gender stereotypes or foster critical awareness and social change.

Over the past four decades, feminist activism and scholarship have significantly transformed the social and legal recognition of violence against women. Campaigns for legal reform, awareness, and prevention have pushed states and institutions to criminalise and address various forms of gender-based violence and violence against women (Johnson & Dawson, 2011). Nevertheless, despite these advances, femicide remains under-recognised and under-criminalised in many jurisdictions. In numerous legal systems, it is still subsumed under generic homicide laws, stripping it of its gendered dimension and thereby perpetuating institutional invisibility. The legal misclassification not only minimises the social significance of the crime but also contributes to lenient sentencing and the continued trivialisation of women's deaths.

Conventionally, the media is regarded as the primary source people rely on to position themselves in relation to a flood of images and information about both distant worlds, in space or time, and the world close to home. As an important social institution, the media presents different aspects of culture, politics, and social life, shaping and reflecting how they are formed and expressed. Media depictions of VAW are regarded as an important element in shaping public understanding of such issues, identifying relevant agencies, and devising strategies to advocate for victims. However, the media tend to offer their audiences simplistic, inadequate, and distorted representations of the extent and nature of the different facades of VAW.

The media have framed domestic violence in a way that it has become a victim-centred social problem, where the focus is on the victim and what she has done, or not done, to contribute to the victimisation, rather than focusing on the structural causes of the problem or on why batterers abuse (Berns, 2021). Ryan (1971) highlighted the notion of victim-blaming

in media reports, which is considered as a critical component in the social response to femicide along with using various frames of responsibility, including individuals behaviour, religious values, cultural/social norms, and a frame of interaction between the other three frames, which plays an important role in transferring the attention from the main event, that is the murder. If the focus is on what a victim did or did not do to lead to abuse, the focus is systematically shifted away from the abuser.

Crime and justice media researchers proved that the way media reports domestic violence, intimate partner violence, femicide, and violence against women profoundly shape not only the way that society forms an opinion on these issues but also how society forms opinions about women. Although the term femicide has only recently entered into dialogue in the United States, femicide publications are typically concentrated in particular parts of the world, mainly in South Africa, Latin American countries such as Guatemala, Honduras and Ciudad Juárez, which have significantly high rates of crime, which eventually captured the attention of both media and researchers.

Chermak (1995) asserted that "The news media have firmly established the fact that crimes against certain victims are more newsworthy and deserving of more news coverage than others". The selection of news is based on what reporters and/or editors regard as noteworthy, and the level of newsworthiness attributed to a particular story impacts how, where, and to what extent it will be told in the newspaper. The more unusual and, thus, newsworthy a story is considered to be, the longer and more prominently featured it will be in the media, generally, and in newspapers, specifically. Media, therefore, is considered a significant element in modern culture, particularly in the U.S. Kaun and Fast (2014) suggested that the processes of mediatisation significantly affect the aesthetic culture and everyday life, as the process is occurring in all spheres of society, such as the political field and the law field, leading to a profound social change mainly via discourse.

Media discourse comprises two key components: the news story or spoken or written text, and the process of producing the text. The first dimension has been the primary interest of media researchers to date, as the text encodes values and ideologies that impact and reflect the larger world. The second dimension includes the norms and routines of the community of news practitioners (Cotter, 2015). Media frames are based on three primary components: sources, context, and word choice. Therefore, Content analysis, discourse analysis and/or frame analysis are the main methodological choices used by researchers to understand and deconstruct the relationship between media, society and femicide (Stemler, 2001).

Taylor (2009) conducted a content analysis of the portrayal of femicide news in a local U.S. newspaper. She revealed that both victim blame and newsworthiness are prevalent in the news media's representation of female deaths in the U.S., especially, and that the media are responsible for socially constructing the idea of newsworthiness through covering the most unusual stories and rarest incidents, portraying an idea to society on femicide that does not represent the reality. According to McNeill (1992), the femicide offender is often portrayed as a tragic hero, overcome by his intense love for the victim. She contended the manner in which facts of a case reported by newspapers affects the way readers think and act, and that these deceptive portrayals may glorify these acts, thus encouraging others to commit such murders.

Sutherland et al. (2016) conducted both content analysis and critical discourse analysis of Australian media representations, revealing that aside from victim-blaming, male perpetrators of violence/murder were mainly rendered invisible in the news. Moreover, it was highlighted that the media act in a myriad of ways to perpetuate ambiguity and ambivalence concerning the definition, the dynamics and the harms of VAW. Many femicide cases were and still are explained as ambiguous homicide or as mysteries, not as domestic or GBV (Richards, Gillespie, & Smith, 2014).

The portrayal of femicide has been a central issue among feminist activists attempting to regulate the overall treatment of women in society (McNeill, 1992). Examining the content of the media is a crucial first step in understanding the story being told about femicide, how it is told, how it is received, and ultimately, how we go about changing both the story and the problem. Nevertheless, existing research has shown a poor understanding and analysis of the portrayal of femicide crime news in the U.S. newspapers. Moreover, the available research on the newspapers' portrayal of femicide in the U.S. is either done in relation to a single state or a single newspaper as a base for the analysis. Although it is highly crucial to understand the causes of femicide in these locations with unusually high rates of crime, these studies have only provided insight into how femicide is portrayed in relation to that location's cultural norms, values, ideologies, and law enforcement response and not the overall picture of the situation in the country. Moreover, the methodological limitations of failing to integrate all article aspects, such as visuals and metadata, restrict comprehensive analysis.

Despite the growing scholarly attention to media representations of VAW, there remains a striking absence of comprehensive analytical frameworks specifically designed to examine the discursive and multimodal construction of femicide. Most existing studies, including Taylor (2009), McNeill (1992), and Sutherland et al. (2016), have relied on either content analysis, frame analysis, or critical discourse analysis as isolated methodological tools, focusing primarily on textual dimensions. For instance, Taylor (2009) employed content analysis to examine the prevalence of victim-blaming and newsworthiness framing in U.S. local newspapers, while McNeill (1992) used textual examination to explore how emotional narratives romanticised male perpetrators. Similarly, Sutherland et al. (2016) combined content and discourse analyses to study Australian news reports, yet their model excluded visual and paratextual features such as headlines, captions, or imagery. Other researchers, including Gillespie, Richards, Givens, and Smith (2013), have conducted limited qualitative

analyses centred on narrative ambiguity in femicide cases, leaving the multimodal and ideological dimensions underexplored. Collectively, these methodological tendencies reveal that while prior research has identified biased patterns and gendered framings, no unified or replicable model currently exists that systematically integrates linguistic, visual, and structural dimensions of femicide news discourse. The gap underscores the need for an integrated, critical discourse and multimodal framework that captures the complexity of meaning-making processes in digital news environments and provides a foundation for ethical, gender-sensitive media reporting.

## **2. Statement of the Problem**

For decades, feminist researchers have examined violence against women (VAW) as a precursor to femicide. Despite significant scholarly and policy attention, critical gaps remain in how femicide is understood and addressed. While legal and policy responses often lack clarity in defining, prosecuting, and punishing femicide as a gendered crime, media discourse has become a primary site for shaping public perceptions.

Media representations are not neutral; they actively construct social meanings. As the main source through which most people learn about femicide, the media frequently offer simplified, sensationalized, and distorted portrayals that obscure systemic causes and reinforce gender stereotypes. Taylor (2009) notes that such framing often reduces VAW to a victim-centred problem, focusing on individual suffering rather than structural inequality. These portrayals risk trivializing feminist efforts, glamorizing deviant behaviour, and desensitizing audiences to gendered violence.

The changing media landscape has further intensified these concerns. According to the Reuters Institute (2023), 68% of people now access news online at least once a week, and 59% express greater trust in digital news from established newspapers than in their printed versions. The notable shift toward digital journalism, while broadening access, has also

amplified the speed and reach of biased narratives and emotional framing, making the critical examination of digital news discourse on femicide particularly urgent.

However, existing scholarship remains fragmented. Previous studies on the media portrayal of femicide have been geographically limited, often confined to specific states or single newspapers and analytically narrow, typically focusing on either textual framing or statistical representation. There is a noticeable absence of comprehensive, interdisciplinary frameworks capable of capturing the complexity of femicide discourse across multiple semiotic levels, from headlines and lexical choices to visual imagery and narrative tone. The lack of critical discourse models designed explicitly for femicide analysis leaves significant aspects of meaning-making unexamined.

Addressing the gap, the present study offers an integrated critical discourse and multimodal analysis of 403 U.S. local digital newspaper articles on femicide published between 2010 and 2019. Using mixed methods, combining sentiment analysis through VADER, thematic coding via NVivo, and visual analysis with Python, it examines how linguistic, structural, and visual strategies collectively shape public perceptions of femicide. The study aims to establish a baseline understanding of the discursive construction of femicide in U.S. digital media, contributing to feminist media scholarship, sociolinguistic theory, and ethical journalism practices. Ultimately, it proposes an "Optimal Framework for Ethical Femicide Reporting" to guide future research, media training, and advocacy, bridging the gap between discourse analysis, feminist theory, and social action.

### **3. Research Aim**

The aim of this study is to examine how U.S. digital local newspapers portray femicide between 2010 and 2019. Specifically, it investigates the linguistic, framing, and visual strategies used in news articles and analyses how these elements shape public perceptions of gender-based violence. By employing a mixed-methods content analysis of 403 articles, the

study seeks to uncover dominant patterns in media representation, identify gender biases, and highlight the ideological mechanisms that either reinforce or challenge systemic understandings of femicide. Ultimately, the research aims to develop the “Optimal Framework for Ethical Femicide Reporting,” a practical guide to improve media coverage and contribute to more responsible, balanced, and socially aware journalism.

#### **4. Research Objectives**

This study aims to achieve the following:

- To examine how U.S. digital local newspapers frame femicide through linguistic and visual elements.
- To analyse the representation of victims and perpetrators and explores the gender biases embedded in these portrayals.
- To evaluate the role and influence of images in femicide reporting.
- To develop the “Optimal Framework for Ethical Femicide Reporting” to guide journalists, policymakers, and researchers.
- To introduce and applies a novel mixed-methods approach for comprehensive content analysis of femicide news articles.

#### **5. Research Questions**

This study aims to answer the following questions:

- How are femicide incidents portrayed in the digital editions of U.S. local newspapers between 2010 and 2019, and what patterns emerge in framing, language tone, and visual elements?
- What linguistic strategies are employed in the portrayal of femicide to depict victims and perpetrators, and how do these strategies reflect broader gender dynamics or societal perceptions?

- To what extent are direct, indirect, and other harmful language types present in the portrayal of femicide?
- Which victim, perpetrator, and crime characteristics are most associated with heightened newsworthiness in femicide coverage?

## **6. Significance of the Study**

The significance of this study lies in its contribution to establishing a baseline understanding of how femicide is reported in U.S. media, thereby providing valuable insights to inform future strategies for change. By examining the portrayal of femicide in digital local newspapers, the study addresses critical gaps in both scholarly knowledge and media practice.

Theoretically, this research advances feminist media studies by deepening our understanding of how media narratives construct and sustain representations of violence against women. It enriches sociolinguistic frameworks by highlighting the role of language in shaping public perceptions of gender-based violence. Furthermore, the study introduces a methodological innovation through the integration of mixed-methods and computational techniques, offering a comprehensive model for analysing textual, visual, and metadata elements in media discourse. In doing so, it bridges significant research gaps in U.S.-centric digital media studies on femicide and lays a strong theoretical foundation for future investigations across diverse contexts.

On the practical level, the study proposes the “Optimal Framework for Ethical Femicide Reporting,” which provides concrete, evidence-based guidelines for journalists and editors to improve the accuracy and responsibility of femicide coverage. It also offers insights that can inform gender-responsive policies and prevention strategies. Additionally, the research suggests ways to enhance the ethical use of images in reporting and equips activists, educators, and other stakeholders with valuable knowledge to raise public awareness and influence societal responses to gender-based violence. Finally, it supplies a replicable

methodological tool that future researchers can use to monitor media trends and assess their societal impact.

## **7. Research Methodology**

The present study adopts a mixed-methods research design, integrating qualitative and quantitative content analyses using NVivo for thematic coding, Python-based sentiment analysis (VADER), and computational image analysis tools to examine femicide portrayals in crime news across selected U.S. digital newspapers from 2010 to 2019. For the analysis, local digital newspapers were selected rather than focusing on printed and/or national media.

The selection of local newspapers over national media underscores a deliberate preference for their perceived reliability and depth, reflecting a community-specific lens essential for capturing nuanced femicide narratives. Moreover, the study focuses on digital forms of these local newspapers, retaining the "local newspapers" designation as a thoughtful methodological approach, recognising digital platforms as functional extensions of traditional print media, which justifies the seamless analysis of the dataset. Digital local newspapers concentrate on pertinent community issues, enhancing the framework's culturally sensitive reporting guidelines. Despite a decline in print readership, the prevalence of digital access, with 66% of consumers engaging online according to Pew Research Centre (2024), and the trust in these platforms, further validate your sample's representativeness, strengthening its impact on public perception. Additionally, Vailati et al. (2025) reinforce the interchangeability of digital and print formats for analytical purposes.

The selection of the newspapers is based on two main elements. The first element is the geographical location. The second element is selecting the digital newspaper with the largest audience in each state. A total of 6 states were selected based on femicide crime rates, which were systematically classified into three distinct tiers: those exhibiting the highest rates, those demonstrating the lowest rates, and those falling within the average (mid-range) rates.

Based on the data represented in Table 4, Texas and California are the states with the highest rates of femicide; Wyoming and Vermont are the states with the lowest rates of femicide; while Oregon and Minnesota are the states with the average rates of femicide in the U.S. between 2010 and 2019. Therefore, a total of 6 newspapers from Texas, California, Wyoming, Vermont, Oregon, and Minnesota will be used in the study.

In each designated state, the digital newspaper with the largest audience was selected to represent significant media perspectives, as monthly unique visitors serve as an indicator of digital reach and influence in shaping public discourse (Pew Research Centre, 2021). The audience data were obtained from a diverse array of sources, including the media kits of various outlets, reports from Statista and SimilarWeb, and press releases that aggregate statistics derived from web analytics tools.

The chosen newspapers, along with their corresponding monthly unique digital audience statistics, are presented as follows:

- The Casper Star-Tribune, a leading Wyoming newspaper, has an estimated readership of approximately 415,653.
- The Burlington Free Press, a prominent Vermont newspaper, boasts an estimated readership of approximately 200,000.
- The Oregonian, a prominent newspaper in Oregon, boasts an estimated readership of approximately 7,000,000 readers.
- The Star Tribune, a leading newspaper in Minnesota, has an estimated readership of approximately 1,400,000 readers.
- The Los Angeles Times, a major newspaper in California, has an estimated readership of approximately 40,000,000 readers.
- The Dallas Morning News, a prominent Texas newspaper, boasts an estimated readership of approximately 7,000,000.

The study draws on a dataset of 403 digital news articles from U.S. local newspapers, collected over 10 years and selected to capture evolving societal narratives about femicide. Articles were retrieved through systematic searches of digital archives, utilising a comprehensive set of keywords developed to ensure thorough coverage of gender-motivated killings.

The analysis is supported by a novel 29-code coding scheme, meticulously developed to encompass all aspects of the articles and address a gap in existing content analysis methodologies. The codes include factual elements such as Article ID, Perpetrator Name, and Motive, alongside interpretive categories like Language Tone, Language Type, Sentiment Score, and Newsworthiness. The scheme, informed by sociolinguistic theories (Cameron, 1992; Fairclough, 1995) and media studies (Taylor, 2009), facilitates a comprehensive examination of linguistic, visual, and contextual dimensions.

Data analysis employs a sequential mixed-methods design, beginning with qualitative coding in NVivo to identify thematic patterns such as framing and stereotypes, followed by quantitative techniques to validate insights. Python's Valence Aware Dictionary and Sentiment Reasoner (VADER) computes Sentiment Scores. At the same time, DeepFace and Color/Visual Mood Analysis assess Image Tone, integrating these computational outputs with NVivo codes in Excel for centralised management. The iterative and reflexive approach, enhanced by comparative analysis across regions and the 2010–2019 period, ensures a rigorous interrogation of media narratives, aligns with feminist research ethics (Hesse-Biber, 2014), and supports the development of the "Optimal Framework for Ethical Femicide Reporting".

## **8. Thesis Structure**

The present thesis is divided into five comprehensive chapters, each addressing a key component of the study from theoretical grounding to applied analysis and final reflections.

Chapter one, titled *Femicide: The Fatal Expression of Violence Against Women*, establishes the theoretical and conceptual foundation of the research. It is divided into two major sections. The first section, *Gender, Patriarchy, and Violence: The Foundation of Femicide*, explores the interrelation between gender, power, and violence as the root of femicide. The second section, *Femicide: The Fatal Expression of Violence Against Women*, focuses specifically on defining and conceptualising femicide as a distinct form of VAW. It presents major typologies of femicide, as classified in international literature, such as intimate partner femicide, sexual femicide, and honour-based killings.

Chapter Two, titled *Discourse, Gender, and the Media: Exploring the Language of Crime and Power*, examines the sociolinguistic and ideological dimensions of media representations of femicide. The chapter situates media as a social and ideological institution that shapes public understanding through frameworks such as Althusser's Ideological State Apparatuses, Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, Hall's cultural theories, and feminist media representation theories. It further examines how media discourse constructs crime and femicide narratives, focusing on gendered framing, victim–perpetrator representation, intersectional dynamics, and the influence of feminist counter-narratives and digital activism.

Chapter Three outlines the Research Methodology employed in the study. It presents the research design, approach, and methodological framework guiding the analysis. It includes a detailed account of the data collection process, tools, and procedures, including the selection of 403 U.S. digital local newspaper articles from 2010 to 2019 and the integration of mixed-methods combining qualitative and computational techniques. The chapter explains the use of content analysis, sentiment analysis through VADER, discourse analysis using NVivo, and image-based coding and sentiment scores via Python.

Chapter Four, the Analytical Framework, presents the empirical findings and interpretative discussion. The first section provides a systematic presentation of results,

including quantitative outcomes and qualitative patterns derived from linguistic and visual analysis of the dataset. The second section interprets these findings within broader theoretical and sociocultural contexts, drawing connections to feminist media theory, discourse analysis, and criminological perspectives. It examines how media representations construct, reinforce, or challenge gendered ideologies surrounding femicide, ultimately highlighting structural tendencies and biases in reporting practices.

Finally, chapter Five, Implications, Recommendations, and Limitations, synthesises the findings to formulate actionable guidelines and theoretical insights. It discusses the broader implications of the study for media ethics, policymaking, and feminist scholarship, proposing the "Optimal Framework for Ethical Femicide Reporting" as a model for responsible journalism. The chapter also identifies the study's methodological and emotional limitations, including contextual constraints and researcher exposure to distressing content. It concludes with recommendations for future research, advocating for methodological diversification, cross-cultural studies, and continued engagement with feminist and sociolinguistic frameworks to advance the ethical and analytical study of femicide in media discourse.

## **Chapter I: Femicide: The Fatal Expression of Violence Against Women**

### **Introduction**

Femicide constitutes the most severe and irrevocable expression of violence against women, rooted in entrenched patriarchal systems, systemic inequalities, and the pervasive normalization of violence directed towards women. It has become a pivotal area of inquiry within modern gender studies, criminology, and discussions surrounding human rights. Femicide is not merely a series of isolated occurrences; rather, it embodies profound social, cultural, and institutional disparities that sustain the subjugation and precariousness of women across various global contexts. Femicide, as a complex legal and social concern, has garnered heightened global scrutiny owing to its disturbing frequency and the significant societal damage it causes. In spite of the existence of international human rights frameworks and national initiatives aimed at combating VAW, the pervasive phenomenon of the systematic killing of women and girls on the basis of their gender continues to be both inadequately studied and insufficiently prosecuted in numerous contexts.

This chapter is a theoretical framework of the current research; it provides a better understanding and a clear explanation of the study's variables. Through an examination of the complex interconnections among gender, patriarchy, and violence in section one, the chapter lays a theoretical groundwork for comprehending the systemic dynamics that sustain inequality and create an environment conducive to femicide. Section two subsequently explores femicide as the most extreme expression of such violence, providing conceptual clarity and contextualizing it within the wider spectrum of violence directed towards women. Collectively, these sections highlight the imperative for an interdisciplinary and sophisticated framework in understanding femicide, stressing its importance not merely as an immediate social issue but also as a central theme for the enhancement of research, policy formulation,

and advocacy initiatives.

### **1.1. Gender, Patriarchy, and Violence: The Foundation of Femicide**

Long before it was named or condemned, violence silently shaped the lives of people across ancient societies and continues to do so today; it has remained a deeply embedded social phenomenon, and among its most pervasive and destructive forms is gender-based violence (GBV). GBV denotes any harmful act inflicted against an individual or a group of individuals due to their gender. GBV includes numerous forms of physical, sexual, psychological, and economic abuses that disproportionately impact women and girls due to deep-rooted gender power disparities and inequalities.

The concept of GBV initially focuses on women as the primary victims. However, contemporary interpretations acknowledge that GBV can have an equal impact on men, boys, and individuals with different gender identities. Nevertheless, women and girls continue to be the primary targets owing to internalized patriarchal systems that perpetuate male dominance and female subordination (Connell, 2009). "Gender-based" is an underscoring phrase to the role of the socially constructed gender attributes that facilitate and legitimize violence. While sex denotes biological differences between individuals, gender refers to the sociocultural constructs that classify individuals (Butler, 1990). Thus, GBV arises not from biological factors but from the perceived violations of established gender roles and the enforcement of gender hierarchies.

GBV manifests in various forms, including harassment, domestic violence, sexual assault, economic abuse, female genital mutilation, and forced marriage (World Health Organization [WHO], 2021). The facades of violence may occur in both public and private domains, which frequently intersect with other forms of oppression, such as class, race, religion, and sexual orientation (Crenshaw, 1991). Moreover, GBV represents a violation of

human rights and public health crises with extensive repercussions for individuals, families, and societies. International legal frameworks, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Istanbul Convention, explicitly acknowledge GBV as a manifestation of gender-based discrimination that obstructs women's enjoyment of fundamental freedoms and equality (CEDAW, 1979; Council of Europe, 2021).

### **1.1.1. Gender and Violence**

Focusing on GBV against women does not imply that women are never violent against men. Worldwide, approximately 35% of women have experienced at least one form of violence in their lifetime, including both partner and non-partner violence. Simultaneously, an estimated 13% of men have experienced at least one form of violence by an intimate partner in their lifetime (WHO, 2013). Understanding GBV fully necessitates looking at how different aspects of gender influence the predictors, dynamics, and consequences of violence for men and women rather than just focusing on sex differences in rates and ratings of particular acts.

#### **1.1.1.1. Gender vs. Sex**

The terms sex and gender are frequently used interchangeably, yet both concepts are distinct, with significant repercussions across cultural and biological domains. Understanding and accurately differentiating between both terms is crucial.

##### **1.1.1.1.1. Sex : Biological Perspective**

Biologically, "sex" is a construct that categorizes the existence of a genetically unique species based on anatomical, physiological, genetic, and hormonal variation. With but a few exceptions, sex is fixed at birth based on observable genitalia.

The genetic determination of sex, i.e., being a female or a male, is located on the Y chromosome. Human females, known as the homogametic sex, have two X chromosomes

(XX). Conversely, males are heterogametic, as their pair of sex chromosomes comprises one X and one Y chromosome (XY). Although the X chromosome is considered significantly larger than the Y chromosome, it also encodes a greater volume of genetic information. In contrast, the presence or absence of the Y chromosome determines the gonadal sex. If the Y chromosome is present, the individual develops testes, productive organ male. However, if the Y chromosome is absent, the individual will eventually develop ovaries, which will identify the individual as a female. Thus, the first step towards determining the sex of the individuals is the issuance of an instruction by the Y chromosome. The chromosomal composition of an individual is determined at conception through the equal contribution of genetic material from both biological parents. Specifically, the oocyte (egg) from the female and the spermatozoon from the male each carry 23 chromosomes. Upon fertilization typically occurring within the ampullary region of the fallopian tube these gametes merge to form a diploid zygote comprising 46 chromosomes, organized into 23 homologous pairs. Among these, one pair referred to as the sex chromosomes determines the chromosomal sex of the embryo. The maternal gamete invariably contributes an X chromosome, whereas the paternal gamete may contribute either an X or a Y chromosome (Johnson, 2018). Consequently, the chromosomal sex of the resulting zygote (XX or XY) is contingent upon the sex chromosome inherited from the father, thereby rendering paternal contribution the determining factor in the embryo's sex.

A second biological framework for defining sex is based on the presence and differentiation of gonadal structures that give rise to the male and female internal genitalia (Carlson, 2019). In females, the gonads develop into the oviducts, uterus, cervix, and upper vagina; whereas in males, they develop to give rise to the epididymis, vas deferens, and seminal vesicles. If the process proceeds without any failures or is blocked experimentally, the individuals will eventually be identified as female and male, respectively (Johnson, 2018). A significant distinction between the primordial of the internal genitalia and that of the

external genitalia is that the latter are bipotential. Females have urethral folds and genital swellings that remain distinct from one another, which results in the formation of the labia minora and majora. Additionally, the clitoris develops out of the genital tubercle. On the contrary, androgens produced from the testes in males cause the fusion of the urethral folds, which encases the urethral tube and, in conjunction with cells from the genital swelling, contributes to the development of the penis shaft (Johnson, 2018).

The gonads also serve a critical endocrine function by producing sex-specific hormones, thereby contributing to a third biological definition of sex. The human endocrine system, comprising glands such as the adrenal cortex, testes, and ovaries, regulates the production and systemic distribution of hormones via the bloodstream. The hormones influence the development and function of secondary sexual characteristics and reproductive processes. In males, it includes spermatogenesis, while in females, it includes the cyclical release of ova during the menstrual cycle. Thus, gonadal activity not only determines reproductive capacity but also shapes broader physiological and anatomical sex differentiation.

The male-female classification system remains a cornerstone of biological science, yet the dichotomy does not encompass the full spectrum of human sex development. Variations can occur at genetic, hormonal, anatomical, and physiological levels, leading to conditions or differences in sex development that are often referred to as intersex conditions (Monro et al., 2024). Clinicians discovered that certain chromosomal anomalies can result in intersex syndromes. For example, a few men were identified with two X and Y sex chromosomal constitutions, which is called Klinefelter syndrome. It involves an extra X chromosome, leading to atypical testicular development and reduced testosterone levels (Hudson Institute of Medical Research, 2017). On the other hand, few women were identified with an autosomal complement, but only one type of X chromosome constitution, known as Turner syndrome. The female will develop an ovary, but it will subsequently die due to the absence of the

second X chromosome, which is necessary for the growth and activity of the oocyte (Hudson Institute of Medical Research, 2017).

Hormonal disruption during fetal development can also interfere with resulting disorders of sex development, such as Androgen Insensitivity Syndrome, which causes the absence of internal genitalia in females, and Congenital Adrenal Hyperplasia, which is a counterpart to testicular feminization for males. These traits and disorders are naturally caused by genetic mutations and mismatches between gonadal and phenotypic sex, which disrupt normal hormonal production and receptor function (Johnson, 2018). In other cases, the ambiguity of identifying the sexual characteristics might occur at the surface level at the level of the external genitalia. Individuals rarely develop both ovarian and testicular tissue in a condition called ovotesticular disorder of sex development. The disorder may manifest as a separate ovary and testis or as a single gonad containing both tissues.

Reports on estimating the prevalence of intersex conditions vary due to the precise diagnostic criteria. However, the prevalence of such conditions is considered low, as Fausto-Sterling (2000) estimated that approximately 1.7% of live births exhibit intersex traits, which is considered among the highest; whereas, Sax (2002) estimated the occurrence at about 0.018%. Nevertheless, these conditions often involved medical interventions, such as early surgical procedures, to align the physical characteristics of individuals with such conditions with the biologically typical male and female phenotypes.

#### **1.1.1.1.2. Gender: Sociocultural Perspective**

Simone de Beauvoir (1949/2010) proclaimed, "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" (p. 283), highlighting the social identity that frames gender as something we are not born with nor something we have but instead is something made, done (West & Zimmerman, 1987) and performed (Butler, 1990). Gender, by definition, is a multidimensional and socially

constructed ongoing concept that encompasses a wide range of different roles, expectations, responsibilities, limitations, and experiences assigned to individuals based on their presenting sex or gender (Butler, 1990; West & Zimmerman, 1987). The social identity categorizes individuals as "women" or "men," reflecting the cultural norms and behaviors that shape how individuals are expected to talk, act, relate, and participate socially.

Even before a child is born, society already engages in the anticipation of assigning the gender through ultrasounds, gender revealing parties, wondering if the pending child is a 'he' or a 'she' and eventually the child's name to be (Butler, 1990). These rituals not only describe biological facts but also create social meaning and expectations that will standardly determine how they are perceived and how they are expected to behave in everyday human interaction.

Femininity and masculinity are acquired through a continuous process of socialization, wherein cultural norms and societal expectations shape the establishment of gendered attitudes, emotions, and behaviors (Connell, 2009). From the moment of birth, gender is socially assigned and maintained by others, often beginning with adults who categorize and treat the child according to perceived sex characteristics, labeling the child as either a boy or a girl and interpreting their behavior accordingly. In these early stages, the gendering process is externally regulated, with caregivers and society performing what scholars have termed "gender work" on behalf of the child. As children mature, they begin to internalize these gender norms and actively participate in their gender construction, reproducing socially expected behaviors and eventually reinforcing those norms in others (Ridgeway, 2011). The ongoing process reflects the deeply embedded and performative nature of gender within everyday social life.

#### **1.1.1.1.2.1. Gender Stereotypes**

The binary classification of gender inherently entails a set of traits known as gender attributes, which refer to the attitudes, social expectations, behaviors, and assigned roles associated with gender (Johnson, 2018). Furthermore, these attributes constitute a set of gender stereotypes. Gender stereotypes, by definition, are the collective beliefs about what is expected of a woman or a man in a specific society (Johnson, 2018). These stereotypes may be regarded as contentious or lacking universal definitiveness, yet they evolve, often becoming intricate and deeply influenced by cultural, religious, ideological, and social contexts. For instance, in traditional Judeo-Christian cultures or conservative Islamic countries, women are excluded from public spheres or particular social and occupational roles, which tend to be more noticeable than in modern secular societies. Although these gender stereotypes have generally weakened over time in these more secular contexts, they continue to affect the allocation of roles with some positions, like engineering, construction, Political leadership positions, military combat roles, and financial management jobs occupied mainly by men, while nursing, caregiving, administrative support roles, domestic chores, and household management tend to be typically associated with women.

Furthermore, there are different expectations about male and female behaviors. For instance, whereas similar behavior in women may be labeled as improper or "unladylike", violent or disruptive behavior in men is typically accepted or defended with terms such as "boys will be boys." Once rigorous in nations like Britain, historical social conventions controlling gender-specific clothing and adornment such as males wearing earrings or women wearing pants reflect strong gender stereotypes. Although many of these prescriptive rules have been relaxed, their traces remain in modern attitudes and cultural values.

Based on the societal distinction between masculinity and femininity, Table 1 presents a clear and systematic comparison of gender attributes, illustrating the multidimensional essence of gender in societies across various areas, including social interaction, reproductive and sexual roles, employment, appearance, temperament, intellect, and language use.

Table 1

*Gender Attributes: Oppositional Descriptions*

Gender Attributes	Masculine	Feminine
Inter-/ Intra - gender interaction patterns	Pre- and proscribed contact and relational patterns	Distinctive patterns
Social role	Public, extrovert, in the workplace, powerful, independent, forceful, outspoken	Private, domestic, powerless, quiet, care provider
Reproductive role	Disposable and transitory	Essential and enduring
Sexual role	Active, insertive, dominant	Passive, receptive, submissive
Work role	Rule setting and enforcing, leadership, military, ritualistic and priesthood, artistic	Constructive, agricultural, food preparation, domestic, creative, nurturant
Appearance	Characteristic and uniform hairstyle, body decoration, clothes, ornamentation	Characteristic and varying hairstyle, body decoration, clothes, ornamentation
Temperament and emotion	Competitive, combative, aggressive, ambitious, not expressive of vulnerable emotions	Cooperative, consensual, expressive, empathic, affectionate, emotionally free
Intellect and skills	Better mathematical and spatial skills, systematizing	Better linguistic skills, people oriented
Language used	Words reserved for use by men	Words reserved for use by women

Note. Adapted in part from Table 2.1 in *Essential Reproduction* (8th ed., p. 20), by M. H. Johnson (Ed.), 2018, Wiley-Blackwell. Copyright 2018 by Wiley-Blackwell.

**1.1.1.1.2.2. Gender Identity**

Gender identity portrays the internal concept and belief of “me as a man or a woman.” Contemporary civilizations predominantly operate within a binary perspective of gender, where individuals are broadly categorized as either being feminine or masculine depending on the cultural consensus of gender attributes and stereotypes (Connell, 2009). The extent to which individuals feel embedded in such bipolar gender spectrum is a measure of their sense

of their gender security and strength, referred to as gender identity. Egan and Perry (2001) noted that an individual's internalized perception reflects the degree to which individuals perceive themselves as fitting into society's expectations related to masculinity or femininity. Thus, most women and men who are physically female and male, respectively, have strong gender identities.

Others, in the meantime, were noted to indicate a disconnection between their internalized perception and the social expectations of what gender they are. In such cases, these people could suffer from what academics refer to as "weak gender identity" (Stoller, 1968). Judith Butler's influential text, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, posits the fluidity of gender characteristics, contesting traditional classifications of masculinity and femininity. The viewpoint asserts that gender is not an intrinsic immutable characteristic but rather a performative and socially constructed identity (Butler, 1990). More notably, some individuals experience a significant discrepancy between their gender identification and their biological sex characteristics. These individuals eventually will embody a clear illustration of different sex and gender and are commonly referred to as transgender or transsexual (Butler, 1990). As an attempt to align their physical sexes with their gender identity, trans men, individuals assigned at birth as females but identify as males, and trans women, individuals assigned at birth as males but identify as females, pursue both medical and social transitions, including hormone therapy and gender-affirming operations (Richards et al., 2016).

#### **1.1.1.1.3. Sex-Gender Overlap**

Although sex and gender present two distinct perspectives in shaping individual differences, nonetheless, they demonstrate an inherent interrelation. The bipolar biological classification of individuals as either female or male is paralleled by another bipolar allocation of gender traits as either feminine or masculine.

Labeling someone as a man or a woman is a social decision. We may use scientific knowledge to help us make the decision, but only our beliefs about gender, not science, can define our sex. Furthermore, our beliefs about gender affect what kinds of knowledge scientists produce about sex in the first place. (Fausto-Sterling, 2000, p. 3)

The overlap between the two perspectives is complex and deeply intertwined. Gender builds directly on biological sex (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2013); however, it is not always a straightforward concept. The division illuminates the everlasting debate about nature versus nurture. In contrast, gender is considered as the result of nurture, as social and hence flexible, and sex is considered as a result of nature, given by biology, yet there is no clear point to where sex stops and gender starts. The clear demarcation falls short, though, since neither male nor female sex has a single objective biological criterion. Anatomical, endocrine, and chromosomal characteristics define sex; the choice among these criteria for sex assignment is primarily dependent on cultural views regarding what makes someone male or female. Therefore, the very definition of the biological categories of male and female, as well as people's perspectives of others and themselves as male or female, is ultimately social (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2013). For example, women are expected to have red nails and toenails and men are not, and women are expected to mince and men are expected to swagger biologically speaking. Though gender is considered as social and sex as biological, the division is not always obvious. Thus, gender is not merely a reflection of biological sex but a dynamic social construct that influences and constrains personal identity and social interactions.

## **1.1.2. The Social Construction of Gender and Its Role in Violence**

### **1.1.2.1. The Gender of Violence**

Gender stereotypes function not merely as descriptive classifications about femininity and masculinity but also as prescriptive norms that impose specific behavioral expectations and roles based on individuals' perceived gender. These stereotypes are associated not only with how individuals act and behave but also with their expectations of what and how they should be like, thereby sustaining rigid systems of social control and reinforcing prevailing power structures.

Central to such discussion is the concept of hegemonic masculinity, which denotes the culturally predominant manifestation of masculinity that legitimizes and perpetually sustains the hierarchical privileging of men over women and subordinated masculinities. Jewkes et al. (2015) identified hegemonic masculinity as the authority, physical resilience, emotional composure, and heterosexual supremacy attributes that reinforce male privilege while marginalizing diverse manifestations of masculinity and femininity. Complementing it is the notion of emphasized femininity, referring to the structure as a response to men's dominance, emphasizing women being evaluated against a standard of "woman," and including women who are frequently hyper-feminine and seek not to attain a standard of "woman" but to be most accommodating to the men in their immediate surroundings. The constructs are deeply embedded within societal institutions, including media representations, educational systems, and workplace cultures, thereby shaping and perpetuating gendered expectations and behaviors.

The stereotypes create a framework for domination-submission dynamics, in which men are conditioned to display assertiveness, dominance, and independence. At the same time, women are anticipated to demonstrate passivity, maternal traits, and dependence. The relationship not only perpetuates structural disparities but also legitimizes discriminatory

practices and GBV by normalizing male authority and female submission. Moreover, these stereotypes and attributes extend to the responses towards victims of intimate partner violence and sexual violence (Ridgeway, 2011). Societal attitudes and stereotypes significantly influence the social responses, the reactions of law enforcement and services, and, crucially, the perceptions victims hold regarding their own experiences of victimization.

### **1.1.2.2. The Roots of Gendered Violence**

Understanding gendered violence necessitates an initial examination of the concept of violence, its historical origins, changing interpretations, and the various functions it serves in influencing personal identities and societal frameworks. The constructions are intricately entrenched in organizations, societies, and human relationships, frequently perpetuating unequal power dynamics. Prior to critically analyzing the disparate experiences and manifestations of violence across genders, it is imperative to investigate the historical definitions, constructions, and perpetuations of violence, especially in contexts that normalize or sustain violence and inequality (Ridgeway, 2011).

#### **1.1.2.2.1. The Genealogy of Violence**

In ancient cultures and religions, violence was often communicated as a language and an art. It was not only a means of protection against ravages but also a tool for creating rituals and ceremonies such as religious human and animal sacrifice as well as warfare. Ultimately, violence was part and parcel of everyday life back in the time. Although extensive studies have been conducted to understand violence in ancient societies, the primary focus has been on how it was depicted and viewed within those cultures and religions. Violence is unquestionably a precondition to war, and from any moral or academic point of view, it is the key factor leading to calamitous effects on humans, nonhumans, and the environment. Studies on the anthropology of war and its disciplinary history are divided into two camps: instrumental and expressive. The first goal-oriented camp, the instrumental, identifies

violence as a tool commonly used in organized conflicts in order to achieve social control, economic gain, political dominance, or territorial expansion. In contrast, the expressive perspective on violence recognizes it as a means to convey emotions, beliefs, or identities through ritual acts, emotional release, and acts of retaliation.

The duality of violence is particularly evident when understanding the relationship between violence and the broader dynamics of societal behavior, where it serves not only as a means to enforce power or express emotions but also provides an extensively interlinked relationship with other social structures, norms, and individual identities that are inherent in gender, religion, physical appearance, sexuality and ability.

#### **1.1.2.2.2. Symbolic and Structural Violence**

In contemporary discourse, the concept of violence has assumed a new guise among academics, policymakers, and the broader public sphere. While it has traditionally been often related to the contexts of crime and warfare, its narrow framing fails to capture the full spectrum of harm present in modern societies. McAllister and Vennum (2025) highlighted that many acts and incidents that produce harm are surrounded by ambiguity regarding whether they should be categorized as violent acts or not within societies (McAllister & Vennum, 2025). Moreover, Stanko (2003) argues that violence is currently identified as a whole range of events, feelings, and forms of harm, shifting beyond the traditional understanding and meaning of the concept, signifying a shift beyond physical aggression toward more systemic, symbolic, and everyday forms of violence.

The academic focus on analyzing violence frameworks that exclusively confine to intentional agents and individual acts risks overlooking the normalized and insidious forms of violence rooted in social structures, institutions, ideologies, and histories. Galtung coined the concept of structural violence in his article "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research,"

defining it as "Violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances" (Galtung, 1969, pp. 170–171). Moreover, Jones (2000) pointed out that the uneven access to power and resources that leads to differential access to information, voice, agency, and representation, such as education and literacy, conditions individuals or groups prevention from reaching their full potential and meeting their basic needs, these built into structures are manifested in institutions, economic, systems, legal frameworks, and social norms creating an invisible form of harm. The Intersectionality theoretical framework provides a guiding framework for understanding how individuals' identities, such as race, gender, class, sexuality, and social and cultural practices, influence the experience, perpetuation, and justification of violence within broader systems of power. Moreover, instead of treating these identity categories as distinct or cumulative, intersectionality reveals their simultaneous and compounding effects in generating and perpetuating systemic inequalities and multifaceted forms of oppression. An evident instance is the gender wage gap, whereby women, on average, get lower compensation than men for doing the same or equivalent tasks. The difference arises not only from individual decisions or isolated discriminatory actions but also from broader societal patterns. However, it is fundamentally entrenched in institutional practices, labor market frameworks, and cultural norms that consistently devalue women's labor, particularly in gendered sectors such as caregiving and education.

In parallel, the concept of symbolic violence exerts its power subtly compared to the framework of systematic violence. Bourdieu (1991) coined symbolic violence as the non-physical violence that manifests in power differentials between social groups; it is the most often invisible form of domination found in language, education, religion, and other cultural mechanisms that are enforced by law or coercion but by shaping what individuals perceive as natural, legitimate, or deserved (Thapar-Björkert et al., 2016). Symbolic violence underpins

male dominance as natural, inevitable, and culturally justified. It perpetuates the idea that gender hierarchies are part of natural order rather than socially produced. According to Bourdieu (1991), such type of violence occurs when both the dominant and the dominant misinterpret societal norms and institutions by accepting power relations. The cultural norms and discursive practices legitimize uneven power relations by enabling women's prejudice and discrimination as part of the social order. Moreover, Thapar-Björkert et al. (2016) note that victims may view violence and discrimination as expected or merited under societal norms. By normalizing oppression and silencing resistance, symbolic violence may maintain more visible kinds of violence, including physical abuse, sexual exploitation, and systematic discrimination. Symbolic violence legitimizes and hides injustice, allowing patriarchal institutions to proliferate without opposition.

Complex social, political, and economic processes intricately interconnect both structural and symbolic violence phenomena. Structural violence is evident in institutional mechanisms such as the state, legal systems, healthcare, and education that systematically limit individuals' access to rights, protection, and resources (Farmer, 2004). Such exclusions are frequently most apparent in gendered contexts, where enforcement, welfare services, or familial dynamics law may condone or overlook harm directed at women. Nonetheless, these material disparities are not maintained solely by coercion. Symbolic violence, as posited by Bourdieu (1991), functions through quotidian language, cultural narratives, and societal expectations that validate subjugation by portraying gender hierarchies as natural or inevitable; such as the notion that women are intrinsically nurturing or passive, symbolic violence legitimizes and obscures inequality (Thapar-Björkert et al., 2016). The phenomenon affects both public and private spaces. For instance, family members, law enforcement, and healthcare may tolerate gendered violence, which is reinforced by cultural narratives that normalize male dominance. The interplay illustrates that power and inequality create and

sustain violence, not just individual deviance or pathology. Addressing gendered violence requires examining how state policies, economic structures, and symbolic meanings reinforce social hierarchies and legitimize harm.

### **1.1.2.3. Patriarchy: Individuals or Society**

Within the social fabric, gender is considered a pivotal axis of social organizations that are firmly integrated with the different forms of violence. Historically, violence has been deployed as a mechanism to sustain male dominance and bolster gender hierarchies. Whether manifested as domestic violence, sexual abuse, or systematic discrimination, violence is considered as a controlling and expressive tool of social norms devaluing and subordinating women. At the core of all the manifestations of gendered violence is a profoundly ingrained system of dominance, control, and inequality that is ultimately revealed as patriarchy.

Discourse on gender patriarchy frequently employs an individualistic paradigm, emphasizing personal development via education, psychotherapy, or self-help programs rather than a structural analysis of patriarchy (Johnson, 2018). Although these methods may provide individuals with resources for adaptation and emotional health, they often conceal the underlying, systemic foundations of gendered power dynamics. Patriarchy, akin to poverty, constitutes not just a series of individual attitudes or acts but a widespread social framework that orchestrates domination, fortifies gendered expectations, and promotes complicity (Hooks, 2000). Men, for example, can accumulate social capital by exhibiting emotional sensitivity, so deflecting criticism while retaining actual power or privilege. Women who achieve professional success in patriarchal structures may experience pressures to conform, fearing a loss of status or credibility if they openly contest the system that validated their accomplishments (Ridgeway, 2011). The dynamic fosters a misleading perception of progress, as individuals are incentivized to conform to the system rather than critically examine or reform it. According to bell hooks (2000), critics of patriarchy are frequently

rejected as “playing victim,” whilst conformists are lauded for their resilience and ambition, thus perpetuating patriarchal logic. Without a rigorous examination of patriarchy and its linkages with capitalism, reform initiatives may inadvertently perpetuate the inequalities they want to abolish. Personal progress cannot replace systemic transformation. Substantive gender justice necessitates both individual development and a fundamental reconfiguration of the systems that establish legitimacy, authority, and achievement.

Unpacking firmly rooted social truth that challenges the social structure, such as gendered violence, requires a structural approach rather than an individual one. Johnson (2018) highlighted that numerous public discussions and policy debates on such topics frequently fail to recognize that revolutionary change to sensitive topics can only occur by modifying systemic frameworks rather than isolated, discrete personal interventions. Liberal and conservative approaches to gendered violence often prioritize changing individuals over systems, perpetuating the status quo. Conservatives blame the victims, urging them to unite, adopt ideals, and work harder. Liberals seek government solutions that should not be confused with systemic change; they often focus on providing shelters for violence victims, spreading awareness on how to deal with violence, legal rights and protection, psychological and emotional well-being, economic independence, and empowerment rather than addressing the root causes of gendered violence.

#### **1.1.2.4. From Gender based violence to Violence Against Women**

Gender-based violence is an umbrella term that refers to any harmful perpetrated actions against individuals based on their gender. O'Toole and Schiffman (1997) defined the global concerning phenomenon as "any interpersonal, organisational or politically orientated violation perpetrated against people due to their gender identity, sexual orientation, or location in the hierarchy of male-dominated social systems such as family, military, organisations, or the labour force" (p. xii). It emphasizes that violence against women and

girls is a symptom of gender disparities and power dynamics. Gender-based violence is, therefore, intricately connected to the subordinate status of women within families, communities, and states. The term GBV highlights that women and girls endure such violence due to their gender and within the framework of unequal gender relations. CEDAW General Recommendation No. 19 (1992) acknowledges GBV as "violence directed against women because they are women or that disproportionately affects women." It is crucial to recognize that GBV encompasses acts of violence against both men and women, stemming from unequal power dynamics and structures between the genders.

Although the term GBV covers all violence rooted in gender norms and disparities, women are considered to be the most affected segment of society by such prevalent and systemic form of violence globally (UN Women, 2020), the shift into using the term violence against women became necessary as women, over the years, have experienced significantly more GBV than men in virtually all societies of the world. As a result, VAW emerged as a technical term used to refer to violent acts that are primarily or exclusively committed against women. Hester (2012) and Kelly (1988) assert that women's experiences of violence are not isolated incidents but are intricately embedded into social, cultural, and legal frameworks that normalize and frequently perpetuate abuse. The European Union identified four types of violence against women, namely Physical, Sexual, Economic, and Psychological violence.

### **1.1.3. Violence Against Women**

VAW is not a mere outcome of isolated cultural practices or individual abnormality but rather a historically systematic mechanism designed to entrench the patriarchal hierarchies that attempt to control women's lives, labor, and bodies. Throughout its historical development across various regions, VAW has been utilized as a means of control and a mechanism for social reproduction, perpetuating women's subordination to male power. Federici (2004) contends in her Marxist-feminist analysis of the witch hunts in early modern

Europe that these acts of mass violence were not solely the result of superstition but rather a deliberate reaction to the increasing autonomy and social influence of women, especially those engaged in healing, midwifery, or communal economies. The witch hunts were significantly influential in the transformation of gender roles during the transition to capitalism, stigmatizing women's independence and dismantling established networks of collective female resistance and solidarity. The historical facade of abuse was institutionalized and not an incidental phenomenon via legal and theological frameworks that enshrined male ownership of women. The coverture laws of the 18th and 19th centuries in Western legal traditions rendered married women legally invisible, depriving them of the right to possess property, join contracts, or seek remedy for marital abuse.

A particularly egregious instance of the entrenched legal violence is the marital rape exemption, which remained in the numerous legal codes worldwide until the late 20th century. The exemptions, based on the patriarchal belief that marriage constituted perpetual sexual consent, served to validate the physiological subjection of women. Even now, several nations continue to neglect the criminalization of marital rape, exemplifying the persistent influence of historical traditions. Brownmiller (1975) contends that rape is not merely a personal offense but a political instrument employed to terrorize women and maintain male dominance. In her book *Against Our Will*, she elucidates how rape has functioned as a weapon in warfare, colonization, enslavement, and inside familial structures, maintaining both gender and racial hierarchies. Dobash and Dobash (1979) assert that domestic violence is not rooted in individual pathology; rather, it arises from the framework of patriarchal marriage, wherein men are anticipated to dominate and women to submit. The manifestations of violence, ranging from witch hunts to legal slavery and the societal tolerance of rape, are not merely historical remnants. That established the foundation for the violence that women encounter today.

Comprehending the phenomenon of VAW as an independent lineage of violence exposes its structural and systemic aspects. It advances the discussion beyond isolated acts of violence to a more nuanced understanding of how norms, institutions, and power dynamics across time have collectively perpetuated conditions that render violence not only feasible but frequently deemed acceptable or justifiable. Acknowledging the past is crucial for undoing the entrenched ideas and structures that persist in inflicting damage on women in both explicit and implicit ways.

### **1.1.3.1. The Nature of Violence Against Women**

Circa 1970s, VAW was not deemed an issue worthy of international attention or intervention. Victims frequently suffered abuse in silence, with scant public acknowledgment or institutional validation of their experiences. Over time, an increasing acknowledgment that acts of VAW represent a grave infringement of human rights and present a considerable threat to women's health, dignity, and overall quality of life, yet developing a comprehensive understanding of VAW at the micro level is more complex than it may initially appear. Although overarching studies highlight significant concerns such as patriarchy, institutional bias, and inequitable legislation, the everyday experience reveals how violence can become an accepted norm within intimate relationships. Emotional abuse, controlling behavior, and reproductive coercion frequently remain obscured by cultural norms and the intimate dynamics of personal relationships, rendering them difficult to identify or address.

The United Nations' 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women defined VAW as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (Article 1). The comprehensive definition highlights that VAW encompasses a wide range of detrimental behaviors directed at women due to their gender, occurring in both domestic and

public spheres. Grasp and Bjerregaard (2018) assert that contextualizing VAW within these power dynamics shifts attention from individual responsibility to systemic inequality, underscoring the necessity for societal and institutional reform. True (2012) argues that VAW cannot be adequately addressed without recognizing its purpose in sustaining patriarchal dominance over women's bodies and rights.

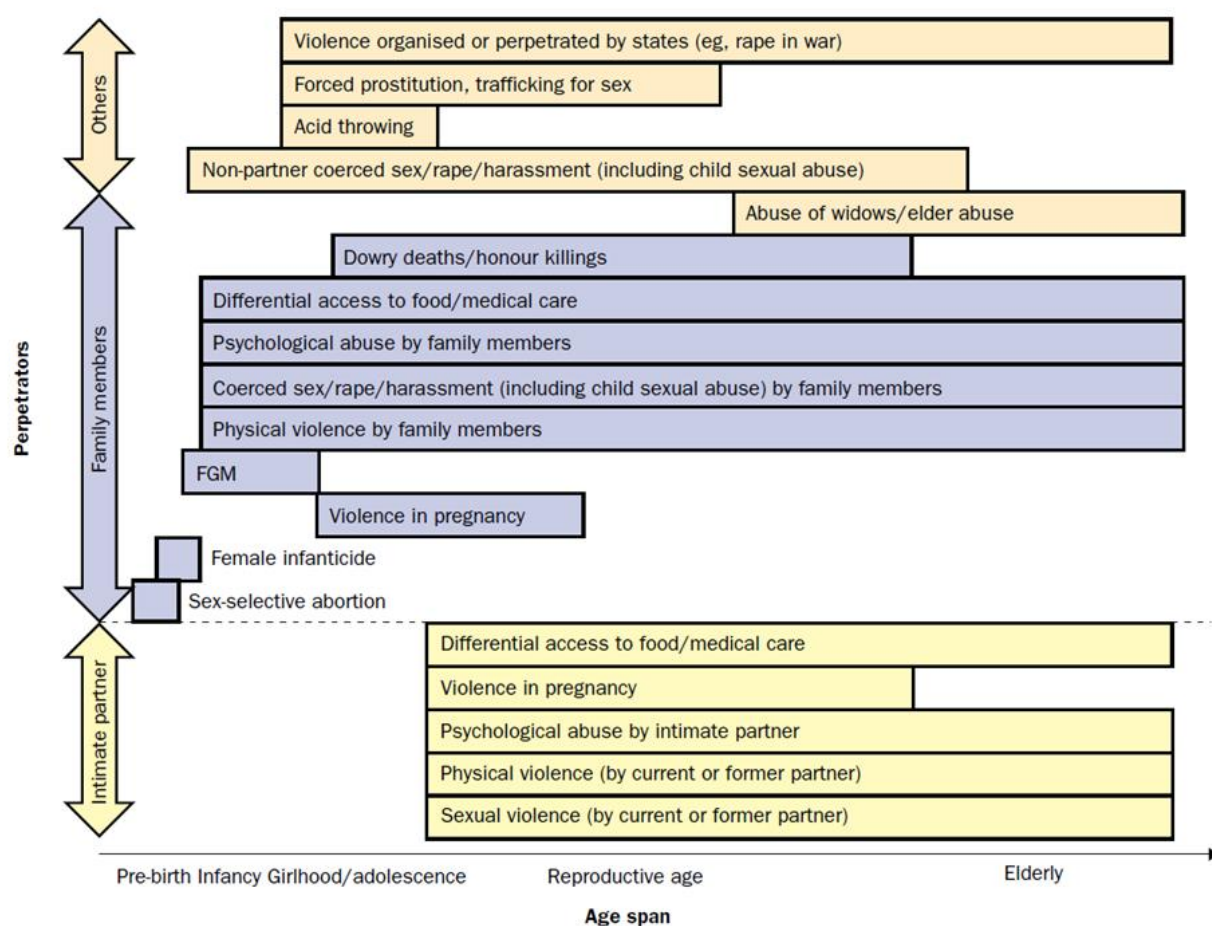
Significantly, the Declaration asserts that VAW is not the result of isolated incidents or individual actions; instead, it is entrenched in "historically unequal power relations between men and women," which have led to subordination and discrimination. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979, is universally acknowledged as the key international instrument for women's rights. Often recognized as the International Bill of Rights for Women, it serves as the primary treaty framework for interpreting and resolving violence against women (Atrey, 2018). The European Union identified four types of violence against women, namely Physical violence, Sexual violence, Economic violence, and Psychological violence. General Recommendation No. 35 (CEDAW Committee, 2017) broadened the acknowledgment to include intersectional vulnerabilities, such as conflict-related and digital violence, indicating an advanced and growing understanding of the law. Atrey (2018) contends that CEDAW is the foremost legal framework for interpreting and addressing violence against women, imposing enforceable state obligations to prevent, punish, and remedy GBV.

Given its complexity, VAW remains a challenge for women and girls during their lifetime. The World Health Organization (2021) reported that roughly one in three women worldwide, approximately 736 million, endure at least one type of violence once in their lives, predominantly by an intimate partner. VAW begins at an early age, with one in four young women (ages 15-24) encountering violence by their mid-twenties. Figure 1 includes the array of harmful acts against women and girls experience both universally recognized and those

unique to specific cultural or geographical situations ranging from domestic violence, marital rape, and sexual assault and encompasses culturally and geographically specific manifestations of VAW that disproportionately impact women in certain areas such as female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C), dowry-related fatalities, acid assaults, and honor killings as well as the homicide of women seen to have dishonored their family (WHO, 2021; Khosla et al., 2022).

Figure 1

*Types of Harmful Acts Experienced by Women and Girls Across Their Lifetime*



*Note.* Adapted from *Violence Against Women: Global Scope and Magnitude*, by C. Watts and C. Zimmerman, 2002, *The Lancet*, 359(9313), p. 1232. Copyright 2002 by Elsevier.

In Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia, more than 230 million women and girls have experienced Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting FGM/C. Despite a decrease in incidence

rates, the total number of affected individuals persists in increasing due to population expansion yet, 37% among women aged 15–49 and 8% among girls aged 0–14 across 30 countries have experienced FGM/C highlighting the enduring presence of the detrimental practice despite the activism efforts. The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention [Brå] (2022) reported that in 2021, over 4,500 honor-related offenses were documented, despite the country's robust legal structures and social services. Honor-based violence, which includes various atrocities such as forced marriage, FGM/C, and honor killings, frequently entails collective involvement from family or community members and signifies the imposition of patriarchal dominance over women's conduct. Moreover, South Asian countries, especially India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, document the deaths of thousands of women annually, primarily via dowry murders and acid attacks, only with offenders frequently evading prosecution due to ingrained societal standards and inadequate legal enforcement (Acid Survivors Foundation, 2022). The offenses and violations are fundamentally entrenched in gender-based discrimination and are frequently normalized among the impacted communities.

Significantly, the spectrum of VAW is extensive and not confined only to intimate partner violence or domestic abuse but rather encompasses partners, parents, spouses, siblings, employers, neighbors, educators, state agents, and law enforcement officials (Jewkes et al., 2017). Sardinha et al. (2022) asserted that VAW is both systemic and interpersonal, ingrained in societal norms, institutions, and legal frameworks that sustain inequality; these forms of abuse underscore the necessity for a comprehensive, multi-sectoral strategy for prevention and response (UN Women, 2023).

VAW demonstrates both the manifestation and the instrument of gender inequality, perpetuating and reinforcing women's disadvantaged position in society (Heise et al., 2002). In numerous instances, offenders deliberately employ violence to assert power, especially in

close relationships, and sustain control. Intimate partner violence is often serving as a tool to validate man's dominance and control, so strengthening his perceived authority as the household leader (Dobash & Dobash, 2004; Sardinha et al., 2022) validating the perspective that VAW is perpetuated and exemplified the gender inequalities within social structures functioning as a systematic mechanism that perpetuates the unequal power relations between men and women, frequently legitimized by cultural norms, institutional frameworks, and societal expectations (True, 2012; UN Women, 2021).

Nonetheless, not all acts of VAW stem from overt aspirations to dominate; at times, the assailant's behavior is rationalized by invoking established gender norms or ethical standards. Violence is often normalized by societal narratives that associate female misbehaviour with justifiable retribution. Perpetrators often rationalize rape or assault by using a woman's apparent transgression of traditional gender roles, such as provocative attire or expressions of independence, thereby reinforcing patriarchal norms on female conduct and sexuality (Brownmiller, 1975; Kelly, 1988). Moreover, Heise (2011) points out that women often tend to internalize these norms, engaging in self-regulatory behaviors, such as suppressing their voices in public settings, restricting their mobility, or eschewing specific attire, due to apprehension of retribution. The cycle of fear and control exacerbates the social vulnerability and sustains the environment in which violence is both a cause and a consequence of their subordination (Jewkes et al., 2015). Ultimately, gender inequalities and social norms that endorse male dominance and female subordination do not serve only as a contextual factor for violence but also as a significant catalyst and outcome of it, which submissively facilitate the conditions conducive to abuse (Heise, 2011).

#### **1.1.3.1.1. Types of Violence Against Women**

Violence against women represents a significant infringement of human rights and remains a pressing public health issue on a global scale. The World Health Organization

(WHO, 2021) provides a dichotomous classification of VAW types as the most common and consistently recorded types of violence, intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence, both of which are not only widespread but also have severe and enduring health repercussions for women and girls during their lifetime. The World Health Organization reports that over 30% of women globally have encountered physical and/or sexual violence from an intimate relationship or sexual violence from a non-partner at least once in their lives (WHO, 2024). Moreover, the WHO's multi-country analysis indicates that roughly one in three women globally (about 736 million) have encountered physical and/or sexual violence from intimate partners or non-partners over their lifetime.

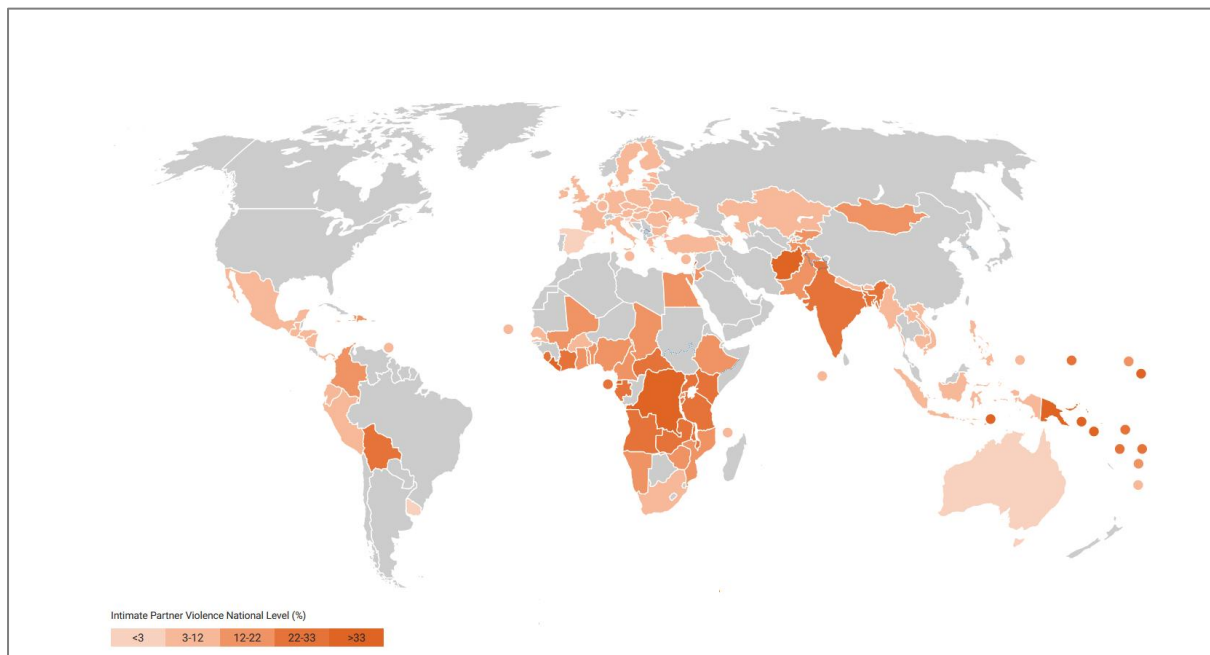
#### **1.1.3.1.1 Intimate Partner Violence**

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is the most prevalent type of VAW worldwide, impacting women across all social, cultural, and geographic divides, reinforcing and perpetuating their disadvantaged role in society as it is both a result and a mechanism of gender inequality (Heise et al., 2002). IPV includes several detrimental actions inflicted by a current or previous intimate partner, such as physical assault, sexual coercion, psychological abuse, and controlling behaviors aimed at subjugating or isolating the victim (WHO, 2012). Jewkes et al. (2015) emphasise that IPV should be perceived not only as a mere isolated incident of individual aggression, but rather as a societal and political issue influenced by deep-rooted power imbalances, patriarchal norms, and systematic discrimination. The World Health Organization underscores that IPV is a grave infringement of human rights and a public health emergency, with one in three women worldwide encountering either physical or sexual abuse over their lifetime, predominantly perpetrated by an intimate partner victim (WHO, 2012; Sardinha et al., 2022). Figure 2 represents the UNFPA Geospatial Dashboard on Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), which represents a visual depiction of the worldwide incidence of IPV. The prevalence is significantly elevated in Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia,

and Latin America, whereas Western Europe and North America have relatively lower rates (WHO, 2021).

Figure 2

*Global Prevalence of Lifetime Intimate Partner Violence Among Women Aged 15–49.*



*Note.* Adapted from Geospatial Dashboard: Intimate Partner Violence, by United Nations Population Fund, n.d. (<https://www.unfpa.org/geospatial-dashboard-intimate-partner-violence>). Copyright n.d. by UNFPA.

Academic assessments corroborate the trend: lifetime prevalence of IPV in Central Sub-Saharan Africa is roughly 44%, in Oceania about 49%, and in South Asia around 35%, compared to 20–25% in Europe and North America. Nevertheless, these regional disparities must be viewed with caution. Reporting biases, cultural stigma, survey methodologies, and anomalies in data gathering substantially affect statistics (Law Journal for Social Justice, 2023). For instance, underreporting is common in contexts where domestic or sexual violence is stigmatized, or when survivors are at risk of reprisal (WHO, 2021).

Notwithstanding these constraints, comparative analyses, such as those performed across 154 nations for adolescent girls, validate enduring structural inequities. A survey revealed that 24% of girls aged 15–19 reported experiencing lifetime partner violence, with

the highest rates in Oceania (47%) and Central Sub-Saharan Africa (40%), compared to only 10–13% in Europe and Central Asia.

Intimate Partner Violence includes various abusive actions perpetrated by a current or former partner. It is seen as a significant public health concern and a breach of human rights with an array of abuse, including severe or significant physical injury, stalking, sexual abuse, assault, or instilling a reasonable fear of imminent physical damage. Significantly, these actions must transpire between individuals who possess a defined familial or personal connection. IPV is determined by the type of relationship between the victim and perpetrator, and the perpetrator being a current or previous intimate partner, namely an individual with whom the victim has a romantic, sexual, or emotionally significant relationship (CDC, 2024). The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention defines an intimate partner as a spouse, ex-spouse, ex-dating partner, dating partner, or cohabiting partner, indicating the variety of relationships in which IPV may transpire. The fundamental border in the IPV context is intimacy, rather than mere familial or household closeness. Consequently, violence perpetrated by non-partners (e.g., parents, siblings, roommates) is excluded.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the World Health Organization encompass four principal categories of IPV: physical violence, sexual violence, psychological or emotional abuse, and stalking. The categories seek to encompass both overt and nuanced manifestations of abuse, including coercive control and emotional manipulation.

Physical violence entails the application of force that can lead to injury, including pushing or shoving, slapping, grabbing or pulling hair, throwing a hard object, beating with a fist or a hard object, or kicking, beating the head against something, trying to suffocate or strangle, cutting or stabbing, or shooting, and burning (CDC, 2024; WHO, 2021). Sexual violence encompasses any coerced or compelled sexual act against a partner's consent,

whether via physical force, intimidation, or manipulation including getting forced you into sexual intercourse by getting held down or hurt in some way, attempting to force into sexual intercourse by getting hold down or hurt in some way, making the victim take part in any form of sexual activity when she did not want to or was unable to refuse, and making the victim consent to sexual activity because she was afraid of what might happen if she refused

Psychological abuse includes actions that adversely affect an individual's emotional health and self-esteem. There are several manifestations of psychological violence, categorized into four primary types: economic violence, abusive behaviours, controlling behaviours, and child-related abuse or blackmail. Economic violence encompasses the limitations on financial autonomy, such as prohibitions against handling household finances, engaging in external employment, or purchasing separately. Controlling behaviors encompass the limitation and the restriction of a woman's social interactions and independence with friends and family, the restriction of her social media usage, the surveillance of her location, education, or healthcare access, the regulation of her attire, and the display of excessive jealousy or mistrust. Abusive behaviors, on the other hand, include extreme restrictions such as incarceration, humiliation in public or private settings, intimidation, coerced exposure to pornography, and threats of bodily or sexual harm. Ultimately, child-related abuse encompasses threats or violence aimed at a woman's children, or utilizing them for force, often by former partners (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe [OSCE], 2019). Finally, stalking is defined by recurrent, unwelcome attention or communication that induces fear, including incessant phone calls, following, or monitoring.

The manifestations of violence are frequently interconnected and entrenched within overarching systems of power and control, highlighting the intricate and systemic characteristics of IPV. Comprehending these typologies is crucial for formulating effective treatments and policy responses focused on prevention and survivor assistance (CDC, 2024;

WHO, 2021).

#### **1.1.3.1.1.2. Non-Partner Sexual Violence**

The World Health Organization (WHO, 2021), UN Women, and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention characterise non-partner sexual violence (NPSV) as any sexual act, attempt to procure a sexual act, unsolicited sexual remarks or advances, or actions to exploit or manipulate sexuality against an individual's consent committed by individuals who are neither current nor previous romantic partners. In contrast to IPV, NPSV occurs without a marital, romantic, or cohabiting connection between the victim and the perpetrator, potentially involving strangers, acquaintances, colleagues, authority figures, or others. The World Health Organization (WHO, 2021) defines it as encompassing acquaintances, strangers, coworkers, authority figures, or any individuals not classified as intimate partners. NPSV is substantially underreported owing to cultural stigma, victim-blaming, fear of retaliation, and insufficient institutional support, yet it continues to profoundly affect women's mental, physical, and reproductive health (Devries et al., 2013; Sardinha et al., 2022).

Table 2 shows the worldwide and regional distribution of lifetime non-partner sexual violence among women aged 15–49, revealing a disturbing gender-based violence that transcends borders and development levels. Although the global point estimate is 6%, regional differences are significant. The highest prevalence rates of violence against women are 11% in Latin America and the Caribbean, highlighting structural disparities, machismo cultures, and impunity. Australia and New Zealand have alarmingly high estimates of 19%, demonstrating that even high-income countries with strong gender equality frameworks have widespread sexual assault. Central and Southern Asia (2%) may have lower frequency due to social stigma, restricted gender norms, and poor data infrastructure, not true underreporting. The high rates in Northern America (15%) and Northern Europe (10%) indicate systemic difficulties such court failures, cultural normalization of harassment, and weak protective

mechanisms. Such numbers show the vast geographic distribution of non-partner sexual violence and its propensity to lead to femicide, especially in conditions of impunity. The epidemiological evidence supports the theoretical and policy requirement to address sexual assault within gendered power dynamics, societal norms, and institutional responsibility.

**Table 2**

*A Global and Regional Analysis of Lifetime Non-Partner Sexual Violence Among Women*

*Aged 15–49*

Sustainable development goal regions	Lifetime non-partner sexual violence point estimate, % (95% UI)	No. of countries and territories
World	6 (4–9)	137
Sub-Saharan Africa	6 (5–8)	33
<b>Northern Africa and Western Asia</b>		
Northern Africa	4 (2–9)	1
Western Asia	4 (2–9)	5
<b>Central and Southern Asia</b>		
Central Asia	2 (1–4)	3
Southern Asia	2 (1–3)	7
<b>Eastern and South-Eastern Asia</b>		
Eastern Asia	7 (2–21)	4
South-Eastern Asia	4 (2–8)	9
Latin America and the Caribbean	11 (7–16)	22
Australia and New Zealand	19 (9–36)	2
<b>Oceania (excluding Australia and New Zealand)</b>		
Melanesia	10 (5–22)	4
Federated States of Micronesia	12 (7–19)	5
Polynesia	12 (8–20)	3
<b>Europe and Northern America</b>		
Eastern Europe	6 (4–11)	9
Northern Europe	10 (6–16)	8
Southern Europe	7 (5–12)	13
Western Europe	8 (5–14)	7
Northern America	15 (5–40)	2
<b>Least developed countries</b>	5 (4–7)	35

*Note.* Adapted in part from Table 1 in Violence against women prevalence estimates, 2018: Global, regional and national prevalence estimates for intimate partner violence against women and global and regional prevalence estimates for non-partner sexual violence against women (p.583), by World Health Organization, 2021. Copyright 2021 by the World Health Organization.

Around 6% women worldwide are estimated to encounter NPSV once in their lifetime with prevalence rates significantly elevated in conflict zones, among refugees, and in educational or professional settings (WHO, 2021; OSCE, 2019) whereas areas such as Central and Western Sub-Saharan Africa and segments of South Asia have higher rates of NPSV due to inadequate legal safeguards and deep-rooted patriarchal conventions. Moreover, the prevalence of NPSV among African women is estimated to be at 11.9%; the actual extent of the statistics may be underrepresented due to the insufficient data collection across nations (Table 3). Regional analyses provide significant information, revealing that approximately 10% of women in both Western and Eastern Africa had encountered sexual violence inflicted by someone other than a personal relationship. Alarming, the statistic significantly escalates in Eastern and Southern Africa, where the prevalence approaches or exceeds 20%, indicating that one in five women is impacted in these areas (WHO, 2021).

**Table 3**

*Prevalence of non-partner sexual violence across African regions*

African region	Prevalence of non-partner sexual violence among women (age 15–69)
North (including Middle East)	4.5%
Western	9.2%
Eastern	11.5%
Southern	17.4%
Central	21%

*Note.* Adapted in part from Table 5.1 in *The State of African Women Report – Chapter 5: Gender-Based Violence Against Women* (p. 149), by International Planned Parenthood Federation Africa Region, 2018. Copyright 2018 by International Planned Parenthood Federation Africa Region.

Categories of NPSV is manifested in rape, attempted rape by strangers or acquaintances, sexual harassment, sexual slavery, coerced sexual activities, and trafficking which are often executed during conflict and displacement, in institutional contexts, or within routine social

surroundings such as workplaces, educational institutions, or public areas (UN Women, 2021). The ramifications of all the actions manifesting NPSV are dangerous, encompassing psychological trauma, reproductive health complications, physical harm, and economic distress, all exacerbated by reporting impediments such as stigma, victim-blaming, and inadequate legal structures (WHO, 2021).

The consequences of NPSV are enduring and profound, primarily presented as physical and psychological damage. Victims who have experienced trauma frequently face lasting mental health complications, including post-traumatic stress disorder and depression. Moreover, victims may also contend with chronic physical pain, complications related to sexual and reproductive health, and an increased susceptibility to sexually transmitted infections and diseases, including HIV (Jewkes et al., 2017). NPSV, being deeply intertwined with the dynamics of power and control, transcends the boundaries of private or criminal issues; it serves as a manifestation of extensive systemic gender inequality, an issue that necessitates a concerted response across legal, institutional, and cultural spheres.

## **1.2.Femicide: The Fatal Expression of Violence Against Women**

This section is devoted to femicide; it starts with a general overview of the term and defining its conceptual frameworks, then, presenting the different typologies of femicide, theoretical approaches and frameworks, followed with the global and regional prevalence of femicide; it's patterns, gaps, and national case studies, then the risk factors of femicide, and finishing with the consequences and the impacts of femicide and violence against women.

### **1.2.1. Definitional and Conceptual Clarifications**

The term "femicide" was introduced initially in the mid-1970s, as articulated by American author Carol Orlock, who proposed it as the title for an unpublished book (Russell, 1992). Nonetheless, it was the feminist sociologist Diana E. H. Russell who played a pivotal role in the development and dissemination of the term. Russell acknowledged the rhetorical

and political implications of highlighting the gendered aspects of fatal violence against women, especially in situations where women are murdered "because they are women" (Russell, 2001). The term was officially presented at the inaugural International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women in Brussels in 1976, where Russell used it to highlight how systemic misogyny and patriarchal frameworks facilitate the homicide of women by men. Russell's contribution established a foundational framework for comprehending Femicide as a unique manifestation of gender-based violence, distinguishing it from more generalised categories of homicide by its underlying structures of gender oppression presenting the term femicide not only as the contemporary distinction but also facilitating its integration into feminist theoretical frameworks, activist movements, and discussions within international policy. Moreover, Femicide is inextricably linked to the structural and symbolic violence inherent in patriarchal society, as these murders epitomise and perpetuate misogyny, control, and inequality (Jewkes et al., 2015).

In scholarly and policy discourse, both terms "femicide" and "feminicide" are frequently used to characterise the gender-based killing of women, even though they have distinct conceptual and political aspects. The term feminicide is particularly utilised in Latin America to emphasise both individual acts of violence and the state's institutional culpability manifested via impunity, ignorance, and systematic apathy. Lagarde y de los Ríos (2006) contended that feminicide highlights how judicial, cultural, and state frameworks perpetuate impunity, rendering them complicit in the circumstances that result in women's deaths. The perspective transcends the emphasis on male offenders to encompass other macro-level influences, including legislative structures, law enforcement inaction, and the normalisation of gender inequality (Sanford, 2008; UN Women, 2021).

Notwithstanding its gravity, Femicide is little studied and variably characterised across fields and legal systems. The literature on the idea is disjointed, as criminologists frequently

limit the scope to intimate partner homicide, while feminist scholarship advocates for a more expansive understanding that encompasses symbolic and structural violence (Corradi & Stöckl, 2014; Dawson & Carrigan, 2020). Femicide was essentially defined as the misogynistic murder of women driven by hatred, possession, or disdain; however, the term has since evolved to encompass various perspectives across disciplines that range from legal to sociological, resulting in differences in scope, emphasis, and terminology (Radford & Russell, 1992). The definition of Femicide within traditional feminist perspectives differs, as some highlight complicity and others contextualise Femicide within wider social patterns of violence (Carrigan & Dawson, 2020).

The absence of standardised definitions and disaggregated data hinders the effective eradication of Femicide. The European COST Action on Femicide highlights a considerable deficiency in worldwide data comparability, as countries lack femicide databases, except in Italy, Spain, Serbia, and the UK. Furthermore, most national crime data do not particularly differentiate between general homicide and Femicide, obscuring the gender-specific characteristics and hindering preventative and policy measures (Corradi & Stöckl, 2014; UN Women CEGS, 2020). Ultimately, the Global Centre of Excellence on Gender Statistics advocates for an operational definition and a universal conceptualization of Femicide to enable consistent data collection and allow for international comparability (UN Women CEGS, 2020). Corradi and Stöckl (2014) asserted that nations with strong VAW policies are more likely to regularly collect and submit data, thereby establishing a correlation between policy commitments and statistical visibility.

Although the term "femicide" does not possess a universally accepted legal definition across various jurisdictions worldwide, the classification, however, has garnered significant attention owing to its intersectional perspective and acknowledgment of the cultural, political, and structural frameworks that facilitate such acts of violence. The declaration marks a

notable advancement in achieving conceptual clarity by combining individual and state accountability; however, ongoing difficulties persist in its implementation across statistical, disciplinary, and legal domains (Vienna Declaration, 2013; Dawson & Carrigan, 2020).

#### **1.2.1.1. Homicide or Femicide**

The notion of homicide is a multidimensional and debated endeavor, influenced by various cultural, historical, social, and contextual factors (Pike, 2019). Brookman (2010) emphasized that, although it may appear simple, being the act of one individual terminating the life of another, it reveals a far greater complexity upon thorough scrutiny. The definitions of homicide are not static; they differ somewhat across temporal and spatial contexts, varying from social, cultural, historical, and legal contexts, thereby underscoring the socially constructed essence of criminal classifications (Brookman, 2010). Legally, the definitions of homicide are not universal; they vary across jurisdictions and are shaped by the prevailing societal attitudes and paradigms towards various forms of killing. For instance, fatalities arising from corporate negligence, including instances of noncompliance with health and safety regulations, are infrequently prosecuted as homicide, illustrating a societal and legal hesitation to associate these actions with more explicit forms of unlawful killing (Brookman, 2010). Furthermore, numerous legal frameworks differentiate among more diverse forms of homicide, such as murder, characterized by a definitive intent to kill, manslaughter, justifiable homicide (in instances of self-defense or lawful execution), and accidental death, which continues to be legally intricate and contextually dependent. The nuanced distinction between these categories highlights the socially constructed essence of what constitutes criminal homicide.

The existence of definitional ambiguities serves to complicate both the comprehension and the legal pursuit of acts characterized by lethal violence, such as murder. It significantly obstructs the analytical precision necessary to differentiate between acts of killing that society

considers morally objectionable and those that are either institutionally endorsed or overlooked. Homicide, while generally eliciting a more intense societal condemnation in comparison to other offenses (Cooney, 2017), public perceptions are frequently influenced by sensationalist media representations that disproportionately highlight unusual occurrences, such as serial killings or homicides involving strangers. In actuality, empirical evidence consistently indicates that the predominant type of homicide is characterized by male perpetrators' violence against other men in impulsive, situational confrontations (Brookman, 2010).

From both legal and statistical perspectives, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) offers a definition of intentional homicide that is broadly recognized: "unlawful death purposefully inflicted on a person by another person" (UNODC, 2015). The definition encompasses three fundamental components:

- The objective aspect of the act pertains to the occurrence of one individual causing the death of another individual.
- The subjective element necessitates that the perpetrator possessed the intention to either kill or inflict serious injury upon the victim.
- The act of killing is deemed unlawful within the relevant legal framework, thereby rendering the perpetrator subject to criminal liability (UNODC, 2015; UNODC, 2019).

The tripartite framework aims to differentiate between intentional homicides and other categories, including accidental deaths, lawful killings, such as those sanctioned by the state, and natural causes. For instance, The International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes (ICCS) employs the identical framework, elucidating that only fatalities resulting from the actions of another individual are classified as homicide for example a fatality

resulting from a meteor strike or a cardiac event, while undeniably tragic, would not be classified as homicide, as it lacks the element of human agency. Conversely, fatalities resulting from natural causes, accidents, or animal assaults are not considered homicide, necessitates that an individual who was once alive is now deceased as a direct consequence of the actions of another human being for instance when an individual succumbs to the direct consequences of another person's intentional act, irrespective of the underlying motive, it is categorized as homicide according to the standard definition (UNODC, 2015).

Although homicide is a recognized legal classification, it somehow fails to adequately address the distinct gendered dynamics that inform various manifestations of lethal violence directed at women, as the term homicide is neutral. The concept of Femicide, on the other hand, serves as an essential analytical framework that reveals the patriarchal and systemic foundations underlying these killings, which are frequently masked within larger homicide statistics (Radford & Russell, 1992). The delineation of Femicide from homicide is essential for both theoretical and practical considerations, as it facilitates a more profound comprehension of the gendered dynamics that underlie lethal violence directed at women and girls. Femicide is not simply homicide with female victims, or even homicide with female victims and male perpetrators, it is a distinct phenomenon underscores the influence of the sociocultural patriarchal norms, misogyny, and power imbalances and the gender-specific motivations underlying the deaths of women, encompassing themes of control, ownership, and misogyny (Corradi & Stöckl, 2014). Moreover, the absence of a gender lens in homicide statistics results in the invisibilization of the widespread and systematic nature of VAW, rendering policy responses ineffective or misdirected (Corradi & Stöckl, 2014).

Femicide underscores that the homicides of women perpetrated by former or current intimate partners, family members, or predators attacking women in sexually-motivated killings frequently stem from shared structural foundations and roots, encompassing gender

inequality, male privilege, patriarchy, and the objectification of women (Radford & Russell, 1992; WHO, 2012). The underlying factors are often neglected in actions that regard all intimate partner homicides as gender-neutral, lacking the consideration of gender and consequently obscuring the gendered dynamics involved (Corradi & Stöckl, 2014). Empirical studies indicate that female individuals who commit homicide against male intimate partners are more likely to have experienced sustained domestic abuse, presenting a stark contrast to instances of partner homicides perpetrated by males (Dobash & Dobash, 2004). It is imperative to acknowledge Femicide as a unique category of homicide in order to illuminate the sociocultural factors that facilitate male violence against women and to formulate effective intervention strategies (UNODC, 2022; FRA, 2014).

Furthermore, the UNODC (2022) highlighted that such distinction is essential for the formulation of targeted prevention strategies, the establishment of accountability, and the shaping of policy, as it recognizes that frequent homicides of women are not random or incidental but rather represent a gendered patterns results in a fundamental misunderstanding of the structural dimensions of violence directed at women. Likewise, international entities such as the United Nations and the World Health Organization are progressively acknowledging, identifying, and categorizing femicide as a distinct category, which enhances the quality of data collection and necessitates customized legal and policy interventions (UNODC, 2019; WHO, 2012). Consequently, distinguishing Femicide from homicide transcends not only a mere linguistic distinction or improves statistical representation but also guarantees that the essential gender disparities contributing to such violence are adequately tackled within legal, preventive, and social justice systems (FRA, 2014).

Devries et al. (2013) pointed out that acknowledging the concept of Femicide as a distinct phenomenon allows the gendered dimensions of lethal violence to achieve integrity, impeding efforts to hold perpetrators accountable and to dismantle the systemic conditions

that sustain such violence. The absence of the concept of femicide may lead to the obscuration of the gendered dynamics inherent in these homicides, thereby hindering initiatives aimed at tackling the underlying factors and perpetuating a continuous cycle of violence directed towards women.

### **1.2.2. Typologies of Femicide**

The collective efforts, encompassing the comprehensive documentation and advocacy spearheaded by numerous UN Special Rapporteurs, were instrumental in the formulation of the Vienna Declaration on Femicide, which was promulgated in 2013. The declaration not only reaffirmed the definition of femicide as the act of "killing women and girls due to their gender" but also expanded upon previous frameworks by presenting a more comprehensive and inclusive typology of femicide. It continues to stand as one of the most thorough and extensively embraced frameworks for delineating femicide within the context of global discourse and officially acknowledges the various expressions of such crime, underscoring that femicide is not merely a singular occurrence but rather a complex phenomenon deeply embedded in structural gender inequality, misogyny, and systemic violence. It delineates femicide as encompassing a wide array of gender-related homicides, including the murder of women as a result of domestic violence/intimate partner violence, the torture and misogynist slaying of women, killing of women and girls in the name of "honour", targeted killing of women and girls in the context of armed conflict, dowry-related killings of women and girls, killing of women and girls because of their sexual orientation and gender identity, the killing of Aboriginal and indigenous women and girls because of their gender, female infanticide and gender-based sex selection foeticide, genital mutilation-related femicide, accusations of witchcraft, and other femicides are connected with gangs, organized crime, drug dealers, human trafficking, and the proliferation of small arms.

The typology articulated herein is informed by the framework delineated in the Vienna Declaration on Femicide (2013), which underscored the necessity for a thorough categorization of the various manifestations of femicide. The classification of femicide into distinct categories acknowledges the varied socio-cultural, legal, and structural frameworks within which femicide transpires, thereby facilitating a comprehensive understanding essential for research, prevention, and the formulation of policy.

#### **1.2.2.1. Intimate Partner Femicide (IPF)**

Femicide perpetrated by current or former intimate partners, including spouses or romantic associates, or boyfriends, which represents the most widespread form on a global scale. Studies demonstrate that intimate partner femicide frequently occurs in roughly 38–40% of all global female homicides, often occurring after extended periods of intimate partner violence (IPV) (Stöckl et al., 2013; Corradi & Stöckl, 2014). Research in regional studies indicates that women who have experienced IPV encounter markedly elevated risks of homicide, mainly in high-income nations and Southeast Asia, in contrast to women without a history of IPV (Stöckl et al., 2013).

#### **1.2.2.2. Non-Intimate Femicide (Non-IPF)**

In this category, homicides are perpetrated by individuals who do not share a close personal connection with the victim, including acquaintances, serial perpetrators, or strangers. The motivations underlying such actions are varied; however, a significant number are fundamentally rooted in extensive misogynistic sentiments, even in situations devoid of prior engagement, sexual objectification, or opportunistic violence (Etherington & Baker, 2015). Research, however, indicates that non-intimate femicides have received less scholarly attention than IPF; non-IPF constitutes a vital component of femicide frameworks, and they are more frequently associated with sexual violence or take place in public settings (Salfati & Taylor, 2017).

### **1.2.2.3. Sexual Femicide**

Within such particular classification of femicide occurs in conjunction with acts of sexual violence or acts that are sexually degrading or mutilating, encompassing rape, genital mutilation, nudity, or the sexually explicit positioning of the victim's body. The indicators encompass a significant level of sexual violence, whether it is expressed overtly or employed as a means to an end (Salfati & Taylor, 2017). The intersection of sexual violence and homicide underscores the profound susceptibility of women to the most reprehensible manifestations of gendered and sexualized homicide.

### **1.2.2.4. Femicide Based on Honor**

Honor-based femicide transpires by relatives or members of the community who assert the need to restore transgressions of cultural or moral standards either familial or communal "honor" in response to perceived violations by women, such as declining an arranged marriage, engaging in premarital or non-marital relationships, or seeking personal autonomy (Corradi & Stöckl, 2014; Etherington & Baker, 2015). The phenomenon of these killings frequently receives social endorsement or implicit backing within specific cultural frameworks, thereby presenting considerable obstacles to legal intervention and the safeguarding of survivors. The reported figures frequently represent underestimations attributable to misclassification. In Iran, for instance, a total of 133 women were murdered within a single calendar year, resulting in an average of one honor-related femicide occurring every two days (Jalalipour, 2025). According to the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (2017), the nation of Pakistan experiences approximately 1,100 instances of honor killings each year.

### **1.2.2.5. Femicide Associated with Dowry Practices**

The phenomenon, predominantly observed in South Asian countries, emerges from conflicts related to dowry practices (Etherington & Baker, 2015). In contrast, newly married

women may face lethal violence or be subjected to fatal assaults such as acid attacks or burns, perpetrated by their in-laws or husbands who express dissatisfaction with the dowry provided (Corradi & Stöckl, 2014). The aforementioned fatalities represent a manifestation of economic coercion and cultural practices that commodify women, thereby perpetuating systemic gender inequality. While formal statistics may exhibit inconsistencies, the patterns of systemic gendered violence are thoroughly documented through the efforts of non-governmental organizations and legal case analyses.

#### **1.2.2.6. Feticide / Infanticide Femicide**

Within this classification, the practice of sex-selective abortion or the termination of female infants is frequently motivated by a societal preference and a cultural bias favoring male offspring (Etherington & Baker, 2015). Such practices are widespread in societies that ascribe lesser social value to girls, leading to imbalanced sex ratios and perpetuating gender discrimination (Corradi & Stöckl, 2014). Hesketh and Xing (2006) indicated that distorted sex ratios in nations such as India and China reflect a profound and systemic undervaluation of female children. Although fatalities may occur without overt violence, they nonetheless align with the frameworks of femicide, attributable to pervasive gender biases that underlie such occurrences.

#### **1.2.2.7. Femicide Associated with Genital Mutilation**

This category includes unfortunate fatalities among females attributable to complications arising from female genital mutilation/cutting, such as hemorrhage, infection, or enduring reproductive damage. Although not invariably intended to be fatal, these fatalities can be directly linked to gendered cultural practices and are acknowledged within the frameworks of femicide due to their systemic and gender-specific causation (Etherington & Baker, 2015; Corradi & Stöckl, 2014). Mortality rates exhibit variability; however, in areas where as much as 37% of women aged 15–49 have experienced FGM/C; medical

emergencies associated with FGM/C are categorized under femicide owing to their gender-specific origins (WHO, 2016).

#### **1.2.2.8. Femicide Associated with Conflict or State Dynamics**

Femicide within the contexts of war, conflict, or state repression frequently functions as a strategic mechanism. In contrast, women can be systematically targeted and murdered as a component of state-sanctioned violence (UNODC, 2022). Such actions are often utilized as targeted instruments of terror, ethnic cleansing, or to bolster patriarchal control and dominance (Corradi & Stöckl, 2014; Etherington & Baker, 2015). Femicide associated with conflict frequently occurs alongside pervasive sexual violence and a prevailing culture of impunity, reports from conflict zones substantiate the occurrence of targeted killings based on gender.

#### **1.2.2.9. Femicide Associated with Criminal or Gang Activities**

The phenomenon of femicide that transpires within frameworks such as organized crime, gang activity, or drug trafficking is characterized by an escalation of brutality, public exhibition, and instances of torture. These acts of violence function to reinforce hierarchical dominance, sustain control, and instill a pervasive sense of fear within the framework of criminal networks (Etherington & Baker, 2015). In areas afflicted by criminal violence, women may be subjected to the focus of symbolic acts such as torture, publicly exhibited, or killed, aimed at rival factions or to serve to impose silence (Corradi & Stöckl, 2014).

#### **1.2.2.10. Intersectional and Other Emerging Forms of Femicides**

This classification encompasses homicides of women driven by the confluence of various identities, including but not limited to ethnicity, race, gender identity, sexual orientation, disability, and age, such as elder femicide (Walby, 2023). Identifying intersectional femicides is crucial for a thorough comprehension and appropriate response, as

these acts of violence embody complex layers of discrimination and marginalization (Sarmiento & Barletti, 2017).

### **1.2.3. Theoretical Approaches to Femicide**

#### **3.1. Feminist Theory**

Feminist theory occasionally referred to as the "patriarchal perspective" (Bersani & Chen, 1988), asserts that patriarchy, a widespread system of male dominance, is fundamentally ingrained within societal structures and operations, leading to the systemic oppression of women, encompassing femicide (Radford & Stanko, 1996). The cultural endorsement and institutional reinforcement of the suppression of women manifests across various domains, including all social institutions, shaping norms, values, and everyday practices from family and marriage to state apparatuses.

Feminist scholars argue that such oppression is not merely culturally endorsed but is deeply ingrained within all social institutions, influencing norms, values, and everyday practices (Gates, 1978). In the context femicide, is perceived as both a result and a perpetrator of unequal gender dynamics and power disparities, serving to legitimise coercive control and physical abuse within intimate relationships. For instance, Bograd (1988) astutely posits that social institutions, including marriage and family, can cultivate, sustain, and even legitimise the use of violence by men against women to exert dominance, with intimate partner violence frequently serving as a mechanism of coercive control. From such perspective, the feminist view further examines how power dynamics and gendered hierarchies are fundamental in driving violent behaviour, with men employing force to uphold patriarchal dominance, while women's perceived submissiveness is utilised as a strategy for survival.

Furthermore, feminist analyses elucidate the complex interplay of patriarchal frameworks and cultural ideologies that constrain women's access to resources and perpetuate

economic subordination and male dominance. Within the framework, Yodanis (2004) posits that violence serves as a mechanism that sustains male power and dominant institutions, perpetuating their authority. The subordination observed can be interpreted as a fundamental contributor to violence and a remnant of conventional familial and societal structures, manifesting in the ongoing prevalence of gender-based violence and inequalities in employment and political authority across the globe. Empirical research consistently demonstrates elevated rates of severe violence and homicide perpetrated against women by male partners, thereby reinforcing the feminist perspective that gendered power dynamics are fundamental to comprehending these phenomena (Stöckl et al., 2013).

Nonetheless, the feminist theory is subject to various critiques. Felson (2002, 2006) points out that the prevailing notion that sexism is the foundational cause of IPV posits that domestic violence may be more accurately interpreted as a form of deviant behaviour rather than an act rooted exclusively in sexism that is not inherently linked to gender. He argues that men are responsible for the majority of violent acts that are not limited to those directed at women and proposes that the prevalence of partner violence is influenced more by familial proximity and conflict than by patriarchy itself pointing that survey methodologies may amplify perceived gender disparities in victimisation and asserts that there is a lack of compelling evidence to support the notion that men typically exert greater power within relationships.. He further contests feminist claims concerning female submissiveness, power disparities, and classifications such as battered-women syndrome and domestic terrorism, characterising these as exaggerations lacking robust scientific substantiation, asserting that sexism, in general, exerts a minimal impact (Felson, 2002). Additionally, critiques highlight the methodological and conceptual limitations inherent in feminist theory. The notion of patriarchy has faced scrutiny for its deterministic implications, as it tends to portray gender relations as fixed and uniform, while overlooking the nuances of agency and diversity present

among individuals of all genders (Messerschmidt, 1993; Connell, 1985). Moreover, the practical implementation of concepts like "misogynistic motivation" in empirical studies presents significant challenges, particularly due to the complexities involved in identifying the intentions of perpetrators or the distinct gendered context surrounding individual homicides (Bloom, 2008).

Notwithstanding these critiques, feminist theory remains both compelling and firmly grounded in empirical evidence. Raewyn Connell's (1985) notion of "hegemonic masculinity" has exerted considerable influence, asserting that prevailing forms of masculinity serve to legitimise and perpetuate unequal gender relations, both between men and women and among men themselves. The notion of hegemonic masculinity has expanded feminist discourse beyond a mere male-female dichotomy, recognising the complexity of gender experiences and the potential for societal change (Walby, 2015). The prevalence of femicide remains alarmingly high on a global scale, underscoring the persistent gender inequalities that exist within economic, social, and legal domains (Walby, 2015) acknowledges that power dynamics are inherently relational, subject to variation across temporal and cultural contexts, and amenable to transformation, thereby facilitating both structural analysis and the exercise of individual agency. Feminist scholars contend that, despite the advancements in gender equality since the 1970s, the foundational causes of violence continue to be deeply embedded within societal structures. The efficacy of feminist theory is rooted in its ability to connect personal experiences of violence with broader social and institutional frameworks. However, it still faces the ongoing challenge of effectively addressing change, diversity, and the intricate motivations involved in empirical analysis.

### **1.2.3.2. The Ecological Framework: A Multilevel Theoretical Approach to Understanding Femicide**

Ecological theories have developed into one of the most comprehensive and widely

endorsed theoretical models for understanding femicide. Such theories emphasize that such violence arises not from a single cause, but from complex, multidimensional interactions that occur across individual, relational, community, and societal levels (WHO, 2012). The ecological framework fundamentally posits that behaviours, such as those contributing to femicide, are influenced by the intricate and evolving interactions between individuals and their surrounding environments over time. The approach facilitates the incorporation of feminist viewpoints alongside conventional criminological and sociological frameworks, thereby establishing a comprehensive instrument for the examination of femicide as a phenomenon that is both socially constructed and contextually situated (Stout, 1992). The theory, rooted in Bronfenbrenner's original ecological systems theory (1977, 1979) and subsequently elaborated upon by scholars such as Heise (1998) and Krug et al. (2002), asserts that violence emerges not from singular individual or cultural influences, but from the intricate interactions among various dimensions at individual, relationship, community, and societal levels.

At the individual level, the ecological model delineates personal and developmental risk factors that have been recognised as significant predictors of femicide, including a history of child abuse, exposure to domestic violence during childhood, young age, low income, low education, substance abuse, mental health challenges, economic disadvantage, and personality disorders. The identified risk factors indicate that early-life trauma and psychological vulnerabilities may play a significant role in influencing the propensity to both perpetrate and endure intimate violence. Research indicates that exposure to parental violence or experiencing abuse during childhood significantly elevates the likelihood of both perpetrating and becoming a victim of intimate partner violence or femicide in later life. Early developmental stages, insufficient educational qualifications, lack of employment opportunities, and a familial background characterised by violence are consistently associated

with an increased susceptibility to adverse outcomes (WHO, 2012).

The relationship level examines the intricate dynamics that exist between familial structures and intimate partners. Essential elements encompass male supremacy and authority, economic dependence, discord within marriage, and power disparities (Heise, 2011). The significance of these patterns cannot be overstated, as empirical studies consistently demonstrate that a history of IPV is a precursor to nearly fifty percent of all intimate partner femicides (Dugan et al., 2003). Economic strain, instability, and the dominance of resource control by males are notable determinants of intimate partner violence and femicide (Campbell et al., 2003). Research indicates that a significant proportion of femicide cases are characterised by a history of intimate partner abuse, thereby emphasising the essential influence of relational dynamics (Stöckl et al., 2013).

At the community level, various contextual factors such as neighborhood poverty, low social capital, lack of access to support services, and community tolerance of violence collectively foster environments in which femicide is more likely to transpire and contribute to risk (Krug et al., 2002). Moreover, the phenomenon of social isolation, coupled with the association with delinquent peers and restricted access to shelters or intervention programs, significantly heightens the risk for women (Dugan et al., 2003). Research demonstrates that communities equipped with greater resources for victims, including shelters, legal assistance, victim support, and crisis centres, experience diminished rates of intimate partner femicide.

Ultimately, the societal level examines more extensive cultural and structural influences, encompassing deeply rooted societal norms, patriarchal values, inflexible gender roles, systemic inequality, permissive legal frameworks, and insufficient public policy responses (Krug et al., 2002). Structural and gender inequalities, including inadequate representation of women in governmental roles, insufficient social expenditure, and restrictive

policy frameworks, correlate with elevated incidences of femicide (WHO, 2012; Stamatel, 2014). The interplay among social norms, institutional frameworks, and gendered violence has been extensively examined in scholarly literature (Stamatel, 2014).

Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory provides a sophisticated understanding of the interplay between proximal factors, such as intimate relationships, and distal influences, including public policy, over time, thereby affecting outcomes like femicide (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). It demonstrates its value through its capacity to integrate feminist viewpoints with established criminological and sociological frameworks. The dynamic nature of the approach is further advanced in the Process-Person-Context-Time model, which examines the interplay between personal experiences and contextual factors in shaping outcomes throughout the life course.

UN Women (2013), World Health Organisation (2023), the U.S. Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (2023), and the International Rescue Committee (2019) have implemented and elaborated the ecological model within the framework of policy-making, recognising supplementary elements such as gender inequalities in education and employment, the absence of secure environments for women, and insufficient awareness among health and justice professionals as factors that contribute to femicide. The model's capacity for adaptability facilitates the integration of emerging evidence and context-specific variables, thereby maintaining its relevance across various settings (Sorrentino et al., 2022).

Karen Stout's (1992) research provides a seminal innovative utilisation of the model in the context of femicide. It explored the ecological factors associated with IPF across various states in the United States. Stout's investigation elucidated significant correlations between femicide rates and a range of indicators across ecological strata, including access to support services, the prevalence of rape, and gender inequality. Stout's research not only establishes

femicide as a critical social issue but also validates ecological analysis as a vital instrument for comprehending it. Contemporary researchers have consistently applied the ecological framework in the examination of femicide on a global scale. For example, research conducted by Caicedo-Roa and Cordeiro (2023) and Sorrentino et al. (2022) has illustrated its efficacy in discerning risk factors at various levels, ranging from individual experiences to institutional responses. The intricate and multifaceted characteristics of the model have allowed scholars to elucidate the interplay of structural inequalities, policy frameworks, and gender norms that converge to create an environment favourable to femicide. By situating individual actions within broader social frameworks, the ecological model surpasses simplistic theories and provides a comprehensive, interdisciplinary foundation for research, policy development, and intervention strategies. Stark-Adamec and Adamec (1982) emphasize that focusing solely on a single dimension of a multivariate phenomenon, such as femicide, may lead to misleading or ineffective results. The ecological approach, by contrast, acknowledges the intricate nature of GBV and offers a versatile yet thorough framework for examining its underlying causes and expressions.

### **1.2.3.3. Criminological Perspectives on Femicide**

Criminological theories provide significant understanding of the processes through which social, psychological, and environmental elements influence the occurrence of femicide. Conventional criminological frameworks, such as strain theory, social learning theory, and routine activity theory, provide insightful, albeit occasionally constrained, viewpoints on the phenomenon of femicide.

One of the most significant theories in the context is social learning theory, formulated by Albert Bandura in 1977. He emphasises that criminal behaviour, encompassing gender-based violence and femicide, is acquired through the mechanisms of observation, imitation, reinforcement, and interaction within both intimate and peer relationships in social contexts

(Bandura, 1977). Within the context of femicide, the frequent exposure to IPV, alongside rooted patriarchal norms and sexist ideologies, where violence is often rationalised or tolerated, especially within male-centric familial or peer environments, led to both normalisation and internalisation of perspectives and conduct that validate the employment of violence towards women or fatal violence against women. The phenomenon is particularly pronounced in environments where such violence is culturally endorsed, unpunished, or forgiven (Jewkes, 2002). Repeated exposure to violence, whether experienced as an observer during childhood years or encountered through media representations and social contexts, reinforces the underlying beliefs that render control, aggression, and dominance as tolerated and permissible instruments within intimate relationships. The observation holds significant importance in societies characterised by entrenched gender hierarchies and the acceptance of interpersonal violence, creating an environment conducive to the acquisition of violent behaviours that may ultimately manifest in severe consequences such as femicide.

Furthermore, general strain theory, proposed by Robert Agnew in 1992, posits an additional perspective by emphasizing the psychological and emotional aspects of challenging life circumstances. Agnew's framework highlights that individuals encounter substantial stressors or frustrations such as unemployment, economic difficulties, the dissolution of relationships or perceived challenges to masculinity may lead to violence as a means of coping, especially in the absence of alternative adaptive strategies. Eriksson and Mazerolle (2013) expand the application of general strain theory to the phenomenon of femicide, disclosing how unresolved frustrations and stressors may lead to fatal violence consequences, particularly within the framework of conventional gender roles and disparities in societal and relational power dynamics (Jewkes, 2002). It aligns with Stöckl et al.'s (2013) research findings that associate financial strain, jealousy, fear of abandonment, and emotional dependency with femicide.

The routine activity theory proposes that criminal acts, including femicide, emerge when a suitable target/victim, a motivated offender, and the absence of effective guardianship intersect with particular temporal and spatial contexts, creating conditions conducive to the occurrence of femicide. Dugan et al. (2003) and Sorrentino et al. (2022) have utilised the framework in the context of femicide by investigating various risk factors, including the daily routines of victims, social isolation, inadequate access to protective services, and the presence of motivated offenders, frequently intimate partners, who take advantage of these vulnerabilities.

Feminist criminological perspectives, on the other hand, contend that femicide should be comprehended in the broader framework of gender inequality and the patriarchal power dynamics (Radford & Russell, 1992; Corradi & Stöckl, 2014). Feminist researchers assert that femicide cannot be understood merely as a result of individual deviance or pathology. However, rather, it represents a manifestation of femicide maintained by societal structures and norms that either trivialise or condone such acts of fatal manifestations of VAW (Yodanis, 2004). Stamatel (2014) highlights that nations characterised by distinct gender inequality and a permissive attitude towards VAW are associated with elevated rates of femicide.

Collectively, these criminological theories highlight the importance of social conditioning and emotional distress in the origins of femicide. They underscore the necessity of comprehending both the motivations at the individual level and the overarching structural factors involved. Although conventional theories enhance our comprehension of risk and perpetration, the perspective is consistent with feminist critiques that highlight structural inequality and masculine entitlement, alongside ecological frameworks that investigate multilevel risk factors. Criminological theories serve as a foundational framework for the interdisciplinary examination of how cultural messages conveyed through familial structures,

peer interactions, and media representations inform individual behaviors and societal perspectives regarding violence.

#### **1.2.4. Global and Regional Prevalence of Femicide: Patterns, Gaps, and National Case Studies**

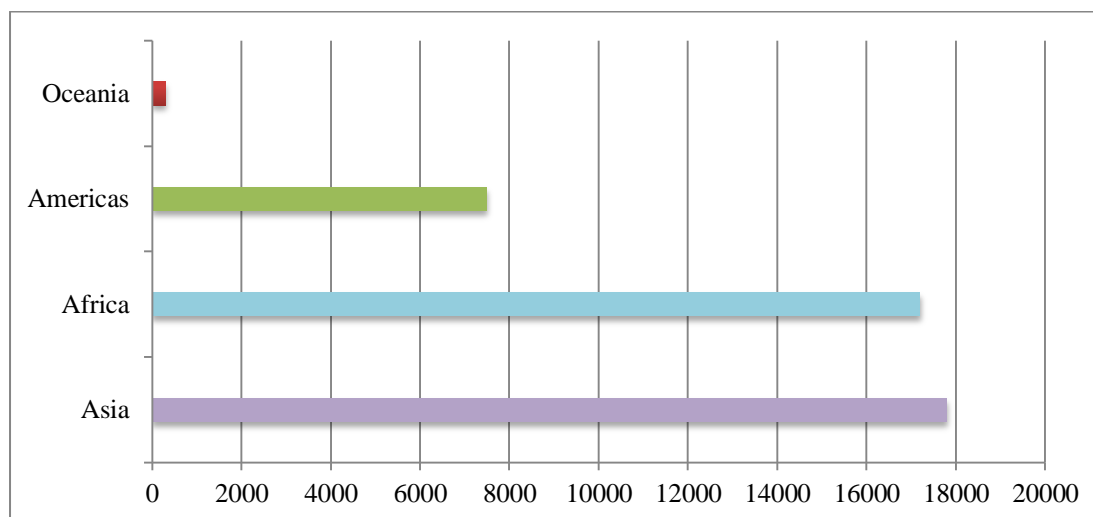
Femicide constitutes a widespread and profoundly entrenched global concern that surpasses national frontiers, cultural distinctions, and socioeconomic divisions. A joint global report published by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and UN Women in the year 2021 estimated that around 81,000 women and girls were deliberately killed globally, with more than 45,000 (56%) of these women and girls worldwide were murdered to homicide by of intimate partners or other family members, highlighting the ongoing peril encountered by women within the confines of their own homes (UNODC & UN Women, 2022). Such remarkable statistic indicates an average of over five female victims per hour, underscoring the deeply enduring and rooted characteristics of femicide and VAW of abuse and coercive control, predominantly manifesting within the private domain, gender disparities, and systemic inadequacies within domestic environments (UNODC & UN Women, 2022; WHO, 2021).

In a regional analysis (figure 3), Asia has documented the highest incidence of gender-related femicide, with an estimated 17,800 victims. It is succeeded by Africa, which reported an estimated 17,200 cases, underscoring the significant prevalence of intimate partner and family-related femicide throughout the Global South. In the Americas, it is estimated that family members or partners killed 7,500 women and girls, whereas Europe and Oceania reported 2,500 and 300 cases, respectively. Although these absolute figures underscore the magnitude of the crisis, they also highlight the varying population sizes across each region. Consequently, to grasp the genuine magnitude and relative seriousness of the phenomenon, it is imperative to examine femicide rates per 100,000 female population, as these figures offer

a more precise representation of risk across various societies and regions.

### Figure 3

*The Number of Female Victims of Intimate Partner/Family-related Femicide by Region (2021)*



*Note.* Adapted in part from Killings of women and girls by their intimate partners or other family members: Global estimates 2021 (p. [15]), by United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime & UN Women, 2022, [https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/briefs/Femicide\\_brief\\_Nov2022.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/briefs/Femicide_brief_Nov2022.pdf). © 2022 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and UN Women.

Within the Middle East and North Africa region, data availability and access are notably limited, primarily due to various legal, cultural, and institutional barriers. The deficiency notably hinders both research endeavors and the formulation of effective policy measures. Nevertheless, the existing estimated reports from human rights organisations indicate an increasing incidence of both intimate and non-intimate femicide. Moreover, it is significant to note that numerous instances of femicide within the region are linked to what are referred to as honor killings, which frequently suffer from underreporting or misclassification (UNODC, 2022). In 2023, Africa was identified as the region most profoundly affected by femicide, with an estimated 21,700 women having been killed by intimate partners or family members (UNODC & UN Women, 2023). The alarming statistic underscores the pervasive gender

inequalities and the inadequacy of protective measures in the region.

The situation regarding femicide in Turkey has deteriorated significantly, as evidenced by the ongoing increase in femicide rates. The We Will Stop Femicide Platform has documented that 299 women were murdered in the initial quarter of 2024, underscoring a continuous and intensifying trend of violence. Feminist organizations have articulated their condemnation of the alarming increase in femicides and have urged the Turkish government's decision to reinstate its participation in the Istanbul Convention in 2021, contending that the action has eroded legal safeguards and institutional accountability frameworks designed to combat GBV (Council of Europe, 2021). Numerous human rights advocates perceive the abandonment of the initiative as a significant regression in the ongoing struggle against femicide (Amnesty International, 2023).

In Egypt, the prevalence of gender-based violence and femicide has attained alarming levels, further intensified by pervasive social acceptance and a lack of decisive action from institutions. Reports from Middle East Eye (2023) characterized the situation as an "epidemic" in light of a series of femicides, which included three occurrences within a single week. Researchers have indicated that victim-blaming, patriarchal norms, and a lack of accountability play significant roles in the normalization of violence against women in Egypt (Nazra for Feminist Studies, 2021).

Furthermore, the lack of thorough gender-sensitive legislation and the absence of state accountability persist in jeopardizing the lives of women. Jordan continues in confronting the phenomenon of honor killings, which persists as a culturally endorsed manifestation of femicide, wherein women are tragically slain by male relatives ostensibly in the name of preserving familial honour. In the year 2022, Human Rights Watch documented between 15 and 20 femicide instances, highlighting the judicial system's tendency to impose diminished

sentences on offenders who assert claims of adultery. Human Rights Watch (2022) indicated that the normalization of honor-based killings is perpetuated by legal frameworks and dominant sociocultural norms, thereby compromising initiatives aimed at safeguarding women's rights and ensuring their safety.

In recent years, femicide has become a significant and escalating issue in Algeria, as evidenced by a multitude of reports that underscore its ongoing prevalence and the complexities involved in confronting it. The Algerian feminist collective *Féminicides Algérie* reports that a minimum of 39 women were allegedly killed in incidents related to gender in the year 2023. However, it is believed that the actual figure may be greater, owing to issues of underreporting and misclassification (*Féminicides Algérie*, 2024). *Féminicides Algérie*, a grassroots feminist activists initiative dedicated to the surveillance of gender-based femicides in the country, has recorded more than 180 instances of femicide from 2019 to 2021. Nevertheless, official statistics regarding femicide in Algeria are scarce, mirroring the overarching difficulties in data collection throughout North Africa. Civil society organizations have reported a concerning increase in cases in recent years (Amnesty International, 2023).

Academic inquiry highlights that femicide in Algeria is profoundly entrenched in cultural, social, and structural dynamics. Research indicates that the entrenchment of patriarchal norms, the ongoing prevalence of GBV within familial structures, and the insufficiency of adequate legal protections serve as significant factors (Benmessaoud, 2022; Ennaji, 2023). Legal reforms have been instituted, exemplified by Law No. 15-19 of 2015, which criminalizes specific manifestations of VAW. However, the existence of enforcement gaps and pervasive social stigma frequently obstructs victims from pursuing justice (Belaid & Dubourg, 2016; UN Women, 2021). Further research underscores the persistence of honor-based and intimate partner femicide associated with domestic disputes (Benmessaoud, 2022; Ennaji, 2023). The societal acceptance of violence and femicide, in conjunction with

inadequate institutional responses and insufficient support services for women, perpetuates persistent risks (Amnesty International, 2023; UN Women, 2021). Advocates emphasize the importance of community mobilization and public awareness initiatives such as yearly marches and digital narratives in dismantling silence and promoting policy reform.

In the United States, femicide constitutes a critical and enduring concern within the realms of public health and human rights, as scholarly investigations consistently reveal elevated rates of fatal violence directed towards women, especially at the hands of intimate partners. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention indicated that from 2003 to 2014, around 55% of all homicides involving females were perpetrated by intimate partners, with firearms identified as the predominant weapon utilized (Petrosky et al., 2017). In the year 2021, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2023) estimated that 34% of female homicide victims, representing nearly one in three, were murdered by a current or former intimate partner. In contrast, the figure was approximately 6% for male homicide victims. Moreover, approximately fifty percent of all female homicides are associated with intimate partner violence, with 93% perpetrated by a current or former romantic partner (Petrosky et al., 2017).

Table 4 represents the cases of femicide crime rates in the US between 2010 and 2020 across various states in the United States. It illustrates marked regional variations. Data were taken from "When Men Murder Women," annual reports from 2010 to 2020 on femicide cases in the US released by the Violence Policy Center. The Southern states consistently demonstrate elevated rates, with regions such as Alaska, Mississippi, and Louisiana frequently ranking among the highest. The observed variations indicate that local sociocultural norms, accessibility to firearms, and the efficacy of protective legal frameworks may significantly impact the risk of femicide. The data highlight the necessity for tailored prevention policies and focused interventions to confront systemic and gender-based violence

within specific states.

Table 4

*Number of Females Murdered by Males in Single Victim/Single Offender Femicides by State  
in the US from 2010 to 2020*

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
Alabama	32	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	32
Alaska	4	7	9	8	11	10	12	14	12	18	105
Arizona	52	60	56	46	45	42	43	68	52	60	524
Arkansas	21	20	20	14	21	27	30	34	34	28	249
California	216	193	212	186	178	202	184	232	192	199	1994
Colorado	23	30	34	32	25	30	38	32	38	46	328
Connecticut	16	15	12	14	19	15	14	15	19	13	152
Delaware	4	9	4	3	5	6	9	7	7	4	58
Florida	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0
Georgia	80	79	84	59	84	72	67	96	74	49	744
Hawaii	11	5	4	4	1	7	11	6	6	4	59
Idaho	10	14	9	8	4	7	13	13	11	8	97
Illinois	21	18	16	16	16	22	59	49	70	44	331
Indiana	34	43	47	36	42	34	38	38	47	31	390
Iowa	17	11	9	9	13	16	13	12	6	10	116
Kansas	16	23	22	15	17	24	16	16	24	21	194
Kentucky	35	25	35	32	29	36	38	40	37	25	332
Louisiana	43	39	45	47	51	53	58	63	54	52	505
Maine	7	8	8	10	5	3	4	5	9	6	65
Maryland	47	40	39	36	35	31	49	39	39	35	390
Massachusetts	23	18	17	23	13	22	16	23	18	23	196
Michigan	44	64	57	73	67	61	63	58	70	74	631
Minnesota	14	20	19	22	25	25	23	21	22	19	210
Mississippi	23	24	29	12	19	19	21	22	24	22	215
Missouri	46	46	53	32	39	47	57	51	73	64	508
Montana	7	4	7	3	4	6	8	10	9	5	63
Nebraska	9	14	3	6	12	5	6	7	9	7	78
Nevada	35	20	25	27	28	33	29	30	33	35	295
New Hampshire	4	4	2	5	6	2	4	4	6	15	52
New Jersey	35	45	41	49	41	41	44	41	39	32	408
New Mexico	17	17	8	21	18	16	14	15	24	28	178
New York	91	115	83	85	63	66	83	74	69	85	814
North Carolina	64	61	65	55	54	50	72	65	55	56	597

North Dakota	3	3	3	2	1	3	5	4	8	3	35
Ohio	57	48	66	54	46	57	77	78	67	50	600
Oklahoma	27	38	39	32	38	27	31	28	46	37	343
Oregon	28	22	19	16	24	14	15	21	27	24	210
Pennsylvania	88	74	77	86	72	76	59	82	93	48	755
Rhode Island	8	4	6	5	2	8	5	5	3	6	52
South Carolina	46	61	50	57	43	46	48	52	44	57	504
South Dakota	1	4	5	2	7	4	5	6	2	6	42
Tennessee	62	59	53	55	53	71	65	69	70	60	617
Texas	222	171	179	183	195	213	208	221	238	200	2030
Utah	13	14	10	11	14	8	17	12	14	14	127
Vermont	4	2	1	5	3	1	2	6	4	5	33
Virginia	72	40	46	47	52	54	57	73	72	68	581
Washington	37	35	38	27	34	36	30	42	40	44	363
West Virginia	9	16	14	10	9	13	6	15	8	13	113
Wisconsin	20	23	23	33	27	24	39	30	26	40	285
Wyoming	3	2	3	2	3	1	4	4	2	2	26

N=17625

A substantial corpus of scholarly inquiry highlights the convergence of risk factors associated with femicide in the United States, encompassing antecedent IPV, weapon-related threats, estrangement from a partner, and the presence of stepchildren within the household (Campbell et al., 2003; Smith et al., 2017). It is noteworthy that black, indigenous, and latina women experience a disproportionate impact, as evidenced by homicide rates that are markedly elevated in comparison to those of white women (Petrosky et al., 2017). Structural determinants, including economic deprivation, systemic racial discrimination, and obstacles to service accessibility, significantly intensify these disparities (Sabri & Granger, 2018). Scholars contend that the absence of a uniform national surveillance framework for femicide, coupled with disparate legal definitions across various jurisdictions, impedes effective prevention and response efforts (Petrosky et al., 2017). Initiatives aimed at combating femicide in the United States have progressively concentrated on enhancing firearm regulations, broadening support services for victims, and employing evidence-based risk

assessment methodologies. Nevertheless, obstacles persist in diminishing the occurrence of such violence and safeguarding vulnerable individuals (Campbell et al., 2003).

### **1.2.5. Risk Factors for Femicide**

Femicide seldom occurs spontaneously; rather, it generally manifests through discernible patterns of escalating violence, which are grounded in identifiable and multifaceted risk factors. Researchers have conducted comprehensive analyses of these factors, pinpointing individual, relational, and structural determinants that elevate the probability of lethal violence against women, especially within the context of intimate relationships. Recent research has placed significant emphasis on the elucidation of risk factors associated with IPF, to inform and improve the efficacy of prevention strategies. Campbell et al. (2003) elucidated critical risk factors associated with IPF, encompassing prior threats involving a weapon, estrangement or separation, the presence of a stepchild within the household, and a documented history of nonfatal domestic violence. The study underscored that exiting an abusive relationship markedly heightens the immediate risk of fatality, especially in the absence of protective support or legal enforcement measures. Moreover, Glass et al. (2004) have utilised a variety of methodologies including data abstraction from police, court records, and medical examiner mortality surveillance systems; analyses of news media; and case-control studies in order to rigorously investigate the factors contributing to femicide and to create risk assessment instruments

#### **1.2.5.1. Principal Risk Factors for Victimisation**

Scholarly investigations have persistently delineated significant risk factors associated with intimate partner femicide, which are essential for informing and directing prevention initiatives. The most notable predictors encompass a documented history of escalating intimate partner violence, the unemployment status of the perpetrator, and access to firearms, each of which markedly heightens the risk of homicide. The following elements are included:

**Intimate Partner Violence:** A multitude of studies have consistently delineated the primary risk factors correlated with intimate partner femicide, thereby providing significant insights for both prevention and intervention strategies. Among the most notable predictors is a documented history of increasing physical, psychological, or sexual abuse, especially patterns characterised by increasing severity and frequency, which frequently precede fatal outcomes (Campbell et al., 2003; Glass et al., 2004).

**Employment Status:** The phenomenon of perpetrator unemployment has emerged as a notable demographic and socioeconomic risk factor, amplifying the likelihood of individuals who engage in abusive behaviour and are unemployed presenting a markedly elevated risk of femicide by four times in comparison to employed offenders, even when accounting for other variables (Campbell et al., 2003).

**Access to Weapons:** The availability of firearms or other weaponry to perpetrators constitutes a significant risk factor, as researches demonstrated that access to firearms within the household correlates with an eight-fold increase in risk of femicide, a statistic that persists even when accounting for other characteristics of abuse (Campbell et al., 2003).

**Stepchildren in the Household:** The inclusion of stepchildren within a domestic setting correlates with an elevated risk of victimisation as individuals who have experienced victimisation face heightened vulnerability during intervals of separation or estrangement from their abusive partners (Wilson & Daly, 1993).

**Substance Abuse:** The utilisation of illicit drugs and alcohol by perpetrators has been significantly correlated with the risk of femicide, whereas the substance use of victims does not independently serve as a predictive factor (Campbell et al., 2003).

**Estrangement:** The recent separation or estrangement from an abusive partner represents a crucial interval characterised by an elevated risk (Campbell et al., 2003; Websdale, 1999).

Threats and Stalking: Previous threats to kill, the use of weapons in threats, and stalking behaviours serve as significant indicators of femicide (Glass et al., 2004).

Further individual-level risks for victims encompass attempted strangulation, pregnancy within a violent relationship, rape, low educational attainment, and exposure to domestic violence during childhood (Campbell et al., 2003; Glass et al., 2004; Wilson & Daly, 1993).

#### **1.2.5.2. Characteristics of Perpetrators and Contextual Influences**

Investigations have additionally concentrated on the attributes and classifications of individuals who commit femicide, underscoring that individuals who commit femicide frequently exhibit particular socioeconomic and psychological characteristics. Research conducted by Dobash and Dobash (1998) and Wilson and Daly (1993) has consistently documented the substantial correlation between unemployment and low socioeconomic status as predictors of perpetration in the literature. Moreover, Campbell et al. (2003) associates discovered that unemployment heightened the risk of femicide by nearly four times, even when accounting for more immediate risk factors, rendering it the sole demographic predictor that retained significance in multivariate analysis.

The accessibility to firearms and the implications of violent threats by perpetrators are significantly associated with an increased risk of femicide. In a similar vein, previous threats involving weapons or threats to take the victim's life are consistently recognised as significant predictors of fatal outcomes (Campbell et al., 2003; Glass et al., 2004).

The influence of psychological vulnerabilities is also significant. Mental health disorders and prior instances, along with previous suicidal ideation or threats, are frequently observed among perpetrators, especially in instances of femicide-suicide (Campbell et al., 2003). A multisite case-control study has underscored the significance of previous suicide threats and the marital status of victims as distinctive predictors of femicide-suicide risk.

Patterns of extreme jealousy, violations, and coercive control, which encompass obsessive behaviours, financial, emotional abuse, and social interaction control, stalking, and the violation of protective orders, represent fundamental characteristics of perpetrators (Glass et al., 2004; NSW Domestic Violence Death Review Team, 2019–2021).

### **1.2.5.3. Multi-Tiered Risk Determinants**

In 2014, Corradi and Stockl suggested that the determination of femicide is manifested across various interconnected strata: individual, interpersonal, community, and societal. The intricate framework, commonly known as the ecological model, encapsulates the complexities surrounding gender-based violence and underscores the interplay of various factors at each level that contribute to the risk of femicide through distinct yet interrelated mechanisms.

At the individual level, the personal attributes and life histories of both victims and perpetrators contribute to levels of femicide risk factors. Elements such as substance abuse, unemployment, mental health challenges, and a documented history of violent conduct or violations of protection orders of the perpetrators have been consistently associated with elevated risk factors (Campbell et al., 2003). Victims, on the other hand, may exhibit heightened vulnerability due to various factors, including the experience of pregnancy within a violent relationship, previous instances of abuse, and limited educational attainment (Glass et al., 2004).

At the interpersonal or relational level, factors emerge from the complexities inherent in intimate relationships or familial structures. The factors encompass a documented history of increasing current or previous intimate partner violence behaviours, manifestations of forced sexual acts, manifestations of coercive control, physical and emotional abuse, stalking, and obsessive jealousy, recent separation or estrangement, the involvement of stepchildren within the household, and conflicts with in-laws present significant risks at this level (Dobash &

Dobash, 2015).

Community-level risk factors encompass the broader social environment, including characteristics such as social isolation, inadequate access to support services, and weak institutional responses. The phenomenon of social isolation, coupled with fragile community connections and the pervasive normalisation of aggressive masculinity alongside the devaluation of women's roles, can significantly exacerbate risk factors. Communities that experience prevailing community norms and the presence or lack of support services due to the restricted access to shelters, legal assistance, or intervention programs frequently render women more susceptible to fatal violence (Jewkes et al., 2017).

Ultimately, at the societal level, signify the impact of broader structural and cultural conditions, including gender inequality and disparities, patriarchal norms, the normalisation of male supremacy and dominance, and the disruptive consequences of warfare or conflict create environments in which femicide may transpire with minimal accountability or inadequate public indignation (Flood, 2011; Jewkes et al., 2015).

The multi-level framework is congruent with the ecological model for comprehending violence against women, emphasising the necessity for interventions that function concurrently across all levels of influence to effectively tackle the underlying causes of femicide (Heise, 2011; WHO, 2021). Moreover, societies deficient in effective systems for justice and gender equity, or those that permit violence against women, foster conditions that increase the likelihood of femicide (Sabri & Granger, 2018).

#### **1.2.5.4. Instruments for Femicide Risk Evaluation**

In light of the previously identified risk factors for victims and perpetrators, numerous risk assessment instruments have been developed, formulated, and extensively implemented, particularly in North America. These instrument instances encompass:

- **Danger Assessment:** A tool developed by Campbell et al. (2003) to aid women in assessing their potential risk of fatal violence.
- **Spousal Assault Risk Assessment:** Employed by practitioners to evaluate the potential threat posed by offenders (Kropp et al., 1999).
- **Domestic Violence Inventory:** Employed by Olsen (1997) within the criminal justice system to evaluate risk factors associated with offenders.

Although these tools have enhanced predictive accuracy and intervention strategies, academic discourse, including the work of Websdale (1999), has highlighted concerns regarding their potential to decontextualise women's experiences, foster business interests surrounding risk assessment and potentially stigmatise victims.

### **1.2.6. Consequences and Impacts of Femicide and VAW**

Femicide as the most extreme manifestation of GBV imposes profound economic, psychological, and societal harm that extends beyond individual victims, impacting families, communities, and national economies at large. In 2016, Lakshmi Puri, the former Deputy Executive Director of UN Women, estimated the immense global cost of violence against women and girls including femicide, which is estimated to be nearly 2% of the world's GDP, equating to approximately USD 1.5 trillion an amount comparable to the entire Canadian economy (UN Women, 2016). These costs and financial burden are not merely direct expenditures on healthcare, legal, social, and specialized services for victims, which include reduced criminal justice responses and the adverse effects on women's education and workforce participation (Duvvury et al., 2013).

#### **1.2.6.1. Economic Costs**

Femicide incurs significant economic ramifications that affect individuals, families, communities, and society as a whole. The costs associated with the issue are complex and

varied. As the available data regarding the burden of femicide is somewhat scarce, current research indicates that its repercussions manifest in both direct and indirect forms, such as emergency healthcare, legal and law enforcement responses, and victim support services. Direct costs encompass public expenditures associated with emergency response, forensic investigations, legal proceedings, and the incarceration of offenders (Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability [CFOJA], 2020). Indirect costs are significantly more profound and enduring, encompassing the diminution of women's economic productivity, the instability of income for dependents, and the necessity for ongoing psychosocial support for surviving children and family members (Lewandowski et al., 2004).

Children who survive such circumstances frequently encounter enduring trauma, displacement from their homes, and interruptions in their education, all of which diminish their potential economic contributions in the future and heighten their dependence on public welfare systems. At the societal level, the pervasive atmosphere of fear engendered by femicide significantly curtails women's engagement in the workforce, educational pursuits, and public life, thereby adversely affecting national economic productivity and development (UN Women, 2016). Notwithstanding its lethal implications and societal ramifications, femicide is notably under-represented within economic policy frameworks. Most national estimates concerning violence against women do not adequately differentiate femicide from more generalised categories of GBV. The lack of visibility surrounding the issue perpetuates the ongoing marginalisation of its socioeconomic implications, thereby undermining initiatives aimed at formulating inclusive and gender-responsive economic and social policies.

Additionally, there are indirect costs that manifest as lost productivity, diminished workforce participation, and intergenerational effects on children and families (Duvvury et al., 2013). The global economic burden of VAW, which encompasses femicide, has been approximated to represent about 2% of the world's gross domestic product (GDP), amounting

to roughly USD 1.5 trillion (UN Women, 2016). Research focused on specific nations highlights the significant economic impact of intimate partner violence and femicide. For example, a study conducted in Ghana revealed that violence against women led to the forfeiture of approximately 65 million workdays each year, equating to 4.5% of the employable female population being unable to engage in work, which resulted in a household-level economic loss of nearly USD 286 million in 2018 (ISSER et al., 2019). In Tanzania, the disparity in earnings between women who have experienced abuse and those who have not amounted to 1.22% of the nation's GDP, whereas in Chile, the projected loss was 2% of GDP. Comparative research conducted across nine nations revealed that the economic repercussions of intimate partner violence can account for 1–2% of national GDP, closely paralleling governmental expenditures on primary education (Duvvury et al., 2013). The COVID-19 pandemic has likely exacerbated these costs, as seen in prior epidemics like Ebola and Zika, where vulnerable women faced heightened risks and economic impacts (UN Women, 2020).

Nevertheless, the economic ramifications of femicide are infrequently analysed in a disaggregated manner. Despite the considerable focus on intimate partner violence, the precise economic and social ramifications of femicide, particularly regarding its impact on surviving children, remain largely unquantified. Femicide not only extinguishes a life but also inflicts significant psychosocial and economic repercussions on the dependents of the victim. Children who survive frequently find themselves compelled to navigate new and precarious living environments, endure extended periods of trauma, and face interruptions in their educational and psychosocial growth (Lewandowski et al., 2004).

#### **1.2.6.2. Social Consequences**

The consequences of femicide extend far beyond the immediate loss of life, affecting familial units. Victims often endure prolonged periods of violence, degradation, isolation, and terror prior to being killed (Lewandowski et al., 2004). Individuals who have experienced

such loss frequently confront traumatic grief, a decline in income, deteriorating health, and impaired functioning in both professional and educational spheres. Such a demise of a woman resonates throughout the complex social fabric in which she existed as a daughter, mother, partner, friend, and colleague. Moreover, femicide and the threat of violence shape the daily lives and choices of women and girls.

At the family level, the consequences are even more profound. The social effects of femicide ripple outwards, compromising functioning at work or school, loss of income, and long-term psychological impacts. The absence of closure, exemplified by instances where the remains of victims are never located, exacerbates the trauma experienced by certain families, thereby obstructing the grieving process (CFOJA, 2020). Surviving children of femicide victims face enduring trauma, often requiring relocation and adjustment to new environments, and are frequently exposed to domestic violence prior to the mother's death with limited support or intervention (Lewandowski et al., 2004).

### **1.2.6.3. Psychological Impact**

The repercussions of mental health are frequently exacerbated by detrimental coping strategies, including heightened use of alcohol and tobacco, which further undermine the well-being of individuals and diminish their capacity to extricate themselves from abusive relationships. The interplay between violence and substance use is intricate; frequently demonstrating comorbid patterns (Grant & Harford, 1995), and is especially evident in instances of severe or sexual violence (Sarkar, 2008). The psychological impact of existing within an environment characterised by violence is evident in the restrictions placed on mobility and the resultant limitations on personal freedom. For example, in Canada, 64% of women indicated that they felt unsafe while awaiting public transportation alone at night, in contrast to merely 29% of men. Additionally, 41% of women expressed apprehension about walking alone at night in their neighbourhoods, compared to 12% of men (CFOJA, 2020). It

suggests that, in addition to direct victimisation, the mere potential for violence inhibits women's comprehensive engagement in societal activities.

#### **1.2.6.4. Effects on Children**

Children are significantly influenced by the existence of femicide and violence within the domestic environment, even in instances where they are not the direct recipients of such abuse (Arroyo et al., 2017). Children's exposure to IPV results in both internalising behaviours such as anxiety, depression, aggression, somatic complaints, and chronic physical conditions including respiratory and digestive ailments. Additionally, it may lead to various physical health issues, including anaemia, respiratory infections, diarrhoea, and stunted growth, which can be attributed to maternal neglect and stress-induced somatization (Karamagi et al., 2007). The aforementioned effects interfere with developmental trajectories and heighten susceptibility to poverty and violence in the future and may persist into adolescence and adulthood, resulting in higher healthcare costs, school absenteeism, and impaired development.

#### **1.2.6.5. Impacts on Health**

From a health standpoint, the consequences of VAW, including femicide, are notably associated with a broad and diverse array of adverse physical and psychological outcomes. Individuals who have experienced victimisation often endure persistent headaches, gastrointestinal issues, gynaecological complications, and sexually transmitted diseases (Campbell et al., 2003). IPV exhibits a significant correlation with increased rates of mental health disorders, including depression, anxiety, and posttraumatic stress disorder (Devries et al., 2013). Furthermore, Devries et al. (2013) indicate that women subjected to IPV are up to eight times more likely to experience depression. Survivors also report higher prevalence of headaches, digestive problems, chronic pain, reproductive health issues, and sexually transmitted infections. The severity and frequency of violence intensify these health problems,

particularly in cases involving sexual violence (Sarkar, 2008). Moreover, the use of alcohol and tobacco as coping mechanisms among survivors, compounding health risks and sometimes exacerbating the cycle of violence.

#### **1.2.6.6. Heterogeneity and Structural Factors**

The impacts of violence are not uniform; they are manifested differently across various socioeconomic and demographic strata. Severe and sexual violence is associated with more debilitating mental and physical health outcomes. Women hailing from marginalised or economically disadvantaged communities, including those belonging to ethnic minorities, frequently encounter more significant repercussions as a result of intersecting vulnerabilities (Field & Caetano, 2004). Socioeconomic disadvantage further amplifies adverse outcomes, with violence sometimes having a larger impact on Health than poverty itself. Sexual violence tends to produce more severe Health and psychological effects, especially among marginalized women, including those from ethnic minorities (Field & Caetano, 2004). The diversity highlights the imperative for customised policy interventions that cater to particular contexts and subpopulations.

#### **1.2.7. Legal Frameworks and Institutional Responses to Femicide**

##### **1.2.7.1. International Legal Instruments**

On a global scale, the evolution of international legal frameworks intended to address and criminalise femicide has been notable; nevertheless, the scope, mechanisms, and protocols for enforcement continue to be subjects of debate. The Inter-American Convention of Belém do Pará, the Maputo Protocol in Africa, and the Council of Europe's Istanbul Convention are notable examples and frequently regarded as the "gold standard" for addressing violence against women (Nicastro, 2025).

One of the fundamental frameworks is The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms

of Discrimination Against Women that mandates the signatory states implement legislative and policy initiatives aimed at eradicating discrimination and violence directed towards women; nevertheless, its efficacy is undermined by the absence of binding enforcement mechanisms, leading to inconsistent implementation among member states (CEDAW Committee, 1979). Article 2 of CEDAW explicitly mandates the provision of adequate protection for women through competent national tribunals and public institutions. Furthermore, General Recommendation No. 19 (1992) distinctly acknowledges GBV as a form of discrimination (CEDAW Committee, 1992).

Comparably, the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of VAW (Belém do Pará) in Latin America signifies a noteworthy regional commitment, mandating state parties to implement legal measures aimed at preventing, protecting, prosecuting, and collecting systematic data related to GBV. Nevertheless, the extent of implementation and enforcement exhibits VAW and femicide (Inter-American Convention, 1994). Nevertheless, Menjívar and Walsh (2016) contend that the absence of explicit references to femicide in numerous treaties results in interpretative discrepancies, obstructing consistent legal acknowledgement and response. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and the UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women have underscored the importance of establishing standardised definitions and enhancing data collection methodologies, highlighting the necessity for international collaboration in the monitoring and prosecution of femicide (UNODC, 2022; UN Special Rapporteur, 2021).

Within Europe, the Istanbul Convention has garnered ratification from the majority of member states. However, the withdrawal of nations such as Turkey, alongside the reluctance of others, including Azerbaijan and Poland, to endorse the treaty, has resulted in a fragmentation of cohesive initiatives aimed at combating femicide. The intricate mosaic of commitments presents challenges to establishing unified standards and coordinated actions at

the regional level.

Notwithstanding these advancements, the enforcement remains markedly inconsistent. A significant number of nations, especially those beyond the confines of Latin America, have not yet integrated femicide into their legal frameworks or harmonised their domestic legislation with international commitments. This leads to disjointed methodologies and ongoing impunity for offenders (Dawson & Carrigan, 2021). The absence of binding global instruments that specifically address femicide highlights the necessity for enhanced harmonisation and advocacy on an international scale (García-Moreno & Stöckl, 2017).

#### **1.2.7.2. National Legal Approaches and Limitations**

At the national level, the responses to the issue of femicide are influenced by a variety of legal traditions, political environments, and degrees of institutional capability. A total of 16 nations within Latin America have formally recognised femicide as a separate criminal offence, frequently accompanied by enhanced penalties, taking the lead in enacting legislation specifically addressing the issue. For instance, Mexico's General Law on Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence and Argentina's Law 26.791 provide explicit definitions of femicide and impose enhanced penalties for killings motivated by gender (Dehesa, 2022). Brazil's Lei Maria da Penha signifies a significant progression, establishing specialised courts and protective measures for women confronting domestic abuse. However, such legislation often includes provisions aimed at safeguarding victims, providing support for survivors, and mandating compulsory gender-sensitivity training for officials.

Nonetheless, the execution of such initiatives is often hindered by obstacles. A multitude of jurisdictions persist in categorising femicide within the broader framework of homicide statutes, thereby obscuring its inherently gendered characteristics and constraining its representation in official statistical data (Dawson, 2016). Despite the existence of femicide

laws, the issues of underreporting and misclassification persist, mainly attributable to vague definitions, insufficient forensic capabilities, and a notable absence of political resolve (Dawson & Carrigan, 2021). Particular academics emphasise the symbolic significance of femicide legislation while warning against an excessive dependence on criminalisation, advocating instead for comprehensive social reforms aimed at dismantling patriarchal norms and systemic discrimination (Gupta, 2020).

The limitations imposed by resource constraints significantly hinder the enforcement process. The police and judicial systems in numerous nations exhibit a deficiency in specialised units or training necessary for the effective investigation and prosecution of femicide cases. The constraints imposed by budgetary limitations significantly hinder the provision of shelters, legal assistance, and psychosocial support for the families of victims, thereby perpetuating cycles of vulnerability and marginalisation. The complex interplay of various factors contributing to femicide, including race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status, continues to be insufficiently addressed within the majority of national frameworks (García-Moreno & Stöckl, 2017).

For instance, Algeria has undertaken legislative initiatives aimed at combating violence against women, including femicide; however, considerable constraints remain in terms of both the breadth and implementation of these legal frameworks. In 2015, Algeria instituted Law No. 15-19, which serves to criminalise an array of violent acts against women, encompassing physical, sexual, and psychological abuse occurring within domestic environments. The legislation enacted more severe sanctions for offenders and instituted protective provisions, including restraining orders (Le Monde, 2024a). Nonetheless, femicide lacks a distinct legal definition, leading to the prosecution of such cases under broader homicide laws, thereby obscuring the gender-specific characteristics inherent in these acts of violence (UN Women, 2022).

Notwithstanding the existence of these legal provisions, the execution continues to present significant challenges. Law enforcement agencies often face obstacles, including constrained resources, insufficient specialised training, and prevailing societal attitudes that favour family reconciliation over legal prosecution. The presence of a "forgiveness clause," which permits victims or their families to absolve offenders, diminishes the efficacy of deterrence and fosters a culture of impunity (Le Monde, 2024b). Furthermore, the limited availability of shelters and support services for women in peril significantly hinders the provision of adequate legal protection. The cultural norms that pertain to familial honor, alongside the stigma linked to the reporting of domestic violence, significantly contribute to the phenomenon of underreporting and the restricted access to justice (UN Women, 2022). Consequently, the rates of conviction for femicide continue to be alarmingly low, with numerous cases lacking sufficient investigation and prosecution.

In the United States, femicide is not acknowledged as a separate legal classification; instead, killings motivated by gender are prosecuted under general homicide statutes. Nonetheless, there are substantial legislative frameworks in place to confront VAW, with particular emphasis on the Violence Against Women Act, which was initially enacted in 1994 and has undergone multiple reauthorisations since its inception. The Violence Against Women Act allocates federal resources for prevention, victim support services, and targeted training for law enforcement and judicial personnel (U.S. Department of Justice, 2024). It further instituted legal safeguards, including restraining orders and assistance for individuals affected by intimate partner violence.

Notwithstanding these advancements, certain limitations remain apparent. The absence of a statutory definition for femicide results in the failure to systematically monitor or prosecute patterns of gender-motivated killings, consequently creating deficiencies in national data collection and policy responses (Petrosky et al., 2017). The enforcement of laws is

further complicated by the jurisdictional disparities among states, which exhibit differing degrees of dedication to the investigation and prosecution of intimate partner homicides. Marginalised populations, such as women of colour, indigenous women, and immigrants, encounter heightened obstacles in their pursuit of justice, attributable to systemic discrimination, inadequately funded service providers, and a pervasive mistrust of law enforcement (Petrosky et al., 2017; VAWA, 2024). Moreover, although federal initiatives have enhanced awareness and support structures, the conviction rates for intimate partner homicide continue to exhibit variability, with numerous cases being subject to judicial discretion that existing gender norms and biases may sway. The lack of federal legislation that distinctly acknowledges femicide as a separate crime persists in obstructing thorough data collection and the implementation of targeted interventions.

### **1.2.7.3 Role of Law Enforcement and Judicial Bias**

The responses of institutions to femicide are profoundly influenced by the prevailing attitudes and biases of those within law enforcement and the judiciary; however, the process encounters persistent challenges, including underreporting, insufficient training, and selective enforcement practices. In numerous contexts, law enforcement agencies and judicial authorities often dissuade the downplaying femicide from reporting incidents, promote reconciliation, or neglect to enforce restraining orders, characterising it as a consequence of domestic altercations or "crimes of passion," rather than recognising it as a systemic issue deeply embedded in gender inequality. For example, in Algeria, while laws are in place, their efficacy is compromised by inadequate enforcement, the presence of a "forgiveness clause," and a lack of protective shelters (Le Monde, 2024a). The framing results in insufficient investigations, a hesitance to pursue aggravated charges, and lenient sentencing, thereby perpetuating societal tolerance for GBV.

The phenomenon of judicial bias is likewise evident in the realm of judicial decision-

making and frequently exacerbated by an absence of gender-sensitivity training and the enduring prevalence of stereotypes concerning both victims and perpetrators. For instance, a study conducted in Brazil revealed that cases adjudicated by female judges exhibited a 10 percentage point higher likelihood of resulting in conviction in domestic violence matters when compared to those overseen by male judges indicating that gender may play a significant role in influencing case outcomes. Moreover, individuals who have survived and the families of victims may experience secondary victimisation when their credibility is called into question, or when their experiences are downplayed during legal proceedings. The challenges are intensified in situations concerning marginalised or indigenous women, as intersecting forms of discrimination further obstruct access to justice (Dawson & Carrigan, 2021).

Notwithstanding advancements in legislation, law enforcement agencies continue to encounter inherent structural limitations, persistently low conviction rates, discrepancies in legal definitions, and varying degrees of police indifference or antagonism, which persist as significant impediments in numerous nations (Nicastro, 2025). In numerous contexts, inadequately funded police departments are deficient in the investigative instruments, forensic knowledge, and data management systems required for the systematic tracking and prosecution of femicide cases (García-Moreno & Stöckl, 2017).

In Latin America, conviction rates frequently remain under 3%, with a significant number of cases not proceeding to prosecution (Carrigan & Dawson, 2020). The lack of uniform protocols for addressing VAW and femicide frequently leads to disparate management of cases, thereby eroding victims' confidence in the justice system. Dehesa (2022) proposes extensive institutional reforms, which encompass obligatory gender-sensitivity training, the establishment of specialized investigative units, and the creation of independent oversight bodies to ensure accountability and improve outcomes for victims.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter provides an extensive theoretical examination of femicide as the most severe expression of VAW, linking its origins to deeply rooted systems of gender inequality and patriarchal dominance. The discourse commenced with a conceptual elucidation of gender and sex, emphasizing how socially constructed gender roles and stereotypes facilitate the normalization of VAW. The lineage of violence was examined through the frameworks of symbolic and structural violence, further contextualized within patriarchal systems that shape and perpetuate unequal power dynamics. The subsequent section elaborated on these foundational concepts by elucidating critical definitions, typologies, and theoretical framework including feminist, ecological, and criminological perspectives; the analysis has elucidated the ways in which femicide is influenced by the interplay of economic, socio-cultural, and institutional factors. The chapter highlights the structural nature of femicide by analyzing global and regional patterns, identifying multi-level risk factors, and delineating the profound consequences for individuals, families, and societies. It emphasizes the pressing necessity for cohesive legal, institutional, and societal responses. The establishes a foundation for more nuanced, contextually relevant analysis in the following chapters and underscores the significance of both scholarly investigation and policy action in tackling the gendered crime.

## **Chapter II: Discourse, Gender, and the Media: Exploring the Language of Crime and Power**

### **Introduction**

The media serves as a pivotal institution within modern society, influencing collective perceptions of social issues, facilitating the dynamics of power relations, and a formidable ideological instrument that shapes and sustains narratives surrounding crime, power dynamics, and gender disparities. Media is not regarded merely as a neutral conduit for information; instead, it operates as a domain in which meanings are generated, debated, and validated. In the context of crime and violence, particularly concerning GBV and femicide, the discourse presented by the media is crucial in shaping the narrative of events, assigning accountability, and obscuring underlying structural causes. This chapter examines the intricate relationships among discourse, gender, and media in shaping narratives surrounding crime. It unfolds in three distinct sections. The first positions media within the framework of a social institution and an ideological influence. The second explores the concept of discourse and its theoretical ramifications for the analysis of media from a critical perspective. The last examines the gendered representations within media narratives surrounding crime reporting, specifically concentrating on the phenomenon of femicide. Furthermore, the third section examines feminist critiques and digital counter-discourses that challenge prevailing patriarchal narratives.

### **2.1. Media as a Social Institution and Ideological Force**

#### **2.1.1. Media: Concepts, Forms, and Functions**

The term media is derived from the Latin neuter plural medium that encompasses two interrelated concepts historically denoting the means of communication that facilitate connections among individuals (McQuail, 2010). The term, in its expansive definition, includes both the technologies that enable communication, including the printing press,

telephone, radio, television, and computer along with the industries responsible for the distribution of information and entertainment via these technologies. Moreover, it pertains to the enterprises and sectors that distribute information and entertainment through these technologies (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 2014).

"The media" or "mass media" generally refers to the commercial communication sectors and their personnel (e.g., journalists, talk-show hosts, advertisers, filmmakers) responsible for generating the majority of content intended for public consumption (McQuail, 2010). Mass media possess the capacity to engage extensive audiences; however, it often constrains access for contributors and allows only a restricted scope of feedback from consumers, thereby perpetuating a predominantly unidirectional dissemination of information (McQuail, 2010). Public apprehension regarding "the media" frequently focuses on the political, moral, and cultural impact exerted by prevailing mass media institutions, rather than on the communication technologies in isolation.

The evolution of media is characterised by technological advancements that have fundamentally challenged existing social, cultural, and political frameworks, while simultaneously preserving earlier modalities (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 2014). The advent of movable type printing in the fifteenth century marked a transformative moment in the distribution of information. The disruptions elicited authoritarian reactions, encompassing measures such as censorship and licensing legislation, for instance the Edict of Worms (1521) in Germany and the regulations imposed by the Stationers' Company in Tudor England. The invention of the steam-driven rotary press in the nineteenth century significantly altered the landscape of media economics and accessibility. The advent of "Penny Papers" in the United States, initiated by Benjamin Day's New York Sun in 1833, transformed the newspaper industry from a model reliant on subscription-based elitism to one characterised by advertising-supported mass circulation (Schudson, 2001). The democratisation of access,

however, also facilitated the emergence of sensationalism, culminating in the era of "Yellow Journalism," during which competitive publishers such as William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer prioritised dramatic storytelling that occasionally was at the expense of accuracy in their efforts to attract readership. In contrast, the muckrakers of the early twentieth century exemplified what Schudson (2001) refers to as the "Information Ideal," engaging in investigative exposés that revealed corruption and social injustice.

The digital revolution has fundamentally altered the processes by which information is generated, distributed, and engaged with. Traditional media, including print, radio, and television, are historically defined by a unidirectional mode of communication and the presence of gatekeeping, in which editors and journalists select and organise content for broad audiences (McQuail, 2010). The outlets are essential in situations that necessitate verified information, including elections and crises.

Conversely, digital media, especially social media platforms, function within a bidirectional, participatory communication, empowering users to generate, disseminate, and critique content. The interactivity of social media has facilitated a democratisation of information production, thereby amplifying a multitude of voices and perspectives. However, the development has concurrently engendered challenges, including the proliferation of misinformation, increased polarisation, and the emergence of echo chambers (Tsfati & Cohen, 2020). Although conventional media continue to play an essential role in disseminating reliable information mainly during times of crisis, the emergence of social media has led to a fragmentation of the information landscape, prompting critical enquiries into issues of trust, credibility, and the shaping of public opinion (Tsfati & Cohen, 2020). Bennett and Segerberg, (2013) highlight the pressing necessity to examine the interplay between traditional and digital platforms in influencing public discourse. While conventional media are frequently regarded as reliable sources due to their gatekeeping functions, digital media demonstrate

superiority in terms of speed, diversity, and interactivity. However, the advantage is accompanied by heightened risks of misinformation and algorithmic bias (Tsfati & Cohen, 2020).

Communication serves as a fundamental pillar in the establishment and sustenance of families, communities, societies, and cultures, employing language, symbols, rituals, and imagery throughout history. The media furnish both the technological framework and the contextual backdrop for this form of communication. Throughout history, advancements in media have typically served to disrupt existing forms rather than completely replace them, thereby transforming social, political, and cultural contexts (Briggs & Burke, 2010). The advent of movable type in the 15th century serves as a prime illustration of the transformative influence of media. The advent of printing allowed authors to disseminate their ideas to vast audiences without the necessity of official endorsement thereby playing a pivotal role in the reformation by propagating the works of Martin Luther and challenging the authority of the Catholic Church. Such technological transition incited efforts at regulation, including censorship and licensing by authorities in Spain, Germany, France, and England, thereby illustrating the perceived challenge posed by new media to established power structures (Briggs & Burke, 2010).

Media productions serve as the primary conduit through which individuals obtain information regarding societal matters, thereby influencing public opinion through the selection and framing of pertinent issues. The media functions as an agenda-setter and opinion-shaper, serving as a crucial intermediary between the public and the political system, thereby influencing civic engagement and policy-making (Tsfati & Cohen, 2020). The notion of public opinion is inherently a subject of debate and is shaped by various constructs. Historically, polling has served as the primary method for capturing public sentiment, providing a measurable, albeit selective, depiction of the "average" individual (Igo, 2007).

Nonetheless, detractors have consistently contended that polling diminishes public opinion to mere individualistic, private sentiments and neglects its broader social and deliberative aspects. Polls, although sanctioned by journalistic conventions, are influenced by their methodological frameworks and the interpretative efforts of the media (Igo, 2007).

The emergence of social media has engendered novel methodologies for quantifying and articulating public sentiment. In contrast to traditional surveys, social media analytics effectively document public, relational, and temporally sensitive expressions of opinion, as users engage, comment, and respond in real time. The aforementioned metrics provide journalists and political actors with prompt insights into public sentiment; however, they do not possess the statistical representativeness characteristic of surveys and are vulnerable to manipulation and bias (Chadwick, 2013). Journalists employ polling data alongside social media metrics to formulate and disseminate insights regarding public opinion, thereby influencing narratives surrounding political contests, public debates, and social issues. Although social media facilitates broader participation and expression, they simultaneously complicate the concepts of representativeness and may exacerbate the prominence of the most vocal or extreme perspectives.

In modern hybrid media systems, the distinctions between traditional and digital media become increasingly indistinct, with public opinion shaped by a multi-faceted interaction of journalistic curation, algorithmic recommendation, and participatory engagement (Chadwick, 2013). The ramifications for democratic processes are significant: although media diversity and interactive platforms can foster civic participation and thoughtful discussion, issues such as fragmentation, misinformation, and polarisation pose serious risks to informed public dialogue and collaborative decision-making (Tsfati & Cohen, 2020). Comprehending the changing functions of media in influencing public opinion and democratic processes necessitates a comprehensive, comparative methodology that evaluates the advantages and

disadvantages of both conventional and digital platforms, the intricacies of agenda-setting and framing, as well as the broader societal ramifications of media consumption.

### **2.1.2. The Role of Media in Contemporary Society**

Mass media have historically been the subject of extensive examination and acknowledged not only as a channel for disseminating information but also as a formidable force of social influence that can mould attitudes, behaviours, and institutional results. Academics and commentators over the past several decades have established apprehensions regarding its function in sustaining detrimental ideologies and actions, especially those related to violence, sexual permissiveness, and gender discrimination.

The aforementioned concerns are not solely anecdotal; significant academic research indicates that the media possesses the capacity to influence attitudes, behaviours, and societal outcomes through both direct and indirect mechanisms and exposure. Anderson and Bushman (2002) have consistently underscored the potential consequences of engaging with violent media content, highlighting that such exposure may lead to a desensitisation of individuals towards real-world violence and aggression. They could consequently encourage imitative behaviours, particularly among vulnerable demographics. Gerbner and Gross in 1976 introduced the cultivation theory that discusses the phenomenon of the "mean world syndrome," whereby prolonged exposure to media violence may engender the belief that the world is more extreme than it truly is. Moreover, Anderson et al. (2010) have revealed that exposure to violent media, including television, video games, and film significantly correlates with the manifestation of violent and aggressive behaviors particularly in children and adolescents and the sexual content in media correlates with an earlier onset of sexual activity, heightened permissiveness, and the normalisation of behaviors associated with sexual risk-taking.

Furthermore, mass media influences the cultural norms and individual psychology, and it also exerts a considerable influence on political and economic dynamics. Media advertising plays an essential role in influencing consumer preferences and stimulating demand for various services and goods. The strategies employed in advertising leverage psychological theories about attention, persuasion, and social influence, thereby establishing media as a pivotal force in driving consumption within contemporary economies. For instance, media coverage has been associated with fluctuations in stock prices, harm to corporate reputations, and, in some cases, the demise of prominent public figures. A significant illustration is the function of investigative journalism and televised debates in catalysing political resignations or the downfall of presidents, underscoring the media's position as a watchdog within democratic frameworks (McQuail, 2010).

The examination of the media's impact from a sociological perspective can be traced to the early 20th century, when sociologists engaged with the content and implications of mass media. Max Weber, an early seminal figure in the development of modern sociology, conceptualised media content as a measure of the "cultural temperature" prevalent within a particular society. Media artefacts, including news coverage, entertainment, and advertisements, function as diagnostic instruments for comprehending dominant ideologies, societal tensions, and collective anxieties. The sociological tradition has persistently developed, integrating critical and cultural theories that perceive media as a site of contention where hegemonic ideologies are simultaneously upheld and challenged. In contemporary society, the influence of media in shaping public awareness on issues like gender, crime, and violence has reached unprecedented levels, particularly given the pervasive nature of digital platforms and the emergence of algorithmically curated content. Consequently, comprehending the influence of media requires an analysis not only of its conveyed messages but also of the underlying systems of production, circulation, and reception that uphold its

existence.

Media represents a complex domain of investigation that elucidates the processes through which power, knowledge, and cultural values are formed, negotiated, and challenged rather than solely as a conduit for message transmission. The examination of media content, commonly referred to as content analysis, has emerged as a fundamental aspect of media sociology. The methodological approach allows researchers to rigorously investigate how ideas, stereotypes, and ideologies are formulated and propagated across various media platforms (Krippendorff, 2018). Current investigations persist in examining how media content mirrors and influences cultural and social realities, focusing specifically on matters of power, representation, and inequality. The aggregate results from numerous decades of research, as examined by Macnamara (2003), highlight that mass media function not merely as impartial transmitters of information but as influential participants in shaping social dynamics, economic developments, and political outcomes.

### **2.1.3. Media and the Construction of Ideology**

The concept of ideology is rooted in the philosophical discourse of eighteenth-century France; ideology continues to be one of the most debated and intricate terms within the realms of the humanities and social sciences. In 1795, Destutt de Tracy originally introduced the concept to signify a "science of ideas" intended to systematise public discourse and cognition. Ever since, ideology has been enveloped in definitional uncertainties and debate, primarily attributable to its intricate, multifarious characteristics, and value-infused, serving both as a cognitive framework and as an instrument for social organisation and the exertion of power.

In academic discourse, ideology was widely recognised for not having a universally accepted definition; rather, its interpretation is influenced by the epistemological and methodological inclinations of various disciplines, as well as the particular context in which it is applied. As a result, novel methodologies concerning ideology often produce discipline-

specific interpretations that illuminate various facets of the concept. Researchers frequently emphasise the complexity and contentious historical context of the term. In social and political contexts, any attempt to define is faced with a persistently sensitive critique for its very inherent nature. It arises from the challenge of analysing values and beliefs that possess considerable moral significance with absolute impartiality. Historically, the term ideology has garnered negative implications, frequently linked to political doctrines or belief systems considered ethically problematic, including fascism, communism, or apartheid (Decker, 2004). In prevailing narratives, ideology is often depicted as a collection of inflexible, illogical convictions that contradict rational thought and an "unthinking other" that caters to the interests of authority or subjugation (Decker, 2004). Contemporary research advocates for a more neutral and analytical application of the term, perceiving ideology as a complex construct that elucidates collective and symbolic human experiences.

Academic discussions provide a diverse array of definitions and principal themes concerning the concept of ideology. In everyday discourse, ideology is frequently perceived as a systematic collection of convictions regarding society that supports political endeavours and is grounded in a conceptualisation of human nature, often necessitating prolonged social conflict for realisation (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1995). The widely accepted interpretation frequently possesses unfavourable connotations, suggesting a degree of militancy or extremism, and frames ideology as inherently antagonistic to truth.

In a more pragmatic and functional perspective, McLean (1996) enunciates ideology as an internally coherent and comprehensive framework of ideas through which a social group interprets the world. The frameworks serve to elucidate social phenomena while simultaneously directing action and establishing criteria for differentiating between truth and falsehood. Nonetheless, the assertion that ideologies maintain internal consistency is subject to scrutiny, given that actual belief systems frequently exhibit contradictions.

Within this intellectual tradition, sociological examinations of ideology often commence by acknowledging the multiplicity of its applications and interpretations. Marx and Engels initially employed the term to characterise abstract, illusory concepts that are detached from material reality. Subsequently, later Marxist theorists characterised ideology as a manifestation of "false consciousness," a set of beliefs instilled by dominant elites to justify the prevailing order and obscure existing disparities (McLean, 1996). Such perspective on ideology, nonetheless, has experienced considerable refinement in subsequent sociological and cultural theories. A common understanding within sociology has been to embrace a nominalist sense, regarding ideology as a conceptual instrument whose definition is established by the analyst and influenced by the context in which it is employed. Nevertheless, Martin (2014) followed a quasi-realist perspective, contending that the generalisations we engage with are not simply analytic tools but rather represent categories and definitions that are either pre-existing or externally constructed, especially in domains such as politics.

### **2.1.3.1. The Concept of Ideology in Media Studies**

Within the realm of media studies, the notion of ideology has undergone significant transformation in tandem with major paradigm shifts in both theoretical frameworks and societal contexts, through which researchers investigate the media's influence on the formation of social awareness, the creation of meaning, and the preservation of power dynamics. Initial investigations in media studies were significantly shaped by Marxist viewpoints that highlighted the media's function in perpetuating class domination and hegemony (Hall, 1982; Gramsci, 2000). Historically, the interpretation of ideology within media studies has undergone significant evolution in tandem with paradigm shifts, including pluralism, critical theory, neo-Marxism, and post-structuralism, each influenced by the socio-political and technological changes of its distinct political and historical contexts.

Stuart Hall (1982) underscores that the paramount function of the media lies in its ideological role and capacity, its ability to construct and disseminate prevailing meanings, values, and beliefs within the creation and dissemination of meaning throughout society. The viewpoint is grounded in Antonio Gramsci's (2000) theory of hegemony, which posits that media institutions enable the voluntary acquiescence of subordinate groups to their subjugation through the production and normalisation of a coherent ideological framework. Media function as a playground in which dominant values are normalised, frequently portrayed as "common sense" and embraced without the need for coercion. Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue that the media ideology functions through the integration of ideological messages within their content, thereby influencing public consciousness in ways that correspond with the interests of economic and political elites. A top-down approach does not merely characterise the aforementioned processes; instead, audiences may inadvertently embrace prevailing ideologies, thereby reinforcing social structures and legitimising established power relations.

Recent academic inquiry has broadened the examination of ideology within media to include the concept of "media ideologies," which refers to the beliefs and assumptions individuals possess regarding the communicative potentials and constraints of various media channels (Gershon, 2010). The ideologies surrounding media play a significant role in shaping how individuals interpret, interact with, and ascribe meaning to various media technologies and their content (Gershon, 2010). The methodology is informed by the extensive tradition of semiotic ideologies, which focus on the material aspects of communicative technologies and their influence on social interaction, authorship, and public discourse (Kroskrity, 2000). Furthermore, media ideologies converge with discourse ideologies, prompting inquiries into how convictions regarding language and media collaboratively shape understandings of self, interaction, and societal dynamics. Both

phenomena are characterised by multiplicity, context dependence, and contestation, illustrating the strategic and political applications of communicative resources (Kroskrity, 2000). Philips (1998) highlights the process of institutionalising ideologies that illustrate how specific beliefs regarding media or language become ingrained within social frameworks, ultimately favouring certain groups at the expense of others. Consequently, ideology transcends mere individual or collective belief, as it is profoundly intertwined with dynamics of power and differentiation.

Furthermore, the material composition of media has progressed from print to broadcast to digital platforms. In contrast, researchers have broadened their examination to encompass media ideologies, which refer to the convictions individuals maintain regarding various media forms and their communicative potential. The ideologies in question significantly influence how audiences interpret content, comprehend authorship, and interact with technologies. The intersection of media ideologies and language ideologies manifests in intricate manners, elucidating how communicative practices are influenced by both material and semiotic systems.

### **2.1.3.2. Theoretical Foundations of Media and Ideology**

In contemporary society, the media occupy a pivotal role that serves not merely as a conduit for disseminating information but also to influence the ideological structures that inform individuals' perceptions of the world. Instead of serving solely as neutral and impartial transmitters of information, media institutions are intricately woven into the fabric of power structures and play a crucial role in the formation and perpetuation of prevailing ideologies. Ozdoyran (2020) pointed to an existing reciprocal relationship between media and ideology; dominant ideological frameworks influence the output of media, while concurrently, they function to reinforce and normalise these ideologies within the societal context.

Moreover, Stuart Hall (1982) introduced the theory of encoding and decoding, which posits that media texts and messages contain meanings that reflect dominant values. Audiences, consequently, engage with these messages through the lens of their sociocultural contexts, yet invariably within the confines delineated by prevailing ideologies. In a comparable context, Althusser's (1971) theory of Ideological State Apparatuses identifies the media as essential instruments through which individuals are acculturated and interpellated into dominant social norms and power dynamics. From a political economy perspective, Herman and Chomsky (1988) elucidate how structural forces and corporate ownership and the imperative to attract advertisers significantly shape media content, frequently aligning it with the interests of political and economic elites. Parallely, Fairclough (1995) emphasises the significant role of language and discourse in media texts in the nuanced formation of social realities. Collectively, these theoretical frameworks offer an analytical lens for comprehending the media's role, not simply as a mirror of reality, but as a significant ideological entity that influences consciousness, legitimises authority, and perpetuates prevailing social structures. The theoretical frameworks collectively provide a crucial basis for comprehending the media's role as active participants in the formation of public consciousness, the legitimisation of authority, and the preservation of prevailing social structures. Media, consequently, should not be regarded simply as reflections of reality; instead, they function as dynamic entities that influence beliefs, values, and the allocation of power within the societal framework.

#### **2.1.3.2.1. Althusser's Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA)**

The theory of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) proposed by Louis Althusser represents a significant advancement in Marxist and critical theory, providing a nuanced analysis of the mechanisms through which the ideological dimension operates within both the state and society to perpetuate prevailing relations of production and social order (Althusser,

1971/2014). In his work, he expands upon the traditional Marxist dichotomy of the economic "base" and the legal-political "superstructure" by detailing the processes through which the relations of production are sustained, primarily through the influence of ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. The instruments serve to replicate the prevailing ideology, thereby facilitating the perpetuation of the hegemony of the ruling class.

Althusser posits that the reproduction of labour power encompasses not only material compensation, such as machinery, infrastructure, and raw materials, but also the regeneration of labour capacity and the socialisation of individuals into the ideological frameworks that normalise, render natural, and render unquestioned the relations inherent in capitalism. The process predominantly transpires within various institutions, including educational establishments, religious organisations, media outlets, familial structures, and other cultural entities. While these institutions may seem independent or private, they ultimately function to advance the interests of the prevailing class (Althusser, 2014). In addition to financial compensation and material sustenance, the process of reproduction necessitates the assimilation of societal norms, values, and behavioural regulations, elements that cannot be solely attributed to economic exchanges but are acquired through socialisation within institutions such as the family, media, and educational systems.

Althusser delineates the mechanisms of state control into two primary apparatuses: the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) and the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs). The RSA, which encompasses governmental entities such as the police, judiciary, military, and correctional facilities, operates primarily through mechanisms of repression and coercion, utilising force or the implicit threat thereof to uphold societal order. Nevertheless, the majority of individuals adhere to social norms not due to ongoing repression, but rather as a result of having internalised the prevailing ideology. Conversely, ISAs primarily function massively and predominantly by ideology, thereby securing subordination through cultural

and symbolic mechanisms through school discipline and censorship (Althusser, 2014). RSAs are entirely situated within the public domain.

In contrast, ISAs occupy a space that intersects both public and private spheres, illustrating the ambiguous distinctions between civil society, political entities, labour unions, media outlets, and cultural organisations and state governance. The commonality among these varied ISAs' religious, educational, political, cultural, legal, and familial institutions lies not in their structure or purpose, but rather in their adherence to the prevailing ideology, which reflects the interests of the dominant class (Althusser, 2014). Nonetheless, with their inherent autonomy and internal contradictions, these institutions function in a coordinated fashion to cultivate individuals who acknowledge and embrace their position within the social hierarchy.

A fundamental aspect of Althusser's theory is the notion that ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence (Althusser, 2014). Ideology transcends the notion of merely being a misguided collection of beliefs regarding reality; it constitutes a framework of significance that influences individuals' comprehension and engagement with their environment. Individuals are transformed into "subjects" via a mechanism identified by Althusser as "interpellation." They are "hailed" by ideology, come to recognise themselves in its summons, and consequently assume social positions as subjects within the prevailing order (Althusser, 2014; Butler, 1995). The process encompasses both material and symbolic dimensions. Ideology manifests materially through the practices and rituals inherent in various institutions; for instance, the routine attendance at educational establishments, participation in electoral processes, acts of reverence within religious settings, or the engagement with media content. Through these practices, individuals perform and assimilate the prevailing ideology, frequently perceiving themselves as autonomously selecting their roles, while in reality their subjectivity is influenced by overarching social dynamics.

Judith Butler (1995) observed that the process of interpellation is not solely a passive phenomenon. Individuals are drawn to the allure of ideology not solely due to fear or coercion, but also as a manifestation of their intrinsic desire for identity and belonging. The individual perceives ideology as a framework that imparts significance, coherence, and a semblance of agency, albeit within the limitations imposed by prevailing power dynamics. The potency of ideology resides in its inherently contradictory essence: it engenders subjects who perceive themselves as free, even as they remain subjugated.

Althusser recognises that ISA is not a uniform entity; rather, it serves as an arena of contradiction and conflict that embodies the persistent contestation between dominant and subordinate classes (Therborn, 1980). The coherence of Ideological State Apparatuses is maintained through the prevailing ideology; however, the coherence is frequently characterised by inherent contradictions. Consequently, ISAs may serve as arenas for resistance and the articulation of alternative or counter-ideologies.

Göran Therborn (1980) pointed out that the intrinsic contradictions present in the processes of subjection (the act of being subjected to authority) and qualification (the process of being trained and prepared for social roles) align with Althusser's framework. When these processes diverge, they may yield resistance, insurrection, or the emergence of novel forms of subjectivity. Consequently, although ideology functions to perpetuate the existing order, it simultaneously creates avenues for challenge and transformation (Therborn, 1980). The media, functioning as a pivotal ideological state apparatus, occupies a fundamental position in the process by generating and disseminating meanings that serve to normalise the prevailing social order, thereby rendering it a matter of "common sense" (Chomsky & Herman, 1988). Media content emerges as an essential arena for the reproduction, and at times the contestation, of ideology, influencing not only personal beliefs but also collective understandings and social practices.

The duality inherent in the concept of the subject as both an agent and an object is intricately woven into the semantics of the term "subject," which implies a tension between autonomy and subjection. The efficacy of ideology is rooted in the belief of individuals that they have voluntarily acquiesced to their subjugation (Resch, 1992). The duality inherent phenomenon is not merely a coincidental aspect of ideology; rather, it constitutes the fundamental mechanism through which it operates. Althusser's ISA theory has faced scrutiny for proposing a closed and excessively deterministic framework wherein the dominant ideology consistently triumphs. Nevertheless, he acknowledges the presence of contradictions both within and among Ideological State Apparatuses, proposing that these entities are not uniform but instead serve as arenas for class conflict (Althusser, 2014). Moreover, Göran Therborn (1980) advances the critique by highlighting that ideology invariably encompasses relations of qualification and subjugation, which may come into conflict. When an individual possesses the requisite ideological qualifications for a particular role yet finds themselves constrained by the expectations associated with a different one, the dissonance may result in resistance, suboptimal performance, or even insurrection.

The contradictions present opportunities for transformation, particularly when dominant ideologies do not completely interpellate individuals or when subordinate ideologies begin to gain influence within ISA. In his later writings, Althusser shifts towards a more contingent and aleatory form of materialism, emphasising the significance of historical conjunctures and political struggle in contrast to structural determinism (Althusser, 2014). The significance of discourse in this process is paramount. Ideology transcends a mere collection of ideas; it is intricately woven into the fabric of language, symbols, and practices. Discourse serves as a medium through which individuals comprehend their connection to material conditions. According to Althusser, ideology transcends the notion of mere "false consciousness" that embodies a lived relationship and experience that we feel, enact, and internalise (Althusser,

2014). Literature, for instance, possesses the capacity to both uphold and contest prevailing ideologies by exposing their inherent contradictions (Resch, 1992).

#### **2.1.3.2.2. Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) represents a significant theoretical, qualitative, and interdisciplinary methodological framework aimed at revealing the mechanisms through which language and discourse function to construct, sustain, and perpetuate power dynamics and ideological constructs within societal contexts. Articulated initially in Marxist theory and shaped by Foucault's concepts of discourse and power, Fairclough perceives discourse not simply as a reflection of social practices but as a distinct form of social practice, one that has the potential to shape, reproduce, and challenge prevailing ideological frameworks (Fairclough, 1995). The CDA theory places particular focus on how linguistic and semiotic selections not only mirror but also construct the sociopolitical landscape (van Dijk, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

At the core of Fairclough's framework regarding ideology is the notion that prevailing discourses serve to normalise particular perspectives and power dynamics, rendering them seemingly self-evident or impartial (Fairclough, 2020). In such context, ideology is intricately woven into the fabric of language use and disseminates through discursive practices within various institutions, including media, education, and government. The discourses in question do not function independently; instead, they are situated within what Fairclough refers to as the "order of discourse". Moreover, CDA is inherently liberatory; it seeks to unveil injustice, discrimination, and oppression, intending to foster social transformation. The CDA concept encompasses the organised frameworks of discursive practices that contribute to the perpetuation of hegemony (Fairclough, 2020).

The methodology goes beyond interdisciplinary, integrating insights from linguistics, sociology, political science, and cultural studies. Van Dijk's (2001) socio-cognitive approach,

for instance, emphasises the interplay between discourse structures and social cognition, encompassing knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs. In contrast, Wodak's discourse-historical approach highlights the significance of historical and sociopolitical contexts in elucidating how power relations are both enacted and contested through discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2009)

CDA highlights the belief that language is inherently laden with ideological implications. Discourse, whether written, spoken, or visual, is systematically organised to fulfil specific interests, frequently favouring dominant groups while sidelining others. By employing a systematic linguistic analysis that scrutinises vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and textual structure, CDA asserts a reciprocal relationship between language or discourse and broader social structures (Fairclough, 2020), particularly concerning gender, race, class, and power dynamics. Fairclough defines discourse as a form of social practice that simultaneously influences and is influenced by the fabric of social reality.

The concept of ideology within CDA is inherently both relational and material, and perpetuated through linguistic exchanges in daily interactions and institutional narratives, while simultaneously being assimilated by individuals via processes of socialisation and interpellation (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Fairclough's three-dimensional model, which includes text analysis, discursive practice, and social practice, provides a thorough framework for revealing the dialectical relationship between language and ideology.

- Text (Description): This level emphasises the linguistic characteristics inherent in the text, encompassing aspects such as vocabulary, grammar, syntax, modality, and stylistic elements. Textual analysis aims to discern the mechanisms through which language functions to depict social actors, events,

and relationships, as well as how these depictions may encapsulate ideologies or power dynamics.

- **Discourse Practice (Interpretation):** This dimension explores the intricate processes involved in the production, distribution, and consumption of texts. This analysis examines how texts are influenced by the established conventions and practices of particular institutions, such as newsrooms and film studios, in addition to the backgrounds and socialisation of both text producers and consumers. This phase examines how discourses are understood by audiences and their intertextual connections to other texts.
- **Social Practice (Elucidation):** The emphasis is placed on the expansive sociocultural and political milieu within which discursive events transpire. This phase aims to elucidate how discourse practices are interwoven with, mirror, and may serve to alter social structures, power dynamics, and ideologies.

The model enables analysts to transition from micro-level textual features to macro-level social processes, systematically connecting language to enquiries regarding power and ideology.

The critical examination of media discourse has constituted a fundamental focus within Critical Discourse Analysis since its establishment. Media discourse frequently presents itself as objective, yet it subtly perpetuates neoliberal, patriarchal, or nationalist ideologies (van Dijk, 2001). CDA elucidates the ideological function through a detailed examination of how media texts delineate issues, shape social actors, and utilise specific narratives that correspond with established institutional power structures. Fairclough's methodology empowers researchers to interrogate the presumption that language merely mirrors reality, highlighting that language plays a crucial role in shaping and legitimising interpretations of reality that are consistent with prevailing ideologies (Huckin et al., 2012). Current research in CDA on media

scrutinises not only the content but also the production processes, institutional influences, and intertextual relationships that shape the construction of news and various media texts. Critical discourse analysis has been used to examine significant issues including war, terrorism, racism, sexism, and globalisation, demonstrating how media discourse can either normalise or contest dominant ideologies (van Dijk, 2001).

Consequently, Fairclough's CDA offers valuable insights into the mechanisms by which ideologies are ingrained within discourse and how discourse itself serves as a battleground for ideological contention. The viewpoint is particularly pertinent when examining institutional and media discourses, wherein the pretence of neutrality or objectivity often obscures power imbalances and dominant interests.

#### **2.1.3.2.3. Stuart Hall's "Policing the Crisis" and Moral Panics**

Within the realms of cultural studies, media theory, and critical criminology, Stuart Hall (1932–2014) is recognised as a critical figure, as his contributions significantly transformed the conceptual frameworks surrounding crime, race, and ideology in late 20th-century Britain and beyond (Hall et al., 2013; Jefferson, 2021). Among his most significant contributions, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* emerges as a critical manuscript that integrates Gramscian, Marxist, and cultural studies frameworks to analyse the role of crime as an ideological tool during a time of considerable social and political upheaval.

*Policing the Crisis* (PTC) begins by focusing on a specific event called mugging in 1970s in Britain. However, it swiftly expands its analysis to explore and consider the intricate connections between such event and the wider social structure (Hall et al., 2013). The methodology employed by Hall and his collaborators is known as conjunctural analysis, which examines the convergence of various social, economic, political, and ideological contradictions within a particular historical context (Jefferson, 2021). Rather than applying an existing theory to real-world events, the approach allows researchers to engage in a dynamic

and multi-faceted inquiry, transitioning from specific events to larger social phenomena. The method remains sensitive to the complexities, uncertainties, and contradictions present in society (Grossberg, 2019). Developing Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony, Hall et al. (2013) assert that times of crisis, especially when the prevailing order fails to maintain consent, necessitate the formulation of a new ideological common sense. During the 1970s in Britain, it signified a transition in which the state and media adopted increasingly coercive and authoritarian methods, positioning race and crime at the core of a newly established order (Gramsci, 2000; Hall, 1980). The Black mugger emerged as a principal emblem of societal disarray, thereby enabling the ascendance of authoritarian populism and the law-and-order state (Hall, 1980).

A significant contribution of PTC lies in its examination of moral panic. Hall et al. (2013) demonstrate that the British anxiety surrounding mugging was not merely a response to a genuine increase in criminal activity, but rather a crisis constructed by societal perceptions, which was disproportionate to the empirical data and evidence available. The concept of mugging, although relatively novel in the British lexicon, has been adopted from American discourse and subsequently integrated into the British framework by law enforcement, judicial systems, and notably, the media (Grossberg, 2019). The process has resulted in the racialisation of the perception of crime and the emergence of folk devils, specifically, young Black men who were held accountable for underlying societal anxieties associated with economic decline, post-imperial malaise, and evolving social norms (Cohen, 2002).

The concept of moral panic was initially articulated within the sociological framework by Cohen (2002), while British theorists, including Hall and his collaborators, underscored how the panic functions as an ideological instrument in the context of capitalist social control. The moral panic process, as illustrated in PTC, serves as a pertinent example of how the

courts, media, and police functioned not merely as passive responders but as proactive participants in shaping public understanding of crime and how crime transforms into a symbolic landscape reflecting wider economic and political uncertainties (Hall et al., 2013).

An essential thesis within PTC is the representation of the media as an ISA, referencing Althusser's theoretical framework (1971/2014). The media operate as secondary definers, interpreting and enhancing criminal definitions established by primary definers such as law enforcement, institutional authorities and judicial systems. In this process, it established the parameters of common sense, integrating institutional narratives and perceptions of crime, race, and social order within the public sphere (Hall et al., 2013). Although the media exhibits a degree of independence in its presentation and distribution of news, it remains fundamentally subordinate to prevailing power structures, thereby perpetuating dominant ideologies and rendering them seemingly natural and unavoidable (Hall et al., 2013; van Dijk, 2021). The examination of the social production of news (Hall et al., 2013) emphasises how editorial choices, professional practices, and interactions with sources, including law enforcement and judicial entities, collaboratively shape public understanding and reinforce ideological frameworks. The perceived autonomy of the media is, therefore, predominantly a façade; it operates as a mechanism of ideological regulation.

The PTC methodology utilises a comprehensive multi-tiered analytical framework that starts with the micro-level, which focuses on specific events and their immediate contexts, to the meso-level that is characterised by a systematic analysis of news, public opinion, and ideology and ultimately to the macro-level, which examines the social formation in its entirety. Such ascending order facilitates a comprehensive synthesis in which the empirical particular remains intact, consistently contextualised within wider social, political, and economic crises (Grossberg, 2019). The PTC methodology transitions from empirical specificity to expansive theoretical generalisation, all the while maintaining the integrity of

each distinct phase.

PTC's analysis of the interplay of the function of race in the process of re-establishing ideological consensus stands as a significant contribution, elucidating how these elements became pivotal in the reformation of British national identity amidst a crisis of authority. Black communities, especially the youth, are portrayed as menaces to societal stability and serve as an ideological "solution" to more profound economic and political contradictions (Danewid, 2021). Hall and associates elucidate how racism functions as a mechanism that both materially and ideologically perpetuates Black labour in subordinate labour force in marginal roles, distinctly segmented from, while simultaneously the white working class, and consistently designated as other (Hall et al., 2013). The process is not solely top-down structure; it encompasses a wider social complicity through elite discourse, media amplification, and the reproduction of societal anxieties and public anxieties, consequently leading to the emergence of the radicalised "folk devil".

Through PTC, Hall anticipated the emergence of Thatcherism and the principles of neoliberal governance, elucidating the mechanisms by which consent for increasingly secured and coercive state structures is cultivated, emphasising the role of appeals via appeals to law-and-order, patriotism, familial values, and individualism, with punitive enforcement serving as a fundamental component (Hall, 2013). The resolution of the crisis of authority was achieved through the formulation of a novel ideological framework that legitimised the escalation of policing measures, the imposition of more severe penalties, and the restriction of civil liberties. The concept of race played a pivotal role in facilitating the ideological transformation, as the presence of Black individuals and other minorities was strategically employed to garner widespread backing for the exceptional state (Grossberg, 2019).

PTC has garnered extensive seminal work and adaptation across various academic disciplines, including criminology, media studies, sociology, and migration studies,

particularly noted for its examination of moral panic and the formation of ideological states (Danewid, 2021). The examination of the social construction of crime, the influence of moral panic, and the ideological role of the media continues to be a fundamental aspect of scholarly discourse. Nonetheless, detractors have highlighted the methodological constraints, including the absence of direct audience research and a potential overemphasis on the media's subservience to elite interests, which may overshadow counter-hegemonic responses. Danewid (2021) raised enquiries regarding the extent to which the evidence substantiates the assertion that mugging was merely a contrived crisis, suggesting potential empirical foundations for the phenomenon. Nevertheless, the book's multi-dimensional, conjunctural methodology and its emphasis on contextualising crime within wider socio-political changes continue to exert significant influence.

#### **2.1.3.2.4. Feminist Media Theory and Representation**

The portrayal of women in modern media and news constitutes a multi-faceted and debated issue, mirroring extensive transformations within cultural, economic, and ideological frameworks. In the contemporary era, media representations play a crucial role in shaping perceptions of women and their societal roles, frequently alternating between progressive depictions and enduring stereotypes ranging from passive subjects to active agents, as objects of beauty, and at times, as empowered individuals. The representations in question are profoundly interconnected with capitalist imperatives, the sexualisation of culture, and the emergence of postfeminist movements, all of which significantly influence collective perceptions of femininity, agency, and empowerment. The phenomenon of visual commodification establishes restrictive criteria regarding body size, weight, and grooming practices, frequently pressuring women to engage in extreme dieting, rigorous exercise regimens, or cosmetic surgical procedures in order to conform to these media-sanctioned ideals (Lubina & Brkić-Klimpak, 2014).

Media, especially in its visual and print manifestations, serves a crucial function in shaping and distributing concepts of femininity. In capitalist economies, media industries derive financial gain from the dissemination of visual information that emphasises women's physical appearance. Advertisements, films, and fashion magazines often establish and influence prevailing standards of beauty, placing significant emphasis on body size, weight, and grooming, while simultaneously marginalising other facets of female identity (Lubina & Brkić-Klimpak, 2014). The unwavering emphasis on physical appearance may yield adverse psychological consequences, such as disordered eating patterns, compulsive exercise behaviours, and heightened prevalence of cosmetic surgical procedures, as women endeavour to conform to unrealistic standards (Lubina & Brkić-Klimpak, 2014). Beauty is frequently conceptualised as equivalent to femininity, thereby situating women as both objects of admiration and subjects of diminishment. Media portrayals frequently exalt women based on their physical appearance rather than their accomplishments, thereby reinforcing the idea that beauty serves as a The portrayal is especially pronounced in women's magazines, which have traditionally served as influential forces in the construction of gendered identities and the reinforcement of patriarchal norms (McRobbie, 2004).

Media content spanning various genres such as advertising, television, magazines, and social media perpetually monitors, evaluates, and commercialises women's bodies. The phenomenon of celebrity culture, especially, subjects the female physique to rigorous examination, where even the slightest imperfections or departures from established beauty standards become targets of public derision (McRobbie, 2004). Women's magazines play a pivotal role in the cultural construction and validation of femininity as they are intricately woven into the fabric of capitalist production and consumption, and operate in a dual capacity, catering to both female audiences and advertisers. Women's magazines' covers and content frequently showcase young, white, impeccably groomed women, promoting ideals of

beauty, youth, charm, and sexuality. The visual representations and headlines presented on magazine covers often elevate youth, whiteness, and sexual allure, disseminate ideologically charged representations of femininity, thereby normalising gender disparities through the naturalisation of constricted and distorted identities for women (Gough-Yates, 2003). The representations extend beyond mere aesthetic considerations; they embody ideological significance, serving to naturalise and sustain gender inequalities through the promotion of a limited and exclusionary conception of femininity. Notwithstanding sporadic contributions from readers or inspiring stories, magazines perpetuate societal expectations of women as wives, mothers, sexual objects, or as glamorous figures seeking male validation.

Initially, feminist analytical and critical research highlighted how magazines portray distorted and unrealistic representations of women, thus playing a crucial role in the social construction of gendered inferiority and subordination towards women specifically (Gough-Yates, 2003). Women are often represented in the roles of wives, mothers, homemakers, or sexual objects, positions that are intricately linked to their relationships with men and their capacity to adhere to the socially constructed beauty standards. Despite the evolution of women's magazines, the persistent focus on appearance, sexuality, and consumerism continues to dominate, frequently eclipsing discussions surrounding female agency, intellect, and diversity. The engagement of readers through correspondence and personal narratives has the potential to broaden the conceptual framework of femininity; however, these avenues are frequently constrained by editorial and commercial considerations (Tinkler, 2016). Magazines serve dual roles as commodities and mediums for advertising, influencing and disseminating shared meanings and identities.

The concept of femininity is progressively framed as a corporeal attribute, wherein physical allure and sexual charisma are regarded as the paramount foundations of identity, authority, and worth (Gill, 2008). The femininity discourse encompasses a multitude of

intersecting elements: the embodiment of femininity, the transition from objectification to self-subjectification, the continuous practice of self-surveillance and discipline signifying a shift from previous depictions that emphasised nurturing or maternal roles; in contemporary discourse, a "sexy body" is presented as the fundamental criterion for defining successful womanhood (Gill, 2008). Consequently, the psychological impact of these representations is extensively documented: exposure to idealised images can result in body dissatisfaction, depression, and anxiety among women and girls. Media discourses frequently portray body care and self-improvement as avenues for empowerment and enjoyment; yet, they concurrently perpetuate restrictive and exclusionary standards that are attainable by only a select few. Moreover, the sexualisation of media is consistently associated with increased body dissatisfaction, self-objectification, the endorsement of sexist beliefs, and a greater tolerance for sexual violence (Ward, 2016).

The construction of women's sexual subjectivity occurs through a series of contradictory frameworks. Historically, sexualisation has been linked to women as passive objects within the framework of the male gaze; however, modern media frequently portrays women as active, desiring subjects who opt to express their sexuality as a means of empowerment (Radner, 1999). Discourses surrounding media representations of sex and sexuality have expanded significantly across various formats, leading to what McNair (2002) describes as "striptease culture." The normalisation of eroticised representations of women and girls is becoming increasingly prevalent across various media platforms, including advertising, magazines, television, and even content aimed at children (Ward, 2016). Furthermore, the phenomenon of sexualising young girls via fashion, advertising, and popular culture has garnered extensive critique, being characterised as both exploitative and indicative of more pervasive gender inequalities (Roberti, 2022). Nonetheless, the "technology of sexiness" functions within a neoliberal paradigm that presents self-objectification as a matter of

individual choice and empowerment, all the while perpetuating patriarchal norms and marginalising women who do not conform to the restrictive ideals of youth, slimness, and beauty.

The emergence of social media has significantly nuanced the complexities surrounding gender representation. Social media platforms like Instagram and TikTok offer novel avenues for self-expression; however, they simultaneously exacerbate the pressures to adhere to idealised norms of beauty and success (Roberti, 2022). Influencers and celebrities meticulously construct representations of femininity that intertwine empowerment with commercial interests, thereby obscuring the distinctions between authenticity and performative expression. Although social media has the potential to provide platforms for alternative narratives and forms of resistance, it frequently perpetuates the same exclusionary norms and expectations that are prevalent in traditional media.

## **2.2. Media Discourse and the Construction of Crime**

### **2.2.1. The Social Construction of Crime**

The media occupies a crucial position in shaping the social interpretations and understanding of criminology. Building upon the seminal contributions of Berger and Luckmann (1966) in the field of sociology of knowledge, and consequently perceived reality, one can comprehend social reality as an inherently constructed context-specific and shaped through collective processes. Within this framework, the perceptions of what constitutes "reality" differ across various social contexts, the experiential reality of a criminal contrasts with that of a criminologist or a business professional as the media serves as a crucial entity in the formation and distribution of knowledge about crime, shaping both personal and societal perceptions of criminality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Furthermore, Adoni and Mane (1984) introduced the typology of objective (experienced) reality that is understood through direct experience, and symbolic social reality,

which is conveyed through media, art, or other symbolic systems. The concept differentiates between objective social reality and symbolic social reality. Objective reality encompasses direct, personal experiences, which Surette (2015) designates as "experienced reality." The constructs of knowledge and reality emerge as products of the specific contexts within which individuals are socialised and engage with one another, as a significant portion of the population depends predominantly on symbolic reality/knowledge conveyed through media as opposed to direct personal experience to develop their comprehension of social phenomena (Surette, 2015). Nevertheless, the majority of individuals possess restricted access to experiential reality and depend significantly on symbolic reality/knowledge derived from various sources, including media, art, and influential figures. The concept of symbolic reality, predominantly facilitated by media channels, significantly influences public perceptions regarding crime, frequently resulting in a representation of reality that may substantially deviate from empirical truths.

Media consequently serve as a pivotal mechanism in the formation of knowledge regarding crime, even about events that individuals have not directly observed. Berger and Luckmann (1966) contend that knowledge and reality should not be regarded as objective truths; instead, they are constructs shaped by social contexts. Their discourse highlights the relativity inherent in social knowledge: for instance, what is perceived as "real" by a Tibetan monk may not align with the understanding of an American businessman, and the insights held by a criminal diverge significantly from those of a criminologist. The context-dependent character of knowledge highlights the necessity of scrutinising all varieties of knowledge, including those facilitated by media (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Media representations play a crucial role in shaping the definitions of crime and the criteria for identifying individuals as criminals. The concepts of crime and criminality are inherently social constructs, shaped by historical and cultural contexts (Hayat, 2023). Crime

cannot be regarded as an objective or value-neutral category; rather, it is a construct of society, influenced by legal definitions, cultural significances, and dynamics of power (Hayat, 2023). Moreover, Baranauskas and Drakulich (2018) suggested that the exposure to local television and crime dramas plays a substantial role in shaping public perceptions regarding the prevalence of crime and the support for justice policies. The observed effects are notably pronounced among white viewers residing in proximity to substantial Black populations, indicating that the interpretive context is as significant as the media exposure itself. In the United States, the conceptualisation of crime has been disproportionately directed towards marginalised populations, especially individuals whose racial, gender, and sexual identities diverge from the norms associated with white male and heterosexual identities (Thompson, 2010). The media frequently reinforces these constructs, influencing public perceptions and perpetuating stereotypes that associate specific identities with criminality.

Comprehensive studies illustrate the influence of media in cultivating and perpetuating detrimental social perceptions of crime. Media representations disproportionately associate Black individuals, particularly men and boys, with criminality, despite comparable offence rates between Black and White populations (Thompson, 2010). Intersectionality, initially articulated by Crenshaw in 1991, offers a framework for comprehending how various marginalised identities, such as race and gender, interact to create compounded experiences of oppression. Media representations frequently neglect to encapsulate these intricacies, opting instead for reductive and stigmatising depictions that perpetuate systemic injustice. Adverse social constructions exert a significant impact on public perceptions and concurrently inform the formulation of policies and administrative procedures within public institutions. For instance, Young's (1990) Five Faces of Oppression, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence illustrate how institutions employ these mechanisms to uphold and rationalise the criminalisation of marginalised identities. Moreover, Svara's (2015) ethics

triangle elucidates the ongoing prevalence of unethical administrative actions, even in the presence of frameworks intended to foster justice.

Furthermore, implicit biases contribute to expedited decision-making processes that link Black faces with criminality. The associations propagated by media serve to reinforce both overt and covert biases, thereby influencing societal attitudes and resulting in more severe policy implications for communities of colour. The societal formulation of crime is intricately linked to the concept of identity. Throughout U.S. history, the phenomenon of criminality has been markedly linked to marginalised racial, sexual, and gender identities (Thompson, 2010). Comparably, the criminalisation of LGBTQ identities is profoundly entrenched in both media representations and policy frameworks. For centuries, homosexuality was subject to criminalisation and was pathologised by various institutions until the mid-1970s.

Media coverage frequently tends to over-represent violent crime while simultaneously under-representing structural violence or institutional abuse. Social constructionism asserts that crime should not be viewed as an objective classification; somewhat, it is shaped through communal processes of labelling and categorisation (Schneider, Ingram, & deLeon, 2014). The concepts of sensationalism and the deviancy amplification spiral elucidate how rare occurrences are exaggerated, thereby intensifying public apprehension and eliciting policy reactions that are disproportionate to the actual rates of crime. The media, via selective reporting, language, symbols, and metaphors, occupies a pivotal position in these processes. The stereotypes and conceptual frameworks established by the media significantly influence societal expectations regarding who is deemed "deserving" or "undeserving," as well as notions of innocence and guilt. Once these expectations become institutionalised, they yield tangible and enduring repercussions. Although social constructionists hold varying perspectives regarding the autonomy of social reality from human cognition, there is a consensus that once constructed, these realities have tangible impacts on social existence

(Schneider, Ingram, & deLeon, 2014). Understanding the constructed nature of crime facilitates the deconstruction of detrimental narratives and fosters the advancement of more equitable representations.

For instance, phenomena such as "moral panics," including crack epidemics or mass shootings, are frequently shaped by media narratives that exacerbate fear and rationalise punitive measures, even in instances where empirical risk is either stable or diminishing (Karakatsanis, 2025). Cultivation theory asserts that prolonged exposure to media influences and shapes skewed perceptions regarding crime and justice (Gerbner & Gross, 1976). Empirical studies indicate that extensive consumption of crime dramas results in inflated perceptions of crime risk and misunderstandings regarding forensic evidence among jurors, commonly referred to as the "CSI effect" (Karakatsanis, 2025). Media representations can activate implicit stereotypes, especially concerning race, thereby reinforcing the association of criminality with individuals of Black descent. The mediated associations significantly influence policy preferences and the public's endorsement of more stringent enforcement measures.

### **2.2.2. Discourse in Media Studies**

The concept of discourse has undergone considerable evolution since Zellig Harris first introduced the term in his foundational 1952 article, *Discourse Analysis*, which prompted the foundational formal beginning of discourse studies and was subsequently developed through structuralist and poststructuralist perspectives. Throughout the last seventy years, discourse analysis has developed into an advanced and interdisciplinary domain, integrating insights from linguistics, anthropology, sociology, cognitive science, and philosophy. The discourse analysis seeks to elucidate the complex nature of discourse and its practical implications for comprehending communication, social practices, and cultural dynamics through the utilisation

of credible research.

### **2.2.2.1. Defining Discourse: An Intricate Concept**

Discourse, originating from the Latin term *discursus*, which translates to "conversation" or "speech," lacks a singular, universally recognised definition owing to its utilisation across various academic fields. Discourse fundamentally pertains to the organised application of language within particular social, cultural, and historical frameworks, serving to communicate meaning, shape identities, and navigate power relations (Abdullayev, 2011). It transcends a simple linguistic occurrence, embodying a multifaceted interaction of language, social practices, and cultural values that both shape and mirror the realities of society. From a linguistic standpoint, discourse is frequently characterised as language in application, transcending the sentence to include broader units of meaning (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Halliday and Hasan (1976) argue that discourse constitutes a "semantic unit, a unit not of form but of meaning" (p. 2), thereby underscoring its significance in establishing cohesive, coherent communication. The viewpoint highlights the significance of linguistic components, including syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, in the realm of discourse analysis, wherein context influences the practical utilisation of language.

Moreover, discourse is understood as a form of social practice. Discourse is characterised as the texts and talk in social practices, emphasising its function as a medium for interaction rather than merely an abstract linguistic construct as Gee's (1999) expansive definition characterises discourse as "socially accepted associations among ways of using language, of thinking, valuing, acting, and interacting in the right place and at the right times with the right objects" (p. 17). Gee's perspective underscores discourse as a socially embedded process that intertwines language with cultural and behavioural norms, thereby illustrating its interdisciplinary character. Michel Foucault's seminal contributions significantly broaden the understanding of discourse, conceptualising it as an intricate system

of knowledge, power, and cultural practices that fundamentally influence societal norms (Foucault, 1970).

Within the field of discourse studies, it is essential to differentiate between the interplay between text and discourse. Although initial studies use the two concepts interchangeably, contemporary linguistics differentiates them according to their dynamics and materiality. Discourse is conceptualised as the dynamic process of communication, whereas text is regarded as the static, material manifestation of that process (Abdullayev, 2011). The relationship between text and discourse is therefore defined as a whole-part dynamic, wherein discourse both influences and is influenced by the texts it generates. Furthermore, Halliday's functional approach characterises text as a semantic entity, exhibiting internal cohesion and functioning as the pertinent context for themes and information systems (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). The supra-textual level, encompassing genre, discourse, semantic field, and ideology, is essential for the analysis of meaning production across various texts and contexts. Intertextuality functions on both textual and supra-textual dimensions, as genres and discourses encompass specific texts and methodologies for referencing them. Context plays a crucial role in discourse analysis, incorporating both co-text, which refers to the immediate linguistic environment, and the extra-linguistic situation, which includes institutional and societal structures. Classical structural linguistics upheld a clear distinction between language and the referential world; however, contemporary discourse analysis acknowledges a tripartite structure of meaning that encompasses linguistic symbols, thoughts, and referents (Tenbrink, 2020).

In modern academic discourse, it is acknowledged that discourse serves as a medium for the construction of meaning, identities, and power dynamics within particular socio-cultural and historical frameworks (Fairclough, 2020). It functions on multiple levels, influenced by societal norms, cultural values, and objectives of communication. Discourses may manifest in

both formal and informal contexts, whether in written or spoken form, and they serve as foundational elements across diverse fields, including politics, science, and quotidian communication. Axiological linguistics conceptualises discourse as a complex communication framework, influenced by cultural factors and expressed through linguistic selections, the structuring of meaning, and communicative strategies that are distinctively marked by national characteristics (Tenbrink, 2020). The notion of "punctuality" is comprehended through the interplay of subject-image, notional, and value components, thereby demonstrating how discourse articulates and sustains cultural values within communicative practices.

Discourse is widely recognised as the application of language, extending beyond the confines of individual sentences. Nevertheless, its definition exhibits variability across different academic disciplines. In the field of linguistics, it is frequently understood as a semantic unit or a unit of meaning, as opposed to form (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Philosophers and social theorists, particularly Foucault (1970), broaden the concept of discourse to encompass the intricate systems of knowledge and power that are interwoven within linguistic practices, perceiving discourse as a fundamental element in the formation of social realities and identities. Tenbrink (2020) underscores the contextualised essence of discourse, conceptualising it as texts and conversations intricately woven into social practices, rather than viewing it as mere abstract linguistic frameworks. Gee's (1999) seminal definition conceptualises discourse as "socially accepted associations among ways of using language, of thinking, valuing, acting, and interacting in the right places and at the right times with the right objects" (p. 17), underscoring its complex connections to social contexts and practices.

#### **2.2.2.2. Media Discourse and Linguistic Change**

During the late 20th and early 21st centuries, a significant evolution of mass communication has profoundly altered the media discourse landscape, especially regarding its

role in shaping societal perceptions of crime. The novel expansion of conventional media, alongside the emergence of the internet and digital platforms, has led to a worldwide information landscape marked by a variety of media streams and channels. The recent technological advancements have positioned the internet as a predominant medium for mass communication, functioning not merely as a vast reservoir of information but also playing a significant role in influencing linguistic practices and the dissemination of words (McQuail, 2010). In this context, media linguistics has developed into an essential discipline for examining how language within media both mirrors and influences societal dynamics, particularly with the conceptualisation of crime as a social phenomenon.

#### **2.2.2.2.1. Media Linguistics**

Media linguistics is an interdisciplinary branch of linguistics that investigates the language use in media as a dynamic representation of social transformations, specifically inclining towards spontaneous and uncensored discourse (McQuail, 2010). In contrast to the already existing linguistic frameworks, media language frequently exhibits spontaneous adaptability to socio-cultural transformations, rendering it an essential instrument for comprehending the construction and dissemination of crime narratives. Moreover, the interdisciplinary nature utilises a comprehensive framework while synthesising perspectives from linguistics, sociology, and cultural studies to examine the functional and stylistic dimensions of media discourse, the impact of socio-cultural elements on linguistic selections, and the mechanisms of persuasion present in media texts (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

A central issue in the field of media linguistics holds significant relevance for the examination of crime narratives, as media discourse influences public perceptions of criminality through the use of selective language, framing techniques, and underlying ideological implications (Fairclough, 2003). The interchange between "media discourse" and "media text" is fundamental to the field of media linguistics. Media texts represent the

concrete manifestations of these practices, encompassing forms such as newspaper articles, television broadcasts, and online posts (Abdullayev, 2011). The interdependence is rooted in the ability of media texts to instantiate discourse, whereas media discourse provides the necessary context and meaning to those texts; moreover, it encompasses the extensive communicative practices employed by media outlets to frame issues and stimulate public discourse, including both spoken and written forms.

Although media discourse exhibits a dynamic and context-dependent nature, media texts serve as static, material representations that encapsulate particular linguistic and stylistic choices (Machin & Mayr, 2012). For instance, a news article concerning a criminal act may utilise sensationalist headlines to contextualise the occurrence. At the same time, the accompanying narrative employs linguistic techniques such as metaphors or presuppositions to suggest culpability or peril (van Dijk, 2001). Grasping the interdependence is essential for examining how media shape crime narratives, as texts function as the tangible manifestations of more extensive discursive practices.

### **2.2.2.3. Varieties of Media Discourse in Crime Reporting**

Media discourse is classified into two distinct forms, written and spoken, each possessing unique characteristics and modalities that shape the portrayal of crime. The discourse of written media encompasses newspapers, online articles and magazines, which frequently utilise meticulously constructed headlines and textual frameworks to capture attention and influence perceptions (Vardanyan et al., 2024). For example, headlines such as "Why Instant Noodles Are a Danger to Your Kids" employ emotionally charged language to elicit fear, despite the article's clarification that the actual risk pertains to scalding rather than any intrinsic harm. The aforementioned headlines exemplify the potency of implication, wherein the unarticulated specifically, the health risks suggested by the term "danger" that holds greater persuasive weight than the overtly stated information (van Dijk, 2001).

Alternatively, news headlines about crime, such as "Police Investigate Death of Man at Commercial Property" or "Wildfire Smoke May Send Pregnant Women Into Premature Labour," employ suggestive language that insinuates risk or criminality, thereby influencing public perceptions prior to the disclosure of comprehensive context (Vardanyan et al., 2024).

Spoken media discourse, encompassing platforms such as radio and television broadcasts, depends on oral presentation and visual components such as interviews or location footage to formulate narratives surrounding crime. A news segment on television, for instance, addresses violent crime may employ dramatic visuals, including crime scene footage, to heighten fear, thereby reinforcing the "mean world syndrome" articulated by cultivation theory, integrating spoken commentary with location shots or interviews to augment both credibility and emotional resonance (Machin & Mayr, 2012). The utilisation of combined multimodal strategies of language, visuals, and sound significantly amplifies the persuasive efficacy of media discourse, thereby rendering it an influential instrument for framing crime as a societal menace. The emergence of digital and social media has given rise to a distinct category of discourse characterised as "unconventional" or "nontraditional," commonly known as "new media" (Chadwick, 2013).

Digital platforms, such as blogs, social media posts, and user-generated content, function in real time and engage global audiences with remarkable immediacy, often placing a premium on expediency rather than editorial thoroughness and distinguishing by their rapidity, interactivity, and dependence on content generated by users (Vardanyan et al., 2024). The inherent fluidity of the medium facilitates the swift propagation of crime narratives; however, it concurrently heightens the potential for misinformation, as unverified content may serve to reinforce stereotypes or magnify perceived threats. For instance, viral social media content about purported crime surges may be devoid of essential context; nevertheless, it exerts a considerable impact on public apprehension and the exigencies of policy (Chadwick,

2013). The participatory characteristics of new media, influenced by user comments and shared content, add layers of complexity to discourse by mirroring the sentiments and biases of its contributors.

#### **2.2.2.3.1. Ideological Implication and Metaphor in Crime Discourse**

An essential aspect of media discourse in the context of crime reporting is the employment of implication, wherein textual components demonstrate meanings that extend beyond their explicit articulation. Media texts possess the capacity to shape public interpretation through the mechanisms of entailments, presuppositions, and associative structures, frequently achieving it with greater efficacy than explicit declarations. The implications, including entailments, presuppositions, and associations, depend on the background knowledge of audiences to serve as a significant semantic mechanism and deduce ideological messages (van Dijk, 2001). For instance, a news headline such as "Silent Killer: Shield Your Family From Carbon Monoxide" suggests a perilous threat, instilling a sense of fear despite the article's emphasis on preventive strategies utilising linguistic and conceptual metaphors. In the realm of crime reporting, there exists a tendency to link particular groups, mainly those belonging to racial minorities, with notions of criminality.

Moreover, Dixon and Linz (2000) highlighted that media representations tend to disproportionately depict Black individuals as offenders, employing implicit signals such as selective imagery or language to perpetuate existing stereotypes. The implications in question possess ideological dimensions, as they serve to naturalise biases and rationalise punitive policies. Conceptual metaphors represent a significant linguistic strategy within media discourse, especially in the formulation of ideas surrounding safety and danger in crime narratives (Fairclough, 2020). Per the theory of conceptual metaphor posited by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), it is asserted that metaphors significantly influence the perception of abstract concepts by establishing mappings onto tangible experiences. The strategies engage the

reader's attention and influence cognitive frameworks regarding risk and safety, frequently utilising cultural apprehensions and societal imperatives.

Within English-language media, the notion of safety is conveyed through three concretised prevailing metaphors: "safety as a goal," "safety as a source of fear," and "safety as a value", shaping public perceptions and influencing societal discourse (Vardanyan et al., 2024). The frequent employment of collocations like "security crisis," "safety measures," and "major safety risk" conceptualise safety as a tangible goal, frequently in reaction to threats posed by criminal activity. In contrast, phrases such as "safety fears" or "security threats" associate safety with anxiety, thereby intensifying public apprehension regarding crime (Vardanyan et al., 2024). The presence of these metaphors is apparent in crime-related news headlines, exemplified by "30 Years After Westray Disaster, Families Say Justice Still Rare in Worker Deaths," which positions workplace safety as a value subject to contention and suggests underlying systemic failures. Moreover, metaphors frequently serve to perpetuate racial and social biases within the discourse surrounding crime. For instance, terminology such as "gang member" or "thug" metaphorically links marginalised populations to an intrinsic criminality, thereby dehumanising these individuals and rationalising more severe treatment.

The linguistic selections made in the context correspond with the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (see section 1.3.2.2), which elucidates how media language sustains power disparities by normalising prevailing ideologies (Fairclough, 2020; van Dijk, 2001). News reports may employ passive constructions such as "officer-involved shooting" to diminish police accountability. In contrast, active, sensationalist language is utilised to depict crimes committed by minorities, thereby amplifying their perceived threat.

#### **2.2.2.4. Media Discourse as a Reflection of Social Crime Consequences**

Media texts function as reflections of the cultures they depict, with notions of safety and

danger illustrating the evolving social priorities and anxieties (Hall et al., 2013). The linguistic strategies used in media discourse, such as implication, metaphor, and selective framing, carry significant consequences for the social construction of crime. The linguistic representation of safety in media discourse via terms such as "defense," "safeguard," and "protection" conveys a diverse range of semantic attributes: secure environments, the lack of peril, the actions and agents associated with safety, as well as the emotions of assurance and security (Vardanyan et al., 2024). Moreover, the employment of fear-inducing metaphors within the realm of crime reporting fosters a phenomenon known as "mean world syndrome," wherein audiences tend to overestimate the risks associated with crime and subsequently endorse punitive policies (Gerbner & Gross, 1976). The representations in question are dynamic; they transform in response to societal changes, technological progress, and evolving cultural values, thereby illuminating the ongoing interaction among media, language, and society. Through the emphasis on peril while minimising structural elements, media narratives frequently sustain stereotypes that link marginalised populations to criminal behaviour, thereby shaping public perceptions and influencing policy decisions. The disproportionate portrayal of Black individuals as offenders in media narratives perpetuates underlying biases, resulting in more severe sentencing and policing measures within minority populations.

The emergence of digital media has intensified these phenomena by facilitating the swift and unmediated distribution of narratives surrounding criminal activities. The content produced by users on social media platforms has the potential to propagate misinformation, including inflated crime statistics, thereby further skewing public comprehension. Nonetheless, digital media presents avenues for counter-narratives, as marginalised communities leverage platforms such as Twitter and Instagram to contest prevailing crime discourses, exemplified by movements like Black Lives Matter (Danewid, 2021). The counter-narratives presented underscore the capacity of media linguistics to cultivate more

equitable representations through the analysis and deconstruction of biased language and framing.

### **2.3. Gendered Dimensions of Media Discourse in Femicide Reporting**

#### **2.3.1. Media Framing of Gender-Based Crime**

The news media possess considerable influence in shaping public perceptions of gender-based crimes, thereby affecting attitudes, policy responses, and social justice initiatives. Nonetheless, empirical studies consistently demonstrate that media framing the act of selecting, emphasising, and omitting certain facets of a narrative frequently distorts the portrayal of gender-based crime, thereby perpetuating victim-blaming, individualising systemic challenges, and reinforcing prevailing stereotypes (Sutherland et al., 2016). Gender-based crime, which includes manifestations such as intimate partner violence (IPV), sexual violence (SV), femicide, and sexual and gender-based violence, persists as a significant global concern, deeply entrenched in patriarchal frameworks and gender disparities.

#### **2.3.2. The Framing Theory and Gender-Based Crime**

Framing theory, as delineated by Entman (1993), asserts that media frames serve as interpretive frameworks that accentuate specific aspects of reality while minimising others, thereby shaping how audiences comprehend and react to social issues. Within the context of gender-based crime, framing serves as a filter to intricate societal issues into more manageable narratives, frequently leveraging established cognitive biases (Entman, 1993). For instance, frames can delineate the nature of the problem, whether it is perceived as an isolated incident or indicative of systemic inequality, assign causative factors attributing blame to the victim or societal structures, provide moral assessments, including the condemnation or justification of the act, and propose potential solutions ranging from individual accountability to policy reform. Moreover, media framing constructs that selectively highlight and accentuate certain facets of perceived reality to advance specific

problem definitions, causal interpretations, moral assessments, and proposed solutions. Matthes and Kohring (2008) promote the separate coding of frame elements to reveal distinct patterns in reporting. The methodology proves particularly beneficial for discerning subtle and developing frameworks in the discourse surrounding gender-based violence and femicide. Frames are considered dynamic constructs; the omission of specific elements carries significance comparable to their inclusion. For instance, excluding systemic causes or prevention strategies from media narratives may perpetuate the belief that GBV is an isolated occurrence rather than a broader societal concern.

A fundamental differentiation in the context of research framing lies in the contrast between two primary methodologies, episodic and thematic. Episodic framing highlights distinct events and depicts crimes as singular incidents associated with particular individuals, locations, and times. The episodic method often leads to individualistic interpretations of accountability and obscures broader social trends (Gross & D'Ambrosio, 2004). In contrast, thematic framing locates events within broader societal concerns, such as gender inequality or patriarchy, thereby promoting a sense of collective responsibility and advocating for systemic transformation (Gross & D'Ambrosio, 2004).

Sutherland et al. (2019a) indicate that the portrayal of gender-based crime in media predominantly employs episodic framing, thereby diminishing the acknowledgement of these offences as widespread societal issues. The episodic framing promotes a focus on individual rather than collective attributions of responsibility and thereby obscures the underlying structural and cultural foundations of GBV. The methodology is widely observed across various media platforms, where event-centric reporting predominates, thereby constraining the public's comprehension of GBV as a widespread societal issue (Sutherland et al., 2019a).

### **2.3.3. Representation of Women in Violence Against Women Coverage**

The portrayal of women in media coverage concerning VAW essentially depicts women

as passive victims, often highlighting their vulnerability and suffering while neglecting to acknowledge their agency or acts of resistance. Investigations conducted across various continents indicate a consistent and troubling framing in the media's portrayal of gender-based crime. A prevailing trend is the sensationalist, event-centric representation that personalises violence, frequently through the mechanisms of victim-blaming or justifications for perpetrators (Ekström & Östman, 2024).

### **2.3.3.1. Historical and Cultural Patterns of Victim Representation**

Within cultural and historical patterns, media portrayals of GBV victims have consistently mirrored societal norms that perpetuate the normalisation of violence while simultaneously stigmatising those who suffer as victims. Historically, GBV has been approached from a private concern lens. In 58.1% of GBV coverage, emphasis is placed on physical and sexual violence, with percentages of 76.9% and 68.3% respectively, while isolating these issues from the broader social contexts of power imbalances and gender inequalities, which are referenced (Sutherland et al., 2019a). The episodic methodology revealed that since the start of the 20th century, sensationalist journalism frequently results in the dehumanisation of victims via meticulous portrayals of violent incidents, with 21% of the coverage featuring graphic scenes and 10.8% provocative headlines, thereby perpetuating stereotypes and fostering a cultural acceptance of violence. For instance, historical analyses indicate that GBV was rarely represented as a social issue, thereby overlooking the chance to situate it within patriarchal frameworks. The trend can be traced back to Victorian-era crime reporting, which often characterised female victims as either morally responsible or as tragic figures.

Sutherland et al. (2019a) highlighted that such representations are significantly influenced by cultural scopes, wherein media narratives often rationalise violence through established gender roles or traditional practices. Within Middle Eastern contexts, such as Iran

and Syria, discussions surrounding "honour killings" and "bride kidnapping" are regarded as beyond the scope of permissible discourse, underscoring the societal norms that sustain VAW and femicide. Moreover, he pointed out that Australian newspapers addressing GBV often exonerate perpetrators by linking their actions to influences such as passion, jealousy, or alcohol, which frequently portray victims in a negative light for partaking in activities such as alcohol consumption or being alone at night.

Comparably, Swedish media depict female victims as "ideal victims," emphasising attributes such as youth, familial roles, or minority status. Such portrayals of female victims often include racial elements, mainly in cases of honour violence/killing, highlighting a perceived cultural vulnerability. The process of racialisation serves to detach violence from the broader societal context, thereby solidifying dichotomies of "us vs. them" and ethical shortcomings, even in the presence of established guidelines that discourage the prioritisation of ethnicity (Ekström & Östman, 2024). Within the framework of Swedish media discourse, sensationalism often accentuates notably horrific occurrences of murder or rape, thereby enhancing the perceived significance of the news while concurrently reinforcing prevailing stereotypes (Ekström & Östman, 2024). The evolution of the patterns of women is closely linked to feminist movements that confront victim-blaming; however, enduring cultural biases persist in excusing perpetrators while marginalising victims. Tiscareño-García (2020) highlighted that the Mexican reports are rationalising femicide cases by attributing them to emotional or situational factors.

### **2.3.3.2. Stereotypes, Symbolic Annihilation, and the Concept of the "Ideal Victim"**

The portrayal of victims in instances of GBV frequently employs stereotypes that perpetuate patriarchal norms, resulting in symbolic annihilation and the formulation of the "ideal victim." Symbolic annihilation, as articulated by Tuchman (1978), pertains to the

insufficient representation of women manifested through omission, trivialisation, and marginalisation, with a particular focus on their portrayal as passive and victimised within the realms of violence and crime. The media's portrayal frequently serves to exonerate the perpetrators while attributing blame to the victims, either through the use of derogatory descriptors such as "promiscuous" or by suggesting a shared culpability in domestic conflicts (Olchawski, 2016). The actions of perpetrators are often rationalised or defended by invoking emotional turmoil, substance dependency, or contextual circumstances (Sutherland et al., 2019a). Individuals who have suffered may be depicted unfavourably, with discourses emphasising their conduct, physical attributes, or reluctance to disclose prior instances of maltreatment. Victim-blaming can be observed in both explicit forms, such as attributing acts of violence to a victim's attire or conduct, and in more nuanced expressions, such as the promotion of "victim empowerment" narratives that suggest survivors bear responsibility for averting their victimisation (Olchawski, 2016). An analysis of Australian newspapers reveals that one in five articles addressing GBV tends to excuse perpetrators by attributing their actions to factors such as jealousy, passion, or alcohol, while simultaneously depicting victims unfavourably for engaging in behaviours like consuming alcohol or being out alone at night (Sutherland et al., 2019a). The phenomenon of victim-blaming is not merely detrimental; it also serves to dissuade survivors from coming forward to report offences or to seek assistance, primarily due to the associated stigma and apprehension.

A plethora of research has elucidated the propensity of media to partake in victim-blaming, either overtly by insinuating that women's actions played a role in the violence, or subtly by casting doubt on their credibility or decisions (Sutherland et al., 2019a). Prevalent motifs often centre on the attire of the victim, their social engagements, or their previous reluctance to disclose instances of abuse. It not only diverts culpability but also serves to dissuade other survivors from stepping forward, as they may be apprehensive about the

associated stigma. The representations serve to reinforce societal evaluations regarding the categorisation of victims as "deserving" or "undeserving," thereby constraining empathy and perpetuating detrimental misconceptions surrounding VAW (Tiscareño-García, 2020).

Women are often characterised by stereotypes that depict them as submissive, emotional, frail, and dependent, emphasising physical attributes such as youth and beauty, which positions them as passive objects rather than active agents. Stereotypes exacerbate the issue, depicting women as "culpable" or "promiscuous," as evidenced in Croatian online media, where violence victims were characterised as "unfaithful wives" or "prostitutes," thereby shifting blame and providing justification for perpetrators. In Swedish media, female victims are portrayed as "ideal victims" through the lenses of youth, familial roles, or minority status, frequently racialised in instances of honour violence to underscore cultural vulnerability. Women who are victims encounter a phenomenon of symbolic annihilation, characterised by their underrepresentation or trivialisation, especially in the context of marginalisation. The media frequently neglects the perspectives of survivors, favouring law enforcement narratives, thereby marginalising women's experiences and diminishing empathy (Sutherland et al., 2016a). The observation is underscored by the infrequency of incorporating help-seeking resources, as fewer than 5% of reports offer such information, thereby exacerbating the isolation experienced by victims (Sutherland et al., 2016b).

Exaggerated language manipulates narratives surrounding VAW, employing vivid descriptions or animalistic metaphors such as "predator" that strip victims of their humanity and emphasise sensationalism at the expense of contextual understanding. The phenomenon may result in secondary victimisation, as intrusive inquiries regarding victims' behaviours or sexual histories can deter individuals from coming forward to report incidents. Within Swedish media coverage, sensationalism tends to emphasise particularly gruesome incidents of murder or rape, thereby augmenting the perceived newsworthiness while simultaneously

perpetuating existing stereotypes (Ekström & Östman, 2024).

The observation is highlighted by the rarity of including help-seeking resources, with fewer than 5% of reports providing such information, consequently intensifying the isolation felt by victims (Sutherland et al., 2016a). The construct of the "ideal victim," frequently associated with attributes such as youth, innocence, or vulnerability, serves to constrain representations. The framework racialises minority women within the context of honour violence cases, favouring "newsworthy" stereotypes at the expense of a broader spectrum of experiences (Ekström & Östman, 2024).

### **2.3.3.3. Women in the Context of Victimhood, Survival, and Perpetration**

Women are primarily depicted as passive victims in GBV media narratives, and insufficient attention is given to their resilience as survivors or infrequent representations as perpetrators, frequently sensationalised to uphold prevailing gender norms. As victims, women are often portrayed through episodic framing lenses that intentionally isolate specific incidents, emphasising their trauma, appearance, or behaviour, such as alcohol consumption or promiscuity, to suggest culpability. The tactic perpetuates rape myths and diminishes empathy (Gillespie et al., 2013).

The hyperbolic language use when portraying women significantly influence the narratives related to VAW such as the use of graphic details and headlines reminiscent of a horror film, alongside triking imagery or animalistic metaphors (e.g., "predator") serve to dehumanise victims and emphasise drama at the expense of contextual understanding, resulting in secondary victimisation which prioritise sensationalism over a nuanced comprehension of the context. The linguistic hyperbolic phenomenon has the potential to lead to secondary victimisation, as intrusive inquiries concerning the behaviours or sexual histories of victims may dissuade individuals from reporting incidents (Car & Ravbar, 2021). Moreover, survivors frequently observe the lack of empowerment within media narratives as

the predominant framing tends to align with thematic approaches rooted in post-feminist advocacy. However, a minority of reports incorporate resources for seeking assistance. Consequently, the voices of survivors and advocates are often marginalised, thereby constraining the representation of diverse perspectives (Gillespie et al., 2013).

Dakhane and Saihi (2024) assert that when women are depicted as suspects, the media shapes the public persona through a predominance of negative themes that transcend the objective particulars of the case. The media representation frequently depended on exaggerated language, ethical evaluations, and gendered stereotypes, depicting the female suspect as both a perilous seductress and a figure of moral deviation. The selective amplification of negative attributes serves to reinforce broader patterns observed in media studies, wherein female suspects frequently endure heightened scrutiny and moral condemnation, thereby reflecting deep-seated gender biases prevalent in crime reporting. Moreover, perpetrators of such occurrences are disproportionately represented despite the infrequency of such occurrences, often sensationalised as "mad or bad" for deviating from established gender norms. It is particularly evident in cases of intimate partner homicide, where their actions are frequently subjected to medicalisation or criminalisation, devoid of the necessary social context (Dakhane & Saihi, 2024). The framing of deviance stands in stark contrast to the justifications often employed by male perpetrators, such as claims of passion or substance use, the dynamic serves to reinforce prevailing stereotypes and distorts the understanding of GBV as a phenomenon devoid of gender considerations.

#### **2.3.4. Representation of Male Perpetrators in Violence Against Women Coverage**

Media representations often depict male offenders of violence against women as anomalous figures, motivated by emotional turmoil, substance misuse, or contextual circumstances, rather than recognising them as manifestations of entrenched gender

disparities or prevailing cultural standards (Tiscareño-García, 2020). The narratives frequently rationalise or defend the actions of the perpetrator by referencing underlying motivations such as affection, envy, or financial difficulties. Consequently, the locus of responsibility is transferred from societal frameworks to individual pathology, thereby obscuring the widespread occurrence and normalisation of male violence.

#### **2.3.4.1. The Humanisation VS Demonisation of Perpetrators**

In instances of VAW, media portrayals of perpetrators frequently traverse a continuum between humanisation and demonisation, mirroring wider societal prejudices that either render male violence as normative or categorise it as an aberrant deviation. The duality functions to divert focus from systemic gender inequalities, depicting perpetrators not as manifestations of patriarchal cultures but as individuals shaped by personal deficiencies or external influences.

Tiscareño-García (2020) revealed that male offenders are often portrayed as exceptional individuals driven by emotional distress, substance abuse, or situational factors, rather than acknowledging them as reflections of deep-rooted gender inequalities or dominant cultural norms. Moreover, the portrayal of perpetrators often functions to humanise or justify the behaviours of offenders using dehumanising language sparingly while providing rationalisations such as economic difficulties, mental health issues, or situational conflicts. The process of humanisation weakens the accountability of perpetrators by framing acts of violence as anomalies, rather than recognising them as behaviours systematically entrenched in misogyny. Tiscareño-García (2020) pointed out that Mexican newspapers tend to portray femicide perpetrators as normal individuals motivated by profound emotions such as anger, jealousy, or love, which consequently justifies and normalises the crime, framing it as a transient lapse rather than a calculated act of gendered domination. Offenders, therefore, are depicted as relatable individuals grappling with everyday stressors, including financial

hardships or relational conflicts, thereby rationalising their behaviour and diverting attention from collective societal responsibility.

The process of demonisation, conversely, is manifested in a selective manner, specifically along ethnic or racial dimensions. In Swedish media, Swedish perpetrators are portrayed as mentally unstable individuals warranting sympathy; however, "foreign perpetrators" are racialised and associated with cultural constructs such as honour violence (Ekström & Östman, 2024). The racialisation delineates non-Swedish offenders as the quintessential foreign perpetrator, linking acts of violence to cultural "otherness" or substance abuse, thereby dehumanising these individuals and reinforcing a binary opposition of "us versus them" (Ekström & Östman, 2024). Nevertheless, even in the context of demonisation, the representation frequently exhibits a deficiency in depth, concentrating on individual pathology rather than addressing systemic factors. The media sometimes depicts offenders in a manner that renders them more relatable, highlighting their concerns regarding reputation, familial ties, or underlying pressures, particularly in instances that attract considerable public scrutiny.

The empathy sharply contrasts with the phenomenon of victim-blaming, as illustrated in reports that portray perpetrators as stressed individuals or good guys who have lost control (Sutherland et al., 2016b). The narratives, often found in prominent accounts, cultivate public empathy for offenders while lessening the perceived gravity of VAW, thereby obstructing initiatives aimed at recognising it as a systemic concern.

#### **2.3.4.2. Rationalising Violence: Crimes of Passion and Domestic Conflicts**

Within media narratives, the rationalisation of violence frequently characterises VAW as either contextual or impulsive, particularly through terms such as crimes of passion or domestic disputes. The framing obscures the underlying gendered power dynamics and shifts culpability away from the perpetrators. Such narratives seek to justify or defend perpetrators'

actions via invoking underlying motivations such as affection, envy, or financial hardships, resulting in the locus of responsibility shifting from societal structures to individual pathology, thus obscuring the pervasive nature and normalisation of male violence (Tiscareño-García, 2020).

Media coverage diminishes the intentionality behind acts of violence through highlighting emotional or situational triggers and framing them as regrettable escalations rather than expressions of control and dominance, leading to a shift in accountability onto external factors or the victims, who may be depicted as possessive or unfaithful and thus suggesting that the violence was incited (Tiscareño-García, 2020). Moreover, moral accountability is often reduced by highlighting the perpetrator's psychological condition, issues of substance dependence, or purported provocation by the victim, which serves not only to excuse the actions taken but also reinforces misconceptions that VAW is reciprocal or preventable (Tiscareño-García, 2020). The specific framing undermines the seriousness of the offence. It may cultivate public sympathy for the perpetrator, consequently diminishing support for survivors and perpetuating detrimental misconceptions about the fundamental causes of VAW.

Croatian media often attempts to portray perpetrators actions as emotional reaction or due to alcohol consumption thereby framing the relationship between masculinity and violence as an inherent response rather than a behaviour acquired through socialisation (Car & Ravbar, 2021) highlighting the concept of misunderstanding that includes the idea of violence as a passion killing which consequently minimises the intricate nature of gendered power dynamics and portrays domestic conflicts as private, non-criminal issues (Car & Ravbar, 2021). Within the discourse surrounding intimate partner violence, conflicts are depicted as mutual disagreements driven by jealousy or economic pressures, thereby overlooking the imbalanced power dynamics that are fundamental to VAW. Moreover, the linguistic choices

play an essential role in perpetrators' framing, articulated expressions such as out of character are juxtaposed with positive traits, thereby portraying violence as an aberration from an otherwise typical existence (Sutherland et al., 2016a). The patterns foster a cultural acceptance of violence, as the media refrains from associating individual incidents with overarching patriarchal frameworks, thereby hindering both prevention initiatives and legal reforms.

#### **2.3.4.3.Exploring Gender Norms and Masculinity within Crime Narratives**

Conventional gender norms and definitions of masculinity are often reinforced through media narratives of VAW that depict violence as a manifestation of male supremacy while downplaying its foundational connections to patriarchal structures. Such representations serve to reinforce patriarchal norms, consequently diminishing the importance of misogyny and male supremacy as essential factors contributing to VAW (Sutherland et al., 2019a). Media perpetuates the normalisation of aggressive behaviours as masculine reactions to perceived threats by contextualising perpetrators within the frameworks of conventional masculine characteristics such as jealousy, protectiveness, or emotional restraint rather than engaging in a critical examination of these as detrimental stereotypes. The portrayal reinforces patriarchal norms, thereby minimising the significance of misogyny and male supremacy as fundamental causes. A considerable body of research has traditionally concentrated on notable homicides or particular forms of violence, primarily within newspaper archives, owing to their accessibility.

Nevertheless, within the context of the 24-hour news cycle, it constrains significance, as both online and broadcast media continue to proliferate (Sutherland et al., 2019a). Owusu-Addo et al. (2018) highlighted that the discourse surrounding Ghanaian media representations of violence is frequently characterised as discrete occurrences linked to male passion or societal expectations of dominance, which tends to minimise the role of gender norms as

contributing factors, thereby fostering both underreporting and a tacit societal acceptance of such behaviours. Comparably, the media often partakes in the sensationalisation of arrests, failing to offer subsequent coverage of judicial processes or the resources accessible for survivors. Furthermore, he pointed out that the media's episodic framing emphasises isolated incidents while failing to integrate prevention strategies or critiques of the legal system, consequently reinforcing masculine entitlement and victim subordination.

The examination of female conduct while absolving male aggression frequently leads to the victimisation of individuals through invasive questioning concerning their sexual history or clothing choices, reflecting masculine standards (UN Women, 2022). In Rwanda, print media delineates GBV as a family matter that is influenced by socioeconomic factors and cultural norms, consequently sustaining the phenomenon of underreporting and positioning masculinity as authoritative within domestic contexts (UN Women, 2012). Nevertheless, the media has the potential to transform societal norms through its multifaceted roles, including agenda-setting, advocacy, oversight, and educational endeavours that demonstrate initiatives aimed at promoting safe housing or reinforcing the enforcement of legislation on sexual violence (UN Women, 2012). By interrogating these established norms, the media has the potential to transform narratives that have historically framed male violence as "natural," instead illuminating its origins in toxic masculinity and gender inequality, thereby promoting enhanced accountability and proactive prevention measures. Nevertheless, enduring trends in global discourse perpetuate the association of VAW with conventional gender roles, thereby constraining advancements towards equitable representations.

### **2.3.5. Global and Regional Variations**

In the context of global North-South divides, media discourse surrounding femicide predominantly highlights Western experiences, often overlooking how colonial histories intersect with gender issues in the Global South. International reports indicate that news

coverage often treats femicide as isolated incidents, rather than contextualising it within the broader spectrum of VAW. Femicide framing approach perpetuates stigma and discourages victims from coming forward to report such occurrences (UN Women & UNODC, 2024). Throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, numerous media outlets in various regions linked the reported increases in femicides to the conditions of lockdown, while simultaneously minimising the significance of entrenched patriarchal dynamics, despite the absence of consistent evidence indicating a universal rise in such cases (Walklate et al., 2023).

Feminist activism, exemplified by movements such as #NiUnaMenos and #MeToo, have significantly transformed discourse by compelling media outlets to embrace more nuanced and contextualised reporting practices. Nonetheless, considerable disparities between the North and South endure, characterised by the predominance of Western media in shaping global narratives, which often marginalise the complexities of colonial and postcolonial intersections (Friedman, 2023).

In contemporary discourse, digital platforms have exacerbated these concerns, as incomplete or sensationalised reporting on femicide fosters public scepticism regarding the authenticity of information, especially in areas characterised by significant gender inequality (Sambo & Aslam, 2024). The discourse within global media perpetuates the existing hierarchical structure: cases occurring in affluent nations garner an inordinate amount of attention, characterised by increased coverage in affluent regions while simultaneously marginalising low-resource areas (Vives-Cases et al., 2024).

#### **2.3.5.1. Regional Variations in Europe**

The discourse surrounding femicide within European media demonstrates notable intraregional disparities, influenced by the distinct national contexts that shape the narratives surrounding the critical issue, including ideologies, migration regulations, and prevailing cultural standards. Between 2018 and 2020 in Germany, news reports predominantly

emphasised episodic framing, with almost 70% of narratives focusing on individual motives instead of the structural aspects of gendered violence, illustrating a broader European trend towards the depoliticisation of femicide (Potthoff & Matthes, 2024). In Italy and Southern Europe, print media frequently employs visually striking and sensationalised depictions, characterising victims as vulnerable, especially within cases involving intimate partners. Notably, Southern European outlets, such as those in Italy, exhibit a greater degree of sensationalism compared to their Northern counterparts (Gius & Zancan, 2025).

In Post-communist Eastern European nations, the discourse within Albanian media frequently marginalises the voices of victims in the context of inadequate institutional responses, as evidenced by a regional study encompassing the countries of the Western Balkans and the complexities of transitional sociopolitical environments (UN Women, 2023). In Scandinavian contexts, particularly Sweden, media representation is influenced by racialised narratives, wherein migrant men are often depicted as perpetrators, in stark contrast to the more favourable portrayals of native men (Ekström & Östman, 2024).

Collectively, the observed patterns highlight the multifaceted nature of Europe's media environments, ranging from the progressive framing characteristic of the Nordic countries to the more conservative narratives prevalent in the Eastern regions.

#### **2.3.5.2. Regional Variations in Latin America**

Latin America, characterised by some of the most elevated femicide rates worldwide, exhibits a complex media discourse influenced by a confluence of activism and sensationalism. In Mexico, the journalistic portrayal of violence against the working class frequently highlights graphic details, which are celebrated while simultaneously overlooking the underlying structural misogyny and the complexities of intersectionality (Martínez, 2024). The narratives presented by Brazilian media engage with the complex interplay of race, gender, and class, focusing mainly on urban, middle-class victims and marginalising the

experiences of Black and Indigenous women who face a disproportionately higher level of vulnerability (Silva et al., 2023).

Regional studies elucidate how colonial legacies influence discourse, as evidenced by Argentine and Chilean media integrating decolonial feminist perspectives following the protests of 2020, in stark contrast to the more conservative representations observed in Central America (Monash University, 2023). Moreover, Central American nations exhibiting some of the highest femicide rates globally, such as El Salvador and Honduras, prioritise narratives centred on "narco-violence." The focus tends to obscure the underlying gender motivations and contributes to the perpetuation of victim-blaming (Monash University, 2023). The discourse within Latin America is predominantly influenced by activism; however, it exhibits a degree of regional fragmentation, particularly with the Southern Cone nations taking the lead in thematic articulation and systemic frameworks.

#### **2.3.5.3. Regional Variations in Africa and the Middle East**

The discourse surrounding femicide within Africa and the Middle East is profoundly influenced by historical colonial contexts and socio-economic conditions, frequently resulting in underreporting attributable to cultural stigma. In South Africa, tabloid journalism often marginalises impoverished Black women who are victims, thereby reinforcing the racial and class hierarchies that are deeply entrenched in the legacy of the apartheid era, during which the media perpetuated white supremacist ideologies (Gibbs & Jobson, 2011). Recent analysis indicates that episodic framing is prevalent in Ghanaian media, indicating a pattern of episodic reporting that overlooks preventive measures and legal analysis. At the same time, the narratives of rural women remain marginalised frequently (Owusu-Addo et al., 2018).

The media's portrayal of femicide in Algeria is notably restricted and disjointed, frequently hindered by societal taboos and an absence of thorough official statistics. The Algerian situation compels a dependence on activist organisations and intermittent press

coverage to bring attention to individual cases (Amnesty International, 2024). Recent analysis reveals that although media outlets have progressively highlighted the harrowing instances of femicides. For instance, 38 cases were recorded in 2024 by the *Féminicides Algérie* collective. Nevertheless, the number is estimably higher; as such representations often sensationalise individual occurrences, neglecting to confront the underlying systemic gender inequalities and patriarchal norms (Le Monde, 2024b).

In the Middle East, Palestinian media reveals a complex interplay between the convergence of patriarchal structures and political subjugation, frequently marginalising the voices of victims, framing acts of violence as "honour killings" that are ostensibly linked to cultural norms (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2021). The discourse surrounding Iran and Syria similarly depends on traditionalist frameworks, while inadequately minimising the significance of economic and social structures that contribute to violence (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2021). The examination of these regions reveals how media discourse is limited by authoritarian regimes and cultural prohibitions, contrasting sharply with the more liberal discussions observed in other parts of Africa.

#### **2.3.4.5. Regional Variations in North America and Asia-Pacific**

The media discourse surrounding femicide in North America elucidates pronounced racial disparities, particularly evident in the Canadian coverage of femicides involving Indigenous women that are often inadequately reported or contextualised within the phenomena of colonial erasure and significant underreporting (Palmer, 2016). In the United States, the portrayal of African American victims often employs community-blaming narratives, thereby perpetuating intertwining issues of race and socio-economic status to attribute responsibility to communities instead of addressing systemic factors (Meyers, 2004). In the Asia-Pacific region, there exists a considerable diversity in reporting patterns. The Australian media's episodic emphasis on intimate partner femicide frequently employs an

episodic framing, which can occasionally diminish the accountability of the perpetrators (Sutherland et al., 2019b).

In the context of South Asia, especially within India and Pakistan, the discourse surrounding femicides, which are frequently characterised as "honour killings," is marked by a pronounced emphasis, wherein media sensationalism serves to amplify the cultural justifications for such acts, thereby normalising patriarchal violence. However, recent activism has emerged as a significant force advocating for reform (Brodie, 2024). The observed patterns illustrate the impact of settler-colonial and postcolonial dynamics, which significantly influence the visibility and representation of femicide cases in various contexts.

#### **2.3.6. Feminist Critiques and Counter-Narratives**

Feminist critique represents a rigorous examination that questions and contests the patriarchal and male-centered biases inherent in the production of knowledge, discourse, and institutional practices, especially within the realms of media and international relations which emphasises the ways gender hierarchies, frequently intersecting with race, class, and various social indicators, influence representations and power dynamics, thereby marginalising women and non-hegemonic identities (Tickner, 2001). Feminist critiques of classical traditions in political theory, international relations, and research methodology are not isolated or idiosyncratic; instead, they are integral to broader currents of critical scholarship that interrogate prevailing epistemological frameworks. Moreover, it challenges positivist dualisms such as subject/object and order/anarchy, promoting reflexive and situated methodologies that honour women's lived experiences without resorting to victim-blaming.

The feminist critiques frequently manifest in two distinct orientations: essentialist and constructivist. Essentialist viewpoints associate women's biological ability for reproduction with values of nurturing and environmental stewardship, in contrast to men's inclination towards domination and control (Ruddick, 1989). The constructivist perspectives dismiss

biological determinism, viewing gender as a system of meanings and power relations that is socially constructed (Butler, 1990). Constructivist feminists differentiate between masculinity as an ideological construct and men as biological entities, illustrating how masculinist norms skew human relationships and international priorities, irrespective of the sex of individual agents. The post-positivist feminists advance the critique by further destabilising the very categories of sex and gender, highlighting the notions of flux, hybridity, and the contextual nature of knowledge.

Feminist critiques of media and international relations discourse interrogate the male-centred foundations of classical traditions, revealing the extent to which gendered biases infiltrate epistemological and methodological frameworks. The critiques underscore the exclusionary characteristics inherent in prevailing paradigms, such as Realism in International Relations, which feminists contend perpetuate patriarchal ideologies by elevating masculine experiences to the status of universal norms (Tickner, 2001). Moreover, it endeavours to dismantle narratives that blame victims and to advocate for counter-narratives through activism, exemplified by movements such as #MeToo and #NiUnaMenos, to foster equitable representations and facilitate social change. In essence, feminist critique represents a principled and embodied endeavour focused on deconstructing oppressive frameworks and promoting justice through inclusive and intersectional perspectives (Bhandar & Ziadah, 2020).

#### **2.3.6.1. Media Advocacy and Feminist Counter-Narratives**

Feminist counter-narratives in media advocacy embody a dynamic and transformative strategy for contesting the male-centred foundations of classical traditions and the hegemonic patriarchal discourses related to femicide. The critiques utilise digital platforms, storytelling, and data activism to elevate marginalised voices and promote systemic change. The counter-narratives challenge prevailing media representations that frequently sensationalise or

individualise acts of VAW. They reconceptualise femicide as a structural crisis, deeply embedded in the contexts of gender inequality, colonialism, and intersecting forms of oppression (Friedman, 2023). Utilising feminist methodologies alongside decolonial frameworks, these initiatives reveal and challenge androcentric biases, promoting epistemic justice and supporting policy reform (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2021). The critiques presented underscore the exclusionary characteristics inherent in prevailing paradigms, particularly Realism within International Relations, which feminist scholars contend reinforces patriarchal ideologies by elevating masculine experiences to the status of universal norms (Tickner, 2001).

Drawing upon a rich historical tradition of linguistic resistance, Feminist counter-narratives contest sexist language and exclusionary practices that contribute to the invisibility of women within media discourse (Kramarae & Treichler, 1985). Since the 1970s, feminist activists have challenged masculine generics and derogatory language, promoting non-sexist language policies aiming to transform public discourse (Spender, 1980). Current initiatives emphasise a more expansive form of discursive resistance, wherein counter-narratives challenge the victim-blaming prevalent in femicide discourse by highlighting women's agency alongside systemic influences (Ehrlich, 2001).

For instance, true crime podcasts in the United States have been restructured to incorporate the viewpoints of survivors and experts, effectively challenging prevailing myths and emphasising the importance of prevention. However, the potential for commodification persists (Vitis, 2023). The endeavours correspond with constructivist feminist frameworks, which separate masculinity as an ideological construct from biological males, emphasising how masculinist norms skew media portrayals (Sylvester, 2020). Post-positivist feminists further disrupt rigid gender classifications via promoting fluid and contextually nuanced narratives that interrogate binary oppositions such as passive femininity in contrast to active

masculinity. The critiques illuminate the dual nature of digital spaces, which, despite their potential for empowerment, may inadvertently perpetuate phallogocentric or colonial logics if approached without critical engagement. The intricacy of counter-storying is evident in its delicate disposition, as prevailing narratives are "frustratingly heavy" and exhibit a resistance to transformation owing to their internalisation as truth (Harris et al., 2001). Counter-narratives face the danger of being appropriated or reinterpreted as mere oppositions to dominant narratives, thereby sustaining gendered dichotomies. Milnes' (2010) examination of sexual identity narratives illustrates how women find themselves confined within the extremes of "ultra-feminine" or "ultra-masculine" roles. Moreover, Boonzaier (2023) elucidates the perils associated with resistance, indicating that marginalised women who vocally oppose abuse may inadvertently provoke an escalation of violence, thereby emphasising the necessity for contextually aware counter-narratives. Feminist scholars promote the practice of "slow reading" and the concept of epistemic generosity to cultivate these "sapling" narratives, thereby encouraging complex perspectives that transcend simplistic dichotomies.

### **2.3.7. Digital Media and Counter-Discourse**

The advent of digital media has fundamentally transformed and enhanced feminist activism and feminist counter-narratives, establishing vibrant platforms for counter-discourses that contest patriarchal narratives, especially concerning femicide, by elevating marginalised voices, cultivating global solidarity, and facilitating swift dissemination and the formation of communities to contest the sensationalist and victim-blaming representations of femicide prevalent in mainstream media. The aforementioned platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram, X (formally known as Twitter), and Weibo, facilitate the circumvention of conventional media gatekeepers, foster connections among varied communities, and reconceptualise GBV as a systemic concern deeply embedded in the intersecting oppressions of gender, race, class, and colonial histories (Baer, 2016). Nonetheless, the digital landscape poses significant

challenges, including the digital divide, online harassment, and state surveillance, which complicate the efforts of advocates. Nonetheless, digital environments present significant challenges, as counter-narratives are susceptible to appropriation by mainstream media, which may commercialise survivor narratives or perpetuate victim-blaming stereotypes. The situation underscores the need for reflexive practices to uphold ethical storytelling (Vitis, 2023).

### **2.3.7.1.Social Media Activism**

Feminist counter-narratives on digital platforms reconceptualise femicide as a systemic concern, challenging the sensationalist representations prevalent in mainstream discourse. Data activism exemplified by *Féminicides Algérie*'s meticulous documentation of 38 cases in 2024 through press clippings reveals the phenomenon of underreporting and contests prevailing official narratives. The approach resonates with decolonial feminist methodologies that emphasise the importance of subaltern voices (Le Monde, 2024b; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2021). Nelson (2001) proposed the notion of "narrative repair," which seeks to redefine damaged identities and cultivate solidarity among marginalised populations, including racialised or economically disadvantaged women (Carney, 2001). Digital counter-narratives similarly engage with the historical context of feminist linguistic resistance, contesting the use of sexist language that contributes to the invisibility of women. However, the potential for commodification poses a threat to the integrity and effectiveness of these initiatives (Vitis, 2023). Feminist initiatives contest the prevailing notion of "hegemonic masculinity" that renders women's voices as inauthentic, as critiqued by Tickner (2001), by emphasising women's agency and the systemic factors at play.

Social media platforms enable accessible actions, such as disseminating significant hashtags, endorsing posts through likes, or modifying profile images, to attract public awareness towards feminist initiatives, thereby facilitating the engagement of individuals in

virtual activism. Such engagements facilitate participants' integration into broader social discourses, thereby enhancing their sense of agency within women's movements. The impact of social media is especially pronounced when online activism catalyses offline protests, thereby converting digital momentum into concrete, in-person collective action. Through the emphasis on systemic gender inequalities, these digital counter-narratives contest the victim-blaming tropes that are prevalent in mainstream media, thereby cultivating emotional solidarity and a collective sense of purpose among diverse communities (Gerbaudo, 2012). The interplay between online and offline modalities enhances feminist movements, fostering inclusive environments for advocacy and resistance against patriarchal frameworks.

In feminist counter-discourses, hashtag campaigns play an essential role that functions as crucial emotional conduits that convert personal feelings into shared political fervour (Gerbaudo, 2012). Hashtags such as #NiUnaMenos, #SayHerName and #MeToo serve to empower women in articulating their narratives, effectively challenging victim-blaming discourses and inciting protests in the physical realm. The ability of social media to consolidate individual actions into more extensive collective movements, independent of physical co-presence, significantly facilitates mobilisation.

#### **2.3.7.1.1. The #NiUnaMenos Movement**

The #NiUnaMenos movement, initiated in Argentina on June 3, 2015, signifies a crucial development in feminist activism utilising the capabilities of digital media to address femicide and GBV while simultaneously nurturing a transnational feminist movement. The event gathered more than 200,000 individuals in Buenos Aires and throughout the nation under the slogan Ni Una Menos ("Not One Less") to protest against femicide and GBV (Leszinsky, 2021). The impetus for the movement was the heinous murder of 14-year-old Chiara Páez by her boyfriend, a crime characterised by forced abortion, physical violence, and the concealment of her remains beneath his family's residence in Rufino, Santa Fe (Leszinsky,

2021). The demise of Páez was not viewed as an isolated occurrence; instead, it represented an emblem of a disturbing trend, as statistics reveal that a woman is murdered approximately every 30 hours in Argentina (Ni Una Menos, 2015). In a notable response, esteemed journalist Marcela Ojeda utilised Twitter to articulate a call to action, enquiring, "Actresses, politicians, businesswomen, artists... shall we not raise our voices?" "They are killing us". The tweet sparked a widespread response that swiftly evolved into a substantial feminist movement advocating for accountability from both societal structures and governmental entities. The protest, which saw participation exceeding 250,000 individuals, signified a pivotal evolution of the movement into a formidable social and political entity, propelled by the hashtag #NiUnaMenos, which emerged as a viral rallying cry across social media platforms such as X, Instagram, and Facebook (Belotti et al., 2023).

The emergence of Ni Una Menos (hereafter NUM) exemplifies the dynamics articulated by Resource Mobilisation Theory, which asserts that the efficacy of social movements is contingent upon their ability to effectively harness resources such as organisational structures, specialised knowledge, and public backing offers a valuable lens through which to analyse the achievements of #NiUnaMenos. The organisers of NUM, which include journalists, artists, and feminist activists, adeptly utilised institutional platforms, networks, and digital tools to enhance public outrage and maintain ongoing mobilisation. The march on June 3 in Buenos Aires represented not merely a corporeal manifestation of solidarity but also a digital one, as thousands concurrently engaged on X, Instagram, and Facebook, consolidating their demands under the hashtag as #NiUnaMenos was tweeted more than 13,101 times incorporated with a notable 72% of these being retweets, thereby signifying a considerable dissemination of the movement's message (Molyneux et al., 2021). Moreover, the global trending status of the hashtag on June 3, evidenced by 643,613 tweets from May 11 to June 3, highlights the significant impact of social media in elevating a local protest to a transnational phenomenon.

Social media, therefore, assumed a dual function: it not only reinforced the coherence of the collective message but also facilitated individual participation in the protest through digital means, even in the absence of physical presence.

Social media fulfilled two crucial roles for #NiUnaMenos: enhancing the dissemination of the movement's message and fostering individual empowerment. X, specifically, served as a platform for feminist counter-narratives, reconceptualising femicide as a systemic concern entrenched in gendered power dynamics rather than mere isolated occurrences (Belotti et al., 2023). The use of hashtags, the endorsement of posts, and the dissemination of personal narratives, participants orchestrated a virtual manifestation that reflected the essence of street protests, cultivating a "sense of commonality" among varied groups. The digital discourse of the movement served to humanise the victims of femicide by foregrounding their names and narratives, effectively challenging the victim-blaming narratives prevalent in mainstream media and illuminating the underlying structural inequalities (Friedman, 2023). For instance, the official @NiUnaMenos account disseminated 12 tweets on June 3, 2015, resulting in over 3,000 retweets, whereas Marcela Ojeda's 21 tweets consistently employed the hashtag, thereby enhancing the collective discourse (Friedman, 2023). Significantly, the majority of online engagement manifested as retweets rather than the generation of original content, indicating that the predominant role of the digital campaign was amplification rather than deliberation. Nevertheless, these retweets facilitated the dissemination of the message across national borders, thereby transforming NUM into a transnational feminist counter-discourse that interrogated established narratives of victim-blaming and state neglect. The digital strategy of the movement is congruent with feminist methodologies that emphasise the lived experiences of women and challenge androcentric narratives. Through the establishment of a platform for marginalised voices, #NiUnaMenos confronted the prevailing notion of "hegemonic masculinity" that dismisses women's perspectives as inauthentic (Tickner, 2001).

Since its establishment, the hashtag has significantly contributed to the dissemination of the movement throughout Latin America, galvanising protests in nations such as Chile, Peru, and Mexico, under slogans like #VivasNosQueremos ("We Want Us Alive"). The fundamental requirements encompass justice for victims of GBV, the enactment of legislative reforms aimed at safeguarding women's rights, and the reformation of cultural norms that sustain misogyny (Friedman, 2023). The mobilisation of the #NiUnaMenos movement resulted in notable policy achievements, illustrating the effectiveness of resource mobilisation in bringing about systemic change as the NUM movement deliberate incorporation of social media into its activism facilitated an unparalleled rapidity in the dissemination of messages, enhanced coordination across national boundaries, and fostered the establishment of transnational solidarity networks. Therefore, the NUM has effectively transformed the discourse surrounding femicide from a collection of discrete incidents into a systemic expression of patriarchal violence through the employment of a hybrid model that combines street protests with digital mobilisation.

#### **2.3.7.1.2. The #MeToo Movement**

The #MeToo movement has synthesised a historical lineage of anti-violence feminist activism into a campaign that is both globally recognised and digitally interconnected, emphasising the narratives of survivors while confronting cultures of sexual harassment and assault across various institutions and geographical boundaries across social media platforms. The phrase "Me Too" was initially articulated by Burke in 2006. However, mainstream narratives frequently attribute the inception of the #MeToo movement after the series of allegations against Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein on October 15, 2017 and gained significant traction when actress Alyssa Milano utilised the platform of Twitter to urge survivors to disclose their experiences, thereby illuminating the extensive nature of the issue.

In a span of merely 24 hours, the hashtag garnered over 12 million uses. During the initial year the #MeToo movement was referenced in 19 million tweets, underscoring the widespread occurrence of sexual violence and drawing upon centuries of feminist activism addressing the "continuum of sexual violence," which encompasses misogyny, harassment, and rape transcending linguistic and national boundaries with adaptations to various languages and cultural contexts, exemplified by #WoYeShi and #米兔 in China and #TystIKlassen in Sweden (Baker & Rodrigues, 2022). In the United States, the #MeToo movement resulted in the deplatforming of more than 414 prominent individuals within 18 months, with 190 individuals losing their positions and 122 undergoing investigations resulting in significant employment repercussions for numerous parties. Employers have indicated an increase in complaints and internal reviews, accompanied by modifications in communication and procedures, which implies cultural shifts at the meso level (Baker & Rodrigues, 2022).

The rapid advancement of the #MeToo movement exemplifies how connective action utilises the sharing of personalised content and the underlying principles of digital platforms to enhance mobilisation efforts, all while minimising the need for extensive formal organisation (Baker & Rodrigues, 2022). Nevertheless, Durham (2021) argues that the movement frequently prioritised celebrities, thereby neglecting the experiences of non-famous and marginalised survivors, especially those hailing from racialised or economically disadvantaged backgrounds. The momentum generated by events such as the 2016 dissemination of a video featuring Donald Trump making disparaging remarks about women, in conjunction with the emergence of hashtags like #YesAllWomen, culminated in significant protests in 2017 (Baker & Rodrigues, 2022).

The #MeToo movement is positioned within an extensive historical framework of sexual violence and anti-violence activism, tracing its roots from the establishment of rape

crisis centres in the 1970s to significant legal reforms concerning marital rape, culminating in the 2012 revision of the FBI's definition of rape, which emphasised the concept of consent (Baker & Rodrigues, 2022). The origins of #MeToo, rooted in Burke's Black feminist praxis, highlight the significant role of intersectionality in shaping the critique of sexual violence and its institutional invisibility that is particularly evident as celebrity-driven media narratives frequently focus on white, affluent workplaces (Durham, 2021). Theoretically, #MeToo operated as a feminist counterpublic that reshaped the dynamics of voice, the criteria for credible testimony, and the requisite institutional responses. However, the visibility afforded by platforms also provokes a counter-response: initiatives such as #HimToo propagated narratives of false accusations that shifted the perception of risk onto victims and challenged frameworks of due process, thereby discouraging participation among women in conservative or high-risk environments (Baker & Rodrigues, 2022). Research conducted in India and Bangladesh elucidate how patriarchal norms, legal awareness, and occupational instability influence varying degrees of willingness to disclose experiences, despite the #MeToo movement catalysing broader public discourse and reporting (Mendes & Ringrose, 2019).

The maintenance of advancements necessitates procedural reforms, which include equitable and transparent investigations alongside proportionate sanctions; structural reforms aimed at rectifying power imbalances; and cultural reforms that focus on altering norms related to gender and bystander accountability. Comparative evidence indicates that the #MeToo movement has accelerated the transformation of societal norms more effectively than decades of policy focused solely on compliance. The shift is particularly evident in the way it has validated the voices of survivors and reduced the perceived personal risks associated with disclosure.

#### **2.3.7.2. Digital Media's Role in Shaping Femicide Narratives**

In the contemporary digital landscape, social media platforms have developed as crucial

venues for the construction of narratives on social issues, notably femicide, which represents the most severe manifestation of GBV, significantly influencing public perceptions, emotional reactions, and collective mobilisations. Social media platforms enable the swift dissemination of information, allowing users to interact through shares, comments, and reactions, thereby amplifying content and shaping societal attitudes, perception, and response to femicide and VAW within public discourse. The widespread dissemination of posts concerning prominent femicide cases or advocacy initiatives, for instance, the #NiUnaMenos movement in Latin America, demonstrates the capacity of digital networks to engage extensive audiences, elevate women's voices, and call for institutional accountability that frequently elevates public consciousness, converting individual occurrences into representations of entrenched gender disparities (Cayli Messina, 2022).

The engagement of users, as evidenced by likes, shares, and comments, transcends mere quantitative metrics; it plays a pivotal role in qualitatively influencing discourse by either reinforcing, challenging, or reframing societal norms about violence and gender. For instance, empathetic representations of victims may cultivate a sense of solidarity, whereas language that assigns blame to victims can reinforce detrimental stereotypes. Moreover, the digital narratives challenge the sensationalism often perpetuated by traditional media (Rodriguez, 2022).

The establishment of echo chambers and the amplification of confirmation bias play a pivotal role in digital communication that shapes how users predominantly encounter content that resonates with their pre-existing beliefs, thereby intensifying polarised responses to femicide. Rodriguez (2022) proposed that individuals inclined towards feminist perspectives may disseminate material that contests patriarchal conventions, whereas others might reject or oppose such narratives with misogynistic rhetoric. The task confronting feminist advocates is to develop content that surpasses these divisions, as individuals exhibit a preference for

information that aligns with their pre-existing beliefs; those who are sensitised actively engage with anti-violence content, whereas others may disregard it or continue to propagate stereotypes (Cayli Messina, 2022).

The emotional aspect of social media significantly influences feminist counter-narratives by enabling the formation of affective publics, which are temporary communities that emerge through interactions such as hashtags, likes, comments, and shares, gathering around critical issues like femicide (Papacharissi, 2015). Moreover, he argues that these platforms integrate factual information, subjective viewpoints, emotional expressions into engaging narratives, and cultivating a sense of community and performative solidarity among users who contribute to ongoing discussions regarding GBV. Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan (2013) propose that content with emotional resonance, particularly that which elicits intense feelings such as anger, anxiety and violence, is more likely to disseminate rapidly and engage broader audiences compared to neutral content, thereby increasing visibility and facilitating mobilisation. In environments characterised by media restrictions, exemplified by Turkey, where mainstream media inadequately report on femicide and public demonstrations advocating for women's rights encounter significant obstacles, these emotional practices play an essential role in the continuation of feminist activism. Lünenborg (2019) highlighted that individuals engage with the process of online archiving of victims' names as well as perpetuate names effectively, challenging the country-imposed leniency of judicial systems towards perpetrators. In 2021, platforms such as Facebook and Instagram reached penetration rates of 73% and 58%, respectively, indicating the significant role of social media as crucial venues for alternative narratives. Social media platforms tend to allow and facilitate users' engagement in broader discussions through straightforward digital interactions such as sharing or liking.

## Conclusion

This chapter has elucidated the media's dual function as both an ideological apparatus and a locus of contestation in the construction of discourses surrounding femicide and VAW. It has demonstrated how patriarchal norms sustain gender-based violence through skewed representations and linguistic framing. The examination ranges from Althusser's conceptualisation of ideological state apparatuses to Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, highlighting the media's influential role in shaping moral panics and perpetuating hegemonic masculinity. In instances of VAW, such frameworks frequently perpetuate patriarchal ideologies, depicting women either as passive victims or as complicit participants, while downplaying the structural aspects of gender inequality. Concurrently, the chapter emphasised the significance of feminist critiques and digital media in facilitating avenues for resistance. Through the creation of counter-discourses, feminist scholars, activists, and digital movements have interrogated prevailing narratives and offered alternative frameworks for comprehending femicide. The interventions illustrate that although media discourse serves as a potent instrument for the reproduction of ideology, it simultaneously represents a dynamic arena of contestation wherein prevailing power relations may be scrutinised and altered. In conclusion, comprehending media discourse as an ideological apparatus and a possible locus of resistance is crucial for the analysis of the language surrounding crime and power. The dual perspective elucidates how media framing influences societal perceptions of femicide and VAW, while simultaneously underscoring the potential for counter-hegemonic narratives that advocate for justice, equality, and social transformation.

## **Chapter III: Research Methodology**

### **Introduction**

The chapter delineates the research methodology underpinning the study of femicide portrayal in U.S. local digital newspapers from 2010 to 2019, providing a robust framework for analyzing how media discourse shapes societal perceptions of gender-based violence. The methodology integrates a mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative and quantitative content analyses to explore the linguistic, visual, and framing elements within a carefully curated corpus of digital news articles. By employing systematic coding and computational tools, the study aims to uncover patterns that reflect both manifest and latent content, offering insights into the construction of femicide narratives. The design prioritizes geographical and temporal diversity, leveraging digital archives to overcome traditional sampling limitations, while adhering to ethical standards to ensure sensitivity toward victim representation. The chapter outlines the research design, justifies methodological choices, details data collection and management processes, and describes the analytical procedures, including the development and validation of a 29-code scheme. It also addresses ethical considerations and limitations, laying the groundwork for a comprehensive investigation that bridges criminology, media studies, and gender scholarship.

### **3.1. Research Design**

The study employs a mixed-methods research design, integrating qualitative and quantitative content analyses of the portrayal of femicide in crime news reporting across selected U.S. newspapers from 2010 to 2019. Content analysis, defined as a systematic and replicable methodology for condensing extensive textual material into a limited number of content categories, adhering to explicit coding rules (Krippendorff, 2018), facilitates both objective and interpretive scrutiny of media representations. The methodology is particularly suitable for examining archival print media content, facilitating the identification of themes,

frames, and patterns that illuminate the construction of femicide within media discourse (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The research employs a directed qualitative content analysis, utilising predefined codes derived from existing literature on media coverage of VAW and GBV, while also allowing for the emergence of new categories to enhance the analytical framework. Content analysis utilises well-established frameworks from research conducted by Fairbairn and Dawson (2013) and Taylor (2009), offering a systematic yet adaptable perspective for examining the visual and linguistic components present in news portrayal. By concentrating on cases of femicide involving a single victim and a single offender, the method enables a detailed exploration of how media framing influences societal perceptions of intimate partner violence.

### **3.2. Justification for Methodological Choices**

The selection of content analysis over alternative methodologies, such as surveys or web server log analysis, is due to its effectiveness in analysing and deconstructing archival media content. The approach eliminates the need for participant recruitment, making it particularly suitable for the retrospective examination of local newspapers (Neuendorf, 2017). Drawing from literature on media studies, the method enables the objective analysis of message attributes, such as biases and framing, that are crucial for comprehending the representation of femicide. In contrast to quantitative approaches that prioritize frequency counts, qualitative content analysis underscores the importance of interpretive depth, rendering it particularly suitable for revealing narratives that shape public opinion regarding femicide and VAW (Weber, 1990). Previous research on similar topics, including the opioid crisis and social issues within the news media, has demonstrated their effectiveness in connecting media portrayals to broader societal changes (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The method ensures a naturalistic, comprehensive, and observational perspective, emphasising both manifest and latent content to reveal the foundational ideologies at play.

The selection underscores the preference for local newspapers over national media, supported by empirical evidence that underscores the perceived reliability and depth of local media during 2010 to 2019. The study examines the digital editions of specific local newspapers, intentionally preserving the designation "local newspapers" throughout the thesis, as it signifies a thoughtful methodological approach to modern media contexts, where digital platforms act as functional extensions of conventional print media. The decision is grounded in the understanding that local newspapers preserve their geographical, cultural, and institutional identities by concentrating on issues pertinent to their communities and impacting regional stakeholders, irrespective of the format of delivery (Pew Research Center, 2019; U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, 2020). For instance, despite the decline in print readership, digital access remains prevalent, accounting for 66% of consumers, while also maintaining a commitment to community-oriented reporting (Pew Research Center, 2024). Moreover, Vailati et al. (2025) indicated that readers perceive digital formats of media as complementary extensions that provide similar depth and improved accessibility, thereby reinforcing their interchangeability in analytical contexts.

The equivalence incorporates the analytical framework while preserving a commitment to locality, as digital platforms maintain an editorial focus on regional narratives, including femicide coverage, which is central to local journalism. The approach circumvents the limitations imposed by physical archives, such as restricted access or degradation, while maintaining the integrity of journalistic objectives. The Pew Research Centre (2024) highlighted that digital local news maintains the trust traditionally linked to print media, especially from esteemed sources; 71% of consumers evaluate the accuracy of local news favourably across various platforms posits that the institutional authority of local journalism undergoes a reconfiguration rather than a reduction in the face of digital transformations, whereas Nielsen (2015) emphasises that "local newspapers, increasingly through their

websites and digital platforms, remain central sources of local news" (p. 9). Consequently, the study articulates a comprehensive definition of local newspapers, incorporating digital extensions that maintain the same editorial voice, legacy, and community involvement that is consistent with the discourse in media studies that perceives print and online formats as interrelated (Ali & Radcliffe, 2017; Fenton, 2010; Nielsen, 2015).

### **3.3.Data Collection**

The sample for the study was carefully designed to guarantee a balanced representation of media coverage on femicide across various geographical, audience, and potentially ideological dimensions within the United States. The selection strategy of newspapers was formulated to elucidate variations in reporting patterns shaped by the prevalence of femicide across different regions, thus facilitating comparative analyses that consider both high-incidence and low-incidence contexts. The process was determined via two principal phases: (a) the identification of states according to their femicide crime rates, and (b) the selection of the digital newspaper with the highest audience in each state. In the contemporary digital landscape, metrics of online engagement such as website traffic, subscription figures, and digital accessibility have progressively replaced conventional circulation as more precise indicators of a newspaper's audience and its societal influence (Newman et al., 2021). The prioritisation of geographical distribution aimed to ensure comprehensive coverage across various regions of the United States. Concurrently, digital reach was utilised as a metric of influence, favouring outlets that possess a substantial online presence and readership within their respective states. Thereafter, digital news articles were obtained from the websites through the application of specific keyword searches conducted over a predetermined timeframe. The methodology aligns with recognised qualitative and content analysis frameworks within media studies, which prioritise strategic sampling to enhance both depth and generalisability, while also addressing the biases often associated with convenience

sampling (Krippendorff, 2018).

### **3.3.1. State Selection Based on Femicide Rates**

The primary criterion for sample selection focused on geographical diversity, implemented through the stratification of U.S. states based on their femicide rates from 2010 to 2020. Femicide, characterised as the deliberate act of killing women due to their gender, frequently occurring within the framework of intimate partner violence, was assessed through data derived from the annual reports of the Violence Policy Centre, entitled *When Men Murder Women* covering the years 2010 to 2019. The reports offer a comprehensive longitudinal state-specific analysis concerning female homicide victimisation perpetrated by males, utilising data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Supplementary Homicide Reports and providing standardised rates per 100,000 females. Through the synthesis of data spanning the past decade, six states were systematically classified into three distinct tiers: those exhibiting the highest rates, those demonstrating the lowest rates, and those falling within the average (mid-range) rates. The tripartite stratification enabled a detailed analysis of the correlation between media portrayals and local crime prevalence, while also considering potential regional disparities in agenda-setting and framing (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

The analysis of the aggregated data reveals that Texas and California are the states exhibiting the highest rates of femicide, indicative of increased occurrences within densely populated urban centres characterised by diverse demographic compositions. In contrast, Wyoming and Vermont have been recognised as exhibiting the lowest rates, which is attributable to their rural or less densely populated environments, which may affect both the frequency of occurrences and the accuracy of reporting. Oregon and Minnesota exemplified average rates, functioning as a median benchmark for comparative analysis. The selection of nine states resulted in a geographically diverse sample that encompasses the Northeast, South, West, and Midwest regions, thereby enhancing the ecological validity of the findings (refer to

Table 4 for aggregated femicide cases by state).

### **3.3.2. Newspaper Selection Based on Digital Audience**

In each designated state, the digital newspaper with the largest audience was selected to represent significant media perspectives, as monthly unique visitors serve as an indicator of digital reach and influence in shaping public discourse (Pew Research Centre, 2021). The audience data were obtained from a diverse array of sources, including the media kits of various outlets, reports from Statista, SimilarWeb, and press releases, which aggregate statistics derived from web analytics instruments. The criterion emphasised the selection of outlets possessing a significant online readership to effectively engage with mainstream narratives, while the state-based approach integrated considerations of regional diversity. It is essential to note that certain newspapers, such as the Los Angeles Times, hold national significance, simultaneously serving as some of the most widely accessed digital platforms nationwide. In contrast, others cater to local audiences, including The Casper Star-Tribune in Wyoming and The Burlington Free Press in Vermont, which embody the principal digital voices in states with smaller populations. The diversity encompasses a range of editorial viewpoints, as elucidated by media bias evaluations from organizations like the Pew Research Center (2021), which categorize outlets according to their audience's ideological leanings and levels of trustworthiness.

The chosen newspapers, along with their corresponding monthly unique digital audience statistics, are presented as follows:

- The Casper Star-Tribune, a leading newspaper in Wyoming, has an estimated readership of approximately 415,653 readers.
- The Burlington Free Press, a prominent newspaper based in Vermont, boasts an estimated readership of approximately 200,000 readers.

- The Oregonian, a prominent newspaper in Oregon, boasts an estimated readership of approximately 7,000,000 readers.
- The Star Tribune, a leading newspaper in Minnesota, has an estimated readership of approximately 1,400,000 readers.
- The Los Angeles Times, a major newspaper in California, has an estimated readership of approximately 40,000,000 readers.
- The Dallas Morning News, a prominent newspaper in Texas, boasts an estimated readership of approximately 7,000,000 readers.

To ensure robust access to archival content, paywalls restricting selected newspapers were surmounted through subscriptions, aligning with pragmatic methodologies for digital content analysis (Neuendorf, 2017). The strategic approach facilitated the inclusion of six digital newspapers, carefully selected for their balanced representation of national scope and regional granularity, thereby enabling a nuanced examination of both macro-level trends and localized variations in the discursive construction of femicide coverage.

### **3.3.3. Article Retrieval and Purposive Sampling**

The dataset consisted of digital news articles published from 2010 to 2019, a longitudinal ten-year examination period chosen to capture the shifting societal narratives, which intensified media focus on issues of VAW (Mendes et al., 2019). Articles were obtained through methodical searches conducted on the official websites or digital archives of each newspaper, utilizing terms explicitly associated with femicide. A comprehensive set of keywords was used to capture incidents involving the death or killing of women and girls. The search focused on a variety of action terms to reflect different reporting styles, including "killed," "murdered," "dead," "found dead," "body found," and "stabbed," paired with descriptors such as "woman," "girl," "wife," "girlfriend," "ex-wife," "ex-girlfriend," "teen girl," and "partner." The complete list of keywords included: "woman killed," "woman

murdered," "woman dead," "woman found dead," "woman body found," "missing woman found dead," "girl killed," "girl murdered," "girl dead," "girl found dead," "honor killing," "wife killed," "ex-wife killed," "wife murdered," "girlfriend killed," "ex-wife dead," "partner homicide," "domestic violence murder," "intimate partner killing," "husband kills wife," "boyfriend murders girlfriend," "teen girl killed," "female homicide," "woman stabbed," "woman shot," "woman strangled," "woman's body discovered," and "fatal assault on woman." The diverse set of terms ensured thorough coverage of cases across various contexts and terminologies.

After the preliminary search, articles underwent a meticulous manual screening process to ascertain their conformity with the operational definition of femicide, which is articulated here as the deliberate act of killing women or girls by men, motivated by their gender, frequently. Only those articles that fulfilled the specified criteria were included. As a result, instances in which other women killed women were omitted, along with cases in which women acted as the perpetrators. Furthermore, articles documenting accidental fatalities were excluded to preserve the emphasis on deliberate homicides. The meticulous selection process guaranteed that only articles conforming to the established criteria for femicide were preserved for analysis.

The application of the purposive sampling technique resulted in a concentrated collection of reports that specifically address femicide cases, deliberately omitting opinion pieces, editorials, or any peripheral content to uphold analytical rigour (Riffe et al., 2019). Moreover, the parameters of the investigation are confined to instances that pertain to biologically identified female victims of homicide. The study concentrated on cases involving individuals biologically classified as female, thereby excluding those related to LGBTQ+ individuals who do not fit the biological categorisation. The exclusions were made as these cases fell outside the defined parameters of femicide pertinent to the research and did not

align with its objectives on methodological grounds. Moreover, articles featuring victims that did not meet these criteria were omitted to ensure coherence with the study's aims. The ultimate sample size was established through an iterative process to achieve saturation in thematic representation across various outlets (Guest et al., 2006). The approach effectively harmonised the scope of cross-state coverage with the intricacies of decade-long trends, while also considering the variations in editorial policies, including the ideological biases identified in analyses by the Pew Research Centre (2021), which may impact the framing of gender violence. Consequently, the sample facilitates the formulation of generalisable conclusions regarding trends in the portrayal of femicide within U.S. media.

Furthermore, the sampling technique aimed to select eight articles per year over 10 years from each newspaper, with random selection employed to ensure representativeness, resulting in an intended total of 80 articles per newspaper, aiming for a total of 480 articles. Nevertheless, due to data shortage the final sample is 403 articles across 8 newspapers in ten years period. Guest et al. (2006) argued that 300–400 data points are sufficient to achieve thematic saturation in content analysis, providing a robust foundation for identifying sociolinguistic patterns in femicide portrayal. Moreover, Neuendorf (2017) supports the representativeness of the sample size for content analysis, given the structured inclusion criteria and the diversity of regional coverage across the selected newspapers, ensuring a comprehensive exploration of framing, language, and gender dynamics in the study.

In conclusion, the intricate sample selection methodology that is rooted in empirical crime statistics, digital audience analytics, and focused retrieval establishes a solid framework for analysing media portrayals of femicide. Through the integration of geographical, audience, and temporal dimensions, the study enhances interdisciplinary scholarship across criminology, media studies, and gender studies, providing advanced insights into the relationship between crime prevalence and journalistic narratives.

### **3.3.4. Data Management**

To ensure transparency, replicability, and ethical handling, data management procedures were implemented for the 403 femicide-related articles associated images, and coding outputs. Full-text articles and images were organized using Article IDs. In contrast, Excel spreadsheets, NVivo projects, and Python outputs were organized using Newspaper IDs as unique identifiers to link data across tools. Articles and images were stored in separate folders by newspaper in a secure folder, with weekly backups to a cloud platform to prevent data loss. Excel files, containing factual codes (e.g., Newspaper, Victim Age, Perpetrator Name), were structured with validation rules for consistency. At the same time, NVivo projects included nodes for interpretive codes (e.g., Framing, Language Tone) and memos for my personal notes. Images, saved with Article ID filenames, were analyzed for Image Tone using Python's DeepFace and Color/Visual Mood Analysis tools, with outputs archived in Excel. Sentiment Scores were computed using Python's VADER tool and integrated with NVivo qualitative coding. Victim and perpetrator identities were anonymized to protect privacy, in accordance with feminist research ethics (Hesse-Biber, 2014). Access was restricted to the research team, ensuring compliance with institutional data protection policies and regulations.

All 29 codes were ultimately consolidated into several Excel spreadsheets, divided by newspaper, and later collected into a single Excel spreadsheet for easier data checking and access. Factual codes were directly entered into Excel with validation rules to ensure consistency. In contrast, interpretive codes from NVivo and computational outputs from Python were exported to Excel for centralized management and verification.

### **3.4.Data Analysis Procedures**

An analytical framework was adopted for the systematic examination of femicide articles to develop a rigorous schema for interrogating media representations of femicide. A mixed-methods content analysis was utilized, integrating quantitative methods to examine

narrative constructions, framing devices, and stereotypical discourses, alongside quantitative methods aimed at assessing sentiment and elucidating emergent patterns within the corpus. The dual approach is rooted in established paradigms of content analysis (Krippendorff, 2018), while simultaneously incorporating computational innovations and Natural Language Processing to enhance analytical granularity and epistemic objectivity, thereby addressing critical gaps within feminist media studies, particularly as they pertain to femicide.

The analytical process was fundamentally iterative and reflexive, facilitating methodological recalibration in light of inductively surfaced themes and complexities. Furthermore, the framework foregrounded comparative analysis across regions, specifically contrasting states characterized by divergent femicide prevalence rates (high, medium, and low), in order to illuminate the contextual determinants shaping journalistic practices and media discourses. Through the comprehensive approach, the study enhances the methodological sophistication and theoretical understanding of media constructions of femicide within the broader landscape of feminist scholarship.

### **3.4.1. Overview of Data Analysis Approach**

A sequential mixed-methods design guided the data analysis process, beginning with qualitative coding to identify thematic patterns and then employing quantitative techniques to validate and quantify the insights that emerged. The methodological framework enabled a thorough investigation of the framing of femicide within media narratives, incorporating linguistic, visual, and emotional dimensions. It allowed for the analysis of variations across different newspaper sources, regions, and time periods (2010–2019). The incorporation of Python-generated sentiment scores, DeepFace emotion metrics, and color/visual mood analysis for sentiment analysis represents a methodological advancement, enabling the objective evaluation of tonal qualities in conjunction with interpretive assessments. Ethical protocols were methodically integrated to reduce coder bias by incorporating a variety of

analytical viewpoints and ensuring sensitivity in the portrayal of victims, thus adhering to the core principles of feminist research ethics (Hesse-Biber, 2014).

### **3.4.2. Development of Coding Scheme**

The study examines how media narratives influence and mirror societal perceptions of femicide, focusing on both the explicit and implicit mechanisms involved in the construction of discourse. Sociolinguistics examines the intricate ways in which language mirrors and shapes social structures, power dynamics, and identities, especially within media contexts where discourse can either reinforce or challenge gender disparities (Cameron, 1992; Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1993). The coding scheme employed in the study encapsulates these theoretical principles by amalgamating descriptive categories for factual content with interpretive categories for discursive features.

The coding scheme developed a meticulously crafted list that provides a systematic and flexible framework for executing directed qualitative content analysis of femicide representations in chosen U.S. local newspapers spanning the years 2010 to 2019. The schema is organized in the following manner: Article ID, Newspaper, Year, Title, Victim Name, Victim Age, Victim and Perpetrator Relationship, Perpetrator Name, Perpetrator Age, Motive, Method of Killing, Location, Police Response, Legal Outcome, Language Tone, Language Type, Headline Focus, Stereotypes Present, Framing, Metaphors Used, Blame Assignment, Image Presence, Image Type, Image Tone, Negative Adjectives, Positive Adjectives, Sentiment Score, Newsworthiness and Notes.

The coding framework was independently developed, drawing on established content analysis methodologies (Krippendorff, 2018; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) and incorporating predefined codes informed by existing literature on media coverage of violence against girls (VAG) and gender-based violence (GBV), including conceptual frameworks from Fairbairn

and Dawson (2013) and Taylor (2009). Specific codes were strategically selected and added to effectively address the research question, ensuring alignment with the study's objectives. The frameworks emphasize the importance of analyzing both visual and linguistic elements in media representations, facilitating an objective examination of manifest content, such as factual and descriptive components, while also enabling interpretive analysis of latent content, including ideological and discursive constructs. The coding scheme is carefully designed to focus on femicide cases defined as the intentional killing of women or girls by men due to their gender.

The alignment enables a mixed-methods analytical framework, integrating qualitative thematic analysis with quantitative methodologies, including sentiment quantification, to facilitate systematic identification of patterns.

The process began with Excel for initial data entry of factual elements that includes Article ID, Newspaper, Year, Title, Victim Name, Victim Age, Victim Relationship to Perpetrator, Perpetrator Name, Perpetrator Age, Motive, Method of Killing, Location, Police Response, Legal Outcome, Image Presence, Image Type, and the collection and coding of the images in a separate folder with the same code as the aligned Article ID for the source across 403 news articles, ensuring structured and consistent coding. Subsequently, NVivo was used for qualitative coding of interpretive elements, which included Language Tone, Language Type, Headline Focus, Stereotypes Present, Framing, Metaphors Used, Blame Assignment, Negative Adjectives, and Positive Adjectives. A copy of each full article was imported for in-depth text analysis. Notes were manually crafted based on the researcher's own understanding of the entire article, incorporating insights from linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives to highlight the most essential elements, such as discursive patterns and social implications. The last coded element was newsworthiness, which was developed iteratively based on the data, with its definition informed by criteria such as Image Presence = Yes, Headline Focus =

Victim-Centered and Perpetrator-Centered, and Stereotypes Present = Yes, indicating high newsworthiness. The absence of any single element indicates low newsworthiness. Selecting these specific elements as indicators of high or low newsworthiness references established media studies literature, such as Galtung and Ruge's (1965) framework on news values, would provide a robust theoretical basis for these choices. For instance, elucidating how Image Presence, Victim/Perpetrator-Centered Headline Focus, and Stereotypes Present align with news values like prominence, conflict, or human interest would strengthen the validity of the coding scheme and its applicability to analyzing media representations of femicide.

Images were saved with filenames matching the Article ID and analyzed using Python for Image Tone levels, leveraging computational visual sentiment analysis tools. DeepFace detects and classifies facial expressions (e.g., anger, sadness, happiness, fear), while Color/Visual Mood Analysis detects the dominant colors in abstract non-human images. Moreover, the Valence Aware Dictionary and Sentiment Reasoner (VADER) within Python was employed to compute the text-based Sentiment Score, with qualitative coding for the content of the article and the titles, yielding both individual and collective scores. The computational framework emphasizes the analysis of both visual and linguistic elements in media representations, facilitating an objective examination of manifest content, such as factual and descriptive components, while enabling interpretive analysis of latent content, including ideological and discursive constructs.

### **3.4.3. Justification and Treatment for Each Coding Category**

- Article ID

Justification: A unique identifier ensures traceability of each article within the 403-article dataset, facilitating cross-referencing and replication. It also supports the systematic analysis across newspapers and years, aligning with RQ1 (framing consistency) and RQ4 (newsworthiness patterns).

Treatment: Treated as a numerical or alphanumeric tag (e.g., 01), used for indexing and qualitative validation (e.g., linking Article ID 283 to specific image analysis).

- Newspaper

Justification: Captures regional variation (e.g., The Star Tribune, 80 articles vs. The Burlington Free Press, 38 articles) to assess geographic disparities in femicide portrayal, relevant to RQ4 (newsworthiness drivers) and RQ1 (framing differences).

Treatment: Coded as a categorical variable (e.g., “The Los Angeles Times”), analyzed for frequency and bias (e.g., overrepresentation in high-reporting regions).

- Year

Justification: Tracks temporal trends (2010–2019) to identify shifts in reporting practices supporting RQ1 (evolving framing).

Treatment: Coded numerically (e.g., 2015).

- Title

Justification: Reflects initial framing and tone, critical for RQ1 (framing/tone) and RQ3 (harmful language in headlines).

Treatment: Textual data, analyzed for sentiment (e.g., VADER scoring).

- Victim Name

Justification: Indicates personalization, linking to RQ2 (gender dynamics) and RQ4 (newsworthiness via human interest). Highlights empathy or sensationalism.

Treatment: Coded as named/unnamed to protect victim’s identity, with frequency counts to assess visibility trends.

- Victim Age

Justification: Reveals demographic focus, relevant to RQ2 (gender stereotypes) and

RQ4 (newsworthiness of age-related narratives).

Treatment: Coded in categories (<25, 25–40, 40+, missing), analyzed for bias and missing data trends.

- Victim and Perpetrator Relationship

Justification: Identifies relational contexts (e.g., 45.7% intimate partner, Table 8), key to RQ2 (gender dynamics) and RQ3 (harmful relational framing).

Treatment: Coded categorically (e.g., partner, stranger), used to explore domestic violence narratives.

- Perpetrator Name

Justification: Assesses naming disparity, linking to RQ2 (gender power dynamics) and RQ3 (protection of male offenders).

Treatment: Coded as named/unnamed, with frequency to compare with victim naming in order to reveal discursive protection.

- Perpetrator Age

Justification: Mirrors victim age to examine demographic symmetry, relevant to RQ2 (gender norms) and RQ4 (newsworthiness).

Treatment: Coded in categories (<25, 25–40, 40+, missing), analyzed for and missing data trends.

- Motive

Justification: Uncovers causal framing, critical for RQ1 (framing) and RQ2 (gendered motives).

Treatment: Coded categorically (e.g., jealousy, financial gain), with frequency to assess domestication bias.

- Method of Killing

Justification: Highlights violence types, linking to RQ1 (framing) and RQ3 (harmful language in graphic details).

Treatment: Coded categorically (e.g., shooting, stabbing), analyzed for symbolic meaning.

- Location

Justification: Maps spatial contexts, relevant to RQ1 (framing) and RQ4 (newsworthiness of settings).

Treatment: Coded categorically (e.g., victim's home), analyzed for domestic bias.

- Police Response

Justification: Assesses institutional framing (e.g., response speed), linking to RQ1 (tone) and RQ4 (newsworthiness via authority involvement).

Treatment: Coded as present/absent, used to evaluate coverage depth.

- Legal Outcome

Justification: Tracks justice narratives, relevant to RQ1 (framing) and RQ4 (newsworthiness of resolution).

Treatment: Coded categorically (e.g., convicted, pending), analyzed for closure emphasis.

- Language Tone

Justification: Measures sentiment, critical for RQ1 (tone) and RQ3 (harmful language).

Treatment: Coded as positive/neutral/negative, quantified via VADER for trend analysis.

- Language Type

Justification: Identifies linguistic strategies, linking to RQ2 (gender dynamics) and RQ3 (harmful language).

Treatment: Coded as direct/indirect/other, analyzed for stereotype reinforcement.

- Headline Focus

Justification: Assesses primary emphasis (e.g., victim vs. crime), relevant to RQ1 (framing) and RQ4 (newsworthiness).

Treatment: Coded categorically (e.g., victim centered, perpetrator centered, event), used to evaluate narrative priority.

- Stereotypes Present

Justification: Identifies gender biases, key to RQ2 (gender dynamics) and RQ3 (harmful language).

Treatment: Coded as present/absent, type (e.g., Ideal Victim/ Obsessive Ex-Partner), analyzed for prevalence.

- Framing

Justification: Captures narrative structure, central to RQ1 and RQ4.

Treatment: Coded as episodic/thematic and subcodes victim-centered,/perpetrator-centered, and societal issues, analyzed for systemic vs. individual focus.

- Metaphors Used

Justification: Reveals linguistic framing, linking to RQ2 (gender dynamics) and RQ3 (harmful language).

Treatment: Coded as direct quotation, analyzed for symbolic impact.

- Blame Assignment

Justification: Assesses responsibility allocation, relevant to RQ2 (gender power) and RQ3 (harmful language).

Treatment: Coded as victim/perpetrator/society, analyzed for bias.

- Image Presence

Justification: Indicates visual support, linking to RQ1 (framing) and RQ4 (newsworthiness).

Treatment: Coded as present/absent, with frequency counts.

- Image Type

Justification: Specifies visual content (e.g., victim vs. scene), relevant to RQ1 (framing) and RQ4.

Treatment: Coded categorically (e.g., portrait, crime scene), analyzed for focus.

- Image Tone

Justification: Assesses visual sentiment, linking to RQ1 (tone) and RQ4 (newsworthiness).

Treatment: Coded as positive/neutral/negative, analyzed for emotional impact.

- Negative Adjectives

Justification: Quantifies harmful language, key to RQ3.

Treatment: Coded by direct quotation and count, analyzed for sentiment trends.

- Positive Adjectives

Justification: Identifies counter-narratives, relevant to RQ2 (gender agency) and RQ3.

Treatment: Coded by direct quotation and count, analyzed for empathy potential.

- Sentiment Score

Justification: Provides quantitative tone measure, central to RQ1.

Treatment: Coded numerically (e.g., -1 to 1), analyzed via VADER for trends.

- Newsworthiness

Justification: Evaluates event significance, key to RQ4 and RQ1 (framing drivers).

Treatment: Coded as high/low. Analyzed for bias toward sensationalism.

- Notes

Justification: Captures qualitative insights (e.g., editorial context), supporting all RQs for triangulation.

Treatment: Free-text, used for contextual annotation (e.g., investigative delays).

#### **3.4.4. Computational Analysis**

The use of computational analysis enhanced the mixed-methods examination of the 403 articles on femicide portrayals via leveraging Python tools to generate Sentiment Score and Image Tone within the 29-code framework. Python's Valence Aware Dictionary and Sentiment Reasoner (VADER) was used to compute Sentiment Scores, analyzing article text on a scale from -1 (negative) to +1 (positive) with high algorithmic precision due to its training on diverse media texts. DeepFace analyzed facial expressions in article images, with happy expressions coded as positive, sad expressions coded as negative/somber. Neutral expressions are coded as neutral, while Color/Visual Mood Analysis evaluated non-human images by focusing on the colors brightness, contrast, and saturation that indicate emotional tone or affective mood with dark and muted tones being coded into negative code, warm and bright tones into positive mood, and grey and low contrast codes into neutral, enhancing the visual analysis of femicide portrayals. All computational outputs were exported to Excel

spreadsheets, where they were consolidated with NVivo qualitative codes (e.g., Framing, Stereotypes Present) and manual codes (e.g., Newsworthiness) for validation and accessibility, using Article ID to link data. Outputs were manually reviewed in Excel to ensure sensitivity to femicide narratives, aligning with feminist research ethics (Hesse-Biber, 2014). The approach ensured accurate, objective, and replicable computational insights, complementing the qualitative analysis.

### **3.4.5. Inter-Coder Reliability**

Inter-coder reliability was rigorously evaluated to ensure consistency in the coding process for the 403 femicide-related articles (2010–2019), supporting credible content analysis of media portrayals (Lombard et al., 2002). A random subsample of 41 articles (~10% of the corpus) was independently coded in Excel by a second coder, a PhD-qualified university lecturer with expertise in media studies. The subsample was selected using a random number generator to assign unique Article IDs, ensuring impartiality. Blind coding was employed, with the second coder unaware of the primary researcher's codes, and extensive training was provided on the 29-code scheme and femicide representations. All codes, including factual (e.g., Newspaper, Year), interpretive (e.g., Framing, Language Tone) from NVivo, and computational outputs (e.g., Sentiment Score via Python's VADER) were consolidated in Excel for reliability checks. Krippendorff's alpha was calculated, yielding a comprehensive value of 0.80, indicating strong agreement (Landis & Koch, 1977). Variable-specific alphas ranged from 0.75 for interpretive codes (e.g., Metaphors Used) to 1 for factual codes (e.g., Year). The Sentiment Score, computed using VADER for its high algorithmic precision, achieved an alpha of 0.82 when validated against manual Language Tone ratings in Excel, confirming robust reliability. Discrepancies were resolved through documented consensus discussions, with anonymized data in Excel ensuring privacy and alignment with feminist research ethics (Hesse-Biber, 2014). Such rigorous process enhances the study's

credibility and replicability.

#### **3.4.5.1. Validity**

The validity of the coding scheme was rigorously established to ensure accurate representation of femicide. Face validity was achieved by aligning the 29 codes with established theories on media representation and gender-based violence (Cameron, 1992; Fairclough, 1995; Fairbairn & Dawson, 2013). Pilot testing on 20 articles confirmed the scheme's clarity and applicability. Moreover, construct validity was affirmed through review by two PhD holder one specialized in English Linguistics and the second specialized in Media Studies, both of whom endorsed the scheme's theoretical and practical relevance to femicide discourse. Convergent validity was demonstrated by a strong correlation ( $r = 0.82$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) between the Sentiment Score, computed using Python's VADER tool, and manual Language Tone ratings recorded in Excel, underscoring VADER's high objectivity and precision in analyzing media texts. All codes, including NVivo qualitative outputs (e.g., Framing, Stereotypes Present) and Python computational outputs (e.g., Sentiment Score, Image Tone via DeepFace), were consolidated in Excel spreadsheets for streamlined validation and accessibility. Inter-coder reliability was ensured through double-coding 10% of articles ( $n=40$ ) in Excel, yielding a Krippendorff's alpha of  $\geq 0.80$ . The Sentiment Score's reliability was further validated through test-retest consistency in VADER outputs, with manual review in Excel mitigating potential biases.

#### **3.4.6. Ethical Considerations**

Given the sensitive nature of analyzing 403 articles on femicide crime news, ethical protocols were rigorously implemented to protect victim privacy and ensure respectful analysis. All 29 codes were consolidated in Excel, with victim and perpetrator identities anonymized across Excel, NVivo qualitative outputs, and Python computational outputs to ensure privacy protection. Qualitative coding and computational outputs were carefully

reviewed in Excel to avoid perpetuating harmful stereotypes or victim-blaming narratives, aligning with feminist research ethics (Hesse-Biber, 2014). The Sentiment Score, computed using Python's VADER for its high algorithmic precision, was manually verified in Excel to ensure ethical alignment with narratives of femicide.

### **3.4.7. Methodological Limitations**

The analysis of a total of 403 articles presented specific challenges due to the study's complexity and sensitivity. Coding 403 articles across Excel, NVivo, and Python (utilizing VADER for Sentiment Score, DeepFace, and Color/Visual Mood Analysis tools for Image Tone) was both cognitively and physically exhausting, as managing multiple tools required sustained effort. Occasional data mix-ups occurred when consolidating qualitative codes (e.g., Framing from NVivo) and quantitative codes (e.g., Newspaper from Excel) in Excel, as well as computational outputs (e.g., Sentiment Score, Image Tone), requiring increased attention to ensure accuracy.

Given the emotionally charged nature of femicide-related content and material, the process of collecting and analyzing 403 articles, alongside additional non-selected homicide cases, exposed the researcher to extensive descriptions of violence and loss. The sustained engagement with traumatic narratives may give significant emotional stress, risking vicarious trauma or secondary traumatic stress (Figley, 1995). Acknowledging the emotional impact reflects the principles of feminist research ethics, which emphasize reflexivity, care, and the well-being of the researcher when engaging with sensitive or distressing data (Hesse-Biber, 2014). It was manageable through pre-planned consultation with a psychologist, with immediate actions and calculated rest breaks taken as soon as symptoms appeared in the researcher.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, this chapter establishes a rigorous and ethically sound methodology for examining the portrayal of femicide in U.S. local newspapers from 2010 to 2019, blending qualitative depth with quantitative precision through a mixed-methods content analysis. The strategic selection of six newspapers, based on femicide rates and digital audience metrics, ensures a representative sample, while the iterative coding process, supported by tools like NVivo, Excel, and Python's VADER and DeepFace, enhances analytical granularity. The 29-code scheme, validated through inter-coder reliability (Krippendorff's  $\alpha \geq 0.80$ ) and computational outputs, provides a robust foundation for addressing the study's objectives, despite challenges such as data integration and emotional toll. Ethical protocols, including anonymization and researcher well-being measures, underscore the study's commitment to feminist principles. The methodology not only facilitates a nuanced understanding of media framing and gender dynamics but also sets the stage for developing a practical framework to guide future femicide reporting, as explored in subsequent chapters

## **Chapter IV: Research Results and Discussion**

### **Introduction**

The purpose of this study is to analyse the sociolinguistic portrayal of femicide in U.S. newspapers from 2010 to 2019, using a qualitative content analysis of digital news articles. That is, it aims to examine how language, framing, and media narratives in these articles reflect and shape societal perceptions of gender-based violence, particularly through variables such as victim and perpetrator demographics, incident specifics, and linguistic elements like tone and stereotypes. By focusing on a stratified sample of newspapers from regions with varying femicide rates, it seeks to uncover regional differences in media coverage, explore gender biases and power dynamics in reporting, and contribute to a deeper understanding of how local media discourse influences public attitudes toward femicide. The main aim is to provide a framework for how femicide cases are supposed to be portrayed in media news articles.

The following section presents the results, interpretation, and discussion of the content analysis to answer the following questions:

RQ1: How are femicide incidents portrayed in the digital editions of U.S. local newspapers between 2010 and 2019, and what patterns emerge in framing, language tone, and visual elements?

RQ2: What linguistic strategies are employed in the portrayal of femicide to depict victims and perpetrators, and how do these strategies reflect broader gender dynamics or societal perceptions?

RQ3: To what extent are direct, indirect, and other harmful language types present in the portrayal of femicide?

RQ4: Which victim, perpetrator, and crime characteristics are most associated with

heightened newsworthiness in femicide coverage?

## 4.1. Research Results

### 4.1.1. Descriptive Data of the Articles

A systematic selection of eight articles per year was conducted for each of six newspapers over a decade, culminating in an anticipated total of 480 articles (8 articles per year, across six newspapers, over 10 years). Ultimately, the final dataset comprised 403 articles. The shortfall occurred because two newspapers, which reported the lowest rates of femicide, had insufficient articles to meet the target of 80 articles each over the 10 years, even when all available articles were collected. Table 5 summarizes the number of articles collected per newspaper and year.

Table 5

#### *Distribution of Articles Across Newspapers in the Femicide Corpus*

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Articles Number</i>
The Star Tribune	80
The Oregonian	80
The Los Angeles Times	80
The Dallas Morning News	80
The Burlington Free Press	38
Casper Star Tribune	45
<i>Total</i>	403

#### 4.1.2. Victims and Perpetrators Demographic Overview

*Table 6 Frequency and Percentage of Victim and Perpetrator Names*

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentages</i>
Victims Name	367	91.07
Perpetrators Name	326	80.89

Table 6 details the frequency and percentage of individual victim and perpetrator names mentioned in the 403 news articles used for the study. In cases where multiple victims or perpetrators were reported within a single article, each individual was counted separately to ensure accurate representation of their occurrence across the dataset.

Individual victim names were reported in 367 instances in the corpus, accounting for 91.07% of the corpus. It includes cases where multiple victims were mentioned in a single article, with each victim treated as a separate instance to reflect the full scope of victim identification. The high frequency of victim names suggests that news articles frequently prioritize naming victims, potentially to evoke empathy or highlight the human impact of reported events. Moreover, the high percentage indicates that the vast majority of the analyzed articles included victim names, underscoring a strong media tendency to identify victims explicitly in their portrayal. The finding reflects media practices that emphasize victim-centric narratives, possibly in an effort to align with audience expectations and ethical reporting standards.

Similarly, individual perpetrator names were identified, totaling 326 instances, which accounts for 80.89% of the 403 articles. Similar to the victim count, multiple perpetrators within a single article were counted individually to capture the full extent of perpetrator mentions. The substantial frequency suggests that perpetrators are also frequently named,

though less often than victims, which may indicate varying media priorities in reporting on crime actors. While high, it is notably lower than that for victim names, which suggests that perpetrators are less consistently named in news coverage. The difference may stem from legal, ethical, or practical constraints, such as ongoing investigations or editorial decisions to avoid naming perpetrators until convictions are confirmed.

*Table 7*

*Frequencies of Victim and Perpetrator Age Groups in Femicide Coverage*

	Frequency	Age Groups			Missing
		<25	25-40	40>	
Victim Age	431	113	146	122	50
Perpetrator Age	421	64	148	127	82

Table 7 displays the frequency and distribution of victims and ages across specified age groups (<25, 25-40, 40>) and missing data categories. Multiple individuals within a single article were counted separately to reflect the total number of age instances.

The data illustrate age-related patterns in the reporting of victims and perpetrators, with implications for understanding demographic representation in crime narratives. The total number of individual victim age instances identified across the 403 news articles, totaling 431 cases, including multiple victims within a single article, was recorded separately to capture the comprehensive scope of age data. It suggests a significant presence of victim age information in the analyzed articles, which reflects the media's tendency to report demographic details of victims.

The age group "<25" for victims, which accounts for 113 instances, represents younger individuals in the sample. Such distribution indicates that a notable proportion of reported victims are under the age of 25, which reflects higher vulnerability or media focus on youth-related incidents. The result highlights a potential demographic skew in victim reporting that

warrants further investigation. One hundred forty-six victims were aged between 25 and 40, which indicates a mid-range adult population among victims. Compared to the "<25" group, young adults are frequently the largest portrayed victims in femicide cases, pointing to societal or crime-related factors affecting the age cohort, such as employment or lifestyle risks. The age group "40>" for victims includes 122 instances, representing older adults in the sample, which is lower than the "25-40" group but still significant, suggesting that older individuals are also commonly reported as victims. Moreover, it indicates a diverse age range of victims, potentially influenced by the femicide crimes. The "Missing" category for victim ages encompasses 50 individuals for whom age information was not provided, due to incomplete reporting, privacy concerns, or data unavailability. It also highlights a limitation in the consistency of demographic reporting in articles.

The total number of individual perpetrator ages mentioned in the corpus is 421. Similar to victims, multiple perpetrators within a single article were counted individually to ensure a complete representation of age data. The high frequency indicates that perpetrator age information is frequently included, though slightly less than victim age data. A total of 64 instances of perpetrators accounts for the "<25" age group, indicating a smaller proportion of younger perpetrators compared to victims in the same age group. It also suggests that younger individuals are less commonly reported as perpetrators. The most significant proportion of perpetrator ages is "25-40", which includes 148 instances. The mid-range adult peak category suggests that young adults are the most frequently reported perpetrators, underscoring a significant pattern in perpetrator age distribution. The age group "40>" for perpetrators comprises 127 instances, indicating a substantial number of older adult perpetrators. The distribution is slightly lower than that of the "25-40" group but higher than the "<25" group, which suggests a diverse age range among perpetrators. The "Missing" category for perpetrator ages encompasses 82 instances where age information was unavailable,

accounting for approximately 19.5% of perpetrator cases. The higher rate of missing data compared to victims may indicate greater reluctance to report perpetrator ages, possibly due to legal, ethical, or investigative constraints. The discrepancy highlights a potential bias or inconsistency in the reporting of perpetrator demographics.

Table 8

*Frequencies and Percentages of Femicide Motives*

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Example</i>
<b><i>Motives</i></b>				
	Intimate Partner Violence / Domestic Violence	184	45.7	Jealousy, custody disputes, restraining order violations, separation/divorce conflict
	Sexual Violence / Predation / Violence Against Woman	23	5.7	Rape-murder, reproductive control, sexual assault of minors
	Financial / Material Gain	40	9.9	Robbery, life insurance killings, theft
	Mental Illness / Psychological Factors	22	5.5	Psychosis, delusions, "mercy killings," suicidal ideation
	Alcohol/Substance Abuse Influence	29	7.2	Alcohol-fueled arguments, drug disputes
	Interpersonal Conflict (non-domestic)	23	5.7	Road rage, neighbor disputes, peer provocation
	Hate Crimes / Discrimination	6	1.5	Islamophobia, racial hatred, misogynistic targeting
	Crime-Opportunistic / Gangs	13	3.2	Gang retaliation, opportunistic burglary, crossfire
	Reckless / Opportunistic Violence	10	2.5	Road rage incident; anger/frustration at traffic confrontation
	Unkown / Under Investigation	66	16.4	Not specified, under investigation

Table 8 presents the frequency and percentage of various motive categories identified through the corps. The motives are classified into distinct categories such as intimate partner violence/domestic violence, sexual violence/predation, financial/material gain, mental illness/psychological factors, alcohol/substance abuse influence, interpersonal conflict (non-domestic), hate crimes/discrimination, crime-opportunistic/gangs, reckless/opportunistic violence, and unknown/under investigation. The total frequency across all categories sums to 405 instances, reflecting the inclusion of multiple motives within individual articles where applicable.

One hundred eighty-four instances (45.7%) encompass intimate partner violence/domestic violence (184 instances which highlights the prominence of family-related conflicts, often involving jealousy or custody disputes. Sexual violence/predation against women (23 instances, 5.7%), reflecting cases such as rape-murder or assaults on minors. Forty instances (9.9%) of the total motives represent financial/material gain, indicating economic motives like robbery or insurance-related killings; mental illness/psychological factors (22 instances, 5.5%), suggesting psychological conditions like psychosis or suicidal ideation. The alcohol/substance abuse influence 29 instances (7.2%) points to substance-fueled arguments or drug disputes. Twenty-three instances of interpersonal conflict (non-domestic) (5.7%) cover non-family disputes such as road rage or neighbor provocations. Hate crimes/discrimination includes six instances (1.5%) represents a rare instance of bias-driven acts like Islamophobia. 13 instances of crime-opportunistic/gangs (3.2%) including gang retaliation or opportunistic burglary; reckless/opportunistic violence (10 instances, 2.5%), encompassing spontaneous acts like road rage incidents; and unknown/under investigation (66 instances, 16.4%), indicating a significant portion of motives unresolved due to ongoing investigations.

Table 9 *Frequencies and Percentages of Methods of Killing*

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Example</i>
<b><i>Method of Killing</i></b>				
	Shooting/Firearm	162	40.2	Execution-style gunshot; revolver shot to head; .357 handgun headshot; .45-caliber Glock multiple shots; drive-by shooting with handgun
	Stabbing/Sharp Force Trauma	78	19.4	Throat slashing with knife; screwdriver stabs to head; 42 knife stabs to back; kitchen knife chest stabbing; cleaver attack to skull.
	Blunt Force Trauma/Beating	47	11.7	Shovel blows to head; thrown from vehicle trauma; base attack to head.
	Strangulation/Suffocation	37	9.2	Manual strangulation with hands; chokehold during assault; suffocation with pillow; strangulation with electrical cord; plastic bag over head.
	Arson/Fire-Related	12	3	Gasoline-ignited fire; carbon monoxide from car fire; bed set on fire; house fire causing burns; arson with smoke inhalation.
	Vehicular Homicide	7	1.7	High-speed crash with alcohol; SUV ramming at 40 mph; head-on collision trauma; fall from moving vehicle; deliberate vehicular assault.
	Poisoning/Overdose	4	1	Cocaine and methadone overdose; antifreeze poisoning; Scopolamine overdose; suffocation with plastic bag.
	Other	8	2	Drowning in bathtub; homemade cannon explosion; starvation in car; possible accidental drowning; dismemberment after stabbing.
	Unknown/Not Specified	48	11.9	Unspecified cause, body found; suspected homicide, no body; foul play, no details; homicidal violence, method undisclosed; body buried, cause unknown.

Table 9 presents the frequency and percentage of methods of killing identified in a content analysis of 403 news articles, with a total frequency of 403 instances accounting for multiple methods where applicable. It provides a concise overview of the predominance of firearms and the diversity of techniques in crime-related news coverage.

One hundred sixty-two cases identify the shooting/firearm category, with 40.2% often involving handguns or drive-by shootings, indicating a firm reliance on firearms, likely reflecting weapon availability or media emphasis on gun violence. Following it, the stabbing/sharp force trauma category (78, 19.4%), typically with knives or sharp objects, suggests a significant presence of close-range, personal attacks in reported crimes. Forty-seven cases (11.7%) represent the blunt force trauma/beatings category, such as blows with blunt instruments, which points to a notable occurrence of physical, possibly rage-driven assaults. Similarly, the strangulation/suffocation category (37, 9.2%), including manual or pillow-based methods, highlights a controlled or intimate method of killing in a substantial number of cases. Less frequent methods include the arson/fire-related category (12, 3%), such as gasoline fires, which indicates a less common but deliberate approach, possibly linked to specific crime contexts, and vehicular homicide (7, 1.7%), where vehicles are used as weapons in rare but impactful incidents. Even less common are the poisoning/overdose category (4, 1%), which involves substances like cocaine, pointing to a rare, potentially premeditated method of killing. The other category (8, 2%), including drowning or dismemberment, indicates a variety of unconventional techniques that occur sporadically. Finally, the unknown/not specified category (48, 11.9%), which reflects cases with unclear details, suggests that a significant portion of methods remain unresolved, possibly due to incomplete reporting or ongoing investigations.

Table 10

*Frequencies and Percentages of Locations of Femicide Cases*

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Example</i>
<b><i>Location</i></b>				
	Victim's Home	136	33.7	Victim's home, Casper; apartment, Gresham; home, Irving; apartment, Claymont; residence, Willmar.
	Couple's/Shared Home	104	25.8	Couple's apartment, Burlington; home, Orleans; family home, Dallas; apartment, Tualatin; townhouse, Hugo.
	Workplace/Professional Setting	12	3	Irving Cares, Irving; Wells Fargo, Beaverton; workplace, St. Paul; UC Irvine campus; parking garage, Dallas.
	Public Urban Area (Non-Work)	77	19.1	Parking lot, Casper; BART station, Oakland; street, Washington DC; bus shelter, Minneapolis; alley, Compton.
	Rural/Remote Area	46	11.4	Public lands, Evanston; Jordan River; Clay County, NE; wooded area, Estacada; wheat field, Moreno Valley.
	Hotel/Motel	7	1.7	Luxury Inn, Dallas; Sunset Motel, Fort Worth; Olive Motel, LA; Colony Motel, Harbor City; Quality Inn, Brooklyn.
	Other (e.g., Jail, Park, Vehicle)	21	5.2	County Jail, Scotts Bluff; Joshua Tree Park; Blue Lake Park; Dodge Challenger, Dallas; parking garage, Minneapolis.

Table 10 presents the frequency and percentage of locations where incidents occurred, as identified in a content analysis of 403 news articles. The total frequency of 403 instances reflects the range of settings reported, providing a concise overview of spatial patterns in

crime-related news.

The high frequency of incidents in victims' homes (136 cases, 33.7%) and couples'/shared homes (104 cases, 25.8%), totaling nearly 60% of cases, suggests that crime news heavily emphasizes domestic environments, likely portraying crimes as rooted in personal or relationship-related contexts, which may resonate with public interest in intimate or family-related violence. The significant presence of public urban areas (non-work) with 77 cases (19.1%) indicates a focus on accessible, high-traffic settings, potentially highlighting opportunistic crimes or urban safety concerns to engage broader audiences. The moderate occurrence in rural/remote areas (46 cases, 11.4%) suggests a selective portrayal of isolated incidents, possibly to highlight rare or dramatic crime scenarios. The low representation of workplace/professional settings (12 cases, 3%), hotels/motels (7 cases, 1.7%), and other diverse locations (21 cases, 5.2%) suggests that media tends to deprioritize these settings, perhaps due to their lower frequency or less sensational appeal. The concentration of cases in domestic and urban locales, alongside a notable variety of settings, indicates that crime news portrayal prioritizes relatable or high-impact locations, shaping public perceptions of crime as predominantly a domestic or urban phenomenon while occasionally featuring unique or unresolved contexts.

### 4.1.3. Results of Portrayal, Framing, Language Tone, and Visual Elements

Figure 4

*Distribution of Framing Types in Femicide Coverage*

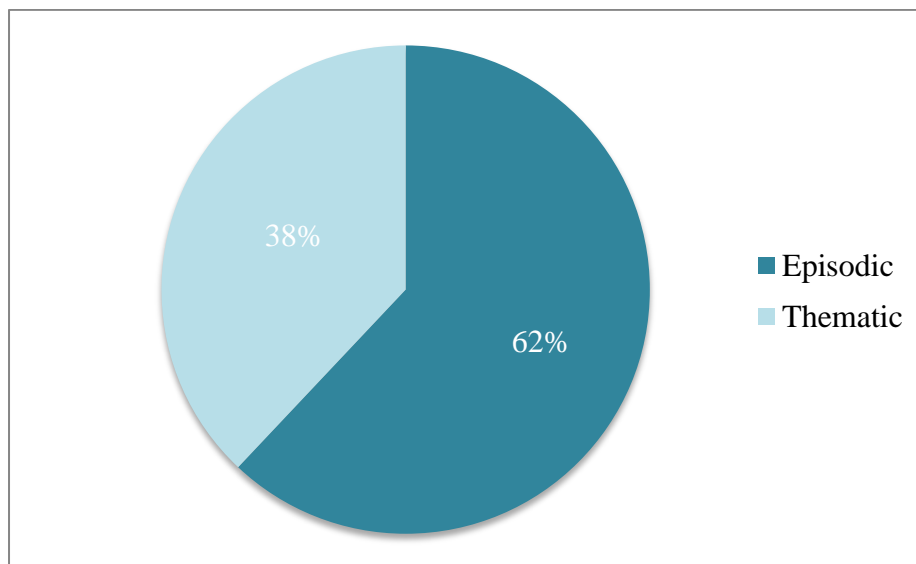


Figure 4 displays the distribution of framing types across 403 femicide articles in U.S. local newspapers (2010–2019). Thematic framing, emphasizing systemic or societal issues such as femicide and VAW, accounts for 153 articles. Episodic framing, which focuses on individual incidents and encompasses both victim-centered and perpetrator-centered narratives, dominates, with 250 articles. The findings suggest a prevalent focus on individual-level narratives, potentially shaping public perception toward personal accountability rather than broader structural factors in femicide portrayals.

Figure 5

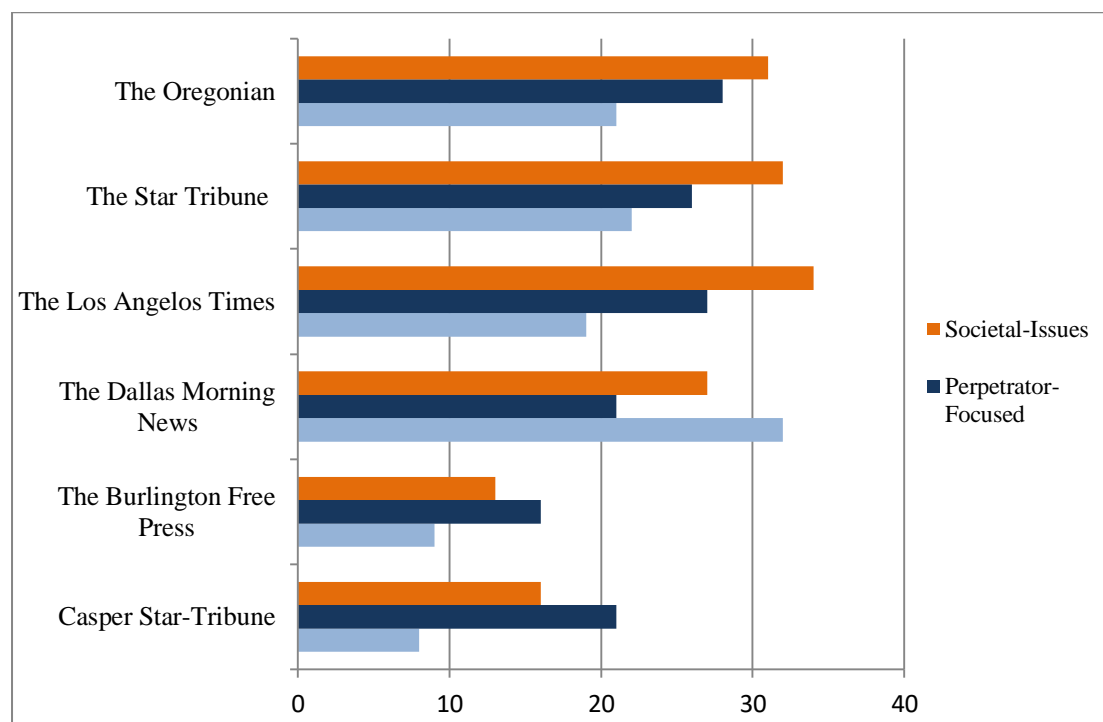
*Distribution of Framing Types by Newspaper in Femicide Coverage*

Figure 5 presents a bar chart illustrating the percentage distribution of framing types, including victim-centered, perpetrator-centered, and societal issues, across six U.S. local newspapers, based on raw article counts ( $n = 403$  articles). The Casper Star-Tribune reported 8 Victim-Focused articles, highlighting the victim's story or traits, 21 Perpetrator-Focused articles emphasizing the perpetrator's actions or motives, and 16 Societal-Issues articles addressing systemic factors like gender-based violence, indicating a notable focus on perpetrator narratives. The Burlington Free Press reported 9 Victim-Focused articles, 16 Perpetrator-Focused articles, and 13 Societal-Issues articles, suggesting a slight lean toward perpetrator-centered coverage. The Dallas Morning News reported 32 Victim-Focused articles, 21 Perpetrator-Focused articles, and 27 Societal-Issues articles, reflecting a balanced yet slightly systemic-oriented approach. The Los Angeles Times reported 19 Victim-Focused articles, 27 Perpetrator-Focused articles, and 34 Societal-Issues articles, showing a strong emphasis on societal contexts. The Star Tribune reported 22 Victim-Focused articles, 26

Perpetrator-Focused articles, and 32 Societal-Issues articles, indicating a preference for systemic framing. The Oregonian reported 21 Victim-Focused articles, 28 Perpetrator-Focused articles, and 31 Societal-Issues articles, highlighting a significant focus on both perpetrator actions and societal issues.

The results suggest varying editorial priorities, with some newspapers (e.g., Los Angeles Times, Star Tribune, Oregonian) emphasizing societal issues, while others (e.g., Casper Star-Tribune, Burlington Free Press) lean toward perpetrator-focused narratives, potentially influencing public perception of femicide responsibility and context. Overall, the portrayal across these newspapers reveals a mixed focus, with a general tilt toward societal and perpetrator framings, suggesting a complex interplay of individual accountability and systemic critique that shapes the broader discourse on femicide in U.S. media.

Table 11

*Frequency and Percentage of Language Tone in Femicide Coverage*

Language Tone	Frequency (Count)	Percentage (%)
Neutral	209	51.9
Sensational	67	16.6
Sympathetic	127	31.5
Total	403	100

Table 11 presents the frequency and percentage distribution of language tones, including neutral, sensational, and sympathetic, across the corpus of 403 articles on femicide coverage in U.S. local newspapers from 2010 to 2019. The neutral tone, characterized by objective reporting, occurred in 209 articles, accounting for 51.9% of the total, reflecting a dominant factual approach. The sensational tone, characterized by exaggerated or dramatic

language, was evident in 67 articles, representing 16.6%, indicating a moderate emphasis on emotional impact. Finally, the sympathetic tone, conveying empathy toward victims or affected parties, was present in 127 articles, making up 31.5%, suggesting a notable compassionate perspective. The results highlight a predominant use of neutral tone, suggesting a preference for objectivity in reporting femicide. In contrast, sensational and sympathetic tones indicate varying degrees of emotional engagement, potentially influencing public empathy and perception of the issue, with the discrepancy in totals hinting at data inconsistencies that may affect the portrayal's reliability.

Figure 6

*Distribution of Image Presence in Femicide Coverage*

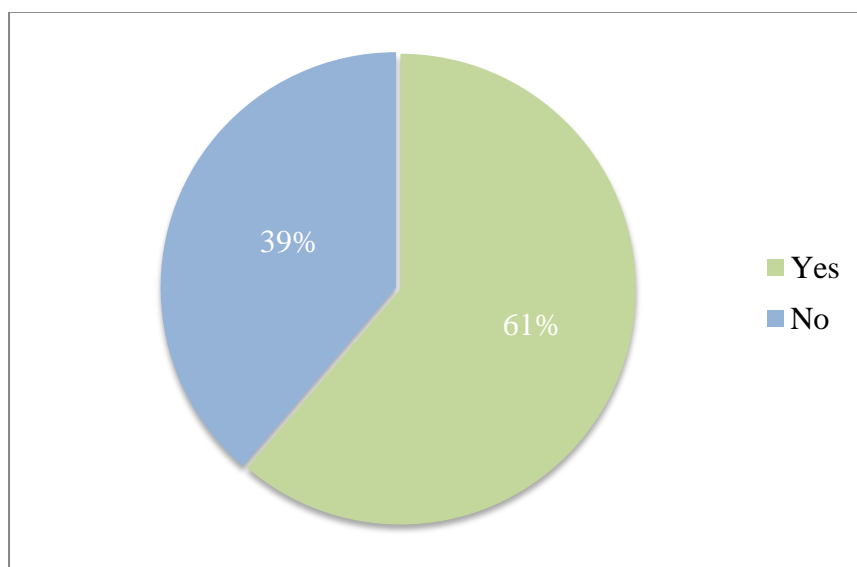


Figure 6 presents a pie chart illustrating the distribution of image presence across 403 articles on femicide coverage in U.S. local newspapers from 2010 to 2019. Of these, 156 articles (39%) did not include images, indicating a significant portion of text-only reporting. In comparison, the remaining 247 articles (61%) contained images, suggesting a notable use of visual elements to enhance narratives.

The pie chart visually emphasizes the split, with the "No Image" segment occupying

42% and the "Yes Image" segment comprising 61.3% of the total. The result indicates a balanced yet image-heavy portrayal of femicide, where the majority of articles utilize visuals to heighten emotional impact or engagement, potentially. At the same time, the absence of images in a substantial minority may reflect a focus on textual detail, which in turn influences how readers perceive and connect with the reported incidents.

Figure 7

*Distribution of Image Types by Tone in Femicide Coverage*

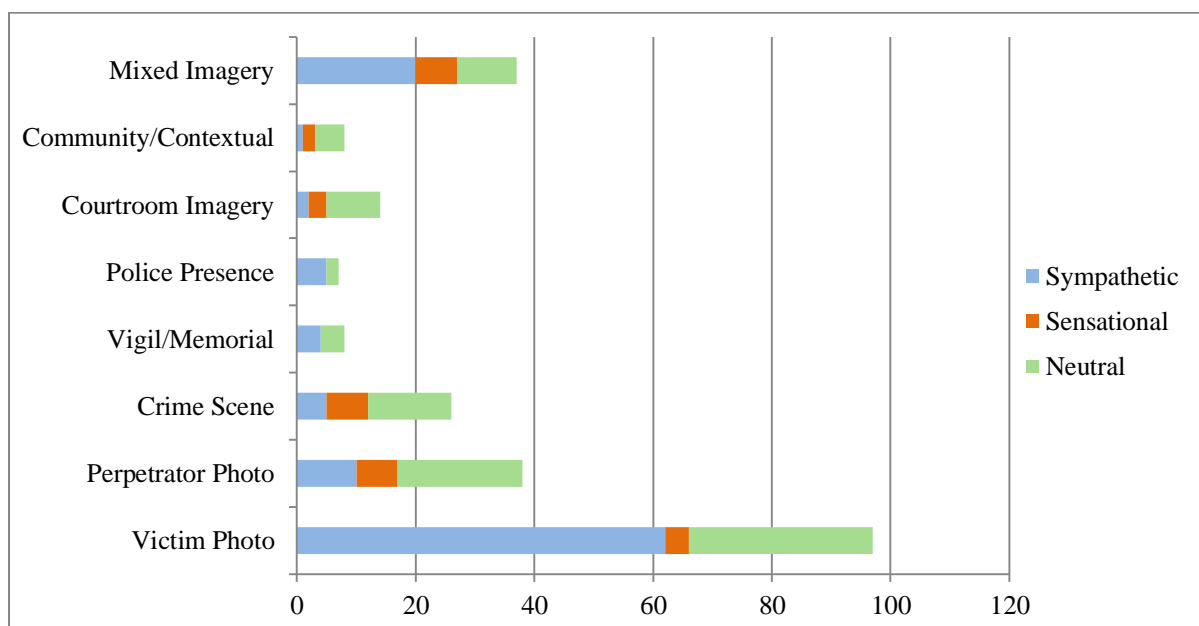


Figure 7 represents the distribution of image types by tone. The frequency data for Image Type (N = 234 articles with images, 58.1% of 403) shows Victim Photo as the most prevalent (97 articles, 41.5%), followed by Perpetrator Photo (38 articles, 16.2%), Mixed Imagery (37 articles, 15.8%), Crime Scene (26 articles, 11.1%), Courtroom Imagery (14 articles, 6%), Vigil/Memorial and Community/Contextual (8 articles each, 3.4%), and Police Presence (7 articles, 3%). The dominance of victim photos emphasizes individual narratives, while low frequencies of community/contextual and vigil/memorial imagery suggest minimal focus on systemic or collective perspectives. The significant Mixed Imagery category indicates the use of complex visual strategies in some articles. The image tone distribution

across 234 articles is generally sympathetic (109 articles, 46.6%), neutral (96 articles, 41%), and sensational (30 articles, 12.8%). A sympathetic tone prevails, highlighting empathetic portrayals, while a neutral tone is more common in institutional contexts. The lower sensational tone suggests restraint in graphic visuals, though its presence indicates some dramatic portrayals.

The stacked bar chart data for image type by tone reveals that victim photos are mostly sympathetic (62 articles), with neutral tones (31 articles) and rare sensational tones (4 articles), highlighting empathetic portrayals. Moreover, perpetrator photos are predominantly neutral (21 articles), with sympathetic (10 articles) and sensational (7 articles) tones, blending factual with occasional emotive visuals. Furthermore, crime scene imagery (26 articles) employs a range of tones, including neutral (14 articles), sensational (7 articles), and sympathetic (5 articles), with the latter often amplified by sensational visuals, thereby enhancing drama. Vigil/Memorial imagery (8 articles) is split evenly between sympathetic and neutral (4 articles), reflecting a mix of mourning and factual tones. Mixed Imagery (37 articles) is primarily sympathetic (20 articles), with neutral (10 articles) and sensational (7 articles) elements, indicating a varied visual narrative. Police presence (7 articles) is largely sympathetic (5 articles), with minor neutral (2 articles) elements, emphasizing institutional empathy. Courtroom imagery (14 articles), on the other hand, is primarily neutral (9 articles), with some articles featuring sensational (3 articles) and sympathetic (2 articles) tones, and focuses on legal contexts. Ultimately, Community/Contextual imagery (8 articles) is primarily neutral (5 articles), with sensational (2 articles) and sympathetic (1 article) elements, showing a limited systemic focus.

Table 12

*Heatmap of Framing and Language Tone in Femicide Coverage Without Images (N = 156)*

Number	Column Label			
Row Lables	Neutral	Sensational	Sympathetic	Grand Total
Perpetrator-Focused	38	10	7	55
Societal-Issues	28	13	12	53
Victim-Focused	28	8	12	48
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>156</b>

Table 13

*Heatmap of Framing and Language Tone in Femicide Coverage With Neutral Images*

*(N = 123)*

Number	Column Labels			
Row Lables	Neutral	Sensational	Sympathetic	Grand Total
Perpetrator-Focused	23	6	14	43
Societal-Issues	28	8	8	44
Victim-Focused	22	5	9	36
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>123</b>

Table 14

*Heatmap of Framing and Language Tone in Femicide Coverage With Sympathetic Images**(N = 104)*

<b>Number</b>	<b>Column Labels</b>			
<b>Row Lables</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Sensational</b>	<b>Sympathetic</b>	<b>Grand Total</b>
Perpetrator-Focused	17	2	5	24
Societal-Issues	23	8	12	43
Victim-Focused	14	2	21	37
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>104</b>

Table 15

*Heatmap of Framing and Language Tone in Femicide Coverage With Sensational Images**(N = 20)*

<b>Number</b>	<b>Column Labels</b>			
<b>Row Lables</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Sensational</b>	<b>Sympathetic</b>	<b>Grand Total</b>
Perpetrator-Focused	2	3	1	6
Societal-Issues	3	1	4	8
Victim-Focused	3		3	6
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>20</b>

Table 16

*Examples of Interconnected Framing, Language Tone, and Visual Tone in Femicide Coverage*

Article ID	Visual Context	Framing	Language Tone	Excerpt Example
1	Without Image	Perpetrator Focused	Neutral	"Perpetrator indicted for second-degree murder after choking victim; pleaded not guilty" (text-only factual report on Perpetrator's actions).
51	With Neutral Image	Societal Issues	Neutral	"Death's effect on criminal charges under review; state assesses legal ramifications"(with neutral courtroom sketch).
146	With Sympathetic Image	Victim Focused	Sympathetic	"44-year-old woman found slain in apartment; family seeks justice amid tragedy" (with sympathetic victim photo).
283	With Sensational Image	Perpetrator Focused	Sensational	"Horrific rampage leaves town reeling; suspect's violent history exposed" (with sensational crime scene image).
379	Without Image	Societal Issues	Sympathetic	"Woman with dementia lost in house fire; family mourns after years of devoted caregiving" (text-only empathetic reflection on loss).

The tables 12 -15 above represent heatmap multidimensional patterns of framing and language tone in femicide coverage across visual contexts, with examples illustrating high-frequency combinations from the heatmaps, highlighting narrative patterns across visual contexts from Article IDs 1, 51, 146, 283, and 379.

In the subset of articles without accompanying images (N = 156), the crosstabulation of framing types and language tones revealed that the perpetrator-focused framing accounted for 55 articles (35.3% of the subsample), comprising 38 (68.2% within framing) with neutral tone, 10 (18.2%) with sensational tone, and 7 (12.7%) with sympathetic tone. The framing of societal issues included 53 articles (34.0%), with 28 (52.8%) being neutral, 13 (24.5%) being sensational, and 12 (22.6%) being sympathetic. Finally, victim-focused framing encompassed 48 articles (30.8%), distributed as follows: 28 (58.3%) were neutral, 8 (16.7%) were sensational, and 12 (25.0%) were sympathetic. Overall, a neutral tone predominates across framings (94 articles; 60.3%), followed by equivalent counts for sensational and sympathetic tones (31 each; 19.9%).

The heatmap visualization employed a green-yellow-red color scale to represent cell frequencies, highlighting the highest co-occurrence in perpetrator-focused neutral framing (green) and the lowest in perpetrator-focused sympathetic framing (red), with intermediate gradients indicating relative frequencies. "Perpetrator indicted for second-degree murder after choking victim; pleaded not guilty" is the quantitative patterns that illustrate how framing and tone manifest in article narratives with no visual context (see Table 12).

In the subset of articles with neutral image tone (N = 123), the crosstabulation of framing types and language tones revealed the following distribution uncovered that the perpetrator-focused framing; which is accounted for 43 articles (35.0% of the subsample); comprising 23 (53.5% within framing) with neutral tone, 6 (14.0%) with sensational tone, and

14 (32.6%) with sympathetic tone. Victim-focused framing was represented in 36 articles (29.3%), comprising 22 (61.1%) neutral, 5 (13.9%) sensational, and 9 (25.0%) sympathetic articles. The framing of societal issues included 44 articles (35.8%), with 28 (63.6%) being neutral, 8 (18.2%) being sensational, and 8 (18.2%) being sympathetic. In summary, a neutral tone predominated across framings (73 articles, 59.3%), followed by a sympathetic tone (31, 25.2%) and a sensational tone (19, 15.4%).

The heatmap visualization applied a green-yellow-red color scale to cell frequencies, highlighting the highest co-occurrence in societal-issues neutral framing (green) and the lowest in victim-focused sensational framing (red), with intermediate gradients reflecting relative frequencies. The quantitative patterns, "Death's effect on criminal charges under review; state assesses legal ramifications," align with neutral courtroom sketches that elucidate the manifestation of framing and tone within article narratives in visual contexts.

Table 14 represents the subset of articles with sympathetic image tone (N = 104), the crosstabulation of framing types and language tones revealed the following distribution highlighted that the perpetrator-focused framing accounted for 24 articles (23.1% of the subsample), comprising 17 (70.8% within framing) with neutral tone, 2 (8.3%) with sensational tone, and 5 (20.8%) with sympathetic tone. Victim-focused framing was represented in 37 articles (35.6%), with 14 (37.8%) being neutral, 2 (5.4%) being sensational, and 21 (56.8%) being sympathetic. Societal-issues framing included 43 articles (41.3%), with 23 (53.5%) neutral, 8 (18.6%) sensational, and 12 (27.9%) sympathetic. Altogether, a neutral tone predominated across framings (54 articles; 51.9%), followed by a sympathetic tone (38; 36.5%) and a sensational tone (12; 11.5%).

The heatmap visualization applied a green-yellow-red color scale to cell frequencies, highlighting the highest co-occurrence in victim-focused sympathetic framing (green) and the lowest in perpetrator-focused and victim-focused sensational framings (red; tied at 2), with

intermediate gradients reflecting relative frequencies. These quantitative patterns are exemplified in the following qualitative excerpts: "44-year-old woman found slain in apartment; family seeks justice amid tragedy," accompanied by a sympathetic victim photo, which illustrates how framing and tone manifest in article narratives across visual contexts (see Table 14).

In the subset of articles with sensational image tone that is 20 articles, the crosstabulation of framing types and language tones revealed the following distribution pointed that the perpetrator-focused framing accounted for six articles (30.0% of the subsample), comprising 2 (33.3% within framing) with neutral tone, 3 (50.0%) with sensational tone, and 1 (16.7%) with sympathetic tone. Societal-issues framing included eight articles (40.0%), with 3 (37.5%) neutral, 1 (12.5%) sensational, and 4 (50.0%) sympathetic. Victim-focused framing was represented in 6 articles (30.0%), with 3 (50.0%) articles neutral, 0 (0.0%) articles sensational, and 3 (50.0%) articles sympathetic. Generally, neutral and sympathetic tones predominated across framings (8 articles each; 40.0%), followed by sensational tone (4; 20.0%).

The heatmap visualization applied a green-yellow-red color scale to cell frequencies, highlighting the highest co-occurrence in societal-issues sympathetic framing (green) and the lowest in victim-focused sensational framing (red), with intermediate gradients reflecting relative frequencies. "Horrorific rampage leaves town reeling; suspect's violent history exposed," along with a sensational crime scene image, exemplifies quantitative patterns that are illustrated in the qualitative excerpts, which demonstrate how framing and tone manifest in article narratives across visual contexts (see Table 15).

Table 17

*Summary of Femicide Portrayal Characteristics*

<i>Element</i>	<i>Key Finding</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Framing	Episodic	250	62
Language Tone	Neutral	209	51.9
Visual Elements	Image Presence	247	61.3
Interconnections	Victim-Focused + Sympathetic + Sympathetic (images)	37	35.6
	Perpetrator-Focused + Neutral (no images)	55	35.3

Table 17 presents a summary of the characteristics of femicide portrayal, highlighting a dominant portrayal through episodic framing (62.0%), which focuses on individual incidents, alongside a prevalent neutral language tone (51.9%) that underscores objective reporting. Visual elements show a slight majority with images (61.3%), suggesting their role in narrative enhancement. Interconnections reveal distinct patterns: Perpetrator-Focused and Neutral in no-image articles (35.3%) emphasize factual perpetrator narratives, while Victim-Focused, Sympathetic, and Sympathetic in image-present articles (35.6%) amplify empathetic victim portrayals, indicating a visual influence on emotional framing. The findings collectively suggest a media tendency to individualize femicide, potentially shaping public perception toward personal accountability over systemic issues.

#### 4.1.4. Results of Linguistic Strategies and Gender Dynamics

Table 18

##### *Linguistic Strategies by Victim and Perpetrator Depictions*

Linguistic Strategy	Victim	Perpetrator
Headline	Victim Story 103	Perpetrator Act 129
Focus Frequency	Event 93	Event 78
	<b>Light / Brightness / Angelic imagery (18 instances)</b>	<b>Dehumanization / Monstrous imagery (15 instances)</b>
	“A light shining every day,” “shining light,” “bright light,”	“Nothing more than a reptile,” “predator,”
	<b>Fragility / Innocence / Childhood imagery (10 instances)</b>	<b>Violence as Object / Disposal (9 instances)</b>
	“Small feet,” “innocent lamb,”	“Like trash,” “disposed of like trash,”
Metaphors	<b>Grief / Loss metaphors (12 instances)</b>	<b>War / Militaristic metaphors (8 instances)</b>
	“Hole in our hearts,” “time stands still,”	“Ambush,” “rampage,”
	<b>Family &amp; Social Bond metaphors (7 instances)</b>	<b>Psychological / Control metaphors (7 instances)</b>
	“Soul mates,” “my joy, my everything,”	“Master manipulator,” “cruel obsession,”
	Total 200	Total 216
Negative Adjectives	Heartbroken, lifeless, scared, innocent, slain, gruesome,	<i>Violent, cruel, sadistic, controlling, predator, psychotic, cold-blooded</i>
	Total 465	Total 60
Positive Adjectives	<i>Beloved, successful, resilient, beautiful, grateful, angel, aspiring</i>	<i>Remorseful, cooperative, honors, friendly, polite, respectful, good man</i>
	Vulnerable/Innocent/Helpless 67	Violent/Controlling/Abusive Male 141
Stereotypes Present	Nurturing Mother/Caregiver 64	Jealous/Obsessive Ex-Partner 32

	Ideal Victim (Pure/Kind/Devoted) 54	Criminal/Deviant/Repeat Offender 20
	Erased/Invisible (Minimal Details/Relational) 30	Mental Illness Explanation ("Snapped"/Unstable) 23
	Racialized Vulnerability (e.g., Black/Latina/Indigenous Women) 10	Racialized Danger (e.g., Dangerous Black Male/Latino Gang) 5
	Individual 28	Individual 312
Blame Assignment	"implicitly blames victim through references to her dropping charges and defending her father" (individual choice in legal process)	"Directly assigned to Norman Bachman" (personal culpability without mitigation)
	Societal 17	Societal 48
	"systemic gun violence in America rather than specifically on an identified perpetrator" (broader political inaction on firearms)	"partial blame is redirected toward mental health struggles" (societal/psychological factors like illness)

Table 18 represents a differentiation in linguistic strategies between victims and perpetrators across multiple textual dimensions. Victims are the primary focus in the headlines of the corpus. They are frequently framed through victims' personal story narratives (n = 102) and event-centered references (n = 93), whereas perpetrators are primarily foregrounded through their actions (n = 128) or event framing (n = 77).

The metaphorical patterns also diverge systematically. Perpetrators are consistently represented through metaphors of dehumanization and monstrosity (15), militaristic aggression (8), psychological manipulation or control (7), and objectification and disposal (9). By contrast, victims are often portrayed with emotive or positive imagery, including fragility and innocence (10), light and brightness (18 instances), familial or relational bonds (7), and expressions of grief and loss (12).

The lexical choices also reinforce the binary opposition. Adjectives with negative

connotations are balanced in scale across the two categories, with 200 instances for victims and 216 for perpetrators. Nevertheless, positive adjectives exhibit a stark asymmetry: victims are predominantly characterized through laudatory and favorable terms (n = 465), whereas perpetrators garner scant such modifiers (n = 60), primarily confined to contexts of extenuation or contextualizing registers..

Stereotypical framings further consolidate the dichotomy. Victim stereotypes aggregate around motifs of vulnerability and helplessness (n = 67), maternal or caregiving roles (n = 64), the "ideal victim" trope (n = 54), erasure or invisibility (n = 30), and racialized vulnerability (n = 10). The depiction of perpetrators' stereotypes coalesce violent and controlling masculinity (n = 141), jealousy and obsessive ex-partner dynamics (n = 32), criminal or deviant recidivism (n = 20), mental illness explanations (n = 23), and racialized danger (n = 5).

Allocations of blame assignment are divergent: for victims, attribution is divided between individual responsibility (n = 28) and broader societal forces (n = 17), whereas perpetrator blame is preponderantly individualized (n = 312), with a smaller proportion directed toward societal or psychological etiologies and explanations (n = 48).

Table 19

*Distribution of Gender Dynamics Indicators Across Articles*

Stereotypes Present	Victim Helplessness	Perpetrator Aggression	Societal Responsibility	Mixed / Non Stereotypes
Blame Assignment	Individual	Individual	Societal	Mixed
AI_Sentiment Score (Avg)	-0.22	-0.61	-0.56	-0.54
Frequency	102	174	60	66
Note	Passive language	Active verbs	Metaphors like	Ambiguous language

	reinforces victim passivity in episodic narratives (~65% erasure).	attribute agency to perpetrator, aligning with individual blame (~60% procedural focus).	"cycle" shift blame to structural issues in thematic contexts (~45% humanization).	blurs gender roles, reflecting episodic isolation (~35% binary oppositions).
Framing	Episodic (62%): Emphasizes personal vulnerability in individual incidents	Episodic (62%): Heightens perpetrator focus in individual incidents	Thematic (38%): Promotes perception of gender inequality as systemic	Episodic (62%): Minimizes societal critique in personal stories

Table 19 represents the distribution of gender dynamics indicators across articles that offer a nuanced sociolinguistic lens that demonstrates evident asymmetries in the discursive construction of gender and responsibility in femicide reporting. The categorization of stereotypes, including victim helplessness, perpetrator aggression, societal responsibility, and mixed/non stereotypes, effectively operationalizes key gender constructs and is strictly linked to the framing that is a critical bridge, illustrating how linguistic strategies reflect gender dynamics. Victim helplessness dominates (n = 102), primarily conveyed through episodic framing and passive linguistic strategies that erase agency and reinforce vulnerability. While perpetrator aggression registers most frequently (n = 174), with active verb structures assigning individual culpability yet simultaneously narrowing violence to procedural or isolated events. The societal responsibility, although present (n = 60), is the least frequent and is mainly tied to thematic framings that acknowledge structural inequalities and systemic failures. Finally, the mixed or non-stereotypical representations (n = 66) reveal discursive ambivalence, often diluting gendered accountability through ambiguous framing. Sentiment scores further underscore the patterns: the least negative tone (-0.22) related to victim helplessness reflects a softened portrayal, whereas perpetrators receive a stronger negative

correspondence (-0.61).

Furthermore, mixed and societal framings persist with a heavily negative tone (-0.54; -0.56), suggesting frustration with systemic failures, as well as discursive instability. Overall, the distribution discloses a dominant reliance on episodic, individualized narratives, with thematic and structural perspectives remaining underrepresented, reinforcing gendered stereotypes and limiting recognition of femicide as a systemic issue. The assignment of blame's alignment (Individual for Helplessness and Aggression, Societal for Responsibility, Mixed for Non-Stereotypes) reinforces individualization as a dominant narrative frame. The notes column distills complex linguistic strategies into concise insights, revealing how language shapes gendered meaning in the articles. Passive language constructions erase women's agency (~65%), reducing victims to objects of violence. Active verbs highlight perpetrators (~60%), yet it remains a procedural approach that obscures systemic patterns. Metaphors such as "cycle" introduce structural awareness (~45%), framing violence as recurring and socially embedded. Ambiguous language (~35%) blurs gender roles, but risks diluting recognition of gendered power asymmetries by framing violence as mutual conflict rather than male-perpetrated harm.

Figure 8 *Adjective Usage Disparities for Victims vs. Perpetrators*

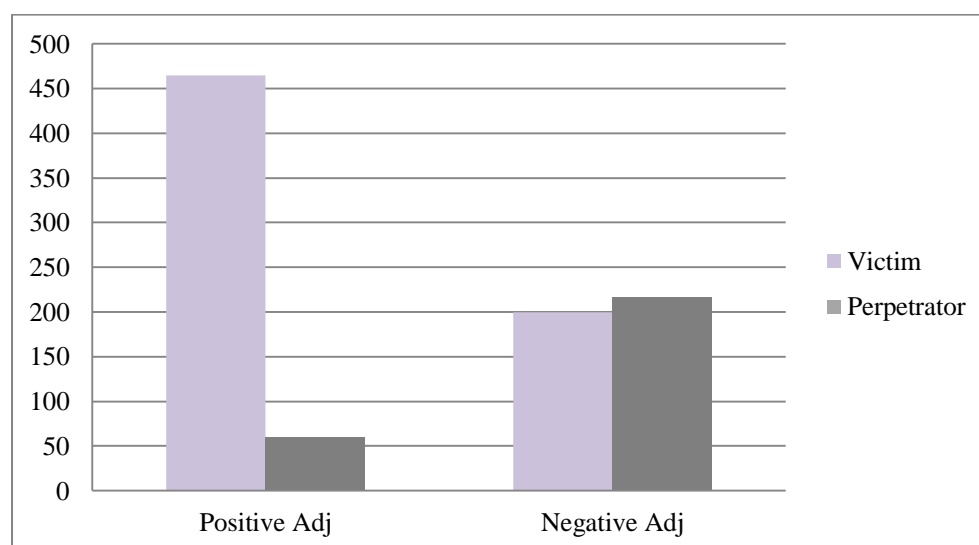


Figure 8 illustrates a side-by-side bar chart comparing the usage of both positive and negative adjectives for victims and perpetrators. Victims are strongly associated with positive adjectives (450 instances), with a low frequency of negative adjectives (around 50 instances, notably "heartbreaking" and "sad"), reflecting a compassionate portrayal. In contrast, perpetrators exhibit a low frequency of positive adjectives (around 50 instances) but a higher frequency of negative adjectives (approximately 200 instances, including "brutal," "violent," and "cruel"), underscoring a harsh depiction. The design effectively highlights the inverse relationship between the two groups.

Figure 9

*Association of Metaphors with Gender Stereotypes in Episodic Framing*

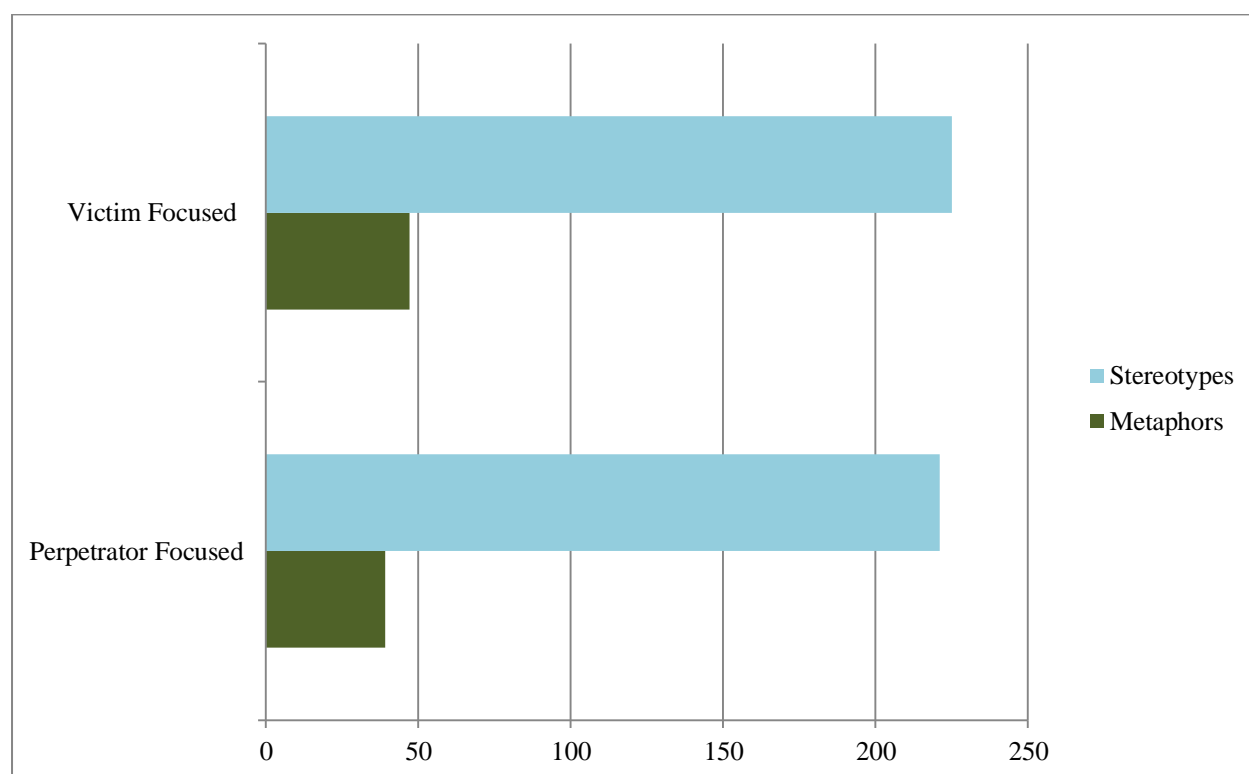


Figure 9 illustrates the association of metaphors with gender stereotypes in episodic framing. The graph highlights a notable balance in the distribution of metaphors and stereotypes across victim- and perpetrator-focused reporting. Perpetrator-Focused shows 39 instances of metaphors and 221 instances of stereotypes, while Victim-Focused has 47 instances of metaphors and 221 instances of stereotypes, while Victim-Focused has 47

instances of metaphors and 225 instances of stereotypes. While both categories show similarly high reliance on gender stereotypes, the use of metaphors is slightly higher in victim-focused accounts compared to perpetrator-focused ones. The results suggest that while stereotypes are prevalent in both framings, metaphors are more frequently employed to emphasize or dramatize the victim's role, thereby reinforcing symbolic and emotional portrayals that stand in contrast to the more fact-driven depictions of perpetrators.

Figure 10

*Donut Chart of Blame Attribution Themes*

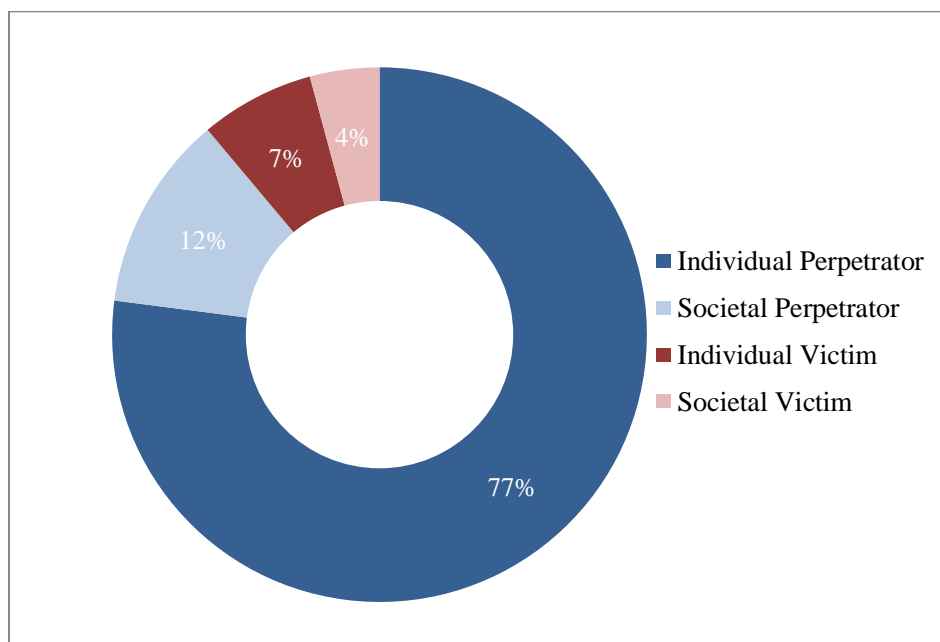
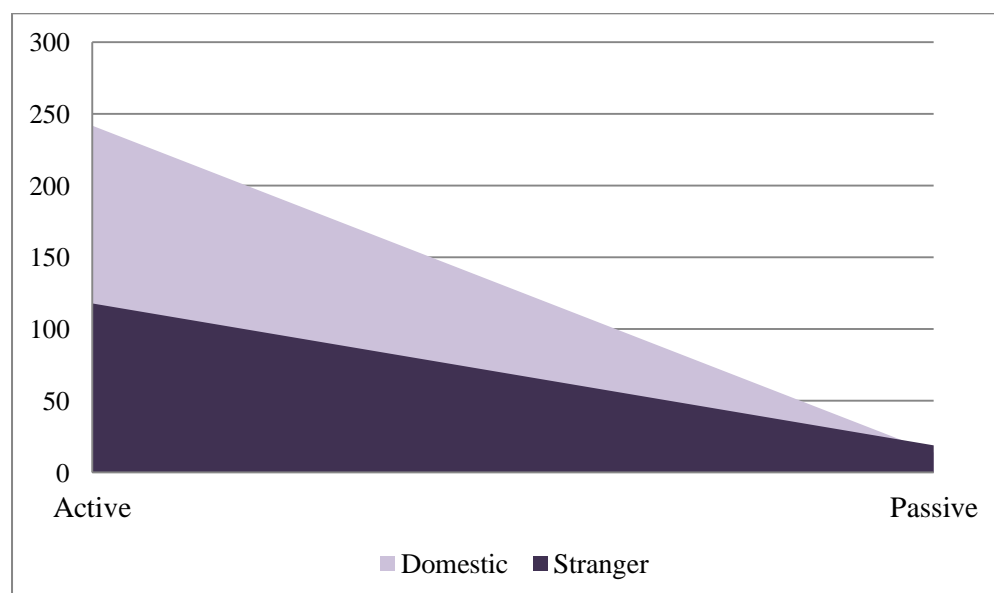


Figure 10 represent of blame attribution themes, derived from the provided frequency table (Individual Perpetrator: 312, Societal Perpetrator: 48, Individual Victim: 28, Societal Victim: 17). With a total of 405 instances, it underscores the dominance of individual perpetrator attribution (312 instances, ~75%), reflecting the journalistic tendency to foreground male agency through active verbs and direct responsibility. In contrast, societal perpetrator blame (48 cases, ~12%) appears far less frequently, signaling a limited engagement with structural or systemic critiques of violence. Victims, meanwhile, are rarely assigned blame, with individual victim attribution (28 cases, ~7%) and societal victim

attribution (17 cases, ~4%) together forming only a small fraction of the distribution. The result underscores a significant linguistic bias in femicide narratives, where blame is predominantly individualized to perpetrators (e.g., “directly assigned to Norman Bachman”). The minimal attribution of blame to victims, particularly societal factors (4%, e.g., “systemic gun violence”), suggests an underemphasis on structural issues, potentially reinforcing gendered stereotypes of victim passivity or complicity (e.g., “dropping charges”).

Figure 11

*Stacked Area Plot of Active and Passive Verbs in Femicide Reporting*



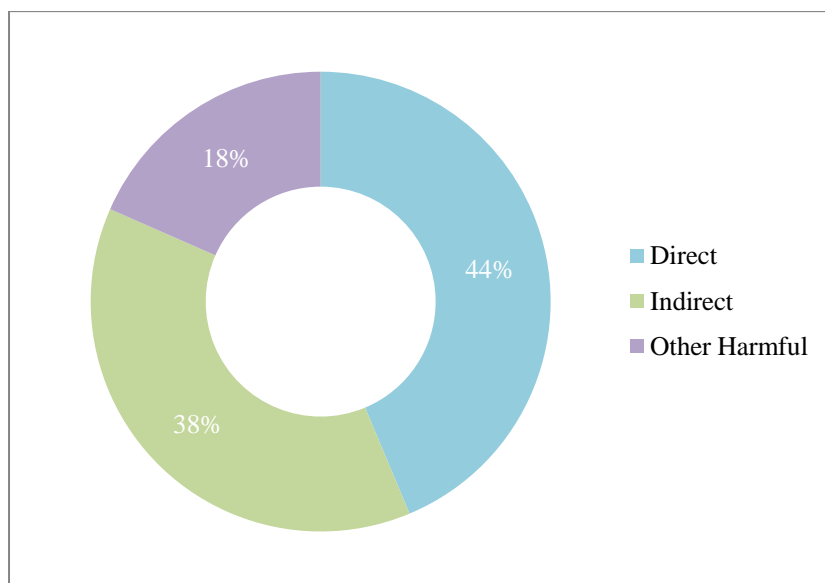
The stacked area plot illustrates a marked predominance of active verbs (360 instances, 89.3%) compared to passive verbs (33 instances, 8.2%) in the linguistic depiction of femicide methods across 403 elements, revealing a pronounced bias toward emphasizing perpetrator agency in reporting. Within active verbs, domestic cases comprise the lion's share (~80% visually), underscoring a relational framing that may normalize intimate partner violence as "personal" rather than systemic. The reliance on active forms (e.g., shot, stabbed, beaten) constructs perpetrators as intentional agents of violence, reinforcing discourses of deviant masculinity, while the limited use of passive verbs (e.g., found dead, died of) diffuses responsibility and minimizes victim subjectivity. The patterns prompt a reevaluation of

journalistic guidelines to strike a balance between agency and structural critique, thereby fostering more equitable narratives surrounding gendered violence.

#### 4.1.6. Results of Direct, Indirect, and Other Harmful Language

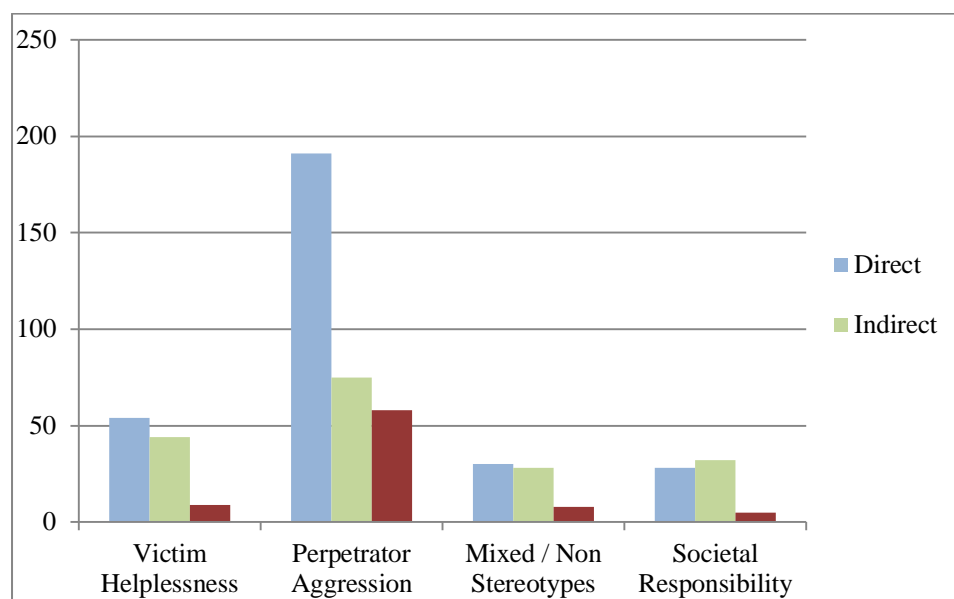
Figure 12

*Prevalence of Language Types Across Articles*



The figure delineates the distribution of direct (204 instances, 44%), indirect (177 instances, 38%), and other harmful (86 instances, 18%) language types across the 403-article corpus, with multiple types per article underscoring a layered linguistic ecology of harm. The results revealed a direct language ascendancy of vivid and agentive constructions, such as the use of "brutally murdered"; meanwhile, indirect phrasing (e.g., "death occurred") evinces depoliticizing attenuation. The attenuated other harmful category (18%), encompassing stereotyping and euphemisms, nonetheless signals insidious subtlety, potentially normalizing gender asymmetries. The visualization's concentric design elegantly foregrounds the cumulative saturation with 87.6% of articles with at least one type, presenting media's discursive complicity in femicide's normalization, warranting critical interrogation of linguistic harm's structural entrenchment.

Figure 13

*Language Type Distribution by Stereotype-Based Depiction*

The stacked bar figure, which delineates language type distribution by stereotype-based depiction, highlights clear divergences in how different stereotypes are linguistically represented.

Results show that perpetrator aggression emerging as the predominant category dominated by direct language (191 instances), followed by indirect (75 instances) and other harmful (58 instances), more than triple that of any other category, underscoring that explicit, vivid, and often blame-oriented descriptions are strongly tied to the construction of violent male figures. In contrast, victim helplessness exhibits a more equilibrated profile, with direct (54) and indirect (44) forms appearing almost equally, suggesting a discursive ambivalence: victims are sometimes represented in strong, explicit terms but often mitigated through euphemistic or passive expressions that downplay agency and violence. The Mixed category mirrors ambivalence on a smaller scale, with 30 instances of direct and 28 instances of indirect references, followed by eight instances of other harmful references, reflecting ambiguous strategies that dilute gender specificity and how overlapping stereotypes are

narrated through a balanced blend of linguistic strategies, rather than an extreme emphasis. Whilst societal responsibility leans toward indirect language (32 vs. 28 direct), indicating a systemic or collective aspects of violence are framed in softer, less confrontational ways, to diffuse blame or avoid direct accusations against institutions.

The other harmful language is most evident in perpetrator aggression (58 instances), reinforcing how stereotypes of violent masculinity are not only explicit but also sensationalized or stigmatizing. The result contrasts with relatively low instances of harmful stereotyping in categories such as societal responsibility (5 instances) or victim helplessness (9 instances). Overall, the chart illustrates how language functions not only to depict but also to reinforce gendered power asymmetries: perpetrators are constructed with explicit aggression, victims with vulnerable ambivalence, and society with mitigated accountability.

Table 20

*Excerpts of Harmful Language with Context*

Language Type	Excerpt	Context from Notes	Article ID
Direct	“The 21-year-old student ... was stabbed at least 19 times, authorities said.”	The article uses explicit detail (“stabbed at least 19 times”) to depict the violence graphically, emphasizing brutality within a legal-procedural frame.	229
Indirect	<i>“A medical examiner's report said that the victim died from ‘blunt force trauma.’”</i>	The reporting uses explicit, factual, and graphic description of the crime, focusing on the act of killing and the forensic evidence. The blunt style emphasizes the violence without euphemism.	344
Other Harmful	<i>“You are the best sister I could’ve asked for. I just know you’re my guardian angel now.”</i>	The article memorializes Gracie through sentimental and relational language, idealizing her as an “innocent victim” while obscuring perpetrator agency and structural gendered	241

		violence.	
Direct	“... an Austin, Texas, native known to her sorority sisters as a ‘fearless giver’ who befriended others with ease ...”	The victim is portrayed with positive social identity traits (innocence, vulnerability).	255
Indirect	“two men, one wearing a mask, had been seen entering a residence”	The article emphasizes police action and procedure, while minimizing perpetrator agency and reducing victims to relational roles.	118
Other Harmful	<i>“This seems to be a very targeted crime”</i>	The article memorializes Gracie with affectionate tributes, downplaying the violence and obscuring male culpability, framing femicide as tragic loss rather than systemic gendered violence.	68

Table 20 represents excerpts of harmful language with context, curating six excerpts from the 403-article corpus on how media discourse on femicide oscillates between three problematic registers: direct, indirect, and other harmful language. Direct excerpts ("stabbed at least 19 times") amplify graphic detail and procedural authority and sensationalize brutality while embedding it within institutional legitimacy. Indirect constructions ("was found dead") depersonalize victims by privileging forensic evidence and police procedure, thereby erasing perpetrator agency and reducing women to objects of investigation. Other harmful language, in turn, sentimentalizes or euphemizes through memorializing tropes that idealize victims as innocent, angelic figures ("You are the best sister I could've asked for. I just know you're my guardian angel now."), a strategy that obscures systemic gendered violence and re-inscribes traditional femininity. Overall, these discursive patterns demonstrate how journalistic choices simultaneously construct femicide as spectacle, bureaucratic fact, or personal tragedy, while consistently evading its recognition as structural gendered oppression.

#### 4.1.5. Results of Victim, Perpetrator, and Crime Characteristics Associated with Newsworthiness

Table 21

*Prevalence of Victim and Perpetrator Characteristics by Newsworthiness Levels in Femicide Coverage*

Characteristic	Category	High	Low	
	Sub Category	Newsworthiness	Newsworthiness	
Victim Characteristics	Name	Name Present	149	220
		Name Absent	17	17
	Age	25>	46	50
		25-40	49	97
		40<	53	62
Missing		30	16	
Perpetrator Characteristics	Name	Name Present	45	34
		Name Absent	121	203
	Age	25>	23	34
		25-40	49	91
		40<	47	81
Missing		48	31	
Relationship between Victim and Perpetrator	Domestic	96	171	
	Stranger	70	66	

The victim characteristics reveal a notable tendency for high newsworthiness cases to feature named individuals (149 instances), particularly in the 25–40 age bracket (46 instances), presenting media preferences for identifiable, reproductively active victims that evoke public sympathy. The elevated proportion of missing age data in high newsworthiness (30 vs. 16 in low) suggests selective reporting, potentially prioritizing narrative elements like

victim attractiveness or perpetrator vilification over demographic precision. Perpetrator data, on the other hand, further highlights media biases, with high newsworthiness cases more likely to include named offenders (45 vs. 34 in low newsworthiness cases), especially in the 25–40 age range (49), reflecting a focus on identifiable "deviant" actors to heighten the salience of the story. The higher incidence of missing age information for perpetrators in high newsworthiness (48 vs. 31) may indicate strategic omissions to maintain narrative suspense or shift attention to victim-centric framing. The relational dynamics between victims and perpetrators, including domestic (96 high vs. 171 low) and stranger (70 high vs. 66 low), underscore a clear newsworthiness bias toward rare stranger attacks, contrasting with the epidemiological dominance of intimate partner violence.

Table 22

*Prevalence of Contextual and Incident Characteristics by Newsworthiness Levels in Femicide Coverage*

Characteristic	Category	High Newsworthiness	Low Newsworthiness
Location	Domestic Setting	90	127
	Public/Transient Space	70	88
	Other/Unknown	6	22
Motives	Relationship-Based Violence	58	131
	Targeted Violence	29	34
	Other/Unknown	79	72
Method of Killing	Firearm	66	91
	Physical Assault	58	98
	Other/Unknown	41	48
Police Response	Arrest	89	129
	Delayed/No Response	23	36
	Other/Unknown	54	72
Legal Outcome	Conviction	34	51

Trial Pending	56	104
Other/Unknown	76	82

---

Table 22 presents the prevalence of contextual and incident characteristics, including location, motives, method of killing, police response, and legal outcome, stratified by high and low levels of newsworthiness. High newsworthiness is strikingly pronounced in domestic settings, including the victim's home and the couple's shared home, with 90 instances representing a strong media inclination toward intimate, relatable, and familiar contexts that likely amplify emotional resonance and public engagement. Relationship-based violence, including intimate partner violence, domestic violence, and interpersonal conflict (non-domestic), was documented in 58 instances of high newsworthiness rate, indicating a significant editorial focus on personal interpersonal relationship conflicts as a compelling narrative driver, reflecting the sensational appeal of domestic discord. The firearm killing methods like shooting that represent distinct, high-impact methods likely to attract attention, occurring in 66 instances of high newsworthiness proportion, and physical assaults, sharp force trauma including stabbing, blunt force trauma including beating, strangulation, and suffocation, noted in 58 instances, underscore a marked preference for close-contact graphically violent modalities that enhance visual and emotional impact in coverage. High newsworthiness is also notably pronounced with police arrests, registering 89 instances, indicative of a media predilection for active law enforcement narratives that amplify public interest through immediacy and resolution. Legal outcomes featuring trial pendency, with 56 instances, further underscore a focus on ongoing judicial procedures, suggesting that unresolved cases sustain coverage salience.

In contrast, low newsworthiness is predominantly associated with other/unknown locations, including jails, parks, vehicles, miscellaneous settings, or unclear settings,

comprising 22 instances, suggesting a diminished media interest in ambiguous or less accessible settings. Other/unknown methods, including arson, fire-Related, vehicular homicide, poisoning and overdose, and ambiguous methods, with 48 instances of low newsworthiness share, alongside targeted violence motives including sexual violence, predation, violence against woman, hate crimes, discrimination, crime-opportunistic, gangs, reckless and opportunistic violence that are either intentional or identity-based acts with 34 instances and public/transient spaces (workplace and professional setting, public urban area (non-work), rural and remote area, hotel and motel either public or temporary locations with varying visibility) with 88 instances highlighting a relative de-emphasis on less defined or publicly detached incidents. Moreover, low newsworthiness is markedly associated with delayed or absent police responses, encompassing 36 instances, and trial pendency, with 104 instances, reflecting a diminished media engagement with stagnant or protracted procedural developments. Other/unknown categories, including 54 police response instances and 76 legal outcome instances, as well as 72 and 82 instances respectively in low newsworthiness, highlight a moderate but less defined contribution, potentially due to data ambiguity.

Table 23

*Sentiment Analysis of Article Titles by Newsworthiness Levels*

Metric	Category	High Newsworthiness	Low Newsworthiness	Total
Sentiment Score	Overall Mean	-0.586	-0.560	-0.569
	Positive (>0.05)	5	11	16
Sentiment Label	Neutral (-0.05 to 0.05)	16	25	41
	Negative (<-0.05)	145	201	346
Total		166	237	403

Table 23 presents a comparative sentiment analysis of article titles stratified by newsworthiness levels. Comprising 166 high newsworthiness and 237 low newsworthiness

titles, it reveals a predominantly negative emotional tone, with an overall mean sentiment score of -0.569.

High newsworthiness titles exhibit a mean score of -0.586, characterized by 145 instances classified as negative ( $<-0.05$ ), alongside 16 neutral and five positive instances, suggesting a strong media inclination toward grim or dramatic framing. Low newsworthiness titles, with a mean score of -0.560, include 201 negative, 25 neutral, and 11 positive instances, reflecting a uniformly severe reporting style consistent with the lower visibility of the 127 domestic cases. The marginal presence of positive (5 and 11) and neutral (16 and 25) instances in high and low newsworthiness, respectively, may suggest occasional empathy or detachment, potentially tied to contextual factors such as victim identification or police action (89 arrests). The results quantify the dominant role of negative sentiment in shaping newsworthiness, offering a refined lens on media prioritization within the corpus.

## **4.2. Research Discussion**

This section interprets and contextualises the findings from a content analysis of 403 news articles in U.S. digital local newspapers (2010–2019), examining how language, framing, and visual elements influence societal perceptions of femicide. The discussion addresses the four research questions: the framing and tone (RQ1), linguistic strategies and gender dynamics (RQ2), the prevalence of harmful language (RQ3), and characteristics driving newsworthiness (RQ4), elucidating how these elements reflect and reinforce societal attitudes toward femicide. Ultimately, it contributes to a nuanced understanding of media's pivotal role in shaping perceptions of femicide, bridging empirical findings with interpretive insights

### **4.2.1. Discussion of Descriptive Data and Demographics of Victims and Perpetrators**

The descriptive data offer a foundational understanding of the patterns through which U.S. digital local newspapers have reported femicide between 2010 and 2019. By mapping the frequency, demographic focus, relational contexts, and narrative structures of these reports, the data illuminate how femicide is framed within journalistic conventions and social discourse. Beyond quantifying coverage, these results expose what news outlets choose to highlight or omit, revealing the discursive hierarchies that govern visibility, empathy, and blame. The descriptive analysis, therefore, provides the empirical basis for the interpretive sections that follow, demonstrating how routine journalistic practices both reproduce and, at times, resist gendered ideologies of violence.

#### **Patterns of Coverage and Visibility**

The overall analysis of 403 U.S. local newspaper articles (2010–2019) distribution revealed irregular, event-driven femicide coverage, with reporting peaks tied to sensational and locally resonant cases and prolonged silences indicating a lack of sustained attention to

the systemic nature of femicide. The corpus ultimately fell 15.8% short of the anticipated total of 480 articles that is the outcome of the sampling technique of randomly selecting eight per year across six newspapers over ten years that is primarily reflecting strict inclusion criteria excluding non-femicide cases and limited article availability in low-femicide-rate states like Vermont due to limited availability (38 articles, *The Burlington Free Press*) and Wyoming (45 articles, *The Casper Star-Tribune*). These newspapers originate from regions with comparatively low femicide rates in the United States (see Table 5), reflecting geographic disparities in media attention. Galtung and Ruge (1965) argue that news values such as rarity and intensity often determine coverage, privileging dramatic and atypical cases over structural manifestations of gendered violence. Moreover, the regional imbalance observed here echoes the observations about uneven media prioritisation of women's issues, suggesting that underreported regions may obscure broader social realities. Collectively, these patterns contribute to a distorted public perception of femicide as isolated events rather than manifestations of systemic gender inequality, thereby diminishing the urgency of its structural dimensions.

### **Victim and Perpetrator Representation**

The demographic overview further reveals media priorities as the findings presented in Table 6 disclose a salient disparity in the representation of victims and perpetrators in femicide coverage. Victim names were reported in 367 instances, while perpetrator names appeared in 326 instances. Though both figures indicate a high level of individual identification, the discrepancy is theoretically significant and discursively revealing.

At a surface level, the frequent naming of both victims and perpetrators suggests a commitment to personalised, detailed reporting. However, from a critical discourse perspective, the greater visibility of victims underscores the media's affective and moral economy of storytelling, in which emotional engagement is achieved through personalisation

(Fairbairn, 2017). Naming victims humanises the narrative and elicits empathy, positioning the female subject as the central locus of tragedy, likely to evoke empathy and highlight the human impact of femicide. Nevertheless, the personalisation paradoxically contributes to a depoliticised framing of femicide by focusing on the individual woman rather than the gendered structures that enable her death, the coverage reproduces the cultural logic of exceptionalism, presenting femicide as an isolated event rather than a systemic manifestation of patriarchy.

On the contrary, the slightly lower rate of perpetrator naming reflects the discursive protection often extended to male offenders in news discourse. Van Dijk's (1991) ideological square offers an asymmetrical reading of such a result, in which the "other" side (the aggressor) is less linguistically foregrounded, thereby softening responsibility. Furthermore, Connell (2009) explains the absence of perpetrators' names in news coverage with the conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity that provides the privileging of male subjectivity, even in narratives of violence. Such underrepresentation of perpetrators limits public engagement with the gendered dimensions of crime. It subtly reinforces the normalisation of male violence as socially intelligible or circumstantial rather than pathological or structural.

In parallel, Table 7, which represents the distribution of victim and perpetrator ages, offers further insight into how demographic characteristics interconnect with representational patterns in femicide media reporting. Results show that 431 instances of victim age and 421 instances of perpetrator age were mentioned in the portrayal, suggesting that, similar to naming, age is a recurrent marker of identification. The age distribution, however, reveals distinct biases in representation. Among victims, the largest age category falls between 25 and 40 years (146 cases), followed by over 40 (122 cases) and under 25 (113 cases), indicating a discursive concentration on adult women. Gill (2007) identifies the postfeminist sensibility in the media, in which women's identities are articulated through normative femininity,

relationality, and domesticity. Such coverage reinforces symbolic vulnerability by aligning femicide with the disruption of socially sanctioned female roles.

Notably, the presence of a substantial number of victims under 25 suggests a secondary narrative logic, the idealisation of youthful femininity as particularly tragic when violated. Media framing often constructs young victims as "innocent" or "promising," thereby mobilising affective responses rooted in cultural tropes of purity and potential (Macharia et al., 2020). Older victims, on the other hand, although being represented they tend to receive less narrative elaboration, reflecting the gendered devaluation of ageing women within visual and textual culture. Collectively, the results support Lazar's (2007) feminist critical discourse paradox that presents surface-level empathy for victims that coexists with the reification of gender stereotypes.

For perpetrators, the 25–40 age group (148 cases) dominates, followed by over 40 (127 cases) and under 25 (64 cases), reinforcing the cultural association of violent crime with adult male agency that is consistent with criminological evidence, yet amplified through gendered discourse. The predominance of adult male perpetrators constructs a recurring archetype that includes the violent, emotionally unstable man whose aggression is portrayed as both deviant and socially explicable. Butler (2004) argues that such representational patterns function performatively, reiterating gender norms that render male violence intelligible and female victimhood normative.

The relatively higher proportion of missing perpetrator age data (82 cases), compared with victims (50 cases), also invites critical interpretation. The omission of male demographic details may signal not only practical journalistic limitations but also ideological processes of discursive erasure, wherein the male figure is depersonalised and thus less accountable. The asymmetry of demographic disclosure contributes to an implicit gendered narrative hierarchy. At the same time, the woman is represented in full biographical detail, including her name,

age, and role; the man often remains a narrative absence, a symbolic agent of violence rather than a socially situated subject, reflecting the discursive silence strategies journalists employ.

### **Motives and Methods of Killing**

Table 8, representing the distribution of the motives, provides critical insight into how media discourse frames the causal logic of femicide and the moral scripts through which audiences interpret gendered violence. The predominance of intimate-partner motives, which encapsulate jealousy, separation disputes, and custody conflicts, underscores that femicide is often reported through the lens of failed relationships and emotional turmoil. It confirms both the empirical reality and the discursive centrality of private-sphere violence in femicide representation, demonstrating Meyers's (1997) theory on the domestication of violence that suggests that lethal aggression against women is naturalised as an outcome of intimate conflict rather than as an expression of patriarchal control.

By foregrounding domestic motives, the accompanying narratives frequently romanticise and naturalise the connection, thereby reproducing the ideological separation between "private tragedy" and "public crime" (Fairbairn, 2017). Journalists tend to emphasise passion, jealousy, or mental instability rather than structural patriarchy or misogyny as causal explanations, positioning femicide within a moral narrative of emotionally charged relationships, displacing structural explanations such as gendered power hierarchies, economic dependency, or institutional neglect (Dobash & Dobash, 2015), and the repetition of jealousy or marital discord. Consequently, the representation functions less as an exposure of systemic inequality and more as a moral cautionary tale of relational breakdown, reproducing a discourse of pathologised masculinity that locates violence within individual dysfunction instead of collective gender norms. Overall, Sexual violence/predation and non-domestic interpersonal conflict and mental illness/psychological factors represent less frequent but significant motives, suggesting diverse triggers like rape-murder or psychosis embodying the

lower portrayed femicide motives, revealing a discursive hierarchy that privileges intimate and psychological explanations over sociostructural or ideological ones. Gill and Orgad (2018) call such hierarchy the affective economy of gendered violence, producing empathy through personal tragedy rather than through critical engagement with patriarchy.

In terms of method, Table 9 outlines the methods of killing across 403 instances in the 403-article corpus. The results show a clear predominance of firearms (162 cases), followed by stabbing/sharp-force trauma (78 cases), blunt-force trauma (47 cases), and strangulation/suffocation (37 cases). Media articulation constructs particular symbolic meanings about masculinity, control, and intimacy in lethal violence as these frequencies reflect criminological realities in the U.S. context (UNODC, 2019).

The high incidence of firearm use is consistent with the American cultural script of weaponised masculinity that carries additional symbolic weight. The focus on the lethal violence reporting simultaneously sensationalises and depersonalises as the weapon becomes the agent, displacing focus from the perpetrator's intent and the victim's suffering. Within the discourse of femicide, guns thus operate as semiotic markers of masculine control, reaffirming the sociocultural linkage between manhood and lethal capacity. By contrast, stabbing, beating, and strangulation, which are generally methods requiring physical proximity, constitute the intimate killings according to the feminist criminologists (Dobash & Dobash, 2015), underscoring the personal and embodied dimension of femicide. The methods imply sustained contact, often connoting rage, domination, or possession, and symbolically encode the patriarchal assertion of control over the female body. In criminal psychology, stabbing is often interpreted through piquerism, wherein the knife functions as a phallic symbol enabling sexualized domination and control over the female body (Chopin & Beauregard, 2022). Moreover, Strangulation in particular has been recognised as a gendered act of silencing, literally and figuratively suppressing the woman's voice (Glass et al., 2004).

The media's portrayal of such methods frequently dwells on graphic detail, which can evoke moral shock yet risks voyeurism, turning women's suffering into spectacle (Simpson & Coté, 2006).

Less common methods, including arson/fire-related (12 cases), vehicular homicide (7 cases), poisoning/overdose (4 cases), in addition to the "Other" category (8 cases), include unconventional methods like drowning, indicating a sporadic yet notable preference for narratively vivid, visually imaginable forms of violence (Allan & Zillmann, 1990), which are deliberate but rare, often linked to a high newsworthiness bias, characterised by a preference for dramatic, violent, and visually rich events. Consequently, femicides enacted through subtler or less visually arresting methods receive diminished attention, reinforcing a media economy that commodifies spectacular violence. Moreover, the unknown/not specified category (48 instances) indicates incomplete reporting, possibly due to ongoing investigations or media discretion, limiting insight into some cases. Cases in which the method is omitted may correspond to unresolved investigations. However, they also point to discursive choices in which journalistic caution or editorial economy silences the mechanics of killing, particularly when they disrupt dominant narratives or implicate systemic failings.

### **Spatial and Situational Contexts**

Table 10 details the locations of femicide incidents across 403 instances in the 403-article corpus, with each article typically reporting a single location. A majority of cases occurred in domestic or semi-private settings, such as homes or shared residences, indicating a clear dominance of domestic settings with 136 incidents occurred in the victim's home and 104 in shared or couple residences. Together, these 240 cases demonstrate that the home, ostensibly a private and protective environment, is the most frequent site of femicide. Moreover, the results reinforce the extensive global research presenting femicide as primarily an intimate phenomenon occurring within familial or relational spaces. The UN Women

(2024) highlighted that over half of all women killed in 2023 were murdered by current or former partners, most often within their homes. Furthermore, O'Neal & Beck (2023) argue that the domestic pattern is not only empirical but also symbolic as it reflects the enduring social structures that normalise male control and female subordination within the private sphere, thus signalling both a social reality and a discursive bias along with the normalisation of violence within intimate spaces as part of the narrative of private life.

In contrast, femicides occurring outside domestic settings are notably fewer but significant. Seventy-seven incidents occurred in public urban areas, forty-six in rural or remote locations, twelve in workplaces, seven in hotels or motels, and twenty-one in miscellaneous contexts, such as parks, vehicles, or detention facilities. The relatively lower frequency of these categories suggests that, while femicide extends beyond domestic boundaries, public and occupational settings remain secondary in both occurrence and representation. Such cases often receive disproportionate media coverage because they occur in visible or sensationalised contexts. The disparity reflects the feminist criminology theory that describes the "moral geography" of violence (Aldrete et al., 2024), wherein acts in public or rural spaces are framed as exceptional and newsworthy, while home-based killings are rendered mundane and private. Consequently, the lower frequencies of public femicides in the corpus do not necessarily indicate lesser significance but rather expose a double bias, first, the societal invisibility of domestic violence, and second, the media's preference for spatially dramatic narratives. Thus, the data not only map the geography of femicide but also illuminate the representational hierarchies through which gendered violence is interpreted, reported, and ultimately remembered.

#### **4.2.2. Discussion of Portrayal, Framing, Language Tone, and Visual Elements**

The descriptive and quantitative findings reveal clear tendencies in how femicide is portrayed, addressing the first research question: "How are femicide incidents portrayed in the

digital editions of U.S. local newspapers between 2010 and 2019, and what patterns emerge in framing, language tone, and visual elements?". The following section examines patterns in framing, language tone, and visual elements that reflect the sensitive context exposing the ideological underpinnings of journalistic routines.

### **Framing Patterns: Individual vs. Systemic Narratives**

Results reveal that episodic framing dominates femicide coverage (with a total of 250 articles, Table 19), focusing on individual incidents through victim-focused or perpetrator-focused narratives, compared to thematic framing (with a total of 153 articles, Figure 4) revealing that the media tends to portray femicide as isolated incidents, focusing on victim-centered or perpetrator-centered narratives rather than systemic issues like VAW or patriarchal structures where media framing theories suggest news outlets prioritise individual stories to engage audiences emotionally or narratively (Entman, 1993). For instance, Table 16's perpetrator-focused article, "Perpetrator indicted for second-degree murder after choking victim" (Article ID 1, neutral tone, no image), emphasises individual actions, while the victim-focused "44-year-old woman found slain in apartment; family seeks justice amid tragedy" (Article ID 146, sympathetic tone, image presence) highlights personal loss as journalists favor stories of "individual pathology" (mental instability, jealousy, or emotional distress) over narratives of social causation. The focus on episodic framing may reinforce public perceptions of femicide as a personal issue and reflects what scholars have long described as a "crime narrative" tradition in Western journalism, where VAW is treated through personalised storytelling rather than contextualised analysis (Fairbairn & Dawson, 2013).

Newspaper-specific patterns (Figure 5) highlight editorial diversity. Urban newspapers like the Los Angeles Times (34 societal-issues articles), Star Tribune (32), and Oregonian (31) emphasise systemic framing, reflecting broader readerships and urban contexts where

VAW policies or community impacts are salient (Fairbairn, 2017). Conversely, smaller outlets like the Casper Star-Tribune (21 perpetrator-focused articles) and Burlington Free Press (16) prioritise perpetrator narratives, resonating with local audiences through dramatic, individual-focused stories. Whereas the Dallas Morning News balances victim-focused (32), societal-issues (27), and perpetrator-focused (21) framing suggests a nuanced approach that bridges individual and systemic perspectives. Regional variations indicate that editorial priorities and audience demographics shape framing, with urban newspapers leaning toward societal critiques and smaller outlets emphasising local, personal narratives. The pattern suggests a fragmented media landscape where femicide's portrayal varies by context, impacting how communities understand its causes and solutions. Thus, while coverage may appear empathetic, it still operates within a media logic that privileges immediacy, personalisation, and emotional intensity over systemic critique.

### **Language Tone: Balancing Objectivity and Emotion**

Table 11 presents the language tone analysis for the corpus. Results show that neutral tones dominate (209 articles), followed by sympathetic (127 articles) and sensational (67 articles) tones. Neutral tones, as in "Death's effect on criminal charges under review; state assesses legal ramifications" (Article ID 51, Table 16), reflect journalistic objectivity. Nevertheless, Fairbairn (2017) argues that such objectivity often operates as an ideological mechanism, framing femicide as an isolated legal or procedural matter rather than a gendered social issue, and depoliticising it can obscure patriarchal structures and reduce femicide to individual tragedies by presenting it as routine or unremarkable. News stories that merely report who, when, and how without questioning why reduce gendered violence to a procedural matter.

Sympathetic tones, prevalent in victim-focused articles like Article ID 146, correlate with positive Sentiment Scores from VADER's high-precision analysis, fostering empathy for

victims and their families. Sensational tones, seen in "Horrific rampage leaves town reeling; suspect's violent history exposed" (Article ID 283), align with negative Sentiment Scores and high Newsworthiness, amplifying drama to capture audience attention. While it may foster emotional engagement, it also tends to individualise suffering and disconnect it from systemic gender inequalities (Macharia et al., 2020). Sympathy thus replaces political critique with emotional appeal, reinforcing a postfeminist media logic that prioritises affect over accountability, whereas emotional proximity replaces critical distance. Rather than challenging social structures, sympathy is used to reaffirm them. The interplay of framing and tone (Tables 12–15) reveals context-specific patterns. In text-only articles (Table 12, N=156), neutral tones dominate (94 articles, 60.3%), particularly in perpetrator-focused narratives (38 articles), suggesting a focus on factual reporting when visuals are absent. Articles with neutral images (Table 13, N=123) also favour neutral tones (73 articles, 59.3%), especially in societal-issues framing (28 articles), reflecting restrained reporting in institutional contexts like courtroom coverage.

Sympathetic images (Table 14, N=104) amplify sympathetic tones in victim-focused narratives (21 articles), as in Article ID 146, enhancing emotional engagement. Sensational images (Table 15, N=20), though rare, pair with sensational tones in perpetrator-focused narratives (3 articles), intensifying drama, as in Article ID 283. Even though only a minority of articles used dramatic or shocking language, their effect is powerful. Phrases like brutal murder or tragic death frame femicide as a spectacle, not a symptom. The patterns suggest that neutral tones maintain credibility, sympathetic tones foster compassion, and sensational tones heighten emotional impact, each shaping audience perceptions differently (Fairbairn, 2017).

### **Visual Elements: Amplifying Emotional and Narrative Impact**

Images played a central role in shaping the emotional dimension of femicide discourse,

with 247 articles (Table 16, Figure 7) containing images, compared to 156 without. Images, analysed via DeepFace for Image Tone, enhance narrative resonance, reinforcing an emotional, human-interest framing. The images function as visual memorials, inviting compassion and community mourning.

The predominance of victim photos (97 articles, 41.5% of 234 image-containing articles, Figure 7), often sympathetic (62 articles), aligns with victim-focused framing and empathetic language tone, as in Article ID 146, to evoke compassion. Macharia et al. (2020) highlight that female victims' images in crime coverage often serve as affective symbols that evoke empathy and community mourning, and also as narrative anchors, even when the accompanying text remains neutral; the images carry affective weight, shaping how readers interpret the story. However, such emotional appeal comes with a paradox. While sympathetic imagery affirms the victim's humanity, it also perpetuates a sentimentalised vision of womanhood, innocent, pure, and deserving of protection. Few images depict women as complex individuals or as social agents. Moreover, it echoes the pattern seen in global analyses of femicide reporting, where victims are often framed as either "perfect victims" or anonymous statistics.

Perpetrator images (38 articles, 16.2%) are mostly neutral (21 articles), supporting factual perpetrator narratives, while crime scene images (26 articles, 11.1%) blend neutral (14 articles) and sensational (7 articles) tones, amplifying drama in cases like Article ID 283. The low frequency of vigil/memorial and community/contextual imagery (8 articles each, 3.4%) indicates limited focus on collective or systemic perspectives, a gap noted in recent VAW research that calls for broader societal engagement in media narratives. The visual imbalance reinforces a gendered hierarchy of empathy, whereas the female victim is remembered, mourned, and aestheticised; the male perpetrator is proceduralized, depersonalised, and often explained away through psychological or emotional motives (Gill, 2007).

Image tone distribution (Figure 7) shows that sympathetic tones lead (109 articles), followed by neutral (96 articles) and sensational (30 articles). The interplay between image tone, framing, and language tone (Tables 12–15) highlights key patterns. Sympathetic images amplify victim-focused, sympathetic narratives (37 articles, Table 14, Table 19), while neutral images support societal-issues framing (44 articles, Table 13). Sensational images, though rare, intensify perpetrator-focused drama (6 articles, Table 15). Text-only articles rely on neutral, perpetrator-focused narratives (55 articles, Table 12, Table 19), emphasising textual detail. The results suggest visuals amplify emotional or dramatic narratives, particularly for victims. At the same time, text-only articles prioritise factual reporting, aligning with earlier studies on the role of visual media in shaping emotional responses (Zillmann, 2002).

### **Framing, Tone, and Image: Interconnected Ideologies**

The interconnections (Table 16) reveal two dominant patterns: perpetrator-focused, neutral narratives in text-only articles (55 articles, 35.3%) and victim-focused, sympathetic narratives with sympathetic images (37 articles, 35.6%). The patterns indicate a media preference for individual stories, either factual perpetrator accounts or empathetic victim portrayals, over systemic critiques, potentially reinforcing perceptions of femicide as a personal rather than structural issue (Fairbairn, 2017). Moreover, neutral stories with no images are a pattern associated with institutional reporting that values objectivity and brevity (Lazar, 2005). When framing, tone, and imagery intersect, two dominant patterns emerge: neutral tones and images in institutional contexts (e.g., courtroom sketches, Article ID 51) maintain objectivity, while sympathetic visuals and tones in victim-focused articles (e.g., Article ID 146) foster empathy. Sensational elements, though less frequent, amplify drama in perpetrator-focused or crime scene narratives (e.g., Article ID 283), potentially sensationalising femicide. The duality reflects the ongoing tension in media discourse between affective proximity and ideological distance. On the one hand, journalists seek to

evoke compassion; on the other, they avoid overt politicisation.

The patterns have critical implications. The dominance of episodic framing and individual-focused narratives may limit public understanding of femicide's systemic roots, such as VAW or societal inequalities, a concern raised in recent feminist media scholarship (Aldrete & Fernández-Ardèvol, 2024). Neutral tones ensure credibility but may reduce urgency. In contrast, sympathetic tones and images engage audiences emotionally, risking the sentimentalisation of victim stories and diminishing the sense of urgency and accountability surrounding these crimes (Gill, 2007). Sensational elements, though restrained, may amplify fear or fascination, distorting perceptions for shaping public emotions in ways that distort social perceptions of femicide and its prevalence (Boonzaier, 2023). Moreover, regional variations (Figure 5) suggest urban newspapers address systemic issues for broader audiences, while smaller outlets focus on individual stories for local resonance, reflecting diverse editorial priorities. Consequently, the fragmented media portrayal often hinders the development of a cohesive public understanding of femicide as a structural issue, resulting in a "contained empathy" that moves readers emotionally but not socially.

#### **4.2.3. Discussion of Linguistic Strategies and Gender Dynamics**

The linguistic analysis of 403 news articles reveals a deeply gendered discourse structure in the portrayal of femicide, addressing how these strategies reflect broader gender dynamics and societal perceptions. Lexical choices, metaphorical framing, grammatical patterns, and the distribution of agency collectively reproduce binary depictions of femininity and masculinity that both reflect and reinforce societal ideologies. Victims are linguistically constructed as innocent, fragile, and morally pure, while perpetrators are represented through active agency, aggression, and psychological instability. The linguistic asymmetries are not merely stylistic; they shape public understanding of femicide, who is held responsible, and whether it is perceived as a personal tragedy or a systemic problem.

### **Linguistic Strategies: Constructing Victims and Perpetrators**

The linguistic strategies in femicide coverage reveal a stark dichotomy in victim and perpetrator portrayals, reinforcing gendered archetypes (Table 17). Victims are frequently highlighted in headlines through personal stories (103 instances) or event-focused narratives (93 instances), as seen in empathetic depictions like "44-year-old woman found slain in apartment" (Table 16, Article ID 146, from related data). Moreover, Figure 7 highlights that victims are overwhelmingly associated with positive adjectives such as beloved, beautiful, and resilient (465 instances). Perpetrators, conversely, are foregrounded through their actions (129 instances) or event framing (78 instances), as in "Perpetrator indicted for second-degree murder" (Table 16, Article ID 1), aligning with the dominance of active verbs (360 instances, 89.3%, Figure 17). Furthermore, Figure 7 highlights that perpetrators are described through negative adjectives such as cruel, violent, and cold-blooded (216 instances). The results emphasise perpetrator agency, particularly in domestic cases (~80%), and construct men as intentional actors. In contrast, passive verbs (33 instances, 8.2%) for victims (e.g., "found dead") diminish their agency, aligning with feminist critiques of media portrayals that reduce women to objects of violence (Meyers, 1997). Moreover, such results align with media tendencies to humanise victims while demonising perpetrators, potentially perpetuating stereotypes of female vulnerability and male aggression (Fairbairn & Dawson, 2013).

The polarised lexical pattern constructs a moral binary between good and evil, innocence and monstrosity. On the surface, such contrast seems appropriate for differentiating aggressors from victims; yet, linguistically, it performs a deeper ideological function, sanctifying the victim while demonising the perpetrator, leaving little room for structural interpretation (van Dijk, 2021). The moral lexicon reflects what feminist linguists have termed the "angel–monster dichotomy" in media narratives, where femininity is linguistically idealised and masculinity pathologised (Lazar, 2007). While the approach may evoke

empathy, it often depoliticises the crime by individualising moral worth rather than addressing collective gendered inequality. More recent discourse studies have shown that the binary persists in digital-era reporting, where emotional resonance often substitutes for political critique (Calafell & Glenn, 2023). The emotional idealisation of victims through positive adjectives thus sustains sympathy, but also reinforces stereotypes of passive femininity and the notion of women as inherently virtuous yet vulnerable.

Metaphorical language (Table 17, Figure 8) amplifies the binary classification, operating as powerful cognitive and emotional tools that reveal implicit values. Victims are depicted with emotive metaphors of light/brightness (18 instances, e.g., "shining light"), fragility/innocence (10 instances, e.g., "innocent lamb"), grief/loss (12 instances, e.g., "hole in our hearts"), and family bonds (7 instances, e.g., "soul mates"), fostering sympathy and humanisation elevating the victims to an almost sacred figure, transforming her into a symbol of loss rather than a social subject. The metaphorical sanctification of victims invites mourning but simultaneously erases social complexity and agency, resonating with the "mythologising of victimhood," where symbolic purity replaces structural awareness (Gill, 2007).

In contrast, perpetrators are portrayed through dehumanising metaphors (15 instances, e.g., "predator"), militaristic imagery (8 instances, e.g., "rampage"), psychological control (7 instances, e.g., "master manipulator"), and objectification (9 instances, e.g., "disposed of like trash"), emphasising deviance. The figurative choices reinforce an image of hypermasculinity as dangerous and uncontrollable. Such linguistic constructions externalise the problem of violence, presenting perpetrators as aberrations or outliers rather than products of systemic gender norms. Boonzaier (2023) suggested that turning violent men into "monsters" discourse isolates them from ordinary masculinity, allowing society to condemn individual acts while preserving patriarchal structures. Furthermore, Figure 8 illustrates victim-focused narratives

use slightly more metaphors (47 instances) than perpetrator-focused ones (39 instances), suggesting media leverage symbolic language to dramatise victimhood, aligning with emotional engagement strategies in femicide reporting. Interestingly, metaphor frequency is slightly higher in victim-focused reporting (47 instances) than in perpetrator-focused reporting (39), suggesting that symbolic language is used primarily to dramatise female vulnerability and emotional resonance, rather than male aggression. The imbalance underscores the role of metaphor in sustaining gendered emotional hierarchies: victims are personalised and sanctified; perpetrators are objectified and criminalised.

### **Stereotypes and the Reproduction of Gender Dynamics**

Stereotypes (Tables 17 and 18, Figure 8) crystallise how linguistic strategies reaffirm gendered roles. Victims are commonly framed as vulnerable/helpless (67 instances), nurturing mothers/caregivers (64 instances), or "ideal" victims (54 instances), with some erased/invisible (30 instances) or racialised as vulnerable (10 instances). These categories align with traditional constructions of femininity as caring and defenceless. The recurrence of the "nurturing mother" and "ideal victim" tropes reinforces the cultural expectation that a woman's social value derives from her relational roles as wife, mother, or daughter. Even in their death, women are linguistically positioned within domestic and emotional spaces, not as autonomous individuals (Wozniak, 2022).

Conversely, perpetrators are depicted as violent/abusive males (141 instances), jealous ex-partners (32 instances), criminals (20 instances), or mentally unstable (23 instances), with rare racialised danger stereotypes (5 instances). The patterns echo older criminological narratives that attribute male violence to passion or loss of control, rather than entitlement or structural dominance. The recurrence of "jealous ex-partner" and other narratives subtly humanises perpetrators while maintaining their active agency (Boonzaier, 2023). Moreover, Table 18 reveals victim helplessness (102 instances) and perpetrator aggression (174

instances) dominating, tied to episodic framing (62%), which uses passive language (65% erasure) for victims and active verbs (60% procedural focus) for perpetrators. Such patterns reinforce traditional gender dynamics, portraying women as passive and men as dominant, aligning with patriarchal norms critiqued in feminist media studies (McRobbie, 2009). The underuse of thematic framing (38%) and societal responsibility (60 instances) limits structural critique, as metaphors like "cycle" (~45% humanisation) appear infrequently. Both sets of stereotypes converge to form a linguistic system that naturalises binary gender roles, in which women are victims of emotion and men are agents of action, reinforcing the syntactic patterns observed in the active-passive verb distribution.

### **Grammatical Agency: Active and Passive Voice**

Results from Figure 17 illustrate the predominance of active verbs in the depiction of perpetrators, highlighting how agency is linguistically encoded. Perpetrators are consistently represented as doers (e.g., shot, stabbed, beaten, killed), which foregrounds individual responsibility. Although such grammatical activity seems appropriate, it also reflects journalism's procedural bias, as crime stories are told through sequences of actions and consequences, centring the event rather than the social structure. The repetition of active formulations reinforces the notion of the perpetrator as a solitary agent of violence, without linking his behaviour to broader patterns of gendered power (Romiyati, 2020).

In contrast, the limited use of passive verbs, such as was found dead or was killed, minimises victim agency. Passive constructions erase the actor, presenting the woman as an object rather than a participant in the narrative. The syntactic erasure mirrors what feminist discourse analysts describe as "grammatical victimisation," where linguistic form perpetuates social invisibility. Approximately 65% of victim-related clauses employ passive or relational structures that emphasise suffering rather than subjectivity, reflecting the persistence of linguistic paternalism in news discourse (Lazar, 2005).

## **Blame Attribution and Societal Perceptions**

Blame attribution (Figure 9, Table 20) reveals how linguistic agency intersects with moral accountability and heavily favours individual-perpetrator responsibility (312 instances, 75%), as in "directly assigned to perpetrator," emphasising male agency through active verbs. Societal perpetrator blame (48 instances, ~12%) and victim blame (individual: 28 instances, societal: 17 instances) are minimal, with examples like "systemic gun violence" or "dropping charges" reflecting rare structural or victim-focused critiques. The results reveal a subtler issue, where femicide is consistently linguistically localised to individual male behaviour rather than contextualised within patriarchal culture or institutional neglect, described as the "micro-moralisation" of violence (Haidt, 2012).

Sentiment analysis in Table 18 confirms that linguistic tone mirrors these gendered patterns. The strong negative Sentiment Score for perpetrators (-0.61) and milder score for victims (-0.22) suggest a bias toward individualising male violence, potentially obscuring systemic factors like toxic masculinity or policy gaps (Gill, 2007). The correlation between them suggests a softened portrayal, while perpetrator aggression exhibits the strongest negativity, reinforcing the moral duality already established by lexical and grammatical choices. Mixed/non-stereotypical portrayals (66 instances) and ambiguous language (35%) occasionally blur gender roles but risk diluting accountability by framing violence as mutual, a concern in GBV literature. Moreover, the societal responsibility (-0.56) and mixed framings (-0.54) also carry strong negative sentiment, suggesting public frustration with systemic failures but limited space for nuanced critique. Although journalists express empathy or condemnation, the overall linguistic environment remains emotionally polarised and engaged, but ideologically constrained. The sentimental framing of victims and the punitive framing of perpetrators together produce a discourse that feels morally coherent yet structurally incomplete (Macharia et al., 2020).

#### 4.2.4. Discussion of Direct, Indirect, and Other Harmful Language

This section analyses the extent and nature of direct, indirect, and other harmful language types in 403 U.S. local newspaper articles (2010–2019) on femicide, exploring their role in perpetuating discursive harm and gendered power asymmetries. Across 403 articles, direct language appears in 204 instances (44%), indirect language in 177 instances (38%), and other harmful language in 86 instances (18%). Direct, indirect, and other harmful language registers do different discursive work. Direct language makes violence vivid and agentive; indirect language depoliticises and proceduralizes it; and other harmful language sentimentalises, stereotypes, or erases complexity. Read together, they show how news discourse both exposes and contains femicide, producing shock or sympathy while limiting understanding of causes and responsibilities.

##### **Direct Language: Spectacle and the Politics of Brutality**

The linguistic hierarchy suggests that while most reports of femicide rely on vivid and agentive constructions, subtler forms of discursive harm persist across the corpus. Figure 12 demonstrates a clear dominance of direct language in the corpus (204 instances, 44%), characterised by vivid, agentive constructions that amplify brutality, as in "The 21-year-old student ... was stabbed at least 19 times, authorities said" (Table 17, Article ID 229), which reflects journalism's preference for sensational immediacy and its alignment with crime-narrative conventions. Furthermore, the high prevalence suggests that the media leverage spectacle to engage audiences, reporting that prioritises graphic detail over systemic context (Meyers, 1997), as Pröll & Magin (2022) reveal, such constructions aim to engage readers emotionally and to affirm the event's moral gravity. The explicitness often tied to perpetrator aggression (191 instances, Figure 13) constructs violent male figures through blame-oriented descriptions, embedding brutality within legal-procedural legitimacy. The "politics of brutality" risks overshadowing broader gender dynamics, focusing public attention on

individual perpetrators. Nevertheless, repetition can transform violence into spectacle, in which the brutality of the act overshadows its structural roots in gendered power (Fairbairn et al., 2023). Thus, while direct language heightens visibility, it may also aestheticise suffering, commodifying female death as a newsworthy tragedy rather than a symptom of systemic inequality.

### **Indirect Language: Erasure and Depoliticised Narratives**

Indirect language, nearly as prevalent (177 instances, 38%, Figure 12), employs attenuating, passive constructions that depoliticise femicide, as in "A medical examiner's report said that the victim died from 'blunt force trauma' and 'was found dead'" (Table 17, Article ID 344) reveals a competing journalistic norm depersonalised neutrality exemplify the procedural tone often favored in legal and forensic reporting. The language, prominent in victim helplessness (44 instances, Figure 13) and societal responsibility (32 instances), privileges forensic or procedural details, erasing perpetrator agency and reducing victims to objects of investigation, as seen in "two men, one wearing a mask, had been seen entering a residence" (Table 17, Article ID 118). The style, though ostensibly objective, functions to obscure agency and redistribute responsibility away from perpetrators (Berns, 2021). Indirect language reframes violence as an event rather than an action, a semantic shift that distances the crime from its social causes. Such linguistic attenuation mirrors earlier findings in studies of intimate-partner homicide coverage, where passive syntax and institutional sourcing were found to "sanitise" gendered violence (Taylor, 2020). Hence, the prevalence of indirect phrasing in femicide discourse may reflect not neutrality but an epistemic reluctance to name patriarchal structures explicitly, maintaining what Gill (2023) calls the discursive safety of mainstream journalism. Furthermore, the balanced direct-indirect profile in victim helplessness suggests discursive ambivalence, softening violence and limiting recognition of gendered power structures, which shape societal perceptions of victims as passive.

### **Other Harmful Language: Sentimentalisation and Gendered Stereotypes**

The other harmful category though more minor (86 instances, 18%, Figure 12) is linguistically and ideologically significant includes sentimentalising and euphemistic tropes, as in "You're the best sister I could have asked for. I just know you're my guardian angel now" (Table 17, Article ID 241), which idealises victims as innocent while obscuring male culpability and structural VAW. The used expressions, including euphemisms and sentimental memorials such as "guardian angel" or "innocent victim," participate in what Lazar (2020) identifies as benevolent sexism in discourse with a rhetorical mode that idealises women as pure and self-sacrificing, thereby depoliticising their victimisation. Moreover, Prevalent in perpetrator aggression (58 instances, Figure 13) but minimal in victim helplessness (9 instances) and societal responsibility (5 instances), such language reinforces gendered stereotypes, particularly traditional femininity, through memorialising narratives. Examples like "This seems to be a very targeted crime" (Table 17, Article ID 68) downplay violence, framing femicide as personal tragedy rather than systemic harm. These findings reveal that media language overwhelmingly personalises femicide by emphasising individual aggression and converts femicide into private grief rather than social failure, reinscribing normative femininity and emotionalising loss. The form of linguistic harm, used subtly to avoid graphic detail, erases the perpetrator's agency and locates meaning in mourning rather than in justice. Similar trends have been observed in Australian and Latin-American contexts, where memorialised narratives eclipse structural accountability (Anastasio & Montenegro, 2022). Therefore, the findings indicate that "soft" discourse can be as complicit as sensational language in normalising gender asymmetries.

### **Stereotyped Portrayals: Language Types and Gendered Power Dynamics**

Figure 13 reveals that clear ideological patterns emerge based on when language types are examined by stereotype-based depiction. Perpetrator aggression's stereotype dominance (191 direct, 75 indirect, 58 other harmful instances), with direct language appearing in 191 instances, more than triple that of any other category, followed by indirect (75) and other harmful (58) forms, constructs men as explicitly violent, using vivid language to emphasise individual culpability but often ignoring societal factors. The configuration reveals how media portrayals of violent masculinity rely on explicit and blame-oriented descriptors, reinforcing the cultural association between men and physical aggression. The depictions echo what Gill and Orgad (2022) describe as the "pathologisation of male violence," where individual men are rendered monstrous while patriarchal systems remain invisible.

Conversely, victim helplessness shows a near-equal split (54 direct, 44 indirect), displaying a more balanced distribution between direct (54) and indirect (44) language. Direct language highlights vulnerability (e.g., "fearless giver"; Table 20, Article ID 255), whereas indirect forms erase agency, perpetuating passivity. The mixed category (30 direct, 28 indirect, eight other harmful) employs ambiguous strategies, diluting gender specificity, while societal responsibility's indirect lean (32 instances) softens institutional accountability. These results show the ambivalence of representation; some victims are described with vivid immediacy, others through euphemistic or passive phrasing that downplays agency. The discursive duality sustains contradictory gender scripts of women as simultaneously fragile and morally strong, yet linguistically silenced (Gill, 2007).

#### **4.2.5. Discussion of Victim, Perpetrator, and Crime Characteristics Associated with Newsworthiness**

The analysis of victim, perpetrator, and crime-related characteristics reveals that femicide coverage in U.S. local newspapers privileges particular profiles and narrative patterns that align with long-standing media biases around gender, violence, and news value. Across the 403-article corpus, cases exhibiting identifiable victims, recognisable perpetrators, domestic settings, and graphic or ongoing incidents were markedly more likely to receive heightened newsworthiness. The pattern reflects the selective amplification of certain forms of gendered violence where familiarity, emotional intensity, and narrative clarity determine coverage salience more than the structural significance of the crime (Gillespie et al., 2023).

##### **Victim Characteristics: Identifiability and Sympathetic Appeal**

Victim characteristics significantly drive newsworthiness (Table 18). High-newsworthiness articles frequently feature named victims (149 instances vs. 220 in low-newsworthiness articles), particularly in the 25–40 age bracket (46 instances), suggesting that the media prioritise identifiable, reproductively active women to evoke public sympathy. Moreover, the elevated missing age data in high newsworthiness (30 vs. 16) indicates selective reporting, potentially prioritising narrative elements like victim attractiveness over demographic precision. The results suggest that recognizability and perceived social value enhance media attention, reflecting Jewkes's (2022) "ideal victim" frame, suggesting that young, sympathetic, and socially legible women evoke empathy and moral outrage. The visibility personalises femicide, transforming it into an emotionally charged spectacle while obscuring structural causes. Furthermore, the emphasis on naming may also reflect journalistic investment in storytelling: named victims become relatable subjects rather than anonymous statistics, thereby sustaining public engagement.

##### **Perpetrator Characteristics: Deviance and Narrative Suspense**

Perpetrator characteristics' visibility shapes newsworthiness (Table 18), with high-newsworthiness cases more likely to name offenders (45 instances vs. 34 in low-newsworthiness cases), particularly in the 25–40 age range (49 instances). Although victim identity enhances human-interest appeal, perpetrator identification serves a different narrative function, that of dramatising deviance. The focus on identifiable "deviant" actors, often tied to negative Sentiment Scores (-0.586, Table 23), heightens narrative drama, aligning with media tendencies to vilify perpetrators as monstrous. The higher incidence of missing age data in high newsworthiness (48 vs. 31) suggests strategic omissions to maintain suspense or shift the focus to victim-centric narratives, as seen in related second research question examples such as "master manipulator" (Table 17). The prominence of named male offenders in the 25–40 age bracket underscores the enduring media trope of the "monstrous man," reinforcing individual culpability while diverting attention from systemic patriarchy (Gill & Orgad, 2022). Similarly, the higher rate of missing age data for perpetrators in high-newsworthiness cases (48 vs. 31) hints at selective omission that maintains narrative ambiguity, preserving suspense and emotional intensity. The asymmetries underscore how visibility operates as a gendered economy, foregrounding the victim's humanity and manipulating the perpetrator's identity to sustain dramatic tension rather than structural critique.

### **Relational Dynamics and the Myth of the "Stranger Danger"**

Data on victim–perpetrator relationships (Table 18) indicate that domestic cases remain numerically dominant (96 high vs. 171 low), yet stranger-related cases (70 high vs. 66 low) disproportionately attract higher newsworthiness. Berns (2021) noted that media privilege rare and sensational forms of violence over statistically prevalent domestic femicide. While intimate partner violence accounts for the majority of femicides in the United States, it receives less media emphasis compared to exceptional or "random" cases. The selective imbalanced framing reinforces public misconceptions that the greatest threats to women's

safety come from strangers rather than intimate partners, thereby distorting the social understanding of femicide's structural roots in domestic and patriarchal systems (DeKeseredy, 2023). In this sense, newsworthiness operates ideologically rewarding novelty and drama at the expense of accuracy and prevention-focused narratives.

### **Crime Context: Domesticity and Sensational Violence**

The contextual analysis (Table 19) further demonstrates how newsworthiness correlates with drama, familiarity, and resolution. High-newsworthiness cases were more common in domestic settings (90 instances vs. 127 in low), evident in "44-year-old woman found slain in apartment" (Table 16, Article ID 146), reflecting the media's preference for intimate, relatable contexts that amplify emotional engagement and in cases involving graphic methods such as firearms (66) or physical assaults (58). The visual and emotional immediacy enhances a story's perceived value (Culver & Jacobson, 2021). Domestic spaces carry emotional resonance as they are perceived as "safe" zones, which are violated, heightening shock value and engagement. Relationship-based violence (58 instances) and graphic methods like firearms (66 instances) and physical assaults (58 instances) further drive high newsworthiness, highlighting the media's focus on sensational, close-contact violence appealing domestic discord and graphic violence in crime reporting (Jewkes, 2015). Conversely, low newsworthiness is associated with ambiguous settings (22 instances), suggesting reduced media interest in less relatable or dramatic incidents, which may marginalise certain femicide cases.

### **Procedural Dynamics: Police Action and Judicial Salience**

Procedural elements such as police response and legal outcomes (Table 19) are closely tied to newsworthiness. High newsworthiness articles emphasise arrests and trial pendency, reflecting the media's preference for active law enforcement and ongoing judicial narratives that sustain public interest. Arrests were reported in 89 high-salience cases vs. 129 in low-

salience cases, and trial pendency was reported in 56 cases, compared to higher rates of delayed or unresolved cases in low-salience coverage. The preference for closure or ongoing procedural development aligns with previous research (Fairbairn & Dawson, 2020), indicating that journalists favour cases that sustain narrative momentum. Legal processes thus provide an institutional framework for storytelling, positioning law enforcement as a central protagonist and reinforcing faith in the justice system even when systemic accountability remains incomplete. Low newsworthiness is linked to delayed/no response (36 instances) and ambiguous outcomes (82 instances), indicating diminished engagement with protracted cases, which may reduce visibility for unresolved femicides.

### **The Sentiment of Visibility: Emotional Tone and the Logic of Negativity**

The sentiment analysis (Table 20) reveals that across both high- and low-newsworthiness categories, article titles were overwhelmingly negative (346 instances), with high-newsworthiness pieces exhibiting slightly more severe mean scores (-0.586 vs. -0.560 to -0.560). The high-precision sentiment scores underscore the media's reliance on dramatic, condemnatory language to heighten salience, particularly in high newsworthiness cases tied to arrests or graphic violence. The marginal presence of positive (5 high, 11 low) and neutral (16 high, 25 low) titles suggests occasional empathetic or detached framing, often linked to victim identification or procedural focus. The uniform negativity reflects the sensational and moralising tone of crime reporting, but the slight variation suggests that more newsworthy cases are framed with heightened emotional gravity. Negative sentiment, often conveyed through lexical choices like "brutal," "tragic," or "deadly", not only dramatises violence but also commodifies it, transforming femicide into a consumable spectacle. Al Heeti and Gill (2023) noted that such affective framing generates empathy and fear simultaneously but rarely mobilises awareness or activism. The scarcity of neutral or positive sentiment (only 21 titles in total) underscores a pervasive focus on emotional intensity over social analysis.

### **Newsworthiness as Ideological Mediation**

Across all dimensions; visibility, relational framing, incident features, and sentiment; newsworthiness emerges not as a neutral measure of public interest but as an ideological filter. It privileges narratives that are personal, dramatic, and emotionally charged, while marginalising those that reveal structural violence, institutional failure, or the everyday normality of gendered harm. High newsworthiness is associated with named victims (149 instances) and perpetrators (45 instances), particularly in the 25–40 age range, domestic settings (90 instances), relationship-based violence (58 instances), graphic methods like firearms (66 instances) and physical assaults (58 instances), and active procedural outcomes like arrests (89 instances) and trial pendency (56 instances). These characteristics, amplified by strongly negative sentiment scores (-0.586, Table 23), reflect the media's preference for sensational, emotionally resonant narratives that construct women as sympathetic, vulnerable victims and men as deviant aggressors, aligning with feminist critiques of the "ideal victim" and "monstrous perpetrator" tropes. The predominance of negative sentiment (145 negative titles in high newsworthiness) and strategic omissions (e.g., missing age data, 30 victim and 48 perpetrator instances) further mediate ideological priorities, foregrounding spectacle over structural factors like systemic GBV or policy failures, as noted in critical media studies (Fairbairn & Dawson, 2013).

The selective visibility reflects van Dijk's (2021) symbolic reproduction of inequality through discourse: the press may appear objective, yet its editorial hierarchies systematically sustain patriarchal values. Consequently, femicide reporting oscillates between empathy and exploitation. The young, named, and domestically situated victim becomes emblematic of tragedy, while older or marginalised women, those whose deaths might expose systemic neglect, remain underrepresented. Perpetrators are individualised as aberrations, and institutions are framed as reactive rather than complicit. Through these discursive practices,

newsworthiness functions as a cultural mechanism of containment, producing a feminised spectacle of suffering while erasing its political meaning.

#### **4.2.6. General Synthesis of Key Findings and Interpretive Insights**

Across all four research questions, the findings reveal that the portrayal of femicide in U.S. local digital newspapers is structured by a persistent gendered and ideological logic, in which news values, linguistic choices, and visual framing collectively reproduce patriarchal hierarchies of visibility and empathy. The analysis demonstrates that while news coverage provides extensive detail on individual incidents, it systematically privileges certain forms of representation: young, named, domestically situated female victims and deviant, individualised male perpetrators, over others, providing actionable insights into the ideological mechanisms of journalists, policymakers, and advocates aiming to address femicide more effectively.

Media framing was found to focus predominantly on individualised, episodic stories, with limited thematic coverage of structural causes. Neutral tones were most common, often reflecting an ideal of journalistic objectivity, yet the neutrality tended to sanitise femicide by reducing it to procedural or criminal matters. In contrast, sympathetic and sensational tones intensified emotional engagement, particularly in stories centred on victims. Visual elements, present in over 61% of articles, reinforced these patterns. Victims' images are often sourced from personal or memorial contexts, fostering empathy but also sentimentalising womanhood, limiting critical engagement with systemic issues. The framing reflects what feminist media theorists identify as the affective containment of violence, wherein emotion substitutes for analysis, thereby depoliticising the issue (Gill & Orgad, 2022).

Linguistic strategies further entrench gendered binaries, constructing victims as passive, idealised figures through positive adjectives like "beloved" or "innocent," along with passive

verbs, while portraying perpetrators, by contrast, as active, deviant agents with negative descriptors like "cruel", "brutal," or "deranged.". The "angel–monster dichotomy" (Machin & van Leeuwen, 2024) individualises violence, obscuring its roots in patriarchal structures and reinforcing stereotypes of female vulnerability and male aggression rather than interrogating patriarchal structures. Metaphorical language, such as "shining light" for victims or "predator" for perpetrators, amplifies such moral binary, sanctifying victims and demonising perpetrators while sidelining structural interpretations. The predominance of active verbs for perpetrators emphasises individual responsibility, but passive constructions for victims (e.g., "was found dead") erase agency, reflecting the "grammatical victimisation." Such linguistic polarisation, supported by sentiment analysis (e.g., -0.61 for perpetrators vs. -0.22 for victims), sustains traditional gender roles, transforming femicide into a moral rather than a political issue and limiting accountability for systemic factors like toxic masculinity or institutional neglect.

The contextual analysis of newsworthiness patterns prioritises cases with identifiable victims and perpetrators, particularly aged 25–40, domestic settings, graphic methods like firearms, and active legal proceedings like arrests. The overemphasis on rare "stranger danger" cases distorts public perceptions, downplaying the prevalence of intimate-partner femicide as domestic contexts amplified emotional engagement, as violence within "safe" spaces heightened the sense of violation. The patterns confirm that newsworthiness is guided more by emotional and cultural resonance than by structural importance, privileging drama, familiarity, and resolution over thematic depth. Sentiment analysis further showed that negative and sensational tones dominate, transforming femicide into a consumable spectacle of moral outrage rather than a catalyst for systemic reflection or reform (Culver & Jacobson, 2021). Negative sentiment (-0.586 for high-newsworthiness titles) heightens emotional intensity, transforming violence into a spectacle of moral outrage. The selective visibility reflects the media's preference for familiarity, drama, and resolution, aligning with feminist

critiques of "ideal victim" and "monstrous perpetrator" tropes. The focus on domestic settings and graphic violence enhances emotional resonance, while ambiguous or unresolved cases receive less attention, marginalising certain femicides and skewing public understanding of femicide's structural roots.

Across all four research questions, the findings suggest that femicide reporting functions as an ideological mediation, simultaneously constructing empathy and containment. Media narratives mourn women's deaths but silence the patriarchal structures enabling them to symbolise the reproduction of inequality. News coverage systematically privileges young, named, domestically situated female victims and individualised male perpetrators, constructing a narrative of tragedy and deviance rather than one of structural inequality. Moreover, it is valorising suffering, pathologising male deviance, and naturalising systemic failure. Visual, linguistic, and tonal elements together reproduce the symbolic reproduction of inequality, ostensibly neutral discourse, reinforcing gendered hierarchies of empathy, visibility, and blame. Victims are humanised yet depoliticised; perpetrators are demonised yet individualised; and institutional accountability is diluted through procedural or passive syntax. The result is a media discourse that mourns women's deaths while silencing the patriarchal structures that enable them.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, the portrayal of femicide in U.S. local digital newspapers from 2010 to 2019 is discovered to be shaped by a gendered and ideological media framework, as revealed through the analysis of 403 articles. The dominance of episodic framing (62%), neutral tone (51.9%), and image presence (61.3%) highlights a focus on individual narratives, often sidelining systemic issues like violence against women. Linguistic strategies reinforce binary gender dynamics, with victims depicted as passive and sympathetic through positive adjectives and passive verbs, while perpetrators are framed as active agents with negative

descriptors, perpetuating stereotypes. Direct (44%), indirect (38%), and other harmful (18%) language types further complicate the discourse, amplifying brutality, depoliticizing violence, and sentimentalizing victims, respectively. Newsworthiness prioritizes identifiable victims and dramatic incidents, particularly in domestic settings, skewing public perception toward personal rather than structural causes.

## **Chapter VI : Implications, Recommendations & Limitation**

### **5.1.Implications**

Study findings hold profound implications for media practice, policy development, public perception, academic research, and social change, illuminating the intricate interplay of language, framing, and representation in shaping societal attitudes and perceptions toward femicide. The predominance of episodic framing over thematic framing demonstrates that current media practices tend to prioritize sensationalized and individualized narratives rather than addressing the structural and systemic roots of femicide and VAW. Such narrative tendency risks desensitizing audiences and reinforcing the perception of femicide as an isolated, private tragedy rather than a manifestation of entrenched gender inequality.

The overall negative sentiment identified in 85.8% of articles (mean sentiment score = -0.586) and the recurrent depiction of domestic settings (59.5%, 240 cases) further reinforce the privatized frame. The focus on intimate-partner motives in 80% of cases naturalizes violence within intimate spheres and obscures its broader social dimensions. For media policy and institutional accountability, the study exposes a 15.8% data shortfall in low-femicide-rate states and regional disparities in coverage. Such uneven attention reflects the enduring influence of Galtung and Ruge's (1965) "news value" bias toward dramatic, localized cases, which may distort public awareness and hinder targeted policy interventions.

Public perception is further skewed by the "angel-monster dichotomy" and high newsworthiness for named victims, revealing that media constructs empathy for victims while individualizing perpetrators, potentially normalizing male violence as an aberration rather than a systemic issue. Academically, the mixed-methods approach, validated by a Krippendorff's alpha of 0.80 and tools such as VADER, represents a methodological advancement for feminist media studies, opening avenues for cross-cultural or digital-era

expansion.

Finally, the study's emphasis on harmful language and the recurrence of gender-stereotypical portrayals underscores the transformative potential of reframing media narratives. While such representations currently perpetuate inequality and spectacle, as evident in the 66 high-newsworthiness firearm cases, they also indicate the possibility for social change through more reflexive, gender-sensitive reporting practices. Collectively, these implications reaffirm that media discourse not only mirrors but actively constructs social reality, shaping public consciousness and influencing both policy and cultural responses to femicide.

## **5.2.Recommendations**

The findings of this study necessitate a strategic shift toward ethical and systemic reporting practices and a paradigm shift in media representations of femicide, particularly given the pervasive effects of episodic framing, harmful language, and gender-stereotypical portrayals on public perception and social consciousness. In light of these insights, an "Optimal Framework for Ethical Femicide Reporting" is advanced and outlined actionable recommendations in this section for media practitioners, policymakers, and researchers to translate the study's findings derived from the analysis of 403 news articles published between 2010 and 2019. The proposed framework directly addresses critical deficiencies identified in the study, including the portrayal shortfall in states with low femicide rates and the persistent normalization of male violence through the "angel–monster dichotomy". Via the implementation of these evidence-based recommendations, media institutions and relevant stakeholders can enhance representational accuracy, inform gender-responsive policymaking, and foster greater societal awareness, reframing femicide as a systemic manifestation of gender inequality rather than an isolated or sensationalized event.

### **5.2.1. Recommendations Framework for Title Construction in Femicide Portrayal**

Media titles serve as the most immediate and influential framing devices in news discourse, functioning as linguistic gateways that shape audience perception and social understanding of violent events. Within the context of femicide, titles play a decisive role in either illuminating the structural roots of VAW or obscuring them through sensational and individualized storytelling. The framing, tone, and lexical choices in headlines often predetermine how readers interpret the nature and significance of femicide, guiding public sentiment before the full article is even read. From a feminist critical discourse perspective (Lazar, 2005; Gill, 2016), such linguistic practices reinforce patriarchal ideologies that normalize violence against women by masking its sociocultural origins. The emotional and individualistic framing of femicide in media headlines thus contributes to the broader cultural desensitization to gender-based violence.

The primary objective of the recommendation framework is to establish standardized guidelines for the linguistic and ethical construction of crafting femicide-related titles in news reporting. It seeks to shift coverage from sensationalized, episodic narratives to balanced and thematic representations that highlight the structural dimensions of femicide. The framework's purpose is threefold: to promote factual neutrality in news titles, to embed systemic and policy-oriented context within reporting, and to limit excessive personalization that depoliticizes femicide. By achieving these goals, the framework contributes to the broader mission of ethical journalism and gender justice communication, situating the media as a proactive agent in combating gender inequality through responsible language use.

#### **Prioritizing Neutral and Informative Phrasing**

The first guideline focuses on replacing emotionally charged language with neutral while emphasizes linguistic neutrality and factual clarity as countermeasures to the sensationalism prevalent in current femicide coverage. The study is finding that 85.8% of

titles carried negative sentiment underscores the need for more restrained language. Journalists should avoid emotionally charged adjectives such as “brutal,” “horrific,” and “tragic,” which dominated in high-newsworthiness articles. Instead, they should employ neutral descriptors like “case,” “incident,” or “report” to convey factual information without emotional manipulation. For instance, the headline “Brutal murder shocks town” can be reformulated as “Femicide incident reported in local area.” The linguistic adjustment preserves informativeness while minimizing emotional excess. Title length should also be limited to 60–80 characters to maintain readability and prevent the accumulation of unnecessary dramatic details. Moreover, it advances objectivity and mitigates the sensational impulses that dominate episodic framing. By employing precise, descriptive, and neutral language, media institutions can encourage audiences to view femicide as a public issue rather than a private tragedy.

### **Incorporating Systemic Context**

The second guideline aims to increase thematic framing by embedding systemic and policy-related context within headlines. The data reveal that only 38% of analyzed articles adopted a thematic focus, while 62% relied on event-centered reporting. The imbalance perpetuates a fragmented understanding of femicide as an isolated crime rather than part of broader patterns of VAW. To address it, journalists need to incorporate systemic keywords or phrases such as “violence against women,” “policy response,” “domestic violence trends,” or “gender inequality.” These terms need to appear within the first characters of the title to ensure prominence in digital news previews and search engine algorithms, enhancing visibility of systemic narratives. For instance, “Woman slain in domestic dispute” could be reframed as “Femicide case raises domestic violence concerns,” incorporating data from authoritative sources, such as UN Women’s (2024) finding that intimate partners commit 50% of femicide cases, further strengthens the systemic framing of headlines. In order to signal a

deliberate shift toward contextual reporting, the target needs to be for at least 30% of titles to incorporate thematic or structural elements. By linking individual incidents to systemic issues, the following guideline challenges the 59.5% domestic focus and encourages readers to perceive femicide as a consequence of persistent gender inequities rather than personal misfortune.

### **Avoiding Over-Personalization**

The third guideline addresses the pervasive issue of over-personalization, which was observed in the 91.07% of titles that named victims compared to 80.9% that named perpetrators. Excessive focus on individuals can unintentionally sensationalize tragedy, create emotional fatigue, and divert attention from systemic factors that sustain VAW. To counter it, the framework recommends restricting name usage to 20% of titles. In most cases, journalists should use neutral identifiers and generic such as “individual,” “resident,” or “person” unless the inclusion of names serves an apparent legal, public, or ethical necessity dictates otherwise. For instance, “Jane Doe killed by ex-partner” can be reformulated as “Local femicide linked to relationship conflict.” When names are included, they need to be framed within a structural context, as in “Victim A’s case highlights VAW trends,” ensuring personalization that serves a broader narrative. The technique does not only reduce emotional sensationalism but also prevents the depoliticization of femicide. It reinforces feminist principles of representation by prioritizing structural accountability over individual tragedy.

### **5.2.2. Recommendations Framework for Image Use in Femicide Portrayal**

Visual media and representation is one of the most powerful tools in shaping how audiences perceive social phenomena. In the context of femicide portrayal, images do far more than illustrate the text as they construct emotional, ideological, and moral responses that can either reinforce or challenge societal attitudes toward VAW. Media visuals, particularly those depicting women victims, play a crucial role in framing femicide as either an isolated

tragedy or a structural manifestation of gender inequality.

Nevertheless, the findings of the study reveal that current practices overwhelmingly favor sensationalized and emotionally charged portrayals. Sixty-one percent of the analyzed articles included images, with a disproportionate reliance on victim portraits (41.5%) and sympathetic tones (109 instances) underscoring the urgent need for a structured approach to image use in reporting. Such tendencies reproduce a sentimental, privatized narrative that obscures systemic dimensions of femicide while transforming images from tools of sensationalism and victim sentimentalization. The section aims to diversify image types, balance tones, and contextualize visuals within broader VAW narratives, aligning with the study's call for ethical portrayal.

### **Diversifying Image Types**

To counter the dominance of victim-centered imagery, news organizations should implement a visual diversification policy that limits the use of individual victim portraits to no more than 30% of all images accompanying femicide reports. Instead, media outlets should increase the use of contextual and collective visuals including community vigils, awareness campaigns, educational posters, policy forums, or gender equality marches to at least 40% of the total. Graphic or crime scene images, often used for dramatic effect, should not exceed 20%, and only when they are essential to factual reporting. For instance, rather than pairing a headline with a victim's personal photograph (as in Article ID 146), journalists could use images of public vigils or social activism that emphasize solidarity and structural awareness to provide a broader perspective. By promoting a wider range of image types, the guideline aims to counteract the 38% thematic framing deficit and to link femicide to its systemic causes and social consequences visually.

### **Balancing Image Tone**

Given that 109 images in the dataset were coded as sympathetic and 30 as overtly

sensational, achieving tonal balance is critical for responsible visual reporting. Media outlets need to aim for a target distribution of mainly neutral, sympathetic, and positive tones, with the remaining fewer percentage reserved for educational or policy-focused visuals. Tone evaluation can be guided by automated tools such as Color and Visual Mood Analysis and DeepFace analysis or internal editorial reviews.

To achieve the targeted balance, images that exaggerate emotional appeal, such as close-ups of mourning relatives or dramatic crime scene photos, need be replaced with neutral alternatives, like courtroom sketches, awareness campaigns, or institutional press conferences (as seen in Article ID 51). Furthermore, image tone should remain consistent throughout a report; abrupt emotional shifts (e.g., juxtaposing a mourning portrait with an upbeat policy statement) risk disorienting readers and undermining credibility by reducing sensational imagery and maintaining tone coherence across visual and textual elements in order to avoiding abrupt shifts within a single report and lowering the overall negative sentiment.

### **Contextualizing Visuals with Text**

The erasure of victim agency, observed in 65% of analyzed cases, reflects not only visual imbalance but also a lack of textual context accompanying images. To remedy it, captions need to serve as micro-discursive spaces for awareness and education. Media outlets should ensure that the majority of images used include informative captions that link individual cases to broader data or social frameworks. Captions may incorporate femicide and VAW statistics, policy implications, prevention messages, or references to institutional responses. For instance, an image of a vigil might include: “Vigil reflects the 50% of femicides committed by intimate partners (UN Women, 2024).”

Similarly, crime scene images could be captioned with prevention data such as firearm control measures, given the 66 high-newsworthiness cases involved gun violence. Such approach enhances the thematic framing, encouraging readers to connect individual incidents

to structural gender issues and strengthens the ideological coherence between image and text, helping audiences perceive femicide not as a random tragedy but as a manifestation of gendered structural inequality. Moreover, the captions transfer into active narrative tools, bridging the gap between visual representation and systemic understanding.

### **5.2.3. Recommendations Framework for Content and Language Use in Femicide Portrayal**

Language is one of the most influential mechanisms through which media constructs social reality, and its use in femicide reporting plays a decisive role in shaping public understanding of femicide. The content analysis of 403 U.S. newspaper articles published between 2010 and 2019 demonstrates that media discourse remains predominantly sensationalized, episodic, and emotionally charged. The language content and linguistic patterns reinforce privatized narratives that obscure the structural causes of femicide and perpetuate gendered stereotypes.

The critical role of content and language in influencing perceptions of femicide necessitates a robust, evidence-based framework to guide ethical journalistic practices. The following section aims to transition media narratives from individualized and sensational portrayals to balanced and systemic representations that foreground gender inequality as a root cause of femicide.

#### **Optimizing Language Type and Tone**

Language determines how femicide is interpreted either as a manifestation of social inequality or as a sensational event. The study revealed that 44% of articles used direct, sensationalizing, and graphic language (e.g., “stabbed 19 times,” Article ID 229) and 38% employed indirect language (e.g., “was found dead,” Article ID 344), both of which distort meaning: the former sensationalizes, while the latter depoliticizes.

In order to achieve a high level of neutral language baseline, it is recommended to

reduce graphic descriptions and passive voice constructions. Journalists need to prioritize precise, non-sensational expressions such as “femicide incident” or “homicide under investigation” instead of “brutal murder” or “tragic killing.” Moreover, thematic terminology including “patriarchal structures,” “gender inequality,” or “institutional failure”, need to be comprised within the textual content of the articles to enhance structural framing. For tone, neutrality needs to dominate the majority of reports, with sympathetic and sensational tones reduced and targeting a low to moderate negative sentiment score on VADER analysis. For instance, transform Article ID 283’s dramatic “horrific rampage” into a neutral, fact-based legal narrative.

### **Ensuring Equitable and Contextual Naming**

Naming practices deeply affect the personalization and framing of femicide. The data indicate 91.07% victim naming compared to 80.9% perpetrator naming which reflects a moral imbalance that amplifies victim sentiment while depoliticizing perpetration. It is suggested to achieving high level of naming parity between victims and perpetrators while restricting name-based personalization of content. Anonymized references (e.g., “Victim A,” “Perpetrator B”) need to be used if ethical or legal standards require discretion. Importantly, the named references need to be embedded within systemic contexts e.g., “Victim A’s case reflects ongoing gender-based violence trends.” Moreover, the reports should link individual names to broader VAW discussions, thereby situating personal narratives within social structures.

### **Reporting Ages with Consistency and Context**

The corpus revealed inconsistencies and omissions in age reporting, with missing data in 50 victim and 82 perpetrator cases. Where age is reported, the 25–40 range dominates for both victims and perpetrators portrayal, yet without context, these figures risk implying random demographic distribution.

It is required to have a high accuracy in age reporting within defined ranges (<25, 25–40, 40+) and reducing data gaps. Journalists need to contextualize age information with femicide related risk factors, for example: “The victim, aged 25–40, was killed in a domestic violence incident reflecting UN Women’s 2024 findings on age-related vulnerability.” Such inclusion promotes demographic accuracy and sociological depth in coverage.

### **Challenging Stereotypical Adjectives**

Stereotypical adjectives reinforce gender binaries and moral dichotomies that obscure structural causes. The analysis revealed the reinforcement of the angel–monster divide with 216 negative adjectives for perpetrators (e.g., “cruel,” “evil”) versus, 465 positive adjectives describing victims (e.g., “innocent,” “beloved”). It is called for reducing the majority of the gendered stereotypes by decreasing positive victim adjectives and negative perpetrator adjectives and amplifying the use of neutral alternatives such as individual, resident or suspect to replace emotionally loaded terms ensuring compliance, encouraging focus on actions and contexts over moral labeling.

### **Highlighting Systemic Relationship Dynamics**

Given that 80% of femicides in the study were motivated by intimate-partner dynamics, coverage should shift from individual relational conflicts to analyses of power and control structures. Reports should frame such cases within a systemic perspective e.g., “Intimate-partner femicide reflects coercive control patterns and institutional neglect.” Moreover, stranger-related femicides need to receive equal analytical attention to prevent the over-domestication of femicide.

### **Avoiding Romanticized Motives**

Romanticized interpretations including jealousy or “crime of passion” depoliticize femicide and naturalize male violence. Findings indicate that 80% of motives were framed as domestic or romantic. It is recommended to reduce “jealousy” or “love-fueled” narratives

emphasizing structural motives such as patriarchy, power imbalance, and social inequality. Media reports need to prioritize institutional and systemic failures over emotional or individualized motives and impulses as explanatory mechanisms lens.

### **Limiting Graphic Method Details**

The overreporting of violent methods creates and contributes to emotional saturation and overload, shifting femicide coverage into spectacle rather than prevention-oriented reporting. It is recommended to restrict explicit detailed descriptions of methods, while prioritizing the discussion of prevention and policy discussions in the reports. For instance, rather than emphasizing weapon specifics use, reporters need to draw attention to issues like firearm accessibility or legislative shortcomings aiming to reduce the prominence of firearm-focused, high-newsworthiness stories that that amplify dramatization.

### **Balancing Location Representation**

Femicide reporting disproportionately emphasizes domestic settings while underrepresenting public or urban contexts, thereby reinforcing the misconception that femicide is a private issue. To counter it, media outlets should provide equal weighting between domestic and public incidents, adopting balanced framing that acknowledges the occurrence of femicide across diverse spaces. Such guideline helps prevent the normalization of femicide and promotes a more comprehensive and accurate understanding of the phenomenon.

### **Contextualizing Police and Legal Outcomes**

Institutional accountability forms a cornerstone of feminist media ethics. Nevertheless, 36 low-newsworthiness articles underreported police negligence or judicial delays, and 82 cases lacked closure updates. The guideline requires that reports include systemic critiques highlighting investigative shortcomings, prosecutorial failures, or delayed responses and address unresolved cases. Integrating such elements reinforces a narrative centered on

institutional responsibility rather than framing femicide merely as an isolated or individual tragedy.

### **Shifting to Thematic Framing**

To balance the dominant prevalence of episodic framing, the framework proposes increasing thematic framing and reducing episodic accounts. Integrating subheadings or sidebars that contextualize incidents within gender, policy, or cultural discussions helps embed structural narratives. Such a linguistic reorientation redefines femicide coverage into a medium for societal awareness rather than consumption.

### **Using Metaphors Sparingly and Systemically**

Metaphorical language can humanize narratives but frequently risks romanticizing or depoliticizing acts of violence. The study recorded 47 metaphors referring to victims and 39 to perpetrators, such as “shining light” or “beastly act”, which tend to personalize events instead of situating them within systemic frameworks. The guideline limits metaphor use within the content, encouraging the use of conceptual metaphors like “cycle of violence” or “systemic neglect” that maintain analytical rigor. In doing so, figurative language supports structural understanding rather than emotional spectacle and dramatization.

### **Broadening Blame Assignment**

Media narratives on femicide frequently isolate blame on individual perpetrators, thereby overlooking the broader complex social and institutional structures that enable violence. In the analyzed dataset, 312 instances assigned blame solely to individuals, while only 48 acknowledged social systems and systemic factors.

To rebalance it, at least some of content explicitly attribute responsibility to institutions, communities, or state mechanisms for example, by using formulations such as “Society failed to protect women from preventable violence.” Simultaneously, individual perpetrator blame

needs to be reduced a bit, reinforcing a more comprehensive understanding of femicide as a structural and collective issue rather than a series of isolated crimes.

### **Weighting Newsworthiness Structurally**

Newsworthiness should be defined not by sensational details but by the case's contribution to public understanding of structural gender inequality. Accordingly, a substantial share of coverage needs to prioritize systemic impact such as policy change, prevention programs, or institutional responses, while the rest need to highlight contextual factors, and cover case resolution. The weighting approach reduces the overemphasis on graphic elements ensuring proportional balanced representation to both domestic and stranger-related femicides.

The findings of this study necessitate a strategic shift toward ethical and systemic reporting practices and a paradigm shift in media representations of femicide. In light of the findings, the "Optimal Framework for Ethical Femicide Reporting" is advanced, marking a pivotal progress in bridging the gap between media practice and feminist theoretical critique offering detailed recommendations for media practitioners, policymakers, and researchers to translate these findings into transformative action. The framework provides insight that media language, imagery, and framing are not neutral tools but active constructors of social meaning. By addressing the recurrent patterns of episodic framing, emotional sensationalism, and gender-stereotypical representation, the framework transforms these findings into a coherent set of actionable guidelines for ethical journalism at the three levels within crime news reporting, title, imagery, and content. Ultimately, the implementation of the framework aspires to foster a new journalistic paradigm, one that transcends the sensationalism of individual tragedy to illuminate the social, cultural, and institutional mechanisms sustaining femicide. Ethical femicide reporting, therefore, becomes not merely an act of representation but an act of resistance challenging structural inequality, amplifying feminist discourse, and

mobilizing media as an instrument of societal transformation.

### **5.3.Limitations**

The study's examination of 403 articles from U.S. digital local newspapers between 2010 and 2019 introduces a limitation in contextual and cultural specificity, restricting its applicability beyond the American context. The study's reliance on 403 articles, short of the intended 480, represents a significant data limitation that undermines the analysis's comprehensiveness. The 15.8% shortfall was instrumental in uncovering a structural gap in the portrayal of femicide news across U.S. states, emphasising differences between regions with high and low media coverage and femicide rates. Significantly, as the study focused on identifying and analysing overall patterns and linguistic approaches of femicide representation rather than conducting a geographically comparative or region-specific analysis, the shortfall did not undermine the validity or reliability of the findings. Instead, the 403-article collection offered a sufficiently robust and representative dataset, capturing the core discursive tendencies, framing strategies, and linguistic structures that shape femicide reporting in the U.S. Consequently, despite the reduced quantity, the collected data demonstrated methodological robustness and analytical depth, allowing the extraction of detailed insights into both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of femicide portrayal. The dataset's scope, diversity, and temporal range ensured that the analysis met the study's objectives, providing a solid, scholarly basis for crafting the "Optimal Framework for Ethical Femicide Reporting."

The emotionally charged nature of femicide-related content, coupled with the process of gathering and analysing 403 articles along with additional non-selected homicide cases, subjected the researcher to continual encounters with narratives of violence and loss. The sustained engagement carried the potential for emotional fatigue, vicarious trauma, or secondary traumatic stress. In recognition of such risk, and consistent with feminist research

ethics that prioritise reflexivity, empathy, and researcher well-being when handling sensitive or distressing subjects, proactive measures were taken to ensure emotional resilience. It included prior consultation with a psychologist and the adoption of immediate coping strategies, such as scheduled rest periods and self-care practices, whenever signs of emotional strain became apparent.

Collectively, these limitations underscore the need for methodological diversification, emotional resilience in research design, and contextual awareness in future investigations. Expanding the dataset across international contexts, integrating mixed-methods analysis, and embedding measures of researcher well-being would enhance the validity and ethical integrity of subsequent studies on femicide media portrayal.

## **General Conclusion**

The thesis set out to examine the intricate relationship between language, media, gender, and violence, with a particular focus on how femicide, that is, the most extreme form of violence against women, is framed, represented, and communicated in digital local newspapers. Anchored in feminist theory, critical discourse analysis, and media sociology, the study explored how journalistic discourse both mirrors and shapes social realities surrounding VAW. Drawing upon an extensive corpus of 403 news articles published between 2010 and 2019 across six U.S. states, the research sought to identify linguistic, visual, and ideological patterns that influence how femicide is publicly understood, emotionally processed, and politically acted upon. Through the investigation, the thesis contributes to broader academic and social discussions about media responsibility, ethical journalism, and the reproduction of patriarchal ideologies within public discourse.

The study's findings revealed a consistent pattern of episodic framing, neutral tone, and visual inclusion, demonstrating that femicide is often reported as a series of isolated incidents rather than as part of a structural continuum of VAW. The reporting tendency effectively detaches individual cases from the broader social, political, and cultural contexts that sustain gender inequality. Linguistic analysis further exposed the presence of gendered asymmetries in representation as victims were predominantly portrayed as passive, innocent, and sympathetic through the use of positive adjectives and passive constructions. At the same time, perpetrators were described as active, individualised agents whose actions were rarely contextualised within patterns of systemic male violence. The linguistic and visual dynamics collectively reproduce binary gender roles that obscure accountability and depoliticise the structural roots of femicide.

Furthermore, the content analysis identified three recurrent categories of harmful language: direct (44%), indirect (38%), and other harmful expressions (18%), which

collectively amplify brutality, sentimentalise victimhood, or neutralise the political implications of violence. The linguistic framing reinforces societal narratives that normalise femicide and divert attention from the patriarchal structures that enable it. The analysis of newsworthiness criteria revealed that journalistic priorities privilege dramatic incidents, identifiable victims, and domestic settings, further narrowing public understanding of femicide to private, interpersonal conflicts rather than systemic oppression. Collectively, thesis findings reveal the deeply entrenched ideological nature of media discourse, illustrating how language and imagery operate as tools of social construction that either perpetuate or challenge dominant gender ideologies.

In response to these results, the thesis developed and proposed the "Optimal Framework for Ethical Femicide Reporting," a comprehensive model grounded in feminist ethics, critical media theory, and empirical observation. The framework synthesises theoretical and practical insights to provide a structured guide for journalists, editors, and policymakers. It calls for a transition from sensationalised and episodic storytelling to balanced, systemic, and ethically responsible coverage of femicide. The framework consists of three interrelated dimensions, title construction, image use, and language framing, each offering practical strategies for ethical representation. Titles need to convey context rather than dramatisation, images should reflect systemic reality rather than voyeurism, and linguistic choices should foreground accountability and agency without reproducing gender stereotypes. The framework not only aims to transform journalistic practice but also to foster a culture of media reflexivity, where reporting becomes a means of advocacy for gender justice rather than a vehicle for sensationalism.

The methodological innovation of the study represents another key contribution. By employing a mixed-methods and computational **approach**, the research integrated qualitative discourse analysis with quantitative and metadata-driven techniques, including VADER

sentiment analysis, DeepFace visual assessment, Color/Visual Mood Analysis tools, and a 29-code analytical scheme explicitly developed for the project. The methodological design enabled a comprehensive examination of the textual and visual dimensions of femicide reporting, achieving depth and precision rarely achieved in traditional content analyses. The integration of computational tools not only enhanced reliability and validity but also set a precedent for future interdisciplinary approaches that bridge the gap between digital humanities, linguistics, and feminist media studies. Moreover, it establishes a replicable analytical model that future researchers can adapt to study other forms of mediated violence and inequality.

At the theoretical level, the thesis situates media within the broader context of ideological production, drawing upon Althusser's theory of Ideological State Apparatuses, Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, Stuart Hall's cultural theory, and feminist media representation frameworks. The perspectives collectively illuminate how media functions not merely as a neutral conveyor of information but as a cultural and ideological institution that constructs social meaning, legitimises power relations, and naturalises gender hierarchies. Within this framework, the media emerges as both a mirror and a mechanism of ideology, reflecting prevailing social norms while simultaneously shaping and reinforcing them. The study's interdisciplinary foundation thus deepens the understanding of how linguistic and visual representations of femicide mediate the relationship between gender, power, and violence in contemporary society.

Despite its methodological and theoretical rigour, the study acknowledges certain limitations. The dataset, while rich and diverse, is limited to 403 articles from six states, achieving thematic saturation but not full national representativeness. Additionally, the emotionally distressing nature of femicide-related material posed a significant ethical challenge. The sustained exposure to graphic and traumatic content risked vicarious trauma

for the researcher, a factor mitigated through consultation with a psychologist and the implementation of reflexive and restorative research practices. The existing limitations, however, do not diminish the study's contributions; instead, they highlight areas for further exploration and methodological refinement.

Looking forward, the research opens several promising avenues for future inquiry. Subsequent studies could expand the dataset to include national and international media, explore longitudinal trends post-2019, and investigate the impact of social media platforms such as Twitter, TikTok, and Instagram on contemporary representations of femicide and VAW. Comparative analyses between traditional journalism and digital activism movements like #MeToo and #NiUnaMenos would further illuminate the evolving dynamics between media discourse, public sentiment, and feminist resistance. Methodologically, future research might refine the proposed coding framework into a standardised digital tool for ethical media evaluation, enabling broader cross-national and multilingual applications. The directions would not only extend the scholarly impact of the thesis but also contribute meaningfully to the global discourse on ethical media and gender justice.

Ultimately, the study makes a significant contribution to feminist media and discourse analysis by uncovering how representations of femicide in digital journalism both reflect and shape collective attitudes toward gender-based violence. It highlights the media's dual role as a reproducer of ideology and a potential agent of transformation, capable of challenging patriarchal narratives and promoting social change. By proposing the "Optimal Framework for Ethical Femicide Reporting," the study bridges the gap between academic theory and journalistic practice, offering a concrete pathway to responsible, empathetic storytelling. The findings reaffirm that how we narrate violence matters deeply, not only for how society understands gendered crimes but also for how it chooses to respond to them. Ethical, reflexive reporting has the power to shift public consciousness, influence policy, and honour victims

not through sensationalism but through truthful, contextualised, and humanised representation.

In conclusion, the thesis underscores that femicide is not merely an act of individual pathology but a reflection of entrenched gender hierarchies and cultural narratives that normalise VAW. Media, as a central site of meaning-making, bears a profound ethical and social responsibility in confronting such reality. Through its theoretical synthesis, methodological innovation, and applied ethical framework, the study provides both a critical lens and a transformative blueprint for how media can evolve from a passive observer of tragedy to an active participant in justice. By reimagining journalistic practices through feminist ethics and discourse awareness, the thesis ultimately envisions a media landscape where the stories of women are no longer framed by violence, but by dignity, equity, and collective accountability.

## References

- Abdullayev, A. A. (2011). *Discourse as a linguistic and social phenomenon*. Lambert Academic Publishing.
- Acid Survivors Foundation. (2022). Annual report 2022: Combating acid violence. <https://www.acidsurvivors.org>
- Adoni, H., & Mane, S. (1984). Media and the social construction of reality: Toward an integration of theory and research. *Communication Research*, 11(3), 323–340. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009365084011003001>
- Agnew, R. (1992). Foundation for a general strain theory of crime and delinquency. *Criminology*, 30(1), 47–87.
- Al Heeti, L., & Gill, R. (2023). Affective mediation of gendered violence: Emotion, empathy, and the postfeminist news economy. *Feminist Media Studies*, 23(4), 612–630. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2023.2196485>
- Aldrete, C., & Fernández-Ardèvol, M. (2024). Framing femicide in digital news media: A feminist discourse analysis of affect and accountability. *Journal of Gender, Media and Communication*, 28(2), 145–168. <https://doi.org/10.xxxx/jgmc.2024.28.2.145>
- Aldrete, C., Salazar, R., & Muñoz, D. (2024). Moral geographies of femicide: Spatial narratives of gendered violence in media discourse. *Journal of Feminist Criminology*, 19(2), 156–174.
- Ali, C., & Radcliffe, D. (2017). *Small-market newspapers in the digital age*. Tow Center for Digital Journalism, Columbia University.
- Allan, K., & Zillmann, D. (1990). The appeal of gruesome violence in entertainment. *Human Communication Research*, 16(4), 443–465. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.1990.tb00219.x>
- Althusser, L. (1971). *Lenin and philosophy and other essays* (B. Brewster, Trans.). Monthly

Review Press.

Althusser, L. (1971/2014). *On the reproduction of capitalism: Ideology and ideological state apparatuses* (G. M. Goshgarian, Trans.). Verso.

Amnesty International. (2023). *Turkey: Femicide and gender-based violence – A growing crisis*. Amnesty International. <https://www.amnesty.org>

Amnesty International. (2024). *Algeria: Femicide and gender-based violence report 2024*. Amnesty International. <https://www.amnesty.org>

Anastasio, M., & Montenegro, M. (2022). Memorialising femicide: Gendered grief and the politics of remembrance in media discourse. *Feminist Media Studies*, 22(8), 1265–1282. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2021.1953051>

Anderson, C. A., & Bushman, B. J. (2002). The effects of media violence on society. *Science*, 295(5564), 2377–2379. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1070765>

Anderson, C. A., Gentile, D. A., & Buckley, K. E. (2010). *Violent video game effects on children and adolescents: Theory, research, and public policy*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195309836.001.0001>

Arroyo, K., Lundahl, B., Butters, R., Vanderloo, M., & Wood, D. S. (2017). Short-term interventions for survivors of intimate partner violence: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 18(2), 155–171. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838015602736>

Atrey, S. (2018). *Violence against women, international law, and the continuum of discrimination*. Oxford University Press.

Baer, H. (2016). Redoing feminism: Digital activism, body politics, and neoliberalism. *Feminist Media Studies*, 16(1), 17–34. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2015.1093070>

Baker, A., & Rodrigues, U. M. (Eds.). (2022). *Reporting on sexual violence in the #MeToo 2.0 era*. Routledge.

- Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Prentice-Hall.
- Baranauskas, A. J., & Drakulich, K. M. (2018). Media construction of crime revisited: Media types, consumer contexts, and frames of crime and justice. *Criminology*, 56(1), 152–187. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9125.12166>
- Belaid, L., & Dubourg, D. (2016). *Gender-based violence and women's access to justice in Algeria*. UN Women.
- Belotti, F., Comunello, F., & Corradi, C. (2023). *Femicidio and #NiUnaMenos: An analysis of Twitter conversations during the first three years of the Argentinian movement*. *Violence Against Women*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801220921947>
- Benmessaoud, S. (2022). *Patriarchy and violence against women in North Africa: The case of Algeria*. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 31(4), 512–528.
- Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2013). *The logic of connective action: Digital media and the personalization of contentious politics*. Cambridge University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139198752>
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. Anchor Books.
- Berns, N. (2021). *Framing the victim: Domestic violence, media, and social problems*. Routledge.
- Bersani, B. E., & Chen, J. (1988). *The patriarchal perspective and the study of gendered violence*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bhandar, B., & Ziadah, R. (2020). Revolutionary feminist politics: Decoloniality and the question of epistemic justice. *Feminist Theory*, 21(2), 133–153.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1464700119898944>
- Bloom, B. (2008). *Advancing a feminist criminology: Essays on theory and practice*. Routledge.

- Bograd, M. (1988). Feminist perspectives on wife abuse: An introduction. In K. Yllö & M. Bograd (Eds.), *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse* (pp. 11–26). Sage Publications.
- Boonzaier, F. (2023). Resistance, vulnerability, and danger: Feminist perspectives on gender-based violence in postcolonial contexts. *Gender and Society*, 37(1), 77–99. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08912432221141723>
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Harvard University Press.
- Briggs, A., & Burke, P. (2010). *A social history of the media: From Gutenberg to the Internet* (3rd ed.). Polity Press.
- Brodie, L. (2024). Honour, culture, and violence: Media representation of femicide in South Asia. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, 30(2), 145–164. <https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2024.2317842>
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist*, 32(7), 513–531.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Harvard University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2006). The bioecological model of human development. In R. M. Lerner (Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology* (6th ed., Vol. 1, pp. 793–828). Wiley.
- Brookman, F. (2010). *Homicide*. Willan Publishing.
- Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against our will: Men, women, and rape*. Simon & Schuster.
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2023). *Homicide trends in the United States, 1980–2021*. U.S. Department of Justice. <https://bjs.ojp.gov>
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1995). *Subjection, resistance, resignification: Between Freud and Foucault*. In J. Rajchman (Ed.), *The identity in question* (pp. 229–250). Routledge.

- Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing gender*. Routledge.
- Caicedo-Roa, M., & Cordeiro, R. (2023). Femicide in Latin America: A multilevel ecological approach. *Violence Against Women*, 29(3–4), 412–433.
- Calafell, B. M., & Glenn, C. (2023). *Digital feminism and emotional rhetoric in the post-#MeToo era*. Routledge.
- Cameron, D. (1992). *Feminism and linguistic theory* (2nd ed.). Macmillan.
- Campbell, J. C., Webster, D., Koziol-McLain, J., Block, C. R., Campbell, D., Curry, M. A., Gary, F., Glass, N., McFarlane, J., Sachs, C., Sharps, P., Ulrich, Y., Wilt, S. A., Manganello, J., Xu, X., Schollenberger, J., Frye, V., & Laughon, K. (2003). *Risk factors for femicide in abusive relationships: Results from a multisite case control study*. *American Journal of Public Health*, 93(7), 1089–1097.  
<https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.93.7.1089>
- Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability (CFOJA). (2020). *#CallItFemicide: Understanding gender-related killings of women and girls in Canada 2020*. University of Guelph. <https://femicideincanada.ca/>
- Car, T., & Ravbar, A. (2021). Media framing of intimate partner violence in Croatian online news: Passion crimes or gendered violence? *Feminist Media Studies*, 21(6), 873–890. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2021.1893142>
- Carlson, B. M. (2019). *Human embryology and developmental biology* (6th ed.). Elsevier.
- Carney, P. (2001). *Feminism, the body and the machine*. Routledge.
- Carrigan, M., & Dawson, M. (2020). *Global responses to femicide: Legal reforms and policy challenges*. *Feminist Criminology*, 15(4), 451–472.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085120913652>
- Cayli Messina, M. (2022). *Femicide and digital activism: Social media and gender-based violence in the digital era*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- CEDAW Committee. (1979). *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination*

*against Women*. United Nations. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-elimination-all-forms-discrimination-against-women>

CEDAW Committee. (1992). *General Recommendation No. 19: Violence against women*. United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/general-comments/general-recommendation-no-19-violence-against-women>

CEDAW Committee. (2017). *General recommendation No. 35 on gender-based violence against women, updating general recommendation No. 19*. United Nations.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2024). *Preventing intimate partner violence*. CDC. <https://www.cdc.gov>

Chadwick, A. (2013). *The hybrid media system: Politics and power*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199759477.001.0001>

Chermak, S. M. (1995). *Victims in the news: Crime and the American news media*. Westview Press.

Chopin, J., & Beauregard, E. (2022). Examining the paraphilic element of piquerism in sexual homicide offenders. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 37(11–12), NP8997–NP9020. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260520938495>

Cohen, S. (2002). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the mods and rockers* (3rd ed.). Routledge.

Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). (1979). *Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women*. United Nations. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-elimination-all-forms-discrimination-against-women>

Connell, R. W. (1985). *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*. Stanford University Press.

- Connell, R. W. (2009). *Gender in world perspective* (2nd ed.). Polity Press.
- Cooney, M. (2017). *Sociology of homicide*. In W. Chambliss (Ed.), *Criminology theory, research, and policy* (pp. 125–142). Routledge.
- Corradi, C., & Stöckl, H. (2014). *The killing of women by intimate partners: A European overview*. *European Journal of Criminology*, 11(6), 601–618.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370814554726>
- Cotter, C. (2015). *Discourse and media*. In D. Tannen, H. E. Hamilton, & D. Schiffrin (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (2nd ed., pp. 803–826). Wiley-Blackwell.
- Council of Europe. (2021). *Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (Istanbul Convention): Turkey withdrawal statement*. Council of Europe. <https://www.coe.int>
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>
- Culver, K. B., & Jacobson, S. (2021). Sensationalism and the ethics of empathy: The emotional economy of crime reporting. *Journalism Practice*, 15(10), 1327–1344. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2020.1794207>
- Dakhane, B., & Saihi, H. (2024). *Media Witch Hunts: A comparative thematic analysis of the portrayal of the Meredith Kercher murder suspects in the Daily Mail's coverage*. *Aleph*, 11(4-2), 91–111. <https://aleph.edinum.org/13293>
- Danewid, I. (2021). The fire this time: Grenfell, racial capitalism and the urbanisation of empire. *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(1), 67–90.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066120938833>
- Dawson, M. (2016). Punishing femicide: Criminal justice responses to the killing of women over four decades. *Current Sociology*, 64(7), 996–1016.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392115623608>

- Dawson, M., & Carrigan, M. (2020). *Femicide or feminicide: Conceptualizing and measuring lethal violence against women*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dawson, M., & Carrigan, M. (2021). Identifying femicide locally and globally: Understanding the utility and limitations of a global phenomenon. *Annual Review of Criminology*, 4, 417–438. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-criminol-060520-033431>
- de Beauvoir, S. (2010). *The second sex* (C. Borde & S. Malovany-Chevallier, Trans.). Vintage Books. (Original work published 1949)
- Decker, S. (2004). *Ideology*. In J. Scott & G. Marshall (Eds.), *Oxford dictionary of sociology* (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press.
- DeFleur, M. L., & Ball-Rokeach, S. J. (2014). *Theories of mass communication* (6th ed.). Pearson Education.
- Dehesa, R. M. (2022). Gender justice and the politics of accountability: Latin American responses to femicide. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 64(2), 29–53. <https://doi.org/10.1017/lap.2022.8>
- DeKeseredy, W. S. (2023). *Violence against women in relationships: New theoretical and empirical directions*. Routledge.
- Destutt de Tracy, A.-L.-C. (1987). *A treatise on political economy* (T. Jefferson, Trans.). Transaction Publishers. (Original work published 1795)
- Devries, K. M., Mak, J. Y. T., Bacchus, L. J., Child, J. C., Falder, G., Petzold, M., Astbury, J., & Watts, C. H. (2013). Intimate partner violence and incident depressive symptoms and suicide attempts: A systematic review of longitudinal studies. *PLoS Medicine*, 10(5), e1001439. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1001439>
- Dixon, T. L., & Linz, D. (2000). Overrepresentation and underrepresentation of African Americans and Latinos as lawbreakers on television news. *Journal of Communication*, 50(2), 131–154. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2000.tb02845.x>

- Dobash, R. E., & Dobash, R. (1979). *Violence against wives: A case against the patriarchy*. Free Press.
- Dobash, R. E., & Dobash, R. P. (1998). *Rethinking violence against women*. SAGE Publications.
- Dobash, R. E., & Dobash, R. P. (2004). Women's violence to men in intimate relationships: Working on a puzzle. *British Journal of Criminology*, 44(3), 324–349. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azh026>
- Dobash, R. E., & Dobash, R. P. (2015). *When men murder women*. Oxford University Press.
- Dugan, L., Nagin, D. S., & Rosenfeld, R. (2003). Exposure reduction or retaliation? The effects of domestic violence resources on intimate-partner homicide. *Law & Society Review*, 37(1), 169–198.
- Durham, M. G. (2021). *#MeToo, media, and the politics of crisis*. Routledge.
- Duvvury, N., Callan, A., Carney, P., & Raghavendra, S. (2013). *Intimate partner violence: Economic costs and implications for growth and development*. World Bank. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/16697>
- Eastal, P., Bartels, L., & Bradford, S. (2019). Perpetrators, privilege, and power: Examining class and gender in intimate partner homicide cases. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 34(12), 2535–2556. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260516659659>
- Eckert, P., & McConnell-Ginet, S. (2013). *Language and gender* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- Egan, S. K., & Perry, D. G. (2001). Gender identity: A multidimensional analysis with implications for psychosocial adjustment. *Developmental Psychology*, 37(4), 451–463. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.37.4.451>
- Ehrlich, S. (2001). *Representing rape: Language and sexual consent*. Routledge.
- Ekström, M., & Östman, J. (2024). Gendered news framing and the representation of victims and perpetrators in Swedish media discourse. *Nordicom Review*, 45(1), 22–39.

<https://doi.org/10.2478/nor-2024-0003>

- Ennaji, M. (2023). *Gender, violence, and law in the Maghreb: Feminist perspectives*. *Journal of North African Studies*, 28(5), 755–773.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x>
- Eriksson, L., & Mazerolle, P. (2013). A general strain theory of intimate partner homicide. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 18(5), 462–470.
- Etherington, N., & Baker, L. (2015). *How gender-based violence intersects with other forms of discrimination and inequality*. Centre for Research & Education on Violence Against Women & Children.
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA). (2014). *Violence against women: An EU-wide survey*. Publications Office of the European Union. <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2014/violence-against-women-eu-wide-survey-main-results-report>
- Fairbairn, J. (2017). *Reporting on sexual violence: A media handbook for journalists*. Canadian Women's Foundation.
- Fairbairn, J., & Dawson, M. (2013). *Canadian news coverage of intimate partner homicide: Analyzing changes over time*. *Feminist Criminology*, 8(3), 147–176. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085113480824>
- Fairbairn, J., & Dawson, M. (2020). *Media representations of femicide: Constructing meaning and responsibility*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fairbairn, J., Dawson, M., & Glass, N. (2023). Mediating femicide: Visual and textual representations of gender-based homicide. *Journal of Feminist Media Studies*, 33(1), 1–20.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media discourse*. Edward Arnold.

- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analyzing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (2020). *Language and power* (3rd ed.). Routledge.  
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429430567>
- Farmer, P. (2004). An anthropology of structural violence. *Current Anthropology*, 45(3), 305–325. <https://doi.org/10.1086/382250>
- Fausto-Sterling, A. (2000). *Sexing the body: Gender politics and the construction of sexuality*. Basic Books.
- Federici, S. (2004). *Caliban and the witch: Women, the body and primitive accumulation*. Autonomedia.
- Felson, R. B. (2002). *Violence and gender reexamined*. American Psychological Association.
- Felson, R. B. (2006). Is violence against women about women or about violence? *Contexts*, 5(2), 21–25.
- Féminicides Algérie. (2024). *Femicide monitoring report 2023: Femmes assassinées en Algérie*. <https://www.femicides-dz.com>
- Fenton, N. (2010). *New media, old news: Journalism and democracy in the digital age*. SAGE Publications.
- Field, C. A., & Caetano, R. (2004). Ethnic differences in intimate partner violence in the U.S. general population: The role of alcohol use and socioeconomic status. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 5(4), 303–317. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838004269488>
- Figley, C. R. (1995). *Compassion fatigue: Coping with secondary traumatic stress disorder in those who treat the traumatized*. Brunner/Mazel.
- Flood, M. (2011). Involving men in efforts to end violence against women. *Men and Masculinities*, 14(3), 358–377. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X10363995>
- Foucault, M. (1970). *The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences*. Pantheon Books.

- Friedman, J. (2023). Global feminism, digital media, and the #MeToo movement: Reframing gender violence across borders. *Feminist Media Studies*, 23(5), 789–806. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2023.2179834>
- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, peace, and peace research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), 167–191. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002234336900600301>
- Galtung, J., & Ruge, M. H. (1965). The structure of foreign news: The presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2(1), 64–90. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002234336500200104>
- García-Moreno, C., & Stöckl, H. (2017). Protection of sexual and reproductive health rights: Addressing violence against women. *International Journal of Gynecology & Obstetrics*, 131(2), 123–125. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ijgo.12098>
- Gates, J. (1978). *The machismo paradox: Reflections on male violence and feminism*. Feminist Press.
- Gee, J. P. (1999). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method*. Routledge.
- Gerbaudo, P. (2012). *Tweets and the streets: Social media and contemporary activism*. Pluto Press.
- Gerbner, G., & Gross, L. (1976). Living with television: The violence profile. *Journal of Communication*, 26(2), 172–199. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1976.tb01397.x>
- Gibbs, A., & Jobson, G. (2011). Narratives of masculinity and the tabloid press in South Africa: The Daily Sun's representation of men. *South African Review of Sociology*, 42(2), 46–70. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21528586.2011.582349>
- Gill, R. (2007). *Gender and the media*. Polity Press.
- Gill, R. (2008). Empowerment/sexism: Figuring female sexual agency in contemporary advertising. *Feminism & Psychology*, 18(1), 35–60. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353507084950>

- Gill, R. (2016). *Postfeminism and the media: Feminist media studies in the postfeminist era*. Routledge.
- Gill, R. (2023). *Mediated intimacy: Sex, love, and inequality in the digital age*. Polity Press.
- Gill, R., & Orgad, S. (2018). The shifting terrain of sex and power: From the 'sexualization of culture' to #MeToo. *Sexualities*, 21(8), 1313–1324.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460718794647>
- Gill, R., & Orgad, S. (2022). The pathologisation of male violence: Mediating masculinity and culpability in news narratives. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 25(4), 987–1004. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13675494221074325>
- Gillespie, L. K., Reckdenwald, A., & Sisco, M. (2023). Media framing of femicide: Victim, perpetrator, and crime characteristics in U.S. news. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 38(13–14), 19026–19052.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605231122145>
- 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>
- Gius, C., & Zancan, S. (2025). Sensationalism and victimhood: Visual framing of femicide in Italian print media. *European Journal of Communication*, 40(1), 88–106.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323124123456>
- Glass, N., Laughon, K., Campbell, J., Block, C. R., Hanson, G., Sharps, P. W., & Taliaferro, E. (2004). *Non-fatal strangulation is an important risk factor for homicide of women*. *Journal of Emergency Medicine*, 26(4), 279–285.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jemermed.2003.07.018>
- Gough-Yates, A. (2003). *Understanding women's magazines: Publishing, markets and readerships*. Routledge.
- Gramsci, A. (2000). *The Antonio Gramsci reader: Selected writings 1916–1935* (D. Forgacs, Ed.). New York University Press.

- Grant, B. F., & Harford, T. C. (1995). Comorbidity between DSM-IV alcohol use disorders and major depression: Results of a national survey. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 39(3), 197–206. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0376-8716\(95\)01160-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/0376-8716(95)01160-4)
- Grasp, A., & Bjerregaard, B. (2018). *Understanding violence against women: Power, inequality, and policy responses*. Routledge.
- Greer, C. (2013). *Crime and media: A reader*. Routledge.
- Gross, K., & D'Ambrosio, L. (2004). Framing emotional response. *Political Psychology*, 25(1), 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2004.00354.x>
- Grossberg, L. (2019). *Cultural studies in the future tense*. Duke University Press.
- Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough? An experiment with data saturation and variability. *Field Methods*, 18(1), 59–82. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X05279903>
- Gupta, R. (2020). Criminalization of femicide: A feminist critique. *Feminist Legal Studies*, 28(3), 329–349. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10691-020-09440-5>
- Haidt, J. (2012). *The righteous mind: Why good people are divided by politics and religion*. Pantheon Books.
- Hall, S. (1980). Encoding/decoding. In S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe, & P. Willis (Eds.), *Culture, media, language* (pp. 128–138). Hutchinson.
- Hall, S. (1982). *The rediscovery of "ideology": Return of the repressed in media studies*. In M. Gurevitch, T. Bennett, J. Curran, & J. Woollacott (Eds.), *Culture, society and the media* (pp. 56–90). Methuen.
- Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J., & Roberts, B. (2013). *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state, and law and order*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hall, S., Evans, J., & Nixon, S. (Eds.). (2013). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Hasan, R. (1976). *Cohesion in English*. Longman.

- Harris, A., Carney, T., & Fine, M. (2001). Counter narratives of resistance and survival: Young women's voices against violence. *Gender and Education, 13*(2), 127–142. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540250120051121>
- Hayat, Z. (2023). The social construction of crime: Understanding crime as a social phenomenon. *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology, 12*, 85–96. <https://doi.org/10.6000/1929-4409.2023.12.10>
- Heise, L. (1998). Violence against women: An integrated, ecological framework. *Violence Against Women, 4*(3), 262–290. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801298004003002>
- Heise, L. (2011). What works to prevent partner violence? An evidence overview. *Strive Research Consortium*, London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine.
- Heise, L., Ellsberg, M., & Gottmoeller, M. (2002). A global overview of gender-based violence. *International Journal of Gynecology & Obstetrics, 78*(1), S5–S14. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0020-7292\(02\)00038-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0020-7292(02)00038-3)
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. Pantheon Books.
- Hesketh, T., & Xing, Z. W. (2006). Abnormal sex ratios in human populations: Causes and consequences. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 103*(36), 13271–13275. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0602203103>
- Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2014). *Feminist research practice: A primer* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Hester, M. (2012). *The three planet model: Towards an understanding of contradictions in approaches to women and children's safety in contexts of domestic violence*. *Child & Family Social Work, 16*(2), 1–10.
- Hooks, b. (2000). *Feminism is for everybody: Passionate politics*. South End Press.

- Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research, 15*(9), 1277–1288.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732305276687>
- Huckin, T., Andrus, J., & Clary-Lemon, J. (2012). Critical discourse analysis and rhetoric and composition. *College Composition and Communication, 64*(1), 107–129.
- Hudson Institute of Medical Research. (2017). *Turner syndrome: Causes, symptoms, and treatment*. <https://www.hudson.org.au/research-turner-syndrome>
- Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. (2017). *State of human rights in 2017*. HRC Publications.
- Human Rights Watch. (2022). “*Our lives are worth nothing*”: Honor killings in Jordan and the failure of justice. Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org>
- Igo, S. E. (2007). *The averaged American: Surveys, citizens, and the making of a mass public*. Harvard University Press.
- Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER), Anti-Gender-Based Violence Coalition, & Global Affairs Canada. (2019). *The economic impact of violence against women in Ghana*. University of Ghana.
- Inter-American Convention. (1994). *Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence against Women (Convention of Belém do Pará)*. Organization of American States.  
<https://www.oas.org/en/mesecvi/convention.asp>
- International Planned Parenthood Federation Africa Region. (2018). *The State of African Women Report – Chapter 5: Gender-Based Violence Against Women*. International Planned Parenthood Federation Africa Region.  
<https://www.ippf.org/resource/state-african-women-report>
- International Rescue Committee. (2019). *Choices, chances and safety in crisis: A model for women’s economic empowerment* (D. Jayasinghe, Author).  
<https://www.rescue.org/sites/default/files/document/3480/choiceschancesandsafetyincrisis2019final.pdf>

- Jalalipour, S. (2025). *Honor killings in Iran: Sociocultural determinants and prevention strategies*. Tehran University Press.
- Jefferson, T. (2021). Stuart Hall and *Policing the Crisis*: Reconsidering moral panic in contemporary criminology. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 17(2), 231–247.
- Jewkes, R. (2002). Intimate partner violence: Causes and prevention. *The Lancet*, 359(9315), 1423–1429.
- Jewkes, R., Fulu, E., Roselli, T., & Garcia-Moreno, C. (2015). Prevalence of and factors associated with non-partner rape perpetration: Findings from the UN Multi-country Cross-sectional Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific. *The Lancet Global Health*, 3(4), e208–e218.
- Jewkes, R., Jama-Shai, N., & Sikweyiya, Y. (2017). Enduring impact of conflict on women's health: A critical review of prevalence and mechanisms. *Social Science & Medicine*, 187, 97–105. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2017.06.021>
- Jewkes, Y. (2022). *Media and crime (4th ed.)*. SAGE Publications.
- Jewkes, Y., & Linnemann, T. (2017). *Media and crime in the U.S.* SAGE Publications.
- Johnson, H., & Dawson, M. (2011). *Violence against women in Canada: Research and policy perspectives*. Oxford University Press.
- Johnson, M. H. (2018). *Essential reproduction (8th ed.)*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Jones, C. P. (2000). Levels of racism: A theoretic framework and a gardener's tale. *American Journal of Public Health*, 90(8), 1212–1215. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.90.8.1212>
- Karakatsanis, D. (2025). Media, crime, and moral panic: The role of representation in shaping public perceptions. *Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 34(2), 201–220.
- Karamagi, C. A. S., Tumwine, J. K., Tylleskar, T., & Heggenhougen, K. (2007). Intimate partner violence against women in eastern Uganda: Implications for HIV prevention. *BMC Public Health*, 7(1), 284. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458->

[7-284](#)

- Kaun, A., & Fast, K. (2014). Mediatization of culture and everyday life. *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, 6(2), 321–336.  
<https://doi.org/10.3384/cu.2000.1525.146321>
- Kelly, L. (1988). *Surviving sexual violence*. Polity Press.
- Khosla, R., Banerjee, J., & Chatterjee, S. (2022). Female genital mutilation and gender-based violence: Intersecting harms. *BMJ Global Health*, 7(3), e008743.  
<https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2021-008743>
- Kramarae, C., & Treichler, P. A. (1985). *A feminist dictionary*. Pandora Press.
- Krippendorff, K. (2018). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.
- Kropp, P. R., Hart, S. D., Webster, C. D., & Eaves, D. (1999). *Manual for the Spousal Assault Risk Assessment Guide (2nd ed.)*. The British Columbia Institute on Family Violence.
- Kroskrity, P. V. (2000). *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics, and identities*. School of American Research Press.
- Krug, E. G., Dahlberg, L. L., Mercy, J. A., Zwi, A. B., & Lozano, R. (Eds.). (2002). *World report on violence and health*. World Health Organization.
- La Casa del Encuentro. (2015, June 03). *Ni Una Menos – The cry against ‘femicides’ finally heard in Argentina*. Inter Press Service. <https://www.ipsnews.net/2015/06/ni-una-menos-the-cry-against-femicides-finally-heard-in-argentina/>
- Lagarde y de los Ríos, M. (2006). *Pactos entre mujeres: Sororidad, hermandad política y feminismo*. Horas y HORAS.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. University of Chicago Press.
- Landis, J. R., & Koch, G. G. (1977). The measurement of observer agreement for categorical data. *Biometrics*, 33(1), 159–174. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2529310>

- Law Journal for Social Justice. (2023). *Global patterns of intimate partner violence: Comparative legal frameworks*. *Law Journal for Social Justice*, 13(1), 45–63.
- Lazar, M. M. (2005). *Feminist critical discourse analysis: Gender, power and ideology in discourse*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lazar, M. M. (2007). *Feminist critical discourse analysis: Articulating a feminist discourse praxis*. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 4(2), 141–164.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17405900701464816>
- Lazar, M. M. (2020). *Benevolent sexism and the cultural politics of emotionality in discourse*. *Discourse & Society*, 31(5), 467–485.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926520939678>
- Le Monde. (2024a, March 12). *Algeria's challenge in enforcing laws against femicide*.  
<https://www.lemonde.fr/>
- Le Monde. (2024b, March 8). *Féminicides en Algérie: 38 cas recensés en 2024 par le collectif Féminicides Algérie*. *Le Monde Afrique*. <https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique>
- Leszinsky, L. (2021, June 22). *#NiUnaMenos six years on: Triumphs and new demands of Argentina's feminist movement*. Global Voices.  
<https://globalvoices.org/2021/06/22/niunamenos-six-years-on-triumphs-and-new-demands-of-argentinas-feminist-movement/>
- Lewandowski, L. A., McFarlane, J., Campbell, J. C., Gary, F., & Barenski, C. (2004). "He killed my mommy!" Murder or attempted murder of a child's mother. *Journal of Family Violence*, 19(4), 211–220.  
<https://doi.org/10.1023/B:JOFV.0000032636.65717.3e>
- Lombard, M., Snyder-Duch, J., & Bracken, C. C. (2002). *Content analysis in mass communication: Assessment and reporting of intercoder reliability*. *Human Communication Research*, 28(4), 587–604. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.2002.tb00826.x>
- Lubina, E., & Brkić-Klimpak, M. (2014). *The impact of media and beauty ideals on women's self-perception*. *Sociological Review*, 48(2), 125–139.

- Lünenborg, M. (2019). Affective publics and structures of feeling: The affective dimension of feminist protest. *Communication and the Public*, 4(1), 54–65.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2057047319829589>
- Macharia, S., Morna, C. L., & Motaung, L. (2020). *Who makes the news? Global media monitoring project 2020*. World Association for Christian Communication.
- Machin, D., & Mayr, A. (2012). *How to do critical discourse analysis: A multimodal introduction*. Sage Publications.
- Machin, D., & van Leeuwen, T. (2024). *The language of crime: A multimodal critical discourse analysis*. Routledge.
- Macnamara, J. (2003). *Media communication: Concepts, practices and challenges*. Pearson Education Australia.
- Martin, J. L. (2014). *The explanation of social action*. Oxford University Press.
- Martínez, L. (2024). Femicide and the working-class woman in Mexican media discourse. *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, 33(2), 156–174.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13569325.2024.2331129>
- Matthes, J., & Kohring, M. (2008). The content analysis of media frames: Toward improving reliability and validity. *Journal of Communication*, 58(2), 258–279.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00384.x>
- McAllister, J., & Vennum, A. (2025). Rethinking the boundaries of violence: Harm, ambiguity, and everyday life. *Journal of Social Issues*, 81(2), 245–262.
- McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176–187. <https://doi.org/10.1086/267990>
- McLean, I. (1996). *The concise Oxford dictionary of politics*. Oxford University Press.
- McNair, B. (2002). *Striptease culture: Sex, media and the democratization of desire*. Routledge.

- McNeill, M. (1992). *Sexual violence and the news media: Issues in feminist practice*. In J. Radford & D. E. H. Russell (Eds.), *Femicide: The politics of woman killing* (pp. 229–245). Twayne Publishers.
- McQuail, D. (2010). *McQuail's mass communication theory* (6th ed.). Sage Publications.
- McRobbie, A. (2009). *The aftermath of feminism: Gender, culture and social change*. SAGE Publications.
- Mendes, K., Ringrose, J., & Keller, J. (2019). *Digital feminist activism: Girls and women fighting back against rape culture*. Oxford University Press.
- Menjívar, C., & Walsh, S. D. (2016). *Subverting justice: Socio-legal determinants of impunity for violence against women in Guatemala*. *Laws*, 5(3), 31.  
<https://doi.org/10.3390/laws5030031>
- Messerschmidt, J. W. (1993). *Masculinities and crime: Critique and reconceptualization of theory*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Meyers, M. (1997). *News coverage of violence against women: Engendering blame*. SAGE Publications.
- Meyers, M. (2004). African American women and violence: Gender, race, and representation in news coverage of murder. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 21(2), 95–118. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07393180410001688029>
- Middle East Eye. (2023, February 3). 'Epidemic' of femicide grips Egypt after three women killed in a week. <https://www.middleeasteye.net>
- Milnes, K. (2010). *Narrative identities: The construction of the self in women's life stories*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Molyneux, M., Dey, A., Gatto, M. A. C., & Rowden, H. (2021). *New feminist activism, waves and generations* (UN Women Discussion Paper). UN Women.  
<https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Library/Publications/2021/Discussion-paper-New-feminist-activism-waves-and-generations-en.pdf>

- Monash University. (2023). *Regional media trends in Latin American femicide coverage: Decolonial feminist perspectives*. Gender, Peace & Security Centre, Monash University.
- Monro, S., Garland, F., & Carpenter, M. (2024). *Intersex studies: A sociological introduction*. Polity Press.
- Nazra for Feminist Studies. (2021). *Annual report on gender-based violence and femicide in Egypt*. Nazra for Feminist Studies. <https://nazra.org>
- Nelson, H. L. (2001). *Damaged identities, narrative repair*. Cornell University Press.
- Neuendorf, K. A. (2017). *The content analysis guidebook* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Schulz, A., Andi, S., Robertson, C. T., & Nielsen, R. K. (2021). *Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2021*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford.
- Nicastro, A. (2025). *International responses to femicide: Evaluating the implementation of global and regional frameworks*. Springer.
- Nielsen, R. K. (2015). *Local newspapers as keystone media: The increased importance of diminished newspapers for local political information environments*. In R. K. Nielsen (Ed.), *Local journalism and local media: Making the local news* (pp. 51–72). Routledge.
- NSW Domestic Violence Death Review Team. (2019–2021). *Report of the NSW Domestic Violence Death Review Team 2019–2021*. NSW Government. <https://coroners.nsw.gov.au>
- O’Neal, E. N., & Beck, E. (2023). The domesticity of femicide: Symbolic and structural dimensions of intimate partner homicide. *Violence Against Women, 29*(6–7), 1032–1054. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10778012221125862>
- Olchawski, J. (2016). *Gender-based violence and media representation: The impact of framing and victim-blaming narratives*. Women’s Aid Federation.

- Olsen, L. (1997). *The domestic violence inventory manual*. Psychological Assessment Resources.
- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. (2019). *Well-being and safety of women: OSCE-led survey on violence against women – Main report*. OSCE. <https://www.osce.org/secretariat/418368>
- O'Toole, L. L., & Schiffman, J. R. (1997). *Gender violence: Interdisciplinary perspectives*. New York University Press.
- Owusu-Addo, E., Cross, R., & Sarfo-Mensah, P. (2018). Framing gender-based violence in Ghanaian newspapers: A critical discourse analysis. *Journal of African Media Studies*, 10(3), 293–310. [https://doi.org/10.1386/jams.10.3.293\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/jams.10.3.293_1)
- Ozdoyran, D. (2020). *Media and ideology: An analysis of the interplay between communication and power*. *Journal of Media Studies*, 34(2), 45–62.
- Palmater, P. (2016). *Indigenous women and girls missing and murdered in Canada: A national crisis requiring urgent action*. Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action. <https://www.fafia-afai.org>
- Papacharissi, Z. (2015). *Affective publics: Sentiment, technology, and politics*. Oxford University Press.
- Petrosky, E., Blair, J. M., Betz, C. J., Fowler, K. A., Jack, S. P. D., & Lyons, B. H. (2017). *Racial and ethnic differences in homicides of adult women and the role of intimate partner violence — United States, 2003–2014*. *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report (MMWR)*, 66(28), 741–746. <https://doi.org/10.15585/mmwr.mm6628a1>
- Pew Research Center. (2019). *For local news, Americans embrace digital but still want strong community connection*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/journalism/2019/03/26/>
- Pew Research Center. (2021). *News 44consumption across social media in 2021*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/journalism/2021/09/20/news-consumption-across-social-media-in-2021/>

- Pew Research Center. (2024). *State of the news media 2024: Digital news consumption trends*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/journalism>
- Philips, S. U. (1998). *Ideology in the language of judges: How judges practice law, politics, and courtroom control*. Oxford University Press.
- Pike, S. (2019). *Understanding violent crime: The challenges of defining homicide*. Oxford University Press.
- Potthoff, L., & Matthes, J. (2024). Framing femicide in German news: Episodic coverage and the depoliticisation of gender-based violence. *Media, Culture & Society*, 46(3), 421–440. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443723123458>
- Pröll, L., & Magin, M. (2022). Spectacularising violence: Gendered patterns in the reporting of femicide in online journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 23(12), 1573–1591. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2022.2095157>
- Radford, J., & Russell, D. E. H. (Eds.). (1992). *Femicide: The politics of woman killing*. Twayne Publishers.
- Radford, J., & Stanko, E. (1996). *Femicide: The politics of woman killing*. Twayne Publishers.
- Radner, H. (1999). *Shopping around: Feminine culture and the pursuit of pleasure*. Routledge.
- Resch, R. P. (1992). *Althusser and the renewal of Marxist social theory*. University of California Press.
- Reuters Institute. (2023). *Digital news report 2023*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford. <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk>
- Richards, C., Bouman, W. P., Seal, L., Barker, M. J., Nieder, T. O., & T'Sjoen, G. (2016). Non-binary or genderqueer genders. *International Review of Psychiatry*, 28(1), 95–102. <https://doi.org/10.3109/09540261.2015.1106446>
- Ridgeway, C. L. (2011). *Framed by gender: How gender inequality persists in the modern*

*world*. Oxford University Press.

- Riffe, D., Lacy, S., Fico, F. G., & Watson, B. R. (2019). *Analyzing media messages: Using quantitative content analysis in research* (4th ed.). Routledge.
- Roberti, E. (2022). Influencers, femininity, and neoliberal subjectivity: The sexualization of self on social media. *Gender and Education*, 34(6), 735–751.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2021.1982532>
- Rodriguez, M. (2022). *Digital narratives of gender-based violence: Feminism, media, and public discourse*. Routledge.
- Romiyati, R. (2020). Gender representation in crime news: A grammatical analysis of agency and voice. *Journal of Language and Gender Studies*, 10(3), 241–260.
- Ruddick, S. (1989). *Maternal thinking: Toward a politics of peace*. Beacon Press.
- Russell, D. E. H. (1992). Defining femicide and related concepts. In J. Radford & D. E. H. Russell (Eds.), *Femicide: The politics of woman killing* (pp. 12–29). Twayne Publishers.
- Russell, D. E. H. (2001). *The politics of femicide*. Russell Publications.
- Ryan, W. (1971). *Blaming the victim*. Pantheon Books.
- Sabri, B., & Granger, D. A. (2018). Gender-based violence and trauma among Black and Latina women in the United States: An intersectional perspective. *Violence Against Women*, 24(5), 584–602. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801217711241>
- Salfati, C. G., & Taylor, P. J. (2017). Differentiating sexual homicides that involve body mutilation. *Homicide Studies*, 21(1), 3–22.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1088767916647685>
- Sambo, T., & Aslam, S. (2024). Digital media and misinformation: Femicide representation and public trust in gender-unequal societies. *Journal of Digital Communication and Society*, 6(1), 45–64.

- Sanford, V. (2008). *Buried secrets: Truth and human rights in Guatemala*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sardinha, L., Maheu-Giroux, M., Stöckl, H., Meyer, S. R., & García-Moreno, C. (2022). Global, regional, and national prevalence estimates of physical or sexual intimate partner violence against women. *The Lancet*, 399(10327), 803–813. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(21\)02664-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(21)02664-7)
- Sarkar, N. N. (2008). The impact of intimate partner violence on women's reproductive health and pregnancy outcome. *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology*, 28(3), 266–271. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01443610802042415>
- Sarmiento, M., & Barletti, J. (2017). Intersectionality and femicide: Theoretical and methodological challenges. *Latin American Perspectives*, 44(5), 45–60. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X17695033>
- Sax, L. (2002). How common is intersex? A response to Anne Fausto-Sterling. *Journal of Sex Research*, 39(3), 174–178. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224490209552139>
- Schneider, A. L., Ingram, H., & deLeon, P. (2014). *Democratic policy design: Social construction of target populations*. In P. A. Sabatier & C. M. Weible (Eds.), *Theories of the policy process* (3rd ed., pp. 105–150). Westview Press.
- Schudson, M. (2001). The objectivity norm in American journalism. *Journalism*, 2(2), 149–170. <https://doi.org/10.1177/146488490100200201>
- Shalhoub-Kevorkian, N. (2021). *Incarcerated childhood and the politics of unchilding*. Cambridge University Press.
- Silva, P. R., Mendes, C. A., & Torres, L. (2023). Intersectional invisibility: Representations of Black and Indigenous women in Brazilian femicide coverage. *Latin American Research Review*, 58(4), 732–749. <https://doi.org/10.25222/larr.1576>
- Simone de Beauvoir. (2010). *The second sex* (C. Borde & S. Malovany-Chevallier, Trans.). Vintage Books. (Original work published 1949)
- Simpson, M., & Coté, I. (2006). *Gender, media, and the spectacle of violence*. Palgrave

Macmillan.

- Smith, S. G., Zhang, X., Basile, K. C., Merrick, M. T., Wang, J., Kresnow, M., & Chen, J. (2017). *The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS): 2015 data brief – Updated release*. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. <https://www.cdc.gov>
- Sorrentino, A., Kim, J., & Caicedo-Roa, M. (2022). Applying ecological models to the study of femicide: Global perspectives. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 37(15–16), 14128–14153.
- Spender, D. (1980). *Man made language*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Stamatel, J. P. (2014). Explaining variations in female homicide victimization rates across Europe. *European Journal of Criminology*, 11(5), 578–600.
- Stanko, E. A. (2003). *Introduction: Conceptualising the meanings of violence*. In E. Stanko (Ed.), *The meanings of violence* (pp. 1–13). Routledge.
- Stark-Adamec, C., & Adamec, R. E. (1982). *The anatomy of violence: Biological roots of crime*. Charles C. Thomas.
- Stemler, S. (2001). An overview of content analysis. *Practical Assessment, Research, and Evaluation*, 7(17), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.7275/z6fm-2e34>
- Stieglitz, S., & Dang-Xuan, L. (2013). Emotions and information diffusion in social media Sentiment of microblogs and sharing behavior. *Journal of Management Information Systems*, 29(4), 217–248. <https://doi.org/10.2753/MIS0742-1222290408>
- Stöckl, H., Devries, K., Rotstein, A., Abrahams, N., Campbell, J., Watts, C., & García-Moreno, C. (2013). The global prevalence of intimate partner homicide: A systematic review. *The Lancet*, 382(9895), 859–865. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(13\)61030-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(13)61030-2)
- Stoller, R. J. (1968). *Sex and gender: The development of masculinity and femininity*. Science House.

- Stout, K. (1992). Intimate femicide: An ecological analysis. *Violence and Victims*, 7(2), 113–128.
- Surette, R. (2015). *Media, crime, and criminal justice: Images, realities, and policies* (5th ed.). Cengage Learning.
- Sutherland, G., McCormack, A., Eastea, P., Holland, K., & Pirkis, J. (2019a). Media guidelines for the responsible reporting of violence against women: A review of evidence and current standards in Australia. *Australian Journalism Review*, 41(2), 145–160.
- Sutherland, G., McCormack, A., Pirkis, J., & Eastea, P. (2019b). Framing femicide: Media representations of intimate partner homicide in Australia. *Violence Against Women*, 25(6), 676–697. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801218793229>
- Sutherland, G., McCormack, A., Pirkis, J., Eastea, P., Holland, K., & Vaughan, C. (2016). *Media representations of violence against women and their children: State of knowledge paper*. Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety (ANROWS).
- Svara, J. H. (2015). *The ethics primer for public administrators in government and nonprofit organizations* (2nd ed.). Jones & Bartlett Learning.
- Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention [Brå]. (2022). *Honor-related crime in Sweden: Annual report 2022*. Brå.
- Sylvester, C. (2020). *Feminist international relations: An unfinished journey* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- 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>
- Taylor, S. (2020). *Representations of gender-based violence in news media: Discursive erasure and resistance*. Routledge.

- Tenbrink, T. (2020). *Cognitive discourse analysis: An introduction*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108333723>
- Thapar-Björkert, S., Samelius, L., & Sanghera, G. S. (2016). Exploring symbolic violence in everyday life: Misrecognition, condescension, consent and complicity. *Feminist Review*, 112(1), 144–162. <https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.2015.52>
- The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*. (1995). *Ideology*. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.
- Therborn, G. (1980). *The ideology of power and the power of ideology*. Verso.
- Thompson, C. (2010). *Criminalizing the other: Racial and gender constructions in media discourse*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tickner, J. A. (2001). *Gendering world politics: Issues and approaches in the post–Cold War era*. Columbia University Press.
- Tinkler, P. (2016). *Women's magazines in the 20th century: The making of modern femininity*. Routledge.
- Tiscareño-García, J. A. (2020). Femicide and media discourse in Mexico: Representations, rationalisations, and social implications. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 29(8), 927–940. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2020.1791835>
- True, J. (2012). *The political economy of violence against women*. Oxford University Press.
- Tsfati, Y., & Cohen, J. (2020). Media trust and its implications for democratic citizenship. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.839>
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Hearth and home: Images of women in the mass media*. Oxford University Press.
- U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2023). *Intimate partner violence: Definitions and resources*. CDC. <https://www.cdc.gov>
- U.S. Department of Justice. (2024). *The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA): 30 years of progress*. Office on Violence Against Women. <https://www.justice.gov/ovw>

- U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation. (2020). *Local journalism: America's changing landscape*. U.S. Government Publishing Office.
- UN Special Rapporteur. (2021). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences*. United Nations Human Rights Council.  
<https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/thematic-reports>
- UN Women Centre of Excellence for Gender Statistics (CEGS). (2020). *Improving the production and use of gender statistics*. UN Women. <https://data.unwomen.org>
- UN Women, & United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). (2024). *Gender-related killings of women and girls: Improving data to improve responses*. United Nations. <https://www.unodc.org>
- UN Women. (2012). *Handbook for national action plans on violence against women*. United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women.  
<https://www.unwomen.org>
- UN Women. (2013). *Global and regional programmes: Ending violence against women*. United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women.
- UN Women. (2016). *The economic costs of violence against women*. United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women.  
<https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications>
- UN Women. (2020). *The shadow pandemic: Violence against women during COVID-19*. United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women.  
<https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/in-focus-gender-equality-in-covid-19-response>
- UN Women. (2021). *Measuring femicide: Terminologies, definitions, and data collection methods*. UN Women. <https://www.unwomen.org>
- UN Women. (2022). *Progress of the world's women 2022: Transforming economies, realizing rights*. United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital->

[library/publications](#)

UN Women. (2023). *Regional overview: Media, gender, and violence in the Western Balkans*. United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women.

<https://www.unwomen.org>

UN Women. (2024). *Progress on the Sustainable Development Goals: The gender snapshot 2024*. United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women.

<https://www.unwomen.org/>

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) & UN Women. (2022). *Killings of women and girls by their intimate partners or other family members: Global estimates 2021*. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime & UN Women.

[https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/briefs/Femicide\\_brief\\_Nov2022.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/briefs/Femicide_brief_Nov2022.pdf)

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) & UN Women. (2023). *Gender-related killings of women and girls (femicide/feminicide): Global estimates 2023*.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime & UN Women.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). (2015). *International classification of crime for statistical purposes (ICCS)*. United Nations.

<https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/statistics/iccs.html>

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). (2019). *Global study on homicide 2019*. United Nations.

<https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/global-study-on-homicide.html>

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). (2022). *Global study on homicide: Gender-related killings of women and girls*. United Nations.

[https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/GSH2022/GSH22\\_Gender-related\\_killings.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/GSH2022/GSH22_Gender-related_killings.pdf)

Vailati, M., Rossi, A., & Lombardi, S. (2025). *Digital news consumption and trust in local journalism: An audience-centered perspective*. *Journal of Media Studies*, 39(1), 44–63.

- Van Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Racism and the press*. Routledge.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249–283. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002006>
- van Dijk, T. A. (2001). *Critical discourse analysis*. In D. Tannen, D. Schiffrin, & H. Hamilton (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 352–371). Blackwell.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2021). *Discourse and power (2nd ed.)*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Vardanyan, A., Petrosyan, L., & Martirosyan, A. (2024). Media discourse and representation: The impact of linguistic framing on public perception. *Journal of Media and Communication Studies*, 16(2), 45–63. <https://doi.org/10.5897/JMCS2024.0761>
- Vienna Declaration. (2013). *Vienna Declaration on Femicide*. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. [https://www.unodc.org/documents/commissions/CCPCJ/CCPCJ\\_Sessions/CCPCJ\\_22/E-CN15-2013-NGO1/Vienna\\_Declaration\\_on\\_Femicide.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/commissions/CCPCJ/CCPCJ_Sessions/CCPCJ_22/E-CN15-2013-NGO1/Vienna_Declaration_on_Femicide.pdf)
- Violence Against Women Act (VAWA). (2024). *Reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act of 2024*. U.S. Congress. <https://www.congress.gov/bill>
- Violence Policy Center. (2010–2020). *When men murder women: An analysis of 2010–2020 homicide data*. Violence Policy Center. <https://vpc.org>
- Vitis, L. (2023). True crime, gender, and commodification: Feminist resistance or reproduction of violence? *Crime, Media, Culture*, 19(3), 489–508. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17416590231127890>
- Vives-Cases, C., Torrubiano-Domínguez, J., & Álvarez-Dardet, C. (2024). Global inequalities in femicide media coverage: A comparative analysis. *Violence Against Women*, 30(7), 1345–1363. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801224124567>
- Walby, S. (2015). *Crisis*. Polity Press.
- Walby, S. (2023). *Gender, violence, and society: A global perspective*. Polity Press.

- Walklate, S., McCulloch, J., Fitz-Gibbon, K., & Maher, J. (2023). Lockdown, femicide and media discourse during COVID-19: Understanding global patterns. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 23(2), 210–228. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748895822108549>
- Ward, L. M. (2016). Media and sexualization: State of empirical research, 1995–2015. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 53(4–5), 560–577. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2016.1142496>
- Watts, C., & Zimmerman, C. (2002). Violence against women: Global scope and magnitude. *The Lancet*, 359(9313), 1232–1237. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)08221-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)08221-1)
- Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic content analysis* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Websdale, N. (1999). *Understanding domestic homicide*. Northeastern University Press.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society*, 1(2), 125–151. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243287001002002>
- Wilson, M., & Daly, M. (1993). *Spousal homicide risk and estrangement*. *Violence and Victims*, 8(1), 3–16. <https://doi.org/10.1891/0886-6708.8.1.3>
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (2nd ed.). Sage.
- World Health Organization (WHO). (2012). *Understanding and addressing violence against women: Femicide*. WHO. <https://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/77421>
- World Health Organization (WHO). (2016). *Female genital mutilation: Key facts*. WHO.
- World Health Organization. (2002). *World report on violence and health: Summary*. WHO. <https://www.who.int>
- World Health Organization. (2012). *Understanding and addressing violence against women: Intimate partner violence*. WHO.
- World Health Organization. (2013). *Global and regional estimates of violence against women: Prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-*

*partner sexual violence.*

<https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/9789241564625>

World Health Organization. (2021). *Violence against women prevalence estimates, 2018: Global, regional and national prevalence estimates for intimate partner violence against women and global and regional prevalence estimates for non-partner sexual violence against women.* WHO.

<https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/9789240022256>

World Health Organization. (2024). *Violence against women data portal.* WHO.

<https://www.who.int>

Wozniak, A. (2022). The discursive construction of motherhood in media coverage of femicide. *Feminist Media Studies*, 22(7), 1184–1201.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2021.1888644>

Yodanis, C. L. (2004). Gender inequality, violence against women, and fear: A cross-national test of the feminist theory of violence against women. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 19(6), 655–675.

Zillmann, D. (2002). *The psychology of entertainment.* Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: List of Analyzed Articles by Newspaper (2010–2019)

**Table 1.1:** Articles from *The Los Angeles Times* (2010–2019)

Article ID	Newspaper	Year	URL
CALAT_01	The Los Angeles Times	2010	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2010-feb-25-la-me-alcala26-2010feb26-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2010-feb-25-la-me-alcala26-2010feb26-story.html</a>
CALAT_02	The Los Angeles Times	2010	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/socal/daily-pilot/news/tn-dpt-xpm-2010-11-10-tn-hbi-1111-fv-20101108-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/socal/daily-pilot/news/tn-dpt-xpm-2010-11-10-tn-hbi-1111-fv-20101108-story.html</a>
CALAT_03	The Los Angeles Times	2010	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2010-jul-15-la-me-three-strikes-20100715-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2010-jul-15-la-me-three-strikes-20100715-story.html</a>
CALAT_04	The Los Angeles Times	2010	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2010-aug-12-la-me-harbor-gateway-killing-20100812-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2010-aug-12-la-me-harbor-gateway-killing-20100812-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_05	The Los Angeles Times	2010	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/socal/daily-pilot/news/tn-dpt-xpm-2010-11-22-tn-dpt-1123-leal-20101122-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/socal/daily-pilot/news/tn-dpt-xpm-2010-11-22-tn-dpt-1123-leal-20101122-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_06	The Los Angeles Times	2010	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2010-may-29-la-me-lily-burk-20100529-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2010-may-29-la-me-lily-burk-20100529-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_07	The Los Angeles Times	2010	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/edwinta-hereford/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/edwinta-hereford/</a>
CALAT_08	The Los Angeles Times	2010	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/mireya-mccall/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/mireya-mccall/</a>
CALAT_09	The Los Angeles Times	2011	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/la-xpm-2011-nov-18-la-me-fayed-death-penalty-20111118-story.html?utm_source=chatgpt.com">https://www.latimes.com/local/la-xpm-2011-nov-18-la-me-fayed-death-penalty-20111118-story.html?utm_source=chatgpt.com</a>
CALAT_10	The Los Angeles Times	2011	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/la-xpm-2011-oct-22-la-me-1022-moreno-valley-arrest-20111022-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/local/la-xpm-2011-oct-22-la-me-1022-moreno-valley-arrest-20111022-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_11	The Los Angeles Times	2011	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/la-xpm-2011-may-20-la-me-fayed-murder-verdict-20110520-1-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/local/la-xpm-2011-may-20-la-me-fayed-murder-verdict-20110520-1-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_12	The Los Angeles Times	2011	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/la-xpm-2011-may-20-la-me-fayed-murder-verdict-20110520-1-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/local/la-xpm-2011-may-20-la-me-fayed-murder-verdict-20110520-1-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_13	The Los Angeles Times	2011	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/socal/daily-pilot/news/tn-dpt-xpm-2011-06-29-tn-hbi-0630-wedding-20110629-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/socal/daily-pilot/news/tn-dpt-xpm-2011-06-29-tn-hbi-0630-wedding-20110629-story.html</a>
CALAT_14	The Los Angeles Times	2011	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/silence-fear-after-15-year-old-girl-shot-death/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/silence-fear-after-15-year-old-girl-shot-death/</a>
CALAT_15	The Los Angeles Times	2011	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/christina-salazar/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/christina-salazar/</a>
CALAT_16	The Los Angeles Times	2011	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/michelle-acevedo/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/michelle-acevedo/</a>
CALAT_17	The Los Angeles Times	2012	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/la-xpm-2012-may-05-la-me-girl-killed-20120505-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/local/la-xpm-2012-may-05-la-me-girl-killed-20120505-story.html?utm</a>

CALAT_18	The Los Angeles Times	2012	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/socal/daily-pilot/news/tn-dpt-xpm-2012-01-11-tn-hbi-0112-brown-20120109-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/socal/daily-pilot/news/tn-dpt-xpm-2012-01-11-tn-hbi-0112-brown-20120109-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_19	The Los Angeles Times	2012	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/nation/la-xpm-2012-oct-20-la-na-nn-oregon-killing-20121020-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/nation/la-xpm-2012-oct-20-la-na-nn-oregon-killing-20121020-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_20	The Los Angeles Times	2012	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-slain-woman-family-20130617-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-slain-woman-family-20130617-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_21	The Los Angeles Times	2012	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/archives/blogs/la-now/story/2012-12-16/woman-apparently-stabbed-to-death-with-bbq-fork-lapd-says?utm">https://www.latimes.com/archives/blogs/la-now/story/2012-12-16/woman-apparently-stabbed-to-death-with-bbq-fork-lapd-says?utm</a>
CALAT_22	The Los Angeles Times	2012	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/socal/daily-pilot/news/tn-dpt-xpm-2012-11-30-tn-dpt-1201-buffett-arraignment-20121130-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/socal/daily-pilot/news/tn-dpt-xpm-2012-11-30-tn-dpt-1201-buffett-arraignment-20121130-story.html</a>
CALAT_23	The Los Angeles Times	2012	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/dorothy-mcguire/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/dorothy-mcguire/</a>
CALAT_24	The Los Angeles Times	2012	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/marlene-alatorre/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/marlene-alatorre/</a>
CALAT_25	The Los Angeles Times	2013	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-kane-killing-search-20130617-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-kane-killing-search-20130617-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_26	The Los Angeles Times	2013	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/archives/blogs/la-now/story/2013-03-05/man-held-in-stabbing-death-of-his-girlfriend-authorities-say?utm">https://www.latimes.com/archives/blogs/la-now/story/2013-03-05/man-held-in-stabbing-death-of-his-girlfriend-authorities-say?utm</a>
CALAT_27	The Los Angeles Times	2013	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-long-beach-arrest-20130912-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-long-beach-arrest-20130912-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_28	The Los Angeles Times	2013	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-girlfriend-killed-buried-20131224-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-girlfriend-killed-buried-20131224-story.html</a>
CALAT_29	The Los Angeles Times	2013	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-woman-buried-her-in-backyard-compton-20131225-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-woman-buried-her-in-backyard-compton-20131225-story.html</a>
CALAT_30	The Los Angeles Times	2013	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/la-xpm-2013-dec-11-la-me-double-slaying-20131212-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/local/la-xpm-2013-dec-11-la-me-double-slaying-20131212-story.html</a>
CALAT_31	The Los Angeles Times	2013	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-police-seek-husband-woman-stabbed-san-bernardino-20131204-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-police-seek-husband-woman-stabbed-san-bernardino-20131204-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_32	The Los Angeles Times	2013	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/alicia-cassandra-gomez/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/alicia-cassandra-gomez/</a>
CALAT_33	The Los Angeles Times	2014	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-wife-killing-alleged-affair-20140618-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-wife-killing-alleged-affair-20140618-story.html</a>
CALAT_34	The Los Angeles Times	2014	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-uci-grad-student-sentenced-for-ex-wifes-murder-20140912-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-uci-grad-student-sentenced-for-ex-wifes-murder-20140912-story.html</a>
CALAT_35	The Los Angeles Times	2014	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-cannon-death-20140915-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-cannon-death-20140915-story.html</a>
CALAT_36	The Los Angeles Times	2014	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-man-fatally-shoots-wife-then-himself-during-childcustody-exchange-20141101-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-man-fatally-shoots-wife-then-himself-during-childcustody-exchange-20141101-story.html</a>
CALAT_37	The Los Angeles Times	2014	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/nation/nationnow/la-na-nn-florida-shooting-six-kids-20140919-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/nation/nationnow/la-na-nn-florida-shooting-six-kids-20140919-story.html</a>
CALAT_38	The Los Angeles Times	2014	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/west-covina-man-found-guilty-killing-wife/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/west-covina-man-found-guilty-killing-wife/</a>

CALAT_39	The Los Angeles Times	2014	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/mayra-cornejo/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/mayra-cornejo/</a>
CALAT_40	The Los Angeles Times	2014	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/candice-barcenas/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/candice-barcenas/</a>
CALAT_41	The Los Angeles Times	2015	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/nation/nationnow/la-na-nn-facebook-killer-20151125-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/nation/nationnow/la-na-nn-facebook-killer-20151125-story.html</a>
CALAT_42	The Los Angeles Times	2015	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-man-killing-girlfriend-hammer-20151124-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-man-killing-girlfriend-hammer-20151124-story.html</a>
CALAT_43	The Los Angeles Times	2015	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/lajoyamccoystrangulation/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/lajoyamccoystrangulation/</a>
CALAT_44	The Los Angeles Times	2015	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/alicia-faith-todd/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/alicia-faith-todd/</a>
CALAT_45	The Los Angeles Times	2015	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/alma-cornish/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/alma-cornish/</a>
CALAT_46	The Los Angeles Times	2015	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/socal/daily-pilot/tn-dpt-me-1120-rastogi-conviction-20151117-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/socal/daily-pilot/tn-dpt-me-1120-rastogi-conviction-20151117-story.html</a>
CALAT_47	The Los Angeles Times	2015	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/california/la-me-homicide-women-20150424-story.html?utm_source=chatgpt.com">https://www.latimes.com/local/california/la-me-homicide-women-20150424-story.html?utm_source=chatgpt.com</a>
CALAT_48	The Los Angeles Times	2015	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/california/la-me-homicide-women-20150424-story.html?utm_source=chatgpt.com">https://www.latimes.com/local/california/la-me-homicide-women-20150424-story.html?utm_source=chatgpt.com</a>
CALAT_49	The Los Angeles Times	2016	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-lncanada-heir-lebeil-charged-murder-west-hollywood-20160531-snap-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-lncanada-heir-lebeil-charged-murder-west-hollywood-20160531-snap-story.html</a>
CALAT_50	The Los Angeles Times	2016	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/gteasha-elayne-fisher/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/gteasha-elayne-fisher/</a>
CALAT_51	The Los Angeles Times	2016	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/meredith-ruth-dickson/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/meredith-ruth-dickson/</a>
CALAT_52	The Los Angeles Times	2016	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/kiesha-shelly-michael/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/kiesha-shelly-michael/</a>
CALAT_53	The Los Angeles Times	2016	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/greta-rose-kurian/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/greta-rose-kurian/</a>
CALAT_54	The Los Angeles Times	2016	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-harbor-city-motel-killing-20161127-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-harbor-city-motel-killing-20161127-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_55	The Los Angeles Times	2016	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/gteasha-elayne-fisher/?utm">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/gteasha-elayne-fisher/?utm</a>
CALAT_56	The Los Angeles Times	2016	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-weho-woman-killed-20160526-snap-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-weho-woman-killed-20160526-snap-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_57	The Los Angeles Times	2017	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-joshua-tree-hikers-20171022-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-joshua-tree-hikers-20171022-story.html</a>
CALAT_58	The Los Angeles Times	2017	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-hemet-homicide-charges-20170126-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-hemet-homicide-charges-20170126-story.html</a>
CALAT_59	The Los Angeles Times	2017	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/socal/la-canada-valley-sun/tn-vsl-me-shi-update-20170118-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/socal/la-canada-valley-sun/tn-vsl-me-shi-update-20170118-story.html</a>
CALAT_60	The Los Angeles Times	2017	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/whitney-jade-washuta/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/whitney-jade-washuta/</a>
CALAT_61	The Los Angeles Times	2017	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/whitney-jade-washuta/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/whitney-jade-washuta/</a>

CALAT_62	The Los Angeles Times	2017	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-body-dumping-case-20170530-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-body-dumping-case-20170530-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_63	The Los Angeles Times	2017	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/gabriela-romero-garcia/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/gabriela-romero-garcia/</a>
CALAT_64	The Los Angeles Times	2017	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/lynwood-man-charged-killing-woman-montrose/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/lynwood-man-charged-killing-woman-montrose/</a>
CALAT_65	The Los Angeles Times	2018	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/olguin-policarpio-sentencing/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/olguin-policarpio-sentencing/</a>
CALAT_66	The Los Angeles Times	2018	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-man-convicted-murder-ucla-student-20180529-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-man-convicted-murder-ucla-student-20180529-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_67	The Los Angeles Times	2018	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-vista-murder-arrest-20181026-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-vista-murder-arrest-20181026-story.html</a>
CALAT_68	The Los Angeles Times	2018	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/britney-malone/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/britney-malone/</a>
CALAT_69	The Los Angeles Times	2018	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/hannah-ronyae-bell/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/hannah-ronyae-bell/</a>
CALAT_70	The Los Angeles Times	2018	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/carolina-medina/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/carolina-medina/</a>
CALAT_71	The Los Angeles Times	2018	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/donniesha-gregory/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/donniesha-gregory/</a>
CALAT_72	The Los Angeles Times	2018	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-motorhome-death-20180216-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-motorhome-death-20180216-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_73	The Los Angeles Times	2019	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2019-09-11/three-people-found-shot-in-northridge-home-after-family-disturbance-call">https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2019-09-11/three-people-found-shot-in-northridge-home-after-family-disturbance-call</a>
CALAT_74	The Los Angeles Times	2019	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/zindy-gonzalez-homicide/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/zindy-gonzalez-homicide/</a>
CALAT_75	The Los Angeles Times	2019	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/lourdes-padilla/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/lourdes-padilla/</a>
CALAT_76	The Los Angeles Times	2019	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-husband-wife-death-chatsworth-20190416-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-husband-wife-death-chatsworth-20190416-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_77	The Los Angeles Times	2019	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-stabbing-20190408-story.html?utm">https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-stabbing-20190408-story.html?utm</a>
CALAT_78	The Los Angeles Times	2019	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/gracie-anne-muehlberger/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/gracie-anne-muehlberger/</a>
CALAT_79	The Los Angeles Times	2019	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/nancy-romero/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/nancy-romero/</a>
CALAT_80	The Los Angeles Times	2019	<a href="https://homicide.latimes.com/post/felicia-rae-page/">https://homicide.latimes.com/post/felicia-rae-page/</a>

**Table 1.2:** Articles from *The Star Tribune* (2010–2019)

Article ID	Newspaper	Year	URL
MNST_01	The Star Tribune	2010	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/cause-of-death-is-changed-in-murder-suicide/84359287">https://www.startribune.com/cause-of-death-is-changed-in-murder-suicide/84359287</a>
MNST_02	The Star Tribune	2010	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/2-killed-in-hugo-were-happy-family/82060752">https://www.startribune.com/2-killed-in-hugo-were-happy-family/82060752</a>
MNST_03	The Star Tribune	2010	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/hugo-5k-to-benefit-slain-mom-s-young-son/91118284">https://www.startribune.com/hugo-5k-to-benefit-slain-mom-s-young-son/91118284</a>
MNST_04	The Star Tribune	2010	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/fund-set-up-for-hugo-shooting-victims/82206927">https://www.startribune.com/fund-set-up-for-hugo-shooting-victims/82206927</a>
MNST_05	The Star Tribune	2010	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/eagan-shooter-known-but-not-motive/100540684">https://www.startribune.com/eagan-shooter-known-but-not-motive/100540684</a>
MNST_06	The Star Tribune	2010	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/couple-dead-in-columbia-heights-shooting-wife-had-plans-to-leave/91283484">https://www.startribune.com/couple-dead-in-columbia-heights-shooting-wife-had-plans-to-leave/91283484</a>
MNST_07	The Star Tribune	2010	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/hugo-deaths-ruled-murder-suicide/82264377">https://www.startribune.com/hugo-deaths-ruled-murder-suicide/82264377</a>
MNST_08	The Star Tribune	2010	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/motive-elusive-in-hugo-shooting/84750202">https://www.startribune.com/motive-elusive-in-hugo-shooting/84750202</a>
MNST_09	The Star Tribune	2011	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/chilling-call-announced-brooklyn-park-woman-s-murder/117178193">https://www.startribune.com/chilling-call-announced-brooklyn-park-woman-s-murder/117178193</a>
MNST_10	The Star Tribune	2011	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/suspect-arrested-in-todd-county-homicide/122753974">https://www.startribune.com/suspect-arrested-in-todd-county-homicide/122753974</a>
MNST_11	The Star Tribune	2011	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/3-dead-in-wake-of-brooklyn-park-shooting-suicide/119532294">https://www.startribune.com/3-dead-in-wake-of-brooklyn-park-shooting-suicide/119532294</a>
MNST_12	The Star Tribune	2011	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/ex-con-charged-in-osakis-minn-woman-s-death-in-break-in/122881648">https://www.startribune.com/ex-con-charged-in-osakis-minn-woman-s-death-in-break-in/122881648</a>
MNST_13	The Star Tribune	2011	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/new-hope-woman-found-strangled-in-her-apartment/123591244">https://www.startribune.com/new-hope-woman-found-strangled-in-her-apartment/123591244</a>
MNST_14	The Star Tribune	2011	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/chilling-call-announced-brooklyn-park-woman-s-murder/117178193">https://www.startribune.com/chilling-call-announced-brooklyn-park-woman-s-murder/117178193</a>
MNST_15	The Star Tribune	2011	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/suspect-arrested-in-todd-county-homicide/122753974">https://www.startribune.com/suspect-arrested-in-todd-county-homicide/122753974</a>
MNST_16	The Star Tribune	2011	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/dayton-man-charged-with-wife-s-murder/123779694">https://www.startribune.com/dayton-man-charged-with-wife-s-murder/123779694</a>
MNST_17	The Star Tribune	2012	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/she-tried-to-be-friends-and-was-stabbed-to-death/137347708">https://www.startribune.com/she-tried-to-be-friends-and-was-stabbed-to-death/137347708</a>
MNST_18	The Star Tribune	2012	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/woman-shot-to-death-in-st-paul/174109921">https://www.startribune.com/woman-shot-to-death-in-st-paul/174109921</a>
MNST_19	The Star Tribune	2012	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/st-paul-man-charged-with-beating-girlfriend-to-death/141576303">https://www.startribune.com/st-paul-man-charged-with-beating-girlfriend-to-death/141576303</a>
MNST_20	The Star Tribune	2012	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/gunman-in-columbus-murder-suicide-had-been-released-hours-before-murder-suicide-that-left-4-dead/183940671">https://www.startribune.com/gunman-in-columbus-murder-suicide-had-been-released-hours-before-murder-suicide-that-left-4-dead/183940671</a>
MNST_21	The Star Tribune	2012	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/gunman-shoots-kills-frantic-wife-in-cottage-grove-parking-lot-ambush/175866771">https://www.startribune.com/gunman-shoots-kills-frantic-wife-in-cottage-grove-parking-lot-ambush/175866771</a>

MNST_22	The Star Tribune	2012	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/innocence-project-of-minnesota-drops-92-sherburne-county-murder-case/175689401">https://www.startribune.com/innocence-project-of-minnesota-drops-92-sherburne-county-murder-case/175689401</a>
MNST_23	The Star Tribune	2012	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/ex-con-gets-34-years-for-strangling-st-paul-woman/183032881">https://www.startribune.com/ex-con-gets-34-years-for-strangling-st-paul-woman/183032881</a>
MNST_24	The Star Tribune	2012	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/mps-woman-championed-peace-but-died-a-homicide-victim/159131915">https://www.startribune.com/mps-woman-championed-peace-but-died-a-homicide-victim/159131915</a>
MNST_25	The Star Tribune	2013	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/long-prison-term-for-man-who-killed-mpls-woman-as-she-interrupted-burglary/214965341">https://www.startribune.com/long-prison-term-for-man-who-killed-mpls-woman-as-she-interrupted-burglary/214965341</a>
MNST_26	The Star Tribune	2013	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/st-paul-police-kira-trevino-s-body-is-found-in-mississippi-river/206819541">https://www.startribune.com/st-paul-police-kira-trevino-s-body-is-found-in-mississippi-river/206819541</a>
MNST_27	The Star Tribune	2013	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/second-woman-s-body-found-in-a-towed-car-is-tied-to-same-suspect/209365171">https://www.startribune.com/second-woman-s-body-found-in-a-towed-car-is-tied-to-same-suspect/209365171</a>
MNST_28	The Star Tribune	2013	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/woman-killed-in-minneapolis-fire-is-identified/215443691">https://www.startribune.com/woman-killed-in-minneapolis-fire-is-identified/215443691</a>
MNST_29	The Star Tribune	2013	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/jury-husband-guilty-of-killing-pregnant-wife-in-apple-valley/236148981">https://www.startribune.com/jury-husband-guilty-of-killing-pregnant-wife-in-apple-valley/236148981</a>
MNST_30	The Star Tribune	2013	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/st-paul-man-pleads-guilty-to-killing-dismembering-wife/196534011">https://www.startribune.com/st-paul-man-pleads-guilty-to-killing-dismembering-wife/196534011</a>
MNST_31	The Star Tribune	2013	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/maplewood-teen-charged-in-girlfriend-s-slaying/195441701">https://www.startribune.com/maplewood-teen-charged-in-girlfriend-s-slaying/195441701</a>
MNST_32	The Star Tribune	2013	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/apparent-murder-suicide-probed-in-sherburne-county/211683461">https://www.startribune.com/apparent-murder-suicide-probed-in-sherburne-county/211683461</a>
MNST_33	The Star Tribune	2014	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/woman-shot-to-death-inside-downtown-minneapolis-strip-club/279656942">https://www.startribune.com/woman-shot-to-death-inside-downtown-minneapolis-strip-club/279656942</a>
MNST_34	The Star Tribune	2014	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/teen-apologizes-gets-life-in-prison-without-parole-for-willmar-murder/254661151">https://www.startribune.com/teen-apologizes-gets-life-in-prison-without-parole-for-willmar-murder/254661151</a>
MNST_35	The Star Tribune	2014	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/family-friends-honor-mandy-matula-a-year-after-she-disappeared-from-eden-prairie/257206161">https://www.startribune.com/family-friends-honor-mandy-matula-a-year-after-she-disappeared-from-eden-prairie/257206161</a>
MNST_36	The Star Tribune	2014	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/documents-closing-matula-case-offer-harrowing-poignant-details/266757901">https://www.startribune.com/documents-closing-matula-case-offer-harrowing-poignant-details/266757901</a>
MNST_37	The Star Tribune	2014	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/minneapolis-lawyer-shot-dead-by-boyfriend-in-shoreview-home/210091031">https://www.startribune.com/minneapolis-lawyer-shot-dead-by-boyfriend-in-shoreview-home/210091031</a>
MNST_38	The Star Tribune	2014	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/st-paul-man-sentenced-in-shooting-death-of-girlfriend/278041161?utm_source=chatgpt.com">https://www.startribune.com/st-paul-man-sentenced-in-shooting-death-of-girlfriend/278041161?utm_source=chatgpt.com</a>
MNST_39	The Star Tribune	2014	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/blood-trail-on-franklin-avenue-leads-to-man-who-stabbed-woman-in-heart-in-2014-murder-charge-says/601368064?utm_source=chatgpt.com">https://www.startribune.com/blood-trail-on-franklin-avenue-leads-to-man-who-stabbed-woman-in-heart-in-2014-murder-charge-says/601368064?utm_source=chatgpt.com</a>
MNST_40	The Star Tribune	2014	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/man-pleads-guilty-in-2014-st-paul-murder-of-ex-">https://www.startribune.com/man-pleads-guilty-in-2014-st-paul-murder-of-ex-</a>

			<a href="https://www.startribune.com/girlfriend/292502311?utm_source=chatgpt.com">girlfriend/292502311?utm_source=chatgpt.com</a>
MNST_41	The Star Tribune	2015	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/police-husband-charged-with-killing-wife-step-daughter/329814691?utm_source=chatgpt.com">https://www.startribune.com/police-husband-charged-with-killing-wife-step-daughter/329814691?utm_source=chatgpt.com</a>
MNST_42	The Star Tribune	2015	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/two-arrests-made-in-fatal-shooting-of-woman-on-st-paul-s-east-side/335152381?utm_source=chatgpt.com">https://www.startribune.com/two-arrests-made-in-fatal-shooting-of-woman-on-st-paul-s-east-side/335152381?utm_source=chatgpt.com</a>
MNST_43	The Star Tribune	2015	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/35-year-term-for-iron-range-man-who-fatally-shot-ex-girlfriend-with-deer-rifle/412279543?utm_source=chatgpt.com">https://www.startribune.com/35-year-term-for-iron-range-man-who-fatally-shot-ex-girlfriend-with-deer-rifle/412279543?utm_source=chatgpt.com</a>
MNST_44	The Star Tribune	2015	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/police-ask-for-help-in-south-minneapolis-beating-death/359726781?utm">https://www.startribune.com/police-ask-for-help-in-south-minneapolis-beating-death/359726781?utm</a>
MNST_45	The Star Tribune	2015	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/man-pleads-guilty-to-killing-wife-who-vanished-in-1997/333311901">https://www.startribune.com/man-pleads-guilty-to-killing-wife-who-vanished-in-1997/333311901</a>
MNST_46	The Star Tribune	2015	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/minneapolis-teen-suspected-of-fatally-shooting-woman-in-head/300593271">https://www.startribune.com/minneapolis-teen-suspected-of-fatally-shooting-woman-in-head/300593271</a>
MNST_47	The Star Tribune	2015	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/obit-st-paul-attorney-t-eugene-thompson-convicted-of-hiring-hit-man-to-kill-his-wife/323868211">https://www.startribune.com/obit-st-paul-attorney-t-eugene-thompson-convicted-of-hiring-hit-man-to-kill-his-wife/323868211</a>
MNST_48	The Star Tribune	2015	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/life-sentence-for-south-st-paul-man-who-fatally-stabbed-woman/377937871?utm">https://www.startribune.com/life-sentence-for-south-st-paul-man-who-fatally-stabbed-woman/377937871?utm</a>
MNST_49	The Star Tribune	2016	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/15-year-term-for-brooklyn-park-man-who-killed-girlfriend-during-what-he-said-was-rough-sex/396058451?utm">https://www.startribune.com/15-year-term-for-brooklyn-park-man-who-killed-girlfriend-during-what-he-said-was-rough-sex/396058451?utm</a>
MNST_50	The Star Tribune	2016	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/eden-prairie-man-charged-with-murdering-wife-and-child-she-was-carrying/379826041?utm">https://www.startribune.com/eden-prairie-man-charged-with-murdering-wife-and-child-she-was-carrying/379826041?utm</a>
MNST_51	The Star Tribune	2016	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/plymouth-police-chief-gunman-shot-woman-who-fled-their-car/368726891?utm">https://www.startribune.com/plymouth-police-chief-gunman-shot-woman-who-fled-their-car/368726891?utm</a>
MNST_52	The Star Tribune	2016	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/court-filings-mentally-diminished-woman-killed-by-man-who-kept-defying-no-contact-order/402480865?utm">https://www.startribune.com/court-filings-mentally-diminished-woman-killed-by-man-who-kept-defying-no-contact-order/402480865?utm</a>
MNST_53	The Star Tribune	2016	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/man-in-custody-after-woman-fatally-stabbed-in-eden-prairie/379534161?utm">https://www.startribune.com/man-in-custody-after-woman-fatally-stabbed-in-eden-prairie/379534161?utm</a>
MNST_54	The Star Tribune	2016	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/man-sentenced-to-25-years-for-killing-woman-at-minneapolis-bus-stop/372161011?utm">https://www.startribune.com/man-sentenced-to-25-years-for-killing-woman-at-minneapolis-bus-stop/372161011?utm</a>
MNST_55	The Star Tribune	2016	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/plymouth-police-chief-gunman-shot-woman-who-fled-their-car/368726891?utm">https://www.startribune.com/plymouth-police-chief-gunman-shot-woman-who-fled-their-car/368726891?utm</a>
MNST_56	The Star Tribune	2016	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/woman-killed-in-inver-grove-heights-house-fire-identified/442010483">https://www.startribune.com/woman-killed-in-inver-grove-heights-house-fire-identified/442010483</a>
MNST_57	The Star Tribune	2017	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/pregnant-fargo-woman-died-from-homicidal-">https://www.startribune.com/pregnant-fargo-woman-died-from-homicidal-</a>

			violence/442152143
MNST_58	The Star Tribune	2017	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/minneapolis-woman-awoke-on-fire-after-being-doused-with-gasoline-boyfriend-charged-with-murder/448725663">https://www.startribune.com/minneapolis-woman-awoke-on-fire-after-being-doused-with-gasoline-boyfriend-charged-with-murder/448725663</a>
MNST_59	The Star Tribune	2017	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/shakopee-man-charged-with-murder-in-girlfriend-s-death/456152563">https://www.startribune.com/shakopee-man-charged-with-murder-in-girlfriend-s-death/456152563</a>
MNST_60	The Star Tribune	2017	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/murder-charges-cottage-grove-man-staged-wife-s-suicide-after-searching-for-hitman-on-dark-web/411079495">https://www.startribune.com/murder-charges-cottage-grove-man-staged-wife-s-suicide-after-searching-for-hitman-on-dark-web/411079495</a>
MNST_61	The Star Tribune	2017	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/threats-broken-windows-then-woman-dies-in-minneapolis-blaze/448452243">https://www.startribune.com/threats-broken-windows-then-woman-dies-in-minneapolis-blaze/448452243</a>
MNST_62	The Star Tribune	2017	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/40-year-term-for-abusive-maplewood-husband-who-fatally-shot-wife-in-head/420485413">https://www.startribune.com/40-year-term-for-abusive-maplewood-husband-who-fatally-shot-wife-in-head/420485413</a>
MNST_63	The Star Tribune	2017	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/woman-killed-in-brooklyn-center-hotel-room-was-18-year-old-from-st-cloud/413774283">https://www.startribune.com/woman-killed-in-brooklyn-center-hotel-room-was-18-year-old-from-st-cloud/413774283</a>
MNST_64	The Star Tribune	2017	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/man-78-killed-in-his-home-in-grand-marais-28-year-old-suspect-arrested/600257413?utm">https://www.startribune.com/man-78-killed-in-his-home-in-grand-marais-28-year-old-suspect-arrested/600257413?utm</a>
MNST_65	The Star Tribune	2018	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/duluth-woman-killed-in-apparent-domestic/601384025?utm">https://www.startribune.com/duluth-woman-killed-in-apparent-domestic/601384025?utm</a>
MNST_66	The Star Tribune	2018	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/longtime-criminal-charged-with-abducting-killing-minneapolis-woman-on-new-year-s-eve/566748472?utm">https://www.startribune.com/longtime-criminal-charged-with-abducting-killing-minneapolis-woman-on-new-year-s-eve/566748472?utm</a>
MNST_67	The Star Tribune	2018	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/charges-ex-boyfriend-killed-edina-woman-in-minnesota-burned-body-in-new-orleans/470124593?utm">https://www.startribune.com/charges-ex-boyfriend-killed-edina-woman-in-minnesota-burned-body-in-new-orleans/470124593?utm</a>
MNST_68	The Star Tribune	2018	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/woman-killed-in-eden-prairie-home-husband-arrested/491041291?utm">https://www.startribune.com/woman-killed-in-eden-prairie-home-husband-arrested/491041291?utm</a>
MNST_69	The Star Tribune	2018	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/man-sentenced-to-24-years-in-woman-s-fatal-minneapolis-parking-ramp-stabbing/476272073?utm">https://www.startribune.com/man-sentenced-to-24-years-in-woman-s-fatal-minneapolis-parking-ramp-stabbing/476272073?utm</a>
MNST_70	The Star Tribune	2018	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/35-year-term-for-gunman-who-followed-order-killed-woman-in-mpls-parking-lot/488399971?utm">https://www.startribune.com/35-year-term-for-gunman-who-followed-order-killed-woman-in-mpls-parking-lot/488399971?utm</a>
MNST_71	The Star Tribune	2018	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/woman-was-found-dead-in-an-industrial-part-of-st-paul-homicide-suspected/600156182?utm">https://www.startribune.com/woman-was-found-dead-in-an-industrial-part-of-st-paul-homicide-suspected/600156182?utm</a>
MNST_72	The Star Tribune	2018	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/irwin-jacobs-wife-alexandra-dead-in-murder-suicide-close-friend-says/508373492">https://www.startribune.com/irwin-jacobs-wife-alexandra-dead-in-murder-suicide-close-friend-says/508373492</a>
MNST_73	The Star Tribune	2019	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/murder-charge-minneapolis-woman-endured-abuse-before-father-of-her-child-shot-her-in-the-back/565706182">https://www.startribune.com/murder-charge-minneapolis-woman-endured-abuse-before-father-of-her-child-shot-her-in-the-back/565706182</a>
MNST_74	The Star Tribune	2019	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/man-gets-20-year-sentence-after-admitting-to-killing-edina-girlfriend-burning-body-in-new-">https://www.startribune.com/man-gets-20-year-sentence-after-admitting-to-killing-edina-girlfriend-burning-body-in-new-</a>

			orleans/504388322
MNST_75	The Star Tribune	2019	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/foster-mom-s-boyfriend-pleads-guilty-to-murder-of-3-year-old-in-eagan/508974182">https://www.startribune.com/foster-mom-s-boyfriend-pleads-guilty-to-murder-of-3-year-old-in-eagan/508974182</a>
MNST_76	The Star Tribune	2019	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/minneapolis-man-sentenced-to-20-years-for-2015-killing-dismembering-of-estranged-girlfriend/565792872">https://www.startribune.com/minneapolis-man-sentenced-to-20-years-for-2015-killing-dismembering-of-estranged-girlfriend/565792872</a>
MNST_77	The Star Tribune	2019	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/no-outward-signs-of-discord-before-triple-murder-suicide/565695942">https://www.startribune.com/no-outward-signs-of-discord-before-triple-murder-suicide/565695942</a>
MNST_78	The Star Tribune	2019	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/prominent-businessman-irwin-jacobs-shot-wife-then-himself-medical-examiner-confirms/508491092">https://www.startribune.com/prominent-businessman-irwin-jacobs-shot-wife-then-himself-medical-examiner-confirms/508491092</a>
MNST_79	The Star Tribune	2019	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/woman-fatally-stabbed-after-downtown-minneapolis-altercation/510441922?utm_">https://www.startribune.com/woman-fatally-stabbed-after-downtown-minneapolis-altercation/510441922?utm_</a>
MNST_80	The Star Tribune	2019	<a href="https://www.startribune.com/police-husband-charged-with-killing-wife-step-daughter/329814691?utm_source=chatgpt.com">https://www.startribune.com/police-husband-charged-with-killing-wife-step-daughter/329814691?utm_source=chatgpt.com</a>

**Table 1.3:** Articles from *The Oregonian* (2010–2019)

Article ID	Newspaper	Year	URL
ORORE_01	The Oregonian	2010	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2010/07/items_located_with_portland_wo.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2010/07/items_located_with_portland_wo.html</a>
ORORE_02	The Oregonian	2010	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/news/2010/09/tigard_man_killed_himself_after.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/news/2010/09/tigard_man_killed_himself_after.html</a>
ORORE_03	The Oregonian	2010	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/tigard/2010/09/tigard_gunman_who_killed_his_wife_then_himself_was_suffering_from_mental_illness_friends_say.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/tigard/2010/09/tigard_gunman_who_killed_his_wife_then_himself_was_suffering_from_mental_illness_friends_say.html</a>
ORORE_04	The Oregonian	2010	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2010/06/friends_say_slain_north_portla.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2010/06/friends_say_slain_north_portla.html</a>
ORORE_05	The Oregonian	2010	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/news/2010/04/osp_identifies_49-year-old_wom.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/news/2010/04/osp_identifies_49-year-old_wom.html</a>
ORORE_06	The Oregonian	2010	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2011/01/2010_portland_homicides.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2011/01/2010_portland_homicides.html</a>
ORORE_07	The Oregonian	2010	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2011/01/2010_portland_homicides.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2011/01/2010_portland_homicides.html</a>
ORORE_08	The Oregonian	2010	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2011/01/2010_portland_homicides.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2011/01/2010_portland_homicides.html</a>
ORORE_09	The Oregonian	2011	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/happy-valley/2011/12/southeast_portland_man_charged.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/happy-valley/2011/12/southeast_portland_man_charged.html</a>
ORORE_10	The Oregonian	2011	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2011/01/court_documents_detail_final_hours_of_keizer_woman_found_shot_to_death.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2011/01/court_documents_detail_final_hours_of_keizer_woman_found_shot_to_death.html</a>
ORORE_11	The Oregonian	2011	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/aloha/2011/10/post_3.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/aloha/2011/10/post_3.html</a>
ORORE_12	The Oregonian	2011	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/news/2011/01/despite_dropping_crime_rate_do.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/news/2011/01/despite_dropping_crime_rate_do.html</a>
ORORE_13	The Oregonian	2011	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2011/06/father_relieved_that_son-in-la.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2011/06/father_relieved_that_son-in-la.html</a>
ORORE_14	The Oregonian	2011	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2011/03/meford_police_say_woman_is_dead_boyfriend_under_police_guard.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2011/03/meford_police_say_woman_is_dead_boyfriend_under_police_guard.html</a>
ORORE_15	The Oregonian	2011	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2011/04/police_say_shooting_that_left_woman_and_daughter_dead_was_murder-suicide.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2011/04/police_say_shooting_that_left_woman_and_daughter_dead_was_murder-suicide.html</a>
ORORE_16	The Oregonian	2011	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2011/06/relatives_of_woman_killed_in_p.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2011/06/relatives_of_woman_killed_in_p.html</a>
ORORE_17	The Oregonian	2012	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/tualatin/2012/10/tualatin_man_accused_in_his_gi.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/tualatin/2012/10/tualatin_man_accused_in_his_gi.html</a>
ORORE_18	The Oregonian	2012	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2012/12/womans_death_in_downtown_portl.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2012/12/womans_death_in_downtown_portl.html</a>
ORORE_19	The Oregonian	2012	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2012/07/murdered_public_defenders_frie.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2012/07/murdered_public_defenders_frie.html</a>
ORORE_20	The Oregonian	2012	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/hillsboro/2012/05/hillsboro_police_say_man_found.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/hillsboro/2012/05/hillsboro_police_say_man_found.html</a>

ORORE_21	The Oregonian	2012	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/politics/2012/02/state_agrees_to_pay_15_million.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/politics/2012/02/state_agrees_to_pay_15_million.html</a>
ORORE_22	The Oregonian	2012	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/clackamascounty/2012/02/families_of_women.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/clackamascounty/2012/02/families_of_women.html</a>
ORORE_23	The Oregonian	2012	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/happy-valley/2012/08/happy_valley_woman_killed_in_s.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/happy-valley/2012/08/happy_valley_woman_killed_in_s.html</a>
ORORE_24	The Oregonian	2012	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/clackamascounty/2012/04/hearing_reveals_details_in_kil.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/clackamascounty/2012/04/hearing_reveals_details_in_kil.html</a>
ORORE_25	The Oregonian	2013	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/gresham/2013/10/tiffany_jenks.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/gresham/2013/10/tiffany_jenks.html</a>
ORORE_26	The Oregonian	2013	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2013/11/police_identify_24-year-old_so.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2013/11/police_identify_24-year-old_so.html</a>
ORORE_27	The Oregonian	2013	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2013/06/veneta_couple_found_dead_in_ap.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2013/06/veneta_couple_found_dead_in_ap.html</a>
ORORE_28	The Oregonian	2013	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/hillsboro/2013/05/aggravated_murder_jessie_mary.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/hillsboro/2013/05/aggravated_murder_jessie_mary.html</a>
ORORE_29	The Oregonian	2013	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/hillsboro/2013/11/eloy_vasquez-santiago_suspecte.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/hillsboro/2013/11/eloy_vasquez-santiago_suspecte.html</a>
ORORE_30	The Oregonian	2013	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/gresham/2013/10/josh_shot_mommy_girl_tells_pol.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/gresham/2013/10/josh_shot_mommy_girl_tells_pol.html</a>
ORORE_31	The Oregonian	2013	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2013/04/salem_inmate_charged_in_murder.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2013/04/salem_inmate_charged_in_murder.html</a>
ORORE_32	The Oregonian	2013	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2013/10/family_says_portland_woman_kil.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2013/10/family_says_portland_woman_kil.html</a>
ORORE_33	The Oregonian	2014	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2014/05/north_portland_father_fatally.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2014/05/north_portland_father_fatally.html</a>
ORORE_34	The Oregonian	2014	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-city/2014/12/oregon_city_police_arrest_husb.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-city/2014/12/oregon_city_police_arrest_husb.html</a>
ORORE_35	The Oregonian	2014	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2014/03/son_of_keizer_homicide_victim.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2014/03/son_of_keizer_homicide_victim.html</a>
ORORE_36	The Oregonian	2014	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2014/06/man_woman_found_dead_after_pos.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2014/06/man_woman_found_dead_after_pos.html</a>
ORORE_37	The Oregonian	2014	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-city/2014/11/oregon_city_mother_dies_after.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-city/2014/11/oregon_city_mother_dies_after.html</a>
ORORE_38	The Oregonian	2014	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/hillsboro/2014/09/man_accused_of_killing_girlfri.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/hillsboro/2014/09/man_accused_of_killing_girlfri.html</a>
ORORE_39	The Oregonian	2014	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/hillsboro/2014/09/hillsboro_mother_killed_in_apa.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/hillsboro/2014/09/hillsboro_mother_killed_in_apa.html</a>
ORORE_40	The Oregonian	2014	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/sherwood/2014/12/sherwood_woman_tonya_davis_kil.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/sherwood/2014/12/sherwood_woman_tonya_davis_kil.html</a>
ORORE_41	The Oregonian	2015	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-city/2015/01/husband_accused_of_shooting_w.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-city/2015/01/husband_accused_of_shooting_w.html</a>
ORORE_42	The Oregonian	2015	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/north-of-26/2015/04/teen_convicted_in_rape_near_au.h">https://www.oregonlive.com/north-of-26/2015/04/teen_convicted_in_rape_near_au.h</a>

			tml
ORORE_43	The Oregonian	2015	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2015/11/rage_over_new_lesbian_lover_ne.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2015/11/rage_over_new_lesbian_lover_ne.html</a>
ORORE_44	The Oregonian	2015	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2015/09/pimp_of_portland_woman_killed.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2015/09/pimp_of_portland_woman_killed.html</a>
ORORE_45	The Oregonian	2015	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2015/05/mans_break-in_at_ex-girlfriend.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2015/05/mans_break-in_at_ex-girlfriend.html</a>
ORORE_46	The Oregonian	2015	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2015/12/hood_river_homicide_investigation.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2015/12/hood_river_homicide_investigation.html</a>
ORORE_47	The Oregonian	2015	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2015/12/hood_river_homicide_investigation.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2015/12/hood_river_homicide_investigation.html</a>
ORORE_48	The Oregonian	2015	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2015/02/corvallis_homicide_victim_suff.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2015/02/corvallis_homicide_victim_suff.html</a>
ORORE_49	The Oregonian	2016	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2016/09/24-year-old_portland_woman_die.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2016/09/24-year-old_portland_woman_die.html</a>
ORORE_50	The Oregonian	2016	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/gresham/2016/01/man_who_fatally_shot_woman_in.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/gresham/2016/01/man_who_fatally_shot_woman_in.html</a>
ORORE_51	The Oregonian	2016	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/washingtoncounty/2016/12/mom_killed_by_husband_on_chris.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/washingtoncounty/2016/12/mom_killed_by_husband_on_chris.html</a>
ORORE_52	The Oregonian	2016	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/gresham/2016/10/gresham_husband_who_shot_kille.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/gresham/2016/10/gresham_husband_who_shot_kille.html</a>
ORORE_53	The Oregonian	2016	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2016/09/body_of_missing_st_helens_woman.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2016/09/body_of_missing_st_helens_woman.html</a>
ORORE_54	The Oregonian	2016	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2016/07/boyfriend_charged_with_murder.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2016/07/boyfriend_charged_with_murder.html</a>
ORORE_55	The Oregonian	2016	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-city/2016/04/husband_who_killed_wife_in_dri.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/oregon-city/2016/04/husband_who_killed_wife_in_dri.html</a>
ORORE_56	The Oregonian	2016	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2016/10/death_of_woman_found_in_yamahil.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2016/10/death_of_woman_found_in_yamahil.html</a>
ORORE_57	The Oregonian	2017	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2017/09/portland_woman_killed_by_boyfr.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2017/09/portland_woman_killed_by_boyfr.html</a>
ORORE_58	The Oregonian	2017	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2017/05/man_pleads_to_criminal_neglig.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2017/05/man_pleads_to_criminal_neglig.html</a>
ORORE_59	The Oregonian	2017	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/sherwood/2017/02/husband_who_killed_wife_on_chr.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/sherwood/2017/02/husband_who_killed_wife_on_chr.html</a>
ORORE_60	The Oregonian	2017	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2017/10/husband_accused_of_beating_wif.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2017/10/husband_accused_of_beating_wif.html</a>

ORORE_61	The Oregonian	2017	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/clackamascounty/2017/11/husband_who_killed_wife_claime.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/clackamascounty/2017/11/husband_who_killed_wife_claime.html</a>
ORORE_62	The Oregonian	2017	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2017/06/man_charged_with_stabbing_woma.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2017/06/man_charged_with_stabbing_woma.html</a>
ORORE_63	The Oregonian	2017	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/north-of-26/2017/06/jury_returns_true_life_sentenc.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/north-of-26/2017/06/jury_returns_true_life_sentenc.html</a>
ORORE_64	The Oregonian	2017	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2017/08/hubbard_man_killed_his_wife_an.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2017/08/hubbard_man_killed_his_wife_an.html</a>
ORORE_65	The Oregonian	2018	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/washingtoncounty/2018/01/dismembered_woman_found_stuff.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/washingtoncounty/2018/01/dismembered_woman_found_stuff.html</a>
ORORE_66	The Oregonian	2018	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2018/10/portland_woman_89_found_in_tru.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2018/10/portland_woman_89_found_in_tru.html</a>
ORORE_67	The Oregonian	2018	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/news/2018/11/se-portland-man-will-get-23-years-for-beating-death-of-wife.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/news/2018/11/se-portland-man-will-get-23-years-for-beating-death-of-wife.html</a>
ORORE_68	The Oregonian	2018	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2018/10/bend_woman_was_killed_by_ex-bo.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2018/10/bend_woman_was_killed_by_ex-bo.html</a>
ORORE_69	The Oregonian	2018	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/tv/2018/03/48_hours_investigates_columbia.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/tv/2018/03/48_hours_investigates_columbia.html</a>
ORORE_70	The Oregonian	2018	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/crime/2018/12/will-an-oregon-man-suspected-of-murdering-his-wife-be-buried-with-military-honors.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/crime/2018/12/will-an-oregon-man-suspected-of-murdering-his-wife-be-buried-with-military-honors.html</a>
ORORE_71	The Oregonian	2018	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/aloha/2018/01/suspect_in_killing_of_oregon_w.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/aloha/2018/01/suspect_in_killing_of_oregon_w.html</a>
ORORE_72	The Oregonian	2018	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/clackamascounty/2018/06/dad_of_oregon_man_who_beheaded.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/clackamascounty/2018/06/dad_of_oregon_man_who_beheaded.html</a>
ORORE_73	The Oregonian	2019	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/crime/2019/06/gr-esham-police-arrest-man-in-connection-with-the-2016-murder-of-his-ex-wife.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/crime/2019/06/gr-esham-police-arrest-man-in-connection-with-the-2016-murder-of-his-ex-wife.html</a>
ORORE_74	The Oregonian	2019	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2019/06/bodies-of-missing-salem-woman-and-son-karissa-and-billy-fretwell-found-in-yamhill-county.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2019/06/bodies-of-missing-salem-woman-and-son-karissa-and-billy-fretwell-found-in-yamhill-county.html</a>
ORORE_75	The Oregonian	2019	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/crime/2019/12/family-of-beaverton-stabbing-spree-victim-she-just-loved-us-so-much-and-we-loved-her.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/crime/2019/12/family-of-beaverton-stabbing-spree-victim-she-just-loved-us-so-much-and-we-loved-her.html</a>
ORORE_76	The Oregonian	2019	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2019/09/young-woman-killed-in-southeast-portland-wanted-to-be-the-best-mom-she-could-be-to-4-year-old-son.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2019/09/young-woman-killed-in-southeast-portland-wanted-to-be-the-best-mom-she-could-be-to-4-year-old-son.html</a>
ORORE_77	The Oregonian	2019	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/crime/2019/06/gr-esham-police-arrest-man-in-connection-with-the-2016-murder-of-his-ex-wife.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/crime/2019/06/gr-esham-police-arrest-man-in-connection-with-the-2016-murder-of-his-ex-wife.html</a>
ORORE_78	The Oregonian	2019	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/news/2019/12/judge-who-set-bail-for-vancouver-domestic-abuser-speaks-out-after-woman-killed.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/news/2019/12/judge-who-set-bail-for-vancouver-domestic-abuser-speaks-out-after-woman-killed.html</a>

ORORE_79	The Oregonian	2019	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/crime/2019/04/federal-judge-issues-2nd-life-sentence-for-edwin-lara-a-campus-security-officer-turned-killer-armed-carjacker-and-kidnapper.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/crime/2019/04/federal-judge-issues-2nd-life-sentence-for-edwin-lara-a-campus-security-officer-turned-killer-armed-carjacker-and-kidnapper.html</a>
ORORE_80	The Oregonian	2019	<a href="https://www.oregonlive.com/news/2019/06/missing-salem-woman-and-son-found-dead-in-remote-woods-morning-briefing.html">https://www.oregonlive.com/news/2019/06/missing-salem-woman-and-son-found-dead-in-remote-woods-morning-briefing.html</a>

**Table 1.4:** Articles from *The Dallas Morning News* (2010–2019)

Article ID	Newspaper	Year	URL
TXDMN_01	The Dallas Morning News	2010	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2010/08/26/denton-county-judge-sentences-man-to-life-for-killing-pregnant-girlfriend/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2010/08/26/denton-county-judge-sentences-man-to-life-for-killing-pregnant-girlfriend/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_02	The Dallas Morning News	2010	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2010/02/23/dallas-homicide-alma-alonso-48-stabbing/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2010/02/23/dallas-homicide-alma-alonso-48-stabbing/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_03	The Dallas Morning News	2010	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2010/10/29/husband-charged-in-desoto-woman-s-death/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2010/10/29/husband-charged-in-desoto-woman-s-death/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_04	The Dallas Morning News	2010	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2010/11/23/shooting-at-arlington-home-kills-woman-leaves-man-critically-injured/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2010/11/23/shooting-at-arlington-home-kills-woman-leaves-man-critically-injured/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_05	The Dallas Morning News	2010	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2010/11/02/ex-girlfriends-say-man-who-killed-wife-her-daughter-violent-toward-them/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2010/11/02/ex-girlfriends-say-man-who-killed-wife-her-daughter-violent-toward-them/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_06	The Dallas Morning News	2010	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2014/06/21/dallas-man-gets-life-for-fatally-stabbing-woman-as-she-read-scriptures/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2014/06/21/dallas-man-gets-life-for-fatally-stabbing-woman-as-she-read-scriptures/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_07	The Dallas Morning News	2010	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2010/03/06/dallas-county-man-says-former-law-partner-killed-ex-wife-to-lash-out-at-him/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2010/03/06/dallas-county-man-says-former-law-partner-killed-ex-wife-to-lash-out-at-him/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_08	The Dallas Morning News	2010	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2009/12/03/ex-boyfriend-charged-in-slaying-of-woman-found-at-southeast-dallas-motel/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2009/12/03/ex-boyfriend-charged-in-slaying-of-woman-found-at-southeast-dallas-motel/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_09	The Dallas Morning News	2011	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2009/12/03/ex-boyfriend-charged-in-slaying-of-woman-found-at-southeast-dallas-motel/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2009/12/03/ex-boyfriend-charged-in-slaying-of-woman-found-at-southeast-dallas-motel/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_10	The Dallas Morning News	2011	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/08/21/defendant-in-killing-of-irving-woman-and-her-daughter-confessed-jury-is-told/?utm_s">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/08/21/defendant-in-killing-of-irving-woman-and-her-daughter-confessed-jury-is-told/?utm_s</a>
TXDMN_11	The Dallas Morning News	2011	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2011/11/01/testimony-begins-in-murder-trial-of-man-accused-in-2009-stabbing-death-of-art-institute-of-dallas-student/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2011/11/01/testimony-begins-in-murder-trial-of-man-accused-in-2009-stabbing-death-of-art-institute-of-dallas-student/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_12	The Dallas Morning News	2011	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2011/08/02/mesquite-man-pleads-guilty-to-avoid-possibility-of-death-penalty/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2011/08/02/mesquite-man-pleads-guilty-to-avoid-possibility-of-death-penalty/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_13	The Dallas Morning News	2011	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2011/04/25/dallas-police-issue-murder-warrant-for-ex-husband-of-woman-found-in-trinity-river/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2011/04/25/dallas-police-issue-murder-warrant-for-ex-husband-of-woman-found-in-trinity-river/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_14	The Dallas Morning News	2011	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2011/11/21/questions-surround-murder-of-far-north-dallas-hairstylist-found-in-burning-car/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2011/11/21/questions-surround-murder-of-far-north-dallas-hairstylist-found-in-burning-car/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_15	The Dallas Morning News	2011	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2011/01/20/3-year-old-girl-who-dallas-police-say-was-victim-of-abuse-dies-mother-s-boyfriend-remains-jailed/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2011/01/20/3-year-old-girl-who-dallas-police-say-was-victim-of-abuse-dies-mother-s-boyfriend-remains-jailed/?utm_</a>

TXDMN_16	The Dallas Morning News	2011	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2011/10/26/man-sentenced-to-life-for-2002-murder-of-elderly-irving-woman-whose-poodle-was-hanged-in-shower/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2011/10/26/man-sentenced-to-life-for-2002-murder-of-elderly-irving-woman-whose-poodle-was-hanged-in-shower/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_17	The Dallas Morning News	2012	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/08/30/jury-finds-terrance-black-guilty-of-capital-murder/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/08/30/jury-finds-terrance-black-guilty-of-capital-murder/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_18	The Dallas Morning News	2012	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/12/30/denton-county-husband-shoots-wife-before-killing-self-police-say/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/12/30/denton-county-husband-shoots-wife-before-killing-self-police-say/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_19	The Dallas Morning News	2012	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/09/21/man-who-fled-to-india-sentenced-to-prison-for-fatally-stabbing-wife-and-attacking-mother-in-law/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/09/21/man-who-fled-to-india-sentenced-to-prison-for-fatally-stabbing-wife-and-attacking-mother-in-law/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_20	The Dallas Morning News	2012	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/01/26/suspect-in-custody-after-triple-slaying-at-home-in-far-east-dallas/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/01/26/suspect-in-custody-after-triple-slaying-at-home-in-far-east-dallas/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_21	The Dallas Morning News	2012	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/09/07/man-tells-dallas-police-he-stabbed-woman-to-death-because-she-said-she-was-hiv-positive-after-sex/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/09/07/man-tells-dallas-police-he-stabbed-woman-to-death-because-she-said-she-was-hiv-positive-after-sex/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_22	The Dallas Morning News	2012	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/08/21/dallas-woman-found-murdered-2-days-after-her-screams-for-help-to-911/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/08/21/dallas-woman-found-murdered-2-days-after-her-screams-for-help-to-911/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_23	The Dallas Morning News	2012	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/12/29/woman-dies-after-husband-stabs-her-at-dallas-area-charity-police-say/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/12/29/woman-dies-after-husband-stabs-her-at-dallas-area-charity-police-say/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_24	The Dallas Morning News	2012	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/12/22/police-woman-from-the-colony-found-dead-in-a-burning-jeep-was-killed-by-her-boyfriend/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2012/12/22/police-woman-from-the-colony-found-dead-in-a-burning-jeep-was-killed-by-her-boyfriend/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_25	The Dallas Morning News	2013	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2013/04/17/wylie-man-indicted-on-capital-murder-charge-in-woman-s-2011-death-in-plano/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2013/04/17/wylie-man-indicted-on-capital-murder-charge-in-woman-s-2011-death-in-plano/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_26	The Dallas Morning News	2013	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2013/02/26/man-pleads-guilty-in-10-year-old-girls-fatal-stabbing-in-2011-in-carrollton/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2013/02/26/man-pleads-guilty-in-10-year-old-girls-fatal-stabbing-in-2011-in-carrollton/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_27	The Dallas Morning News	2013	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2013/02/21/killer-gets-50-years-in-prison-for-shooting-ex-girlfriend-s-mother-at-arlington-home/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2013/02/21/killer-gets-50-years-in-prison-for-shooting-ex-girlfriend-s-mother-at-arlington-home/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_28	The Dallas Morning News	2013	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2013/07/28/update-authorities-id-plano-woman-who-police-say-was-killed-by-her-husband/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2013/07/28/update-authorities-id-plano-woman-who-police-say-was-killed-by-her-husband/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_29	The Dallas Morning News	2013	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2013/01/10/dallas-woman-killed-at-ut-southwestern-had-just-been-told-police-would-arrest-husband/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2013/01/10/dallas-woman-killed-at-ut-southwestern-had-just-been-told-police-would-arrest-husband/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_30	The Dallas Morning News	2013	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2013/11/27/police-man-woman-found-dead-in-mesquite-home-after-apparent-murder-suicide/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2013/11/27/police-man-woman-found-dead-in-mesquite-home-after-apparent-murder-suicide/?utm_</a>

TXDMN_31	The Dallas Morning News	2013	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2013/07/02/grand-prairie-police-say-61-year-old-woman-was-shot-killed-monday-in-possible-murder-suicide/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2013/07/02/grand-prairie-police-say-61-year-old-woman-was-shot-killed-monday-in-possible-murder-suicide/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_32	The Dallas Morning News	2013	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2013/10/16/woman-held-in-fatal-shooting-at-fair-park-area-apartment/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2013/10/16/woman-held-in-fatal-shooting-at-fair-park-area-apartment/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_33	The Dallas Morning News	2014	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2014/09/26/man-charged-in-estranged-wifes-death-in-flower-mound/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2014/09/26/man-charged-in-estranged-wifes-death-in-flower-mound/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_34	The Dallas Morning News	2014	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2014/07/27/woman-killed-in-arlington-during-murder-suicide/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2014/07/27/woman-killed-in-arlington-during-murder-suicide/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_35	The Dallas Morning News	2014	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2020/11/10/28-year-old-texas-man-charged-in-2014-triple-shooting-that-killed-two-women-in-west-oak-cliff/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2020/11/10/28-year-old-texas-man-charged-in-2014-triple-shooting-that-killed-two-women-in-west-oak-cliff/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_36	The Dallas Morning News	2014	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2014/07/01/red-bird-womans-boyfriend-arrested-in-her-slaying-as-her-family-looks-on-in-anguish/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2014/07/01/red-bird-womans-boyfriend-arrested-in-her-slaying-as-her-family-looks-on-in-anguish/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_37	The Dallas Morning News	2014	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2014/04/11/man-sentenced-to-life-in-prison-for-2012-murder-of-his-ex-girlfriend-s-mother-in-fort-worth/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2014/04/11/man-sentenced-to-life-in-prison-for-2012-murder-of-his-ex-girlfriend-s-mother-in-fort-worth/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_38	The Dallas Morning News	2014	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/texas/2014/05/24/texas-man-charged-in-killing-of-iranian-student/">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/texas/2014/05/24/texas-man-charged-in-killing-of-iranian-student/</a>
TXDMN_39	The Dallas Morning News	2014	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2014/06/03/update-stabbing-leaves-three-women-dead-at-fort-worth-home/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2014/06/03/update-stabbing-leaves-three-women-dead-at-fort-worth-home/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_40	The Dallas Morning News	2014	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2014/02/17/update-woman-killed-during-shooting-at-north-side-outlaws-bar-in-fort-worth-was-innocent-bystander/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2014/02/17/update-woman-killed-during-shooting-at-north-side-outlaws-bar-in-fort-worth-was-innocent-bystander/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_41	The Dallas Morning News	2015	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2015/11/04/police-identify-murder-suspect-woman-found-dead-under-bloody-blankets-in-dumpster/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2015/11/04/police-identify-murder-suspect-woman-found-dead-under-bloody-blankets-in-dumpster/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_42	The Dallas Morning News	2015	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2015/12/23/update-man-arrested-in-fatal-shooting-of-woman-at-lake-highlands-apartment/">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2015/12/23/update-man-arrested-in-fatal-shooting-of-woman-at-lake-highlands-apartment/</a>
TXDMN_43	The Dallas Morning News	2015	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2015/11/04/stepbrother-arrested-in-death-of-woman-found-in-dumpster/">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2015/11/04/stepbrother-arrested-in-death-of-woman-found-in-dumpster/</a>
TXDMN_44	The Dallas Morning News	2015	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2015/11/28/seagoville-police-fatally-shoot-man-suspected-of-killing-girlfriend-confronting-officers-with-baseball-bat-and-fireplace-poker/?utm_">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2015/11/28/seagoville-police-fatally-shoot-man-suspected-of-killing-girlfriend-confronting-officers-with-baseball-bat-and-fireplace-poker/?utm_</a>
TXDMN_45	The Dallas Morning News	2015	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2015/07/02/dallas-police-arrest-man-in-killing-of-fw-woman-20/?utm_s">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2015/07/02/dallas-police-arrest-man-in-killing-of-fw-woman-20/?utm_s</a>
TXDMN_46	The Dallas Morning	2015	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2015">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2015</a>

	News		<a href="#"><u>/02/26/police-find-murder-suspect-in-victim-s-stolen-vehicle/</u></a>
TXDMN_47	The Dallas Morning News	2015	<a href="#"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2015/10/27/court-documents-zoe-hastings-was-stabbed-found-dead-outside-of-minivan/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_48	The Dallas Morning News	2015	<a href="#"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2015/11/04/police-identify-murder-suspect-woman-found-dead-under-bloody-blankets-in-dumpster/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_49	The Dallas Morning News	2016	<a href="#"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2016/03/25/dallas-man-who-admitted-killing-his-loudmouth-wife-gets-11-years-in-prison/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_50	The Dallas Morning News	2016	<a href="#"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2016/06/01/woman-slain-at-southlake-stoplight-made-headlines-before-over-u-s-flag-flap-in-euless/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_51	The Dallas Morning News	2016	<a href="#"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2016/04/22/dallas-police-arrest-murder-suspect-accused-of-gunning-down-woman-with-his-kids-in-car/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_52	The Dallas Morning News	2016	<a href="#"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2016/10/26/estranged-husband-admits-killing-richardson-mother-of-2-police-say/?utm_source=chatgpt.com</u></a>
TXDMN_53	The Dallas Morning News	2016	<a href="#"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/courts/2018/07/27/ex-boyfriend-found-guilty-of-murder-of-dallas-hairdresser-marisol-espinosa/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_54	The Dallas Morning News	2016	<a href="#"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2016/10/24/frisco-man-on-trial-in-fatal-shooting-of-ex-wife/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_55	The Dallas Morning News	2016	<a href="#"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2016/12/20/police-searching-for-man-who-gunned-down-stranger-on-old-east-dallas-street/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_56	The Dallas Morning News	2016	<a href="#"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2016/04/20/houston-area-man-killed-wife-2-children-before-killing-himself-officials-say/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_57	The Dallas Morning News	2017	<a href="#"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/courts/2017/06/29/arlington-road-rage-killer-gets-50-years-in-prison-for-woman-s-murder/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_58	The Dallas Morning News	2017	<a href="#"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2017/12/27/woman-killed-farmers-branch-officer-wounded-in-traffic-stop-shootout/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_59	The Dallas Morning News	2017	<a href="#"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2017/09/19/murder-suspect-partied-at-71-year-olds-far-north-dallas-home-told-friends-he-was-house-sitting/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_60	The Dallas Morning News	2017	<a href="#"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2017/09/11/slain-plano-woman-s-estranged-husband-went-on-rampage-that-killed-8-at-party-her-mother-says/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_61	The Dallas Morning News	2017	<a href="#"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2017/03/14/police-id-woman-found-shot-to-death-dumped-in-trinity-near-downtown-</u></a>

			<a href="#">dallas/?utm</a>
TXDMN_62	The Dallas Morning News	2017	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2017/01/09/police-arrest-man-suspected-in-death-of-woman-found-slain-at-garland-apartment/?utm">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2017/01/09/police-arrest-man-suspected-in-death-of-woman-found-slain-at-garland-apartment/?utm</a>
TXDMN_63	The Dallas Morning News	2017	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2017/06/14/fort-worth-man-arrested-5-months-after-wife-s-strangling-death/?utm">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2017/06/14/fort-worth-man-arrested-5-months-after-wife-s-strangling-death/?utm</a>
TXDMN_64	The Dallas Morning News	2017	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2017/09/24/woman-dies-after-she-was-found-unconscious-near-a-parking-garage-near-downtown-dallas/">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2017/09/24/woman-dies-after-she-was-found-unconscious-near-a-parking-garage-near-downtown-dallas/</a>
TXDMN_65	The Dallas Morning News	2018	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2018/03/29/oak-cliff-woman-shot-to-death-during-family-argument-with-78-year-old-in-law/?utm">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2018/03/29/oak-cliff-woman-shot-to-death-during-family-argument-with-78-year-old-in-law/?utm</a>
TXDMN_66	The Dallas Morning News	2018	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2018/09/17/officials-id-woman-killed-in-tarrant-motel-room-allegedly-by-man-who-led-police-to-her-body/?utm">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2018/09/17/officials-id-woman-killed-in-tarrant-motel-room-allegedly-by-man-who-led-police-to-her-body/?utm</a>
TXDMN_67	The Dallas Morning News	2018	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2018/06/07/man-charged-with-murder-in-south-dallas-shooting-after-woman-dies/?utm">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2018/06/07/man-charged-with-murder-in-south-dallas-shooting-after-woman-dies/?utm</a>
TXDMN_68	The Dallas Morning News	2018	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2018/11/28/23-year-old-woman-found-dead-from-homicidal-violence-at-apartment-near-galleria-dallas/?utm">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2018/11/28/23-year-old-woman-found-dead-from-homicidal-violence-at-apartment-near-galleria-dallas/?utm</a>
TXDMN_69	The Dallas Morning News	2018	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2018/07/19/app-led-witnesses-to-woman-s-body-after-police-say-biker-stabbed-her-in-northwest-dallas/?utm">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2018/07/19/app-led-witnesses-to-woman-s-body-after-police-say-biker-stabbed-her-in-northwest-dallas/?utm</a>
TXDMN_70	The Dallas Morning News	2018	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2018/09/24/police-release-sketch-of-man-suspected-of-killing-woman-in-her-north-dallas-apartment/?utm">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2018/09/24/police-release-sketch-of-man-suspected-of-killing-woman-in-her-north-dallas-apartment/?utm</a>
TXDMN_71	The Dallas Morning News	2018	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2018/12/30/woman-fatally-shot-during-struggle-after-taking-man-s-gun-from-car-in-oak-cliff-police-say/?utm">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2018/12/30/woman-fatally-shot-during-struggle-after-taking-man-s-gun-from-car-in-oak-cliff-police-say/?utm</a>
TXDMN_72	The Dallas Morning News	2018	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2018/09/17/woman-found-dead-in-northwest-dallas-field-was-homicide-victim-police-say/?utm">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2018/09/17/woman-found-dead-in-northwest-dallas-field-was-homicide-victim-police-say/?utm</a>
TXDMN_73	The Dallas Morning News	2019	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2019/04/11/woman-found-in-dallas-lake-was-killed-by-boyfriend-after-she-gave-him-2nd-chance-her-family-says/?utm">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2019/04/11/woman-found-in-dallas-lake-was-killed-by-boyfriend-after-she-gave-him-2nd-chance-her-family-says/?utm</a>
TXDMN_74	The Dallas Morning News	2019	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2019/08/19/man-charged-with-murder-after-woman-is-fatally-shot-outside-fort-worth-convenience-store/?utm">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2019/08/19/man-charged-with-murder-after-woman-is-fatally-shot-outside-fort-worth-convenience-store/?utm</a>
TXDMN_75	The Dallas Morning News	2019	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2024/12/20/man-faces-murder-charge-in-missing-denton-woman-case-from-2019-police-">https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2024/12/20/man-faces-murder-charge-in-missing-denton-woman-case-from-2019-police-</a>

			<a href="#"><u>say/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_76	The Dallas Morning News	2019	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2019/12/01/man-charged-with-beating-woman-to-death-just-before-gas-station-robbery-dallas-police-say/?utm"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2019/12/01/man-charged-with-beating-woman-to-death-just-before-gas-station-robbery-dallas-police-say/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_77	The Dallas Morning News	2019	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2019/07/30/more-than-an-hour-after-911-call-police-arrive-to-find-woman-dead-in-uptown-dallas-hotel-room/?utm"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2019/07/30/more-than-an-hour-after-911-call-police-arrive-to-find-woman-dead-in-uptown-dallas-hotel-room/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_78	The Dallas Morning News	2019	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/courts/2019/02/26/gunman-hired-by-fiance-to-kill-rowlett-woman-is-sentenced-to-life-in-prison/?utm"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/courts/2019/02/26/gunman-hired-by-fiance-to-kill-rowlett-woman-is-sentenced-to-life-in-prison/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_79	The Dallas Morning News	2019	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2019/10/12/watch-video-shows-fort-worth-police-officer-fatally-shoot-woman-inside-her-home/?utm"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2019/10/12/watch-video-shows-fort-worth-police-officer-fatally-shoot-woman-inside-her-home/?utm</u></a>
TXDMN_80	The Dallas Morning News	2019	<a href="https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2019/12/02/24-year-old-woman-found-shot-to-death-in-pleasant-grove-police-say/?utm"><u>https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2019/12/02/24-year-old-woman-found-shot-to-death-in-pleasant-grove-police-say/?utm</u></a>

**Table 1.5:** Articles from *The Burlington Free Press* (2010–2019)

Article ID	Newspaper	Year	URL
VTFP_01	The Burlington Free Press	2010	<a href="https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/2010/10/21/burlington-police-no-signs-of-break-in/">https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/2010/10/21/burlington-police-no-signs-of-break-in/</a>
VTFP_02	The Burlington Free Press	2010	<a href="#"><u>Man accused of shooting ex was charged with abusing same woman in 2010</u></a>
VTFP_03	The Burlington Free Press	2014	<a href="https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/local/vermont/2014/03/07/three-suspects-to-be-charged-with-murder-in-2010-killing-of-sheffield-grandmother-state-says/6163745/">https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/local/vermont/2014/03/07/three-suspects-to-be-charged-with-murder-in-2010-killing-of-sheffield-grandmother-state-says/6163745/</a>
VTFP_04	The Burlington Free Press	2014	<a href="https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/local/vermont/2014/06/29/body-reported-found-huntington-gorge/11714667/">https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/local/vermont/2014/06/29/body-reported-found-huntington-gorge/11714667/</a>
VTFP_05	The Burlington Free Press	2014	<a href="#"><u>Murder suspect nabbed in Vt. denies charge</u></a>
VTFP_06	The Burlington Free Press	2014	<a href="#"><u>Woman's body found at Huntington Gorge</u></a>
VTFP_07	The Burlington Free Press	2015	<a href="#"><u>Slain Nashville teen wanted to change 'my neighborhood'</u></a>
VTFP_08	The Burlington Free Press	2015	<a href="#"><u>Police: Remains in Goshen are missing woman</u></a>
VTFP_09	The Burlington Free Press	2015	<a href="#"><u>Northfield survivor: Attackers lit him, girlfriend on fire</u></a>
VTFP_10	The Burlington Free Press	2015	<a href="#"><u>Jury: Webster guilty of murder</u></a>
VTFP_11	The Burlington Free Press	2015	<a href="#"><u>Victim dead in senator's sexual assault case</u></a>
VTFP_12	The Burlington Free Press	2015	<a href="#"><u>Jury: Webster guilty of murder</u></a>
VTFP_13	The Burlington Free Press	2016	<a href="https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/local/2016/04/27/murder-charge-dismissed-ohagan-case/83616112/">https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/local/2016/04/27/murder-charge-dismissed-ohagan-case/83616112/</a>
VTFP_14	The Burlington Free Press	2016	<a href="#"><u>Sarah Foxwell case featured on Crime Watch Daily</u></a>
VTFP_15	The Burlington Free Press	2016	<a href="#"><u>Vigil held for woman slain five months ago</u></a>
VTFP_16	The Burlington Free Press	2017	<a href="#"><u>For killing 14-year-old, Nashville woman gets 15 years</u></a>
VTFP_17	The Burlington Free Press	2017	<a href="https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/local/2017/03/13/2010-burlington-murder-case-delayed-again/99124796/">https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/local/2017/03/13/2010-burlington-murder-case-delayed-again/99124796/</a>
VTFP_18	The Burlington Free Press	2017	<a href="#"><u>Burlington clever attack: Husband accused of killing wife, injuring mother-in-law</u></a>
VTFP_19	The Burlington Free Press	2017	<a href="#"><u>Argument with ex-boyfriend led to shooting that killed 19-year-old, Nashville police say</u></a>
VTFP_20	The Burlington Free Press	2017	<a href="#"><u>Texas woman killed mom, abducted baby to hide miscarriage, police say</u></a>
VTFP_21	The Burlington Free Press	2017	<a href="#"><u>Suspect denies killing Arlington woman</u></a>
VTFP_22	The Burlington Free Press	2017	<a href="#"><u>Murder suspect pleads not guilty in Burlington clever attack case</u></a>

VTFP_23	The Burlington Free Press	2018	<a href="https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/2018/05/03/southview-drive-south-burlington-police/579551002/">https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/2018/05/03/southview-drive-south-burlington-police/579551002/</a>
VTFP_24	The Burlington Free Press	2018	<a href="#"><u>Domestic violence: Barre woman dead; police suspect murder-suicide</u></a>
VTFP_25	The Burlington Free Press	2018	<a href="#"><u>Arrest warrant issued for husband in wife's death</u></a>
VTFP_26	The Burlington Free Press	2018	<a href="#"><u>Suspect in two murders extradited from Kentucky to Clarksville</u></a>
VTFP_27	The Burlington Free Press	2018	<a href="#"><u>Joshua LeClaire sentenced in stabbing death of Jamie Wounded Arrow</u></a>
VTFP_27	The Burlington Free Press	2018	<a href="#"><u>Court records: suspect said drug hallucinations inspired Claymont killing</u></a>
VTFP_28	The Burlington Free Press	2018	<a href="#"><u>The Gerardot-Chapman homicide-suicide case: Complete coverage</u></a>
VTFP_28	The Burlington Free Press	2018	<a href="#"><u>South Burlington homicide: Leroy Headley suspect in girlfriend's death</u></a>
VTFP_29	The Burlington Free Press	2019	<a href="#"><u>Vermont man charged with 2nd-degree murder in woman's death</u></a>
VTFP_30	The Burlington Free Press	2019	<a href="#"><u>Carlsbad man charged in shooting death of woman</u></a>
VTFP_31	The Burlington Free Press	2019	<a href="#"><u>Memorial honors El Paso homicide victim Santana Jasmine Marie Castro</u></a>
VTFP_32	The Burlington Free Press	2012	<a href="https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/local/2012/10/15/man-accused-stabbing-girlfriend-death-burlington/1669127/">https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/local/2012/10/15/man-accused-stabbing-girlfriend-death-burlington/1669127/</a>
VTFP_33	The Burlington Free Press	2016	<a href="https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/crime/2016/02/28/ex-husband-charged-shooting-death-colchester-woman/81023456/">https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/crime/2016/02/28/ex-husband-charged-shooting-death-colchester-woman/81023456/</a>
VTFP_34	The Burlington Free Press	2018	<a href="https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/crime/2018/09/12/man-pleads-guilty-killing-teen-girlfriend-williston/1284567002/">https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/crime/2018/09/12/man-pleads-guilty-killing-teen-girlfriend-williston/1284567002/</a>
VTFP_35	The Burlington Free Press	2011	<a href="https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/local/2011/05/03/suspect-death-missing-winooski-woman-arrested/1659873/">https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/local/2011/05/03/suspect-death-missing-winooski-woman-arrested/1659873/</a>
VTFP_36	The Burlington Free Press	2014	<a href="https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/crime/2014/11/18/husband-sentenced-poisoning-wife-essex-junction/19324567/">https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/crime/2014/11/18/husband-sentenced-poisoning-wife-essex-junction/19324567/</a>

**Table 1.6:** Articles from *Casper Star-Tribune* (2010–2019)

Article ID	Newspaper	Year	URL
WYFP_01	Casper Star-Tribune	2010	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_80ecdb4d-f985-5c7a-acc6-f598c2096222.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_80ecdb4d-f985-5c7a-acc6-f598c2096222.html</a>
WYFP_02	Casper Star-Tribune	2010	<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/article_2d0ff204-ac62-11df-bc6e-001cc4c03286.html">https://trib.com/news/local/article_2d0ff204-ac62-11df-bc6e-001cc4c03286.html</a>
WYFP_03	Casper Star-Tribune	2010	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_90affb8b-02b2-50f0-b85c-2e933c37dfec.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_90affb8b-02b2-50f0-b85c-2e933c37dfec.html</a>
WYFP_04	Casper Star-Tribune	2010	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_90affb8b-02b2-50f0-b85c-2e933c37dfec.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_90affb8b-02b2-50f0-b85c-2e933c37dfec.html</a>
WYFP_05	Casper Star-Tribune	2010	<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/article_e1289504-5023-5d57-afe8-b57f0deda2ec.html">https://trib.com/news/local/article_e1289504-5023-5d57-afe8-b57f0deda2ec.html</a>
WYFP_06	Casper Star-Tribune	2010	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_a89a8a3a-3dac-11df-b3a5-001cc4c03286.html?utm_source=chatgpt.com">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_a89a8a3a-3dac-11df-b3a5-001cc4c03286.html?utm_source=chatgpt.com</a>
WYFP_07	Casper Star-Tribune	2011	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_f857f74b-7620-5d69-b683-8d00693bc9df.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_f857f74b-7620-5d69-b683-8d00693bc9df.html</a>
WYFP_08	Casper Star-Tribune	2011	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_98f0c783-0835-5007-aa9a-24b9df30da61.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_98f0c783-0835-5007-aa9a-24b9df30da61.html</a>
WYFP_09	Casper Star-Tribune	2011	<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/casper/article_c3d4a6af-d302-5ef6-9800-d0b5ae25e82c.html">https://trib.com/news/local/casper/article_c3d4a6af-d302-5ef6-9800-d0b5ae25e82c.html</a>
WYFP_10	Casper Star-Tribune	2012	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_3cc1f3d8-b0f5-5344-9865-aa5ca68de58e.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_3cc1f3d8-b0f5-5344-9865-aa5ca68de58e.html</a>
WYFP_11	Casper Star-Tribune	2012	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_19e372e5-8f2b-5c4c-9cbd-3228c62a1fcf.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_19e372e5-8f2b-5c4c-9cbd-3228c62a1fcf.html</a>
WYFP_12	Casper Star-Tribune	2012	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/cody-man-held-in-wifes-slaying-charged-with-first-degree-murder/article_56497b08-545b-53e2-9ad7-8d9a9e8c6209.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/cody-man-held-in-wifes-slaying-charged-with-first-degree-murder/article_56497b08-545b-53e2-9ad7-8d9a9e8c6209.html</a>
WYFP_13	Casper Star-Tribune	2013	<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/casper/article_3fc16997-d437-536d-a710-85baeb1a53cb.html">https://trib.com/news/local/casper/article_3fc16997-d437-536d-a710-85baeb1a53cb.html</a>
WYFP_14	Casper Star-Tribune	2013	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_f5263f60-c324-11e2-9e58-001a4bcf887a.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_f5263f60-c324-11e2-9e58-001a4bcf887a.html</a>
WYFP_15	Casper Star-Tribune	2013	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_5048323d-d60c-5e4f-ba60-e3536f0701b1.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_5048323d-d60c-5e4f-ba60-e3536f0701b1.html</a>
WYFP_16	Casper Star-Tribune	2013	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_f5263f60-c324-11e2-9e58-001a4bcf887a.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_f5263f60-c324-11e2-9e58-001a4bcf887a.html</a>
WYFP_17	Casper Star-Tribune	2014	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_67c25f1f-fdd5-5026-a6b5-94ed6e9e11aa.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_67c25f1f-fdd5-5026-a6b5-94ed6e9e11aa.html</a>
WYFP_18	Casper Star-Tribune	2014	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_89fcf79e-b5b9-5e92-8d48-">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_89fcf79e-b5b9-5e92-8d48-</a>

			<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/casper/article_886ab5a4bf23.html">886ab5a4bf23.html</a>
WYFP_19	Casper Star-Tribune	2014	<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/casper/article_3f996122-35af-5882-b340-9c5e15b4ad12.html">https://trib.com/news/local/casper/article_3f996122-35af-5882-b340-9c5e15b4ad12.html</a>
WYFP_20	Casper Star-Tribune	2014	<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_31129199-6961-5859-89e4-31b01927fb6c.html">https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_31129199-6961-5859-89e4-31b01927fb6c.html</a>
WYFP_21	Casper Star-Tribune	2014	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_091e5a5c-bebb-5184-80cf-a451f8b7c08b.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_091e5a5c-bebb-5184-80cf-a451f8b7c08b.html</a>
WYFP_22	Casper Star-Tribune	2014	<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_c54fdc70-5ff3-5859-a3bf-fcfba15c67e6.html">https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_c54fdc70-5ff3-5859-a3bf-fcfba15c67e6.html</a>
WYFP_23	Casper Star-Tribune	2014	<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/casper/article_4ffc9a2e-209c-523f-927d-4ab795850bbc.html">https://trib.com/news/local/casper/article_4ffc9a2e-209c-523f-927d-4ab795850bbc.html</a>
WYFP_24	Casper Star-Tribune	2014	<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_8008d596-c6c1-5408-be67-ed0895cf1e2a.html">https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_8008d596-c6c1-5408-be67-ed0895cf1e2a.html</a>
WYFP_25	Casper Star-Tribune	2015	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_569b88b6-fc82-5c04-972b-a98402e846b1.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_569b88b6-fc82-5c04-972b-a98402e846b1.html</a>
WYFP_26	Casper Star-Tribune	2015	<a href="https://trib.com/news/national/article_f14d5812-84ed-50ad-acc0-a88b5ccd0859.html">https://trib.com/news/national/article_f14d5812-84ed-50ad-acc0-a88b5ccd0859.html</a>
WYFP_27	Casper Star-Tribune	2015	<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_e535ef80-bf28-5dff-a788-7edd9e39bc75.html">https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_e535ef80-bf28-5dff-a788-7edd9e39bc75.html</a>
WYFP_28	Casper Star-Tribune	2015	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_4586f312-f5da-581e-bea7-ced9af72f337.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_4586f312-f5da-581e-bea7-ced9af72f337.html</a>
WYFP_29	Casper Star-Tribune	2015	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_5b2b3056-0ec8-5ed7-bf0d-ffd7b16820fc.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_5b2b3056-0ec8-5ed7-bf0d-ffd7b16820fc.html</a>
WYFP_30	Casper Star-Tribune	2015	<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_7a0ab7be-b8c1-51ae-8bae-d3efc60cdc91.html">https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_7a0ab7be-b8c1-51ae-8bae-d3efc60cdc91.html</a>
WYFP_31	Casper Star-Tribune	2015	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_0e2d250c-1077-50ab-a7ac-d6865f9de858.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_0e2d250c-1077-50ab-a7ac-d6865f9de858.html</a>
WYFP_32	Casper Star-Tribune	2016	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_ab18b9d3-9e22-53e4-a63f-3217e4709ec3.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_ab18b9d3-9e22-53e4-a63f-3217e4709ec3.html</a>
WYFP_33	Casper Star-Tribune	2017	<a href="https://trib.com/news/national/article_d652ae18-a559-5c80-9e74-97d8b8479e16.html">https://trib.com/news/national/article_d652ae18-a559-5c80-9e74-97d8b8479e16.html</a>
WYFP_34	Casper Star-Tribune	2017	<a href="https://trib.com/news/national/article_8a8b69a3-3931-5036-b9c5-3fa424644202.html">https://trib.com/news/national/article_8a8b69a3-3931-5036-b9c5-3fa424644202.html</a>
WYFP_35	Casper Star-Tribune	2017	<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_c63121de-a72e-5eec-83ad-6b0753775490.html">https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_c63121de-a72e-5eec-83ad-6b0753775490.html</a>
WYFP_36	Casper Star-Tribune	2017	<a href="https://trib.com/news/national/article_95ea2c6a-babc-580d-a114-29c1cc1639b3.html">https://trib.com/news/national/article_95ea2c6a-babc-580d-a114-29c1cc1639b3.html</a>
WYFP_37	Casper Star-Tribune	2018	<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_6e1617de-6801-58ce-8834-763ab0b3ae53.html">https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_6e1617de-6801-58ce-8834-763ab0b3ae53.html</a>
WYFP_38	Casper Star-Tribune	2018	<a href="https://trib.com/video/featured/article_eb5aca59-f21e-5823-bcca-f6197bf66a5c.html">https://trib.com/video/featured/article_eb5aca59-f21e-5823-bcca-f6197bf66a5c.html</a>

WYFP_39	Casper Star-Tribune	2018	<a href="https://trib.com/video/featured/article_ff8dd31a-332b-561f-ad1e-b203926b5d80.html">https://trib.com/video/featured/article_ff8dd31a-332b-561f-ad1e-b203926b5d80.html</a>
WYFP_40	Casper Star-Tribune	2018	<a href="https://trib.com/video/featured/article_c862e6d4-0b02-5b45-8e88-af410161d289.html">https://trib.com/video/featured/article_c862e6d4-0b02-5b45-8e88-af410161d289.html</a>
WYFP_41	Casper Star-Tribune	2018	<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/article_9592fa06-a181-11df-a935-001cc4c03286.html">https://trib.com/news/local/article_9592fa06-a181-11df-a935-001cc4c03286.html</a>
WYFP_42	Casper Star-Tribune	2018	<a href="https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_7e1562e8-c722-56cb-b186-d74cbeb6b7de.html">https://trib.com/news/state-regional/article_7e1562e8-c722-56cb-b186-d74cbeb6b7de.html</a>
WYFP_43	Casper Star-Tribune	2019	<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_3bafdfec-891c-52a6-ab48-753d4656e631.html">https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_3bafdfec-891c-52a6-ab48-753d4656e631.html</a>
WYFP_44	Casper Star-Tribune	2019	<a href="https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_b4e38d2e-7e08-5eb3-8bd6-94003b3ee8b4.html">https://trib.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/article_b4e38d2e-7e08-5eb3-8bd6-94003b3ee8b4.html</a>
WYFP_45	Casper Star-Tribune	2019	<a href="https://trib.com/news/national/article_84ed0807-9bbf-51fd-b0a8-03591c7cc30e.html">https://trib.com/news/national/article_84ed0807-9bbf-51fd-b0a8-03591c7cc30e.html</a>

## Résumé

Le féminicide représente la manifestation la plus extrême de la violence contre les femmes et un indicateur profond des inégalités de genre. Malgré des décennies de recherches féministes ayant exposé ses racines structurelles et patriarcales, la manière dont le féminicide est produit discursivement et socialement compris à travers les représentations médiatiques reste largement inexplorée. Cette étude examine de manière critique comment les journaux locaux numériques américains construisent, encadrent et représentent le féminicide entre 2010 et 2019, en mettant l'accent sur les mécanismes idéologiques, linguistiques et visuels par lesquels ces crimes sont narrés au public. Comblant une lacune scientifique persistante, l'étude emploie une analyse de contenu mixte portant sur 403 articles de presse numérique, utilisant NVivo pour le codage thématique et la catégorisation linguistique, complétée par des outils Python pour l'analyse de sentiment et l'interprétation d'images. Les résultats montrent que la couverture médiatique américaine du féminicide est fragmentée, sensationnalisée et idéologiquement chargée. Elle privilégie majoritairement un cadrage épisodique, présentant le féminicide comme des tragédies privées isolées plutôt que comme une violence sexiste systémique. La couverture est largement centrée sur la victime, impliquant souvent une responsabilité de celle-ci tout en minimisant l'agence du auteur, sous l'effet d'un fort biais en faveur du drame et de l'appel émotionnel. Ces représentations perpétuent les stéréotypes de genre, normalisent le pouvoir patriarcal et contribuent à la désensibilisation du public. En réponse, l'étude développe le « Cadre Optimal pour un Journalisme Éthique du Féminicide », un modèle interdisciplinaire conçu pour guider chercheurs, journalistes et décideurs politiques vers des représentations plus responsables, précises et socialement transformatrices du féminicide, affirmant finalement que changer le récit du féminicide est essentiel pour défier les narratifs patriarcaux et faire progresser la justice de genre.

**Mots-clés:** Féminicide; Médias et Criminalité; Cadrage et Représentation Médiatique; Analyse de Contenu à Méthodes Mixtes; Cadre pour un Reportage Éthique.

## الملخص

يمثل قتل النساء (الفيميسايد) أقصى تجليات العنف ضد المرأة ومؤشراً عميقاً على عدم المساواة الجندرية. وعلى الرغم من عقود من البحوث النسوية التي كشفت عن جذورها الهيكلية والأبوية، إلا أن الطريقة التي يُنتج بها خطابياً ويُفهم اجتماعياً قتل النساء من خلال التمثيلات الإعلامية لا تزال غير مستكشفة بشكل كبير. تقوم هذه الدراسة بفحص نقدي لكيفية بناء وإطارة وتمثيل الصحف المحلية الرقمية الأمريكية لجرائم قتل النساء بين عامي 2010 و2019، مع التركيز على الآليات الأيديولوجية واللغوية والبصرية التي يتم من خلالها سرد هذه الجرائم للجمهور. وتسد هذه الدراسة فجوة بحثية مستمرة من خلال توظيف تحليل محتوى مختلط لـ 403 مقالة صحفية رقمية، باستخدام برنامج NVivo للترميز الموضوعي والتصنيف اللغوي، مدعوماً بأدوات بايثون لتحليل المشاعر وتفسير الصور. وتكشف النتائج أن التغطية الإعلامية الأمريكية لقتل النساء تبقى مجزأة ومبالغ فيها ومشحونة أيديولوجياً. وتستخدم بشكل أساسي إطاراً episodياً يقدم قتل النساء على أنه مأساة خاصة معزولة بدلاً من كونه عنفاً جندرياً منظومياً. وتركز التغطية بشكل ساحق على الضحية، وغالباً ما توحى ضمناً بمسؤولية الضحية بينما تقلل من وكالة الجاني، مدفوعة بتحيز قوي نحو الدراما والجانبيية العاطفية. وتؤدي هذه التمثيلات إلى تعزيز الصور النمطية الجندرية، وتطبيع السلطة الأبوية، والمساهمة في تخدير الجمهور تجاه العنف ضد المرأة. وفي المقابل، تقترح الدراسة «الإطار الأمثل للتقارير الأخلاقية عن قتل النساء»، وهو نموذج متعدد التخصصات يهدف إلى توجيه الباحثين والصحفيين وصانعي السياسات نحو تمثيلات أكثر مسؤولية ودقة وتحولاً اجتماعياً لجرائم قتل النساء، مؤكدة في النهاية أن تغيير رواية قتل النساء أمر أساسي لتحدي السرديات الأبوية وتعزيز العدالة الجندرية.

*الكلمات المفتاحية:* القتل النسوي؛ الإعلام والجريمة؛ التأطير والتمثيل الإعلامي؛ تحليل المحتوى متعدد الأساليب؛ إطار للتقارير الأخلاقية.