

Collective Memory and Journalism in the Context of Femicide

Authors:

İrem Öztürk^{1*}

Affiliations:

¹Master's Program in Media and Communication Management, Graduate School of Social Sciences Yeditepe University, İstanbul, 34755, Turkey

*To whom correspondence should be addressed; **e-mail:**

irem.ozturk3@std.yeditepe.edu.tr

Preprint

Abstract

This study examines the news production processes about femicide, a universal problem, in the Turkish press within the context of collective memory. The relationship between memory and the news media is explained by associating it with Alison Landsberg's (2004) concept of *prosthetic memory*. In addition, to better analyze how collective memory is (re)produced through news about femicide, which is the main subject of the study, feminist movements and women's ideas and activities about the issue from the past to the present in the world and Turkey are discussed.

The in-depth interview method, which is one of the qualitative research methods, has been used in the study. Female journalists working in different news media outlets were included as participants in the research and were asked questions about the relationship between news production processes, femicide, and collective memory.

Keywords: Collective memory; femicide; journalism; news production

Preprint

INTRODUCTION

The concept of collective memory has been discussed a lot in recent years, especially in the social sciences. Although the concept of “collective memory,” a set of experiences, values, and attitudes built by a specific group of people, was first put forward by sociologist Emile Durkheim, it was elaborated by philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs. Collective memory is associated with every aspect of our lives, and every event experienced in society contributes to memory formation. The resulting collective memory is transmitted across generations, ensuring that society and its memory remain alive.

Journalists create an archive and establish a connection between the past and the future through their news. Femicide is a common problem that we all should keep in mind. Making news about femicide in the press is one way to ensure that the issue is not forgotten. This study aims to determine to what extent and how female journalists use the past in the news of femicide and thus determine the role of female journalists in creating a collective memory about femicide. It has been investigated how female journalists use the past while producing news about femicide and whether they contribute to creating a collective about the issue.

The study first discusses the concepts of memory and collective memory, with a focus on Maurice Halbwach’s perspective on the issue. Then Michael Schudson's notion of distortion dynamics in collective memory is used to explain the shaping of collective memory and its transmission over time. The literature review's second part emphasizes the relationship between media and collective memory, particularly by associating it with Alison Landsberg's (2004) concept of prosthetic memory. Then, to explain the relationship between news, collective memory, and femicide, the development of feminism and its outlook on the problem of femicide are discussed.

The overall purpose of this study is to demonstrate the relationship between collective memory and journalism in the context of femicide. Unfortunately, when we look at the

literature, we observe that this topic has not been given due respect. Therefore, this study is vital in terms of shedding light on the issue and being a source for similar studies to be done in the future.

In the study, which adopts a qualitative methodology, the in-depth interview method was used for data collection. Female journalists working in different news organizations in Turkey were included in the research as participants, and the prosthetic memory production processes of female journalists in the news of femicide were examined. They were asked questions about how they establish a link between the current news about femicide and the past cases of femicide that are part of our collective memory. The results showed that all the female journalists interviewed pay attention to making references to the past while writing news about femicide; however, their ability to do so is largely conditioned by the ideological orientation of the news outlet they work for.

RESULTS

In this section, the findings obtained through the in-depth interviews are presented and evaluated.

Participants' Understanding of Collective Memory

The answers given by the participants to the question of what comes to mind when collective memory is mentioned are as follows:

Participant 1 said: “A semantic memory comes to mind. In other words, the meanings that some definitions, terms, and symbols created in my mind are based on the society I live in. For example, when Kahramanmaraş is mentioned, the earthquake and destruction we experienced on February 6, 2023, will come to mind.”

Participant 2 said: “Regarding collective memory, the first thing that comes to mind is the Saturday Mothers. Even if they have been saying similar things for years, they have formed a collective memory. Collective memory is a need, and it is the sum of the

things that always take place in that society and in every individual living in that society.”

Participant 3 said: “Collective memory reminds me of shared memories, attitudes, and behaviors known only to those in that society. At the same time, it is the history of society. The combination of all the elements makes up the society we live in. It is precious that every society has its own memory. The collective memory ensures the continuity of that society. It also helps us to understand how and how society came from the past to these days; what happened in the past and what we experience now are related to the past.”

Participant 4 said: “Collective memory is society's most important building block. History and collective memory are the resources the past provides us to live in the present. Every day we live, a new piece of information is added to our collective memory.”

Participant 5 said: “From collective memory, I understand events and elements that have a long-lasting direct and indirect effect on society and determine the reflexes of society—for example, coups, wars, revolutions, crises, and international awards. The events in collective memory shape people's relations with each other and the state.”

Participant 6 said: “Events that leave a mark on people They exist in memories without regard for good or evil.”

The things that make up the concept of collective memory in the participants' minds are usually events that become symbols in society or profoundly affect society. The earthquake, wars, revolutions, or the Saturday Mothers were given by the participants as examples of collective memory.

To the question of whether journalism contributes to the formation of collective memory, the participants gave the following answers:

Participant 1 said: “Absolutely, because journalists and their news are transmissions. To convey an event is to enliven something in the minds of those people. However, it

has to be done correctly. If you are not objective, you will mislead people's collective memory. Some events have a different place in people's minds because of distortion. Our task is to convey this with objectivity.”

Participant 2 said: “Certainly, journalists play an essential role in the formation of collective memory and conveying it. Written news never disappears, mainly thanks to digitalization; the news always maintains its presence on the internet. Journalists have to be reminders of society. An event experienced today may not be the first; it may have had similar examples in the past, and similar things may happen again. It is necessary to follow this, research what happened in the past, and present it to society with examples.”

Participant 3 answered the question as: “Of course, it can. Journalism is a public job. It is the job of journalists to inform the public. Journalists present any event of public interest. Therefore, it helps in memory formation. For example, women’s murders are reported in the news. The good or bad news about every event stays in our memory. Alternatively, to understand and interpret events closely related to society, past news on that subject is taken as a reference. Therefore, journalists contribute to the formation of collective memory. The news produced by journalists is a document of collective memory.”

Contrary to other participants, Participant 4 states that in the past, journalists aimed to create a collective memory, and with digitalization, journalism has become a very different place. These are her words in this regard:

“Journalists who produce news from scratch know they are producing collective memory. Journalists leave a written document in their news reports. When a researcher searches for a past issue and finds the news of a journalist, she sees the news as a historical document and uses it as a source. For example, in the first years of my career, I worked at the *Radikal* newspaper and kept the news in the newspapers. I was surprised when I looked at the newspapers I made because I encountered a very different reality in Turkey. I was surprised by the use of visual news and how we approached news from different angles. As journalists, we did not feel comfortable informing them in those

years. Since Turkey is in a politically complex process, I can now see how free we are when I look at the news. Even this example is about the construction of collective memory. When I look at the news I wrote in those years, I have an idea about the past, and I can even see what kind of process Turkey went through. News is a connecting tool used to interpret the past. When we look at social media, we see that past news is on the agenda again.”

Participant 5 stated the following: “Of course, it does. If done correctly, journalism is one of the most important professions that feeds society. Because the journalist can directly connect with society, it increases people's knowledge, leads people to think and question, and activates the conscience of society. It makes a significant contribution to forming public opinion. It also has the effect of putting pressure on politicians. Journalists can fire someone who works because of the news they make and put them in jail. That is why news is a powerful weapon. All these developments help in the formation of collective memory. The newspaper is an archive. One of the best ways to understand a period is to study the newspapers of that period. A person watching television programs will catch tremendous clues about the period's political, social, and economic conditions.”

Similarly, Participant 6 stated that in the past, journalists produced their news in order to create a collective memory with the following words: “We know that this was the case before. It used to be a duty for journalists to tell the public about good or bad events. Journalists also emptied their memories by sweeping and ignoring events they could not report under the carpet. On anonymous social media, the reporters took this task from us. It fills the memory with so-called "dirty news."”

The answers given above to whether journalists can contribute to the formation of collective memory mostly lead to the conclusion that journalists are aware that they create collective memory while producing news. Besides, Participants 4 and 6 state that journalists not only create a collective memory but also that the news they produced in the past is on the agenda again today due to the rise of social media.

The participants were then asked the question, “Do you associate a reported event with similar events in the past?” Participant 1 replied to this question as follows: “Associating events with each other is the editorial part of journalism. Of course, I report by connecting the past and the present. In this way, I remind the person who reads the news about the past and help her to situate the news better in her mind.”

Participant 2’s response was as follows: Of course, the past is our archive. For example, *Birgün* newspaper campaigned about women who fell from balconies and lost their lives. We wanted to show everyone that 93 women died by "falling" from the balcony in two years. In the campaign we prepared, we aimed to show that the women who died by falling from the balcony did not die due to an accident but were killed by a man. In addition, it was to show a recurring problem in society. We wanted to tell society about a problem here and focus on it. Repeated acts cannot be an accident; they cannot be neglected; they must be seen and shown to be crimes. We wanted to make people remember the murders that were made to look like accidents. The journalist's task is to point out the problem and show it. Consequently, the past is a source of news for the future, and the future is a source of news for the past.”

Participant 3 said the following: “One of the most fundamental elements of solid news is its ability to connect with the past. Reminding the reader causes the memory to be refreshed and contributes to a better understanding of current events in context. For this reason, I make reminders in the news that will connect with the past and contribute to the present.”

Participant 4 stated: “Turkey experienced a devastating earthquake on August 17, 1999, and unfortunately, on February 6, 2023, we experienced an earthquake with far more devastating effects than the previous earthquake. When we look at the news, we can see that the earthquake we experienced in 1999 and the earthquake in 2023 are reported in connection with the news. The news is transmitted in connection with each other to show that the past is forgotten by forgetting the fact of the earthquake that took place after the earthquake disaster in 1999. The primary purpose of journalism is to provide social benefits. The establishment of the past aims to provide social benefit. Connecting

with historical events creates a general framework and consciousness in people's memories.”

Participant 5 briefly said, “Yes, we do. It is because if similar events are happening repeatedly or if there are similar developments in different places, there is a situation that needs attention. For this, the archive scanning comparison method is used.”

However, Participant 6 states that, unlike the other participants, the past is not used as a reference: “Very rare. If the results of the events that bother people in society have received enough reaction, we could do this. It bothers us that we are repeatedly brought to light for punishments for which we are not guilty. We say ‘forgotten.’”

Participants’ Approaches to Women's Issues

"Do you think that the issues and problems with women are prioritized in your institution?"

Participant 1 said, "My news editor, my editor-in-chief, is a woman." She also said, “For this reason, there is no possibility of skipping women's news in the newspaper. We give it priority and importance. Our shortcomings may be the news we could not include in the newspaper due to the early printing time.”

Participant 2 replied to the question as follows: “*Birgün* newspaper never holds back on the issues of injustice and wrongdoing. *Birgün* newspaper is a newspaper that tries to find the truth and defends the right to the truth. Many lawsuits are filed against the *Birgün* newspaper, and the institution receives many threats. These are the difficulties of trying to defend the truth. *Birgün* does not stay behind in her news about women. For 2-3 years, we had a page where only women's news was reported, we tried to make women's voices heard, and women discussed women's issues. However, apart from this, every story about women is given due care. The reason is the state's power if something happens to women and cannot be prevented. We are one of the rare newspapers that says and defends this.”

Participant 3's response was as follows: "*Cumhuriyet* is very sensitive about voicing social problems. That is why it has been given due importance. It is necessary to make women visible in society. We should not only talk about women's problems but also their achievements."

Participant 4 stated the following: "*Hürriyet* is one of the most prominent newspapers in the mainstream media. *Hürriyet* is a newspaper that shows sensitivity to the news of femicide and violence. However, I do not know how correct the political approaches to the issues are. The news of violence against women and femicide has always been given importance. I worked for the *Hürriyet* newspaper Private Haber for four years and specialized in women's news. I started the series "Vazgeçmeyen Kadınlar"(Women Who Do Not Give Up) about a year ago. Although not in the context of violence against women, it shows the importance of the newspaper *Hürriyet* for gender inequality and women. However, I cannot say that sexist reflexes were not involved in creating femicide or violence."

Participant 4 continued as follows:

"This is because the number of male employees in editorial jobs is higher than the number of female employees. Unfortunately, we do not have a female employee as the editorial coordinator of *Hürriyet* newspaper. The number of men and women in our correspondents is proportional. Still, we reporters give the raw version of the news. For this reason, we can see a male-dominated point of view in visual preference and sometimes in news language. For this reason, I had some problems with the women's news I prepared and continue to do so. I am constantly interfering with the news I have prepared to prevent this problem. Men are often unaware of the sensitivity of women's news. For example, when I make news about a female pilot, it is emphasized that the pilot is a woman. However, the purpose of making that news is not to show that the pilot is a woman but to show that there are women in different occupational groups. I think that male reporters should improve themselves in terms of gender. To summarize, the *Hürriyet* newspaper shows critical importance and care in the context of femicide.

However, we can encounter masculine language because few women work in writing jobs.”

Participant 5 responded as follows: “If you could follow *Milliyet* newspaper, you might notice its sensitivity to women's issues. Almost every positive and negative development about women and every event takes place in the newspaper. Attention is paid to the language used in the news. *Milliyet* newspaper is also the first and only media partner of the United Nations Women's Unit (UN Women). In line with this cooperation, the *Milliyet* newspaper has committed to contributing to gender equality. Studies are carried out on this subject, and training is given. I attended the "Workshop for Gender-Sensitive Media," one of them. Of course, there are flaws, and there always will be. Because, as in every field, it will only be realistic to say "this much is enough" to provide full equality in the media. For example, I would like to see more female managers in my newspaper.”

Participant 6 answered the question as follows: “Yes. I experienced this myself during my birth.” With her answer, Participant 6 emphasized that the media organization he works for helps the women it employs in matters concerning women.

While each participant stated that the institution, they work for attaches importance to women's issues and problems, they approached it from different perspectives. Participant 1 emphasizes the importance of working with women in not ignoring women's issues while emphasizing that the print media can skip some news to catch up with strict deadlines. Participant 2 criticizes the government with the phrase "power state," stating that many lawsuits have been filed because of the institution's importance to women's issues or problems. Participant 3 argues that women should not be dealt with only for their grievances. Participant 4 says that the importance of women's issues is emphasized in the institution where she works, and she criticizes the high number of male employees in the editorial office for making the new language masculine. Participant 5 emphasizes the importance of the fact that the institution she works for is the media partner of UN Women, but she also mentions the absence of female managers in the institution she works for. Participant 6, unlike all other participants, focused the

issues and problems of women working in the institution. From the participants' answers, it was concluded that male employees in the mainstream media are more common than female employees in Turkey. While those working in the opposition newspaper generally focused on women's issues, those working in the pro-government newspaper drew attention to the gender policy of the institutions.

The participants were then personally asked questions about their perspectives on women's issues and how much they mentioned women's issues in the news.

Participant 1 said the following: "I have made much news about women and will continue to do so. The issue I report most frequently is the greater participation of women in employment. The biggest problem is finding an authorized person to talk to. I include the steps to be taken to have more women in business and the problems encountered in every news article." As seen from her answer, Participant 1 deals with the inequality experienced by women in social life in terms of employment and produces news that touches on the problem in society.

Participant 2 talked about femicide, which is the first thing that comes to mind when discussing women's issues and, unfortunately, is increasing daily: "I care about and pay particular attention to all kinds of issues and problems related to women. In the past, I was doing more news about women; now, I am producing more labor news. However, I did not have any difficulties when I was doing women's news. There is a procedure for everything, and there is no problem when you act accordingly. It is imperative to follow cases of violence or murder in the news. The careful follow-up of the case and the examination of the statements prevent any problems."

Similarly, Participant 3 deals with women's issues of violence against women and femicide: "Both as a female journalist and, above all, as a member of this society, I attach particular importance to ensuring that women's issues are not trapped behind the scenes. The news of harassment, violence, and murder against women must be more visible. I think more news should be made about women's success, not just about harassment, violence, and murder, but also about news that will make women victims.

We can achieve gender equality, which is not available in our society, by including more women in the news.”

Participant 4 emphasized the importance of news language while addressing the underlying causes of violence against women and murders:

“I think that the visibility of news on violence against women and femicide is thanks to the struggle of women journalists and women's organizations. Violence against women is a social wound and a sociological problem. Turkish politics, family structure, and value judgments lie at the root of violence against women and femicide in Turkey. I also pay attention to the fact that the number of male employees in the editorial offices of the newspapers is high. Unfortunately, they cannot develop themselves sufficiently in terms of gender. Therefore, news language is critical on such sensitive issues. Therefore, if I have to speak for myself, I have shown the necessary suspicion and care regarding every positive or negative issue regarding women in our society.”

Participant 5 said the following: “Of course, I believe that female journalists should show maximum sensitivity to this issue. Unfortunately, I report violence and murder news about women more often. Unfortunately, this is one of the most critical problems in society. Almost every day in our country, a woman is murdered or exposed to violence. As such, this news is inevitable. Of course, there are also positive developments. We often include women's success stories or achievements (such as women who won a surname lawsuit and women entrepreneurs). And she continued: “Nevertheless, it is not enough. I do not face any obstacles because, as I have just mentioned, *Milliyet* is a newspaper that has taken responsibility for this issue.”

Participant 6 answered the questions as follows: “I am a journalist who is a candidate to be a defender of women's rights. If the subject of the news is a woman, I cannot ignore the cries of the woman inside me (a feeling of revenge that I had to make the voice of the victimized woman heard). I write this news with shouting and care. It is my duty as a woman to support women. I feel this awareness in every part of me.”

Participants' Approaches to News about Femicide

The participants were then asked the following question: "Do you produce news about femicide?" And also, they were asked, "What do you pay attention to when creating news about femicide?"

Saying that violence against women and femicide are problems that should not be ignored in our country and the world, Participant 1 stated the following:

"I have made much news on this subject and continue to do so. The point I pay attention to here is to explain the solution. Just as there are things to be done to end workplace murders, there are also things to be done to stop femicide. It is not enough to report the event in such news; the government's steps and what women and society should do should be written. At some point, I think it is necessary to tell society that women work, produce, and exist in society and how this brings beauty. Experts always say that showing the good to society increases the good. So, it is not enough to say that so many women were killed!"

Participant 2 stated that she produces her news in a way that emphasizes "why," not how it happened. She said:

"Indicating that the language of the news is the most critical issue, it should never be reported in a way that accuses women. We usually see this type of news in mainstream newspapers. While writing about the news of a woman's murder, we do not approach the event because of "why." Whatever the reason, we produce the news with the thought that a man killed a woman. There is a situation where the man has the courage to kill the woman. What is this situation? We are chasing it and paying attention to the fact that it should be punished. We produce news in a way that will not encourage men and empower women. Women are not subjected to violence or are not victims of murder. A woman is abused by a man and killed by a man. These things should be explained to the reader while producing the news."

Similarly, Participant 3 stated that she avoided expressions that would make the woman a victim:

“I try to produce as much news as possible on such a sensitive subject. Because, as women, I think we deal more carefully with the violence, murder, and harassment cases to which both genders are exposed. First, female journalists produce more objective news on anything that concerns women. In addition to the statements of the perpetrators and witness statements, I try to create my news by protecting personal information from exaggerated language that will not make the victim more victimized. Unfortunately, the news narrated makes the news of violence and murder more remarkable. I do more careful research on the production of femicide news and give more importance to the choice of news language and visuals. I do not make statements that would acquit the perpetrator or make the murdered woman guilty.”

Participant 4 said the following:

"We will stop femicide (We Will Stop Femicide Platform), which argues that femicide should be dealt with historically... With the reports published by women's associations, we noticed more "suspicious deaths." When women die or are killed, there are so many suspicious female deaths that we cannot find the answer to this question. The news article titled "Falling from the Glass" provides a historical perspective. If there are similarities in violence or femicide, we make compilation news. For example, there were female suicides in Batman in the 1990s. I conveyed the first suicide and explained the second suicide and what kind of social problems we experience when the third suicide occurs—female suicides. If there is a similar event today, we look at past events, so it is essential to use the historical perspective and the past as a source. With the reports published by women's associations, we noticed more "suspicious deaths." When women die or are killed, there are so many suspicious female deaths that we cannot find the answer to this question. The news article titled “Falling from the Glass” provides a historical perspective. If there are similarities in violence or femicide, we make compilation news. For example, there were female suicides in Batman in the 1990s. I conveyed the first suicide and explained the second suicide and what kind of social

problems we experience when the third suicide occurs, female suicides. If there is a similar event today, we look at past events, so it is essential to use the historical perspective and the past as a source.”

Participant 5 said that in the news about femicide, she avoids blaming statements so that women are not portrayed as victims:

“I write or edit news about femicide or violence against women. One of the most essential elements of this type of news is the title and content. I never use an accusatory expression towards the victim woman in the titles I use. I do not use expressions (such as jealousy, honor, or because of) that aim to acquit the person who committed the murder, show violence, alleviate the incident, or show a reason for the incident. I take care not to use the name and photo of the victim in the news without the consent and knowledge of the victim. In addition, I do not give details that are offensive or incite violence when describing the event. It is essential to avoid what we call ‘violent pornography.’”

Participant 6 argued that women cannot raise their voices against the violence they are subjected to, and therefore, women cannot speak: "I trust the principle that women are always right." For example, when a woman is harassed, she cannot ask for help immediately. She cannot say they are harassing me. While thinking about her family, child, and husband, it is not her turn, and she tries to forget what happened to her. She fights herself when she wants it. I have accepted this every day of my 12 years of professional life, with different experiences. For this reason, while expressing the victimization of the victimized woman, I write headlines that will touch every woman and carefully write each story in itself.”

All the participants emphasized that they produce news about femicide and that the most critical issue while producing this news is the language of the news.

Participants' Perspective on the Relationship Between Femicide and Collective Memory

In the interviews, the question of whether ideological views affect the news of femicide was asked of the participants, too.

Participant 1 argued that ideology affects the news of femicide: “Of course, it does. Some media outlets present non-femicide cases as femicide and femicide cases as accidents.”

According to Participant 2, this is not true for the *Birgün* newspaper. She said the following: “However, some newspapers make news according to ideology. It is not something I advocate. It is not appropriate to journalistic ethics that ideological thoughts precede the subject of the news. For example, as I mentioned in the previous question, as a *Birgün* newspaper, we are approaching the news as a crime when a man killed a woman. However, the newspapers that put their ideology ahead of the news produced news to find a reason for the murder.”

Referring to the Istanbul Convention, which Turkey terminated on March 20, 2021, Participant 3 said the following: “Unfortunately, Law No. 6284 on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence Against Women, which has been the subject of debate for a long time, is interpreted from different perspectives in different newspapers with different ideological views. In such cases, ideological beliefs can often take precedence over the primary interests of society.”

Emphasizing the conservative newspapers published in Turkey, known for their closeness to the government, Participant 4 defended the idea that ideological views are evident in conservative newspapers in the news of femicide:

“I think it is like that. Instead of using magazine language, it tried to create a sense of “honor” and find the reason for the murders of women. Frankly, there is no dominant ideological view in the *Hürriyet* newspaper. Since *Hürriyet* is a mainstream newspaper, it can or cannot focus on specific issues due to its position and patronage. However, the

news generally reflects ideological views on violence against women and femicide. For example, we can see this in the *Akit* or *Yeni Şafak* newspapers, which have a more conservative ideology. However, in traditional newspapers, news of violence or murder against women is handled with ‘honor.’ However, *Hürriyet* does not approach the issue from such a point of view. As I said before, we see the ignorance of male editors in the language of news in *Hürriyet*.”

She continued as follows:

Participant 5 thinks that femicide should be a matter of conscience and that ideology should not be at the forefront of the news about femicide: “I favor addressing this issue independently of all ideological views. However, unfortunately, I do not think so.”

Participant 6, who works at the newspaper known for its closeness to the government, gave the following answer to this question, “Unfortunately, yes. I am sorry for answering this question,” which aroused the thought that the institution she worked for did not comment much on the subject.

News that contributes to the formation of our collective memory uses the past as a reference. The participants were accordingly asked whether there was a reference to similar femicides that happened in the past or whether they did any anniversary reporting.

Participant 1, who argued that femicide can be prevented with a social turn and awareness, said the following: “We usually report on the murdered women throughout the year for the New Year's newspaper, published on New Year's Day. Likewise, we remind you of the solution.”

Participant 2 stated that anniversary reporting is not frequently encountered in femicide: “We refer to similar murders in the past.”

Participant 3 said the following: “Some femicides have become symbols in Turkey. For example, when we think of a woman killed by her boyfriend, we think of Münevver Karabulut or Pınar Gültekin. When a woman dies by ‘falling’ out of the window, Şule

Çet comes to mind directly. That is why, yes, there is a connection with similar murders. Unfortunately, we do not see commemoration journalism very often in femicide.”

Participant 4 stated that there is a connection with the past in the news about femicide, as in every other issue: “Femicide is a problem that has always existed and continues to increase daily. It is necessary to show this problem to society, not to forget. Although it is rare, commemoration journalism is made in femicide.”

According to Participant 5, cases of femicide bear similarities:

“Husbands usually kill women they want to divorce, ex-spouses, ex-boyfriends, and the man they reject. Here, it is necessary to repeatedly emphasize the male-dominated social structure and the fact that women are not effectively protected. Alternatively, when reporting on a woman killed by family members, it is necessary to talk about false traditions”

While Participant 6 referred to the unfair provocation discounts given to the perpetrator in femicides, she also said: “We try to awaken the collective memory in such news to create public pressure. I have not written a memorial report yet.”

In the news about femicide, it is seen that there is a connection with past news in order to keep collective memory alive. In addition to this, the fact that Şule Çet and Münevver Karabulut were given as examples also shows that there are murders that are symbolized in femicide. Considering the answers given by the participants, it was concluded that commemoration journalism was not practiced much as regards femicide, however.

The participants answered the question of whether the femicide news produced by using tabloid language takes more place in our collective memory or whether it does have the opposite effect as follows:

According to Participant 1:

“The news that has been made into a magazine is engraved in the memory, but the change that should occur with the effect of the news is essential, not the fact that the news stays in the memory. Magazine news is not change but brings tears and conscientious relief.”

Participant 2 said, "We love drama; we think it should have a story in its news. This is especially true in mainstream newspapers." Participant 2 also argued that the only reason for the tabloidization of the news is to make it read more and to attract attention:

“I think reading story-like news is easier for our society than reading something informative. I do not think it makes any sense to make the news of the murder of a woman dramatic. The focus is on femicide. When a magazine's news language is used, the responsibility for the murder of the woman is placed on the woman.”

Participant 3's reply was as follows: “The storytelling of the femicide news and the creation of victims and criminals makes the event even more remarkable. Explaining every moment of the event in detail makes the event more memorable.”

According to Participant 5, “Violence is a severe issue. Saying that using magazine news language is a problem in every aspect, especially morally.” Participant 5 also stated:

“Unfortunately, we witness the news language becoming tabloidized. However, I do not think this situation contributes to the news in our collective memory. On the contrary, it is a matter of simplifying the event and only creating a soap bubble effect.”

Similarly, about the use of tabloid language in news about femicide, Participant 6 said that the news of violence was written with “rosewood words.” According to her, “Maybe that is why it stays in the memory longer.”

The participants were then asked what journalists should do to build a collective memory of femicide and what the biggest obstacles were to doing so.

Participant 1, who thought that there should be news that shows society the good, explained how women can be more assertive, believed that Turkish society has the power to prevent murders. According to her, “the exciting news is news that guides.” She also mentioned the ideological pressures and difficulties in finding the right resources in the institutions worked for.

“I do not think that any journalist turns their back on the news about the murdered women, or I do not want to think about it,” Participant 2 said. Then she continued as follows:

“By giving more importance to women's news and not giving up the follow-up of the femicide they covered, on the road to the murder of women, not only the murderers but also every person, institution, and organization that causes women not to be protected... The organization should be disclosed, and by making news about the criminal's punishment, it can contribute to collective memory by not making women forget the murders.”

Participant 3 gave the following response:

“Unfortunately, in order for the murder of a woman to be heard in our society, the murder must be told, and the woman must be shown as a victim. Unfortunately, our women who died without a similar event do not come to mind. Just like on the anniversaries of some social events, our deceased women should be reminded to prevent this. Femicide is a social problem. Forgetting or ignoring this problem causes the problem to grow day by day. For this reason, journalists should report regularly to make femicide visible in society and not be forgotten.”

Addressing both the sociological and political aspects of violence against women and femicide, Participant 4 gave importance to the news's language in her answer:

“It is essential not to offend the women subjected to violence and not to hurt the families of the murdered women. Most importantly, one should not glorify the criminal, try to acquit him, or make excuses. In addition, it is necessary to follow the cases and news

to make accurate news. It is necessary to make news by realizing that femicide is not just a number. It needs to be displayed in news images. It is essential to make news by giving importance to gender equality to highlight women's strengths, not make women look cowardly.”

Participant 5 replied to the question as follows: “While the journalist thinks that he should keep femicide on the agenda, she should make news about hot developments and news for reminders. Violence against women and femicide should be discussed and become a problem in the conscience of society. This situation pressures those authorized to deal with this issue to fulfill their duties. However, if this issue falls off the agenda and becomes commonplace, the struggle will weaken just as much. The newspaper is, first and foremost, an archive. Political pressure is the biggest obstacle.”

Participant 6 explained the main reason for violence and murder, which is the most extreme form of violence, as society's lack of education:

“People need to be educated first. I can write a thesis for the answer to this question. It is necessary to tell the woman that she is a woman and the man that she is a human, and to teach that life is given to her people. A memory should not be created for the murders of women. A memory must be created to prevent femicide. The fact that women are seen as powerless by society, that they do not have economic power, that they are not independent, and that they feel insecure and inadequate causes them to remain silent about violence.”

DISCUSSION

Based on the answers, it was concluded that the past was used as a reference in the news about femicide. At the same time, it was revealed that the participants did not engage in anniversary journalism about femicide much, though. The importance of news language in the production of news about femicide was emphasized by all participants. It was stated by all the participants that tabloid language should be avoided in such type of news. In addition, Participants 4 and 5, who work in mainstream newspapers, stated that the number of male employees in newspapers is higher than that of female

employees. Due to the high number of male employees, it is assumed that masculine language is used in the news.

It is thought that the short answers given by Participant 6, who works for a newspaper known to be much closer to the government, are related to the ideological thought of the institution she works for. From the answers given by Participants 2 and 3, who work for newspapers associated with the political opposition, it is estimated that the ideology of the institution positively affects news production. Participant 1, on the other hand, approaches the subject from a different point of view than Participant 6 due to the socialist tendency of the institution she works for, despite working in a newspaper also known for its closeness to the government.

The news of femicide and violence against women is shaped according to society's value judgments. However, mass media is the most effective tool used to influence and manage the attitudes and thoughts of individuals on any subject. For this reason, the representation of women in television and newspaper news indirectly affects the attitudes and behaviors of individuals.

The main reason for violence by men against women is the continuation of the dominant gender order in society. Journalists, who inform the public, affect the attitudes and behaviors of individuals, create the first written documents of events, and play an essential role in forming collective memory, should produce conscious news on gender equality. Most journalists report an event within the framework of a particular ideology and thought, forgetting or unconsciously that they are writing about an event that will be remembered forever.

CONCLUSION

Although female journalists try to be conscious of the language of the news while producing news about femicide, it is seen that femicide news is produced in masculine language due to the ownership of the media organization and the ideology of the media organization. It is seen that "rights-based journalism" remains only in theory in news reports about femicide, and it cannot be implemented in practice despite the

participants' will to do so. Political obstacles, ideological views, and ownership of media outlets have prevented the defense of women's right to life. The changing ethics of journalism due to digitalization has also caused the news to evolve into "click-bait journalism." The news produced on the internet has started to be seen only as a source of financial income through clicks and advertisements, and the purpose of the news to inform has been ignored.

Every story about social events takes its place in our memory. As a result, journalists, who have an essential power in shaping collective memory, should think about how they will be remembered and convey the appropriate message to society, especially when writing "violent" news.

Preprint

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- Acar-Savran, G. (2021, January 5). *Patriyarka* [Patriarchy]. Retrieved from Feminist Bellek: <https://feministbellek.org/patriyarka/>
- Akkaya, Ö. (2019). Gazetecilik Kendi Geçmişini Yazarken: Bir Hatırlama Figürü Olarak Metin Göktepe ve Hak Gazeteciliği [As Journalism Writes Its Past: Metin Göktepe and Rights Journalism as a Figure of Remembrance]. In T. Durna, M. Binark, & G. Bayraktutan (Eds.), *İletişim Hakkı ve Yeni Medya Tehditler ve Olanaklar* (pp. 53-82). Ankara: um:ag Vakfı Yayınları.
- Alankuş, S. (2007). Önsöz. In S. Alankuş, *İnsan Hakları Haberciliği* [Human Rights Journalism]. İstanbul: IPS İletişim Vakfı Yayınları.
- Althusser, L. (2014). *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*. New York: Verso.
- Anıt Savaş. (n.d.). *Şiddetten Ölen Kadınlar İçin Anıt Savaş*. Retrieved from Anıt Savaş: <http://anitsayac.com/>
- Arslan, G. (2004, July 8). Birleşmiş Milletler Kadınlara Karşı Her Türlü Ayrımcılığın Ortadan Kaldırılmasına Dair Sözleşme (Öngörülen Haklar ve Öngörülen Usuller) [United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (Prescribed Rights and Prescribed Procedures)]. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 62(1-2), 3-43.
- Arslan, M. (2017, July 25). İktidar ve Medyatik Şiddet: Özgecan Aslan ve Şefika Etik Cinayetleri Analizi [Power and Mediatic Violence: Analysis of Özgecan Aslan and Şefika Ethical Murders]. *Marmara İletişim Dergisi* (27), 135-160.
- Assmann, J. (2018). *Kültürel Bellek*. (A. Tekin, Trans.) Ayrıntı Yayınları: İstanbul.
- Atabek, N., & Uzuntuğ, F. (1998). Haberlerde Çerçeveleme ve Öne Çıkarma [Framing and Highlighting in the News]. *Kurgu Dergisi*, 95-105.
- Atik, A., & Bilginer-Erdoğan, Ş. (2014, January). Toplumsal Bellek ve Medya [Collective Memory and Media]. *Communicata* (6), 1-16.
- Atlan, Z. (2023, January 8). *Kadın cinayetleri neden politiktir?* [Why is femicide political?] Retrieved from Gazete Karınca: <https://gazetekarinca.com/kadin-cinayetleri-neden-politiktir/>

Avcı, F., & Güdekli, A. (2018, December 14). Toplumsal Cinsiyet Ve Medya İlişkisi: Yazılı Basında Kadına Şiddet Ve Kadın Cinayetleri Haberleri Üzerine Bir Analiz [The Relationship between Gender and Media: An Analysis of the News on Violence Against Women and Femicide in the Written Media]. *Uluslararası Kültürel ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 4(2), 475-506.

Aydınlık Gazetesi. (n.d.). *Hakkımızda*. Retrieved from Aydnlık: <https://www.aydinlik.com.tr/hakkimizda-sayfasi>

Başaran-İnce, G. (2010, June 01). Medya ve Toplumsal Hafıza [Media and Collective Memory]. *Kültür ve İletişim*, 13(25), 9-30.

Bağla, L. (1977, January 23). Antonio Gramsci ve Aydınların Rolü Sorunu [Antonio Gramsci and the Problem of the Role of Intellectuals]. *Birikim Dergisi* (23), 82-94.

Berktaş, F. (2003). *Tarihin Cinsiyeti* [Gender of History]. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.

Blatz, C. W., & Ross, M. (2009). Historical Memories. In P. Boyer, & J. V. Wertsch, *Memory in Mind and Culture* (pp. 223-237). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burke, P. (1997). *Varieties of Cultural History*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/clickbait>

Canadian Institutes of Health Research. (2020, April 28). *What is Gender? What is Sex?* Retrieved from Canadian Institutes of Health Research: <https://cihr-irsc.gc.ca/e/48642.html>

Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability. (n.d.). Retrieved from Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability: <https://www.femicideincanada.ca>

Carey, J. (2009). *Communication as Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Connerton, P. (2011). *Modernite Nasıl Unutturur* [How Modernity Forgets]. (K. Kelebekoğlu, Trans.) İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık.

Connerton, P. (2019). *Toplumlar Nasıl Anımsar?* [How Societies Remember]. (A. Şenel, Trans.) İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Coser, L. A. (1992). Introduction: Maurice Halbwachs 1877-1945. In M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (pp. 1-32). Chicago: Chicago University Press.

- Crandall-Robinson, K. (2021, November). *The Power of Women Strike for Peace*. Retrieved from Arms Control Association: <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2021-11/features/power-women-strike-peace>
- Crowley, D., & Heyer, P. (2016). *Communication in History*. New York: Routledge.
- Cumhuriyet Gazetesi. (n.d.). *Yayın İlkeleri*. Retrieved from Cumhuriyet: https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/yayin_ilkeleri
- Çakır, R. (1990). *Ayet ve Slogan: Türkiye'de İslami Oluşumlar* [Verse and Motto: Islamic Formations in Turkey]. İstanbul: Metis Yayıncılık.
- Çetinkaya, T. (2021, July 6). *Militarizm, Savaş ve Kadın* [Militarism, War and Women]. Retrieved from TUIÇ Akademi: <https://www.tuicakademi.org/militarizm-savas-ve-kadin/>
- Düzkan, A. (2021, January 5). *Feminizm* [Feminism]. Retrieved from Feminist Bellek: <https://feministbellek.org/feminizm/>
- Demiröz-Bal, M. (2016, July 1). Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitsizliğine Genel Bakış [Overview of Gender Inequality]. *Journal of Women's Health Nursing*, 1(1), 15-28.
- Devran, Y. (2010). *Haber, Söylem, İdeoloji* [News, Discourse, Ideology]. İstanbul: Başlık Yayın Grubu.
- Dewey, J. (2004). *Democracy and Education*. New York: Dover Publication, Inc.
- Doyuran, L. (2017, July 31). Televizyon ve Sosyal Medya Çerçevesinde Medya Aracılığıyla Kolektif Belleğin İnşası [Building Collective Memory Through Media in The Framework]. *Erciyes İletişim Dergisi*, 5(2), 228-242.
- Doğu, T., & Vardal-Deligoz, M. (2017). Hafıza Kutusu: Bir Kentsel Kolektif Bellek Deneyimi [Memory Box: An Experiment in Urban Collective Memory]. *Megaron*, 12(4), 545-552.
- Dönmez, H. (2010, December 1). İnternet Haberciliğinde Tıklanma Kaygısı ve Kapan Manşetler [Clicking Anxiety In Internet Journalism And "Trap" Headlines]. *Akdeniz Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi*(14), 105-128.
- Dural, B. (201, April 1). Antonio Gramsci ve Hegemonya [Antonio Gramsci and Hegemony]. *Elektronik Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 11(39), 309-321.
- Duran, Ş. (2022, March 3). *Münevver Karabulut Kimdir? Münevver Karabulut Neden Öldürüldü? Münevver Karabulut Cinayeti Nasıl İşlendi?* Retrieved from Onedio:

<https://onedio.com/haber/munevver-karabulut-kimdir-munevver-karabulut-neden-olduruldu-munevver-karabulut-cinayeti-nasil-islendi-1050800>

Dursun, Ç. (2010, January 1). Kadına Yönelik Şiddet Karşısında Haber Etiği [News Ethics in View of Violence Against Women]. *Fe Dergi*, 2(1), 18-32.

Dursun, Ç. (2017). Türkiye'de Televizyon Haberciliğinde Kadın Gazetecilerin Çalışma Koşulları ve Mesleki Kimlikleri [Working Conditions and Professional Identities of Women Journalists in Television Journalism in Turkey]. *15.Ulusal Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi 83. Oturum* (pp. 330-331). Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi.

Dursun, Ç. (2007). Hak Haberciliğinin Doğası ve Olanığı [The Nature and Possibility of Rights Journalism]. In S. Alankuş, *İnsan Hakları Haberciliği* [Human Rights Journalism] (p. 105-127). İstanbul: IPS İletişim Vakfı Yayınları.

Edy, J. A. (1999, June). Journalistic Uses of Collective Memory. *Journal of Communication*, 49(2), 71-85.

Edy, J. A. (2014). Collective Memory in a Post-Broadcasting World. In B. Zelizer, & K. Tenenboim-Weinblatt (Eds.), *Journalism and Memory* (pp. 66-79). Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.

Ercan, E. E. (2021). Kadın Cinayetlerinde İnternet, Haber ve Görsellik: Pınar Gültekin ve Merve Aslan Cinayetlerine İlişkin Göstergebilimsel Bir Analiz [Internet, News, and Visuality in Femicide: A Semiotic Analysis of the Murders of Pınar Gültekin and Merve Aslan]. In G. Kurt, & İ. Çoban, *Yeni Medyada Görsel Küresel Politikalar* [Visual Global Policies in New Media] (pp. 79-102). İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayınları.

Erdoğan, M. (2011). *Medyada Cinsiyete Dayalı Ayrımcılıkla Mücadelede Medya İzleme Grupları* [Media Watch Groups in Combating Gender-Based Discrimination in the Media]. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Kadın Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü.

Erkan, G., & Ayhan, A. (2018, November 1). Siyasal İletişimde Dezenformasyon ve Sosyal Medya: Bir Doğrulama Platformu Olarak Teyit.Org. [Disinformation in Political Communication and Social Media: Teyit.Org as a Verification Platform] *Akdeniz Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi* (29), 202-223.

Femicide Census. (n.d.). Retrieved from Femicide Census: <https://www.femicidecensus.org>

- Garde-Hansen, J. (2011). *Media and Memory*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Gök, D. (2022, April 22). *Avrupa ve OECD'nin Lideri Türkiye: Her 10 Kadından 4'ü Erkek Şiddetine Maruz Kalıyor* [Turkey, the Leader of Europe and the OECD: 4 out of 10 women are subjected to male violence]. Retrieved from Onedio: <https://onedio.com/haber/avrupa-ve-oecd-nin-lideri-turkiye-her-10-kadından-4-u-erkek-siddetine-maruz-kalıyor-1058360>
- Gökırmaklı, I. (2020). *Yeni Medyanın Toplumsal Hafıza İnşası Üzerindeki Rolü: 140journos Belgeselleri Üzerine Bir İnceleme* [The Role of The New Media on Public Memory Construction: A Study of 140journos Documentaries, Master's Thesis]. Retrieved from YÖK Tez: https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tezDetay.jsp?id=oqL8sapUcvnXZsiEb5gjMQ&no=0_1UtwCGOG8jI3duNI2DKQ
- Güneş, F. (2017, July 15). *Feminist Kuramda Ataerki Tartışmaları Üzerine Bir İnceleme* [A Critical Analysis on Patriarchy Discussions in Feminist Theory]. *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2(27), 245-256.
- Güneş, G., & Yıldırım, B. (2019, September 20). *Cinsiyet Temelli Bir Savaş: Kadın Cinayetlerinin Medyada Temsili Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme* [A Gender-Based War: An Assessment on Representation of Femicide in the Media]. *Journal of Society and Social Work*, 30(3), 936-964.
- Gürşimşir, İ. (2012). *Metaforik Bir Kapan Olarak Bellek* [Memory as a Metaphorical Trap]. In P. M. Yelsalı-Parmaksız, *Neye Yarar Hatıralar? Bellek ve Siyaset Çalışmaları* [What Good Are Memories? Memory and Politics Studies] (pp. 19-45). Ankara: Phoenix Yayınları.
- Halbwachs, M. (2016). *Hafızanın Toplumsal Çerçevesi* [Social Frameworks of Memory]. (B. Uçar, Trans.) Ankara: Heretik Yayınları.
- Halbwachs, M. (2018). *Kollektif Hafıza* [Collective Memory]. (B. Barış, Trans.) Ankara: Heretik Yayınları.
- Hall, S., Lumley, B., & McLennan, G. (1955). *Siyaset ve İdeoloji "Gramsci"* [Politics and Ideology "Gramsci"]. Ankara: Birey ve Toplum Yayınları.

- Herdem, G. (2019). *Hacettepe Üniversitesi*. Retrieved from Medya ve Toplumsal Bellek: 15 Temmuz Darbe Girişimi Üzerine Bir İnceleme [Media and Collective Memory: An Analysis on 15 July Coup Attempt, Master's Thesis]: <https://openaccess.hacettepe.edu.tr/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11655/7785/10221462.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (2008). *Manufacturing Consent*. London: The Bodley Head.
- Heywood, A. (2013). *Politics*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Huyssen, A. (1995). *Twilight Memories*. New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.
- İnam, Ö., & Hotun-Şahin, N. (2020, July 30). Kadına Yönelik Şiddetin Türk Medyasındaki Temsil Şekli Sistemik Derleme Araştırması [View of Women's Violence in Turkish Media]. *Marmara University Journal of Women and Gender Studies*, 4(1), 1-15.
- Kadın Cinayetleri. (n.d.). *Medyaya yansıyan kadın cinayetlerinin haritalaması* [Mapping of femicides reflected in the media]. Retrieved from Kadın Cinayetleri: <https://kadincinayetleri.org>
- Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı. (n.d.). *Hakkımızda*. Retrieved from Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı: <http://kadineserleri.org/hakkimizda/>
- KADEM. (2021, March 20). *Tweetler* [Tweets]. Retrieved from Twitter: https://twitter.com/kademorgtr/status/1373216451885207553?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1373216451885207553%7Ctwgr%5E9634740f39f656078d1e2ffe1097af03223fdee7%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.indyurk.com%2Fnode%2F333051
- KADEM. (n.d.). *Hakkımızda*. Retrieved from KADEM: <https://kadem.org.tr/hakkimizda/>
- Karaaslan, F. (2019). *Toplumsal Hafıza* [Collective Memory]. İstanbul: Ketebe Yayınları.
- Karal, D., & Aydemir, E. (2012). *Türkiye'de Kadına Yönelik Şiddet*. Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu Sosyal Araştırma Merkezi, Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği

ve Kadına Yönelik Şiddet [Violence Against Women in Turkey. International Strategic Research Institution Social Research Center, Gender Equality and Violence Against Women]. Ankara: USAK Yayınları.

Kireklo, G. (2022, April 10). *Münevver Karabulut'un katili Cem Garipoğlu öldü mi? Flaş açıklamalar: "İntihar ettiğine inanmıyorum çünkü..."*. Retrieved from Sabah: <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/munevver-karabulutun-katili-cem-garipoglu-olmedi-mi-flas-aciklamalar-intihar-ettigine-inanmiyorum-cunku-5946151>

Küçükvardar, M. (2023). Tık Odaklı Habercilik Çerçevesinde Ekonomi Haberlerinin İncelenmesi [Examination of Economic News in the Framework of Clickbait Journalism]. *Türkiye İletişim Araştırmaları Dergisi*(42), 145-168.

Landsberg, A. (2004). *Prosthetic Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Lippman, W. (1998). *Public Opinion*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publisher.

Mor Çatı Kadın Sığınağı Vakfı. (n.d.). *Şiddet Biçimleri* [Forms of Violence]. Retrieved from Mor Çatı Kadın Sığınağı Vakfı: <https://morcati.org.tr/siddet-bicimleri/>

Mora, N. (2005, May 27). Kitle İletişim Araçlarında Yeniden Üretilen Cinsiyetçilik Ve Toplumda Yansıması [Sexism Reproduced in Mass Media and Its Reflection in Society]. *Uluslararası İnsan Bilimleri Dergisi*, 1-7.

Mora, N. (2008). Üçüncü Sayfada Türk Toplumunu [Turkish Society on The Third Page]. *Uluslararası İnsan Bilimleri Dergisi*, 5(2), 1-15.

Nash, C. J. (2009). Patriarchy. In N. Thrift, & R. Kitchin (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (Vol. 1, pp. 43-47). Amsterdam: Elsevier Science.

Nora, P. (1989). Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Representations*, 26, 7-24.

OECD. (2019). *Violence against women*. Retrieved from OECD: <https://data.oecd.org/inequality/violence-against-women.htm>

Olick, J. K. (1999, November). Collective Memory: The Two Cultures. *Sociological Theory*, 17(3), 333-348.

Olick, J. K. (2010). From Collective Memory to the Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products. In A. Erll, & A. Nünning, *Cultural Memory Studies* (pp. 51-163). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

- Olick, J. K. (2014). Reflections on the Underdeveloped Relations between Journalism and Memory. In B. Zelizer, & K. Tenenboim-Weinblatt (Eds.), *Journalism and Memory* (pp. 17-31). Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Ordu, E. (2019, April 12). *Evinin Önünde Bıçaklı Saldırıya Uğradı: 20 Yaşındaki Balerin Ceren Özdemir Hayatını Kaybetti*. Retrieved from Onedio: <https://onedio.com/haber/evinin-onunde-bicakli-saldiriya-ugradi-20-yasindaki-balerin-ceren-ozdemir-hayatini-kaybetti-891136>
- Özbaş, Z. (2014, April 07). Cinsel Silah ve “Grbavica” [Sexual Weapon and "Grbavica"]. *Marmara İletişim Dergisi*, 13(13), 171-185.
- Özdemir, Ö. (2015). Savaş ve Çatışmalarda Şiddetin Kurbanları Kadınlar [Women As Victims Of War And Conflict]. *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 8(39), 310-318.
- Özüğurlu, M. (2009, March 01). Hak Haberciliği [Human Rights Journalism]. *İstanbul Aydın Üniversitesi Dergisi*, 1(1), 159-168.
- Özlük, E. (2007). Feminist Yaklaşım [Feminist Approach]. In H. Çakmak, *Uluslararası İlişkiler: Giriş, Kavram ve Teoriler* [International Relations: Introduction, Concepts and Theories]. Ankara : Platin Yayınları.
- Özyal, B. (2016). Tık Odaklı Habercilik: Tık Odaklı Haberciliğin Türk Dijital Gazetelerindeki Kullanım Biçimleri [Click-Based Journalism: Practices Types of Click-Based Journalism in Turkish Digital Newspapers]. *Global Media Journal TR Edition*, 6(12), 273-301.
- Öğrenene, A., & Bakırcı, Ç. M. (2022, December 18). *Nanking Katliamı Nedir? 2. Japon-Çin Savaşında Nanking'de Yapılan Katliam Nasıl Gelişti?* Retrieved from Evrim Ağacı: <https://evrimagaci.org/nanking-katliami-nedir-2-japoncin-savasinda-nankingde-yapilan-katliam-nasil-gelisti-13591>
- Parlak, D. (2021, April 16). *Marksist Feminizm* [Marxist Feminism]. Retrieved from Feminist Bellek: <https://feministbellek.org/marksist-feminizm/>
- Peker, B. (2021, July 7). *Dayağa Karşı Kampanya*. Retrieved from Feminist Bellek: <https://feministbellek.org/dayaga-karsi-kampanya/>
- Philips, D. C. (2014). *Encyclopedia of Educational Theory and Philosophy*. London: SAGE Publications.

- Polat, O. (2016, March 14). Şiddet [Violence]. *Marmara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Hukuk Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 22(1), 15-34.
- Portelli, H. (1982). *Gramsci ve Tarihsel Bellek* [Gramsci and Historical Memory]. Ankara: Savaş Yayınları.
- Rigel, N. (2000). *İleti Tasarımında Haber* [News in Message Design]. İstanbul: Der Yayınları.
- Süllü, S. (2014). Kadına Yönelik Şiddet Haberlerinde Etik: Sarai Sierra Örneği ve 'Diğerleri'. *Emek ve Temsil Ekseninde Günümüz Medyasında Kadınlar* [Ethics in the News of Violence Against Women: The Case of Sarai Sierra and 'Others.' Women in Today's Media on the Axis of Labor and Representation] (pp. 32-33). Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi.
- Sancar, M. (2016). *Geçmişle Hesaplaşma* [Reckoning with the Past]. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Schudson, M. (1989). The Sociology of News Production. *Media, Culture and Society*, 263-288.
- Schudson, M. (1993). *Watergate In American Memory: How We Remember, Forget, And Reconstruct the Past*. New York: Basic Books.
- Schudson, M. (1997). Dynamics of Distortion on Collective Memory. In D. L. Schacter, *How Minds, Brains and Societies Reconstruct the Past* (pp. 346-364). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Schudson, M. (2014). Journalism as a Vehicle of Non-Commemorative Cultural Memory. In B. Zelizer, & K. Tenenboim-Weinblatt (Eds.), *Journalism and Memory* (pp. 85-96). Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Serdar-Tekeli, E. (2016, June 1). Kadın Cinayetlerinin Haberleştirilmesi Bağlamında Medya Etiğini Yeniden Tartışmak: Habertürk Gazetesi Örneği [Rediscussing Media Ethics in The Context of Femicide News: The Case of Habertürk Newspaper]. *Abant Kültürel Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 1(1), 129-142.
- Sevim, A. (2005). *Feminizm* [Feminism]. İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları.
- Spinelli, B. (2011). *Femicide and Femicide in Europe Gender-Motivated Killings of Women as a Result of Intimate Partner Violence*. United Nations, Manifestation of Femicide and Femicide in EU Countries, New York.

Şaşmaz, H., & Zeybek, M. (2022, July 1). *Pınar Gültekin cinayeti davasında önemli gelişme: Avcı kardeşler...* Retrieved from Sabah: <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/son-dakika-pinar-gultekin-cinayeti-davasinda-onemli-gelisme-avci-kardesler-6058400>

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı İletişim Başkanlığı. (n.d.). *Türkiye'nin İstanbul Sözleşmesi'nden Çekilmesine İlişkin Açıklama* [Statement on Turkey's Withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention]. Retrieved from Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı İletişim Başkanlığı: <https://www.iletisim.gov.tr/turkce/haberler/detay/turkiyenin-istanbul-sozlesmesinden-cekilmesine-iliskin-aciklama>

Taş, G. (2016). Feminizm Üzerine Genel Bir Değerlendirme: Kavramsal Analizi, Tarihsel Süreçleri ve Dönüşümleri [A General Evaluation of Feminism: Its Conceptual Analysis, Historical Process and Changes]. *Akademik Hassasiyetler*, 3(5), 163-175.

Tahaoğlu, Ç. (2017, May 17). *Dayağa Karşı Yürüyüşün 30. Yıldönümünde Kadınlar Anlattı*. Retrieved from Bianet: <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/kadin/186540-dayaga-karsi-yuruyus-un-30-yildonumunde-kadinlar-anlattı>

Tahaoğlu, Ç., & Akgül, E. (2014). *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Odaklı Habercilik [Gender-Focused Journalism]*. İstanbul: Yaylacık Matbaacılık Ltd.

Tahaoğlu, Ç., & Akgül, E. (2018). *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Odaklı Habercilik El Kitabı [Gender-Focused Journalism Handbook]*. İstanbul: IPS İletişim Vakfı.

Tekvar, S. O. (2016). Kadın Gazeteci Olmak: Uçan Haber “Kadın ve Medya” Özel Sayısının İncelenmesi [Being a Woman Journalist: Analyzing Uçan Haber “Women and Media” Special Issue]. *Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 6(2), 435-445.

Tokdoğan, N. (2013, September 24). Hak Haberciliğinde Temel Bir Uğrak: Kadın Odaklı Habercilik ve JİNHA Örneği [An Essential Moment in Human Rights Journalism: Women-Based Reporting and JİNHA]. *Mülkiye Dergisi*, 37(3), 9-36.

Tokgöz, O. (1981). *Temel Gazetecilik [Basic Journalism]*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Fakültesi Yayınları.

Tümay, M. (n.d.). *Kadın Cinayetlerini Konu Alan Haberler Sorununun Bir Parçası*. Retrieved from Türkiye Etik Gazetecilik Koalisyonu: <https://etikgazetecilik.org/blog/kadin-cinayetlerini-konu-alan-haberler-sorununun-bir-parcasi/>

Uğur-Tanrıöver, H. (2007). Medyada Kadınların Temsil Biçimleri ve Kadın Hakları İhlalleri [Representation of Women in the Media and Violations of Women's Rights]. In S. Alankuş, *Kadın Odaklı Habercilik* [Women-Focused Journalism] (pp. 149-166). İstanbul: IPS İletişim Vakfı Yayınları.

Uluslararası Kadın Radyo ve Televizyon Çalışanları derneği. (2022). *Kadın Gazeteciler İçin Güvenlik El Kitabı: Ne Yapmalı...?* [Safety Handbook for Women Journalists: What to Do...?] İstanbul: Epsilon Yayınevi.

United Nations. (n.d.). *World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, 1993*. Retrieved from United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/about-us/history/vienna-declaration>

UNODC. (2021). *Killings of Women and Girls by Their Intimate Partner or Other Family Members*. Vienna: United Nations Office in Drugs and Crime.

UNODC, UN Women. (2022). *Gender-Related Killings of Women and Girls (Femicide/Feminicide)*. Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women.

UNWOMEN. (n.d.). *Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women*. Retrieved from United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women: <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>

Venedik, Y. (2020, July 21). *Acı Haber Geldi: Muğla'da Kayıp Olan Üniversite Öğrencisi Pınar Gültekin'in Cesedi Ormanlık Alanda Bulundu*. Retrieved from Onedio: <https://onedio.com/haber/aci-haber-geldi-mugla-da-kayip-olan-universite-ogrencisi-pinar-gultekin-in-cesedi-ormanlik-alanda-bulundu-911847>

We Will Stop Femicide Platform. (n.d.). Retrieved We Will Stop Femicide Platform: <https://www.kadincinayetlerinidurduracagiz.net>

We Will Stop Femicide Platform. (2022). *Veriler* [Data]. Retrieved from We Will Stop Femicide Platform: <https://kadincinayetlerinidurduracagiz.net/kategori/veriler>

WHO. (2021, March 9). *Violence Against Women*. Retrieved from World Health Organization: <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women>

Womankind Worldwide. (n.d.). Retrieved from Womankind Worldwide: <https://www.womankind.org.uk>

- Women for Women International. (n.d.). Retrieved from Women for Women International: <https://www.womenforwomen.org>
- Wood, E. J. (2010). Sexual Violence During War: Toward an Understanding of Variation . In L. Sjoberh, & S. Via, *Gender, War and Militarism Feminist Perspectives* (pp. 124-137). United States of America: Praeger Security International.
- Yakıt-Ak, E. (2018, August). Savaş ve Kadın [War and Women]. *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 11(58), 931-936.
- Yalçın, M. (2023, April). Travma Bilgisine Dayalı Yaklaşımın Şiddete Maruz Bırakılan Kadınlarla Çalışmalarda Kullanımı [Use of Trauma-informed Approach in Studies on Women Subjected to Violence]. *Toplum ve Sosyal Hizmet*, 34(2), 513-526.
- Yağlı, S. (2007, February 15). Haber ve İdeoloji İlişkisi: Haber Metinlerinde Gerçekliğin Sunumu [Relationship between News and Ideology: Presentation of Reality in News Texts]. *Yeni Düşünceler* (2), 337-353.
- Yağmur, A. (2022, July 3). Özgecan Aslan'ı vahşice katledenlerden biri olan Fatih Gökçe, cinsel saldırı suçundan da ceza aldı. Retrieved from Cumhuriyet: <https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/turkiye/ozgecan-aslani-vahsice-katledenlerden-biri-olan-fatih-gokce-cinsel-saldiri-sucundan-da-ceza-aldi-1954099>
- Yaylagül, L. (2006). *Kitle İletişim Kuramları* [Mass Communication Theories]. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları.
- Yazar, R. G. (2020, October 17). *TAÜ Medya ve İletişim Kulübü*. Retrieved from MİK Portal: <https://medyaveiletisim.kulup.tau.edu.tr/toplumsal-cinsiyet-nedir/>
- Yıldız, A. (2019, June 1). Toplumsal Bellekten Bireysel Belleğe: İki Örnek Bağlamında Altan Öymen'in Anılarında "Öfkeli Yıllar" [From Social Memory To Individual Memory:Two Case Studies In The Memories Of Altan Öymen "Öfkeli Yıllar"]. *Nişantaşı Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 1(7), 89-109.
- Yükler, S. (2022, June 24). *İstanbul Sözleşmesin'nden Çıkan Süreçte LGBTİ+'lar Nasıl Kriminalize Edildi?* Retrieved from Heinrich Böll Stiftung Derneği Türkiye Temsilciliği: <https://tr.boell.org/tr/2022/06/24/istanbul-sozlesmesinden-cikilan-surecte-lgbtilar-nasil-kriminalize-edildi>
- Zelizer, B. (1992). *Covering the Body: The Kennedy Assassination, The Media and Sharpening of Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Zelizer, B. (2014). Memory as Foreground Journalism as Background. In B. Zelizer, & K. Tenenboim-Weinblatt (Eds.), *Journalism and Memory* (pp. 32-49). Hampshire: Palgrave McMillan.

Zelizer, B., & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K. (2014). Journalism's Memory Work. In B. Zelizer, & K. Tenenboim-Weinblatt (Eds.), *Journalism and Memory* (pp. 1-14). Hampshire: Palgrave McMillan.

Preprint