MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF FEMICIDE IN THE GUARDIAN AND CUMHURIYET NEWSPAPERS: A CORPUS ASSISTED CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

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The intertwined relationship between language, media and gender has been a focal point of interdisciplinary discussions. Recent scholarship has shown that discourses surrounding women have become political sites through which gendered hierarchies are reinforced, particularly in societies where manhood is constructed as a central symbol of symbol of authority, power and dominance. Against this backdrop, using critical discourse analysis, this study aims to investigate the discursive construction of women and men as social actors in femicide news reports within two distinct national contexts; the United Kingdom and Turkey. To foreground left-wing political perspectives, the Guardian and Cumhuriyet have been selected as the primary newspapers of analysis, focusing specifically on the news articles published in 2024. The discursive analysis showed that women victims in the Turkish news coverage experienced symbolic erasure, being represented as passive subjects occupying stereotypical gendered roles such as mothers and teachers, while men are overrepresented and their criminal actions were justified and legitimized through various mechanisms. Whereas in the UK news, the plurality of womanhood was

acknowledged, depicting them positively, while men's identities appeared subordinate to the representations of women and were overtly held accountable for their actions. Based on these findings, it is argued that the Cumhuriyet implicitly reinforces predominant patriarchal ideologies through its discursive practices and uses femicides as a central tool for conveying political commentary in relation to current governmentality, while the Guardian has a more progressive approach to the discursive representations it employs reflecting broader contemporary commitments to gender equality and social justice for all.

Keywords: Femicide, Critical Discourse Analysis, Newspapers, Gender Representations

ÖZ

KADIN CİNAYETLERİNİN TÜRK VE İNGİLİZ GAZETELERİNDEKİ MEDYA TEMSİLİ: DERLEM DESTEKLİ ELEŞTİREL SÖYLEM ANALİZİ

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Dil, media ve cinsiyet çalışmalarının iç içe geçen ilişkisi disiplinler arası alanda ana tartışma konularından biri olmuştur. Kadınlara ilişkin söylemlerin, toplumsal cinsiyet hiyerarşilerinin yeniden üretildiği ve pekiştirildiği siyasal alanlara dönüştüğü; özellikle erkekliğin otorite, güç ve hâkimiyetin merkezi bir simgesi olarak inşa edildiği toplumlarda bu durum daha da belirgin olduğu görülmüştür. Ana akım medya ise bu toplumsal cinsiyet ideolojilerinin söylemsel pratikler aracılığıyla üretilmesinde ve sürdürülmesinde önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma kadın cinayetlerinde kadın ve erkek öznelerin söylemsel inşaasını Türkiye ve İngiltere bağlamlarını eleştirel söylem çözümlemesi kullanarak karşılaştırarak araştırmayı amaçlar. Sol siyasal perspektifleri öne çıkarabilmek adına The Guardian ve Cumhuriyet gazeteleri temel veri kaynakları olarak seçilmiş ve 2024 yılında yayımlanmış haber metinlerine odaklanılmıştır. Analizin sonuçları Türk haberlerinde kadınların sembolik olarak yok sayıldığını ve kadınlığı pasif bir kimlik olarak yaratarak kadınlığı basmakalıp cinsiyet rolleriyle sınırlarken, erkeklerin aşırı temsil edilerek bazı söylemsel mekanizmalarla suçlarının aklandığını göstermiştir. Öte yandan, İngiliz haberlerinde kadınlığın çoğulluğu tanınmakta, kadınlar olumlu

biçimde temsil edilmekte ve erkek kimlikleri kadın temsillerine göre daha ikincil konumda sunularak eylemlerinden açık biçimde sorumlu tutulmaktadır. Çalışmanın bulguları Cumhuriyet gazetesinin söylemsel pratikleri aracılığıyla baskın ataerkil ideolojileri örtük biçimde yeniden ürettiğini ve kadın cinayetlerini, mevcut politik odaklara bir eleştiri aracı olarak kullandığını göstermektedir. Buna karşılık *The Guardian*, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği ve toplumsal adalet gibi güncel değerlere dayanan daha ilerici bir temsil anlayışı benimsemekte ve bu anlayışı söylemsel düzeyde yansıtmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadın Cinayeti, Eleştirel Söylem Analizi, Gazete, Cinsiyet Temsili

To my mother and father,

For your unconditional love, unwavering support, and quiet strength.

Everything I have achieved is rooted in the values you taught me.

This thesis is as much yours as it is mine.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the Study

The intertwined relationship between ideology, discourse, and media is fundamental to forming and transmitting social meaning; thus, media play a crucial role in shaping public consciousness. In this process, reflection on events, framing styles, and lexical preferences become the primary means of reconstructing reality. These linguistic creations, therefore, are not neutral; they reflect macropolitical systems and function as ideological state apparatuses, as Althusser (2024) classifies. Gender constitutes one of the most prominent ideological constructs shaped through media discourse.

Through persistent representations of women in different stereotypical positions such as passive, emotional, and naïve agents, media outlets have become key sites for reproducing the patriarchal consciousness and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). Therefore, a critical lens is significantly needed when analysing the violence against women, particularly femicides as its most brutal expression. While this term has recently gained attention from different fields, the framing in the mainstream media falls short in addressing the broader structural issues. Rather than reflecting on femicides as systemic gender-based issues, news media often describe them as individual incidents while disregarding the sociocultural and political norms and patterns in the society.

In response to this asymmetrical discursive practice, Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) within the Critical Discourse Analytic tradition, specifically aims to challenge these dynamics by situating discursive practices in a broader socio-

political context and overcome gender inequalities in discourse. According to Wodak (2018), the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) takes a *problem-oriented* stance, emphasizing that examining language alone is insufficient. Linguistic analysis must be integrated with an exploration of the broader context in which the discourse occurs. This includes considering the specific text or speech, its intertextual connections, the immediate situational setting, and the wider historical and sociopolitical environment. Through this contextualized examination, the DHA seeks to grasp and explain the multifaceted nature of the discourse under study (Wodak, 2018, p. 3). Considering the main aim of the study at hand, Discourse Historic Approach has been utilized with a feminist focus to unearth gender inequalities embedded in discursive patterns used in femicide news reports with the additional intention of creating awareness and sparking social transformation to alter women's positioning in societies. Thus, the perspective taken in this thesis is one that not only focuses on women's representations but also seeks to address broader societal issues, offering a critical praxis-oriented research approach to act upon them. (Lazar, 2007).

1.2. Purpose of the Study

The primary aim of this study is to examine the discursive construction of femicide news in various news outlets in the UK and Turkey, using a Corpus Assisted Critical Discourse Analytic approach. The study is designed to be multifaceted; the linguistic analysis illustrates the discursive tendencies and patterns, while feminist theory endeavours to explain these tendencies in terms of social dynamics and patriarchy. CDA accompanies the quantitative linguistic analysis to reveal the socially intertwined factors and the role of mass media in transmitting the dominant ideologies in society. Based on previous literature, the study postulates that left wing political leaning newspapers tend to adapt a critical approach to the femicide issue by questioning the broader social dynamics; thereby, they are expected to illustrate a transformative attitude towards social problems, which will be critically scrutinised.

The study is built on three dimensions: the contextual background of femicide news discourses and the media, a corpus-assisted analysis of selected newspaper excerpts, and the integration of CDA to further explore the asymmetrical representations,

power relationships, and underlying ideologies. Two corpora, one for British English and one for Turkish newspapers, have been compiled to study these three dimensions. The UK corpus includes 108,174 words across 186 excerpts, while the Turkish corpus consists of 19,206 words across 78 excerpts.

1.3. Significance of the Study

By closely examining the discursive representations of victimised women in prominent newspapers, this study can contribute to critical discourse studies through an in-depth analysis of social and linguistic patterns in the contexts of Turkey and the UK. Considering the potential influence of power elites on mass media, the relationship between political ideology and its reflection in the mass media becomes crucial. Through an in-depth analysis of the variety and discursive changes in the presentation of femicides, this study can also explore possible manipulative discourses and strategies employed by the newspapers in their narrations. The study also aims to draw attention to a significant social issue, femicides, demonstrating how linguistic analysis of newspapers can reveal the overall perspectives of society towards the problem and offer potential discursive strategies to reach a broader audience and promote action. Furthermore, through lexical examination, the analysis may illustrate the plurality of gender performances, the diversity of gender representations, displaying the spectrum of womanhood in both the UK and Turkish contexts, while also shedding light on their relationship with patriarchy. Moreover, the positionalities of the agencies and asymmetrical representations may reflect the prevailing gender order ideology in society. Through comparative methods and analysis of the subjects, potential gender inequalities can be uncovered in both contexts. Therefore, one of the main objectives of this study is to elucidate the intricate relationship between social, political, and discursive dynamics and their collective impact on societal gender inequality.

1.4. Organisation of Chapters

The chapters have been organised to detail the analysis of the construction of women and men as social actors in femicide news in The Guardian and Cumhuriyet newspapers.

Chapter 1 explains the purpose of the study and emphasises the significance of the study for the field. To ground the study on a more solid theoretical foundation, Chapter 2 analyses previous studies conducted in the field. Since the scope of the study is broad, this chapter is divided into two main sections. The first subsection addresses the linguistic dimension and focuses on discourse studies, while the second explores the social dimension from a feminist perspective, incorporating the contributions of gender and women's studies. In the Chapter 3, the methodology and design procedure, as well as the research questions on which the study rests, are explained. The chapter also includes corpus compilation processes, the data collection period, and the integration of the UAM CorpusTool into the study. Chapter 4 illustrates the findings of the analysis and endeavours to comprehend reasons for discursive variation through discussions from a sociological and feminist standpoint. Lastly, Chapter 5 concludes the study by summarizing key findings, discussing limitations, and proposing alternative research designs to inform future work from different perspectives.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Defining Discourse

The concept of discourse has been examined and studied across diverse academic fields, including political science, education, sociology, and media studies. It is primarily adapted to meet the needs of the disciplines, which can make the concept ambiguous and sometimes even limited, requiring a specific operationalisation. Therefore, the chapter mainly aims to provide a detailed framework for the notion of discourse, encompassing various approaches from different traditions and their applications to linguistic theories. In linguistic theory, discourse encompasses spoken dialogues and written textual pieces (Fairclough, 1992). Therefore, discourse analysis is regarded as the examination of language usage (Brown & Yule, 1983).

However, the analysis can be evaluated in critical and noncritical positions based on their approaches to sociality (Fairclough, 1992). Critical approaches prioritise the interrelatedness of social dynamics and discourse, as well as the effects of power relationships and ideologies on social identities, none of which are formally recognised by the interlocutors (Fairclough, 1992). In contrast, Fairclough (1992) characterizes non-critical approaches as ethnomethodological, focusing on conversational analysis, classroom discourse, and similar contexts. In the non-critical approach, studies primarily focus on the relatively more descriptive and systemic frameworks. Scholars such as Sinclair and Coulthard (1992) focus on structured transactions in classroom interactions and identify various types of exchanges. Bamberg et al. (2011) note that discourse analysis encompasses multimodal communicative aspects, including gaze, body postures, and gestures.

Adapting a more "critical" approach similar to Fairclough (1992), Blommaert (2005) conceptualises discourse as a type of symbolic behaviour connected with cultural, social, and historical events. Furthermore, Gee (2014) introduces a new notion with a similar perspective: *Discourse with a big D*. He argues that the primary prerequisite of Discourse is recognition. Discourse requires individuals to be recognised by their language, beliefs, and objects, which necessitates the enactment of their identity (Gee,2014). Similar to Gee's (2014) conceptualization, Blommaert (2005) introduces the notion of "voice," which is defined as people's style of making their perspectives understood. It is also regarded as a potentially oppressive instrument leading to inequality in modern societies; thereby, an examination of "voice" becomes an analysis of power relationships and dynamics about societal norms.

Although the intersection between the social and discourse is evident, there has been a need to define social conditions and their elements to gain a deeper understanding of the analysis. Fairclough (1989) identifies two crucial features of social situations: "social conditions of production" and "social conditions of interpretation." According to him, these terms are interwoven with three categories: the social situation in which the discourse is created, the social institutions directing the discourse to a broader extent, and the society itself. (Fairclough, 1989). Considering this relationality, Fairclough (1989) further emphasises that discourses can function as a form of "social order" potentially creating a vertical stratification among discourses and their associated elements.

2.1.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis is one of the discourse analysis traditions that primarily aims at taking a social and political stance on discursive actions. Combining various theories from different social fields with discourse analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has contributed to a paradigm shift in discourse studies by foregrounding the role of social structures, power relations, and critical perspectives in the analysis of language. In line with these objectives, van Dijk (2015), regarded as one of the founders of CDA, defines it as an analytical approach that primarily deals with how power is exercised and how inequality is justified, transmitted, and

responded to through discursive practices such as in the media in both political and social realms within society. He further argues that researchers in critical discourse analysis take a stance in their studies, and most are eager to achieve a transformative end by challenging hegemonic structures in all domains (van Dijk, 2015). Similarly, Wodak and Meyer (2009) emphasise that CDA is identified with its interest in deciphering ideology and power concepts with a systemic analysis of linguistic and visual data. CDA is also characterised by its primary orientation towards social problems and its multifaceted research methods, which differentiate the approach from other Discourse Studies (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Moreover, CDA extends the analysis to larger units rather than focusing on mere lexical items, which introduces interaction and action dimensions in the analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Additionally, CDA studies have recently shifted their focus to non-verbal communicative discourses, such as gestures, visuals, social media, and multimedia; thereby, the social, cognitive, and interactive dimensions of discursive acts become focal points in CDA analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Lastly, Wodak & Meyer (2009) argue that CDA deals with the instrumentality of the language and functions of discourses in different social contexts; hence, the analysis includes a broad study of lexical items and grammatical structures, and the organization of the texts, such as content, argumentation styles, construction of coherence, rhetoric and topos.

2.1.2. Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)

The Discourse Historical Approach can be regarded as a subcategory of Critical Discourse Analysis. Drawing its main premises from the Critical Discourse Analysis tradition, the Discourse-Historical Approach also grapples with power relationships and criticality (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009). Similar to CDA, ideology is also regarded as one of the essential concepts in DHA. Wodak and Reisigl (2009) define ideology in DHA as the accumulation of biased standpoints, views, mental categorisations, and assessments that a distinct social group mutually and similarly adopts. Ideology is considered a crucial concern in the DHA, as it can be essential for creating and reinforcing power asymmetries through discourses. Through discursive strategies, dominant groups can legitimise their power over subordinate groups and justify their

hegemony. Therefore, DHA primarily aims to dismantle hegemonic patterns in discourses by exposing ideologies that create and perpetuate societal dominance. Considering these dynamics, DHA regards language as a powerful instrument that can be utilised and manipulated by those with the power to maintain their status quo; hence, it prioritises the critical examination of the language used by powerful elites who possess control over means and ends (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009). DHA is further regarded as a versatile method that allows researchers to discover complex social phenomena (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009). During the process, scholars can equip themselves with various techniques and theories by triangulating different fields. Therefore, DHA can be seen as inherently interdisciplinary (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009).

From the DHA perspective, discourse is defined as a totality of symbolic actions located in social actions (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009). External social factors create discourses, but at the same time, they constitute external socialites; therefore, they are seen as the extension of broader social issues illustrating the normative perspectives of different individuals. Taking this definition as a basis, Wodak and Reisigl (2009) outline the main elements of discourses as relationality with macro elements, diversity in perspectives, and argumentation strategies. In addition to these elements, context is also considered an essential factor in DHA. According to Wodak and Reisigl (2009, p. 93), context operates on four interconnected levels: (i) the immediate and instant version of the language with co-discoursal and co-textual elements, (ii) the relationship between texts and discourses as well as genres on intertextual and interdiscursive levels, (iii) non-linguistic social factors defining the situations, and (iv) the extended political and historical events in which discursive practices are hidden. The primary questions that DHA studies mainly revolve around are listed as follows:

1- How are social actors, actions, and objects discursively defined?
2- What defining traits do social actors, objects, and actions possess?
3- How is argumentation constructed in the examined discourse?
4- From whose perspective are the discursive strategies, such as nominations, attributions, and argumentations, illustrated?

5- Are the statements expressed explicitly, or are they covered with some strategies like mitigation or intensification?

To find sufficient answers to these questions, Wodak and Resigl (2009) define the constitutive acts, a set of discursive strategies. These include nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, and intensification or mitigation methods, which serve different objectives and employ various devices in discourse.

Table 1. A selection of discursive strategies by Wodak & Resigl (2009, p. 95)

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
Nomination	discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenomena/ events and processes/ actions	• membership categorization devices, deictics, anthroponyms, etc. • tropes such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches (*pars pro toto, totum pro parte*) • verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions, etc.
Predication	discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena, events/ processes and actions (more or less positively or negatively)	• stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g. in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctional clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups) • explicit predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns • collocations • explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms) • allusions, evocations, and presuppositions/implicatures, etc.
Argumentation	justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness	• topoi (formal or more content-related) • fallacies

Table 1. (continued)

Perspectivization, Framing	positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance	• deictics • direct, indirect or free indirect speech • quotation marks, discourse markers/particles • metaphors • animating prosody, etc.
Intensification, Mitigation	modifying (intensifying or mitigating) the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or deontic status of utterances	• diminutives or augmentatives • (modal) particles, tag questions, subjunctive, hesitations, vague expressions, etc. • hyperboles, litotes • indirect speech acts (e.g. question instead of assertion) • verbs of saying, feeling, thinking, etc.

The analysis of **nomination** strategies discursively illustrates the construction of social actors, actions, and events. To comprehend nomination strategies, it is important to analyse not only nouns and verbs but also lexical items that indicate group membership, along with linguistic devices such as metaphors and metonymies (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009). On the other hand, **predication** strategies primarily highlight the features and attributions of social actors. These characteristics are embedded in stereotypical representations, which include subtle implications of negative or positive evaluations through the use of adjectives, some forms of relative clauses to provide further information, typical patterns of collocations, overt comparisons, and rhetorical devices such as metonymies, hyperboles, and euphemisms (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009). An examination of **argumentation** strategies reveals how normative and universal values are justified and reflected in the discourse, which can be achieved by identifying scientific and logical fallacies in the discourse and uncovering varying topoi in the content (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009). Similarly, **perspectivization** and framing analysis reveal the positionality of the speaker or writer (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009). By employing deictics, direct and indirect speech, and metaphors, social actors can distance themselves from or engage with an event or group (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009). Lastly, **intensification and**

mitigation devices can be used to modify the hidden forces and act behind the utterances, reinforcing the moral power of the utterance. Indirect speech acts, diminutives, hedges, and verbs like *believe*, *feel*, and *think* can be utilised to achieve this aim (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009). In conclusion, the cross-disciplinary nature of DHA can help researchers transcend traditional research methods and enable them to see changes in discursive style by adapting retrospective lenses. Moreover, the research's theoretical findings can be applied in practical settings and have a transformative impact in the social sphere (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009).

2.1.3. Corpus Linguistics

In linguistics studies, various approaches incorporate different methodologies and types of analysis. The corpus linguistics approach to discourse is one of the essential methodologies that enable a comprehensive understanding of language and its use. A corpus can be defined as a compilation of texts that have been electronically collected to represent the naturally used language of specific genres and discourses (Baker, 2023). Corpora are considered more extensive because they contain billions of lexical items that can serve as a reference point for the examined language (Baker, 2023). Biber et al. (1998) outline the central premises of corpus-based analyses as the factual analysis of language patterns in real-life usage, achieved through a broad and organised compilation of these texts, known as a corpus. This procedure is primarily carried out using computers, and the analysis encompasses both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Corpus linguistics methods offer researchers a more objective framework for analysing statistical data; however, subjective perspectives inevitably influence each stage of the research process (Baker et al., 2012). This is particularly relevant during data collection and analysis, where researchers must remain attentive to risks of subjectivity. To avoid accusations of 'cherry picking which is selective extraction of examples to support the hypothesis, it is essential to clearly justify decisions such as cut-off thresholds and the exclusion of certain datasets (Ancarno, 2020).

Although this method enables researchers to examine large sets of data and annotate them with additional linguistic details, in some cases, it may fail to capture specific

background attributes of the language. Baker (2023) criticises corpus methodology in terms of interpreting the results of corpus data, which necessitates contextualization rather than mere frequency numbers. Researchers should understand the potential effects of external social factors, what can be inferred from them, and the possible hidden agendas in their use.

Furthermore, corpus linguistics cannot merely account for the intuitive usage of the language; it may disregard unique occurrences and reflects the language as a static entity (Widdowson. 2000). Similarly, Borsley & Ingman (2002) highlight the risk that corpus analysis can underrepresent some linguistic features, potentially leading to inaccurate or misleading conclusions. According to Partington (2010), the traditional nature of corpus linguistics, which prioritises the quantitative method, results in broad corpora and so-called heterogeneous linguistic items. Although it can be considered valuable, it is also regarded as illusory and imaginary since it focuses solely on the general patterns.

The criticisms directed at corpus linguistics necessitate a more critical approach to language, acknowledging its fluidity and dynamism. Therefore, Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) have emerged as a new method that triangulates Corpus Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Baker, 2023).

2.1.4. Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies

The previous section outlined the potentials and shortcomings of corpus-based studies and critical discourse analysis. Considering these factors, Baker et al. (2018) integrated both corpus studies and critical discourse analysis, referring to this approach as Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies. Partington (2008) explains the main objective of the CADS as revealing the latent meanings embedded in the discourse types.

Historically, the method emerged from the pivotal work of Hardt-Mautner (1995) and Stubbs (1996, 2001). Partington (2008) asserts that some projects focusing on political discourse in the media have pioneered the CADS method in Italy.

Consequently, the growing interest in sociopolitical discourse examination ignited an academic interest and popularised corpus analysis. The initial studies primarily focused on disentangling the complex relationship between ideology and language by examining ideological metaphors, linguistic patterns in political discourse, and the language used by politicians and institutions related to them (Partington, 2008). Considering these aims, the earlier works in the field strived to answer research questions such as;

- How does the individual (or institution) accomplish its political goal discursively?
- What does this act imply about the individual (or institution)?
- How do the participants differ in their discursive preferences? Does it indicate any differences in their objectives? (Partington, 2008, p.7)

Notable earlier studies in the field, such as those by Garzone and Santulli (2004, as cited in Partington, 2008), primarily focused on the rhetoric of the UK media in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks and on Berlusconi's election campaign speeches. For the former study, four British newspapers (The Guardian, The Independent, The Times, and The Daily Telegraph) were examined in terms of their coverage of the 9/11 events. Two corpora were compiled for the two different periods, 2001 and 2002. The results yielded various ideological patterns. A similar study on the representations of Muslims in the British media employed CADS as its primary methodology (Baker et al., 2012). Initially, by compiling a corpus using Sketch Engine, the researchers could identify overall patterns and avoid a common setback known as cherry-picking (Baker et al., 2012). After exploring the central discursive tendencies, Baker et al. (2013) applied CDA tools that can also be adapted to CL. They examined the potential impact of regulatory mechanisms and institutions on the tabloid's discourse, such as the 'Commission for Press Complaints' shaping the discursive strategies. By triangulating both CDA and CL, the study illustrated various dimensions of Muslim representations. It was found that the concept is used to reference a national or ethnic identity, conflict, culture, and religion. The most common collocations were observed to be "Muslim community" and "Muslim world," implying a collectivised identity and alienation from the non-Muslim

communities (Baker et al.,2012). Interestingly, the same topic was also studied, with a focus on US media. Sammie and Malmir (2017) also integrated corpus linguistics and CDA to find representations of Muslim and Islamic concepts in the US media. Initially, they compiled a corpus using different media outlets, including stories with the keywords “Muslim(s), and Islam(ic)” between 2001 and 2015. Fifteen subcorpora were created based on the periods to detect changes in the frequencies of the words. Then, the researchers focused on the most common collocations of the keywords (Samaie & Malmir, 2017). Based on the collocation and concordance analyses, Samaie and Malmir (2017) adapted the Discourse Historical Approach to their study. They examined discursive methods, including nomination, constructing group identities, and predication strategies. They reached similar conclusions to Baker et al. (2013). The concepts of 'Islam' and 'Islamic' are often represented through a radicalized lens, frequently associated with violence and militarism.

By adopting a corpus-assisted and critical discourse analysis methodology, Wright and Brookes (2018) examined the right-leaning newspapers in the British media (following the 2011 census to reveal) the subtle language-based ideologies. To achieve this aim, they initially compiled a corpus that included the input of six different newspapers (i.e., Telegraph, Daily Mail, Times, Express, Sun, and Daily Star). The researchers identified potential social actors in the discourses by searching for the keyword “speak English” and creating corresponding concordance lists (Wright & Brookes, 2018). The most frequent social actors were categorised into three distinct social actor group categories: education (e.g. pupil, teacher), immigrants (e.g. foreign, migrants) and health (e.g. doctors, nurses). During the analysis, the researchers primarily employed the concept of topoi, which are conventionalized reasoning patterns that links a claim to its supporting argument, often reflecting dominant ideologies, values, or norms in a given discourse community. They outlined seven topoi patterns: displacement, finance, burdening and weighing down, danger or threat, culture, advantage or usefulness, and responsibility (Wright & Brookes, 2018). Lastly, the study concluded that right-wing newspapers in Britain primarily drew attention to immigrants who could not speak English. Their language competency was demonstrated in various spheres, including

education, public service, and healthcare, portraying them as different from others (Wright & Brookes, 2018) to legitimise exclusionary and discriminatory practices.

Another study focusing on group representations was conducted by Brookes and Chałupnik in 2023. To explore the representations of vegans in British tabloids and broadsheets, they utilised both CL and CDA for their study (Brookes & Chałupnik, 2023). The researchers compiled two different corpora for tabloids and broadsheets. After obtaining the quantitative data, they conducted collocation analysis and concordance analysis to identify further discursive patterns (Brookes & Chałupnik, 2023). The results were further analysed qualitatively using a CDA framework by Wodak and Reisigl (2001, as cited in Brookes & Chałupnik, 2023). In this respect, the researchers were primarily interested in understanding nomination and predication strategies, as well as their broader relationship with the news production process and society's overall attitude towards vegans (Brookes & Chałupnik, 2023). The study's final remark illustrated that veganism and vegans are depicted as possessing militaristic tendencies, being unreasonable, and oversensitive. Moreover, tabloids were found to represent vegans in a more negative way than the broadsheets (Brookes & Chałupnik, 2023).

Building on previous research overviewed above, corpus-assisted studies focusing on discourse styles can be regarded as inherently comparative, with comparison serving the primary means of revealing and assessing the specific characteristics of a discourse (Partington, 2010). Sometimes, it is feasible to compare the features of a particular linguistic item by examining a corpus and comparing its characteristics with those of broader corpora, such as the Corpus of Contemporary American English and the British National Corpus, to pinpoint potential changes. Moreover, creating specific corpora, i.e., specialised corpora, based on particular needs is a defining feature of Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) research. The pre-existing corpora can also be utilised in the analysis for the purposes of comparison and reference (Partington, 2008).

According to Ancarno (2020), CADS does not prioritise universal truths; instead, it emphasises the possibility of something taking place and endeavours to link it with

the social sphere within society. Drawing its roots from the CDA and CL traditions, CADS encompasses both quantitative and qualitative research methods (Partington, 2008). In Partington's (2008) theorisation, the quantitative part of the analysis presents the numerical and statistical outline of the discourse, while the qualitative aspect highlights the specific strands of language that contribute to understanding the factors influencing the discourse production process.

Similarly, Baker et al. (2023) characterise CADS as an approach that primarily focuses on discourse and its further analysis. With the help of a corpus, macro-scale social events can be linked to discursive choices. They further argue that CADS researchers are not concerned with merely syntactic positionalities and features of the language; instead, they are intrigued by the meaning of the syntactic position's correspondence to the discursive representation (Baker et al., 2023). Simply put, CADS is concerned with the function of linguistic signs and endeavours to relate them to social life (Baker et al., 2023).

Furthermore, researchers should adopt a critical stance in the analysis section of CADS studies (Baker et al.,2023). Baker et al. (2023) define a crucial perspective as one that involves inspecting closely and reading between the lines, being aware of alternative interpretations, and acknowledging the researchers' identity and social positionality. A critical stance is considered to be of utmost importance when the analysed discourse is related to and influenced by political and social stakeholders (Baker et al., 2023).

Although the advantages of the CADS methodology are significant, it has some limitations from specific perspectives. Baker et al. (2023) highlight that the corpus part of the study may introduce bias into the text. The analysis itself necessitates specific lexical items to focus on, and the researcher should comprehend their contextual importance. If these items cannot be detected, the researcher may struggle with the analysis section, which can be extended to other sections, such as argumentative strategies and metaphors (Baker et al., 2023). Secondly, the corpus analysis cannot illustrate the "absent" patterns. Since a corpus is created to reflect the existing patterns, analysing only one corpus cannot demonstrate the diversity in

discourses. Another corpus for comparison can yield more accurate results (Baker et al., 2023). Furthermore, the extracted linguistic data may overlook the contextual, social elements that affect discursive preferences, such as gender, age, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity. If the study design allows, these factors can support the research from different perspectives (Baker et al., 2023). Lastly, CADS studies should be designed to utilise Corpus Linguistics methods and various approaches to discourse. The research should not prioritise one over the other. The study should be designed to employ them in an equal and balanced way (Baker et al.,2023).

Given its core premises, CADS was chosen as one of the primary methodological frameworks used in this study. Initially, the quantitative feature of CADS is expected to enable the researcher to identify statistical trends in the newspapers' discourses, which can reveal different patterns. Through qualitative analysis, the nuanced relationship between discursive strategies and external social factors can be examined. Furthermore, a comparison of different corpora can illustrate various strategies and reveal potential ideological inclinations reflected in the language while presenting news related to femicide.

2.2. Background on Feminist Movements and Violence Against Women

The issue of violence against women and femicide has been a significant problem, having a severe impact on women's mental and physical health. Although the topic has become a subject of hot debate recently, the problematization and reactions to this issue have persisted for a long time. To comprehend the importance of women's movements and reactions, it is necessary to examine the movements within the feminist historical timeline. Historically, different strands of feminism have reflected various social issues of women. The first wave of feminism, also known as the Suffrage movement, began in the 19th century and lasted until the 1920s, primarily initiated in the United Kingdom and the United States (Block, 2010). During that period, women fought for equal rights in various spheres. Starting with the right to vote, they expanded their problematization of inequality to the fields of education and medicine. Although the first-wave feminists acknowledged that violence against

women in various forms such as battering and rape are prominent patterns of male violence, they directed their attention to essentially political inequalities (Hooper,1987, as cited in McMillan, 2007). It was not until the emergence of the second wave did the violence against women come forward (Maynard, 1993, as cited in McMillan, 2007).

Second-wave feminism, which spanned from the late 1960s to the 1980s, was epistemologically influenced by various social movements, including the New Left, antimilitarist approaches, and the Black Power movement (Mackay, 2015). By highlighting the diversity in women's existence, second-wave feminists primarily challenged the notion of discrimination at the private level, particularly in intimate relationships (Vicky, 1982). This upsurge of feminist inquiry had also shifted and multiplied the focus of problematization, giving rise to various branches of feminism. As a result, three main branches of feminism emerged over time: Liberal Feminism, Radical Feminism, and Socialist Feminism, each with distinct theoretical orientations. Liberal feminism argued that men and women fundamentally would have the same capacity for success. However, this potential was concealed by social conditions. Furthermore, Liberal feminists regarded inequalities as a natural result of individual differences and capacity, so they did not recognise the patriarchal capitalist system; and argued that every woman could achieve equality by becoming more assertive and individualistic (Friedan,1977, as cited in Nes & Iadicola, 1989).

Rooted in the Marxist political and economic thought, socialist feminism viewed women's positionality as a condition of double subjugation (Nes & Iadicola, 1989). In this feminist tradition, women were subordinated in two intersecting dimensions: class and gender. Inequality was constructed to be in class and patriarchal relationships. Similar to the bourgeois having power over the mode of production, men controlled women's reproduction and their labour (Nes & Iadicola, 1989). Therefore, patriarchy was conceptualised as the domination of men's workforce over women's; women are eliminated from the economic system, and men constrain their sexuality (Nes & Iadicola, 1989). Moreover, capitalism also favoured patriarchy due to women's position in the reserve army, who were unemployed but could work for lower wages (Nes & Iadicola, 1989).

On the other hand, radical feminism illustrated a paradigm shift in terms of framing gender inequality. They argued that the primary source of inequality was related to sex and gender oppression (Nes & Iadicola,1989). Patriarchy was an institutionalised instrument that reinforced and justified male control over women. Therefore, the primary premise of radical feminism was to eliminate the patriarchal system and emancipate women from systemic male oppression (Mackay, 2015). Moreover, some radical feminist scholars sought to create women-exclusive spaces and political organisations unique to women (Mackay, 2015). Furthermore, a radical feminist perspective foregrounded the sexuality of women. They challenged the normative definitions of sexuality and asymmetrical sexual relationships between men and women by asserting that these traditional frameworks about women's sexuality were nothing but a justification for male sexual exploitation (Shulman, 1980). Hence, institutions like pornography and prostitution were considered to be one of the most problematic sectors, contributing to the subordination of women sexually. Finn Mackay (2015) emphasises that radical feminism proved the politicalness of male violence against women, and further asserted that if this ideology was made, it could also be unmade; if it is something learnable, it can also be unlearnable. Similarly, a symbolic motto by Hanisch (1971), "personal is political," highlights that women's so-called personal problems are the results of public and political structures.

These kinds of acts, especially male violence against women, were regarded as a mechanism for social control; women experience fear and intimidation with men's physical and symbolic power (Mackay, 2015). Mackay (2015) further highlights the importance of emphasising the "male" subjects that are often lacking in policy and legal documents. They tend to phrase this act as "gender-based violence," hiding the complexity of domestic violence and men's active role in crimes as perpetrators.

Male violence against women continues to be one of the most crucial social issues around the world. Even though its significant adverse results have been acknowledged, the act is conceptualised differently in various public documents. UN (n.d) describes violence against women as performing violent acts based on gender that can potentially lead to physical, sexual, and mental damage or harm to women, encompassing different acts such as using brute force and deprivation of personal

liberty happening both in the public and private spheres. The UN (n.d.) further elaborates on these acts by categorising them as:

- Domestic Violence (battering, marital rape, mental abuse, and femicide)
- Sexually Violent Acts and Harassing (stalking, cyber abuse, rape, forced sexual intercourse, harassing children sexually, and forced marriages)
- Human Trafficking (prostitution and slavery)
- Genital mutilation of women
- Child marriage

The Australian Government (n.d.) documents adds economic abuse as another dimension. Financial abuse is defined as controlling women's monetary actions and capital, hindering women from having occupations, and eliminating them from any financial decision-making processes.

2.2.1. Domestic Violence

United Nations (n.d.-b) describes domestic violence as consistent behaviours that are used to take power and maintain the dominant position over the intimate partner. The document argues that anybody can experience domestic violence, regardless of factors like gender, age, race, sexual orientation, and religion. According to Huecker et al. (2023), domestic violence can also be extended to child abuse, which is characterised by neglect of juveniles and children's potential to be harmed in the household. Furthermore, abuse of older members of the family can be regarded as domestic violence, which is defined as an incompetent or deliberate act of the caregiver that can hurt the elderly in the household. (Huecker et al., 2023). National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (n.d.) reported that almost 20% of women and 8% of men were victims of sexual violence by their intimate partners in their lives.WHO (2024) also illustrated similar statistics: 27% of women whose ages range from 15 to 49 have experienced physical and sexual violence committed by their intimate partner. WHO (2024) also found that intimate partner violence is reported to be 22% in the European Region, 25% in North and South America, 31% in the East Mediterranean, and 33% in the African Region. Moreover, Kolbe & Büttner (2020)

’s systematic review showed that 20.3% of men reported experiencing physical domestic violence, and they further conveyed that the majority of the male victims had previously been violent towards their intimate partners.

Wessells Kostelny's (2022) study highlighted that besides the mental effects like PTSD, anxiety, attempts at suicide, and depression, domestic violence could also lead to social outcomes for victims such as humiliation, stigmatisation, isolation, and alienation, which may result in substance use.

Nearly 300 million children whose age ranges from 2 to 4 are found to be exposed to domestic violence committed by their parents. (WHO,2020). Also, 25% of the children who are under 5 have to live with their mothers, who experience domestic violence in their households. This experience of violence in households can lead to some problems in terms of behaviour and social orientation in preschool children. (Rossman,1998; Huth-Bocks et.al, 2001). Bogat et al. (2006) shared that 44% of the children experiencing domestic violence had at least one symptom of psychological trauma.

For domestic violence against elders, WHO (2024) shared that approximately 16% of senior citizens will be victims of abuse in public settings in 2023. Furthermore, in the document, it is stated that 75% of the nursing home and caregiving facilities’ staff reported that they have harassed their clients (WHO,2024). Victims of such violence have been found to have higher risks of death. (Lachs et al.,1998)

2.2.2. Femicide

Femicide or feminicide is defined as the killing of a woman or a girl, mainly by a man motivated by her gender status (Merriam-Webster, 2025). Femicide is considered to have a different category based on the motivational causes of the homicide, which does not deliberately target a gender group. Thereby, it is led by segregation against women and girls, and asymmetrical power dynamics in society. WHO (2012) categorises femicides into four groups based on the perpetrator’s relation to the victim and the cultural motivation for the killings. For the intimate

partner's femicide analysis, Stöckl et al. (2013) found that their male romantic partners perpetrated 38.6% of women's murders. Furthermore, among the females, pregnant women are reported to be the most vulnerable to femicide. (WHO, 2012). In the non-intimate femicides, on the other hand, the victim is unknown to the perpetrator; they tend to involve sexual violence, and most cases are considered to be random but systemically targeting women (WHO, 2012). Secondly, femicides based on cultural values such as honour or dowry are also found to be prevalent in some societies. For instance, in Pakistan one of the most common honour killing is called "Karo-kari" which is a concept for women having extra-marital affair with a man, the woman is becoming "kari" authorize her male relatives to kill both her and the "karo"(the illicit boyfriend) to protect the family's prestige (Patel & Gadit, 2008). UN (2010) reports that nearly 5000 women are killed mainly for "honour", and they do not even appear in the news and get attention, since it is normalised and justified culturally and religiously in some communities. Similarly, dowry, which can be considered the materialisation of a woman's worth, is a price for the woman in some cultures. Furthermore, payment-related issues about dowry, disputes on the adequacy of dowry, can lead to violent acts in the family, resulting in women's deaths. (Vindhya,2000).

Whatever the type is, femicide still stands as one of the most significant social problems in the world. According to a report by UN Women (2024), in 2023, approximately 51,100 women and girls were murdered by their relatives or their spouses, which corresponds to 140 femicides every day. However, the number is estimated to be higher since 40% of deliberate murders of women and girls are not conceptually regarded as femicides due to the different legal practices of the countries (UN Women, 2024).

2.2.2.1. Femicide in Turkey

The data sources for the femicide case records in Turkey are found to be diverse. According to a report by the Ministry of Family and Social Services (n.d.), 303 women were killed in 2016, 353 in 2017, 279 in 2018, 337 in 2019, and 267 in 2020. In total, 1,539 women lost their lives to femicide between 2016 and 2020. Overall,

the number of the women killed between 2016 and 2020 is found to be 1539. However, the report does not provide any further data after 2020. On the other hand, We Will Stop Femicides Platform, which is a non-governmental feminist social organisation, paints a different picture about the reality of femicides in the country. According to their reports, in 2016, 328 women were killed; this number linearly increased in 3 consecutive years, so the numbers became 409, 440, 474, respectively, for 2017, 2018, 2019. Similar to the government's reports, in 2020 the number fell to 300. (KDCP, 2025). Furthermore, in the following years, it was found that the numbers were close to each other. In 2021, the number was 280; in 2022, it rose to 334; in 2023, it was 315; and in 2024, it peaked at 394. (KDCP, 2025). Given the differences in reported numbers across sources, it can be concluded that approaches to femicide vary significantly. This difference may result from the NGO platform's more detailed and inclusive approach, as it also counts sex workers and trans women as victims. Additionally, the platform reports on suspicious deaths of women, raising questions about whether these cases might also be femicides.

2.2.2.2. Femicide in the UK

Similarly, numbers on femicide cases also differ in the UK context among various sources. Even though the government's officials do not share the rates year by year, they claim that a woman is murdered almost every 3 days in the United Kingdom (Philips, 2025). The statistics further reveal that in the last 10 years, 898 women were recorded as domestic homicide victims, and 78% of them were the victims of their intimate partners, or ex-spouses (Philips, 2025). However, the Femicide Census Report illustrates a detailed analysis of the femicides in the country. According to the report, in 2016, 123 women were murdered, while in 2017 this number went up to 150, and in 2018 it peaked, with 162 women being killed. For the years 2019, 2020, and 2021, the number of recorded femicides remained stable, with 132, 115, and 147 cases, respectively (O'Callaghan & Ingala Smith, 2021). According to their most extensive and up-to-date report called '2000 Women', since 2009, 2000 women were the victims of femicides (Ingala Smith, et. al, 2025). Moreover, 90% of the perpetrators were known to the women as partners or relatives (Ingala Smith, et.al, 2025). Even though they do not have any data focusing on 2024,

another source claims that the number of femicides in the UK was 80 in 2024 (Topping et al., 2024). These fluctuations in the number of cases can be attributed to the COVID-19 lockdown measures and their temporal changes.

2.2.3. COVID-19 and Domestic Violence and Femicide

With the COVID-19 outbreak, concerns have arisen worldwide regarding the potential escalation of domestic violence cases. Kourti et al. (2023) stated that there was an increase in domestic violence cases all over the world.

Leslie & Wilson (2020) argued that there was a slight increase of 7.5% in domestic violence reports in the 12-week lockdown period from March to May 2020 in the USA. Similarly, the number of reports on intimate partners increased during COVID-19 in the country (Kourti et al., 2023). In Alabama, the reports of intimate partner violence increased 27%, and in Oregon, the rise was % 27% (Kourti et al., et.al, .2023). In South America, particularly Argentina, in a 10-month period, 213 femicide cases were reported in 2020 (Standish & Weil, 2021).

Studies from European countries have yielded a variety of findings. Halford et al. (2020) demonstrated that in Switzerland and the United Kingdom, the number of criminal reports related to domestic violence declined compared to the pre-COVID period. The scholars argued that this change could be related to the government's policies limiting alcohol, which is seen as a triggering factor for domestic violence. The decline can also be attributed to unreported violence cases (Halford et al., 2020). However, in Germany, there was a significant increase in domestic violence cases, especially in the first week of lockdowns. (Armbruster & Klotzbücher, 2020). Furthermore, in Germany, 77.3 % of people were exposed to more violent actions from their intimate partners compared to the lockdown period and most of these actions were physical (19.5%) and sexual (11.2%) (Jung et al., 2020.). Similarly, Frank et al. (2020) found that 11.3% of the participants in the study had been victims of their intimate partners' abusive actions soon after lockdown in the UK. This rise in violence was reflected in the femicide rates in the UK. In March

2020, the number of femicide cases was almost triple that of the previous year. (Standish & Weil, 2021)

The African context, however, displayed contrasting patterns in terms of domestic violence issues. Data from South Africa revealed that domestic violence cases declined due to the limitations on alcohol consumption, specifically in low-income regions. However, this trend changed within two weeks, and a sharp increase was observed. (Stiegler & Bouchard, 2020). Contrary to South Africa, Asiamah et al. (2021) found that 8% of the people experienced high risks of domestic violence during the COVID-19 period.

For the Turkish context, Akalin and Ayhan (2021) found that nearly 35.5% of women in Turkey experienced different forms of intimate partner violence during COVID-19 lockdown period. Approximately 10% of them were exposed to physical violence, while 35.5% were victims of psychological violence (Akalin & Ayhan, 2021).

2.2.4. Media Representation of Male Violence Against Women

Previous sections have outlined the positionality of women in the different realms of social life. Given the prevalent alignment between the media and patriarchal ideology, women are more prone to being constructed in a biased manner in mass media. Tuchman (2000) illustrated that stereotypical portrayals related to gender roles create “inadequate” masculinity and femininity categories. She further argued that women are either underrepresented, or confined to the domestic sphere of motherhood and incompetent in their professions in most of the depictions (Tuchman, 2000). Thereby, women are “symbolically annihilated”; their lives and work are trivialised, and they are not symmetrically represented in the mass media (Tuchman, 2000). Considering this background, male violence against women is found to be discursively constructed similarly in the newspapers. Drawing on patterns observed in previous research, newspapers seem to adopt a range of recurring discursive strategies to portray both victims and perpetrators.

Some research has shown that newspapers employ explanatory mechanisms that can serve as justifying models for the reader. Leung (2016) illustrated that in 99 of the news reports in Hong Kong, male abusers are depicted as experiencing problems in their professional lives, and their lousy temper is attributed to financial hardship. Similarly, while narrating the domestic violence event, Gillespie et al. (2013) found that femicide articles framed the attackers as suicidal and mentally struggling. Karlsson et al. (2020) highlighted that in Swedish media, the assailants are defined as having unstable mental health; having problems with anger management, which prevent them from controlling their actions (Lee & Wong, 2016). Even in honour killings, the attackers were portrayed with mental problems like bipolar disorders and narcissism (Shier & Shor, 2016). This background depiction subtly implies that an unpredictable mental breakdown triggers the crime and that violence is unpreventable. (Shier & Shor, 2016).

Another strategy commonly seen in the news depicting male violence against women is to alienate the attacker from the rest of society. In these cases, male perpetrators are considered exceptions who are not seen as representatives of the majority. Karageorgos et al. (2023) found that Australian newspapers emphasise the 'abnormality' of the perpetrators, portraying them as monsters devoid of emotion and regarded as evil. Moreover, Alat (2006) asserted that media institutions can adapt their discursive strategies based on their aims. If the newspaper wants to condemn the act, they give the attacker nicknames such as 'ripper, monster, fiend, and beast', attributing them a subhuman identity. Conversely, if the aim is to provoke sympathy, newspapers often provide the perpetrator's full name and background history (Alat, 2006).

Furthermore, some of the news articles analysed provided selective background history of the perpetrators' substance usage and traumatic childhood. Karageorgos (2023) illustrated that the consumption of alcohol or drugs was the centre of the narration in the violent news in the Australian media. Moreover, the abuse of these substances is sometimes given as the potential reason for the violent act; also, substance users are characterised as different (Bullock & Cubert, 2002). Along with the substance use, Taylor (2009) illustrated that an "affluent businessman"

murdering his ex-wife and his children was mentioned to have an absentee father figure, and his mother was reported to be abusive.

Bullock and Cubert (2002) also found that newspapers in Washington, USA, employed an alternative strategy to identify the perpetrators. They highlighted the attackers' positive communal relationships (Bullock & Cubert, 2002), thus, the coverage generally presented domestic violence in terms of isolated incidents, rather than portraying it as a larger social problem. By integrating frequent interviews from third parties, both victims and perpetrators were defined by their social positionalities, such as being a successful doctor or a devoted mother; thereby, the violence is a dreadful event for the community (Bullock & Cubert, 2002). Another study conducted in the USA, on a Florida metropolitan newspaper found that 40% of the news articles unfavorably portrayed the attacker by using adjectives like envious, committing infidelity, and arrogant (Taylor, 2009). On the other hand, in %35 of the articles, perpetrators were regarded as dexterous, wealthy, gentle, and helpful (Taylor, 2009).

Rather than focusing on the perpetrator, some studies illustrated that newspapers employ victim-blaming strategies. This victim blaming can be seen on different levels. Women's adherence to feminist norms can be foregrounded. Also, the victims' religious, social, and ethnic identities as well as their potential "provocative behaviours" are highlighted.

Leung (2016) stated that women victims of intimate partner violence are described as "abnormal," having mental issues with drug abuse problems, and committing adultery, which are suggested as the leading causes of violent acts in Hong Kong. In the Turkish context, victims are also blamed for their victimisation. Alat (2006) demonstrated that femicide is often discursively legitimized in newspapers. For example, cases where a man kills his wife are often framed around accusations that she refused sexual relations or failed to meet the expectations of a "proper" wife. Since marital rape is not legally recognized as a crime in Turkish law, such cases may even be dismissed. Similarly, Lee and Wong (2019) found that a woman's refusal of sexual intimacy is frequently portrayed as the primary motive for her

murder. Furthermore, women victims are often depicted as unfaithful—allegedly involved in extramarital affairs or portrayed as mistresses—which is presented as a key justification for femicide (Taylor, 2009).

The victim's characteristics and identity were other vital features of the victim-blaming strategy. Leung (2016) asserted that some murdered women are portrayed as gambling addicts, indecent, and inadequate mothers and wives. Slackoff & Brennan (2017) concluded similar results: stories covering male violence against women portrayed victim women as having gambling issues, they were indifferent to their children, making thoughtless decisions, and abusing drugs and alcohol; in some narratives, they are even given as "deviant" and "bad" because they are involved in prostitution. However, Slakoff and Brennan (2017) also discovered that some intimate partner violence victims are portrayed in a particular "nativity and pureness frame." Their analysis showed that in 29% of the US news victims, women are regarded as "good wives," "good people," and "caring and harmless" (Slakoff & Brennan, 2017). They further argued that news about white female victims is consistently reported more than news about those related to Latina and Black women (Slakoff & Brennan, 2017).

A case study by Easteal et al. (2018) found that the narrative styles of the Australian media emphasised the commonness of intimate partner violence against women in migrant communities due to their oppressive cultural background. The victim's identity as a Muslim and migrant was also reflected as a subtle factor in her homicide (Slakoff & Brennan, 2017). Similarly, Shier & Shor (2016) stated that in Canadian newspapers, the main reasons for "honour killings" are reflected in religious beliefs and immigrant identities of the people. Specifically, these developments are attributed to immigration from South Asia. The honour killing is regarded as a primitive act happening in a progressive country (Shier & Shor, 2016). However, when a femicide occurs in a non-Muslim context, the attackers' mental and individual issues are emphasised (Shier & Shor, 2016). Thereby, it is seen that women victims are idealised or devalued based on their primary and secondary identities in the media, which can be used as an instrument for creating sympathy or apathy towards them.

In addition to victims' identity and background, actions and attitudes are discursively presented as the main reasons for the violence in some studies. One of the notable patterns is that the victims could not ensure their safety; they did not press charges for the previous assaults, and they were passive agents (Gillespie et.al, 2013). Taylor (2009) found that the victims were regarded as irresponsible, and they did not seem to be afraid of their partners because they continued their intimate relationship for a time. In some cases, victim women are constructed to be deliberately looking for abusive relationships; it is their 'habitual act' (Bullock & Cubert, 2002).

On the other hand, in some other cases, victim women are constructed to be overly active subjects, triggering the violence. Leung (2016) found that in some newspapers in Hong Kong, victim women are blamed for badgering their partners until they lose their sanity, which leads them to commit violence. Lee & Wong (2019) reached similar results in Canadian newspapers in a domestic violence case where the man is mentioned to have lashed out because his wife was sick, and she let the sink overflow.

Contrary to the motives stemming from aggressive behaviours, some studies showed that femicide can be constructed as a result of affection. Mileiko & Hamilton (2020) argued that in some cultures, domestic violence is explained by the phrase 'if someone hurts you, then they love you'. They further argued that this conceptualisation leads to overlooking the problem of violence because people should not hinder love and violence as an extension of love. If someone intervenes with domestic violence, they are accused of meddling with an individual's privacy (Mileiko & Hamilton, 2020). In some cases, the femicide act is regarded as a "mercy killing" in which the woman's terminal illness is emphasised, so the killing is described sympathetically. Thereby, the man is not culpable (Richards et al., 2013). Karageoros et al. (2023) found similar patterns in which the male murderers were depicted to be "saviours", saving the woman from struggling for her health and killing becomes an act of redemption. Taylor (2009) further supported these findings by arguing that these men are also portrayed as 'courageous', 'faithful,' and 'concerned about their wife's condition', and that they are not able to witness their wife's pain, thereby committing the murder.

In addition to the victimized woman herself, there are some cases in which the "other" women, the third parties in the relationship, are blamed for the violent action. Alat (2006) exemplified that the perpetrator was in the middle of a conflict between two envious women, which is why he lost control, and he was the real victim, not the battered woman. In Lee & Wong's (2019) study, the male murderer claimed to have an incestuous affair with his sister; when the victim brought this issue up, he was "provoked" and murdered her.

In a different study where they inspected the online newspapers' comment sections, Mileiko & Hamilton (2020) found out that news related to women victims of sexual harassment received comments implying that women are responsible due to their seductive appearance, especially with their makeup and clothing.

Alat (2006) stated that in intimate violence reports, the marital status between the victim and the perpetrator is frequently foregrounded. She argued that people's adherence to societal norms could shift the focus from the violent act to the "legality" of the individual. According to Taylor (2009), in every one of six news excerpts related to femicide, the narration highlighted that the woman had a new partner, which devastated her ex-husband and led him to commit the crime. In another example, the victim was reported to be the mistress of the attacker. Her status as girlfriend is further elaborated with details that the man was married with children, and he abandoned them to be with her, implying that the victim was the homewrecker (Taylor, 2009).

In addition to marital status, the age gap between partners is highlighted in news excerpts. Leung (2016) asserted that in news reports on domestic violence, the partners' ages are complemented with dichotomous adjectives like "old man" and "young woman". This type of narration can subtly question the primary motivation behind the marriage; it can lead readers to think that the young wife is married to the old husband due to financial concerns, and the old husband seeks to benefit from the young woman sexually (Leung, 2016).

Furthermore, some newspapers elaborated on the previous situation just before the killing act by highlighting the potential arguments and quarrels that can function as a

justifying mechanism. In 45% of the news articles in Wozniak & McCloskey's (2010) study, a dispute between the partners was constructed to be the main reason for the femicide. The mention of a quarrel hints at reciprocity and shifts the blame also to the murdered woman by giving both man and woman shared responsibility for the crime (Easteal et al., 2018).

From a broader perspective, the framing of domestic violence events is also a crucial element in the newspapers. In media studies, episodic and thematic frames have been widely used. Episodic framing depicts an event by focusing on the specific case. At the same time, thematic frames contextualise the event within a broader setting by providing further information and ideas about it, such as expert insights, additional statistics, and so on (Gross, 2008). Gross (2008) further argues that news reporters tend to utilise episodic frames since they can have a relatively more significant impact on people; they are considered more emotionally provoking. However, by being exposed to episodically framed news frequently, people cannot recognise the relationships between crucial social issues like poverty and racism. Gross (2008) also asserts that a thematic frame can enable the reader to see the bigger picture in these topics.

Although the studies on male violence against women have not explicitly named the framings as episodic or thematic, they suggest some patterns that can fall into the episodic and thematic categories. Easteal et al. (2018) explored that in Australian media, femicide and violence against women are constructed to be ordinary and happen by chance; thereby, it is not a social problem, it is not related to gender, but it is a mishap experienced by troublesome people, which can be regarded as an episodic framing. In another study by Wozniak & McCloskey (2010), they argued that 72% of the news articles covering intimate partner violence did not refer to the concepts like domestic violence, and violence against women etc. They further found that a significant number of the articles did not include any views from the experts on domestic violence. However, only 1% of the articles framed domestic violence as a common social issue (Wozniak & McCloskey, 2010). The articles did not elaborate on their narration with further details, such as interviews with family members or comments from professionals in the field (Wozniak & McCloskey, 2010). Gillespie

et al. (2013) have reached similar conclusions noting that the vast majority of domestic violence news is presented as “isolated,” without providing the background of the event or expert ideas. Similarly, Karlsson et al. (2020) found comparable patterns in Swedish media, where domestic violence is often framed to be an “individual” problem. The news frequently highlights the perpetrators' background such as alcoholism, mental problems, or lower socioeconomic status, without acknowledging the gender inequality as the problem. Furthermore, violent acts against women, or femicide, can be normalised when they occur in a commonplace (Gillespie et al., 2013). In these cases, femicide is treated as any other homicide which are not attributed exclusively to women (Gillespie et al., 2013).

Richards et al. (2013) illustrated that in femicide-suicide cases, 12% of the news utilised thematic framing. The organisation of the articles consists of a previous domestic violence history between the partners, involves the domestic violence advocate’s opinions, guides other victims on potential solutions, and informs the reader about the addresses of shelters and emergency numbers (Richards et al., 2013).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Questions

Based on the theoretical background concerning the interplay of discourse, ideology, media, and gender relations presented earlier, this study aims to analyse the discursive construction and representation of women who are victims of femicides in the UK and Turkish news media.

To explore the relationship between gender, media, and discourse, the study employs a corpus-assisted approach combined with the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) in the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) tradition, viewed through a feminist lens. It seeks to gain insights to the following research questions:

(1) What kind of nomination, predication, argumentation, and perspectivization strategies are employed by left-wing British and Turkish newspapers, the Guardian and Cumhuriyet, to represent women and men in femicide incidents?

(2) How do the discursive strategies mentioned above construct femininity and masculinity in relation to one another in this type of news?

a. Are any (stereotypical) patriarchal representations reinforced for men and women in the news?

b. Are the dominant norms and values of society for gender performances reflected and recontextualised?

c. Are there any counter discourses present?

3.2. The Guardian and Cumhuriyet Subcorpora

Following the compilation process, two sub-corpora are finalized for the analysis: The Guardian Corpus (TGC) and Cumhuriyet Corpus (CC). The CC comprises 78 excerpts totalling 19,206 tokens, while the TGC consists of 186 excerpts with 108,174 tokens.

The differences in subcorpora word counts stem from organization of the news stories. In the Guardian, one incident has been reflected in at least 2 different news excerpts, the first one sharing the initial information about the event mainly focusing on time and place, while in the second one more personal details (as it has been made publicly available), and recent updates are shared about the perpetrators and victims. In following excerpts if they are present, the juridical processes have been shared, which explains the difference in the number of news items in the English corpus. The analysis also showed that this news is more elaborate with different discursive strategies accounting for the large token number. On the other hand, in Cumhuriyet the narration has been limited to 1 news excerpt and found to be compact, the general outline and details are presented within the same text. The compiled sub-corpora provide a structured foundation for both quantitative and qualitative examination of media discourse within the scope of this study.

3.3. Selection of Newspaper Sections

Since the ideological inclinations and manipulation strategies can be manifested in all the spheres of the newspaper, the dataset for the study was compiled to cover all textual material shared on the newspaper's online databases. However, considering that the particular style and format of the headings and columns can skew data, these parts are excluded but stored in a different file for further studies. The corpus dataset is thus comprised of the news extracts, only the body paragraphs, and their subheadings where available.

During the corpus compilation process, the dates of the news excerpts were another critical parameter. The corpora include news only from between 01/01/2024 to

31/12/2024 Since this study is also designed to involve a close qualitative analysis, which requires manual annotations of each excerpt, the year and the dataset had to be limited. Furthermore, 2024 was deliberately chosen because it was the year when femicides peaked in Turkey over the last decade. Moreover, the sociopolitical atmosphere in the UK was found to be complicated especially for the migrant people. In July 2024, after a British-born teenager killed three children in Southport, false claims spread online that he was a Muslim migrant. This led to anti-immigrant riots and violence in cities like London and Birmingham. Mosques were attacked, over 1,200 people were arrested, and dozens of police officers were injured. Considering this background, the year 2024 has been found to be important to evaluate the Guardian's stance on migrants in relation to violent events. Additionally, it is a recent year, allowing the researcher to explore the most contemporary discursive strategies.

3.4. Query Words

Once the sub-corpora were compiled, a set of Query words were determined based on the selections made in previous studies in the field and the observations of the researcher.

The initial query words used for The Guardian Corpus (TGC) in English were as follows:

- Woman murdered
- Women killed
- Femicide
- Honour killing

For the second corpus, Cumhuriyet Corpus (CC); the query words/expressions were in Turkish and were as follows:

- Kadın öldürüldü
- Kadın katledildi
- Kadın cinayeti
- Namus cinayeti

As mentioned in the corpus compilation process, these query words were used in a Python code for data retrieval. Following this step, the data was further examined and manually annotated using the UAM CorpusTool.

3.5. Corpus Compilation Process

As the study adopts a multilayered and comparative design, the corpora were compiled based on specific parameters. Considering the distinct research contexts (the UK and Türkiye) and the study's core research questions, sub-corpora were created based on the shared political orientations of two newspapers, The Guardian (TGC corpus) and Cumhuriyet (CC corpus), which operate within different linguacultural environments. The news texts have been selected to focus on a specific period, 2024. However, the visuals related to the news have been excluded since they could potentially shift the study's focus towards a multimodal approach, incorporating an additional methodology for visual analysis (Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001) which falls beyond the scope of this thesis.

For both newspapers the data collection process was conducted through 'Python requests' and 'bs4 libraries'. The Guardian enables readers some API keys allowing to access to its entire database. In this database, the filters concerning query words and time period were applied. To ensure a focus on domestic news in the UK, the analysis concentrated on the /uk-news/ subcategory. This filtering was necessary to capture reactions to internal affairs, as newspapers often adopt a more critical tone in their coverage of international news, where broader geopolitical dynamics are at play. On the other hand, Cumhuriyet does not provide an open access API key. Therefore, a custom data retrieval script was manually developed (by an expert which was solicited) using the aforementioned Python libraries. However, the filtering procedure was kept identical to that used for the Guardian to ensure consistency. The subcategory /turkiye/ was examined for the same reasons outlined above.

3.6. Political and Ideological Inclinations of the Newspapers

Ideology can be defined as the field of representations possessing fictional connections to the reality in which they are created, thereby misleading people.

(Bennet, 2005). These imaginary representations can be transmitted through media outlets controlled by the ruling group, and the organisation of the news can prevent readers from developing a critical consciousness. They construe people's intellectual properties (Bennet, 2005). Recognising the crucial role of ideology in the media, it becomes vital to examine the ideological stances of newspapers.

In the Turkish context, it has been argued that newspapers have become part of the commercial industry and an extension of corporations, so media outlets have been largely monopolised. The Doğan Group, for example, is regarded as one of the most prominent outlets, with more than seven daily newspapers, one of which is in English (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010). Considering these macro-dynamics, Kaya and Çakmur (2010) assert that Turkish journalists may feel mental pressure due to their need to prioritise the commercial interests of the corporation. Thereby, they can impose conscious or unconscious censorship on their language by suppressing, manipulating, and applying other linguistic strategies. They further argue that after the 1990s, with the significant rise in Islamic movements, conservative media has started to become notable, and it is regarded as one of the most powerful competitors of the mainstream media due to its strong connections with religious groups in society. Considering these relationalities, Kaya and Çakmur (2010) emphasize that Turkish media can be evaluated in two main sections: the mainstream press which mainly focuses on the market values and commercialization to achieve high-profit margin with high circulations, and secondly the Islamist/conservative media which is highly inclined to be affiliated with administrative institutions and aims to convey their values and norms. Furthermore, the polarisation of media outlets leads to the suppression of different perspectives. In the Turkish context, as is the case globally, the media has become provocatively partisan, and some crucial information can be deliberately omitted, while insignificant details can be foregrounded to shift the audience's focus. Kaya & Çakmur (2010) illustrated that Cumhuriyet has been located in the oppositional political stance to the AKP. It was observed to be the supporter of the Republican People's Party (Çarkoğlu et al., 2014). Similarly, Hortaçsu and Ertürk (2003) described "Cumhuriyet" as a left-oriented and anti-government outlet. According to the outlet itself, Cumhuriyet is read by university graduates and individuals with high socioeconomic status (Cumhuriyet, 2011).

To illustrate the effect of political stakeholders on the media and their discourses, for the study at hand Cumhuriyet has been specifically chosen as a key representative of left-wing political discourse in Türkiye in circulation since 1924. Its editorial stance reflects pro-republican, secular, anti-authoritarian, and democracy-focused perspectives, making it a prominent platform for political dissent and opposition to conservative ideologies. Cumhuriyet has consistently delivered critical coverage of right-leaning governments, and is known for its commitment to press freedom, judicial independence, and civil liberties, all of which are central concerns within the Turkish left.

In the British media, news outlet types are regarded as having two functions: they must lead the views and perspectives, and they also must mediate different opinions. According to Hardman (2008), newspapers in Britain often create both positive and negative depictions of their subjects, which are significantly influenced by the ideological stances of the newspapers. Several discursive strategies have been identified as reinforcing these constructions, particularly for political figures. Linguistic devices, such as rhetorical questions, modal verb structures, and intertextualities, have been utilised by newspapers (Hardman, 2008). Furthermore, these processes can also be evaluated as the outcome of perceived audience expectations, as newspapers and news reporters continually seek to align their interests with those of readers to achieve higher circulation. Moreover, by promoting a shared attitude and perspective with their readers, newspapers form a social bond with the reader by defining ingroup and outgroup political identities (Hardman, 2008). The newspapers in the British media have been found to have a consistent positionality towards the political parties themselves, rather than the political ideologies, such as "left-wing" or "right-wing" (Hardman, 2008). However, in previous studies, some of the newspapers are described as having specific political orientations. For instance, the UK Government's National Readership Survey, which examined people's opinions on the newspapers' political inclinations, illustrated that readers consider "The Guardian" and "The Independent" as left-wing. At the same time, the "Sun" is perceived as being very right-wing, similar to "The Times" and "Daily Mail" (YouGov, 2017). Moreover, in Carvalho (2005), "The Guardian" is regarded as far left and a supporter of the Labour Party, while "The

Times" is described as having more conservative inclinations (Carvalho, 2005) on the political spectrum. More recently, Worthington and Scourfield (2024) have employed similar categorisations: they considered "The Guardian" as a left-leaning national broadsheet and mentioned "The Sun" as a populist tabloid associated with the right-wing.

Unlike Turkish media, UK media exhibits variations in its press types. In the UK, there are two distinct types of newspapers: tabloids and broadsheets. Tabloids are characterised by their disposition to illustrate less news related to international affairs, by their prioritisation of pictures rather than texts, and their endeavour to appeal to more people by sharing entertaining and 'scandalous' news (McLachlan et. al, 2000). Although they are regarded as more sensational and magazine-like, tabloids are considered to have dominated the journalism sector with higher rates of circulation, especially at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s (Gossel, 2023). Therefore, their power to influence the masses cannot be underestimated. In British media, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Star, Daily Mirror, and the Sun are considered to be popular tabloids (Connell, 1998).

Conversely, broadsheets are characterised by more diverse content than tabloids, particularly in politics and the international sphere. They feature more complex sentences integrated into longer paragraphs, and articles focus on comprehensive analysis of these newsworthy issues (BBC, 2023). Their printing cost is found to be higher; therefore, their circulation is relatively low compared to tabloids. Furthermore, broadsheets can also offer additional sections that focus on various topics, such as culture, economics, and sports (BBC, 2023). The major broadsheets in the UK media are regarded as "The Guardian, Daily Telegraph, Financial Times, Independent, and The Times" (Connell, 1998, p.15). Although tabloids and broadsheets possess their unique features, some scholars claim that a new trend of tabloidization has emerged recently. Broadsheets tend to highlight entertaining news more and adopt a more sensational language, similar to that of tabloids (Connell, 1998).

Considering the linguistic advantage in terms of the lexical richness and word count that the broadsheets possess over the others, the corpus of the study comprises a

broadsheet type of newspaper. Based on previous studies conducted in the field, The Guardian, as a leading voice of left political thought in the UK has been chosen as a primary source for the UK broadsheet media. Known for its liberal and social democratic orientation, it frequently endorses Labour Party policies, particularly under progressive leadership. The paper is widely recognized for its sustained focus on social justice issues, including inequality, climate change, gender rights, immigration, and civil liberties, all of which align closely with contemporary left-wing agendas. As a high-circulation and agenda-setting publication, The Guardian plays a significant role in shaping progressive discourse in the UK, making it an ideal choice for representing left-oriented media within its national context. Furthermore, according to the outlet itself, the average Guardian reader is defined to be culturally and academically literate, 19% of having postgraduate degree, and socioeconomically privileged status. 47% of the Guardian website readers are predicted to fall into the highest-level social category, AB group, consisting of people holding white collar jobs with administrative positions in social grading system (upper) middle class (The Guardian, 2010).

Given all the points made above, the selection of *Cumhuriyet* and *The Guardian* allows for a strong comparative analysis of left-wing media discourse within two distinct linguacultural and political contexts, while maintaining a shared ideological orientation, make them ideal cases for conducting a contrastive analysis in a study involving discourse, gender, ideology, and media representation.

3.7. UAM CorpusTool

The corpora in the study were compiled using the UAM CorpusTool software (http://www.corpustool.com/) which is a free, multi-purpose annotation and analysis software widely used in discourse analysis, systemic functional linguistics (SFL), and corpus-based studies. It has been developed by Mick O'Donnell at the Universidad Autonoma de Madrid). It allows researchers to annotate texts across multiple layers, such as genre, stance, or appraisal. Designed for both qualitative and quantitative analysis, the tool supports concordance searches, frequency analysis, and the visualization of annotation patterns. Commonly applied in studies involving

appraisal theory, media discourse, and register variation, UAM CorpusTool enables users to explore linguistic patterns in detail while maintaining flexibility across research contexts.

However, recognising the limitations of concordance analysis, UAM CorpusTool also empowers its users to explore beyond the concordance lines by allowing researchers to annotate manually or automatically (O'Donnell, 2008) using customizable schemes. Thus researchers can annotate many texts using the same frameworks (schemes) integrated to the system by themselves, and it further allows its users to analyse the text at multiple linguistic levels, such as noun phrases, clauses, or the sentence level (O'Donnell, 2008). The software also offers various types of statistics tailored to users' needs. For example, users can run statistical analyses on descriptive, contrastive, and general features (O'Donnell,2008). Researchers can also examine the concept of word propensity using subcorpora (O'Donnell, 2008). The annotated data are stored and can be exported as an XML file (O'Donnell, 2008). Moreover, the UAM CorpusTool is capable of accommodating approximately 70 languages, including English and Turkish, in its latest version. On the other hand, automatic annotation annotates the dataset by employing a set of parsers and taggers, and even Halliday's SFL transitivity framework can be fully adapted (O'Donnell, 2008). Lastly, the program is available online and can be downloaded for both macOS and Windows operating systems. The program does not require a paid subscription, which makes it advantageous compared to its counterparts, such as SketchEngine, WordSmith Tools or MAXQDA Dicto. Considering the focus of the research and the main questions to be explored, the UAM CorpusTool was chosen as the primary tool due to its versatility and accessibility. Based on the research questions, both automatic and manual annotation features are used to integrate unique frameworks and schemes, as well as to identify general tendencies.

3.8. Positionality Statement from the Researcher

Since this study has employed Critical Discourse Analysis, transparency regarding the researcher's positionality and perspective becomes essential.

As the researcher, I acknowledge that my positionality inevitably shapes the lens through which I approach this study. I identify as a heterosexual woman and use the pronouns she/her. I am also bilingual in Turkish and English which allowed for conducting the study in both languages. I have been academically intrigued by gender and women studies and social theories of change and transition as well as linguistics, and more specifically in critical discourse studies. My academic background and personal investment in feminist studies have sensitized me to the ways in which gendered violence, particularly femicide, is represented and normalized in media discourse. I approach the analysis of British and Turkish newspaper reports with a critical awareness that language is not neutral but a site where power relations and ideologies are reproduced. Drawing on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), I recognize that my feminist stance influences the questions I ask, the patterns I notice, and the interpretations I construct, particularly in relation to the perpetuation of patriarchal narratives and victim-blaming tendencies in media texts.

Rather than striving for an illusory neutrality, I position myself as a reflexive researcher who critically engages with my own assumptions while aiming to illuminate how discursive practices contribute to the societal understanding of femicide across different linguacultural contexts. The reflexivity in this research has been achieved through keeping a journal during the data analysis about the controversial parts and through constant discussions with peers in the field with different identities. Although these sessions were not recorded and organized formally, it enabled me as the researcher to question my standpoint in this investigation.

3.9. Ethical Concerns Regarding the Study

When compiling and using corpus data from publicly available newspaper texts containing real names, the following ethical considerations were followed. Though data has been gathered from publicly available online sources, considering the sensitivity of the issue, femicides, it has been decided that the complete names of the people in the study should be anonymized to protect the victims' and their families' identities and prevent potential future complications. These exclusions and

anonymizations do not methodologically skew the data since the news excerpts and the names are fully included in the original corpus. There has been no recorded impact to the analytical findings.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

The procedure of conducting a critical discourse analysis of the Guardian Corpus (hereafter referred to as TGC) and Cumhuriyet Corpus (hereafter referred to as CC) on femicides news consisted of several consecutive stages. Initially, data extracted based on keywords was imported into the UAM Corpus Tool. Following that, the main elements of Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach —nomination, predication, argumentation and perspectivization—were added as layers and formed the main annotation framework. As the analysis proceeded, further subcategories were created based on the prevalent patterns discovered for each category. Following the UAM Analysis, the findings were also transferred to an Excel document to facilitate understanding of the general trends and common patterns. The significant results demonstrating the analysis based on the categories are presented in the following parts of this chapter.

4.2. Nomination

In Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), *nomination* is one of the key discursive strategies used to construct social actors and events. It refers to the way persons, groups, events, or phenomena are named, labelled and referred to linguistically. By choosing particular naming practices, the focal newspapers position subjects (victims, perpetuators and others) and contribute to shaping public opinion about them.

During the nomination analysis, recurring patterns in both corpora revealed several subcategories, including anthroponyms, nicknames, metaphors, and toponyms. To

better understand the variety of ways in which victims and perpetrators are defined, each subcategory is analysed separately. Representative examples are presented in tables for each corpus to illustrate their contextual usage.

Although the Guardian newspaper provides a general outline of individuals in the topic sentences and the introduction of the news, such as "man" and "woman", they are formally identified in the rest of the text. In the TGC and CC news excerpts, the full names of victims and perpetrators are provided. Thus, the most common nomination strategy in both corpora is the utilisation of anthroponyms[1] when introducing individuals, even though it is partial in some cases.

Table 2. Examples of Anthroponyms and Omission/Exclusion of Names in TGC

Data ID	Nomination of Social Actors	Following Part
10_00309	A 61-year-old man	has been arrested on suspicion of murder.
10_00150	…a 39-year-old man	in connection with the death of an Edinburgh woman…
10_24120	A 17-year-old boy who cannot be named for legal reasons	remains in custody, accused of attempted…
10_00282	[1]S. T., 20,	appeared at Westminster magistrates court on Wednesday charged with the attempted murder of [1]C. M., 32.
10_21388	[1]J.M	was remanded in custody after a hearing at Newtownards magistrates court in County Down on Tuesday

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

[1] Anthroponyms are a type of proper noun that refer specifically to the names of human beings. This may include full names, first names, surnames, nicknames, and other titles used as names.

As mentioned in the methodology section, the complete identifications and namings in this study have been shared with initials due to ethical concerns, thereby the conclusions have been drawn from the unfiltered corpus data but cannot be reflected in this section directly. In order to guide the analysis, note sections are added in the tables and excerpts. Table 2 illustrates the instances of men's name exclusions in TGC. TGC does not identify perpetrators by their full names; they are either defined solely by their age or their identities are entirely omitted in some excerpts. Furthermore, for juvenile criminals, the reason for eliminating their first and last names is openly stated as a legal reason, as they can be identified from the last data excerpt (10_24120) in the table. On the other hand, some minor victims in the excerpts are formally identified with their names, surnames and their ages. The Cumhuriyet Corpus exhibits a similar pattern to that of TGC, in which the majority of news articles disclose both the victims' and perpetrators' identities, although some instances may have omissions. In addition to omissions, Cumhuriyet also utilises anonymisations through initialisms, partial anonymisations, and complete omissions of names without any substitutions. Table 3 below illustrates the nomination patterns of CC:

Table 3. Examples of Anthroponyms and Omission/Exclusion of Names in CC

Excerpt		**Type of Anthroponym**
(1)	**Edinilen bilgiye göre, bir çocuk annesi [1]G.M. (33), boşanma aşamasındaki kocası S.M. (38) tarafından kalbinden, sırtından ve karın boşluğundan defalarca bıçaklanarak ağır yaralandı.** *(Data ID: 12_00185)* *(According to reports, G. M. (33), a mother of one, was critically injured after being repeatedly stabbed in the heart, back, and abdomen by her estranged husband, S.M. (38).)*	Anonymisation through initialism for the man, Full Identification for the woman.
(2)	**İstanbul Gaziosmanpaşa'da şubat ayında [2]D.Y. , üvey oğlu Ö.Y. tarafından başından tabancayla vurularak öldürüldü.** *(Data ID: 12_00308)* *(In February, D. Y. was shot and killed in the head by her stepson, Ö.Y., in Gaziosmanpaşa, Istanbul.)*	Anonymisation through initialism for the man, Partial Identification for the woman.

Table 3. (continued)

(3)	**Büyükçekmece'de halıya sarılı haldeki cesedi denizden çıkartılan 24 yaşındaki [1]S.G. cinayeti ile ilgili yeni detaylar ortaya çıktı. (...) Emlakçının ifadesi üzerine polis Fırat B.'yi gözaltına aldı.** *(Data ID: 12_00337)* *(New details have emerged in the murder case of 24-year-old S.G., whose body was found wrapped in a carpet and pulled from the sea in Büyükçekmece (…). Following a real estate agent's statement, police took Fırat B. into custody.)*	Partial Identification for the man, Full Identification for the woman.
(4)	**İddiaya göre erkek arkadaşıyla günlük ev kiralayan S.K. isimli kadın, içeride ölü olarak bulundu.** *(Data ID: 12_00728)* *(S.K., a woman who allegedly rented a daily-use apartment with her boyfriend, was found dead inside.).*	Complete Omission of man's identity, Anonymisation through initialism for the woman
(5)	**Edinilen bilgiye göre, eşiyle kaldırımda tartışan erkek şahıs, yanındaki bıçakla kadını yaraladı. Ağır yaralanan kadın kanlar içinde yere yığıldı.** *(Data ID: 12_00705)* *(According to information obtained, a man who was arguing with his wife on the sidewalk stabbed her with a knife. The woman sustained serious injuries and collapsed on the ground, bleeding heavily.)*	Complete Omission of both the man's and the woman's identification
(6)	**[1]V.Y. evde bulunan ruhsatlı antika tabancasını alarak üç çocuğunun annesi [1]S.Y.'a iki el ateş etti."** *(Data ID: 12_00221)* *(V. Y., taking a licensed antique pistol from the home, fired two shots at S. Y, the mother of their three children.)*	Complete identification for both the man and the woman.

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

As can be seen from Table 3, CC differs significantly from TGC in its use of anonymisation through initialisms and their variations. As the use of these strategies is not consistent for women and men, resulting in an asymmetrical representation

that mainly favours men, this discursive act can be interpreted as a mitigating strategy for the perpetrator. Through anonymisations, the identities of the perpetrators are protected while the victims are overexposed with their full names. The anonymisation may be attributed to the ongoing trial process, in which the confidentiality of the defendant is crucial. However, the news texts in CC do not reference any legal obligation concerning the confidentiality of the case, unlike in in TGC. This practice may be considered as reinforcing the symbolic power relations between genders. Even though naming the victim adds a humane layer to her representation and evoke affectionate feelings in the audience, her right to be anonymous and her privacy are breached. On the other hand, the men are perceived as unknown by the reader, which minimises their discursive presence and mitigates their responsibility for the crime to some extent. Furthermore, the protection of the perpetrators' identities may also be regarded as a deprivation of the audience's right to access information. The newspaper prevents people from reaching extensive details and facts about the event, which eventually leads to biased reporting and harms transparency and credibility.

Moreover, anonymising all the social actors can be considered problematic, as in the excerpt 5. The omission of the agencies' names and identities can be detrimental to the audience's perception, since the public might perceive the event as inauthentic or fabricated, limiting the potential for social reaction or collective engagement in the community.

The overall analysis and comparison between nomination strategies used in TGC and CC reveal that TGC favours a more equal, balanced representation for both victim and perpetrator in femicide news. Both the victims and perpetrators are completely identified to the audience in TGC. Although there are some anonymisation strategies in this corpus, the reasons for these are explicitly given in some cases, referring to legal restrictions on the issue. Its Turkish counterpart, CC, on the other hand, employs unsystematic and unexplained anonymisation strategies for the nomination. The victims are identified mainly by their partial or complete identity, while the perpetrators' names are completely omitted in some cases, thereby eliminating their

discursive visibility. However, for the juveniles, nomination appears to be a controversial issue.

4.2.1. Representation of Juveniles

(7) **Three children killed in a knife attack at a dance class in Southport have been named as [1]B. K., six, [1]E. D. S., seven, and [1]A. D. A., nine (…) A 17-year-old boy from the Lancashire village of Banks but born in Cardiff has been arrested on suspicion of murder and attempted murder, with police saying the motive remains unclear. (…)**

(Data ID: 10_30651)

(8) **İzmir'de öldürülen 15 yaşındaki [1]H. Ç. 'in ölümünde yeni ayrıntılara ulaşıldı .U.E.Y, Çocuk Şube Müdürlüğü'ne götürüldü. Emniyetteki işlemlerin ardından dün adliye sevk edilen cinayet şüphelisi U.E.Y. tutuklandı.**

(Data ID: 12_00331)

(New details have emerged in the death of 15-year-old H. Ç., who was killed in İzmir. (…) U.E.Y. was taken to the Child Branch Directorate. Following the procedures at the police station, the murder suspect U.E.Y. was referred to the courthouse yesterday and subsequently remanded in custody.)

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

The sample excerpts (7) and (8) above highlight the significant difference in how they depict juveniles as victims and perpetrators. Although all actors in the incidents fall in the category of minors, the victims are fully identified, while the attackers' identities remain uncertain in both excerpts. In excerpt 7 from Guardian, the children are formally recognized along with their ages. On the other hand, the perpetrator has not been identified, and he is said to be 17 years old, and his background has been portrayed with a detailed explanation of where he was born and where he lived. Similarly, in CC, the victim's name is not only shared with the audience but also it has been capitalized, which garners more focus and may capture more interest. On the other hand, the perpetrator's name has been anonymized, and no further information about him is shared with the audience.

Considering this, further resources are examined to understand this discrepancy. The Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO) regulates the journalism codes in the UK, stating that the names of arrested individuals under 18 should not be published unless their identity has already been publicly disclosed. Therefore, the newspaper followed the code that protects the offender. On the other hand, the criteria for the minor victims are somewhat vague; they are regarded as vulnerable and in need of careful consideration. There has not been any rule for sharing the victim's name; thereby, naming juvenile victims of fatal crimes can be considered as optional (IPSO, 2025). Although formally identifying the victims is a controversial issue, for some audience it can function as an honouring mechanism, especially for the victim's family. This allows people to pay their respects to the victim explicitly and show their support through collective vigils. On the other hand, this may also be seen as problematic by some, as naming the children can be interpreted as violating their privacy. They could provoke adverse emotional reactions in family members. Hence, the attitude and the function of the newspaper should be evaluated based on the consent of the children's parents.

Given that the Guardian lacks details about the parents' approval or a related notice, the primary function of the children's formal identification cannot be determined; their position in this regard is relatively vague.

A similar examination of the journalism code in Turkey has been conducted to understand the processes involved in naming people. The analysis revealed that numerous reports and regulations on journalism codes exist in Turkish sources, including those from the "Directorate of Communications", a governmental institution. However, these definitions are found to be ambivalent. Conversely, the Turkish Journalists Association has set clearer standards in its Women and Media Guide and Media and Diversity Guide (n.d.). Hence, the results are evaluated based on these criteria. According to the Turkish Journalist Association (n.d), while reporting violent news about children, the identities and photos of both perpetrators and the victims should not be revealed and publicly shared. Excerpt (8), however, identifies the victim entirely, even though she is a minor, which does not comply with the Turkish media code.

The two corpora are also significantly different from each other on yet another nominalisation strategy, i.e., in their preferences towards nicknaming.

4.2.2. Nicknaming

The analysis showed that, in addition to anthroponomy, victims are sometimes given an alternative social identification through nicknaming. In 13 excerpts in TGC, women's nicknames in their social circles are also conveyed with the "known as" phrase. Although the sample contextualizations of the nicknaming show variety in their sentence positions, they can all be considered instruments for creating a bond between the readers and the victims, thereby framing and creating the compassionate act. Eliminating the murderer's nicknames and social identity in the discourse reveals the asymmetrical representations, compassionately favouring the victim.

Table 4. Samples of Nicknaming for Victims in TGC

Data ID	Anthroponyms	Following Part
10_00596	[1]C. B., known as Tina,	was found seriously injured…
10_21532	[1]K. N. I., known as Naso,	was found dead at a property…
10_00068	[1]D. G. who was known to her friends as Dee	(end of the sentence)

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

(9) **"Parmaksız olarak bilinen K.D.'den korktum, 5 ay tutuklu kalmama rağmen mahkeme heyetinden bu bilgiyi sakladım."**

(Data ID. 12_00026)

("I was afraid of K.D., known as 'Parmaksız,' and despite being held in custody for five months, I withheld this information from the court panel.")

On the other hand, nicknames are not as favoured in CC as they are in TGC. The only nickname detected in the discourse is found in a statement sharing an opinion

about the perpetrator, who is described as being “parmaksız” (fingerless). As the naming suggests, rather than focusing on the offender’s personality or social presence in the community, this nicknaming is limited to his physical deficit and defines him by this feature.

Recognizing the sentimental function of nicknames, which reveals the social bonds between individuals and their environment, nicknames can be significant for humanising individuals. TGC’s frequent use of them for the victims can solidify the victims’ position in their circles and emphasise their loss as a community.

On the other hand, CC’s use of nicknaming in (9) does not appear to be deliberate, as it is an alibi statement and shared within a quote; this nicknaming does not contribute to the narration from an affective perspective as the others. Contrarily, it can be seen as a further definition of the man based on his physical appearance, one that solidifies him as malformed, beastly due to a former run in, to be feared of, etc.

The affectionate narration in TGC is further extended through the use of metaphors which are explored in the following section.

4.2.3. Metaphors

The analysis in TGC further showed that formal and informal identification for women is also complemented with metaphors. “Doll”, “angel”, and “light” are found to be the most common metaphors in news discourse and are seen in 8 excerpts. They are embedded in the direct quotations from the victim’s families or friends to define the victim. These metaphors can highlight victims’ naive, innocent and passive character, which can heighten their ostensive vulnerability for the crime. Furthermore, in 9 cases the perpetrators are identified as “evil” and “monster” and their negative personality characteristics are further reinforced. Moreover, this narration also creates a dichotomic representation between the perpetrator and the victim. While the women are portrayed as angels in the discourse, the men are overtly constructed as its complementary other, the “demon”, thereby alleviating the violent effect of the crime on the reader. CC, however, abstains from metaphors.

The discourse is more literal and straightforward rather than figurative; the victims are either identified by their names or anonymised. The narration in CC tends to be de-emotionalised and less sentimental compared to its counterpart. The victims are not portrayed as passive symbols of purity, which defies the 'ideal victim' conceptualisation, and enables the reader to have a more rational basis rather than a sensitive one. This one-dimensional reflection is also found to be persistent in toponyms in CC.

4.2.4. Toponyms

Toponyms (the names of places) are frequently used to inform about the crime's exact location in both CC and TGC. The Table 5 and 6 outline the usage of toponyms.

Table 5. Excerpts from TGC for Toponyms

Excerpts	
(10)	**A man has been charged with murder after an investigation into the death of a woman in Greater Manchester. Police were called to a property in Atherton at approximately 11:40 a.m. on 9 October after concerns were raised about the welfare of a woman.** *(Data ID: 10_00016)*
(11)	**[1]S. M., 54, was found dead by a housekeeper in a room at Pennyhill Park in Bagshot, Surrey, on 14 April.** *(Data ID: 10_00909)*
(12)	**A man accused of murdering a woman whose body was found in her Lincolnshire home is due to stand trial in May. [1]K. S., 37, was discovered on Winsover Road, Spalding, at 7.30 pm on 26 November.** *(Data ID: 10_00030)*
(13)	**A man has been charged with murder after a woman was found seriously injured in a property in Somerset and later died in hospital.** *(Data ID: 10_00167)*

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns.

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

Table 6. Excerpts from CC for Toponyms

Excerpts	
(14)	**Aksaray'da Kılıçaslan Mahallesi'nde 2 katlı müstakil evde saat 10.00 sıralarında bir kadın cinayeti yaşandı.** *(Data ID: 12_00036)* *(A femicide occurred around 10:00 a.m. in a two-storey detached house located in the Kılıçaslan Neighbourhood of Aksaray.)*
(15)	**Merkez Sur ilçesi Süleyman Nazif Mahallesi Melik Ahmet Caddesi'nde uzman çavuş [1]M. R. I. , eşi [1]B. I.' ı, vurdu ve sonra intihar etti.** *(Data ID: 12_00099)* *(In central Sur district, on Melik Ahmet Street in the Süleyman Nazif Neighbourhood, Specialist Sergeant [1]M. R. I. shot his wife, [1]B.I. , and then committed suicide.)*
(16)	**Cumhuriyet Mahallesi Bahçıvan Sokak üzerinde sabah saat 09.00 sıralarında, markette çalıştığı ve iş yerine gittiği öğrenilen [1]Ş. M. (32) isimli kadın, silahlı saldırıya uğradı.** *(Data ID: 12_00647)* *(At around 9:00 a.m. on Bahçıvan Street in Cumhuriyet Neighbourhood, 32-year-old Ş. M. — reported to be on her way to work at a local market — was subjected to an armed attack.)*
(17)	**Olay dün saat 16.30 sıralarında, Yılmazlar Mahallesi Tuna Sokak'ta meydana geldi.** *(Data ID: 12_00395)* *(The incident occurred yesterday at around 4:30 p.m. on Tuna Street in Yılmazlar Neighbourhood.)*

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

As the Tables 5 and 6 illustrate, both newspapers integrated toponyms, which can be important elements in turning 'spaces' into 'places'. In TGC, the toponyms are constructed mainly with a top-down approach, meaning that the city, town, or county, such as Greater Manchester or Lincolnshire, is identified initially. Through the addition of street names and other specifics, the narration is further elaborated. By contrast, CC generally does not share the broader region with the city or town names. For the audience unfamiliar with the area, this specific introduction to the

crime location can be confusing and, in some cases, misleading due to the similarity in street names. Although the newspaper shares further details about the property, as in excerpt 14, “two-storey detached house”, these details do not contribute to the flow of the event, and can be considered as discursively redundant by some readers.

However, the providing of concrete spatial and architectural details of this type may be an attempt by the journalist (a) to make the report appear more factual, authentic and thus more credible, or (b) situate the femicide within a clear private/domestic space, reinforcing the notion that gender-based violence often occurs in intimate, seemingly safe settings; inviting the reader to contrast the expected normalcy of the middle-class domestic space with the violence that occurred within it.

4.2.4.1. Toponyms: Hotbeds of Crimes

In 57 of the excerpts in TGC, however, it is evident that the deliberate use of toponyms serve as further detailing mechanisms regarding the victim’s and/or perpetrator’s place of origin, adding a layer to the definition of the individuals. Of 57 toponyms, 10 are associated with the woman victim’s background, whereas 47 of them are attributed to the murderer.

Considering that the regional background of the perpetrator and the victim can influence the audience’s perception, a follow-up analysis is conducted to explore the sociocultural contexts and crime rates in the highlighted regions.

In order to be subjective, crime rates of each location are examined individually and compared the UK national rates for 2024 based on the statistical data given on CrimeRate (CrimeRate, n.d) The results showed that from 57 of the locations, 24 of them have higher crime rates compared to the national rate; therefore marked as dangerous, while 14 of them are found to be below the threshold, thereby; safer environments[2].

[2] For the remaining 19 of them, the website does not share any data; hence, their crime and safety levels could not be accurately verified from the same source.

Table 7. Anthroponyms and Toponyms Samples in TGC

Data ID	Anthroponyms	Toponyms	Following Part
10_00176	[1]R. H.	of Ipswich	appeared at Bristol magistrates' court via video link.
10_00186	[1]H. B.	of Corby.	(end of the sentence)
10_00263	[1]S. M.	from Horley	was found dying inside a tent at the station
10_24120	The suspect is a 17-year-old boy	from the Lancashire village of Banks, but born in Cardiff.	(end of the sentence)
10_00380	[1]T.Z., 32	of Dora Walk in Gloucester,	has been charged with her murder.

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

As the sample data reveal, the toponyms are modified with prepositional phrases, specifically "from" and "of", functioning as postmodifiers that foreground the affiliation with the specific geographical location. As well as nomination these structures can be also regarded as predication strategies to some extent, since they can evoke negative or positive feelings in the audience towards the individuals by prompting their place of origin. Thereby, they are considered a critical layer in the description of both women victims and men as perpetrators.

4.2.5. Nomination Strategies for Further Social Actors

Besides the main social actors, other social actors such as NGO solicitors, government officials, the victim's family and friends, and the perpetrator's family members are found to be visible in both corpora. Nomination strategy, especially

with anthroponyms, is also prevalent among state authorities and third parties, such as family members and acquaintances of victims.

Furthermore, public officials are identified by both their titles and full names, providing readers in TGC with extended professional identities. The following section examines the frequency of nominations of state officials related to the incident. Since the juridical system and the hierarchical organisation of police departments are significantly different in the UK and Turkey, the equivalent address forms are provided in Table 8 to assist the analysis to follow.

Table 8. Police and Detective Rank Hierarchy Equivalency Table (Top Down)

English Title	Turkish Equivalent	Description
Detective Chief Superintendent (DCS)	*Emniyet Müdürü / İl Emniyet Müdürü*	Highest-ranking detective, regional commander or division chief
Superintendent (Supt)	*Şube Müdürü / İlçe Emniyet Müdürü*	Operational head of a division or district police unit
Detective Chief Inspector (DCI)	*Başkomiser / Emniyet Amiri*	Senior investigative officer, team supervisor
Detective Inspector (DI)	*Komiser*	The intermediate rank often leads small investigative teams
Detective Sergeant (DS)	*Komiser Yardımcısı*	Senior field officer; may lead junior detectives
Detective (Det)	*Polis Memuru (Asayiş / Cinayet Masası)*	Field officer, involved in active investigation duties

Table 9 below illustrates the representations of judicial, political, and occupational titles for government officials in TGC and CC. Appearing 41 times in 186 excerpts, King's Counsel (KC) is proven to be the most frequent address form of all in TGC, while the most frequent one in CC is found to be "polis" (police/officer), used 88 times in 176 excerpts. Following this, the titles of TGC Member of Parliament (MP) and Detective Chief Inspector (DCI) share the second position, both of which are represented in 25 extracts. In contrast, its counterpart, CC, only shows MP 3 times, and "başkomiser" (DCI) is not seen at all. Further positions in the police department,

Superintendent (Supt) and Detective (Det), are found in 24 and 23 cases respectively in TGC.

Table 9. Frequency of Occurrence of Public Officials' Address Forms

Title	Frequency of Occurrence	Frequency of Occurrence
[1]King's Counsel (KC)	41	0
[2]Kıdemli Ceza Avukatı		
[1]Member of Parliament (MP)	25	3
[2]Milletvekili		
[1]Detective Chief Inspector (DCI)	25	0
[2]Başkomiser		
[1]Superintendent (Supt)	24	0
[2]İlçe Emniyet Müdürü		
[1]Detective (Det)	23	88
[2]Polis Memuru/ Polis		
[1]Mr/Mrs Justice	19	5
[2]Ağır Ceza Hakimi /Hakim		
[1]Solicitor	7	8
[2]Avukat		
[1]Detective Chief Superintendent (DCS)	3	0
[2]İl Emniyet Müdürü		
[1]Detective Sergeant (DS)	3	0
[2]Komiser Yardımcısı		
Total	170	104

Note [1] refers to government officials in TGC.
[2] refers to government officials in CC.

When discussing trial processes and court decisions, the actors involved, such as the judge and the solicitor, are referenced by their occupation. While Mr./Mrs. Justice forms are found in 19 cases; this number drops to 7 for solicitors in TGC. At the same time, a counter pattern is observed in CC, where the word "avukat" (solicitor)

is found more frequently than "ağır ceza hakimi/hakim" (Mr./Mrs Justice), with eight occurrences. Lastly, Detective Chief Superintendent (DCS) and Detective Sergeant (DS) are the least used titles in the news reports, identified in 3 cases in TGC, while they are not found in their counterpart, CC.

The corpus analysis is followed by concordance analysis to comprehend whether these address forms are complemented with anthroponyms or not. The results for each corpus are significantly different from one another. The only address forms preceded or followed by the first and last name pair in CC are those of solicitors and members of parliament. The other address forms are not individualised; people are collectively referred to as "polis" (detective), or impersonalized, such as "hakim" (Mr./Mrs Justice). Table 10 below outlines the nomination strategies for officials in CC for the politicians and NGO solicitors.

Table 10. Anthroponyms in CC for NGO solicitors and Politicians

Excerpts	
(18)	**Davayı takip eden Önce Çocuklar ve Kadınlar Derneği avukatı [1]S. Y.:**
	(Data ID: 12_00308)
	(S. Y, the lawyer representing the Association for Children and Women, who is following the case:)
(19)	**Etkinliğe CHP Mersin Milletvekili [1]T. D., ….(katıldı)**
	(Data ID: 12_00113)
	(The CHP MP for Mersin T. D... (attended the event.))
(20)	**İnsan Hakları Derneği Diyarbakır Şubesi Yönetim Kurulu Üyesi avukat [1]B. E. ,**
	(Data ID: 12_00165)
	(B. E., attorney and executive board member of the Diyarbakır Branch of the Human Rights Association,)
(21)	**DEM Parti Diyarbakır Milletvekili [1]C.A.C,**
	(Data ID: 12_00165)
	(The DEM MP for Diyarbakır Ceylan Akça Cupolo said:)

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

On the other hand, in TGC, the majority of the state officials in charge of the legal process are identified completely; their first names, last names, and titles are shared with the audience, which differs from CC. For the coercive power officials, on the other hand, as well as collective nomination similar to CC, the people leading the case are reflected with their whole identity again. The Table 10 below reveals how anthroponyms are used in TGC:

Table 11. Anthroponyms in TGC for Government Officials and Politicians

Excerpts	
(22)	**Judge [1]R. M. described**
	(Data ID: 10_21115)
(23)	**The senior investigating officer, DCI [1]S. A., of West Yorkshire police's homicide and major inquiry team, said:**
	(Data ID: 10_00631)
(24)	**Det Supt [1]R. D., of the major crime investigation team, said:**
	(Data ID: 10_00564)
(25)	**The Labour MP for Southport, [1]P. H.,**
	(Data ID: 10_24120)
(26)	**Mrs Justice [2]Y. told her:**
	(Data ID: 10_32038)

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

As the media plays a central role in shaping public opinion, mentioning government officials by name is often treated as a political act. The naming of the government officials can transform the audience's perspective by creating positive proximity between the reader and the mentioned individual. Scannel (2000) proposes that media is designed to evoke a 'for anyone as someone' feeling, which aims to promote a virtual dialogue between the audience and the media instrument. Hence, if the judge or police officer with their names is present or speaks directly to the audience, it can create a stronger sense of connection, closeness or familiarity between these figures and the readers. This connection can be further reinforced with the integration of the titles. As van Leeuwen (2008) argues, expert knowledge

can function as a discursive legitimisation tool. The titles in the news can help people construct them as authorities in the field, contributing to their credibility in the public by promoting transparency. Furthermore, the anthroponyms for the officials may positively impact the government's public image by playing a mitigating role in the perception of state power. The governmental authority's power is embodied and allocated to different people; thus, the government's image as a sole authority is discursively deflected, and it becomes more accessible to ordinary people, which can facilitate the consent production process in general.

On the other hand, utilising collective nouns for government officials, especially in criminal news, as in CC, can be disadvantageous for several reasons. Firstly, it can hinder the proximity-creating process by preventing a potential dialogue between the audience and the text. The reader may not believe the transparency of the case and the government's role in it, and people questioning the incident may face challenges in identifying a responsible person for the crime. Moreover, the centralisation of coercive and judicial power attributes responsibility to the institution, distancing the audience from the administrative units.

Overall, the quantitative analysis reveals a strong presence of government officials, who are mentioned in 170 of the excerpts in TGC, 104 in CC. Law enforcement officers, judicial authorities, and political figures are depicted using nomination strategies, especially anthroponyms, accompanied by elements of social deixis, specifically titles and address forms, in TGC. At the same time, they are collectively reflected in CC.

Nomination strategies do not construct meaning in isolation; they are often accompanied by lexical items that further define or characterize the referent. These are known as predications. The following section analyses the type of predications found in the two news corpora and their potential ideological connotations.

4.3. Predication

Predication is defined as the positive or negative attribution of agents, events, and all elements in the discourse (Wodak, 2015). Predication in this thesis is understood as

sharing details about the victim and/or perpetrator and the criminal act, both of which can potentially imply victim blaming, justification of the crime, or any other connotations.

Based on the results of previous studies, the findings of the predication strategies are grouped into two types (social status predications and crime-related predications) and their relevant categories are illustrated in the Table 12 as follows:

Table 12. Types of Predication and Relevant Categories

Social Status Predications	**Crime-Related Predications**
Occupation	Jealousy
Ethnicity	References Mental Health and Substance Abuse
Additional Crime	
Reference to Gender Roles	

4.3.1. Social Status Predications

Social status identifications and references in the discourse can be regarded as significant predication strategies. These elements are capable of addressing "symbolic boundaries" of the audience. Epstein (1992, as cited in Lamont et al., 2015) defines these boundaries as a type of categorisation that can be based on normativity construction, cultural sharedness, and similar tastes, creating an evaluation criterion, thereby also possible exclusionary devices. To interpret the potential influence of the predications on the audience's symbolic boundaries, the following section analyses the social predications in the discourses.

4.3.1.1. Occupations

The occupational references not only provide descriptive information but also reflect underlying social hierarchies, gendered assumptions and ideological positions in the discourse. Considering this, Table 13 presents an outline of how occupations are used as predications in TGC and CC.

Table 13. Illustrations of Social Actors' Professions in TGC and CC

Data ID*	Occupations for Women	Occupations for Men
10_00564	Sports Coach	-
10_21042	Children's nurse	-
10_21385	Carer in a charity shop	-
10_02722	-	Retired Nurse
10_21501	-	Served in the Navy for 25 years
10_21115	-	Lorry driver and ex-DJ
10_21669	Sex Worker	-
10_21338	-	Restaurant Worker
10_00909	Businesswoman	-
10_21397	Veterinary Nurse	Veterinarian
12_00014		Custodial officer
12_00113	Student	Police
12_00229	-	Gendarmerie Sergeant
12_00131	Teacher	Teacher
12_00012	Beauty Salon Owner	Municipal Officer
12_00388	-	Ambulance Driver and Factory Worker
12_00051	Aesthetician	Contractor
12_00217	Hairdresser	Men's Hairdresser
12_00222	Patient Carer	-

Note. The occupations for women and men are taken from the same data, whose ID is given in the first column.

*In the Data ID column, 10_ is refers to TGC, and 12_ refers to CC data.

The main conclusion that can be drawn from Table 13 is the asymmetrical representations among the parties. The analysis shows that professions for the victims and perpetrators are not conveyed at the same time in the majority of the excerpts. In general, there is a gendered division of work in both corpora.

Both in TGC and CC, if and when occupation is referred to, women in the excerpts are mostly framed in relation to pink collar jobs and often portrayed as caregivers such as nurses or volunteers engaged in unpaid work. The implication under these

work types is altruistic motivation, which represents women as selfless towards others, thereby predicted to have a positive connotation for the audience. The excerpts 10_21042 and 10_21385 in TGC exemplify this phenomenon by describing women as children's nurses and carers in a charity, respectively. In contrast, in its counterpart, this pattern is seen as patient, carer, and teacher in excerpts 12_00222 and 12_00131. Especially excerpts 12_00012, 12_00051, and 12_00217 in CC consistently locate women in the beauty industry working to achieve beauty norms for women.

However, the women's occupations are not limited to these types of work in the news in TGC. In other excerpts, the women are portrayed as sports coaches and businesswomen, signalling variety in socioeconomic status, which is regarded as a positive stance towards women's presence in different spheres.

On the other hand, being a "sex worker" can be considered to leave a relatively damaging impression since sex work is perceived to be a significantly stigmatised activity and faces negative evaluations based on collective moral standards (Toubiana & Ruebottom, 2022). However, although the newspaper explicitly names the woman as a sex worker, it does not share any negative stance toward the occupation. It rather acknowledges the stigma, unfair treatment and negligence towards this occupational group, which resulted in further crimes, as expected of a more left-wing newspaper. This is illustrated in excerpt 27 below:

(27) **(…) Although a rape allegation was first made against [2]P. in 1990, the prosecutor advocate deputes, [1]R. G. KC, told the jury that at that time police were "dismissive" of reports made by sex workers. He said it was a "tragedy" that sex workers felt forced to accept sexual assault as "part and parcel of their job". Another witness said P. chose girls who were "young, vulnerable and on drugs". Many of the women who gave witness statements were sex workers at the time, and some have since died.**
(Data ID: 10_21564)
Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns
[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

Thereby, the illustration of women in the frame of sex work cannot be considered as negative labelling or victim blaming; rather, it can be regarded as a positive contribution to the visibility of a highly stigmatised group in society.

Previous studies show that mental health problems can mitigate the offender's responsibility (Gillespie et.al, 2013) by attributing the main reason for killing to cognitive issues, potentially arising from former job position. Excerpt (28) overtly frames the perpetrator in this way in relation to his job:

(28) **(…) He initially denied responsibility before pleading guilty in November 2023. Mr Justice [2]O. said [2]F. had had trouble adapting to civilian life after serving in the navy for 25 years. He had been married twice and had convictions for harassing and assaulting his first wife. The judge said there was no reason to believe F.'s claim to remember nothing of the attack on N. He said: "It was the opposite of a spontaneous act committed in the heat of an emotional moment."**
(Data ID: 10_21501)
Note [2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

In Excerpt 28, the man's 25-year service in the Navy is utilized to imply his patriotism and long-term contributions to his country, which can be interpreted as having an altruistic and devoted character. Although there is a statement about his previous job and related probable adverse mental effects on him, the news discourse also illustrates the counter arguments from a higher authority rebutting these claims and putting the blame on the offender. Furthermore, the official explicitly underlines that this act has been deliberate, not a direct result of a psychosis. Therefore, his previous job and mental health issues do not serve as a positive precedent for the audience.

Even though this nationalism presupposition is not as significant as in TGC, the CC news data also reflects men in security roles, such as police, gendarmerie, and custodial officers. The consistent depiction of men in these roles can prompt readers to associate masculinity with physical power, control and a sense of security. In contrast, this narration reinforces hegemonic representations of males as

authoritarian; it also embodies male agency as an extension of state power. Since the newspaper does not share any details prompting readers to associate the killing act with men's nature, the professions of the perpetrators do not serve as justifications for the criminal act.

In Table 13 at the beginning of this section, in data extract 10_21115, 10_21338, and 12_00388, men are defined as 'manual workers'. Their jobs as restaurant workers, lorry drivers, and factory workers require physical labour, which can imply their social status and class as blue-collar workers with low socioeconomic status. Furthermore, in extracts 10_21115 and 12_00388, both men are identified with a second occupation being ex-DJ and ambulance driver; this additional information about their job can suggest a multipotentiality about them. Considering the nature of the two jobs —lorry driver and ex-DJ —they can be regarded as irrelevant. So, rather than being depicted as high achievers, the men are either portrayed as lacking professional stability or as suffering economic instability having to careers or working two jobs to make ends meet.

In data extract 10_21397, the woman and the man are entitled to professional jobs, such as a veterinary nurse and a veterinarian. Although this illustration can be regarded as neutral and even slightly positive, upon closer examination, the hierarchical asymmetry becomes more pronounced. The veterinary nurse (woman) assists the veterinarian (man), thereby the woman can be regarded as having a more subordinate role to the man in terms of chain of command and organisational hierarchy.

The idealisation of victims, as discussed in the previous sections, cannot be limited to their characteristics; some types of victims having a specific occupational status are claimed to be overly represented in the media (Greer, 2007) such as the police. Greer (2007) argues that by overemphasising the police officers' victimisation, media outlets tend to neglect the marginalised victims. Moreover, in rare cases where the police officer is killed on duty, they are glorified with a "hero" title, which is reinforced with a reference to the jeopardy that their work involves (Greer, 2007). Based on these arguments, the case of S. B. , who was shot while on duty, is

examined to comprehend the attitudes toward police officers as victims. The excerpt related to the event can be seen below:

(29) **(…) [2]B., 38, had been an officer for only nine months when she and a colleague, PC [1]T.M., responded to an alarm call at Universal Express on 18 November 2005. CCTV footage played in court showed the two officers making their way across the city centre when they were confronted by three of the robbers. [2]M. recalled seeing two men struggling with the door of the travel agents while trying to get out before one of the three pointed a pistol at B. and opened fire at point-blank range. The gunman then turned his weapon on Milburn, shooting her in the chest. The then-37-year-old officer managed to activate a Code Zero alarm call, signifying an officer has been injured, after collapsing on the pavement. B. died instantly. She had been only minutes from the end of her shift when she was due to go home to celebrate her daughter's fourth birthday. The murder sent shock waves through policing in Britain and remains one of the most heinous attacks on officers in the line of duty nearly 20 years on. Six of the robbers had been convicted years ago for their various roles on the day. However, it was not until April of last year that detectives felt the finish line of the nearly two-decade-long investigation was in sight.**

(…) In a statement after the conviction, West Yorkshire police Det Supt [1]M. B. said: "Today, as always, our thoughts remain with PC Sharon Beshenivsky and her family. Sharon went to work to protect the public; she responded to a call for help alongside her colleague, Teresa, but tragically never came home. "This verdict is the culmination of 18 years of hard work, tenacious grit and determination to bring [2]K. before the courts." K., who showed no emotion when the verdicts were given, will be sentenced at a later date.

(Data ID: 10_21404)

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

The excerpts are mainly structured in a narrative style. Initially, the victim is depicted to be a police officer for "only" 9 months, implying her novice status in her job which can create a sense of vulnerability, deepening the emotional impact. Following this, the audience experiences the incident step by step. All the details and actions of the parties are vividly described as a story. Furthermore, the sentence, "*The then-37-year-old officer managed to activate a Code Zero alarm call –*

signifying an officer has been injured – after collapsing on the pavement", underlines that despite (she and her colleague) being injured, they were able to call for help. It prompts heroism by highlighting the enduring lethal injuries. Inserting the detail of "*her collapsing on the pavement"* reinforces this glorified and courageous image. The further detail related to her plans after the shift positions her in a different role, being a mother. This identity is elaborated with an emotionally compelling detail related to her daughter's birthday. Then, the brutality of the crime is overtly foregrounded, and it is evaluated to be "one of the most heinous attacks" towards the police officers in nearly two decades. Even though this strategy intensifies the cruelty of killing, this type of assessment cannot be detected for the other victims who are also killed violently; hence, this construction is found to be unique to police officers. The last statement from an officer adds to the heroic image more by pointing out that she sacrificed her life to protect her community, romanticising her death and her endeavour to fulfil her job's requirements. In this excerpt, the newspaper adopts a different strategy and takes a positive stance for the victim. In the previous excerpts, it has been observed that personal details about the victims are conveyed through direct quotations from their loved ones, or in some cases, by the officials. However, in this case, the newspaper shares these details as direct statements. Since the direct quotations can function as a distancing mechanism for the discourse, the newspaper subtly hints at its proximity to the victim. Furthermore, the crime committed against the female police officer is exacerbated by the integration of superlative structures, distinguishing it from the others. However, CC displays a slightly different stance in reporting a female police officer's death.

(30) **Ümraniye'de dün akşam saatlerinde meydana gelen olayda İlçe Emniyet Müdürlüğü, tarafından 'Motosiklet hırsızlığı' suçundan yakalandıktan sonra karakoldan firar eden şüphelinin yakalanmasına yönelik çalışma başlatılmıştı. Aranan ve 26 suç kaydı bulunan 19 yaşındaki [1]Y. E. G. , Ihlamurkuyu 'da kendisini yakalamak isteyen polislere direndi. Çıkan arbedede, polis memurunun silahını alarak etrafa ve polis memurlarına ateş açtı. Olayda polis memuru [1]Ş. Y. ağır yaralanmış, polis memuru [1]H. K. S. ve saldırganın annesi P.G. yaralanmıştı. Yaralılar ilk müdahalelerinin ardından hastaneye kaldırılmış, polis memuru Şeyda Yılmaz, yapılan tüm müdahalelere rağmen kurtarılamayarak şehit olmuştu.**

(Data ID: 12_00108)

(The chain of events unfolded last night in Ümraniye, Istanbul, leaving one young police officer dead and several others injured. In the incident that occurred yesterday evening in Ümraniye, the District Police Department had launched an operation to apprehend a suspect who had escaped from the police station after being detained for motorcycle theft. The suspect, 19-year-old Y. E. G., who had 26 prior criminal records, resisted police officers attempting to arrest him in the Ihlamurkuyu neighbourhood. During the struggle, he seized a police officer's firearm and opened fire, shooting at both the officers and nearby individuals. As a result of the incident, Police Officer Ş. Y. was critically injured, while Police Officer K. H. S. and the suspect's mother, P.G., also sustained injuries. All the injured were taken to the hospital following emergency medical intervention. Despite all efforts, Officer Ş Y. could not be saved and was declared a martyr.)

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

Even though both victims are police officers who are killed in the line of duty, their representations are not similar. In CC, the detailed narration of the criminal act, this action depiction is further elaborated with the perpetrator's prior crime record and his fleeing from the police station, leading to the murder. Initially, the victim is reported to be critically injured along with the other people then reported to be dead and announced as a "martyr" (şehit[3]). According to Yılmaz & Ertürk (2023), after 2010, governmentally, Turkey adopted an Islamist civilisation perspective. This approach has led to a shift toward a more necropolitical discourse, emphasising martyrdom to consolidate political power based on Islamic religious values (Yilmaz & Erturk, 2023). Although the discourse in CC does not explicitly address this status due to its relatively secular stance, the mention of this title can also appeal to potential conservative and religious audiences as it is valorised in terms of divinity. It can be concluded from the excerpt that the police officer woman is defined solely by a religious address, as her heroism as a police officer has not been additionally narrated and glorified, unlike her counterpart in TGC. The heroic image of police

[3] In Islamic belief, a "şehit" is someone who dies in the path of God, especially while defending the faith, the country, or community. Dying in such a cause is seen as a blessed death, with the promise of immediate entry into paradise (cennet), forgiveness of sins, and eternal honor. When a police officer is referred to as a "şehit," especially after being killed in the line of duty it invokes this religious understanding. It positions their death as not merely professional sacrifice but a sacred one, valorized in both divine and societal terms.

officer S.B. is further expanded with emotional details, such as her status as a mom and her collapsing to the ground while trying to protect others.

4.3.1.2. Additional Crimes

In reflecting on violent news, the healing process can be carried out by affirming social values through the emphasis on the distinction between good and evil (Berkowitz, 2010). As noted in a previous section (i.e., perspectivization), victims are frequently portrayed as "ideal". The media further constructs archetypal images of women as "angels" and men as "evil". This is amplified with the mention of former or additional offences committed by the perpetrators. Table 14 below lists the additional crimes committed by perpetrators and their types.

Table 14. Additional Crimes in TGC and CC for the perpetrators

Corpus	Additional Crime	Type of Additional Crime
TGC	He is also charged with possessing a knife in a public place and violent disorder. *(Data ID: 10_00282)*	Secondary Offenses
TGC	In February, he was accused of stalking *(Data ID: 10_02216)*	Previous
TGC	He was also charged with possession of a class B drug. *(Data ID: 10_21322)*	Secondary Offenses
TGC	The teenager, who cannot be named for legal reasons, has also been charged with possession of a bladed article. *(Data ID: 10_21060)*	Secondary Offenses
CC	Polis, cesedin taşındığı otomobilin bulunduğunu, incelemenin sürdüğünü belirterek olayın firarisi olarak aranan sanığın uyuşturucu kullanmak suçundan çok sayıda polis geliş kaydı olduğunu ayrıca hakkında 8 yıl kesinleşmiş hapis cezası bulunduğunu tespit etti. *(Data ID: 12_00337)* *(The police stated that the vehicle used to transport the body had been located and that the investigation was ongoing. It was determined that the perpetrator, who is wanted as a fugitive in connection with the incident, has numerous police records related to drug use and a finalised prison sentence of eight years.)*	Previous

Table 14. (continued)

CC	Sanığa, ruhsatsız silah bulundurma suçundan da 2 yıl 1 ay hapis cezası veren mahkeme, cezada herhangi bir indirim uygulanmasına yer olmadığına hükmederek, tutukluluk halinin devamına karar verdi. *(Data ID: 12_00068)* *(The court, which also imposed a 2-year and 1-month prison sentence on the defendant for possessing an unlicensed firearm, ruled that no reduction of the sentence was warranted and ordered that the defendant remain in custody.)*	Secondary Offense
CC	Ankara Cumhuriyet Başsavcılığınca hazırlanan iddianamede sanık hakkında, 'eski eşi kasten öldürmek' suçundan ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis ve 'ruhsatsız silah taşımak' suçundan 2 yıla kadar hapis istemiyle dava açıldı. *(Data ID: 12_00061)* *(In the indictment prepared by the Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's Office, a lawsuit was filed against perpetrator seeking aggravated life imprisonment for 'intentionally killing his ex-wife' and up to 2 years' imprisonment for 'carrying an unlicensed firearm.')*	Secondary Offense

Additional crimes can be examined in two different categories as it can be seen in Table 14. The first one includes previous offences committed by the perpetrator. The table illustrates that these crimes can be committed against the victim in the form of stalking or battering, or they can imply other crimes carried out targeting other people in society. On the other hand, there are additional crimes that are committed during murder called secondary offenses. These criminal acts consist possession of bladed article, drug, knife, as well as sexual harassment and/or rape.

The criminal record of the offenders serves as an identification mechanism for them, labelling them as deviant and abnormal. Although this stigmatisation is initially discreditable, it cannot be comprehended immediately. With this detailed narration, it becomes discredited, recognised by everyone (Goffman, 1963), which contributes to the degradation of the perpetrator's social position and credibility. Hence, this backgrounding can set the scene for the audience to justify the crime in their minds; they can expect these ex-convicts to recidivate and normalise the crime by attributing

it to their deviant identity, so the criminal act becomes a “self-fulfilling prophecy” for the criminals.

Furthermore, secondary crimes, which are committed during the main crime, killing, can heighten the intensity of the brutal event for the reader, and provide a grounding for severe penalty. Framing men as criminals by reflecting their criminal record and violent acts, their position in TGC and CC can be regarded as ‘foil characters’[4]. Along with direct quotations from the victim's family and friends reflecting their "angelic character", and the construction of men and the crime as "evil predisposition" reinforces the women's positive description. As the literature suggests, description is not considered asymmetrical; rather, it is regarded as a collective memory-restoring process that supports people in dealing with the event by affirming or reinforcing social norms simultaneously (Berkowitz, 2010). In some cases, ethnicity is also perceived as a social stigma. The following section explores how ethnicity is utilised to construct the identities of social actors in the news corpora.

4.3.1.3. Ethnicity

In this section, the ethnic background analysis for both victims and perpetrators are provided. Table 15 reveals how women and men are portrayed in relation to their country of origin, which can affect audience perception and prompt cultural stereotyping associated with immigrant identities in TGC.

Table 15. Ethnicity Status Implicatures in TGC

Data ID	Woman’s Ethnicity	Man’s Ethnicity
10_21532	Originally from Otse, a village in south-east Botswana, she is understood to have had three sons and been living in the UK since last year.	He was arrested in connection with his wife’s death on 2 January.

[4] A foil character (in literature) is a character who contrasts with another, usually the protagonist in order to highlight particular qualities of the main character. This contrast often serves to emphasize the virtues, flaws, or traits of the other character.

Table 15. continued

10_21397	-	The court heard man, an Italian national, developed a narcissistic personality disorder and had sex with many women to "validate" himself as he had inferiority issues because of the size of his penis.
10_00452	42-year-old woman, originally from Zimbabwe	The man was arrested in connection with the death of 42-year-old woman, originally from Zimbabwe.
10_21338	[2]B. married [2]R., a restaurant worker, in an arranged Islamic ceremony over the phone in 2019. In 2020, she travelled from Bangladesh to live with him, and they had two children.	-
10_21404	-	[2]K., who listened to proceedings with the help of an interpreter, was the last of the seven robbers to go on trial.
10_00241	-	He is a Polish national who has lived in Northern Ireland for 20 years, the court heard. A Polish interpreter assisted during the brief hearing.

Table 15. continued

10_00647	[2]W., a Chinese national, was studying in London, according to police.	[1]J. M., 24, of Lewisham, was charged with her murder on 22 March.

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

Based on Table 15, it is evident that both men and women are represented by their country of origin. However, the data extracts 10_21532, 10_00452 and 10_21338 provide only the victims' ethnic background overtly. The perpetrators' ethnicity is subtly implied through their relationship with the victim; hence, to comprehend the offenders' country of origin, readers need to infer it by using the context and reading between the lines. For instance, in extract 10_00452, the woman's country of origin is shared to be Zimbabwe, while the man's background can be inferred by examining both social actors' last names, as they both share the same one; thereby, they are likely related. Similar phenomena can also be observed in extract 10_21532. The woman is explicitly identified as a Motswana, while the man's ethnicity is implicit and may be unknown to the reader. Furthermore, in this excerpt, the woman's mother's identity is also illustrated, as well as her time in the UK, which prompts her integration into society.

On the other hand, in extract 10_0024, the perpetrator is identified as having Polish nationality, but he has also lived in Northern Ireland for 20 years. However, his court presence, particularly with an interpreter, can subtly prompt readers to think that his unsuccessful integration into society suggests he is unable to overcome the language barrier on his own. In extract 10_21397, the perpetrator is identified as an Italian national, whereas the woman's ethnic background has not been disclosed. However, his nationality does not contribute to the criminal act in a discursive sense. On the other hand, the further explanations about his sexual insecurity can function as an explanation for his criminal behaviour.

The only extract where the woman's and man's ethnic identities are given is 10_00647. The woman is identified as a Chinese national, whereas the man is

associated with the borough of Lewisham in London. Although this regional attribution does not explicitly promote a national identity for the man, it subtly conveys his nationality as a British citizen. Furthermore, Lewisham is considered a relatively dangerous place, with criminal acts occurring 55% more than the UK as a whole. (CrimeRate, n.d), directing the readers to frame the man as a criminally inclined individual and justify the criminal act. The analysis also revealed cases where the nationality and ethnic representation of both the victim and the perpetrator are not overtly shared. Specifically, for the perpetrators, these identities are subtly linked to their relationality with the victim, so readers must infer their background by following some clues. Furthermore, in some cases, the act of revealing the offender's country of origin, accompanied by the time spent in the UK, and his need for a translator, is found to be an indicator of his failure to integrate into society. Unlike previous studies like Madriz (1997), the discourse does not promote any relationship between the criminal and their ethnic background; the crime has not been racialised in the The Guardian. The sociodemographic structure of the Turkish context is markedly different from that of the UK. In 2025, there are 2.7 million registered Syrian refugees in Turkey (European Commission (EC), 2025). Therefore, the Cumhuriyet corpus does not exhibit much variety in ethnic representations; the focus is primarily on Syrians. Furthermore, the social status of these immigrants is demeaned, and they are perceived as "invaders". They are held responsible for social inequality, the economic burden, and consequently poverty (Ozcurumez & Mete, 2020).

Table 16. The Role Attributions to Syrians in the TGC

Excerpt		Role Attribution
(31)	**İlkokul öğrencisi Suriye uyruklu [1]G. M., 4 Nisan 2023'te okuldan çıktıktan sonra Okçular Mahallesi'ndeki evine dönmedi. (…) Savaştan ve onun getirdiği ölümden kaçan kız, eğitim için çıktığı yolda katledildi."** *(Data ID: 12_00766)* *(G. M., a primary school student of Syrian origin, did not return to their home in Okçular District after leaving school on April 4, 2023. (…) Fleeing war and death, it brought, she was murdered on a path she had taken in pursuit of education.)*	Juvenile Victim

Table 16. continued

(32)	**Polis, Suriye uyruklu [2]H. H.'nin peşine düştü. Şüphelinin çalıştığı yere giden ekipler, olay günü normalden daha geç geldiğini, yüzünde ve ellerinde bazı tırnak izleri gören arkadaşlarına "Önemli bir şey yok. Düştüm." dediğini öğrendi. Şüphelinin akşam saatlerinde bütün eşyalarını toplayarak iş yeri sahibine "Ben gidiyorum. Polis gelirse burada çalıştığımı söylemeyin" dediği de öğrenildi.** *(Data ID: 12_00352)* *(The police began pursuing H. H., a Syrian national. Officers who visited the suspect's workplace discovered that on the day of the incident, he had arrived later than usual, and his coworkers had noticed scratch marks on his face and hands. When asked about them, he told them, "It's nothing important. I fell." It was also learned that in the evening, the suspect packed all his belongings and told his employer, "I'm leaving. If the police come, don't tell them I worked here.")*	Adult Perpetrator
(33)	**Cinayete ilişkin çalışma başlatan polis, aynı binada oturan komşusu Suriye uyruklu [1]D. Z'yi gözaltına aldı. Zanlı cinayetle ilgisi olmadığını öne sürdü. Olayın meydana geldiği evin balkonunda bulunan kan izi ile Z'den alınan örnekler uyuşunca ikinci kez ifadesi alınan Z, cinayeti işlediğini itiraf etti.** *(Data ID: 12_00194)* *(The police, who launched an investigation into the murder, took into custody D. Z., a Syrian national and a neighbour living in the same building. Zurer claimed that he had nothing to do with the murder. However, when bloodstains found on the balcony of the crime scene matched samples taken from Z., he was questioned a second time and confessed to committing the murder.)*	Adult Perpetrator
(34)	**Merkez Seyhan ilçesi Barış Mahallesi'nde 3 Mayıs 2023'te yaşanan olayda, Suriye asıllı Türk vatandaşı [1]Ö. D., evde eşi [1]İ. B. (29) ile çocuklarının devlet korumasına verilmesi nedeniyle tartıştı. (…)** **(Perpetrator) : Suriye'ye de kaçabilirdim ama kaçmadım ve kendim gidip teslim oldum. Cinayeti işlemek istemedim. Çok pişmanım" ifadelerini kullandı.** *(Data ID: 12_00287)*	Adult Perpetrator

Table 16. (continued)

(In the incident that took place on May 3, 2023, in the Barış neighbourhood of Seyhan district, Ö. D., a Turkish citizen of Syrian origin, argued at home with his wife, İ.B. (29), over their children being placed under state protection. (…)

"I could have fled to Syria, but I didn't. I went and turned myself in. I didn't mean to commit the murder. I am deeply regretful," he said in his statement.)

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

Even though they do not have any statistical data to support their claims, people in some social circles argue that the arrival of Syrians in the country led to more criminal acts, mainly robbery, sex work and child abduction (Özcürümez & Mete, 2020). Considering this background, representations of Syrian immigrants in the CC about criminal acts are deemed to be crucial to challenge or reinforce the public opinion. The table illustrates the Syrian immigrants' experience of femicide in CC.

According to Table 16 the role attribution for Syrians in femicide news is primarily that of perpetrators. Out of 5 excerpts, only one is the juvenile victim represented as female, whereas the others are male. Although the discourse does not have an overt negative attribution to Syrians, their denial of the charge is emphasised. For instance, in extract 12_00194, the man is reported to be rejecting the crime; however, the evidence made him confess to the crime. Similarly, in excerpt 12_00352, the perpetrator overtly attempts to direct the witnesses to lie and deliberately mislead law enforcement; however, the blood samples refuted his allegations. Based on the patterns about Syrians and their consistent denial and misinforming the authorities, the audience can consider Syrians criminals and as the manipulators preventing the administration of justice. These details in the narration reinforces the prevailing public opinion found in previous studies that Syrians are 'criminals, thieves, murderers and rapists' (Erdogan-Ozturk & Isik Guler, 2020). On the other hand, in extract 12_00287, the Syrian ethnicity is accompanied by an additional identity, namely, Turkish citizenship. This dual identification allows for the construction of

citizenship as multilayered, with political, cultural, and emotional connotations (Nira Yuval-Davis, 2006). Even though the man is legally a Turkish citizen, his further identification as Syrian can be interpreted as socially excluding him from the audience, and he can still be regarded as an outsider who is a second-tier member of the community (Nira Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Contrary to the Syrian male perpetrator description, the discourse reflects a more affectionate tone for the female juvenile victim. The statement "fleeing war and the death it brought, she was murdered on a path she had taken in pursuit of education" initially signifies innocence and creates an emotional stance. She was killed in the place where she sought refuge. She was symbolically constructed to be vulnerable in different realms, as a war refugee, a woman, and an aspirational person for her education, which reinforces her victimhood status morally. However, the victim has an additional identity, being a child, which can affect the dramatisation of discourse and heighten the affective move. Considering that, it is not possible to determine whether the victim's juvenile identity or immigrant identity is foregrounded based on this excerpt alone. However, Narlı & Özaşçılar (2019) found a similar pattern for adult Syrian women's representation in Turkish daily press. One of the frames they explored, underlines that the immigrant women's experiences of sexual harassment, tends to be reflected with a tone of compassion.

4.3.1.4. Naming Reflecting Gender Roles

To explore the representation of traditional gender roles, the keywords 'mother/mom' for women and 'father/dad' for men were examined in the news agencies. The number of occurrences for each party is presented in Table 17.

Table 17. The Number of Occurrences of Assigned Gender Roles in TGC

Corpus Name	Mother / Mum	Father / Dad
TGC	187	27
Corpus Name	Anne/Annesi (Mother/Mother of)	Baba / Babası (Father/Father of)
CC	55	34

As shown in the table 17, the disparity between the traditional roles of women and men is significant. In the TGC, references to 'mother' and 'mom' appear nearly six times more frequently than references to 'father' and 'dad,' indicating a significant gendered imbalance in parental representation. this disparity slightly decreases in the CC. The terms anne (mother) and annesi (mother of) appear 55 times, while their male equivalents, baba (father) and babası (father of), occur 34 times. To gain a deeper understanding of how these roles are contextualized, some excerpts are examined in detail below.

(35) **"She (the victim) always talked to people and was a mother to everyone. She was always laughing."**
(Data ID: 10_30649)

(36) **The mother of six was found lying unconscious on a track by a member of the public at about 6.25 am and was taken to Addenbrooke's hospital in Cambridge with serious head injuries, where she died on Sunday.**
(Data ID: 10_00440)

(37) **[1]K. S. a mother of three, from Calder, Edinburgh, was last seen on a FaceTime call with a friend on 10 October 2023 and was reported missing in January.**
(Data ID: 10_00150)

(38) **"Our thoughts, of course, remain with the loved ones of L. G., a mother of two who was shot dead for reasons we may never fully understand. We know this has been a challenging time and we will continue to offer them our full support."**
(Data ID: 10_00021)

(39) **A man has appeared in court charged with the murder of a mother who was stabbed to death as she pushed her baby in a pram in Bradford city centre.**
(Data ID: 10_21381)

(40) **Her two children said, "Nothing can prepare you to face the world without your parents at a young age. Our mother had been both parents to us since the loss of our father, and she was doing such a fantastic job at it. No finer example of a mum could there be; we will feel the loss in every aspect of our lives.**
(Data ID: 10_00909)

(41) **3 çocuk annesi eşini öldüren [1]K. B., ise polis ekiplerinin yaptığı çalışmalar neticesinde yakalanarak gözaltına alındı.**
(Data ID: 12_00492)
(K. B., who killed his wife, a mother of three, was apprehended and taken into custody as a result of investigations conducted by the police.)

(42) **İddiaya göre, 1 çocuk annesi 25 yaşındaki [1]D. G., 4 Mayısta akrabalarının bulunduğu Sedeftepe köyüne gitti. G.'dan haber alamayan ailesi durumu polise bildirdi.**
(Data ID: 12_00348)
(According to allegations, 25-year-old D. G., a mother of one, went to the village of Sedeftepe, where her relatives reside, on May 4. When her family could not reach her, they notified the police.)

(43) **Jandarma ekipleri, şahsın cesetleri bıraktığını söylediği bölgeye giderek yaptığı aramada hamile anne ve 2 çocuğun cansız bedenleri Bitişik Mahallesi Demen Yaylasında çukur içine gömülmüş halde bulundu.**
(Data ID: 12_00150)
(Upon searching the area indicated by the suspect, gendarmerie teams discovered the bodies of a pregnant woman and her two children buried in a pit in the Demen Plateau, located in Bitişik Neighbourhood.)

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns
[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

The excerpts (35-43) outline the concept of motherhood and its general characteristics. Based on representations above, it can be concluded that women victims who are entitled to motherhood are depicted as caregivers, and mainly in a positive light. The excerpts illustrate the women in their biological roles, foregrounding the number of children they have, reducing their identity to only their fertility and nurturing. Furthermore, in excerpt 35, this caregiver role is extended to a macro scale, and the victim is depicted as a mother to all, heightening the emotional appeal by creating a sense that her murder is a collective loss for the community. Similarly, in excerpts 39 and 43, the victim's status as a mother is emphasized through references to her baby, pram, and pregnancy, which function to evoke greater public empathy toward the victim. In excerpt 40, by contrast, the victim is

portrayed in relation to her children, with the statements framing her as self-sacrificing and child centred. Her motherhood is shared to be "almost perfect", and this idealisation is further elevated with the father's absence, reinforcing her maternal sacrifice and children's centredness.

Although motherhood is prevalent in both newspapers, there is a slight difference in their narration and tone. In the TGC excerpts, a plurality of motherhood is represented, including portrayals of single mothers and symbolic maternal figures within a community. In contrast, the CC depicts motherhood as a fixed identity, exclusively framed within heterosexual relationships, with the presence of men as husbands. Furthermore, in CC, the characteristics of mothers, their entitlements and features are not reflected; however, these details are found in TGC, adding different identity markers to the victims.

On the other hand, the keyword "father" is not widely used to refer to the perpetrator in either corpus. From the excerpts, it can be understood that the word is mainly utilised to refer to victims' fathers or different individuals. Surprisingly, in excerpt 44, it is used to substitute for the victim herself. While defining her role for the family, she is not only portrayed as a self-sacrificing carer, but also her taking responsibility for the family is gendered and regarded as "fatherlike."

(44) **"Our beloved [2]T. […] a soul that adored and looked after her mum, younger sister and younger brother," the statement read. "She took on the responsibility of a father for her siblings and was the backbone of the family.**
(Data ID: 10_00472)

(45) **The couple's eldest son, [2]O., faced his father in court to read a victim impact statement in which he said he was "humiliated to have ever called you my dad"**
(Data ID: 10_04351)

(46) **(…) Kızımı, canımı o şekilde teşhis ettikten sonra sanığın bu asılsız savunmalarıyla mahkemece takdiri indirim uygulanarak adeta ödüllendirilmesi bir baba olarak canımı iki kat fazla acıtmaktadır.**
(Data ID: 12_00217)

(After identifying my daughter, my life in that way, the fact that the court almost rewarded the defendant by applying a discretionary discount with these baseless defences hurts me twice as much as a father.)

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Only one excerpt in TGC, 45, reflects that the perpetrator is a father. Even though this role is not given overtly, as in the case of women, the statement from the perpetrator's son reveals his fatherhood. However, in the discourse, the father is condemned, denied and distanced by his son due to his violent act. Hence, the offender, despite his paternal role, is alienated and marginalised by his own immediate family. In excerpt 46 in CC, the term "baba" (father) is used to refer to the victims' father, and the perpetrators have not been overtly identified as fathers in CC.

The grievability effect can explain the disparity between how fatherhood and motherhood are framed. Butler (2016) argues that individuals who follow collective cultural norms and values are seen as "grievable," while marginalised others are considered "ungrievable" by dominant institutions. Through frequent depiction of victims as mothers embodying naivety, purity, and vulnerability, the discourse fosters the formation of collective grief. Although the TGC's discourse demonstrates an emotional appeal by highlighting mothers, as discussed earlier, it does not overlook marginalised femininities such as sex workers or LGBTQ individuals. In CC, motherhood is portrayed in a biological sense, directly linked to fertility. The diversity of womanhood and maternal roles is ignored in descriptions, indicating a latent and subtle patriarchal ideology.

4.3.2. Crime Predication

The audience is also provided with the incident's background story, which can be used as a manipulative tool to justify the crime. The literature shows that some discourses tend to justify the crime subtly by adding details about the criminal's

mental or economic background, or even, in some cases, the prior events that triggered the crime. (Gillespie et.al, 2013; Karlsson et.al, 2020; Leung, 2016;). Therefore, this section aims to explore potential justification mechanisms for the perpetrator and the motivation behind the crime: lexicalisations of jealousy and mental state.

4.3.2.1. Jealousy

(47) **She said: "I reach this conclusion fully aware that such a disposal is a rare one and reserved for only the most extreme cases." She said his actions were horrific and there were no mitigating factors other than a guilty plea. "The motivation for both killings was sexual in nature," she said. "Both were driven by your sexual jealousy. I am sure you also engaged in sexual activity when Katie was either dead or dying."**
(Data ID: 10_21053)

(48) **He is the first person in Northern Ireland to be convicted and sentenced for murder aggravated by domestic abuse under new legislation. The court heard that the motive was jealousy and that he used a knife and latex gloves in a premeditated attack that inflicted multiple stab wounds to her cheek, chin, neck, jaw, chest, back and arms. The fatal wound cut blood vessels in her neck.**
(Data ID: 10_21501)

(49) **[2]B. married [2]R., a restaurant worker, in an arranged Islamic ceremony over the phone in 2019. In 2020, she travelled from Bangladesh to live with him and they had two children. A year later, [2]B. met [2]M. via TikTok, later moving on to WhatsApp, and they had an "intimate, sexual" online relationship, the court heard. The prosecutor J. L. KC had told jurors it was clear she was "no longer happy in her marriage, she was fairly openly in a relationship with another man, and she had expressed the desire to leave the defendant, something about which neither he nor her family were happy". "But whether he was motivated by rage, shame, or pure jealousy, or a more complex mix of cultural expectations and emotions, may not matter," Ledward said.**
(Data ID: 10_21338)

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

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Although in all excerpts, potential motivation for the crime is illustrated as jealousy or sexual drives, the contextualization does not imply any justification or any blaming act towards the victim. Initially, the excerpts 47 and 48 reveal that sexual desire and envy can be a background for the offence; however, the data also illustrate the counter perspectives, especially from the legal authorities. From the statements, it is evident that jealousy or any other motivation cannot be considered a mitigating factor, and these details do not affect the legal proceedings. This attitude is further reinforced in excerpt 48 that stating the perpetrator is the first convict of the new legislation system, hinting at the government's endeavours regarding the issue of the violence against women in the country.

On the other hand, excerpt 49 outlines the prior intimate relationship between the victim and the perpetrator. From the details, the readers can conclude that the woman committed "adultery" by meeting someone online while she is married. In isolation, this statement could have functioned as a victim-blaming strategy by foregrounding the victim's past actions and decisions to justify the femicide. However, the narration also includes her perspective, explaining the action by stating that she was unhappy in her marriage and did not have the opportunity to get a divorce due to cultural norms. Moreover, the further implications of the crime related to cultural background are defined by showing that this action is unacceptable regardless of the motivation and explanations.

(50) **Kıskançlık nedeniyle olduğu iddia edilen tartışmada [1]H. A. P., ikinci eşi [2]A. P. tarafından tabanca ile başından tek el ateş edilerek öldürüldü.**
(Data ID: 12_00409)
(In an argument allegedly caused by jealousy, H.A. P. was shot in the head and killed with a single bullet by her husband, A.P., who was her second spouse.)

(51) **Polis ekipleri, [1]K. B'ı suç aleti bıçakla birlikte yakaladı. İfadesinde cinayeti, 'kıskançlık' yüzünden işlediğini söyleyen Kayhan Barbak, polisteki işlemlerinin ardından sevk edildiği adliyede tutuklandı.**
(Data ID: 12_00127)
(Police teams apprehended K. B. along with the murder weapon, a knife. In his statement, K. B. said he murdered out of "jealousy." Following his processing at the police station, he was referred to the courthouse and subsequently arrested.)

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Similarly, in CC, there are references to "jealousy" for the motivation of the murder. In excerpts 50 and 51, jealousy is shared to be the leading cause of femicide by mitigating men's responsibility by attributing some role to women for their murder. This justification deliberately neglects the structural nature of the femicides by episodically and individually positioning it in the society, which also has the potential to form a bond between the perpetrator and the readers. The narration reflects the perpetrators' statements directly; it does not present any counter argumentation, unlike the TGC. Thereby, based on this difference, CC's reflection of jealousy as a predication strategy can create a positive predicate for the perpetrators by revealing their motivation. At the same time, TGC's discourse challenges the use of jealousy as a justification mechanism by sharing experts' opinions on the severity of the sentence and denying jealousy as a mitigating element for the criminal act. The other major crime predications in the corpora are found to be mental state, including drug abuse.

4.3.2.2. Mental State

(52) **Mahkeme başkanının sanığa, şimdiki ifadeleri ile önceki ifadelerinin çeliştiğini bildirmesi üzerine sanık "Benim kafam gidip gelmektedir"dedi.**
(Data ID: 12_00130)
(When the presiding judge informed the defendant that his current statements contradicted his previous ones, the defendant, said, I'm feeling mentally unstable)

(53) **Bipolar bozukluk yaşadığını ve çeşitli ilaçlar kullandığını söyleyen sanık , "Eşimin annesi çocuğumuza bakıyordu. Rafet ile evlenmelerinden sonra aramız bozulmaya başladı. . Eşime mesaj attım 'Size da bakarım' diye. Sonraki süreçte ayrılmak istiyordum. Eşim ise ayrılmak istemiyordu. Bıçaklama anını ise hatırlamıyorum. İlaç kullanıyorum. Bipolar bozukluk teşhisim var"**
(Data ID: 12_00127)
(Defendant , who stated that he has been diagnosed with bipolar disorder and is taking various medications, said: "My wife's mother, used to look after our child. After she

married things started to go downhill between us. I sent my wife a message saying, 'I'll take care of both of you.' After that, I wanted to separate. But didn't want to. I don't remember the moment of the stabbing. I'm on medication. I've been diagnosed with bipolar disorder.")

(54) **The jury heard Sentamu may have felt "disrespected" by [2]E.'s decision to stand up to him. [2]C. said: "Having heard the evidence, you may feel that the catalyst for this dreadful attack was rather more simple: anger. "White-hot anger at having been disrespected in public by girls, both by [2]E. on the day of the killing and previously." Sentamu, then aged 17, was arrested 90 minutes after the attack. C. said he did not deny wielding the knife and causing E's death in the face of overwhelming evidence against him. The jury was told that [2]S. had pleaded guilty to manslaughter, but not guilty to murder on the basis that his responsibility was diminished, having been diagnosed with autism in 2020.**
(Data ID: 10_21345)

(55) **[1]D. B., 60, killed his wife, [2]D. 53, at their home in Mapperley, Nottingham, on 9 October 2023, after becoming convinced she was in a sexual relationship with a friend. An inquest into the pair's deaths, which concluded on Monday, found he had unlawfully killed the victim before taking his own life. The hearing heard he had instructed a private investigator from 27 September to 8 October 2023 to find evidence of his wife having an affair, but nothing was found, NottinghamshireLive reported.**
(Data ID: 10_30645)

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For mental backgrounding, excerpts 52, 53, 54 and 55 are observed to share similar attributes. In excerpt 52, the perpetrator responds the controversial statements by claiming that he is mentally unstable while in excerpt 53, the perpetrator says that he is bipolar and on medication also he foregrounds a previous quarrel with victim. As it can be observed, both of the statements rest on the perpetrators' remarks and evaluated as crime justification due to its lack of any counter argumentation. On the other hand, the organization for the same content is quite different for excerpts 54

and 55. Both of the excerpts focus on the perpetrators' previous experiences with the victim, which can be perceived as the underlying reasons for the murder. In the first one, the victim's "disrespectful" attitude is shared to be a triggering factor for the offender, while in the other, an alleged infidelity is highlighted. However, as in previous excerpts, these details are accompanied by the refutation of certain allegations such as the absence of evidence for an affair, or by legal explanations provided for the reader, as expressed in the following sentence: "his responsibility was diminished after being diagnosed with autism in 2020". Given these discursive strategies, the background information about the perpetrator should not be interpreted as a justification for the crime.

(56) **[1]M. P. KC, defending [2]B. said: "This is a man who was very seriously mentally ill. He believed – genuinely – that the world was at war with two tribes, and the woman he loved most in the world throughout his life had become the leader of one of those tribes and was abusing him. "His level of schizophrenia was very high and remains very high. He still presents a danger to himself, to other prisoners and to anyone with whom he comes into contact, even with that high level of supervision and high level of medical care. "He had a history of mental health difficulties, whether he had taken drugs or not. It is right and fair to say he took drugs – quite how much that impacted on what occurred cannot be clear in our submission." She added that B. had "untreated and undiagnosed" schizophrenia since "at least 2022". The jury was told in the trial that [2]B. had been in the "grip of a destructive cycle of drug abuse" and samples taken of his blood and urine contained traces of drugs including ketamine and LSD. The prosecution barrister, [1]G. A. KC, said: "There was abundant evidence of prolonged and persistent use of illegal drugs, which would have a significant impact on his mental health. "The defendant was aware of the effects those drugs could have on his behaviour, having been previously sectioned. Nonetheless, he chose to use**

those drugs, running up to the killing of his mother. He made choices in this case."

(Data ID: 10_01367)

(57) **[2]D., 31, has admitted manslaughter on the grounds of diminished responsibility. A psychiatrist for his defence team concluded he had a mental illness at the time, schizoaffective disorder, the jury at Exeter Crown Court heard. But the prosecution claims drugs and alcohol abuse turned him into a "manipulative and angry man", and he should be found guilty of murder.**

(Data ID: 10_00817)

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Excerpts 56 and 57 portray a different image than the previous ones. Mainly in excerpt 56, the perpetrator's mental medical history is reflected in detail. He is stated to have untreated and undiagnosed schizophrenia. The depiction of his hallucinations leading him to commit the crime reinforces the reality of the illness and can evoke sympathy from the reader. However, these claims are partially rebutted because he might have consumed drugs, causing the hallucinations. This claim is further elaborated concerning his free will to take the drugs, and then killing his mother, hence this part emphasises his self-awareness about his acts, and hints that he should be held responsible.

Similarly, in excerpt 57, the murderer is given a psychiatric condition. Yet, this condition is also considered to stem from alcohol abuse and his deliberate actions. As a result, the narrative concludes that he should still be held criminally responsible and sentenced accordingly.

(58) **A psychiatrist for his defence team, [1]Dr R. P., concluded he had a mental illness, schizoaffective disorder, at the time. But the prosecution refused to accept his plea. Its expert, [1]Dr J. S., told the court: "I find no evidence of abnormality of his mental functioning at the time. It was a purposeful action, and he was perfectly aware of the reality of what he was doing."**
(Data ID: 10_21236)

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

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In excerpt 58, an expert doctor's diagnosis about mental health is reflected, and the offender is reported to have schizoaffective disorder by the medical authority. If the context had been limited to only the defence team's doctor's remarks, the audience could have been convinced about the unstable mental health and condition, which could have provoked sympathy. However, the newspaper also shares a

counterargument from an equally credible source debunking the previous claims and attributes the full responsibility to him.

(59) **SEGBİS üzerinden savunmasını yapan sanık [2]E., olay anında uyuşturucu madde aldığını iddia ederek, "Olay günü eşimle tartıştım, sonra evden çıkıp uyuşturucu madde kullandım. Eve döndükten sonra tartışmaya devam ettik. Sonra kendimi kaybettim, pişmanım" dedi.**
(Data ID: 12_00725)
(The defendant E, giving his statement via SEGBİS (Audio and Video Information System for Trials), claimed that he was under the influence of drugs at the time of the incident and said: "On the day of the incident, I argued with my wife. Then I left the house and used drugs. After I returned home, the argument continued. Then I lost control. I regret what happened.")

(60) **Olayla ilgili soruşturma sürerken şüpheli M.Y.'nin uyuşturucu bağımlısı olduğu ileri sürüldü.**
(Data ID: 12_00565)
(While the investigation into the incident is ongoing, it was alleged that the suspect, M.Y., is a drug addict.)

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In the excerpts 59 and 60, conversely, the drug addiction and abuse are shared as background details about the event and the perpetrator. For instance, in excerpt 59, the direct statements from the offender frame the drug abuse as one of the reasons for the crime, along with a dispute, while attempting to reduce his culpability by further arguing his loss of control. Similarly, in excerpt 60, a man's potential drug addiction is reflected, which can be considered a justification mechanism for the crime.

Despite the similarities in crime predications across both TGC and CC, their discursive style differs significantly. In TGC, the allegations for potential justifications for murder, such as mental health conditions and substance abuse, are presented through expert commentary. The integration of these professional opinions contributes to the re-construction of violence from alternative perspectives.

Furthermore, this approach can be considered more objective, as it gives equal opportunities for other parties to convey their ideas, in some cases challenging dominant discourses (Entman, 1993).

4.4. Argumentation

In the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), argumentation refers to the discursive strategy used to *justify or legitimize* particular representations, opinions, or actions. It involves the use of topos (or topoi in plural form) which are content-related warrants that connect arguments to conclusions, revealing the underlying, implicit norms, values, logic and ideologies in discourse. Topoi are often culturally framed and politically shaped and function as taken-for-granted rules that make arguments appear reasonable or legitimate to the audience (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

Four were identified, exhibiting duality by nature, in the data across the two corpora analyzed: The topos of (1) danger and threat, (2) blame and responsibility, (3) morality and moral decline, (4) justice and injustice.

4.4.1. Topos of Danger and Threat

The topos of danger and threat centers on the premise that a certain group/event/situation poses a danger for which individuals, agencies, institutions should take action to overcome (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). The topos of danger/threat justifies immediate and future actions by framing the subject as harmful or risky, appealing to the audience's instinct to avoid harm or ensure safety. It has been found to play a powerful role in shaping public opinion and policy, especially in security, immigration, and crime-related discourse.

The conceptualisations of danger and threat differ significantly in TGC and CC. In TGC, the danger and threat are constructed as a result of anomaly and deviancy, thereby alienating, which is salient in the "us" vs. "them" construction, especially within police statements.

(60) **"We are working hard to establish the full circumstances surrounding this incident, and after initial inquiries, we do not believe that the victim was the intended target," said Det Insp Dave Hickford of the Met's specialist crime command. "I urge anyone with information to get in touch without delay, help us take dangerous criminals off your streets."**
(Data ID: 10_00691)

Excerpt (60) begins with a grouping identity, an inclusive "we," to refer to the police officers, and then continues to highlight the unpredictable nature of this danger by emphasising that the victim was not the intended one. Hence, the crime is constructed to be unforeseeable; the local community is called upon to help secure their streets, offering a collective endeavour to eliminate these dangerous criminals.

(61) **"There has been much speculation and hypothesis around the status of a 17-year-old male who is currently in police custody, and some individuals are using this to bring violence and disorder to our streets. "We have already said that the person arrested was born in the UK, and speculation helps nobody at this time. "Our officers should not have to face this, but we will be there tonight to ensure the safety of the local community, who have suffered enough, and we will arrest those involved in criminal behaviour."**
(Data ID: 10_24120)

In excerpt (61), similarly, the construction of "we" as the police officers is prevalent, the people who are causing chaos are othered by being characterised as bringing violence to "their" streets. Furthermore, any racist implications or speculations are strictly denied by emphasising that the perpetrator is a UK citizen. Therefore, the danger and threat are not racialised or attributed to any particular nationality. Lastly, the discourse of security ensures the community about the prevention of forthcoming crimes, and attempts to build a safe and peaceful environment.

(62) **A neighbour in North Berwick, an affluent seaside town popular with holidaymakers and day trippers, told the Sun: "This kind of tragedy never happens in North Berwick – it's shaken the whole town. The police arrived here on New Year's morning, and they haven't been away since."**
(Data ID: 10_01239)

Similarly in excerpt (62), the danger and violent act are portrayed as exceptional. North Berwick's socioeconomic status is reported to be high; therefore, any violent

criminal act is unexpected and surprising for the residents. Although no officials have guaranteed the town's safety, the presence of these officials instils a sense of security.

On the other hand, the danger of threat is manifested through different agencies, both external and internal, in CC. The external threats in CC are often represented as "immigrants" within the discourse, while internal ones are named as the men and the government transmitting the patriarchal ideology. The excerpts illustrating these constructions are presented below:

(63) **İktidarın sınır güvenliği ve sığınmacı politikası ağır sonuçlar doğurmaya devam ediyor. İstanbul Küçükçekmece'de önceki gün eşini bıçaklayarak öldüren Suriye uyruklu kişinin 3 ay önce sınır dışı edildiği halde yasadışı yollarla yeniden Türkiye'ye girdiği ortaya çıktı. Konuyu Cumhuriyet'e değerlendiren Güvenlik Politikaları Uzmanı , "Bu kadın cinayeti ile bir kez daha görüyoruz ki hükümet bu yaşamsal sorunun çözümünde başarısız olmuştur" dedi. Yaşananların artık zaaf ile değil ihmal ile açıklanabileceğini belirten , "Bu olayı tekil bir hadise olarak nitelendirmek de bu anlamda mümkün değildir. Uyarıları dikkate almayan ve kamuoyuna herhangi bir güvenlik zaafiyetinin bulunmadığını açıklayan tüm siyasilerin ve yetkililerin de itibarlarına zarar gelmiştir" ifadelerini kullandı. Ali vakaların tarafı olarak sınır dışı edilmelerine karşın ülkemize yeniden kaçak yollardan giriş yapan kişi sayısının bilinmediğine dikkat çeken Yıldırım, "Herkes risk altında. Yarın ne yaşanacak bilmiyoruz. Bu konuda bir an önce devlet yönetmenin gereği olan önlemler alınmalı" çağrısında bulundu.**

(Data ID: 12_00114)

(The government's border security and refugee policies continue to have severe consequences. It was recently revealed that the Syrian national who fatally stabbed his wife in Istanbul's Küçükçekmece district the day before had been deported three months earlier but had re-entered Turkey through illegal means. Speaking to Cumhuriyet, Security Policy Expert commented: "This femicide once again demonstrates the government's failure to resolve a critical and life-threatening issue." Yıldırım stated that the current situation can no longer be attributed merely to systemic weakness, but instead to official negligence. He emphasised: "It is no longer accurate to regard this case as an isolated incident. The credibility of all politicians and officials who ignored prior warnings and publicly denied any security lapses has been compromised." Highlighting that the number of individuals who have been deported yet managed to re-enter the country unlawfully remains unknown, Yıldırım added: "Everyone is at risk. We do not know what may happen tomorrow. The state must urgently take the necessary steps that responsible governance demands.")

The threat and danger arguments in this excerpt are twofold: (a) the immigrants themselves with illegal actions, and (b) the government with its failure to take necessary measures to ensure the society's security as an extension of the migrant threat. The Syrian individual is constructed to be dangerous both as a murderer and an undocumented immigrant. The responsibility for this person's unlawful acts is attributed to the government's negligence on the issue, and its inaction turns out to be deliberate; thus, the government reinforces the danger in the country by failing to take action. The danger is further reflected in its adverse impact on society in the long run; hence, the elimination of these dangerous elements is considered urgent, and government officials are called to immediate action.

4.4.2. Topos of Blame and Responsibility

The blame and responsibility topos is crucial for argumentative discourse structures in femicide news as it enables readers to construct meaning through failures, systemically or individually, and assign social actors some roles in the violent acts. Within the blame and responsibility topos, two distinct styles emerge in CC: thematic and episodic. Thematic and episodic framing are two distinct ways of structuring news discourse that influence how audiences interpret social and political issues. Episodic framing focuses on specific events or individuals, often presenting issues in a fragmented and personal manner, which tends to lead audiences to attribute responsibility to the individuals involved. In contrast, thematic framing presents issues in a broader societal or institutional context, highlighting patterns, causes, and systemic factors, thereby encouraging audiences to consider structural or collective responsibility. These framing styles significantly shape public understanding, attitudes, and policy preferences.

From the statements of NGO's solicitors, the blame and responsibility are attributed to the structural patriarchy embedded in government institutions and realised through laws and different implementations; thus, reflecting a thematic framing. Secondly, from the perpetrator's own words, the blame is placed on women and their prior actions before the crime, exemplifying an episodic framing. The excerpts below outline how the solicitors actualise these thematic constructions of blame:

(64) **Avukat [1]S. K. ise, "Kendi başına hayatta kalmaya çalışan bir kadın, hiç ummadığı bir şekilde eski kocası tarafından sokakta öldürüldü. Kadınlar şiddet sarmalından kurtularak boşanmalarına, kendilerine yeni bir hayat kurmalarına rağmen erkekler kadınların kendi hayatları hakkında karar vermelerini bir şiddet, cinayet nedeni olarak sayabiliyorlar ve sokak ortasında herkesin gözü önünde acımasızca katlediliyorlar" dedi. "Evliliği boyunca şiddet gören genç kadının boşanması dahi onu koruyamadı" diyen [2]K., "6284 sayılı Kanun kapsamında koruyucu ve önleyici tedbirlerin uygulanmaması, caydırıcı cezaların verilmemesi ve bireysel silahlanmanın bu denli kolay olması failleri yüreklendiriyor ve kadınlar katlediliyor.**

(Data ID: 12_00576)

(Lawyer S. K. stated: "A woman trying to survive on her own was murdered in the street by her ex-husband in the most unexpected way. Despite escaping the cycle of violence through divorce and attempting to rebuild their lives, women continue to be killed because men perceive women's decisions about their own lives as a justification for violence, even for murder. These women are brutally murdered in public, in broad daylight, before the eyes of society." K. continued: "Even divorce could not protect this young woman, who endured violence throughout her marriage." She further emphasised: "The failure to implement the protective and preventive measures outlined in Law No. 6284, the absence of deterrent sentencing, and the ease of access to firearms embolden perpetrators, and women are being killed as a result.")

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

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In excerpt (64), the man is overtly portrayed as the perpetrator. The statement by an NGO solicitor constructs the legitimisation of the crime by arguing that the dominant patriarchal ideology gives men power over women to control their actions. Given the supremacy of masculine values over women's lives, the narration also blames the laws and their practical application for femicides. In this discourse laws protecting women are constructed to be hypothetical or unimplemented. As a result, the government's juridical institutions are also held responsible for femicides as they are observed to institutionalise the gender ideologies favouring men.

(65) **[2]B., "Boşandığı eşi onu öldürmeden önce de kendisine ulaşmaya çalışmış, evine gelmiştir. Ergin'le Gümüş'ün iki müşterek çocukları vardır. Kendi kızını iki kere darp etmiştir" dedi. Avukat [2]B. şöyle konuştu: "Artık maalesef kadın cinayetleri dosyalarındaki fail erkek savunmalarında sırf indirim alabilmek amacıyla, ölen**

kadının kendini ifade edemeyecek olmasının verdiği kolaylıktan da faydalanarak, aldatma iddiası üzerinden yapılan savunmalar kronikleşmiş vaziyette. [2]G. eşi tarafından darp edildikten sonra önleyici tedbir kararı almasına rağmen söz konusu cinayet işlenmiştir. Önleyici tedbirler gerçekten kadına yönelik şiddeti ve kadın cinayetlerini önleyebilseydi, kasten yaralama sebebiyle başlatılan yargılamada daha hızlı ve etkin bir karar verilmiş olsaydı, şu an [1]Z. G. yaşıyor olabilirdi."

(Data ID: 12_00069)

(Solicitor B. stated: "Before killing his ex-wife, he had already attempted to contact her and even showed up at her home. Ergin and Gümüş had two children together. He had physically assaulted his daughter twice."Lawyer B. continued: "In femicide cases, it has unfortunately become a chronic pattern for perpetrators to claim infidelity, relying on the fact that the murdered woman can no longer speak for herself. These arguments are often made solely to obtain sentence reductions." She added: "Despite a restraining order being issued after G. was assaulted by her husband, the murder still took place. If protective measures genuinely prevented violence against women—if the prosecution for intentional injury had been handled swiftly and effectively—Z. G. might still be alive today.")

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Similarly, in excerpt (65), the responsibility is attributed to the dominant patriarchal discourse by highlighting that it justifies the crime and is used to manipulate the officials, foregrounding its systemic nature. Following this, the legal authorities are blamed for conducting the cases superficially, thus failing to protect women. This illustrates the negligence of these agencies regarding violence against women. Whereas the statements from perpetrators reflect crime as an episodic event resulting from women's provocation. The excerpts reflecting this strategy can be seen below:

(66) **Zanlının ifadesinde cinayeti itiraf ettiği ve F.D ilk sorgulamasında "Kız 'senin olayım' dedi. Ben kabul etmeyince sokağa çıkar bana tecavüz etti diye bağırırım diyince ben de korktum boğdum" dediği öğrenildi.**

(Data ID: 12_00155)

(According to the suspect's statement, he confessed to the murder. During the initial interrogation, F.D. reportedly said, "The girl said, 'You're the one I sleep with.' When I refused, she threatened to go out and shout that I raped her, so I got scared and strangled her." Following the completion of police procedures, F.D. was referred to the courthouse.)

The statement from the perpetrator himself in excerpt (66), constructs him as the victim of the women's provocation on the grounds of an alleged rape. He accuses her of demand for sexual intercourse and to make false rape allegations. This accusation is constructed to deflect responsibility for the crime by portraying it as a form of "self-defence" to some extent. At the same time, the woman is portrayed as morally deviant as a liar and the primary actor of the crime.

(67) **Cinayeti itiraf eden zanlı M.O.," O ben ayrılmak istiyorum' dedi ve evin dış kapısına yöneldi. Evin kapsını açmaya çalıştı ben de kapıyı tutarak engel olmaya çalıştım. Kapının yanında ayakkabılıkta küçük bir bıçak gördüm. Bıçağı korkutmak amaçlı ona doğru tuttum. O bana 'Ben bıçaktan korkmam' dedi. Ben bıçağı onun omzuna saplamaya çalıştım, fakat o refleksle boynunu çevirince bıçak boynuna saplandı, yere düştü. Ne yapacağımı bilemedim. Evden çıktığımda onun yaşayıp yaşamadığını bilmiyordum. Kapıyı çektim çıktım"dediği öğrenildi.**
(Data ID: 12_00131)
(Confessing to the murder, the suspect M.O. said, "she said 'I want to leave' and headed towards the outer door of the house. She tried to open the house door, and I tried to prevent her by holding the door. I saw a small knife in the shoe rack near the door. I held the knife towards her to scare her. She told me, 'I am not afraid of knives. ' I tried to stab the knife into her shoulder, but when she reflexively turned her neck, the knife stuck into her neck and she fell to the ground. I didn't know what to do. When I left the house, I didn't know whether she was alive or not. I pulled the door and left.")

Although in excerpt (67), the man partially takes up the responsibility by claiming that he took the knife to frighten the victim on purpose. He further argues that the woman said, "I am not afraid of a knife," which can be regarded as a statement that contributes to the escalation of the tension among the audience. Following this, the perpetrator admits to stabbing; however, her death is constructed to be an accident rather than a purposeful act, allegedly caused by the victim turning her body at the moment of the attack.

On the other hand, the TGC employs a significantly different strategy in constructing blame and responsibility. In some cases where the victim contacted the police department before the murder, the primary responsibility is attributed to the police officials. The excerpts revealing the representation of blame and responsibility are as:

(68) **Greater Manchester police said it has referred itself to the IOPC over previous contact with the victim and the suspect. (…) Miller said West Yorkshire police had previous contact with the victim and had referred itself to the IOPC as a result.**
(Data ID: 10_31722)

In excerpt 68, IOPC refers to the Independent Office for Police Conduct, an institution that examines complaints filed against the police in England and Wales. Their main aim is to thoroughly analyse critical incidents, such as murders, in which there are prior police contacts, and establish criteria for dealing with public complaints. They define themselves as independent of police and state organisations, and they are motivated to build a trust relationship between the community and the policing system (IOPC, n.d.). Considering this institution and its function, police officers referring themselves to the IOPC can be regarded as taking responsibility for the femicide. The police department's negligence in handling previous records and failure to act upon them is acknowledged, and a higher independent organisation strategically addresses this problem. Even though the responsibility is attributed to systemic governmental failure, the transparency and objectivity of this process, especially with the emphasis on "self-references," which can signal ethical and moral superiority, contribute to the trust-building procedure among the social parties.

4.4.3. Topos of Justice and Injustice

The topos of justice and injustice operates on the implicit reasoning that if something is unjust or violates principles of fairness, then it should be opposed, corrected, or punished, and conversely, that just actions deserve support or protection. This topos draws on socio-culturally shared understandings of what is fair or unfair, and is often used to legitimize demands for rights, critique discrimination, or justify social or legal interventions. From a complementary perspective, according to Küçükali (2015), the topos of justice and injustice can also be defined as follows: if people and conditions share similar or the same characteristics in some areas, they should be regarded as equals and addressed equally.

Based on these definitions, it has been revealed that both corpora conceptualised and rationalised justice very distinctly. In CC, for instance, justice and equality are

constructed as something to fight for and struggle and the cases are depicted as ongoing. On the other hand, in TGC, justice is also regarded as something to be attained; however, the processes and social actors involved in this process are constructed differently.

The excerpts exemplifying the topos of justice and injustice in CC are as follows;

(69) **[1]F. Ş.'in annesi [1]A. Ş. evlerinin tek kızı 23 yaşındaki kızını gencecik yaşta toprağa verdiklerini, ancak cinayeti işleyen katilin ise cezasızlık nedeniyle bugün sokakta hiçbir şey olmamış gibi gezdiğine isyan eterek, " Kızımız kadın cinayetlerinin ne ilki, ne de sonuncusu oldu. Bu ülkede kadın, çocuk katlimamı var. Bu durum katillere ödül gibi verilen cezaların sonucudur. Ceza verilmiyor katile ödül veriliyor. Benim kızımın hiç bir suçu yokken katledildi. Savcı olay yerine gelmedi, deliler eksik toplandı. Yargılama ve soruşturma katilin yalan, yanlış bilgileriyle sonlandı ve sonuçta ödül gibi ceza ile sokağa bırakıldı. Bu mu adalet, bu mu hak, hukuk, adalet. Böyle hukuk sistemi olmaz olsun. Batsın böyle adalet de, hukuk da. Biz adaleti 7 yıl önce toprağa gömdük. Çünkü bugün tam 7 yıl oldu, biz halen adalet arıyoruz, ama katil sokakta ailesi ile güle oynaya dolaşıyor. Davamızın sonuna kadar takipçisiyiz katil işlediği cinayetin cezasını çeksin istiyoruz" diyerek tepki gösterdi.**

(Data ID: 12_00113)

(F. Ş.'s mother, A. Ş, rebelled against the fact that they buried their only daughter, 23 years old, at a young age, but the murderer is walking the streets today as if nothing has happened due to impunity, and said, "Our daughter was neither the first nor the last of the murders of women. There are murders of women and children in this country. This situation is the result of the punishments given to murderers as a form of retribution. There is no punishment; the killer is given a reward. My daughter was murdered without any crime. The prosecutor did not come to the scene, and evidence was collected incompletely. The trial and investigation ended with the murderer's lies and false information, and in the end, she was left on the street with a punishment like a reward. Is this justice, is this right, law, justice? No such legal system. Down with such justice and law. We buried justice in the ground 7 years ago. Because today it has been 7 years exactly, we are still looking for justice, but the murderer is roaming the streets with his family. We will follow our case until the end, we want the murderer to be punished for the murder he committed.")

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The statement in excerpt (69) from the victim's family reflects the justice topos. It starts with the generic nature of the femicides and emphasises that her daughter is not the first and the last victim. This generalisation is further reinforced with the addition of child murders. These events are described to result from the judicial system's biased practices, and the causal relationship between the femicides is further highlighted with an ironic conceptualisation of punishments as rewards. Moreover, the frequent repetition of problematic applications during trial processes is used to weaken the justice system's credibility and authority. The metaphorical expression of "burying the justice in the ground" highlights the ineffectiveness of justice, which has not been functioning at all. The fact that people have strived for justice to be served for nearly 7 years, outlining that the process has not been concluded, underscores the issue. Hence, justice is realised through biased means for the perpetrator, and it has become incapable of convincing people and gaining their trust. The consistency of "seeking and struggling" for justice highlights its procedural nature, requiring considerable effort from the victim, which often results in institutional and systemic injustice. A similar excerpt from TGC is given below:

(70) **"A significant number of women and girls who showed remarkable courage to speak up at that time also did not get the justice and support they needed and deserved from Strathclyde police," she said. "It is clear that further investigations should have been carried out into her murder following the initial inquiry in 2005. The lack of investigation until 2015 caused unnecessary distress to her family and all those women who had come forward to report sexual violence." Her mother, who has campaigned tenaciously for justice for her daughter, said she felt "betrayed" by the original police investigation and angry that it had taken so long for him to be brought to justice. Her solicitor called for an inquiry into police failings, saying: "A toxic culture of misogyny and corruption meant the police failed so many women and girls who came forward to speak up against him. "Instead of receiving justice and compassion, they were humiliated, dismissed and in some instances arrested, whilst the police gifted freedom to an evil predator to rape and rape again."**
(Data ID: 10_21564)

In this excerpt, the process of justice is initially portrayed as "deliberately delayed". Even though the prior victims came forward about the perpetrator and pressed

charges against him, they were not acknowledged by the officials and the perpetrator was not sentenced. Therefore, the family members of the victims started campaigns to make their voice heard with anger, which postponed the trial process to later periods. This delay is attributed to the misogynistic mindset of the police officers; they are regarded as failing the victims by degrading them.

Despite the similarity between the TGC and CC in justice processes, the reasons for delay in justice or complete breakdown are attributed to different agencies. In TGC, this delay is associated with patriarchal structures and mindset embedded in collective consciousness, while in CC, it lies in non-transparent juricidal processes.

4.4.4. Topos of Morality and Moral Decline

The topos of morality and moral decline is an argumentative strategy used in both corpora to appeal to shared moral values or ethical standards to justify or condemn certain actions, behaviors, or social changes. It operates on the implicit reasoning that if something violates accepted moral norms or signals a decline in societal values, then it should be criticized, resisted, or corrected. This topos often invokes ideas of tradition, decency, or moral order and is frequently used to position certain groups, practices, or developments as threats to the ethical fabric of society. It serves to legitimize calls for restoration, control, or exclusion by framing issues in terms of right versus wrong or moral deterioration, thereby shaping public opinion through emotional and normative appeal.

Evidently, moral assessment and construction of legitimisation are deeply embedded in collective values. Yet, these values do not manifest themselves in overt discursive strategies all the time, but they can only become recognisable based on shared cultural knowledge of the society (Van Leeuwen, 2007). Since each community has its collective values, appeals to morality need to be analysed considering the unique social dynamics of each linguaculture.

The topos of moral construction can be found in the form of narratives highlighting moral decline in women's characteristics and behaviours in CC.

(71) **Öte yandan, bir çocuk annesi olan Ş. M.'nın yaklaşık 8 ay önce eşinden boşandığı ve 3 aydır da A.A. ile sevgili olduğu öğrenildi.**
(Data ID: 12_00647)
("It was reported that Şelale Mırzalı, a mother of one, had divorced her husband approximately eight months ago and had been in a relationship with A.A. for the past three months.")

(72) **M. S., kızının bir erkek arkadaşı olduğundan şüphelendiğini ve kızını erkek arkadaşıyla doğum gününe gitmek istediği için öldürdüğünü ifade etti. Ayrıca M. S'in cinayeti işledikten sonra kızının cep telefonundan arkadaşıyla yaptığı yazışmaları gördüğü ve o kişiyi de bulmak için dışarı çıkıp bir ticari taksiye binerek evden uzaklaştığı ancak çok geçmeden polis ekiplerinin sıkı takibi üzerine yakalandığı öğrenildi.**

(M. S. stated that he suspected that his daughter had a boyfriend and that he killed her because she wanted to go to her birthday party with her boyfriend. It is also learned that after the murder, M. S. saw his daughter's correspondence with her friend on her cell phone and went out to find that person and took a commercial taxi to get away from the house, but he was caught by the police teams soon after.)

In Turkish society, traditionally, motherhood is overly idealised based on societal conventions or religiosity. For instance, a mother may be expected to prioritise dedicating herself to her children above all else and refrain from any romantic relationship if she is single, since motherhood is constructed as a role model for her children. Furthermore, if a relationship is not legitimised through marriage, either religious (tr. imam nikahı) or civil marriage, the woman tends to become stigmatised through immoralisation. Considering this background, the argumentation in excerpt (71), where the woman is portrayed as a divorced mother of one, and the timeline of her relationships between the former and current partners can construct her as "a serial dater" who transgresses the moral boundaries of motherhood and deviates from cultural expectations. Furthermore, her relationship status as girlfriend and boyfriend positions her as religiously deviant, and a failure to set an example for her children. Similarly, in excerpt (72), the presence of a hypothetical boyfriend and the subtle implication of a relationship can be a trigger for moral decline, especially in strictly conservative circles, and it has been constructed as a reason for the murder. Hence, topos of moral decline in CC is centred upon women's identities, it is built through

motherhood idealisation, and patriarchal dominance turning women into controllable objects.

Similar to CC, the topos of morality is reflected through women subjects in TGC. However, the women in this data set are reflected to be morally ideal, and they are frequently glorified for their contributions to the society, thereby; only femicides themselves are framed to be moral declines. The following excerpt explicates the topos of morality and decline in TGC:

(73) **A statement, read by the bishop of Croydon, , on behalf of the family shortly after her death, said: "We as a family are struggling to comprehend this painful tragedy that has happened to our beautiful daughter and beloved sister . "Our hearts are broken. And we are overwhelmed by sorrow and grief. Our faith in the Lord is strengthening us … "She was a beautiful person inside and out who loved Jesus. She was intelligent, thoughtful, kind and had a bright future ahead of her. It is our request that you keep our cherished daughter and our family in your thoughts and prayers." Solicitor, prosecuting, previously said: "It was, the prosecution allege, a brutal attack."**
(Data ID: 10_21444)

The statement in (73) is conveyed through a bishop, religious authority in Christianity and the religious leader. His role in this sense can be considered as a mitigator between the church and the society, and the arguments uttered by him can be more morally and ethically compassionate as a guide. The statements are significantly built on the effect of her loss in the community, and her religious belief is highlighted as devoted Christian emphasizing her innocence and morally legitimize her especially for the conservative audience. Her character traits as cheerful, thoughtful, intelligent, and having a bright future ahead her, adds layers to her moral idealization by highlighting her as socially active, and contributing to the community. On the other hand, the action itself is regarded to be brutal and tragedy creating a binary opposition between the innocence and brutality. Therefore, death of a morally ideal woman can be considered as moral decline, and deviation.

4.5. Perspectivization

Perspectivization involves the positioning of the speaker or writer in relation to the content, actors, or events being discussed. It involves expressing subjective

involvement, distance, alignment, or evaluation, often through *reported speech*, quotations, modality, or evaluative language. This strategy reveals whose perspective is being foregrounded, whose voices are included or excluded, and how stances are taken within the discourse. Thus, the perspectivization analysis conducted in this study primarily aims to comprehend whose standpoint is imposed on the reader through specific references. Referencing is examined through the analysis of direct quotations. The total number and categories of direct quotations (by whom they are uttered) are considered the main instruments that illustrate the dominant viewpoints taken.

4.5.1. Referencing via Direct Quotation

The analysis revealed that TGC employed 1020 direct quotations in 186 excerpts. Furthermore, the average number of direct citations for each excerpt is found to be 6,69. In the CC, on the other hand, 55 direct quotations have been found in 79 excerpts, with an average of approximately one direct quotation per excerpt.

The integrated direct quotations from different parties in corpora have been thematically grouped for analysis as follows: quotes from (a) government officials, (b) NGO officials, (c) family members and friends of the victim, (d) local people (who are not related to the victim), (e) the perpetrator himself, (f) the victim herself, and (g) family members and friends of the perpetrator.

4.5.2. Government Officials: Friend or Foe?

In the context of femicide news reporting, direct quotations from government officials, such as police representatives, politicians, and legal authorities, function as key discursive tools that frame events, attribute responsibility, and convey institutional responses. These quotations not only add perceived credibility and authority to news narratives but also reflect broader ideological positions related to crime, gender, and governance. This section examines how such direct statements are incorporated within the corpus, analyzing their content, positioning, and role in constructing official perspectives on femicide cases.

(74) **DI [1]M. N., who is leading the major crime investigation team, said: "Our thoughts are very much with her family as they begin to come to terms with this tragedy. Although a man has been charged, we are still in the early stages of our investigation. I hope that anyone with information will come forward to help us find the answers for the family."**

(Data ID: 10_00414)

(75) **DCI [1]N. G. said: "Our thoughts remain with the Hunt family and their loved ones as they continue to come to terms with their loss. "Over the past couple of months, we have been working hard to gather as much evidence as possible and establish the full circumstances of what happened that day. "We have now managed to secure charges against [1]K. C. in connection with the murders of [1]C. H. and [1]L. H. "Although it has taken some time to reach this stage, we can now move forward with the judicial process and seek justice for their family."**

(Data ID: 10_21161)

(76) **Ch Insp [1]V. H.-M. said: "Our thoughts are foremost with L.'s family is going through a hugely difficult time. We are providing them with support through a specialist family liaison officer, and they have been updated with the charging decision, which marks significant progress in this murder investigation. "The family have understandably asked for privacy as they attempt to come to terms with what has happened over the past 48 hours, and we would ask people to please respect their wishes." She added: "We know tragic incidents like this one can cause significant concerns within any community, and therefore we encourage anyone worried to please make themselves known to officers in the area who are carrying out additional patrols. They will be able to provide assistance and reassurance to anyone who has concerns."**

(Data ID: 10_01199)

(77) **Det Supt [1]R. D., of the major crime investigation team, said: "The investigation into this tragic incident is progressing and detectives are dedicated to finding out what happened and ensuring our communities remain safe and secure. "We need the public's help to identify the suspect in the CCTV images. If you recognise him or have any information, no matter how small, that may lead us to his identity, please get in touch immediately. We would ask the public not to approach a suspect under any circumstances, but to call 999 immediately. "Officers and staff from across the force are out in the town conducting extensive inquiries, including house-to-house visits so that the public will see a very overt and planned police presence in and around the Bournemouth area. "We do not take lightly the impact this tragic incident will have**

on our communities, and many members of the public will be concerned. There remains an enhanced and visible policing presence in the area with officers who can be approached if the public feels in any way concerned."

(Data ID: 10_00564)

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The excerpts (74-77) above depict a pattern in TGC for the direct quotations from the officers. Firstly, the individuals overtly expressed their emotional support by acknowledging the hardships faced by the victim's family, creating a sympathetic tone. This tone can also be identified as a compassion move, which aims to highlight the speaker's sympathy for the victim in order to reinforce the violent or aggressive act of the perpetrator (Van Dijk, 1995). Furthermore, the pronoun "our" suggests the existence of an ambiguous group, presumably made up of police officers and officials, which may indicate some "ingroup" and "outgroup" identities. Therefore, statements containing "our" can be seen as creating two distinct groups. Through the compassion shown by police department members towards the victim, an "ingroup" is formed. At the same time, the perpetrators are subtly excluded by being depicted as criminals who are not part of this group.

Similarly, the second parts of the excerpts mostly are built on these "ingroup" identities as police officers, and they foreground the presence of the criminal justice system with frequent references to "charging", "investigations" and "justice". The recurrent integration of these key words can reinforce the government's authority by prompting social control. Furthermore, the lexical preferences function as an instrument to evoke a sense of security in society, as readers are formally informed about the ongoing procedure and assured by the officers about future endeavours.

However, the governmental authority's prevalent presence in the discourse can be interpreted as the state apparatus from an Althusserian perspective. Even though the repressive state apparatuses like police, juricidal systems are depicted as promoting safety and peace in the society, they can also be regarded as constant surveillance and punishment mechanisms for the audience. Furthermore, since these monitoring

acts are often a result of a violent crime, the repressive state elements (police) are framed as protectors, and their presence is required; thereby, the discourse disregards the potential negative connotations of the government's constant intervention in civil life. This process corresponds to Althusser's conceptualisation of the ideological state apparatus (Althusser, 2024). Through femicides, the government's exercise of coercive power and surveillance is justified, and the state's power over society is legitimised in mainstream media discourse.

The concluding remarks, on the other hand, have a different purpose from the previous ones. The officers explicitly communicate with the readers by calling them to action with statements like "please get in touch immediately" or "come forward". This locutionary act of inviting to help can also transform the audience's role from a passive recipient of knowledge to an active subject acting on the issue. This role allocation may lead readers to be more aware of the violent act and the perpetrator and could create public awareness and a collective consciousness about the issue in the long run. Furthermore, by acknowledging people's potential concerns related to the event, the police's statements might create a closer proximity, contributing to collaboration and solidarity in society. Table 18 further illustrates sample concordances lines for "we".

Table 18. Concordance Analysis for "we" keyword

Data ID	Left Context	Keyword	Right Context
10_01043	(…) DCS [1]R. K .of the Kent and Essex Serious Crime Directorate said: I would like to reassure the community that	we	will be conducting high visibility patrols in the Great Baddow area for several days.
10_00309	Ch Supt [1]H. C., from GMP's Bolton district, said: (…)	we	We are continuing to work hard to establish the full circumstances and bring answers, seeking justice for this woman.

Table 18. (continued)

10_00067	DCI [1]G.L from West Mercia police said: I would like to reassure the local community	we	Believe there to be no wider risk to the public.
10_00167	Neighbourhood Inspector [1]R G., of Avon and Somerset police, said:	we	'd like to assure the local community that we do not believe there to be any wider risk to the public.
10_00707	DCI [1]A. G., who is leading the investigation for the Met's specialist crime command, said: "	we	We are working hard to establish the full circumstances and the motive for this offence.

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As Table 18 illustrates, government officials, when reporting details about the crime, employ in-grouping strategies with personal deictics, mainly "we". Furthermore, the extracts 10_00309, 10_01043, and 10_00707 show that the "we" identity is associated with diligence and commitment, with frequent references to "work hard". Moreover, the "we" group also takes on the role of reassurer, as seen in extracts 10_00067 and 10_00167. By using the commissive, the "we" becomes the symbolic authority, offering a promise of security and peace.

Considering the direct quotations cited by government officials, the main structure of their statements can be outlined in four dimensions within the TGC. Firstly, the statements create a sense of "ingroup" and "outgroup" identities with frequent usage of pronouns like "we". These identities are then accompanied with the compassionate act which conveys the emotional support by the officials. Following that, officials' authoritarian identities and frequent surveillance mechanisms are

foregrounded concerning judiciary system and policing. Finally, the statements conclude with provocative remarks, asking for people's help on the issue. This structural organisation outlines a complicated position of governmentality in the discourse. The government and its institutions are depicted around personal feelings and concerns about the issue; they are not merely portrayed as a source of punishment and sanction. However, they also exert hegemonic power over society by the verbal highlighting of the presence of policing mechanisms within the community.

Excerpt (83) below illustrates an outlier in regard to a judge's attitude. In the court, [1]A. F. was prosecuted for the murder of [1]S. H., and [2]Judge E. presided over the case:

(83) **Judge [2]E. told [2]F. "Your horrific and senseless act led to the loss of [2]S. She was a kind, caring and compassionate person who always put her children first. She was an amazing mum and her children miss her so much."**
(Data ID: 10_21397)

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

Although the judicial system has been discussed in terms of its punitive role from an authoritarian perspective in general, in this excerpt, the Judge expresses an affective and compassionate attitude towards the victim. The Judge defines the woman by using adjectival phrases such as "kind", "caring" and "amazing" which function as intensifiers of her personality. Moreover, her role as mother is presented as her primary identity, emphasising her children's emotional state in her absence. On the other hand, the Judge shows a fierce adverse reaction by directly holding the man responsible, and he modifies the action by using intensifiers again, such as "horrific" and "senseless," which heightens the effect of the violent act. Considering this overall change in the role and stance, it can be seen that rather than imposing the government's authoritarian perspective on the incident, the Judge opts to share the victim's viewpoint to some extent by defining her positively and emphasising her importance to her children.

This stance significantly shifts to a more neutral tone in CC; the solicitors, who are the leading representatives of authority in the newspaper, adopt a distancing style.

(78) **Cumhuriyet'e konuşan Kozan ailesinin avukatı ve Ankara Barosu Gelincik Merkezi Başkan Yardımcısı [1]S. K., şöyle konuştu:**

"Yargılamanın başından itibaren hiçbir şekilde pişmanlık emaresi göstermeyen, haksız tahrik indiriminden faydalanmak için sürekli olarak [2]N'nın anneliği ve yaşantısı üzerinden [2]N'nın hatırasına hakaret ve saygısızlık teşkil edecek şekilde savunmalar yapan sanık Şafak Şahin, karar duruşmasında ise annesi ve tüm kadınlardan özür dilediğini, kendisinin de bir kız evladı ve kız kardeşi olduğunu, böyle bir olay olduğu için çok pişman olduğunu dile getirerek son çare olarak da iyi hal indiriminden faydalanmak amacıyla bir savunma gerçekleştirdi.

Ancak mahkeme heyeti tarafından sanığın savunmaları samimi bulunmayarak dosyada mevcut kamera görüntüleri, tanık anlatımları, sanığın olay öncesinde ruhsatsız silah temin etmesi ve ev adresini nakliyeciden öğrenmeye çabalaması da göz önünde bulundurularak hiçbir şekilde haksız tahrik ve iyi hal indirimi uygulamadı."

"CAYDIRICI BİR ETKİ YARATMASI GEREKTİĞİNE İNANIYORUZ"

Kararın emsal niteliğinde olduğunu dile getiren avukat, "Mahkemenin sanık hakkında ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezası vermesi, kadın cinayetlerinin toplumdaki vahim boyutunu ve bu suçlara karşı cezasızlık algısının yıkılması gerektiğini açıkça ortaya koymaktadır. Bu davada, mahkemenin sanık hakkında herhangi bir indirim uygulamaması, yargı sürecinde kadına karşı işlenen suçlarda ödünsüz bir duruş sergilenmesi gerektiğini ortaya koymuştur. Kararda, faillerin 'pişmanlık' oyunlarına ya da 'haksız tahrik' iddialarına itibar edilmemesi, kadınların yaşam hakkına saygı duyan bir yargı pratiğinin mümkün olduğunu bizlere göstermiştir. Yargıdaki bu dönüşümün sistematik hale gelmesi, kadınların yaşam hakkının korunması açısından hayati önemdedir. Ankara Barosu Gelincik Merkezi olarak, her bir kadın cinayeti davasının, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğine dair büyük bir sınav olduğunu biliyoruz" diye konuştu.

"Yargı kararlarının toplumun adalete olan güvenini artırması ve şiddetle mücadelede caydırıcı bir etki yaratması gerektiğine inanıyoruz. Bu karar, kadın cinayetlerine karşı verilen toplumsal ve hukuki mücadelenin güçlü bir yansımasıdır."

(Data ID: 12_00011)

(S. K., attorney for the Kozan family and Deputy Chair of the Ankara Bar Association's Gelincik Centre, made the following statement to Cumhuriyet:

"From the outset of the trial, the defendant, Şafak Şahin, has displayed no indication of genuine remorse. In an attempt to benefit from a reduction in sentence based on unjust provocation, he repeatedly delivered statements during his defence that insulted and disrespected the memory of N., focusing on her motherhood and personal life. At the

sentencing hearing, as a last resort, he attempted to invoke good conduct mitigation by expressing regret for the incident, apologising to his mother and all women, and asserting that he, too, is a father to a daughter and a brother to a sister."

"However, the court found the defendant's statements unconvincing. Taking into account the available video evidence, witness testimonies, his procurement of an unlicensed firearm prior to the incident, and his deliberate efforts to obtain Nursena's home address from the moving company, the court ruled out the application of both unjust provocation and good conduct reductions."

"WE BELIEVE THE DECISION SHOULD HAVE A DETERRENT EFFECT"

Underscoring the precedential value of the judgment, K. stated:

"The court's decision to sentence the defendant to aggravated life imprisonment reflects the gravity of femicides in our society and the pressing need to dismantle the perception of impunity surrounding these crimes. The fact that no sentence reductions were applied in this case demonstrates the imperative of maintaining a firm and uncompromising stance in legal proceedings involving violence against women."

"This ruling sends a strong message that the judiciary need not entertain fabricated displays of remorse or dubious claims of provocation. It affirms the possibility of a judicial practice that upholds women's right to life and treats gender-based violence with the seriousness it deserves. Institutionalising such an approach is vital to safeguarding women's fundamental rights. As the Gelincik Centre of the Ankara Bar Association, we are acutely aware that each femicide trial constitutes a critical test of our commitment to gender equality."

K. concluded her remarks as follows:

"We believe that judicial decisions must enhance public trust in the justice system and serve as an effective deterrent against violence. This ruling represents a powerful reflection of the legal and societal struggle against femicide.")

(79) **Duruşmaya Önce Çocuklar ve Kadınlar Derneği avukatlarından [1]S. Y., avukat [1]B. Ç. ve avukat [1]A. D. katıldı. Savcı, sanığın kasten öldürme suçundan cezalandırılması yönünde mütalaada bulundu. Duruşma 19 Aralık'a ertelendi. Avukat "Sanık maktulü vurmuş, intihar olduğunun düşünülmesi için maktulün eniştesini aramış; arkadaşından maktulü öldürdüğü için yardım istemiş. Ne intihar ne kaza apaçık kadın cinayeti" dedi.**

(Data ID: 12_00049)

(Attorneys S. Y. from the "Before Children and Women Association," along with attorneys B. Ç. and A. D, were present at the hearing. The public prosecutor submitted an opinion requesting that the defendant be convicted of the charge of intentional homicide. The hearing was adjourned to December 19. In her statement, attorney remarked: "The defendant shot the victim and then called the victim's brother-in-law in

an attempt to create the impression that it was a suicide. He also sought assistance from a friend after committing the act. This was neither a suicide nor an accident—it is a clear case of femicide.")

(80) **Duruşmada yaşananları anlatan Önce Çocuklar ve Kadınlar Derneği avukatlarından [1]H. G. B, "Sanık yargılama süresi boyunca cinayeti işlemediğini söylese de dosyadaki deliller kapsamında cinayeti sanığın işlediğine dair kuvvetli deliller vardı. Savcı da mütalaasında ağırlaştırılmış müebbet cezasından cezalandırılmasını istedi. Biz de takdiri indirim sebeplerinin hiçbirisinin uygulanmamasını istedik" dedi.**

Baykal sözlerini şu şekilde noktaladı: "İşin vahim tarafı sanık müdafii söz alarak bizim yaptığımız bu savunmaya atıfta bulundu ve 'Türkiye'de kadın cinayetlerinin yüzde 80'i 90'ı kadınların kışkırtmasıyla oluyor. Kadınlar erkekleri dolduruyor ve erkekler cinayet işlemek zorunda kalıyor' dedi. Daha sonra mahkeme heyeti kararını açıkladı. Mahkeme, sanığa hiçbir indirim uygulanmadan ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezası ile cezalandırılmasına karar verdi. İçimiz buruk çünkü kaybolan bir hayat var. Buruk bir sevinç yaşıyoruz"

(Data ID: 12_00159)

(Attorney H. G. B., representing the "Before Children and Women Association," provided an account of the proceedings:

"Although the defendant maintained throughout the trial that he did not commit the murder, the case file contained substantial evidence strongly indicating his responsibility for the crime. The prosecutor, in the closing opinion (mütalaa), also requested that the defendant be sentenced to aggravated life imprisonment. We likewise petitioned the court not to apply any discretionary mitigating factors."

Baykal concluded her statement as follows:

"What is particularly alarming is that the defence counsel, in referencing our argument, took the floor and stated: 'In Turkey, 80 to 90 per cent of femicides occur due to women provoking men. Women incite men, and men are forced to commit murder.'

Subsequently, the court announced its verdict: the defendant was sentenced to aggravated life imprisonment, with no sentence reductions. While we welcome the judgment, it is bittersweet because a life has been lost. We experience a muted sense of justice, tempered by sorrow.")

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

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The excerpts above mainly highlight the courtroom dynamics of the femicides that mostly resist the dominant patriarchal ideologies. The presence of attorneys from

various NGO's such as Before Children and Women Association, and Gelincik Centre represents the collective mobilisation of society for the femicide issue. The direct quotations from the solicitors of these groups can function as a discursive social resistance mechanism. For instance, in excerpt (78), the perpetrator's previous statements degrading the victim's motherhood are mentioned; however, these arguments are rebutted by highlighting that the primary motivation for the criminal is the mitigation of the crime to get a sentence reduction. Through evidence and actions before the murder, the perpetrator's responsibility for the crime became visible, and the attitude of the court is transparently presented as unconvinced by the defense. Excerpt (80) shares a similar structure with the excerpt (78). The perpetrator's crime is proven based on some documents despite his insistence on denial, and he is represented as guilty as charged without any mitigation for his crime. Even though the man defended himself by blaming the victim, he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Following this, the severity and the seriousness of the femicide issue are acknowledged by some intensifications such as "kadın cinayetlerinin toplumdaki vahim boyutu". (The seriousness of femicides in society). This labelling of the incident as "femicide" can be seen as critical due to its emphasis on the effect of gender and focus on the seriousness of this issue in society, connecting this isolated incident to a broader context. A similar discursive act is found in the excerpt (79). The persistent negation of the event as neither an accident nor a suicide function as a declarative highlighting the intentionality of the incident as femicide. Rather than framing it as an "any other murder" act, the officials foreground its gendered nature and highlight its societal significance for the community.

In the closing remarks, the direct quotations from officials in CC have a transformative function. Through constant reference to the government's institutions, mainly courts and the judicial system, the statements conclude an action for systemic change.

In line with their institutional affiliations such as NGO's, the solicitors in the CC adopt a socially resisting attitude against patriarchal norms in the court processes.

Their direct quotations foreground the gendered motivation of the event, and these statements primarily function as counterarguments to the perpetrator's defensive remarks, emphasising their culpability for the crime. Moreover, the frequent reference to the judge's verdict regarding the sentence can serve as a deterrent, intimidating others from committing the same crime. In the final part of the direct quotations, further suggestions are put forward for actions to be taken in the event of future crimes.

The other group of social actors quoted directly are politicians. In both corpora, political figures from the left wing; Labour Party for the UK context, CHP and DEM party for the Turkish context are reflected in direct quotations.

In order to comprehend the political implications of these quotations, the political power of these parties should be examined. In the UK context, the Labour Party, a left-wing party, became the ruling party in the country by securing 33.7% of the votes in 2024, while the Democratic Unionist Party, a right-leaning conservative party, received 0.6% (BBC, 2024). In the Turkish context, the CHP and DEM parties remained as left-wing opposition parties to the ruling AKP by securing 25.8% and 8.81% of the votes in the 2023 elections (BBC, 2023).

The direct quotations from politicians in CC are found to be from the oppositional parties, mainly CHP and DEM parties. The statements from these affiliations can be seen below:

(81) **DEM Parti Diyarbakır Milletvekili [1]C.A. C., Türkiye'de şiddet olaylarının bir salgın haline dönüştüğünü belirterek, şunları söyledi:**
"Bir kez daha bir kadın cinayeti için devletin üstüne düşeni ölümden sonra yapması gerektiğini söylemek için adliye önündeyiz. Diyarbakır artık şiddetin bir salgın haline dönüştüğü hatta ülke çapında şiddetin bir hastalık salgını gibi, koronavirüs gibi yayıldığı, küresel bir meseleye dönüştüğü bir düzlemdeyiz. Kadınlar en yakınları tarafından katlediliyor demekten dilimizde tüy bitti. H.'i katleden de daha önce de eşim dediği kişidir. H. en yakını tarafından katledildi. Bu erkek şu an H.'in 5 yaşındaki çocuğuyla birlikte tam 2 haftadır kayıp ve bulunamıyor. Her tarafı mobeselerle, kolluk güçleriyle, her tarafı karakollarla çevrili olan bu kentte, devlet

katili bulamadığını, 5 yaşındaki bir çocuğu katilin emanetine bıraktığını itiraf ediyor. İstanbul Sözleşmesi'nden çekiliyor, kadınları koruyan mekanizmalar al aşağı edinmek isteniyor. Kadın düşmanı partilerle ittifaklar yapılıyor, tek yapılmayan şey kadınları koruyamamak. Kadınlara utanmadan gelip, 3 çocuk yapın deme cesareti gösteriyorlar. Bu zihniyeti lanetliyoruz, reddediyoruz. "

(Data ID: 12_00165)

Speaking outside the courthouse in Diyarbakır, C. A. C., Member of Parliament for Diyarbakır from the DEM Party, stated that violence in Turkey has escalated into an epidemic and criticised the state's response to femicide.

"Once again, we are standing before a courthouse to demand that the state fulfil its responsibilities—this time after a woman has been murdered," said. "Diyarbakır is now a place where violence has become an epidemic. Nationwide, it is spreading like a disease—like the coronavirus-and has reached the level of a global crisis.

We are tired of repeating that women are being killed by those closest to them. Hilal was murdered by the very man she once called her husband. Someone within her immediate circle killed her. That man has now been missing for two weeks, along with Hilal's five-year-old child. In a city surrounded by surveillance cameras, law enforcement, and police stations, the state is effectively admitting that it cannot locate the killer and has left a child in the hands of a murderer". She also criticised the government's decision to withdraw from the Istanbul Convention, stating that protective mechanisms for women are being dismantled. At the same time, alliances are formed with parties hostile to women's rights.

"The only thing they refuse to do is protect women," she said. "Yet they dare to tell women to have three children. We reject and condemn this mentality.")

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[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

Excerpt (81) from a DEM Party MP illustrates a similar pattern with the solicitors. The politician describes the femicides as a systemic problem spreading uncontrollably by using an epidemic metaphor. This conceptualisation also reveals the extent and frequency of the femicides, locating them in a broader context and framing them thematically. Furthermore, the role allocation in the discourse for the agents is transparent. The murderers are identified as men and the victims as women, signifying the patriarchal nature of the killings. Moreover, the state's inability to control its citizens is pointed out by highlighting that the murderer and the victim's child are still missing despite the strict surveillance mechanisms in the city. The MP continues her criticism by exemplifying the governmental policies that contribute to

the deterioration of the issue, such as collaboration with extreme conservative parties and withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention. She directly blames the government for refusing to ensure women's safety, and she takes an oppositional position by condemning the birth policies imposed on women. While taking this position, she also creates an ingroup identity with "we" which can be interpreted as both DEM party people and women in general.

(82) **[1]J. S., the Democratic Unionist party MP for Strangford, told the Commons: "I think the message is clear for all those families – we grieve with you, our hearts ache with you and all of us in this great nation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland will have all of those families in our prayers. "I think parents and mums and dads want to know that their children are safe, so does the home secretary agree that this must be the goal, and perhaps she can outline just how that can be achieved?"**
(Data ID: 10_24120)

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

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Excerpt (82) fulfils the same function and structure in TGC as the previous one from the CC. It involves direct quotations taken from an MP of the Democratic Unionist Party. The except initially illustrates an "ingroup" identity with "we" and is followed by an explicit compassionate attitude and a strong sense of empathy. The statement further encompasses all the countries of the United Kingdom to highlight the extent of the support's range. In his final remarks, he assures the society of safety to prevent any social chaos and commotion regarding the issues. Although the Democratic Unionist Party is politically oriented to the right and opposed to the ruling party, the discourse does not illustrate any criticism of their policies, unlike CC. This difference can be attributed to their ideological differences. The Democratic Unionist Party, which has a right-wing orientation, opted for a more collaborative discourse, emphasising the importance of unity during these challenging times, which can also be considered a nationalistic approach. In contrast, the DEM Party, a left-wing oriented party, utilised a distancing tone when referring to the government, with harsh criticisms that undermined its authority.

The variation in the officials' direct quotations revealed two different patterns for CC and TGC. In the TGC, the discourse of solidarity and safety is prevalent, as the officials uttering the statements are members of the ruling party. The coercive and juridical officials can be regarded as mediators of the party's ideology, which explains the parallelism in the discursive style between politicians and government officials; both groups have the function of maintaining the political status quo. Instead, in the CC, the ideology is not mediated through governmental officials; the statements of NGO officials and oppositional party MPs are found to challenge the dominant ideology. Therefore, the discourse of resistance and change stands out for the CC.

Other than officials, the direct quotations from the family and friends of the victim are also prevalent in both corpora.

4.5.3. Direct Quotations from the Family of the Victim

"The Idealised Victim"

In femicide news reporting, direct quotations from the family members and friends of the victim play a crucial role in shaping the emotional tone and personal dimension of the coverage. These statements often serve to humanize the victim, emphasize her social identity, and express grief, shock, or calls for justice. At the same time, such quotations contribute to highlighting the personal impact of the incident and reinforcing public attention on the case. This section analyses how family and friends' voices are incorporated within the corpus, focusing on their discursive function and positioning in relation to the broader news framing of femicide cases**.**

(84) **[1]A G.'s wife, Sian Grey, said: "[2]A. will never be forgotten. She touched the lives of so many. The immense support and love shown by everyone reflects just that. A's life has been brutally taken but now she can rest in peace. Her strength lives on in all of us."**
(Data ID: 10_00027)

(85) **She previously told the Guardian: "She was a feisty little being. We are missing a beautiful girl, a lovely mum. She was a terrific kid." "She does not have a voice. I am her voice. I am not stopping my fight for justice. It is a long-term mission. If she knew what I was doing, I know she would be right there saying: 'Thanks, Mum.'**
(Data ID: 10_00206)

(86) **In a tribute, they said: "Our beautiful and amazing sister and daughter, was tragically taken from us, and our lives will never be the same. We are heartbroken by our loss. Our daughter only 30 years young, will be greatly missed by us all. "She was a loving mother to her two girls, whom she adored with all her heart. An amazing sister, who was the rock of our family. So bright and funny, always making us laugh. "We would like to thank everyone for their support at this horrific time. It has meant a lot to the whole family. We would now like time to grieve, and ask to be given privacy in which to do so."**
(Data ID: 10_00471)

(87) **[2]N. told the jury the family was "tortured with the thought [2]Z. death was preventable", adding that her niece's murder highlighted the "crumbling justice system (which is) meant to protect us". She spoke of her niece's "sparkling eyes and curly jet-black hair" and "glorious laughter". She was a carer for her mother and grandmother, "the rock of our family," and it was the "proudest moment for all of us" when she was offered a job as a legal assistant at the Royal Courts of Justice. She was "a carefree spirit with the most caring heart" and had worked to help resettle refugees in the UK. "2022 was to be her year to live her wildest dreams. She wanted to buy her own home, find Mr Right and have children. The future looked bright," her aunt said. She added: "[2]Z. walked everywhere and one night she walked home from an evening out with a friend, she was sexually assaulted and murdered. She was 35 years old. "She believed that a woman should be allowed to walk home, and her dreams, her future, were brutally taken."**
(Data ID: 10_21226)

(88) **The dead woman's family said: "She was a much-loved mum, sister, niece and mother to all, who will be missed dearly by many. We would ask that we are given privacy to come to terms with our loss at this time."**
(Data ID: 10_00452)

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The excerpts (84-88) from the family members and the friends of the victim paint a common image. In all these statements, the victims are defined in relation to their characteristics and physical traits, social and gender identities, and their importance to society. As can be seen from the direct quotations, in the victims' depiction, descriptive adjectives dominated the narration. Although the majority of the adjectives consist of personality descriptions such as "feisty", "funny", "bright", "caring", "bubbly", and "carefree", there are some references to their physical appearances like "sparkling eyes", "curly jet hair" and "beautiful". In some cases, these adjectives are further intensified with some adverbs of degree such as "much". Moreover, superlatives can also be utilised to reinforce the meaning of the adjective. For instance, the victim is depicted as "the most loyal friend". Even though it has not been stated overtly, in excerpt 84, the women's LGBTQ identity is acknowledged and conveyed implicitly to the audience by giving a reference to her wife.

On the other hand, there are some "empty adjectives" in the discourse in Lakoff's (1973) terms. Even though adjectives like "amazing", "lovely", and "dearly" do not significantly contribute to meaning, they add an emotional layer to the narration. Following that, the victims are all reflected about their social identities or gender roles. The sample excerpts demonstrate that women are often labelled as mothers, caregivers of others, sisters, children, and nieces. Rather than focusing on their identities, the direct quotations highlight the victims' role identities and social identities, positioning them within a macro social structure (Burke, 2020).

Furthermore, these identifications are formally verified and successfully fulfilled. Especially in the excerpt (87), the victim is reflected from different perspectives, and her achievements are shared. She is stated to be the primary caregiver to her family members and considered to be the rock of the family which foregrounds her essential role for her immediate social circle. Additionally, she is shared to be a legal assistant and working to help the migrants in the country extending her role to a societal level making everybody proud. In the last remarks, her dreams and aspirations for the future are reflected directing audience to think that the victim has person a promising future, lot to achieve with potential which deeps the dramatic impact of her murder.

(89) **“In 2019 her mother, who did not wish to be named, said her daughter was studying to fulfil her dreams: “she wanted to become a youth worker and was excited to progress to level two in September. She loved working with children and helping people with disabilities, this is something she excelled at, and, as her mother, I was extremely proud of her. “She loved hair and beauty and was well known for doing family and friends’ hair. Tanesha was the sweetest, caring and most loving daughter anyone could have wished for. She was the most loyal friend, and had friends in all areas of London, and everyone idolised her and wanted to be her friend. I remember how much she lit up a room and how much presence she had.” An engagement coordinator at Bruce Grove Youth Space, where she volunteered, said: “Tanesha was such a beautiful person inside and out. Anyone who had the opportunity to meet her would say she had a perfect heart. “She had a bubbly personality and always had a beautiful big smile on her face. Losing her is unexplainable and took a big hit on the youth centre and left a big hole in all our hearts.”**

(Data ID: 10_21285)

(90) **In a statement issued through police on Thursday, her family said she had been due to start a career in mental health nursing. “On the 25 June 2024 we tragically, prematurely and unnecessarily had our beautiful daughter is taken from us at the tender age of 22,” the statement said. “she was truly beautiful inside and out and will forever be in our memories. She was adored by her parents, younger sister, grandparents, family and friends because she was a gorgeous, soft-natured, sweet girl whose smile would brighten even the darkest of days. Her thoughtful, caring and loving nature made her endearing to so many during her short life, and she had so much more love to give and smiles to share with family and friends in the future.” The family members added: “She loved our family dog, Poppy, and her little puppy, Milly, with the two of them forming such a strong mutual bond in only the short time they sadly had together. “She achieved academic success and was soon to start her chosen career in mental health nursing, in which we know she would have excelled and been an attentive and caring nurse. “A special person has been lost to so many who had the privilege to know her and to those who would have had the pleasure of meeting her in the future. We have lost a special daughter, with her sister, losing a loving companion and soul mate who wanted to share so many more experiences with her. “You were always loved, will always be in our memories and by our side, and we will unconditionally love you forever. “We kindly request that the family’s privacy is respected, and we are allowed to grieve for our cherished daughter in peace at this sad and traumatic time.”**

(Data ID: 10_00508)

A similar phenomenon can be detected in excerpts (89) and (90), but the organisation has been reversed. These statements initially highlight their hopes and dreams, and their helpful and compassionate personalities are illustrated in their occupations. Women are expected to make their families proud by excelling in their work and achieving success. This description is reinforced by another direct quotation from a colleague, stating that the community will deeply feel her absence.

Unlike the other examples, excerpt (89) highlights the victim's personal interests and skills, mentioning her love for beauty and hair, as well as her reputation for styling her family and friends' hair. Similarly, in excerpt (90), her close bond with her dogs is emphasized. These details about the victim do not significantly contribute to the reader's understanding of the incident or offer a new perspective, as they can be seen as extensions of the victim's depictions. Although these statements can be regarded as one of the humanising strategies, they can be considered over-narration, and the victims are hypervisible. The statements from the victims' social circle are verbose and dominate the overall discourse, in some cases overshadowing the incident itself while creating a sensational tone through dramatic details. Besides victim representation, the violent action is also narrated and modified with some adjectives by the victims' family and friends. The frequent use of adjectives like "horrifying" and "brutal" creates a sense of shock accompanied by a significant emotional impact.

Women victims are depicted as possessing positive personality traits, holding important positions within the community, and fulfilling diverse roles as contributors to society. They have also created emotional bonds with others, and as a result, they are loved, appreciated, and respected. Therefore, their absence is perceived as being experienced negatively by their immediate circles. Moreover, the emotional intensification of the violent events reinforces this sensational tone. Considering all these features, the women in these news reports can be categorised as "ideal victims" (Christie, 1986). According to Christie (1986), ideal victims are vulnerable (too young or old, ill, etc.), often engaging in well-regarded activities such as caring for others. They cannot be accused of being in the wrong place at the wrong time, like being in a public space in the morning. About the victim, the perpetrator is also defined to be physically stronger and his intentions are not good, as well as having

no previous contact with the victim (Christie, 1986). Drawing on this theoretical background, Madriz (2023) developed a framework for the concept of the innocent victim. According to her conceptualisation, the innocent victim is respectable, the place and time of the attack is regarded as "convenient", she is vulnerable, she wears modest clothes (Madriz, 2023). The study further found that respectability of women comes from her position as being married with children, or a widow, or if she is single, she should have a steady boyfriend, and she should be a virgin. These individuals cannot be held accountable for their victimisation since they were fulfilling their duties as mothers, homemakers, and others. These framings of pure and innocent victims subconsciously create deserving and undeserving mental categories in the audience, teaching the women to be passive and victimised (Madriz, 2023).

Although these direct quotations from the friends and family of the victim do not reveal any details related to the offenders' background or presence, the victims' descriptions align with these criteria. The women are consistently represented with their support and help to their community; in some cases, they are considered to be too young and naïve to experience this violent action; thereby, they are considered to be undeserving.

(91) **[1]Z. B'ın duruşmada söz verilen annesi [1]N. Ö. ise "[1]K. B., savunmasında yalan söylüyor. Bir dönem kaza geçirip yürüyemez hale gelince evimizde eşim ile [1]K. B'a baktık. Şikayetçiyim"**

(Data ID: 12_00127)

(During the hearing, Z. B.'s mother, N. Ö., was given the floor. Addressing the court, she firmly rejected the defendant's statements:

"K. B. is lying in his defence. At one point, after he had an accident and became unable to walk, my husband and I took care of him in our home. I am pressing charges," she declared.)

(92) **[1]G. Y.'nun annesi [1]N. K, "Kızım, Alper Yağlıoğlu tarafından intihar süsü verilerek, katledildi. O gün kızımla olaydan 2 saat önce görüştük ve sohbet ettik. Morali iyiydi, sağlıklıydı, hatta şakalaştık. İntihar edecek bir durum yoktu. Bana anlatılana göre, [2]A'le o gün tartışmışlar. Gamze'nin pantolonunu yere atmış. Ardından bu olay oluyor. Bu kadar saçma bir sebep olamaz. Bilirkişi raporları, telefon kayıtları ve**

hesap hareketleri incelendiğinde bu işin intihar olmadığı, cinayet olduğu ortaya çıktı. [2]A. intihar ettiğini söyledi. Fakat hiç kimse inanmıyordu. Düştüğü yerin balkonla mesafesi bilirkişi raporları sonucunda itilerek atıldığı yönünde. Kamera kayıtları ve görüntüleri birçok delili ortaya çıkardı" diye konuştu.

[1]A.Y'nun, kızının düşmesinin ardından sergilediği rahat tavırları eleştiren anne [1]N. K., "[2]A. ambulansı ve jandarmayı beklerken, cesedin başında Instagram'a giriyor. Bir insanın eşinin cesedinin başında soğukkanlı, o kadar sakin bir şekilde durması, hayatın olağan akışına aykırı. Mahkeme de aynı kanıya vardı. Dilerim sonsuza kadar oradan çıkamaz. Sonsuza dek her gün yaşayarak ölür. Şu an dosya istinaf aşamasında. Yaptığı kötülüğün bedelini ödemesini istiyorum. Hayattaki tek amacım bu. Psikolojik ilaçlarla yaşamıma devam ediyorum. Kimsenin evladı ölmemeli, anneler evlatsız kalmamalı. Türk adaletine, Türk mahkemelerine sonsuz güveniyorum. Umarım ömür boyu o hücreden çıkamaz" ifadelerini kullandı.

(Data ID: 12_00648)

(N. K., the mother of G. Y., addressed the court with strong accusations, claiming her daughter was murdered and that attempts were made to stage the crime as a suicide. "My daughter was killed by A. Y., who tried to make it look like a suicide," she said. "We spoke just two hours before the incident. She was in good spirits, healthy, and even joked around. There was no indication that she would harm herself."

According to K., the couple argued that day, during which A. allegedly threw G. pants on the floor. "And then this happens? It is absurd. Expert reports, phone records, and financial transactions clearly show this was not a suicide but a murder," she asserted.

She added that Alper had initially claimed G. had taken her own life, but no one believed him. "The expert analysis showed that the distance from where she fell indicated she was pushed. Security camera footage and other evidence supported this." "I Hope He Lives to Die Every Day" Criticising A Y.'s behaviour after G.'s death, K. expressed disbelief at his calm demeanour: "While waiting for the ambulance and gendarmerie, A. was scrolling through Instagram next to her body. Remaining so composed by his wife's lifeless body defies the natural course of human behaviour. The court reached the same conclusion." In an emotionally charged statement, she continued:

"I hope he never gets out. I hope he lives to die every day. The case is now at the appellate stage. My only goal in life is to make sure he pays for what he did. I am surviving with psychological medication. No child should die. No mother should be left without her child. I fully trust Turkish justice and the Turkish courts. I hope he never leaves that cell for the rest of his life.")

(93) **Sanık Hasan Fakıoğlu'nun aldığı takdir indiriminin iki kat acıya sebep olduğunu ifade eden Çolakoğlu, "Kızım Ayşenur'a 4 mermi isabet etmiş olup yüzüne isabet eden mermiler nedeniyle kızımın güzel yüzü tanınmaz hale gelmiştir. Kızımı, canımı o**

şekilde teşhis ettikten sonra sanığın bu asılsız savunmalarıyla mahkemece takdiri indirim uygulanarak adeta ödüllendirilmesi bir baba olarak canımı iki kat fazla acıtmaktadır. Yargılama boyunca asılsız iddialar ve çelişkili beyanlarıyla hiçbir şekilde pişmanlık göstermeyen, kızımı tanınmaz hale getiren sanık hakkında takdiri indirim uygulanması kabul edilemez" dedi. Kızının öldürüldüğü gün kuaförlük sınavına girdiğini ve bu konuda çok hayali olduğunu anlatan Mesut Çolakoğlu, dilekçesine şunları yazdı: "Başarılı bir kuaför olma yolunda emin adımlarla ilerleyen, birlikte gerçekleştirmeyi umduğumuz nice hayalimiz olan gencecik kızımın canını hayatının baharında tasarlayarak, canice alan sanığın herhangi bir indirim uygulanmaksızın en üst hadden cezalandırılmasını talep ediyorum. Hayatımızı alt üst eden bu eylem nedeniyle adaletin bir nebze olsun tecelli ettiğini, sanığın hak ettiği cezayı aldıkları görmeyi umuyorum. Kızının adını yaşatmaya çalışa ve başka babaların canı yanması gencecik hayatların ışı sönmesin isteyen bir baba olarak yaşadıklarımı kısaca arz eder, sanık hakkında hak ettiği ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezasına verilmesini talep ederim"

(Data ID: 12_00217)

(Mesut Çolakoğlu, the father of Ayşenur Çolakoğlu, voiced his deep sorrow and anger following the discretionary sentence reduction granted to the defendant, Hasan Fakıoğlu, who was convicted of killing his daughter. "My daughter was struck by four bullets, two of which hit her in the face. Her beautiful face was rendered unrecognisable," said Çolakoğlu.

"After identifying her in that condition, it pains me twice as much to see the defendant rewarded with a sentence reduction for his baseless defence. As a father, this is unbearable." Throughout the trial, the defendant reportedly showed no remorse and offered conflicting and unfounded claims. "It is unacceptable that someone who disfigured my daughter and showed no sign of regret received a lenient sentence," Çolakoğlu added. He also described the dreams his daughter had, sharing that she had taken a hairdressing exam on the day she was killed:

"My young daughter had great dreams. She was on her way to becoming a successful hairdresser, and we had many plans for the future. Her life was taken in a premeditated and brutal manner." In his written petition to the court, he made a clear plea: "I demand that the perpetrator, who deliberately destroyed our lives, be sentenced to the maximum penalty without any reductions. I want to see justice served—not just for myself, but for all parents who have lost their children. As a father trying to keep his daughter's name alive and prevent other young lives from being extinguished, I respectfully request that the defendant receive an aggravated life sentence, as he rightfully deserves.")

(94) **[1]S. G. Y'ın babası [1]A. Ş.'le konuştu. Kızının evlilik sürecine değinen baba , "2022'de evlenmişti. Mayıs ayı gibi sıkıntılar ortaya çıkmaya başladı. [1]G'in bir kızı vardı ve eşi**

kızını dövmüş, sonra da karanlık bir odaya kilitlemiş. Hep sıkıntılar tehditler, kavgalar vardı evliliğinde" diye konuştu. Olaydan bir hafta önce [1]F.Y. 'ın boşanmayı kabul ettiğini belirten Şahin, "Anlaşmalı boşanma metnini imzaladılar. Ancak olay gecesi kızımı yanına çağırmış kimliğini vermek için. Çağırdıktan sonra onun arabadan inmesine izin vermemiş. Çanakkale Köprüsü'nün orada boğmuş ve gömmek için yer aramışlar. Kürekle gelen iki kişi var kamera görüntüsünde ama kim oldukları belli değil. Bu kişinin anne babası da "Biz cinayeti öğrendik ama polise gitmedik" diyor. Bu kişiler tutuklu değil. fail bir haftadır her gün arkadaşından arabasını istiyormuş. Bu adam bunu bir haftadır planlıyormuş" dedi. Failin olaydan beş ay önce evde yangın çıkardığı öne süren baba. kızıma 'Seni yakacağım, evi yakacağım' diyordu. Evin her yerine benzin dökülüp yakılmıştı. Şikâyette bulunduk. Kızım tehdit mesajlarını gösterdi. Komşular ifade verdi. Delil yetersizliğinden dosya kapandı. Yangın olayı çözülse şimdi kızım yaşıyordu" ifadelerini kullandı.

(Data ID: 12_00244)

(Father Speaks Out After Daughter's Murder: "He Planned This for a Week" , the father of S. G. Y., shared disturbing details surrounding his daughter's abusive marriage and eventual murder by her husband, Fırat Yıldızhan. "They got married in 2022," Şahin said. "By May, problems had already started. Gizem had a daughter, and her husband beat the child and locked her in a dark room. Their marriage was full of threats and violence." Şahin noted that just one week before the murder, the couple had signed a mutual divorce agreement. Fırat agreed to the divorce. They signed the settlement papers. However, on the night of the incident, he called Gizem over, saying he would return her ID card. After she arrived, he did not let her out of the car. He strangled her near the Çanakkale Bridge and then went looking for a place to bury her," he explained. Security footage reportedly shows two individuals carrying a shovel, but their identities remain unknown. "His parents admitted they knew about the murder but did not inform the police," Şahin added. "They have not been detained." According to Şahin, Fırat had borrowed a friend's car every day for a week leading up to the incident. "This was not spontaneous. He had been planning it for a week," he emphasised.

Şahin also revealed that five months before the murder, Fırat had allegedly set their home on fire following a series of threats. "He kept telling Gizem, 'I will burn you, I will burn the house,'" Şahin said. "He poured gasoline throughout the house and set it alight. We filed a complaint. Gizem showed the threatening messages. Neighbours gave testimony. However, the case was closed due to a lack of evidence."

In an emotional conclusion, he stated: "If the arson case had been adequately investigated, Gizem might still be alive today.")

(95) **[1]H. K'ın kardeşi [1]R. K.ise, kendisinin de tehdit edildiğini dile getirerek, "Katil [1]M. D. halen aramızda. Halen bir sürü cana zarar verecek güçte. Devletimiz, tüm Türkiye'de**

aranıyor demesine rağmen, katil halen aramızda. Dile kolay 13 gün. Çok basit bir zaman değil. Yeğenim Argeş'i alıp kaçırdı. Cinayeti tasarlayarak yaptı. Ablam, sabah işe giderken öldürüldü. Hilaller, Fatmalar, Ayşeler, hiçbir kadın ölmesin. Devletimize bu işe bir çare bulmasını istiyoruz. Katilin bir an önce yakalanmasını istiyoruz. Lütfen bu konuda hakkında herkes bize yardımcı olsun. Yeğenim yetim ve öksüz kaldı. Kimse bir şey yapmıyor. Ben de tehdit edildim. Bunu polise bildirmeme rağmen somut delil istediler benden. Somut bir delil yok. Ben öldürülünce mi her şey çözülecek?"

(Data ID: 12_00165)

(Rabia Kar, the sister of Hilal Kar, has come forward with a plea for justice, stating that both she and her family remain under threat while the suspect, Mehmet Demircan, continues to evade capture. "The murderer, M. D., is still among us. He still has the power to harm others," said Kar. "Even though authorities claim he is wanted across Turkey, it has been 13 days—thirteen long days—and he is still free." Kar also revealed that the suspect abducted her nephew, Argeş, and committed the murder in a premeditated manner. "My sister was murdered on her way to work in the morning. He planned it," she said. "Hilals, Fatmas, Ayşes—no more women should die. We are calling on the state to find a solution. We want the killer caught immediately." Describing the family's despair, she added: "My nephew is now orphaned. Nobody is doing anything." Kar also disclosed that she had been threatened: "I was threatened, too. I reported it to the police, but they told me I needed concrete evidence. However, what if there is no evidence? Will everything only be investigated once I am dead?" With a voice full of urgency, Kar appealed to the public: "Please, we need help. We want justice—not just for H, but for every woman who deserves to live without fear.")

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

The statements (91-95) from the families and the friends of the victim in the CC can be regarded as extensions of the official's direct quotations. Especially, in excerpt (91), the mother shares details to refute the offender's claims, which discredit him through accusations of lying. Similarly, the mother's strong endeavour to prove her daughter's innocence is notable in excerpt (92). She shares background details about the victim's previous actions before the murder. She defines her mood as positive and good, which is quite controversial to the suicide claim of the perpetrator.

Moreover, she repeatedly builds her arguments on factual documents such as reports from experts supporting the murder claim. Furthermore, the offender's ruthless act, which is scrolling down on social media after killing, distances the reader from the perpetrator, constructing him as almost a sociopath. The quotation further illustrates an emotionally loaded attitude towards the perpetrator. The mother fiercely seeks justice to be served in a vengeful manner. Her mention of the justice system can be interpreted as an encouragement for state officials to take action on the issue. Excerpt 93, however, reveals a distinct pattern for the direct quotations in the CC. The victim is humanised with her promising career and achievements, which is unique to this direct quotation.

The victim is defined in terms of her personal life and her promising hairdressing career. Seeing that this identification is followed by a statement "a young individual whose life was cut short too early", this reflection of her background is more related to heightening the brutal effect of the killing activity, unlike the patterns in TGC. At the very end of his remarks, the father emphasises the planned nature of the action, and he seeks justice by expressing his emotional devastation. He concludes his remarks by sharing his motivation to strive for justice not only for himself but also for the other fathers who lost their daughters.

On the other hand, excerpt (94) draws attention to the systemic nature of intimate partner violence for the victim. Based on her father's remarks, it can be seen that the victim was abused by her partner in different ways; the inclusion of vivid descriptions of these acts can support the brutality of the violence. These remarks may be interpreted in two different ways by the audience. Firstly, the audience may feel empathic for the victim, recognising her struggle in her relationship.

However, the reader can also adopt a victim-blaming attitude by criticising the woman for not getting a divorce or leaving the man. However, in the closing remarks of the father, the responsibility for her death is attributed to the government, her previous complaint to the police department was neglected, and they did not take action for the man.

In excerpt (95), in the last example, the discourse is dominated by the victim's sister's concerns for her own safety and well-being. She starts with the threats she has been receiving, and she is subtly critical of the government because the murderer has not been found yet. She also shares the seriousness of his being missing by sharing the details about the victim's child. The perpetrator abducts the child, who is orphaned, and his imprisonment is presented as essential for ensuring the child's safety. Through generalisation by using different women's names such as Hilal, Ayşe, and Fatma, the victim's sister signifies femicide frequency in the country and hints that every woman can be a victim, and seeks help from policymakers and the government.

Based on the structures of direct quotations from the families and friends of the victim in CC, the speakers are found to be engaging in a hypothetical conversation with an imagined audience to persuade them. Despite the slight differences in their content, all the statements serve a purpose in addressing someone and articulating their persistent demand for justice and change. This pattern can be further explained by the study of Litt and Hargittai (2016) on the targeted imagined audience. The performative characteristics of narration enable speakers to construct an assumed listener who is presumed to be the people more likely to see and react to their remarks (Litt & Hargittai, 2016). The motivation for these statements overall can be explained by the power of the newspaper to bring people's voice to the public space. The family members construct their targeted imagined audience as institutional agents and political stakeholders in power and their end goal is to ensure that the justice is fairly served.

Furthermore, these statements also outline the institutional distrust of the public. The individuals are observed to be sceptical about the transparency of the sentencing process; in some cases, they are not satisfied with the verdict. From a sociopolitical perspective, these statements are signals of the government's failure to fulfil its responsibilities as the social contract requires, which can lead to civic disengagement and a sense of alienation among the people. However, this dissatisfaction is not recognised by any state officials, and the public has not been assured about the forthcoming processes, which may result in a legitimisation crisis as Habermas

(1976) defines. Therefore, these statements should be also interpreted as signals of warnings for governments reflecting the loss of trust in its institutions.

This overemphasis on the broader concepts like justice and governments in these statements also reduces the women's identity to a victim only. In its counterpart, TGC, it has been discovered that women are often defined by their cheerful characters and are positively portrayed in family members' discourse. They are positioned as carers for the others in the community; their loss is considered to be significant, whereas in CC, the victim's victimisation is the main feature defining her. In the direct quotations by family, victims' previous relationships with the offenders, and their innocence are tried to be proven by rebutting the murderers' claims, and their death is seen as a part of a bigger structure, gender inequality and governmental issues.

4.5.4. Former Direct Quotations from the Victims

"If I ever get another boyfriend, he will kill us both"

The direct quotations from the victims themselves are extracted from their previous statements to police, and they are found to be unique to TGC. The following are sample excerpts from the TGC:

(96) **In a statement, Render* told police: "I have said to him, if you burn those photographs, then I will kill you. He has then stated: 'Come up here and I will kill you, I am telling you now that I will fucking kill you.'"**
Tiffany Render is the victim in this case
(Data ID: 10_00106)

(97) **Higton made a statement to police on 11 May, saying she feared for her life. She said, "If I ever get another boyfriend, he [Osborne] will kill us both"**
Katie Higton is the victim in this case
(Data ID: 10_21053)

(98) **That morning, she had messaged a friend to say:**
"Apparently [the defendant] is going to meet me outside of school. So he is stalking

me at this point. He is going to follow me until I talk to him."
(Data ID: 10_21208)

The statements share similar characteristics in their content. The victims' worries about their well-being are the central theme for both statements. These statements further foreground their relationship with the offender, emphasising their aggressive and jealous actions, constructing a problematic personality for the perpetrator, which reinforces the "ideal victim" image. Also, some of these direct quotes suggest that the former crimes were not considered and punished by the authorities, resulting in femicide.

Although there are also references to previous police statements in CC, unlike TGC, they are not quoted directly; therefore, they cannot be examined in this section.

4.5.5. Direct Quotations from Co-Victims / Survivor

Although the thesis at hand is an analysis of femicide news, there was a single news report in the corpora that mentioned a survivor, which was notable.

The only survivor statement is found in TGC in extract 10_00216. During the attack reported in (99) there were two victims. Although the woman, Amie Grey, was murdered, the other woman, Leanne Miles, survived despite her many injuries. Her statement after the attack is presented below:

(99) **[2]M. told police: "It was just nice and peaceful and calm." At 10.38 pm, Saadi allegedly launched the attack, saying nothing. M. ran to get help, but then returned to her friend. She said: "He was continuously stabbing me, and I told him to stop …I said: 'Please stop, I have got children.'" (…) She said, "We turned around, and I looked at this boy. I thought maybe Amie knew him, and she had a smile on her face." She thought perhaps the boy was playing a prank and it was a fake knife. She said: "It did not feel sharp, it felt like I was being punched. I did not feel pain until he had stopped attacking me."**
(Data ID: 10_00216)
Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: *Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns*

The statement can be considered as a detailed narration of the incident, a step-by-step account of the incident. The victim shares her personal experience with the criminal and her feelings, which functions as a "mediated witness" effect for the reader (Peelo, 2006). "Mediated witness" effect is defined as a structured narration to enable readers to resonate with the victim's experiences (Peelo, 2006). Reading through the detailed narration of the statements, such as "he was continuously stabbing me", "I told him to stop", the audience can visualise the attack, and the actions of the victims and the murderer. Hence, the audience is invited to empathise with the survivor, seeing her struggle, while they tend to alienate themselves from the offender due to his violent act.

4.5.6. Direct Quotations from the Perpetrator

"I am wrongly accused of mistaken identity"

The newspapers also illustrate the perpetrator's perspectives by showing direct quotations from them. These statements can have different functions based on their contents and the discursive strategies employed. The excerpts below illustrate the direct quote statements from the perpetrators:

(100) **After killing them, he declared: "Romeo and Juliet, they can fucking die together now."**
(Data ID: 10_21053)

(101) **When he was interviewed, he said: "I am wrongly accused of mistaken identity"**
(Data ID: 10_00027)

(102) **The boy later told police: "I was meant to kill myself but it went too far." (…) The defence barrister, [1]N. E. KC, asked him: "The night that she died, when you went to Hexham, what is it you wanted to do?" The defendant replied: "It was not for going there to hurt her or kill her, it was not for that." Asked what he had wanted to happen that day, he added: "To try and take my own life."**
(Data ID: 10_21208)

(103) **He returned a few minutes later to find one of his sons trying to gain access to the property, and told him: "You cannot go in the house because I have killed her" (...) (he) called the police and told them: "I have killed my wife."**

(Data ID: 10_04351)

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

The statements from perpetrators show three different stances. In excerpt (102), the utterances convey unintentionality and unplanned nature of the crime, and to defend himself, he tries to appeal to the emotions of the others by stating his suicide plan, victimising himself to some extent, thereby it can be regarded as a complete denial. In excerpt (101), on the other hand, the offender defends himself straightforwardly by accusing the authorities based on their evaluations. He subtly blames them for misinterpreting his personality. However, he fails to share any information related to the crime or the victim, thereby categorising it as a partial denial of the crime. Lastly, in the excerpt 100, the offender uses an aggressive tone by using a metonym and referencing their tragic death; he does not show any sense of regret or sadness related to the event. Conversely, he completely acknowledges his crime even though he does not formally take the responsibility, so he is in complete acceptance.

(104) **[2]E., "1 yıldır suçsuz yere yatıyorum. 4 yaşında kızım var" dedi. [1]A. E. ise, [1]A.B'in intihar ettiğini öne sürerek, tahliyesini talep etti. Ali Erensoy, savunmasında, olay günü güvenlik kamerasının neden çalışmadığına ilişkin olarak, şunları söyledi: "Güvenlik kamera kayıtlarına bakılırsa, bazen kaçamak yapmak için güvenlik kameralarının fişlerini çekerdim. Bunu bazen oto yıkama firmamda, otmobil çizildiğinde de yapardım. Yani elimde imkan varken, güvenlik kamera görüntülerinin tamamını silerdim. A.'un tüm zamanlarında, ailesi yanında yokken ben onun yanında oldum. Paraysa para verdim. A'un son terk edişi de uyuşturucu bağımlılığı yüzünden oldu. Ben A.'u eğlence hayatından tanırım. Uyuşturucu kullanıyordu. Onu bu hayattan çektiğimde intihar etmeye çalıştı. E'in üzerine kuma olarak gelmeyi reddettiği için intihar etti. Ben onun iyi ve kötü gününde hep yanındaydım. Onu neden öldürmek isteyeyim." Mahkeme heyeti, kararını vermek için duruşmayı erteledi.**

(Data ID: 12_00219)

(A. E. Requests Release, Claims Innocence in A. B. Case A. E., who is currently in pre-trial detention in connection with the death of A.B., appeared in court and claimed he has been imprisoned for a crime he did not commit. "I have been behind bars for a year for something I did not do. I have a four-year-old daughter," E. stated during the hearing. E. argued that A. B. had taken her own life and requested to be released. Addressing the issue of non-functional security cameras on the day of the incident, he stated:

"If the security footage is examined, it will show that I would sometimes unplug the cameras to avoid being seen. I used to do this at my car wash business, particularly when a vehicle was scratched. If I had the means, I would delete all the footage. That day was no exception."

He further claimed that he had consistently supported Bedel:

"I was always there for Ayşenur when her family was not. I gave her financial support when needed. She left me for the last time because of her drug addiction. I met her in nightlife circles—she used drugs. When I tried to pull her away from that life, she attempted suicide. She ended her life because she refused to become a co-wife to E. I was there for her in both her good and bad times. Why would I want to kill her?"

The court adjourned the hearing and postponed the verdict to a later date.)

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

Excerpt (104) in CC from the perpetrator outlines an extreme case of victim blaming. The victim is initially claimed to have committed suicide, and the perpetrator openly admits to destroying the evidence by deleting the camera footage. He further elaborates on the victim's lifestyle and highlights his role in "saving" her from drug addiction. The perpetrator intentionally highlights this discourse of blame to distance the audience from the victim while glorifying his actions. Even though these details do not diminish his responsibility for the criminal act, for some conservative readers, they can serve as a distancing mechanism. Even though the discourse is found to be transparent in sharing the man's perspective, it neglects the victim's experiences and ideas. Contrary to TGC, the perpetrator's accusations are neither confirmed nor refuted by the additional information in CC. For instance, for the drug addiction claim, the newspaper could have questioned it by looking for some medical records of the victim and sharing these details with the audience to conclude the reality of these claims.

(105) **Söz alan sanık [2]E., olaydan önce Aile Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı'nı aradığını boşandığı [1]P. C. (47) ile ilgili konuştuğunu, bakanlık avukatını tehdit ettiğini söyleyerek, "Eğer çocuklarıma bir şey olursa 'seni öldürürüm' dedim. Ben bu davada tamamen suçsuzum, zor durumda kaldım. Bundan 10 sene önce kadın cinayet mi vardı? Ne zamandan beri namus kadın cinayeti olmuş? Kadın adamdan boşanıyor sonra kadın fahişe oluyor sonra adam suçlu. Keşke öfkeme hakim olsaydım. Önce Allah'a sonra size güveniyorum" dedi.**

(Data ID: 12_00261)

(Taking the floor, the defendant E. said that before the incident, he had called the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and spoke about his ex-wife P. C. (47), stating that he had threatened the ministry's lawyer. He said, "I told him, 'If anything happens to my children, I will kill you.' I am entirely innocent in this case; I was in a difficult situation. Ten years ago, were there even femicides? Since when has honour become a woman's murder? The woman divorces the man, then becomes a prostitute, and then the man is blamed. I wish I had been able to control my anger. I trust first in God and then in you.")

Note: [1]: Originally the full name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethical concerns

[2]: Originally the last name of the person is used but it has been anonymized due to ethnical concerns

The perpetrator's defence illustrates a highly misogynistic attitude, entrenching patriarchal values in excerpt (105). Initially, by implicitly presenting himself as the father, he constructs his role as the sole protector of their children, and he legitimises a probable murder. Furthermore, his endeavour to deconstruct femicide as a new concept by mentioning the previous periods is not based on facts, and it misinforms the reader. Also, he completely disregards his act's gendered motivation. By asking the question of "Since when has honour become a femicide?", he subtly complains about the change in this concept. He implicitly favours the system where honour killings are still accepted. He constructs divorce as a moral deviance since it further leads to "prostitution", which victimises men. While he shares his regrets about anger control issues, he also uses religious discourse by referencing God to maintain his "moral superiority", and he verbally pays his respect to this high authority. This quotation can be considered very offensive and aggressive against the female audience. The newspaper could have edited the remark by integrating some officials' ideas about the honour killings, and statistics about the previous femicide cases to produce counterarguments to his remarks. This was not done.

The direct quotations presented above reinforce the hegemonic masculinity-oriented mindset in the Turkish context. In these statements, hegemonic masculinity is embedded in the subtle heroic and honourable reflections of men as fathers and husbands, the biased narrations of murderers' backgrounds, and blaming the victim for divorce or quarrel (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). This gender hierarchy is further reinforced with the elimination of victims' perspectives and the facts that can rebut these claims, women are found to be inferior to men in terms of representation.

4.5.7. Direct Quotations from the Perpetrator's Family

"The man sitting here today is not my dad; he is a monster."

Direct quotations from the perpetrator's family and friends have not been found in CC. In TGC, in contrast, the excerpts with this type of quote show variety in their function and purpose. Some of these statements and their functions can be examined in Table 19.

Table 19. Quotations from the perpetrator's family and their functions in TGC

Data ID	Quotation	Function
10_21486	Perpetrator's family, saying their lives had been left "in turmoil", thanked victim's mother for her "incredible selflessness and empathy towards our family". "Her compassion is overwhelming, and we are forever grateful," they said. "To all of Brianna's family and friends, our community and everyone else that has been affected by this horror, we are truly sorry."	Apologize
10_31671	She described how her son had "seemed normal" that day. "I asked him if he had a good time, and he said yes. He had been chasing Pokémon (on the mobile game Pokémon Go) and had a ham and cheese baguette," she said. (…) Describing her son as "very academic" and "well behaved at school," she said, "He knows right and wrong, good and bad and is not a risk taker."	Background of the perpetrator

Table 19. (continued)

10_04351	The couple's eldest son, faced his father in court to read a victim impact statement in which he said he was "humiliated to have ever called you my dad", Nottinghamshire Live reported. "You had everything in life – a beautiful home, a beautiful wife, three children – and that has gone because you are selfish," he said. "You have ruined every single childhood memory I have of you. "I am looking at you, but you will not look at me and answer the one question I want to know the answer to. Why? How can you kill an innocent woman as beautiful as her, your wife? I hope you can see the pain you have caused to everyone. The man sitting here today is not my dad; he is a monster."	Blame perpetrator

The extract 10_21486 conveys a clear apologetic message to the audience. The family acknowledges the horror of the act and its impact on the community; they also share that they have been negatively affected by their child's act. Moreover, they position themselves in solidarity with the victim's family by appreciating their empathy towards them. In extract 10_31671, however, the statement functions as a backgrounding mechanism for the perpetrator. Her mother could not see any hints related to a crime inclination; he seemed "normal" that day, and he is depicted as well-behaved and a successful student. By adding the perpetrator's details and his routine, this statement humanises him. This backgrounding can hint to the audience that the crime was not intentional and mitigates his responsibility as he was a "well-behaved" person.

Contrary to the previous statement, extract 10_04351 indicates an aggressive attitude toward the offender as it openly blames him. The background details about his familial life are shared to highlight that his crime was motiveless. Furthermore, his son labels him as "monster", which dehumanises and marginalises the individual, and draws attention to the abnormality.

4.5.8. Direct Quotations from Local People

"It is devastating, it is on your doorstep"

The analysis illustrated that only TGC quoted the locals directly; surprisingly, no such samples have been found in the CC corpus. The statements from local people who do not have a personal, intimate relationship illustrate three different inclinations. The first group focuses on the impact of the crime on society, while the second group primarily presents a witness's perspective and shares their impressions of the event. The last group encompasses previous categories and shares both impressions and broader implications for society. Table 20 showcases some of these statements.

The majority of the statements uttered by the local people reveal a public concern about the violent act. The direct quotations demonstrate that the crime's scope of impact is not limited to the social actors involved but also affects the community as a whole, causing disturbance in individuals and collective emotional distress. The people reflected their worries in terms of their proximity to crime "at their doorstep". Although the people are terrorised and frightened by the action, they also seem to feel uncomfortable with the frequency of police patrolling and their presence. The local in extract 10_00486 refers to the police's regulations as "shutting us off" and "putting us in lockdown," which confine and interfere with their actions.

When this statement is examined together with police officers' direct quotations from the previous sections, it confirms the claim that the over-presence of the government's coercive instruments harms citizens. These adverse effects can be interpreted in terms of the "institutional betrayal" concept, which emphasises the failure of a particular organisation to prevent problems in the system that negatively impact people (Smith & Freyd, 2014). From the excerpts, it can be seen that people comment on the general rising crime rates in the country by subtly criticising the government's failure to act on it.

Table 20. Quotations from the local people and their contents

Data ID	Quotation	Content
10_00067	One resident of the street told BirminghamLive it was "shocking and sad" news: "It is devastating, it is on your doorstep."	Effects of the event on the community

Table 20. (continued)

10_00486	A local woman said the area was in effect put into lockdown. She said: “It was between 6.30 pm and 7 pm last night, and it literally just sounded like kids, somebody screaming, and then it was more shrill and I was like ‘that is a woman screaming’, and within 15 minutes, it was absolute chaos. “We had armed police running down, screaming ‘stay in your house’ … they shut us off and put us into lockdown.”	Effects of the event on the community
10_01239	A neighbour in North Berwick, an affluent seaside town popular with holidaymakers and day trippers, told the Sun: “This kind of tragedy never happens in North Berwick – it has shaken the whole town. The police arrived here on New Year’s morning and have not left since. She was a loving mum to her boys, who must be devastated by what happened.”	Effects of the event on the community and personal impressions
10_00564	A neighbır who lives a few streets away in Bradford, said it was “difficult to accept” such an attack had happened on her doorstep. “I feel very uncomfortable. I used to feel very safe here, but I had a knock on my door the other night, and it made me feel terrified,” she said. “Every day, things are getting worse. There are too many incidents, you do not feel safe,” she said. Knife crime is more normalised. If people want to fight, they bring knives. They want to look cool; it is a result of peer pressure. They do not think about the consequences,” she said. Her friend Alisha Ahmed added: “They do not communicate, they just turn to violence.”	Effects of the event on the community
10_00564	One, who did not want to be named, said: “There has been a noticeable increase in antisocial behaviour and crime in Bournemouth in the last few years. It is alarming.” A couple who rent a beach hut and want to remain anonymous said: “We are worried by this incident, but we would not walk around the beach late at night anyway.”	Effects of the event on the community

Table 20. (continued)

10_01250	A close neighbor, who lives opposite, said: "They seemed like a lovely family. They have two or three. The kids, who are only youngsters, are about six or seven years old. Everybody is in shock at the moment." He added: "I used to wave at them in the morning, but I do not know much about the family – they kept themselves to themselves." Police are reviewing footage from Ahmet's doorbell cam. He said: "I have only just had it installed and I do not know how it works, but the police are going through it to see if there is any evidence. It happened in the early hours of the morning, but we did not hear anything."	Personal impressions about the actors and the event
10_31722	A shopkeeper who tried to help Akter after the stabbing described how there was nothing that could be done to save her life. He said, "I was sitting in my shop and heard screaming. I came out and I tried to check the pulse. There was no pulse. "Blood was all over the floor, and there were stab wounds in her neck," he said. He was joined by a passing doctor who took over, trying to help the woman, but agreed there was no pulse. "Him and me and another guy tried to rescue her, but she was already gone," he said. "Whatever happened, it is an unfortunate thing."	Personal impressions about the actors and the event

In this context, the government can be regarded not only as incapable of preventing the crime beforehand, but it also exercises power over people, interfering with their freedom to act individually. On the other hand, the locals' direct quotations also convey their impressions of the event and the actors in it. Extract 10_31722 and 10_01250 reflect the perspectives of bystanders. In the former, the person narrates the event step by step, with vivid descriptions of the crime scene, reinforcing the "mediated witness effect" (Peelo, 2006). In the latter, the victim and the offender are represented through their neighbour's lenses, and they are considered to be happy but reserved, having minimal interaction with them.

Considering the analysis, it can be seen that in TGC, the dominant perspective is found to be government through officials, and the victim is mediated through family and friends. Additionally, the local people's perspectives, which can be interpreted as the community's lenses, are found to be unique to TGC. Furthermore, the perpetrator's remarks are revealed to be several, and they are neither extensive nor detailed. On the other hand, the main perspective in the CC has been concluded as NGO's through solicitors and partially victims mediated through family members, and the perpetrators. However, the direct quotations from the victim's family members do not detailly depict the victim; they are mostly counterarguments against the perpetrator's blame on the victim.

4.6 Intensification and Mitigation

In Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), intensification and mitigation are important strategies used to shape how people, events, or actions are presented in discourse. Intensification makes something seem more important, urgent, or emotional by using strong words or expressions, such as powerful adjectives or adverbs. On the other hand, mitigation reduces the strength of a statement, making it sound less direct, less certain, or less emotional. This can be done through softer language, modal verbs, or passive voice. These strategies are not just stylistic choices, they reflect underlying beliefs and help support or challenge certain viewpoints. In media texts, especially on sensitive topics like violence or gender, how journalists intensify or soften their language plays a key role in how the audience understands and judges the people involved. Considering the variety in intensification and mitigation strategies, in this section these strategies are examined to understand how media discourse constructs the perpetrator, the victim, and the act of killing in femicide reports.

4.6.1. Intensification Strategies for the Killing Actio

The manual annotation process has yielded some patterns in terms of intensification and mitigation strategies in TGC and CC. When the corpus has been examined it has been observed that some nouns and adjectives such as "tragic, horrific" etc were used

frequently. Both corpora were further analysed to grasp the functions of these intensifiers. It was found that these lexical items were used to more to intensify the killing action itself. The corpus frequency analysis for the lexical items used as intensifiers and example excerpts are shared below:

Table 21. Intensifiers used as descriptors for the action of killing in TGC

Lexical Items	Frequency of Occurrence in TGC
Tragedy / Tragic	58
Suffering / Suffered	42
Horrifying / Horrific	40
Brutal / Brutality	23
Sorrow / Grief	14
Trauma / Traumatic	14

As the Table 21 illustrates the lexical choices used to describe the act of killing in the Turkish Guardian Corpus (TGC) reveal a strong tendency toward intensification, reflecting efforts to emotionally and morally charge the event. High-frequency items such as *"tragedy/tragic"* (58 occurrences), *"suffering/suffered"* (42), and *"horrifying/horrific"* (40) underscore the extremity and emotional weight of the violence. These terms are not neutral; they intensify the representation of the act by foregrounding its cruelty, its psychological impact, and its broader societal resonance. The use of *"brutal/brutality"* (23) further constructs the killing as excessively violent, positioning it as a moral deviancy beyond ordinary criminality. Similarly, *"trauma/traumatic"* (14) and *"sorrow/grief"* (14) emphasize the long-term psychological consequences and the emotional effect on families, and the community in general. Through these lexical items, the act of femicide is discursively framed not merely as a legal offense, but as a deeply disturbing and socially consequential event, inviting condemnation and empathy. This strategy of intensification aligns with broader ideological functions, reinforcing the gravity of gender-based violence and legitimizing public outrage. Some excerpts outlining their contextual usage in TGC can be seen below:

(106) **Several families with children were among those who attended to pay their respects. Many were fighting back tears and passing around tissues, as people turned to each for comfort in the face of unspeakable tragedy. (Data ID: 10_24120)**

(107) **Officers found Burke's body at the foot of the stairs and the three women "heaped together" in the kitchen. Mr Justice Bryan said Jacques had committed the "horrific catalogue of murders" after using skunk cannabis. (Data ID: 10_23155)**

(108) **After her death, PSNI assistant chief constable Davy Beck said: "First of all I'd like to express my deepest sympathies to Mary Ward's family and friends who are experiencing unbearable suffering knowing that their loved one was taken from them in such a cruel way. "Our specialist trained family liaison officers are continuing to work with the family, providing support at this very difficult time." (Data ID: 10_21066)**

The excerpts (106-108) outlines the contextualizations of these intensifiers in the news. In the excerpt (106), the phrase "unspeakable tragedy" functions as a lexical intensifier. In the excerpt, the killing activity has been regarded as a tragedy which function as evaluative and it has been further modified with "unspeakable" revealing the shocking nature of it. Furthermore, the phrases "fighting back tears", "passing around tissues" and "turning to each other for comfort" show the usage of figurative language to highlight the emotional effect. These choices do not neutrally report the event; rather, they construct the act of killing as a deeply disturbing and outrageous occurrence. On the other hand, in excerpt (107) the intensifier "horrific" highlighting the emotional shock of the crimes is followed by the phrase "catalogue" which can imply the systemic nature of the killing activity. This excerpt relies on intensification to construct the murders as emotionally shocking and socially significant with subtle reference to the systematic nature of the murders. Similarly, in excerpt (108) the intensified emotional framing can be identified with the phrase "unbearable suffering". Although in this excerpt the intensifier does not modify the killing activity directly, it defines the effect of it on the victim's family and loved ones. It reinforces the emotional pain they experienced and locating the grief as something beyond tolerance. Furthermore, the killing activity has been referred to as "taken from them in such cruel way" which frames the femicide as inhumane and it enhances the severity of the killing act.

The next section outlines the similar patterns of intensification used for the killing action depictions in CC.

Table 22. Intensifiers for the action in CC

Lexical Items	Frequency of Occurrence in TGC
Katledildi / Katlediliyor *(was slaughtered/ is being slaughtered)*	15
Defalarca *(Repeatedly)*	8
Canice *(Monstrous)*	3
Korkunç (*Horrific)*	2
Kan Donduran *(Blood-curdling)*	2

The lexical frequency data from the Cumhuriyet Corpus (CC) shows a clear use of intensification strategies in reporting femicide. The most frequent term, *"katledildi*/*katlediliyor"* (was/is slaughtered) portrays the killings as brutal and inhumane. The adverb *"defalarca"* (repeatedly) emphasizes the repeated nature of the violence, increasing its severity. Variants of *"canice"* (savagely/monstrous) further highlights the acts and its cruelty. Less frequent intensifiers like *"korkunç"* (horrific) and *"kan donduran"* (blood-curdling) evoke shock and emotional trauma and they are found in 2 cases. Together, these lexical choices intensify the representation of femicide, framing it as a deeply violent, and socially significant event. Their utilization in the femicide contexts can be seen in the excerpts below:

(106) İzmir'in Konak ilçesinde boşanma aşamasındaki eşini defalarca bıçaklayarak öldüren şahıs, polisin 240 saatlik kamera görüntüsünü incelemesi sonucu yakalandı. (Data ID: 12_00185)

("The man who repeatedly stabbed his estranged wife to death in İzmir's Konak district was apprehended after the police reviewed 240 hours of surveillance footage."

(107) Ankara Sincan'da geçen aralık ayında N. K. (25) evine doğru yürürken bir yıl önce boşandığı eski eşi Ş. Ş. (36) tarafından sokak ortasında katledildi. (Data ID: 12_00011)

("Last December in Ankara's Sincan district, N.K. (25) was slaughtered in the middle of the street by her ex-husband Şafak Şahin (36), whom she had divorced a year earlier, while she was walking home.

In excerpt (106) the phrase “repeatedly stabbed” shows the extreme and ongoing nature of the violence. The word “repeatedly” suggests not just killing, but doing it in a very cruel and determined way. This makes the act sound especially brutal and shocking. In the excerpt (107), the word “slaughtered” (translated from “katledildi”) is much stronger than “killed”. It is typically employed to describe extremely violent or unjust killings, emphasizing that the act was not only unlawful but also profoundly disturbing. Overall, this type of language use intensifies the gravity and emotional impact of the violence, framing the crime not merely as an isolated act but as part of a broader social issue

4.6.2. Intensification Strategies for Perpetrator in TGC and CC

This section explores the intensification strategies used to represent perpetrators in The Guardian Corpus (TGC) and Cumhuriyet Corpus (CC). Drawing on the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), the analysis focuses on how lexical choices and syntactic structures amplify and reinforce the perpetrators’ backgrounds and/or characteristics. The table outlining the prevalent strategies can be seen below:

Table 23. Intensifiers for the perpetrator in TGC

Lexical Items	Frequency of Occurrence in TGC
Evil	8
Monster	2

Table 23 shows that the intensifiers used for male perpetrators often build on the metaphors discussed in earlier sections. These intensifiers do not only repeat common metaphorical images but also strengthen them. For example, the use of words that suggest the perpetrator is “evil” helps create a strong contrast between good and bad, showing the man as completely inhuman. This kind of language separates the man from normal society and presents him as someone very different, savage and malicious which also creates the topos of danger and overlaps with the argumentation strategy.

108) **In a victim impact statement read out in court, her mother, described him as a "monster of the worst kind". She added: "I no longer live, I simply exist in a tortuous world without my baby. I am tormented every second of every day that I draw breath." (Data ID: 10_21053)**

(109) **Now my world has been torn apart, justice may have been done with the guilty verdicts, but no amount of time spent in prison will be enough for these monsters. I cannot call them children as that makes them sound naive or vulnerable, which they are not. They are pure evil. Brianna was the vulnerable one. (Data ID: 10_23466)**

These excerpts (108-109) support what Alat (2006) argued, that in femicide news, men are often shown as outsiders through the use of unreal or strange characteristics. By doing this, the discourse hides the social reasons behind the violence and presents the perpetrator as a rare or unusual case, rather than someone shaped by a larger system. In other words, these metaphors and intensifiers work together to focus on the man as an individual, while ignoring the role of society and gender inequality in such crimes. This limits a deeper understanding of the issue and makes it harder to see patterns of violence as part of a wider problem.

Table 24. Intensifiers for the perpetrator in CC

Lexical Items	Frequency of Occurrence in CC
Acımasız *(Merciless)*	3
Canavar(ca) *(Monstrous)*	2

Although in Cumhuriyet the use of metaphors have not been identified, a number of lexical items have been used to further intensify the delinquencies of the perpetrators. Similar to the Guardian, the main aim of these intensifiers listed in Table 24 above is to isolate these men from the rest of the society and reinforce them as abnormal and deviant. The excerpts below from CC portray their contextual usages:

(110) Bir kız çocuğunun eğitim yolculuğu acımasız kişilerin elleriyle bir kuyunun dibinde sona erdi. (Data ID: 12_00766)
A girl's educational journey came to an end at the bottom of a well, at the hands of merciless individuals.

(111) **Mahkeme heyeti, sanığa, "haksız tahrik" ve "iyi hal indirimi" uygulamadan "eşe karşı canavarca hisle öldürme" suçundan ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis verdi.** ***(Data ID: 12_00218)***

The court panel sentenced the defendant to aggravated life imprisonment for "killing his spouse with monstrous intent," without applying any "unjust provocation" or "good conduct" reductions.

In excerpt (110) the murderers are overtly named as merciless while the victim has been defined as a “girl” emphasizing her innocence. Even though the girl reference can be regarded as ideologically neutral, when interpreted with the rest of the discourse it can reinforce the connotation of mercilessness of the act. The girl image with its purity and naivety contrasts with the image of a merciless man and create the dichotomy between good and bad again.

In the excerpt (111) however, the man has not been overtly defined as monstrous but the feelings and intentions of him are considered to be so. Similar to the previous discussions, the reflection of the man in this framing functions to highlight the innocence of the victim and create her as undeserving of this merciless act.

4.6.3. Intensification Strategies for Victims

In femicide news reporting, intensification strategies are also frequently used to construct a heightened emotional and moral framing of the victim. These strategies rely on specific linguistic choices that emphasize vulnerability, innocence, and tragedy. Through such mechanisms, the victim is not only presented as an individual but symbolically linked to broader societal values, often evoking strong emotional responses in the reader. Intensification contributes to shaping public perception by amplifying the perceived severity of the crime and reinforcing particular ideological positions related to gender and violence.

This section explores the discursive functions of intensification in the portrayal of victims and considers its role within the broader narrative structure of femicide discourse.

Table 25. Intensifiers for the victim in TGC

Lexical Items	Frequency of Occurrence in TGC
lovely	34
Amazing	15

Table 25 reveals that the victim in TGC is frequently described with positive intensifiers such as "lovely**"** (34 occurrences) and **"**amazing**"** (15 occurrences). These lexical choices serve not only to emphasize her personal qualities but also to construct a sympathetic and idealized image. By highlighting positive attributes, the discourse positions the victim as a valued and admirable individual, reinforcing her humanity beyond being merely a passive subject of violence.

(113) "She was such a lovely woman, she had the greatest smile and the absolute most kindest of hearts, she would help anyone and everyone without a second thought. No one deserves what this poor lady went through."

(Data ID: 10_00164)

(114) Commenting on what she was like as a colleague, she said: "She was a laugh, she was just funny. I would non-stop laugh with her. The people we used to care for loved her. It was non-stop laughing with her, she was amazing. The people we cared for really loved her. She'll be missed."

The positive reflection in excerpts (113-114) contributes to the victim's social identity, portraying her as an active and meaningful member of society with relationships, aspirations, and intrinsic worth. Such representations function to evoke empathy and moral outrage, challenging any narratives that might diminish the significance of her life. They also serve a broader ideological purpose by asserting that the loss is not just personal but a social tragedy affecting the community.Conversely, victim identities and attributes have been intensified differently in CC.

Table 26. Intensifiers for the victim in CC

Lexical Items	Frequency of Occurrence in CC
Gencecik *(so young)*	7
Hayatının baharında *(in the prime of her life)*	2

From Table 26 it can be concluded that the main intensifiers for women are about their age and the main focus is on their youth. In “gencecik” (very young), the root “genç” (young) has been modified with reduplicated suffix to emphasize the main root’s meaning which creates the intensifying effect. In “hayatının baharında” (in the spring of her youth) the figurative language to depicts the victim as in the very beginning or prime of her life. The excerpt below encompasses both intensifications:

(115) “Başarılı bir kuaför olma yolunda emin adımlarla ilerleyen, birlikte gerçekleştirmeyi umduğumuz nice hayalimiz olan gencecik kızımın canını hayatının baharında tasarlayarak, canice alan sanığın herhangi bir indirim uygulanmaksızın en üst hadden cezalandırılmasını talep ediyorum. (Data ID: 12_00217)

*“I request that the defendant, who deliberately and brutally took the life of my **very young** daughter—who was confidently progressing toward becoming a successful hairdresser and with whom we shared many dreams we hoped to realize together—be punished to the fullest extent of the law without any sentence reductions. She was killed **in the spring of her life.***

Thus, both “gencecik” (very young) and “hayatının baharında” (in the spring of her life) are intensification devices that emphasize the victim’s youth and innocence. “Gencecik” strengthens the sense of vulnerability, evoking sympathy and highlighting the tragedy of a life cut short. Meanwhile, “hayatının baharında” metaphorically frames the victim’s death as the loss of potential and a promising future. Together, these expressions create a powerful emotional appeal, portraying the victim as innocent and undeserving of such a fate. Discursively, they can reinforce the call for strict punishment by highlighting the gravity and injustice of the crime.

4.6.4. Mitigation Strategies in Both TGC and CC

Considering the diverse nature of mitigation strategies in both languages in different levels such as lexical and morphologic dimensions, this part adopts an inductive, and data-driven approach to keyword selection allowing linguistic and discursive features to emerge in the data itself. The patterns for potential mitigation strategies that

emerged during the manual annotation procedure and the similarities across corpora in the lexical level have been recorded during the analysis. The keywords for both corpora and their frequency of occurrence can be found below:

Table 27. Frequencies of Reporting Verbs Operating as Mitigation Strategies

Reporting Verbs in TGC	Frequency in TGC	Reporting Verbs in CC	Frequency in CC
Claim	35	İddia etmek	17
Alledge	0	İleri Sürmek	2
Report	150	Bildirmek	2
Admit /Confess	34	Kabul /İtiraf etmek	29

Table 27 shows how often certain reporting verbs are used as mitigation strategies in the Turkish (TGC) and English (CC) news corpora. These verbs—such as *claim*, *allege*, *report*, and *admit*—help reduce responsibility or create distance between the journalist and what is being reported. The verb *report* is used very frequently in the English corpus (150 times) but appears only twice in the Turkish texts. This suggests that English news articles may prefer to sound more neutral or objective by referring to institutions like the police or courts. The verb *claim* appears in both corpora (35 times in English and 17 times in Turkish), often used when the speaker's truthfulness is uncertain. *Admit* and its Turkish equivalents (*kabul etmek / itiraf etmek*) are used quite often in both corpora (34 and 29 times), usually when a person accepts some responsibility but might still avoid full blame. Interestingly, *allege* and *ileri sürmek* are used very little or not at all, which may mean that both English and Turkish newspapers rarely use strongly legal or cautious language in these reports. Overall, the table shows that both corpora use mitigation, but they do so in different ways, possibly because of cultural or journalistic style differences.

(116) **She is reported to have worked as a nurse and volunteered for local charities.. (Data ID: 10_00311)**

As an example, in excerpt (116) a mitigating reporting structure is used. The phrase *"is reported to have..."* is in the passive voice, which creates distance between the

journalist and the information. The readers do not know exactly who reported this, which makes the statement sound less certain. This can be a way to avoid full responsibility for the truth of the statement. Even though the sentence presents the woman in a positive way—as someone caring and helpful—it does it cautiously, without clearly stating it as a fact. This type of language softens the message and is often used in news to appear neutral while still giving the reader a certain impression. In femicide news, this kind of reporting can be a subtle way to show the victim's value without sounding emotional or biased.

(117) **A teenage boy has admitted to killing 15 year old schoolgirl in Croydon during the morning rush hour last year but denied murdering her. (Data ID: 10_21444)**

In this excerpt (117), there has been an overt responsibility taking action with the verb admit, the perpetrator can be regarded as the main actor who committed the crime. However, there is another layer of mitigation with the words killing and murder. The difference between *killing* and *murder* plays an important role in how responsibility is presented. He admits that he caused the girl's death (*killing*), but he denies that it was *murder*, which means he is rejecting the idea that it was intentional or planned. This is a form of discursive mitigation, where the language used helps to lessen the severity of the crime. By using *killing* instead of *murder*, the statement makes the act sound less serious or less legally damaging. This shows how word choice can be used to shift the level of blame in news reporting and legal contexts.

(118) **Jandarma tarafından keşif yapılan bölgede söz konusu malzemeler de ele geçirildi. Kadının kafasına keser ile vurarak öldürdüğü iddia edilen sanığın, 'hırsızlık' ve 'dolandırıcılık' suçlarından da 9 farklı suç kaydı olduğu ortaya çıktı."**
(Data ID: 12_00380)
(In the area where a search was carried out by the Gendarmerie, the said materials were also seized. It was alleged that the perpterator killed her by hitting her on the head with a mattock. It was also revealed that Kocatürk had nine previous criminal records for theft and fraud.)

In news excerpt (118), several discursive mitigation strategies are used. First, passive constructions such as *"in the area where a search was carried out by the*

Gendarmerie..." and *"the materials were also seized"* reduce directness by pushing the male perpetrator into the background. The most notable example is the phrase *"alleged to have killed"*. This structure emphasizes that the person presented as the perpetrator has not yet been officially declared guilty, and it helps the news article appear neutral. Additionally, mentioning the suspect's past criminal records creates a context in which he is associated with crime, even though the article doesn't directly accuse him of murder. This both implies the seriousness of the situation and protects the news outlet legally by avoiding a definitive judgment of guilt.

(119) **Asayiş Şube Müdürlüğünde aile fertlerinin çapraz sorgusu sonrasında cinayeti itiraf eden ve pişman olduğunu dile getiren V.K.'nın, kadını gömdüğü yeri gösterdiği öğrenildi.**
(Data ID: 12_00348)
(After the cross-examination of family members at the Public Order Branch Office, V.K., who confessed to the murder and expressed remorse, was reported to have shown the place where she was buried.)

In excerpt (119) the phrase "itiraf eden" (who confessed) is direct and shows acceptance of responsibility. However, the sentence also includes "pişman olduğunu dile getiren" (expressed remorse), which adds a humanizing and mitigating element to V.K.'s portrayal, potentially softening the severity of the act by highlighting regret. The passive structure "öğrenildi" (was reported) at the end removes the agent (who learned/reported), creating some distance and neutrality in the narration.

4.7. Comprehensive Assessment of Discursive Practices in TGC and CC

The analysis in this study has been multifaceted and utilised different methodologies, integrating Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) and Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) based on Reisgl and Wodak's (2009) analytic tradition.

CADS was used to unearth the overall inclinations of use for some keywords, while DHA facilitated the contextualization and interpretation of these general inclinations. The theoretical framework, Discourse Historical Approach, is oriented towards the main strategies of nomination, including naming social actors and objects,

predication, quality attribution to these actors, mitigation and intensification, argumentation, the premises on which the argument is built, and the perspectivization whose perspective is imposed (Reisgl and Wodak, 2009). Even though the findings are explored and discussed in previous sections, this section aims to provide a helpful guide to summarise the overall results of the analysis.

It has been found that both TGC and CC illustrated nomination, predication, argumentation and predication strategies through different means. For TGC, the nomination strategies for social actors primarily rest on anthroponyms and collective names for social institutions; in some cases, ingroup constructions are created via inclusive "we" constructions. The Guardian consistently utilised anthroponyms for victims, perpetrators, and government officials, as well as third parties such as victims' family members or local people, which serves to personalise and humanise the victims. Furthermore, the victims are referred through metaphors such as "doll" or "angel" which frame them as pure and innocent beings in the Guardian, Similarly, nicknaming for the victim has been found in the Guardian's discourse to evoke sympathy towards the victim functioning as compassionate act (van Dijk, 2015). In 9 cases in TGC the men are referred as monsters and evil which reinforces the construction of good and evil archetypes. Conversely, in Cumhuriyet's nomination methods, anonymisation is achieved through initialism and partial anonymisation for social actors as well as anthroponyms; however, no systemic patterns for these strategies can be identified in the corpus. Furthermore, nominations are also used for locations, primarily as toponyms that name the crime scene and serve as origin markers. However, in the Guardian's discourse, they have an additional function of highlighting the social actors' place of origin, which is primarily associated with low socio-economic places.

To further characterise these nominations, two different predication methods are found to be prevalent. For individuals, social status predications primarily include occupation, ethnicity, conformity to traditional gender roles, and criminal records. In contrast, crime predications, which can function as justification mechanisms for criminal acts, are embedded in mental health attributions and substance abuse claims. In the predication strategies, The Guardian and Cumhuriyet attribute different

identity markers to define social actors. Regarding occupational patterns, The Guardian adopts a more progressive stance by highlighting the marginalisation of pink-collar workers, feminized occupations based on emotional labour within domestic and service sectors, as well as sex workers. In contrast, Cumhuriyet does not prominently feature socially marginalised occupational spheres. Additionally, in The Guardian, women are represented across a broader range of professional fields and roles, whereas such occupational diversity is less apparent in Cumhuriyet. However, for female police officers killed on duty, both newspapers added a heroic implication in their discourses, though from different viewpoints. Male perpetrators, on the other hand, are primarily reflected in blue-collar jobs and masculine-coded military roles, which relate them to patriotic motivations and aims, conveying symbolic messages about heroism and sacrifice in both corpora. Another layer added to characterise the social actors is their ethnicity. In The Guardian, ethnic implications are revealed to be more heterogeneous, with both perpetrators' and victims' backgrounds being diverse. In contrast, Cumhuriyet does not reveal the ethnic variations of either perpetrators or victims; the most prevalent ethnic identity mentioned is Syrian. The Cumhuriyet and The Guardian share a common ground in their negative lexicalisation of the perpetrator by highlighting their criminal record and additional crimes.

The strategies are grounded on three central argumentation topoi: the danger and threat, blame and responsibility, and morality and moral decline. In Cumhuriyet, the danger is constructed as external and attributed to the Syrians, with the government being found responsible. In contrast, in The Guardian, the danger is considered an outcome of individual deviation and is isolated from the broader context. Hence, police officers take the blame for femicides by referring themselves to the higher authorities. For Cumhuriyet, moral decline is attributed to the victim, whereas the moral value of the victims in the Guardian is heightened with their characteristics; thereby, their death is constructed to be a moral decline. For the perspectivization, the dominant perspectives imposed on the audience are found to be the victims' perspective through their families' and friends' statements and their own words. Secondly, perpetrators' perspectives are reflected by their statements. Lastly, the government's and the other officials' perspectives are given via police statements, or

solicitors remarks. In The Guardian, the victim's perspective is found to be prevalent, with their families' frequent positive depiction of them, and the government officials' perspectives are also shared to reassure the community about the prevention of future crimes.

However, in Cumhuriyet, the dominant perspective shifts to the perpetrator's voice loaded with victim blaming attitude, while victim's families statement function as rebuttals and counter arguments for blaming statements, the NGO's solicitors who are the only officials in the discourse attempted to provoke the audience about the seriousness of the social issue.

4.7.1. Social and Political Dimensions of the Findings

Gender is considered an instrument for differentiation based on the status stratification in the collective consciousness. Gender norms are consistent patterns of perception and evaluation. Considering that, the main characteristic of gender inequality lies in patriarchy in modern society. The patriarchal patterns of thought favouring men are coded in especially legal, governmental policy and social realms in society, leading women to suffer from status subordination by isolating them from public spaces, and not protecting their equal citizenship rights. These unequal practices lead to the misrecognition of women in society, which can only be solved with independent recognition of the parties (Fraser, 2007). Based on this background, the media's representation of women becomes significant since it holds the power to transform the public sphere and public opinion. However, the study's findings illustrated that newspapers have evolved into political entities that hinder women's equal access and recognition (Habermas, et. al, 1974). Especially in Cumhuriyet, women can be considered as symbolically annihilated; they have not been reflected with their personal stories, but instead they are only constructed as victims and mothers, and they are shown in restricted occupational roles (Tuchman, 2000). The overreliance on the men's victim blaming statements solidifies the women's silencing. This erasure of women's individuality and reflecting them only about their assigned biological role can be considered as the reflection of political relationalities in the Turkish context. In Turkish political discourse, it has been

found that government officials employ discursive associations linking women's reproductive capacity and motherhood to religion and economic outcomes. From his conservative point of view, the woman's identity is regarded as generally limited to maternal roles and reproduction, and the women who do not fulfil these roles are labelled as marginal (Erdogan, 2014). Seeing this, Cumhuriyet's discursive reflection of womanhood is interpreted as reinforcing the dominant political ideology in the sphere of gender inequality despite its so-called oppositional stance.

Although in some cases the newspaper appeared as highly critical of the government's policies, especially about the immigrants, these critiques do not address femicides and gender inequality problems thoroughly; instead, these issues have become secondary instruments to the primary ones, and the government's status quo. Furthermore, double layerisation of the immigrant identity based on gender illustrates how racialized mindset is structured and conveyed, the negative lexicalization of Syrian men becomes a tool for newspaper to attack government, and deepen the polarization in the society about the immigration policies, thereby, the government created the core of topos of (ir)responsibility and Syrian men identity becomes the embodiment of topos of danger in the news discourse. Furthermore, this immigrant identity is found to be secondary to Turkish citizenship, which functions as a nationalistic gatekeeping instrument.

However, Cumhuriyet does not share any details about the ruling parties' agencies, as the government's authoritarian presence and its dialogue with readers are prevented through the elimination of direct quotations from government officials and their names. The only visible official agencies are the solicitors of the NGOs, who are reflections of the collaborative act for resistance against the legal system, at the same time undermining the state's power. Therefore, the stance of Cumhuriyet regarding the reinforcement of the dominant ideology remains questionable and controversial.

On the other hand, these discursive features are structured and utilised quite differently in the Guardian. Since the Guardian's political stance aligns with the 2024 ruling party, the frequent direct quotations and naming of the official become

salient in their discourse. The newspaper illustrated its support for the ruling party by creating an imaginary dialogue between the government and the audience mediated through the government's officials. Moreover, these statements are found to function as mechanisms that ensure the audience is informed about the violent acts; the procedures in the case are shared step by step, transparently implying moral elevation. The heightened moral implicatures are further embedded in women's framing as well. Even though the Guardian's over idealization of women in their social roles can be regarded as positively aligning with the Labour Party's endeavours to deal with social gender inequality, from a feminist perspective, it is benevolent sexism where the women are subjected to stereotypical constructs that limit their individuality as well as positioning them in traditional roles (Glick & Fiske, 1996). On the other hand, traditional roles for men are conveyed through hegemonic masculinity and protest masculinity elements rooted in the occupational sphere, further criminalising details. Despite its progressive and pro-feminist endeavours with counter-discourses, the Guardian still displays some of the artefacts of patriarchal consciousness (Connell, 2005). These elements contribute to the alienation of the criminal and detaching him from society by creating a binary opposition between the good and the bad. This dichotomous approach also becomes fundamental to the topos of danger and threat theme; danger is constructed as abrupt and unpredictable, resulting from deviancy. However, this deviancy has not been attributed to any specific ethnic group, as the Labour Party pursues a moderately controlled immigration system, and the country is ethnically diverse.

Despite the differences in both discourses, certain women's identities are politicised, particularly evident in the reporting of female police officers' deaths in both newspapers. This representation can be interpreted as the gendered form of nationalism where women's presence is appreciated only when they sacrifice themselves for patriotic selfless reasons, their deaths become a symbol of nationalistic power and values, creating a collective appeal and actualisation of patriotic aims.

The previous findings and discussions support the Althusserian construction of the media as an ideological state apparatus. Even though the newspapers are considered

to be sharing the left-wing political stance, their (re)construction of the femicides and their social actors stand in conflict, orienting themselves to the ruling party's policies, which validates the very famous claim once again: " the personal is political."

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1. Summary of the Findings

The study endeavours to examine the femicide news in the Turkish and the UK print media to examine the discursive construction of victim women and male perpetrators. Based on the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) accompanied by Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS), the research investigates how news discourse reproduces stereotypical representations of womanhood and manhood in femicide news. For this study, The Guardian and Cumhuriyet have been chosen due to their comparable left-wing political orientations, long historical backgrounds in the field, and broadsheet formats. The scope of the study has been limited to the year 2024 to understand contemporary discursive phenomena and analyse media reactions to femicides that garnered public attention during this period. Firstly, the data was collected by using designated query words to compile two distinct corpora. Then, the datasets were uploaded to the UAM corpus tool for further annotation. The summary of findings can be found below in three sections: representation of women, representation of men, representation of other social actors.

The analysis of the Cumhuriyet revealed that women are exposed to symbolic annihilation in femicide news. The analysis of Cumhuriyet illustrated that in some cases, women are not named; they are represented in restricted roles, such as mothers and wives. The occupational predicates further illustrate their position in the gendered division of labour, where their workforce is limited to caregiving and beauty sectors.

Furthermore, the women are given no voice in the news. The details about their characteristics are minimally represented or, in most cases, eliminated, which

constructs them as passive objects of male violence. Moreover, mostly women have been accompanied with male partners, reinforcing heteronormativity. Considering the previous studies on the Turkish context where the dominant patriarchal ideology has been supported with the political discourses, the one-dimensional representation of women and their existence about men's presence is not surprising in the newspaper. This representation also illustrates the newspaper's complicated stance towards the ruling party and patriarchy. Women have become mere objects of criticism towards the government while they are dehumanised in the discourse.

On the other hand, in the Guardian's discourse, women have become discursively visible agents in the femicide news. Their social presence has been acknowledged by their consistent naming and in their diverse social role allocation; they are depicted in various occupational positions, despite some stereotypical pink-collar jobs. Moreover, their agency is reflected through perspectivization strategies, mainly direct quotes from their previous complaints or remarks. Furthermore, the plurality of womanhood becomes notable in the discourse. The potentially marginalised identities, such as sex workers and LGBTQ individuals, are observable. Moreover, women are constructed as the morally ideal and are allocated positive roles in the discourse. In light of the Labour Party's progressive efforts in women's empowerment in the UK, the Guardian's portrayal of women aligning with these values is seen as supporting the main ruling party.

The examination of Cumhuriyet revealed that the men as the perpetrators in the femicide news are overrepresented and granted discursive power. It has been revealed that their discursive presence, especially with direct quotations, dominated the women's presence, and they have become the main narrators of the event. These statements have turned into victim-blaming strategies. The men justified their actions by giving reasons such as quarrels, potential cheating, and substance abuse. However, these claims have not been proven or rebutted by the facts or credible authorities, reinforcing the men's symbolic power over women. In some cases, they construct the women in their remarks by framing them as morally deviant. Their identity is found to be layered; they are mostly known to the victim, and they hold different occupational roles, primarily in blue-collar industries. However, for the

different ethnicities committing the act, their ethnic background is overtly emphasised, especially for Syrian men. The newspaper used them as instruments to downplay the government's authority and criticise its immigrant policies.

In contrast, in The Guardian, the men's reflection and presence have not been viewed as significant. Even though their statements are shared, some authorities have falsified the claims or counterarguments are presented. The men are reflected to be ethnically diverse in the discourse, and the crime has not been attributed to any ethnicity specifically. Similar to Cumhuriyet, the men are predominantly represented in blue-collar jobs and are occupationally unstable in some cases. Their identity is further predicated on additional background crimes, which makes them a potential threat and danger.

The other social actors in the news discourse include government officials, politicians, NGO solicitors, victims' friends and family members, and local people affected by the crime.

In Cumhuriyet, the only social actors explored, aside from the perpetrator and the victim, are NGO solicitors, politicians, and the victim's family members. The presence of NGO solicitors and oppositional parties' politicians serves to highlight the systematicity of the femicides and to blame the government for its failure to prevent them. In some statements, the victim's family members also have this role, and they primarily seek justice in the court. Their other role is to present counterarguments to the perpetrator's victim-blaming remarks.

In The Guardian, the discourse illustrates the variety of social actors. The most visible social actors, other than the victim and the perpetrator, are the victim's family and friends, as well as government officials. Through the positive depiction of the victims, family members morally idealise them and highlight their importance to society. Similarly, the government's officials' discursive statements mostly reflect a compassionate and empathic attitude towards the victim's family and function as a consoling and endearing mechanism. They have also become the embodiment of the government's authority, and their statements are found to ensure further crimes and

build trust with the community. The police officers also take the blame for the failures in the justice system by referring themselves to the higher institutions. The ruling party's politicians in the discourse attributed a similar role; they appeal to the emotions of the people and reassure them about the safety of the area. Furthermore, the local people affected by the crime are also prevalent in the discourse, illustrating the effect of the violent act on a social level and highlighting the severity of the issue.

5.2. Limitations of the Study

Although this study aims to contribute to the literature from multidisciplinary perspectives, several limitations of the study need to be addressed, primarily regarding the representativeness of the corpora. Both corpora are compiled based on key parameters, such as period, newspapers, and query words. Even though these features enable researchers to create a framework for understanding the main differences, the study's sampling method may fall short of comprehending broader discursive phenomena and limit its generalizability. As the study illustrated, representations are found to be fluid and shaped by the socio-political dynamics of the context and paradigm shifts in the collective consciousness. Therefore, this study may limit readers' ability to see the bigger picture and the more general inclinations across different years. Furthermore, to fully comprehend the perspectives of Turkish and UK media, an examination of The Guardian and Cumhuriyet may not capture the full diversity of narratives, considering the numerous media outlets in both contexts. Moreover, the query words are used to collect the data systematically; however, they can overlook the excerpts using different terminology.

5.3. Suggestions for Further Research

To broaden the scope of the research and address these potential limitations, further research can be designed as a longitudinal study encompassing at least 20 years to examine how ideological differences and social factors have affected the discursive construction of womanhood. Additionally, to represent the political spectrum thoroughly in this context, the new research can include different media outlets from

various ideological perspectives. Lastly, the query words can be extended in future work; they can include more general concepts such as violence against women, domestic violence, etc. The research can be further developed into a project on compiling a feminist media corpus, encompassing written and spoken data from various fields, including TV shows, movies, and other media areas, to explore women's place in the broader media culture.

Hopefully, this study will create feminist awareness among both the audience and media editors, enabling them to deconstruct their notions of power about patriarchy and question their positions on reproduction or resistance to this hegemonic ideology.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Giriş

İdeoloji, söylem ve medya arasındaki karmaşık ilişki, toplumsal anlamların hem inşasında hem de dolaşıma sokulmasında merkezi bir rol oynar. Bu bağlamda medya, yalnızca olayları aktaran bir araç değil, aynı zamanda toplumsal gerçekliği belirli biçimlerde çerçeveleyerek kamuoyunu şekillendiren etkin bir güçtür. Olayların nasıl sunulduğu, hangi ifadelerin seçildiği ve hangi perspektiflerin öne çıkarıldığı gibi unsurlar, gerçekliğin yeniden inşasında belirleyici hale gelir. Bu nedenle medyada kullanılan dilsel yapılar, çoğu zaman tarafsız değil, ideolojik tercihlerle şekillenmiş ifadelerdir.

Althusser'in (2010) kavramsallaştırdığı biçimiyle, medya kurumları ideolojik devlet aygıtları işlevi görerek egemen ideolojilerin yeniden üretilmesine katkıda bulunur. Bu yeniden üretim süreçlerinde öne çıkan başlıca ideolojilerden biri de toplumsal cinsiyetle ilgilidir. Kadınların medyada sıklıkla pasif, duygusal ya da naif figürler olarak temsil edilmesi, yalnızca bireysel anlatılar değil, aynı zamanda ataerkil zihniyetin ve hegemonik erkekliğin sürekliliğini sağlayan söylemsel stratejilerdir (Connell, 1995). Bu bağlamda medya, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliklerini yeniden kuran bir ideolojik alan olarak işlev görür.

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, Birleşik Krallık ve Türkiye'deki farklı haber kaynaklarında kadına yönelik şiddet haberlerinin söylemsel inşasını, Derlem Destekli Söylem Analizi (Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies) yöntemiyle incelemektir. Araştırma çok katmanlı bir yapıya sahiptir: Dilbilimsel çözümleme, haber söylemlerinde ortaya çıkan örüntüleri ve eğilimleri ortaya koyarken; feminist

kuramsal çerçeve, bu söylemsel stratejileri ataerkil yapılar ve toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkileri bağlamında yorumlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Sayısal verilere dayalı dilsel analiz, Eleştirel Söylem Analizi (CDA) ile birlikte kullanılarak, medya metinlerinde egemen ideolojilerin nasıl yeniden üretildiğini açığa çıkarmayı hedeflemektedir.

Çalışma, haber metinlerinde belirli sözcüksel ve dilbilgisel stratejilerin, şiddet eylemlerini meşrulaştırmaya ya da olağanlaştırmaya hizmet ettiğini öne sürmektedir. Bu stratejiler, kadınlara yönelik şiddeti bireysel ve istisnai vakalar şeklinde sunarak, yapısal nedenlerin görünmez kılınmasına neden olmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, medya söyleminin toplumsal sorunlara yönelik dönüştürücü bir perspektif geliştirmediği, aksine ataerkil ideolojinin yeniden üretimine katkı sunduğu savunulmaktadır. Bu durum, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin medya aracılığıyla dolaylı biçimde pekiştirilmesine zemin hazırlamaktadır.

Alanyazın

Söylem ve Eleştirel Söylem

Söylem kavramı, siyaset bilimi, eğitim, sosyoloji ve medya çalışmaları gibi birçok akademik disiplinde farklı biçimlerde ele alınmış ve yorumlanmıştır. Her disiplin, söylem kavramını kendi kuramsal ihtiyaçlarına göre uyarladığından, kavram zamanla hem muğlaklaşmış hem de bağlamsal olarak sınırlı hale gelmiştir. Bu durum, söylemin araştırmalarda kullanılabilmesi için dikkatli bir şekilde tanımlanmasını ve açık biçimde operasyonelleştirilmesini gerektirmektedir. Bu nedenle bu bölüm, farklı kuramsal geleneklerden türeyen söylem yaklaşımlarını inceleyerek ve bunların dilbilimsel kuramlarla nasıl ilişkilendirildiğini ortaya koyarak, söylem kavramına dair kapsamlı bir kuramsal çerçeve sunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Eleştirel Söylem Analizi (CDA), söylemsel pratiklerin ardındaki toplumsal ve siyasal güç ilişkilerini ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlayan söylem analizine dayalı yaklaşımlardan biridir. Farklı disiplinlerden kuramsal çerçeveleri bir araya getiren CDA, dilin toplumsal işlevlerini merkeze alarak söylem çalışmalarında önemli bir paradigma değişimi yaratmıştır. Bu yaklaşım, dilin yalnızca iletişimsel değil, aynı zamanda

ideolojik bir araç olduğunu varsayar ve özellikle iktidarın söylem yoluyla nasıl kurulduğu, sürdürüldüğü ve meşrulaştırıldığı sorularına odaklanır.

CDA'nın öncülerinden biri olan van Dijk (2015), bu yöntemi, toplumsal eşitsizliklerin ve iktidar ilişkilerinin medya ve diğer söylemsel araçlar aracılığıyla nasıl yeniden üretildiğini analiz eden eleştirel bir yaklaşım olarak tanımlar. van Dijk'e göre CDA araştırmacıları, yalnızca söylemi betimlemekle kalmaz; aynı zamanda araştırmalarında açık bir toplumsal duruş sergileyerek, egemen kavramlara karşı eleştirel bir bakış geliştirir ve toplumsal dönüşüm hedefi güder.

Söylem-Tarihsel Yaklaşım (Discourse-Historical Approach, DHA), genellikle Eleştirel Söylem Analizi'nin (CDA) bir alt türü olarak değerlendirilir. Bu yaklaşım, temel ilkelerini CDA geleneğinden alır ve benzer şekilde güç ilişkileri ile toplumsal eleştiri kavramlarına odaklanır (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009). Ancak DHA'yı farklı kılan, söylemi tarihsel bağlamı içinde ele alması ve toplumsal olaylarla bağlantılı olarak çözümlemeye çalışmasıdır.CDA ile benzer biçimde ideoloji, DHA'nın da merkezinde yer alır. Wodak ve Reisigl (2009), ideolojiyi bir sosyal grubun ortak olarak paylaştığı, önyargılarla biçimlenmiş bakış açıları, düşünceler, zihinsel şemalar ve değer yargılarının toplamı olarak tanımlar. Bu anlamda ideoloji, yalnızca düşünsel bir yapı değil, söylemler aracılığıyla güç eşitsizliklerinin kurulmasına ve sürdürülmesine hizmet eden bir araçtır. Dolayısıyla DHA'da ideoloji, toplumsal çözümlemenin ayrılmaz bir bileşeni olarak ele alınır.

Wodak ve Reisigl (2009), söylemde ideolojik yapıların nasıl kurulduğunu anlamak amacıyla bir dizi söylemsel stratejinin kurucu işlevlerini tanımlamıştır. Bu stratejiler, söylemde farklı hedeflere ulaşmak için kullanılan beş temel eylemi içerir: gösterme / adlandırma (nomination), yükleme / niteleme (predication), savlama (argumentation), perspektif / bakış açısı kazandırma (perspectivization) ve yoğunlaştırma ya da hafifletme (intensification/mitigation). Her biri, sosyal aktörlerin, olayların ve eylemlerin belirli şekillerde inşa edilmesini ve değerlendirilmesini sağlar.

Aday gösterme stratejileri, sosyal aktörlerin söylem içinde nasıl adlandırıldığını ve temsil edildiğini inceler. Bu stratejileri analiz etmek için yalnızca fiil ve isimlerin

kullanımı değil, aynı zamanda grup aidiyetlerini ima eden sözcüksel tercihler, metaforlar ve metonimiler gibi dilsel araçlar da dikkate alınır. Diğer yandan yükleme stratejileri, sosyal aktörlere atfedilen niteliklere ve özelliklere odaklanır. Bu tür stratejiler, çoğu zaman sıfat kullanımı, bağlamı zenginleştiren göreli tümce yapıları, tipik eşdizim kalıpları, karşılaştırmalar ve çeşitli retorik — örneğin metonimiler, ad aktarmaları yoluyla olumlu ya da olumsuz değerlendirmeleri söyleme dahil eder. Böylece sosyal aktörler, genellikle kalıplaşmış ve ideolojik temsiller içinde sunulur.

DHA'nın getirdiği bazı sınırlamaları aşmak amacıyla Baker ve arkadaşları (2018), bu iki yöntemi birleştirerek *Derlem Destekli Söylem Çalışmaları* (Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies, CADS) yaklaşımını geliştirmiştir. Partington'a (2008) göre, CADS'nin temel amacı, söylem türleri içinde gömülü olan örtük anlamları sistematik bir biçimde ortaya çıkarmaktır.

Tarihsel olarak, bu yaklaşım Hardt-Mautner'in (1995) ve Stubbs'ın (1996, 2001) çalışmalarıyla şekillenmeye başlamıştır. Partington (2008), ayrıca İtalya'da medya söylemi ve siyasal dil üzerine yürütülen bazı projelerin de CADS yönteminin gelişimine önemli katkılarda bulunduğunu belirtmektedir. Bu bağlamda, sosyo-politik söylemlere yönelik artan akademik ilgi, derlem analizine olan ilgiyi artırmış ve yöntemi giderek daha yaygın hale getirmiştir.

CADS'nin erken dönem uygulamaları, özellikle ideolojik metaforların, siyasi söylemdeki dilsel örüntülerin ve politik aktörlerin söylemlerinde kullandıkları dilsel stratejilerin incelenmesine odaklanmıştır. Bu çalışmalar, dil ile ideoloji arasındaki karmaşık ilişkiyi çözümlemeyi ve söylemin toplumsal etkilerini görünür kılmayı amaçlamıştır (Partington, 2008).

Kadın Cinayeti

Kadın cinayeti ya da *feminisit*, bir kadın ya da kız çocuğunun, çoğunlukla toplumsal cinsiyet statüsü nedeniyle bir erkek tarafından öldürülmesi olarak tanımlanır (Merriam-Webster, 2025). Bu tür cinayetler, rastlantısal ya da cinsiyetten bağımsız şiddet vakalarından ayrılarak, belirli bir toplumsal grup — kadınlar — hedef alındığı

için farklı bir kategoriye yerleştirilir. Kadın cinayetleri, yalnızca bireysel şiddet eylemleri olarak değil, aynı zamanda kadınlara ve kız çocuklarına karşı yapısal ayrımcılığın ve toplumsal cinsiyet temelli güç asimetrilerinin bir sonucu olarak değerlendirilmelidir. Bu bağlamda, kadın cinayetleri patriyarkal toplumlarda süreklilik gösteren eşitsiz ilişkilerden beslenen ve bu ilişkileri yeniden üreten cinsiyet temelli şiddet biçimlerinden biridir.

Türkiye ve Kadın Cinayetleri

Feminist bir sivil toplum kuruluşu olan Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu (KDCP), Türkiye'de kadın cinayetlerine dair farklı ve kapsamlı veriler sunmaktadır. Platformun raporlarına göre, 2016 yılında 328 kadın hayatını kaybetmiş, sonraki üç yıl boyunca bu sayı doğrusal bir artış göstererek 2017'de 409'a, 2018'de 440'a ve 2019'da 474'e yükselmiştir. Hükümetin verileriyle paralel şekilde, 2020'de kadın cinayeti sayısında düşüş yaşanmış ve rakam 300'e gerilemiştir (KDCP, 2025). Ancak sonraki yıllarda bu sayı tekrar artış eğilimi göstermiştir; 2021'de 280, 2022'de 334, 2023'te 315 ve 2024'te 394 kadın cinayeti kayıtlara geçmiştir (KDCP, 2025). Bu veriler, kadın cinayetlerinin Türkiye'de devam eden ve ciddi bir toplumsal sorun olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır**.**

Birleşik Krallık ve Kadın Cinayetleri

Kadın Cinayetleri Sayım Raporu, Birleşik Krallık'taki kadın cinayetlerine dair daha detaylı ve sistematik bir analiz sunmaktadır. Rapora göre, 2016 yılında 123 kadın hayatını kaybederken, bu sayı 2017'de 150'ye yükselmiş ve 2018'de 162 kadın cinayeti ile en yüksek seviyeye ulaşmıştır. Takip eden yıllarda ise azalma eğilimi görülmüş; 2019, 2020 ve 2021 yıllarında sırasıyla 132, 115 ve 147 kadın cinayeti kayıtlara geçmiştir (O'Callaghan & Ingala Smith, 2021).

Kadına Şiddetin Medya Temsili

Tuchman (2000), toplumsal cinsiyet rollerine ilişkin basmakalıp tasvirlerin "yetersiz" erkeklik ve kadınlık kategorileri yarattığını göstermiştir. Ayrıca,

kadınların yeterince temsil edilmediğini ve çoğu tasvirde kadınların anneliğin ev içi alanıyla sınırlandırıldığını ve mesleklerinde yetersiz olduklarını ileri sürmüştür (Tuchman, 2000). Böylece kadınlar "sembolik olarak yok edilmektedir"; yaşamları ve çalışmaları önemsizleştirilmekte ve kitle iletişim araçlarında simetrik olarak temsil edilmemektedirler (Tuchman, 2000).

Bazı araştırmalar, gazetelerin okuyucular için şiddet olaylarını meşrulaştırıcı açıklayıcı mekanizmalar kullandığını ortaya koymaktadır. Leung (2016), Hong Kong'da yayınlanan haberlerin %99'unda erkek istismarcıların iş hayatında sorunlar yaşadığına ve kötü davranışlarının maddi sıkıntılarla ilişkilendirildiğine dikkat çekmiştir. Benzer şekilde, Gillespie ve arkadaşları (2013), kadın cinayeti haberlerinde saldırganların sıklıkla intihara meyilli ve zihinsel sorunlar yaşayan bireyler olarak sunulduğunu tespit etmiştir. Bu tür çerçevelemeler, aile içi şiddet olaylarının bireysel psikolojik sorunlara indirgenerek toplumsal bağlamdan koparılmasına yol açmaktadır.

Yöntem

Farklı araştırma bağlamları ve çalışmada yanıtlanması hedeflenen temel sorular doğrultusunda, gazetelerin siyasi eğilimleri esas alınarak alt korporalar oluşturulmuştur. Veri seti, belirli bir zaman dilimini kapsayacak şekilde yapılandırılmış; haber metinlerinin yanı sıra başlıklar, alt başlıklar ve köşe yazıları dahil olmak üzere tüm dilsel içerikler toplanmıştır. Ancak, başlıkların yapısal özellikleri ve özgün biçimleri dikkate alınarak, bu ögeler analiz dışında bırakılmış ve daha sonraki çalışmalarda kullanılmak üzere ayrı bir dosyada arşivlenmiştir. Birleşik Krallık derlemi 186 alıntı ile 108.174 kelime içerirken, Türkçe derlem 78 alıntı ile 19.206 kelimeden oluşmaktadır. Veri toplama sürecini takiben, söylemsel unsurların sistematik biçimde analiz edilebilmesi için UAM CorpusTool kullanılarak metinler kodlanmıştır. Kodlama süreci, Eleştirel Söylem Analizi (CDA) çerçevesinde belirlenen temalar ve söylemsel stratejiler doğrultusunda yapılandırılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, özellikle Wodak ve Reisigl'in (2009) Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) yaklaşımında öne çıkan dört temel söylemsel strateji (aday gösterme, yükleme, savlama, bakış açısı kazandırma esas alınmıştır.

Çalışmada cevaplanması amaçlanan sorular şu şekilde listelenebilir:

1. İngiliz ve Türk sol görüşlü gazeteleri *The Guardian* ve *Cumhuriyet*, kadın ve erkekleri kadın cinayeti vakalarında temsilen hangi türden adlandırma (nomination), yükleme (predication), savlama (argumentation) ve bakış açısı kazandırma (perspectivization) stratejilerini kullanmaktadır?
2. Yukarıda belirtilen söylemsel stratejiler, bu tür haberlerde kadınlık ve erkekliğibirbirine göre nasıl inşa etmektedir?
    a. Haberlerde erkekler ve kadınlara yönelik herhangi bir stereotipik ataerkil temsil yeniden üretilmekte midir?
    b. Toplumun cinsiyet performanslarına dair baskın norm ve değerleri haberlere yansıtılmakta ve yeniden bağlamsallaştırılmakta mıdır?
    c. Herhangi bir karşı söylem (counter-discourse) mevcut mudur?

Bulgu ve Tartışma

Hem *The Guardian* hem de *Cumhuriyet* gazetelerinin, aday gösterme, yükleme ve savlama stratejilerini farklı biçimlerde kullandığı tespit edilmiştir. *Cumhuriyet* gazetesinde sosyal aktörlerin aday gösterilmesinde çoğunlukla antroponimler (örneğin tam isimler) ve sosyal kurumları temsil eden kolektif isimler tercih edilmektedir. Bazı haberlerde ise, kapsayıcı “biz” yapıları aracılığıyla iç grup dayanışması ve ulusal birlik duygusu oluşturulmaktadır.

Buna karşılık *The Guardian*, yalnızca mağdurlar ve failler için değil, aynı zamanda mağdurların aile üyeleri, yerel halk ve kamu yetkilileri gibi üçüncü taraflar için de istikrarlı biçimde antroponimler kullanarak söylemde kişiselleştirme ve insanlaştırma işlevini güçlendirmiştir. Özellikle mağdurlar, "bebek", "melek" gibi metaforlarla betimlenmiş; bu tür nitelemeler, mağdurları masum ve korunmasız figürler olarak çerçevelemiş ve okuyucuda empati uyandıracak bir söylem stratejisi olarak kullanılmıştır. Ayrıca bazı haberlerde mağdura özel lakaplar verilmesi, Van Dijk’in (2015) belirttiği üzere, duygusal yakınlık yaratma ve okuyucunun şefkatini yönlendirme işlevi görmektedir.

Öte yandan, *Cumhuriyet* gazetesinin aday gösterme stratejilerinde sıklıkla anonimleştirme, antroponimlerin yalnızca ilk adla verilmesi ya da kısmi anonimleştirme gibi yöntemler kullanılmaktadır. Ancak bu stratejiler, derlemde tutarlı ve sistematik bir modele işaret etmemektedir. Aday göstermede yalnızca sosyal aktörler değil, aynı zamanda olay yerini tanımlayan toponimler (yer isimleri) de önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Toponimler, yalnızca mekânsal bir referans olarak değil, aynı zamanda sosyal kökenin bir göstergesi olarak da işlev görmektedir. Bu durum özellikle *The Guardian*'da dikkat çekicidir; burada toponimler çoğunlukla düşük sosyo-ekonomik bölgelerle ilişkilendirilerek sosyal aktörlerin kökenine dair örtük bir sınıfsal kodlama yapılmaktadır.

Bu aday göstermeleri daha ayrıntılı biçimde karakterize eden iki yaygın *yüklemleme* stratejisi tespit edilmiştir. Bireyler için yapılan yüklemelerde; meslek, etnik köken, toplumsal cinsiyet rollerine uygunluk ve sabıka geçmişi gibi kimlik belirteçleri öne çıkmaktadır. Buna karşın, suç eylemlerine yönelik yüklemelerde, ruh sağlığı sorunları, madde bağımlılığı ya da geçmiş travmalar gibi gerekçelendirme mekanizmaları öne çıkarılmakta; böylece faillerin sorumluluğu bireysel patolojilere indirgenmektedir.

Yüklemleme stratejileri bağlamında, hem *The Guardian* hem de *Cumhuriyet*, sosyal aktörleri tanımlarken çeşitli kimlik belirteçlerini söylem içinde ilişkilendirmektedir. Ancak *The Guardian*, özellikle toplumsal olarak marjinalleştirilmiş meslek gruplarına — örneğin pembe yakalı işler ya da seks işçileri — yer verirken bu aktörlerin karşılaştığı yapısal eşitsizlikleri görünür kılmaya çalışan daha ilerici bir söylem benimsemektedir. Bu durum, kadınların duygusal emekle tanımlanan mesleklerdeki temsiline dair eleştirel bir perspektifin söyleme entegre edildiğini göstermektedir.

Cumhuriyet gazetesinde, toplumsal olarak marjinalleştirilmiş meslek gruplarına dair temsillere rastlanmamaktadır. Buna karşılık *The Guardian*, kadınları daha çeşitli meslekî rollerde sunmakta ve toplumsal olarak damgalanmış meslek gruplarına — özellikle seks işçilerine — yer vererek marjinalleştirilmeyi görünür kılan, dolayısıyla daha ilerici bir temsil biçimi sergilemektedir. *Cumhuriyet*'te ise kadınlar için

toplumsal ötekileştirmeye uğrayan mesleki roller yer almamakta, bu da söylemde belirli bir normatif kadınlık çerçevesinin yeniden üretildiğine işaret etmektedir.

Her iki gazetenin ortaklaştığı temsillerden biri, görev başında öldürülen kadın polis memurlarının "kahramanlık" söylemiyle yansıtılmasıdır. Bu tür haberlerde, kadın faillerin değil, mağdur kadın polislerin mesleki kimlikleri yüceltilmekte; bu da haber diline fedakârlık ve idealize edilmiş görev anlayışını yansıtan sembolik anlamlar yüklemektedir.

Erkek toplumsal aktörlerin temsili ise daha çok mavi yakalı meslekler ve eril kodlarla yüklü askeri roller etrafında şekillenmektedir. Her iki yayında da erkek aktörlerin vatanseverlik, güç ve görev odaklı motivasyonlarla ilişkilendirildiği, bu temsilin de kahramanlık ve fedakârlık gibi ideolojik mesajlar içerdiği görülmektedir. Toplumsal aktörlerin söylemsel inşasında bir diğer belirleyici unsur ise etnik köken referanslarıdır. *The Guardian*'da etnik aidiyetler daha heterojen biçimde sunulmakta; hem faillerin hem de mağdurların çeşitli etnik arka planlara sahip oldukları ifade edilmektedir. Buna karşılık, *Cumhuriyet* gazetesinde etnik kimliklere dair göndermeler büyük ölçüde sınırlıdır ve yalnızca "Suriyeli" kimliğine yapılan vurguyla görünür hâle gelir. Bu durum, etnik temsillerin *Cumhuriyet*'te ulusal sınırlar ve göçmenlik söylemleriyle sınırlı tutulduğunu göstermektedir.

Son olarak, her iki gazete de failin sabıka kaydına ve geçmişteki suçlarına odaklanarak, onları olumsuz sözcüklerle niteleyen benzer bir yükleme stratejisi benimsemektedir. Bu tür ifadeler, failin patolojik bir figür olarak çerçevelenmesini kolaylaştırmakta ve okuyucunun faille özdeşleşmesini engelleyen bir mesafe yaratmaktadır.

Her iki gazetedeki savlama stratejileri üç temel *topos* etrafında şekillenmektedir: tehlike ve tehdit, suçlama ve sorumluluk, ahlak ve ahlaki çöküş. *Cumhuriyet*'te tehlike çoğunlukla dışsal bir unsur olarak kurgulanmakta ve özellikle Suriyeli göçmenler üzerinden temellendirilerek hükümetin göç ve güvenlik politikaları sorumlu tutulmaktadır. Buna karşılık *The Guardian*, tehlikeyi bireysel sapmalarla ilişkilendirmekte ve olayları daha geniş yapısal bağlamdan soyutlamaktadır. Bu

durumda, kadın cinayetlerinin sorumluluğu daha çok bireylere ya da doğrudan faile değil, sembolik olarak "kurumsal başarısızlık" şeklinde üst düzey otoritelere yöneltilmektedir; örneğin, polis teşkilatı suçu üstlenmekte ancak bu sorumluluğu daha üst mercilere "havale" etmektedir.

Ahlaki savlamalarda ise söylemsel ayrışma daha belirgindir. *Cumhuriyet*'te, ahlaki çöküş sıklıkla mağdurun davranışlarıyla ilişkilendirilerek dolaylı biçimde kurbana atfedilmektedir. Öte yandan *The Guardian*, mağdurları ahlaki yönden yüceltici bir dil kullanmakta; onları "erdemli", "masum" ve "hayatı dolu dolu yaşayan" bireyler olarak betimleyerek ölümlerini toplumun ahlaki çöküşünün sembolü hâline getirmektedir.

Perspektivizasyon stratejileri açısından her iki yayında da benzer yapılar gözlemlenmektedir. Öncelikli bakış açısı, mağdurların aile üyeleri ve arkadaşlarının ifadeleri aracılığıyla kurbanın perspektifidir. Bu ifadeler genellikle kurbanları olumlayan, duygusal bağlılık kurmayı kolaylaştıran bir çerçeve içinde sunulmaktadır. İkinci düzeyde ise faillerin perspektifi, doğrudan alıntılar veya mahkeme ifadeleri yoluyla aktarılmaktadır. Üçüncü olarak ise hükümet temsilcileri, kolluk kuvvetleri veya avukatların açıklamaları aracılığıyla kurumsal görüşe yer verilmektedir.

The Guardian'da mağdurların perspektifine geniş yer verilmekte, bu da ailelerinin onları sıkça olumlu terimlerle betimlemesiyle desteklenmektedir. Ayrıca, devlet yetkililerinin açıklamaları, kamuoyunu yatıştırmaya ve benzer olayların tekrarını önlemeye yönelik güven verici bir tonla sunulmaktadır. Böylece söylemde hem bireysel hem de kurumsal düzeyde sorumluluk çerçevesi kurulmakta; ancak bu sorumluluk çoğu zaman sembolik düzeyde kalmaktadır.

Buna karşılık *Cumhuriyet*'te baskın bakış açısı, sıklıkla faili merkezileştiren ve mağduru dolaylı biçimde suçlayıcı bir tonla aktaran bir yapıya sahiptir. Mağdur yakınlarının açıklamaları ise bu suçlayıcı anlatıya karşı geliştirilen karşı argümanlar işlevi görmekte; mağdurun itibarsızlaştırılmasına yönelik örtük söylemleri çürütmeye çalışmaktadır. Söylemde yer alan tek kurumsal ses konumundaki sivil toplum kuruluşu avukatları ise, olayın bireysel bir sapkınlık olarak değil, toplumsal bir sorun

olarak ele alınması gerektiğini vurgulamakta ve kamuoyunu bu konuda duyarlılığa çağıran bir söylem geliştirmektedir**.**

Tartışma

Toplumsal cinsiyet, kolektif bilinçteki statü tabakalaşmasına dayalı bir farklılaştırma aracı olarak kabul edilir; toplumsal cinsiyet normları tutarlı algılama ve değerlendirme kalıplarıdır. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin temel karakteristiğinin modern toplumdaki ataerkillik olduğu düşünüldüğünde. Erkek odaklı düşünce kalıpları, toplumda özellikle hukuk, hükümet politikası ve sosyal alanlarda kodlanarak, kadınların kamusal alanlardan izole edilerek statü ikincilliğine maruz kalmalarına ve eşit vatandaşlık haklarının korunmamasına yol açmaktadır. Bu eşitsiz uygulamalar, kadınların toplumda yanlış tanınmasına yol açmakta ve bu durum ancak tarafların bağımsız olarak tanınmasıyla çözülebilmektedir. (Fraser, 2007). Bu arka plana dayanarak, kamusal alanı ve kamuoyunu dönüştürme gücüne sahip olduğu için medyanın kadın temsili önem kazanmaktadır. Ancak çalışmanın bulguları, gazetelerin kadınların eşit erişimini ve tanınmasını engelleyen siyasi varlıklara dönüştüğünü göstermiştir. (Habermas, et. al, 1974). Özellikle Türk medyasında kadınlar sembolik olarak yok edilmekte, kişisel hikayeleriyle birey olarak tanınmamakta, bunun yerine sadece kurban ve anne olarak kurgulanmakta ve kısıtlı mesleki roller içinde gösterilmektedir.

Kadın cinayeti haberlerinde erkek faillerin ifadelerine aşırı düzeyde güvenilmesi, mağduru suçlayıcı anlatıların meşrulaşmasına ve kadınların söylemdeki seslerinin bastırılmasına yol açmaktadır. Bu durum, kadınları toplumsal cinsiyet hiyerarşisinin en alt katmanında konumlandırmakta ve bireyselliklerinin silinmesine neden olmaktadır. Kadınların yalnızca biyolojik rollerine indirgenerek tanımlanması, Türkiye bağlamında siyasal söylemle güçlü bir ilişkisellik göstermektedir. Bu noktada, dönemin Başbakanının kadınların üreme kapasitesine ve annelik rollerine atıfta bulunan söylemlerinde dinî ve ekonomik referansların iç içe geçtiği görülmektedir. Erdoğan (2014), muhafazakâr siyasi bakış açısının kadın kimliğini annelik ve yeniden üretimle sınırladığını; bu rolleri reddeden kadınları ise toplumsal normların dışında, marjinal figürler olarak konumlandırdığını ileri sürmektedir.

Bu bağlamda *Cumhuriyet* gazetesinin kadınlık temsilleri, muhalif politik pozisyonuna rağmen, egemen toplumsal cinsiyet ideolojisinin söylemsel yeniden üretimine katkıda bulunmaktadır. Gazete, kimi zaman hükümet politikalarına—özellikle göç ve güvenlik konularında—sert eleştiriler yöneltse de, bu eleştiriler kadın cinayetleri ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği gibi meseleleri öncelikli bir sorun olarak değil, hükümetin politikalarına yönelik genel muhalefetin dolaylı bir aracı olarak ele almaktadır. Böylelikle kadınlara yönelik yapısal şiddetin ve toplumsal cinsiyet temelli ayrımcılığın derinlemesine sorgulanması söylem içinde bastırılmakta, kadınların temsili ikincil ve araçsallaştırılmış bir konuma itilmektedir.

Göçmen kimliğinin toplumsal cinsiyet temelinde çift katmanlı biçimde kurgulanması, *Cumhuriyet* gazetesindeki söylemde ırksallaştırılmış zihniyetin nasıl inşa edildiğini ve aktarıldığını ortaya koymaktadır. Özellikle Suriyeli erkeklerin sistematik olarak olumsuz sözcüklerle betimlenmesi, göçmenliğin yalnızca etnik değil, aynı zamanda cinsiyet temelli bir tehdit unsuru olarak temsil edilmesine yol açmaktadır. Bu temsil biçimi, gazetenin hükümet politikalarını eleştirmek için kullandığı söylemsel stratejilerden biri haline gelmekte; göç politikalarına yönelik kamuoyu kutuplaşmasını derinleştirmektedir. Böylece Suriyeli erkek kimliği, *tehlike toposu*nun somutlaştırıldığı başat figür haline gelirken, hükümet ise *sorumluluk/responsibility toposu* çerçevesinde doğrudan eleştirilmektedir. Ayrıca, bu kimlik Türkiye vatandaşlığına göre ikincil ve dışlayıcı biçimde konumlandırılmakta, milliyetçi çerçevede yeniden üretilen bir "öteki" figürüne dönüşmektedir.

Bununla birlikte, *Cumhuriyet* gazetesi iktidar partisiyle ve hükümet yetkilileriyle doğrudan söylemsel bir ilişki kurmaktan kaçınmakta; haberlerinde yetkililerin isimlerine veya doğrudan alıntılarına yer vermeyerek otoriter varlığı söylemden dışlamaktadır. Bu tercihle hem iktidarın doğrudan görünürlüğü sınırlandırılmakta hem de okuyucuyla diyalog dolaylı araçlar üzerinden kurulmaktadır. Bu çerçevede görünürlük kazanan tek kurumsal aktör, hukuk sistemine karşı direnç sembolü olarak sunulan ve aynı zamanda devlet otoritesini zayıflatıcı bir rol üstlenen sivil toplum kuruluşlarının avukatlarıdır.

Dolayısıyla *Cumhuriyet*'in kadın temsilleri ve göçmenlikle ilgili söylemleri üzerinden egemen ideolojiye dair tutumunun hem eleştirel hem de pekiştirici

nitelikler taşıdığı söylenebilir; bu çelişkili yapı söylemin ideolojik yönelimini sorgulanabilir ve tartışmalı hale getirmektedir. Öte yandan, bu tür söylemsel inşalar *The Guardian* gibi Birleşik Krallık merkezli medya organlarında oldukça farklı yapılar ve normatif öncüller üzerinden kurgulanmakta, göçmenlik ve toplumsal cinsiyet meseleleri daha kapsayıcı bir çerçeveye yerleştirilmektedir.

The Guardian'ın 2024 yılında iktidarda olan partiyle ideolojik yakınlık içinde olması, gazetenin söylemlerinde doğrudan hükümet yetkililerine atıfların ve adların sıkça geçmesiyle kendini göstermektedir. Bu strateji, hükümet ile okuyucu arasında aracılık eden sembolik bir diyalog kurmakta ve gazetenin iktidar partisine olan desteğini söylemsel düzeyde görünür kılmaktadır. Bu diyalog, yalnızca haber aktarımı değil, aynı zamanda okuyucunun şiddet olaylarını prosedürel ve kurumsal bir şeffaflık içinde takip etmesini sağlayan bir bilgilendirme mekanizması olarak işlev görmektedir. Davaya dair adımların aşamalı olarak sunulması, devlet kurumlarının işleyişine dair olumlu bir imaj oluşturmakta ve örtük bir ahlaki yüceltme işlevi üstlenmektedir.

Bu ahlaki yüceltme, kadınların temsillerine de yansımaktadır. *The Guardian,* kadınları çoğunlukla toplumsal roller içinde aşırı derecede idealize eden bir söylem geliştirmekte; onları "anne", "evlat", "melek" gibi imgeler aracılığıyla masumiyet ve kırılganlıkla özdeşleştirmektedir. Bu temsil biçimi, bir yandan İşçi Partisi'nin toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliklerini azaltmaya yönelik politikalarıyla uyumlu görünürken, öte yandan feminist bir perspektiften ele alındığında sorunlu bir söylemsel pratiğe işaret etmektedir. Glick ve Fiske'nin (1996) kavramsallaştırdığı şekliyle bu yaklaşım, kadınlara karşı "korumacı" ama aynı zamanda sınırlayıcı olan hayırsever cinsiyetçilik biçimini yansıtmaktadır. Kadınlar, bireysel öznelliklerinden arındırılarak geleneksel rollere sabitlenmekte; bu da onların toplumsal görünürlüğünü yalnızca belirli, "uygun" roller çerçevesinde mümkün kılmaktadır.

Öte yandan, erkeklerin temsili genellikle geleneksel cinsiyet rolleri, hegemonik erkeklik normları ve mesleki alanlarda kök salmış "protest erkeklik" unsurları aracılığıyla şekillendirilmektedir. *The Guardian*, ilerici ve feminist söylemler geliştirmesine rağmen, ataerkil bilinçten tamamen arınamamış bazı kalıntıları da

yansıtmaktadır (Connell, 2005). Bu unsurlar, suçlu ile toplum arasında keskin bir iyi-kötü ikiliği kurarak failin yabancılaşmasına ve toplumsal izolasyonuna zemin hazırlamaktadır. Bu ikili karşıtlık, tehlike ve tehdit temalarının temelini oluşturmakta; tehlike, sapkın davranışlardan kaynaklanan ani ve öngörülemez bir olgu olarak inşa edilmektedir. Bununla birlikte, bu sapkınlık belirli bir etnik gruba indirgenmemekte; çünkü İşçi Partisi'nin izlediği göç politikası nispeten kontrollü ve ılımlı bir yapıya sahip olup, Birleşik Krallık çok etnikli ve çeşitlilik arz eden bir toplum özelliği taşımaktadır.

Her iki gazetenin söyleminde çeşitli farklılıklar bulunmasına rağmen, kadın kimliklerinin özellikle kadın polis memurlarının ölümlerinin siyasileştirildiği görülmektedir. Bu temsil, kadınların varlığının ancak vatanseverlik ve fedakârlık ekseninde anlam kazandığını; ölümlerinin milliyetçi güç ve değerlerin sembolü haline geldiğini ve böylece kolektif bir çekicilik yaratarak ulus-devlet amaçlarının gerçekleştirilmesine hizmet ettiğini göstermektedir. Bu durum, milliyetçiliğin cinsiyetlendirilmiş bir biçimi olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Önceki bulgular ve tartışmalar, medyanın ideolojik devlet aygıtı olarak Althusserci yaklaşımını destekler niteliktedir. Her ne kadar her iki gazetenin de sol politik duruşu paylaştığı düşünülse de, kadın cinayetlerine ve toplumsal aktörlere ilişkin kurgularında belirgin farklılıklar bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca, gazetelerin iktidar partisinin politikalarına ve değerlerine yönelik farklı söylemsel yönelimleri olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır ki bu da ünlü feminist ilkeyi bir kez daha doğrulamaktadır: "kişisel olan politiktir."

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