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**University
of Glasgow**

School of Social and Political Sciences

**The social construction of Intimate-partner
Femicide in the Cypriot news media: A Critical
Gender-Frame Analysis**

September 2023

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**Presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the Degree of MSc Sociology**

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I dedicate this thesis to all the femicide victims and their families. I hope this study will contribute even a little to the creation of awareness in the media and the public of the importance of prevention and education against all forms of gender and domestic violence, as to eradicate the epidemic of femicides in our small island and globally. Some small but important ‘steps’ have been taken in this direction, nevertheless much more is required by the state, the social institutions and the society in general.

In completing this study, there are many people deserving of thanks. First of all, a big thanks to my supervisor Dr. Francesca Scrinzi who directed me step by step during the process of drafting each chapter; her advice helped me to enhance my research and analytical skills. I would also like to thank my family and close friends for supporting me psychologically during the writing of my dissertation.

This study is...

*for Christina, Stavroulla, Georgia, Margarita, Alik, Daniela, Zoe, Galina, Burjew, Gamze, Halime, Giulbahar, Servinç, Sofia, Ghada, Niki, Iryna, Janice, Androula, Natalia, Giorgoulla, Liliana, Zehier.....
and all the other “anonymous” women that did not gain recognition...*

for all the femicide victims in Cyprus and all around the world. For all the victims of gender and domestic violence....

for all the wrong conclusions, mishandling, late or none administration of justice and vindication by the Police, the Social Welfare Services, the Mental Health Services, the Forensic Department...

for the double victimisation the families of femicide victims experienced or are still experiencing by the state and society....

for social change and a more egalitarian society...For the hope of a better tomorrow with equality and justice...

ABSTRACT

Intimate-partner violence as a form of domestic and gender-based violence constitutes a global social phenomenon that contradicts women's rights, with femicides being its culmination. In this framework, the case of Cyprus is a prominent example for the study of femicide, as femicide killings have been rampant throughout the decades, which can be explained when considering the country's history of gender nationalism and religion. However, there have been some steps towards social change, with landmark the establishment of the criminalisation of femicide in 2022.

In this path, the media play a crucial role socially constructing the phenomenon in the context of recent politicisation of violence against women, thus media framing of femicide functions as an important and interesting unit of analysis. Therefore, this study's research question is how the Cypriot news media socially construct intimate-partner femicide through the use of frames of gender; in order to answer this, an extensive data sample that consists of articles of all the Cypriot digital newspapers that refer to femicide incidents that occurred during the decade of 2012-2023 or to the phenomenon of femicide in general were collected. The study's objective is to identify and analyse the social collective gender representations that emerge from the news framing of femicide, more specifically analysing the language, phrasing and tone used and the addition or absence of femicide incidents in their agenda, based on a feminist and social constructivist theoretical background, using as methodology a critical gender-frame analysis.

The results showcase many similarities but also some differences with previous research on media-framing of femicide; these include recurring patterns of gender-framing of the victim, the perpetrator, and violence against women, or femicide as a social problem. These gender frames consequently construct on the one hand, a sexist representation and on the other hand, femicide is constructed as a public social problem through links with violence against women and social structures.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Intimate-partner violence as a form of gender-based violence constitutes a global social phenomenon (Sparango, 2019) that contradicts women's rights (Bouzerdan and Woodring, 2018), with femicides being its culmination. In this framework, the case of Cyprus is a prominent example for the study of femicide, as violence against women and femicide killings have been rampant throughout the decades. According to Eurostat (2022) statistics on femicide rates in Europe for the last two decades, Cyprus is mainly among the top 17 countries (out of a total of 38) - being in the top 5 the last three years - with the largest rate of femicides in proportion to the total population.

Gender-based Violence in Cyprus: Historical background

This immense number of femicides can be partially attributed to the affiliation between gender relations and the complex history of the country, which renders Cyprus an interesting case study. The gender order in Cyprus - as in almost all countries - is founded upon gender differences and dichotomies that interplay with religious and nationalistic doctrines constructing a patriarchal foundation of power relations that position women as “the other” (Cockburn, 2004). As orthodox christianity is deeply rooted in Cyprus’ social structure, the Church can interfere in state matters and prevent or enforce policies-legislations against women’s rights and freedom. For example, the legalisation of abortion was only recently established (in 2018) in contrast to other European countries, because of the Church’s refusal and public “war” against it. However, as part of Cyprus’ process of secularisation, abortion was permitted under specific circumstances (Global Citizen Solutions, 2022).

Furthermore, gender differences are cultivated from childhood through socialisation processes and institutions such as the family, education, politics and religion, drawing lines and shaping the relations between men and women as well as constructing their identities, roles and social status. These lines establish and justify discourses of exclusion, inequities and violence in relation to gender hierarchies and norms (Cockburn, 2004) that are diffused, enforced and internalised as universal gender expectations and prescriptions. Taking again as an example the institution of religion in the country, which is the Cyprus Church, such lines can be evidenced. The Cyprus Church promotes the value of virginity and motherhood as the exaltation of women which finds its highest expression in the face of Virgin Mary. This personification of virginity and motherhood is imposed upon women as their natural role in society, with the Church preaching that this “peculiarity” of woman and the functions she performs make her undoubtedly an equal member to man (Christodoulou, 2009).

As a result, this stereotypical representation of women cultivates a gender system-order (Cockburn, 2004) which articulates women’s agency in all aspects of social life. For example, as the Cyprus Church preaches “no woman without man in the face of the Lord” [translation] (Christodoulou, 2009: par.1), heterosexual relations and the institution of marriage are diffused as natural and holy, with women promoted as in need of romantic and marital relations with men, thus unable to achieve self-realisation and self-fulfilment by themselves. Additionally, women’s expected role is to “serve” their men by becoming mothers, which is the only way for them to fulfil their role in society, stimulating their subjugation or even the naturalisation of gender domestic violence as a private family matter between the couple. Thus, these lines nurture all Cypriot citizens into a binary and heteronormative gender order with gender dichotomies that

“force” them “to negotiate a relationship to the man/woman dyad” (Cockburn, 2004: 27), contriving not only their agency and behaviour but also their sense of the self.

Beyond religion as an influential element in the construction of Cyprus’ gender structure, the context of nationalism, peace and conflict (Kamenou, 2020) should be examined in order to understand gender inequality that contributes to violence towards women. Tracing back to Cyprus’ history of colonialism as a prior colony of Britain, partitioning between the country’s north and south side after the Turkish invasion in 1974 where Turkey occupied the north side constituting “the Cyprus problem”, and ethnonational conflict that was cultivated between the two large ethnotic communities living in the country - greek-cypriots and turkish-cypriots, nationalism has become the “dominant element of the country’s sociopolitical life” (Kamenou, 2020: 2). With the national problem and the debate between the two communities constructing individual and collective identities (Cockburn, 2004) and shaping all aspects of “the political”, exclusions of other deficiencies and problems in the Cypriot society, such as gender and sexuality inequalities, are produced and perpetuated (Kamenou, 2020), “rendering feminist concerns and women’s activism as less politically important—if not as apolitical” (Kamenou, 2020: 3) and overshadowing their role in conflict resolution and peace negotiations.

Gender Violence in Cyprus: Policy and Media Coverage

All these factors contribute to the large magnitude of gender violence - and femicides - in Cyprus. Incidents of such violence are not systematically recorded and often dismissed or classified in the category of homicide/manslaughter by the Cyprus Police, which is an indicative sign of public perceptions of the issue as not noteworthy or not requiring public awareness. Thus, a partial image of the rates of gender and domestic violence in Cyprus can be retrieved only by

the numbers of women that received help by the *Association for the Prevention and Handling of Violence in the Family (SPAVO)*. However, it should be considered that not all women that are victims/survivors of such violence report the issue or seek help. According to SPAVO's statistics (2022), in the last decade they have received approximately 8-10 incidents of domestic and intimate-partner violence daily.

As a response to this, feminist activism, women's movements, organisations and NGOs became prominent in Cyprus, providing visibility and recognition of several issues of women. Some of these include the *Cyprus Women's Lobby*¹, the *Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies (MIGS)*², and specifically in the area of domestic and gender violence, the *Association for the Prevention and Handling of Violence in the Family (SPAVO)*³ represents a crucial step towards the integration of violence against women in legal and political debates for its prevention and protection of women and their rights.

The aforementioned and other organisations and movements have mobilised social and political refiguration and the establishment of a legal framework for domestic and gender violence. However, the legislation in Cyprus regarding violence against women is very limited, being just a mere implementation of European Acts without considering national specificities regarding the issue. Nevertheless, these legislative establishments have inspired and founded actions and initiatives taken upon the Republic of Cyprus, such as the formation of an *Advisory Committee*

¹ the *Cyprus Women's Lobby* aims to promote gender equality and women's empowerment in regards to discrimination and violence against women and their participation and active involvement in decision making processes (European Women's Lobby, 2018).

² MIGS is another NGO that has been crucial in the combat of gender inequality in civil society bringing "together stakeholders on topics like trafficking, parental leave, female genital mutilation, and violence against women." (MIGS, n.d.: par. 1).

³ SPAVO's goals are to provide direct help, shelter, information and counselling to domestic violence victims, theoretical and practical training to volunteers, raise awareness about the social phenomenon of domestic violence, "locate shortcomings and weaknesses in legislation and formal procedures and submit suggestions to the related national services in order to undertake correctional measures and develop a wider policy of domestic violence." (SPAVO, n.d.: par.3)

on the *Prevention and Combat of Violence in the Family* which forwarded action plans such as the *National Action Plan for the Prevention & Combating of Domestic Violence (2017-2019)* and the *Evaluation Report on National Action Plan for the Prevention & Combating of Domestic Violence (2017-2019)*, and initiatives such as the inauguration of *The House of Woman* in 2019 which provides support, safety and protection services for abused women.

As an outcome of discussions about violence against women, femicides emerged in the political, social and juridical arena, especially in the last two years, as a social phenomenon that requires scrutiny and recognition due to its extensive prevalence in the country. An important initiative for the understanding and prevention of the phenomenon is the *FEM-United Policy Brief Program*⁴ implemented in 2022 by *MIGS* proposing “policy measures and actions for effective prevention of femicide in Cyprus.” (Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies, 2022: par. 1). Additionally, the legal recognition of femicide⁵ was established in July 2022 by the Cyprus Parliament as an offence which carries a life sentence of imprisonment, constituting Cyprus the first European country to legally recognise femicide as a distinctive offence in the context of violence against women. The rapporteur of the law proposal was the President of the Cyprus Parliament, Mrs Annita Demetriou (the first woman in Cyprus holding this position) who has generated several initiatives and actions towards gender equality and social justice in the Cypriot society.

⁴ The program develops quantitative and qualitative data collection tools for the measurement of femicides, the recording of risk factors and the identification of gaps in the immediate response and intervention system. It also provides recommendations for the development of policies and measures aimed at preventing femicide to be implemented by all stakeholders.

⁵ The law was established with 38 votes in favour and 4 against, after years of deliberations. Hence, the 2022 Amendment (N. 117(I)/2022) of *The Prevention and Combating of Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence and Related Matters Act of 2021 (N. 115(I)/2021)* included the addition of Article 10A in the Article 5 of the basic law, referring to the offence of femicide. The article’s paragraph 1 defines what is considered as the offence of femicide, meaning that “a person who causes the death of a woman by unlawful act or omission is guilty of the offence of femicide and is subject to life imprisonment”. The article’s paragraph 2 lists what the court in its measurement and enforcement penalty for the offence of femicide takes into account as an aggravating factor that results to death; these factors are “(a) violence by a sexual partner, (b) torture or violence on grounds of misogyny, (C) domestic violence, (d) violence on grounds of honour, (e) violence on grounds of religious belief, (f) violence based on sexual orientation or gender identity”.

Thus, this shift of femicide from an apocryphal “epidemic” to a public social issue “sparked” a more intensive media attention around the phenomenon, as well as a shift in its portrayal. The news media in this case, as one of the main sources in Cyprus for obtaining information as well as diffusing ideas, function as an influential tool to the construction of the phenomenon, either contributing to its erosion or its eradication. Therefore, the study of the media in regards to social problems becomes important not only because the media are instrumental in shaping public perceptions of the social problem of gender violence, and more specifically femicides, but they are also directly tied in changing it (Taylor, 2009).

Research Question/Aim

Taking into consideration the aforementioned, the study’s research question is how the Cypriot news media socially construct intimate-partner femicide, in the context of recent politicisation of violence against women, through the use of frames of gender. Hence, the objective is to identify and analyse the social collective gender representations that emerge from the news framing of femicide via the collection of extensive data consisting of articles from all the Cypriot digital newspapers; more specifically analysing the language, phrasing and tone used and the addition or absence of femicide incidents in their agenda, based on a feminist and social constructivist theoretical background, using as methodology a critical gender-frame analysis.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Starting with the chapter of the literature review, existing theories and studies will be discussed, having as axis and foundation the feminist sociological theory of gender and violence. This review includes theories and studies about gender, domestic and intimate-partner violence, followed by a section of literature of framing gender-based violence, reaching to the section about femicide; this section consists of global and theoretical perspectives, as well as studies of femicide in the media.

Feminist Sociological Theory: Gender and Violence

The recursion in sociology of discussions regarding gender-based violence originate in feminist theory, emerging as a subsequent of the claims and activism of the feminist movement (Komarovsky, 1991; Chafetz, 2006). These discussions have cultivated new sociological traditions that distinguish between different forms of violence against women and criticise the previous gender-blindness of the field of violence (Edwards, 1987). These distinctive traditions have in common the continuous focus on inequalities, hierarchies, power relations and contradictions in gender systems, the social construction of gender and the quest for social change for more gender egalitarian societies (Chafetz, 2006).

Referring to the dysfunction of patriarchy as a system of gender stratification that produces social disorganisation (Komarovsky, 1991), feminist theory has contributed to the recognition and incorporation in the sociological domain of the concept of family (domestic) and gender violence and their causes traced in social processes and institutions (Walby, 2013). According to Sylvia Walby (2013), this increased visibility of violence research in sociology, and the

uncovering of new violence forms and their interconnection, shifting the sociological gaze towards an aggregation on structured social inequalities as constituting interpersonal violence. Subsequently, sociologists had to develop ways of “defining the concept and elucidating the nature of the relationship between violence and other social forces” (Walby, 2013: 101).

Regarding gender and domestic violence, sociologists have criticised their invisibility in the public sphere (Walby et al., 2014), trying to raise awareness of their importance and identifying deficits in the way they are addressed by authorities. As a “new theory of change” the sociology of gender and domestic violence has developed theoretical frameworks to understand the nature, causes and reasons of their occurrence, accompanied with measurements and collection of data to test explanations of higher or lower violence rates in different times, “locations, groups, policy regimes and social formations” (Walby and Towers, 2017: 12). The importance of this new domain within sociology partially relies on its influence in the recognition and contribution in the criminalisation of domestic and gender violence via the establishment of laws and policies that define them “as a human rights violation” (Swanton, 2019: 160).

Gender Violence (GV)

Beginning with the theoretical field of gender violence emerging in the 1970s influenced by the feminist movement (Edwards, 1987), sociologists have associated the phenomenon with structural and social inequalities embedded in a patriarchal social system that produces male dominance subjugating women, recognising the effects of the influence and reciprocity between the wider societal context and gender performances (Merry, 2009).

An example of such feminist approach is Edwards’ (1987) analysis associating patriarchy with male psychological, physical and sexual force/violence (Merry, 2009), confuting dominant

psychological models that present violence against women as “the product of individual deviance, confined to pathological or exceptional behaviour” (p. 13). She argues that patriarchal oppression and androcentric bias become visible and systematic through male violence against women. Similarly, Hunnicutt (2009) criticises the conventional ontologies and epistemologies of patriarchy in feminist research, employing the variabilities and dynamic nature of the concept as a core theoretical foundation to uncover interlocking systems and structures of male dominance that “contribute to violence against women” (p. 567); this enables the recognition not only of structural and ideological manifestations of patriarchy that cause or trigger male violence against women, but also of intersecting hierarchies and “multiple “sites” of power” (p. 568).

Other theories have been developed around the processes of justification and normalisation of GV induced by structural violence and gender performativity. For instance, Brownmiller (1975) scrutinises the historical and conscious processes that men use to intimidate and keep women in a subordinated state of fear which involve violence [her focus is on rape and sexual violence, but her analysis is important in understanding how violence against women becomes normalised]. She provides visibility on how these processes cultivate male ideologies that socially construct violence against women and render as justifiable the domination of the female body as a demonstration of masculinity and male strength. Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois (2004) argue that violence has to be associated with the perpetrators’ face and motives, hence it is rarely a “senseless” action. From a performative perspective, Merry (2009) describes that “doing violence is a way of doing gender” (p. 11), thus the performance of masculine/male identity entails violent behaviour against women, whereas the performance of feminine/female identity implies acquiescing to violence from men.

For defining GV, feminist sociologists identify several forms which include intimate-partner violence, rape, sexual harassment, dowry-related violence (Edwards, 1987) and other. In this sense, GV consists of both material and discursive dimensions; it is experienced - it involves physical or mental abuse - and also represented - it is measurable, analysed and culturally reproduced (Swanton, 2019). In this way, its conceptualisation includes local manifestations that constitute it a highly variable phenomenon (Merry, 2009), depending “on particular kinship structures, gender inequalities, and levels of violence in the wider society” (Merry, 2009: 1).

In order to develop an empirical field of GV, Walby and Towers (2017) suggest several quality criteria for measuring the gender dimensions of violence over time and between countries, which include gender dimensions, such as the sex of the victim and the perpetrator as well as their relationship, the definition of violence, the survey instrument and the producing indicators from the survey data disaggregated by the gender dimensions and the different forms of violence (Walby and Towers, 2017: 18-19). An example of measuring GV is the research done by Walby and her colleagues (2014) in the UK where they found that “violence against women is almost invisible in police recorded crime statistics” (p. 208), and any incidents of rape, sexual assault or violence that lead to death are disaggregated by the perpetrators’ and victims’ gender falling under the *Sexual Offences* or *Homicides*. They suggest that in order to make GV more statistically visible it is necessary to “acknowledge the specificity of physical violence and not to conflate it with other forms of power” (p. 209), and that a more systematic development and deployment of all categories of GV that cover “a wider range of gendered contexts” (p. 209) should be deployed, which will consequently facilitate more comparability of results.

Domestic Violence (DV)

Domestic abuse is characterised as “an epidemic” (Gelles, 1985) constituting a form of violence tinged with gender dimensions as a ramification of gender inequality (Walby and Towers, 2018) or sexist force and perpetration within the family (Goode, 1971). DV was incorporated in sociology as a research subject from 1970s and onwards (Gelles, 1985); prior 1970s only psychology and criminology were the two sciences interested in domestic perpetration (Gelles, 1985; Walby and Towers, 2018). Since then, they have incorporated a sociological perspective and research tools in DV research “to help establish the nature, extent, and dynamics of family violence as a social problem” (Gelles, 1985: 350), developing new concepts (Walby and Towers, 2018) and collecting data from clinical samples, official statistics, and sample surveys (Gelles, 1985).

For defining DV, sociologists have identified several forms including child abuse-neglect, spouse abuse, wife battering, wife assault, marital sexual abuse or rape, recognising DV as both physical and psychological/emotional abuse (Gelles, 1985). In addition, sociologists have tried to find causal pathways leading to DV affiliated with social and structural conditions-processes which were neglected by other scientific fields, in order to explain the occurrence of DV and its nature⁶. Focusing on feminist approaches, DV is attributed to the system of patriarchy and the socially approved marital hierarchy that normalises male domination (Dobash and Dobash, 1979); the patriarchal social order and family structure can be used to explain the control of women by men

⁶ Resource theory argues that the higher rate of use of DV prevails from family members who have less resources, either financial or cultural (Goode, 1971). General systems theory explains DV as a product of a social system and not as a result of individual pathology, thus it can be maintained, escalated or reduced by social systems (Straus, 1973; Giles-Sims, 1983; Gelles, 1985). According to exchange theory, higher rates of DV occur when the outcomes are more rewarding than damaging (Gelles, 1983); the principles of rewards and costs affect the use of it (Gelles, 1983; 1985). These rewards include the insufficient interference or neglect of violent incidents by social institutions and authorities accompanied by the cultural acceptance of male dominance (Gelles, 1983; 1985).

that leads to a historical pattern of violence against women in the family context (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Gelles, 1979; Walby and Towers, 2018).

On that account, the concept of “coercive control” is brought forward showcasing the gendering of DV, and generating debates regarding the relation between coercive control and physical violence (Walby and Towers, 2018). In the recognition of the gender dimensions of DV, Anderson (1997) argues that “gender interacts with structures of race, marital status, and socioeconomic status” (p. 667) influencing the power dynamics within partner and marital relationships and the predispositions for DV. She also states that cultural norms of masculinity and femininity determine the status relationships between women and men, illustrating that the use of violence is not gender-neutral. Developing this approach, Johnson (1995) distinguishes between two forms, the patriarchal/intimate terrorism and common/situational couple violence, in order to differentiate the level of “seriousness” or risk of different situations of DV (Walby and Towers, 2018). Johnson highlights that patriarchal terrorism is a form of systematic and intentional violence that causes major consequences, whereas common couple violence is not a product of patriarchy, a less minor and life-threatening form of violence and “more a product of...less-gendered causal processes” (p. 285).

A similar dichotomy is also described by Stark (2010) who recognises DV as either ‘coercive control’, or ‘fights within couples involving physical force’, stating that sociological analysis should focus on the perpetrators’ motives and causes. He suggests that the former is “more detrimental to women’s well-being than physical violence” (Walby and Towers, 2018: 11) and contains more gender asymmetries, whereas domestic fights that involve physical violence are not always coercive or controlling (Stark, 2010; Walby and Towers, 2018). In contrast to Stark, Walby and Towers (2018) focusing on the victims and the causes of DV, argue that all acts of

violence entail coercion and control, defining the “domestic” as “one gendered dimension of violent crime.” (p. 12).

Intimate-partner Violence (IPV)

The feminist approach with the integration of gender facets in defining and studying DV showcased that “gender and domestic relations are integral to the analysis of violence” (Walby and Towers, 2018: 26), exemplifying the significance of indicating the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim (Walby and Towers, 2018). Deriving from the intersection of DV and GV (Anderson, 1997; Lawson, 2012), theoretical frameworks and research of intimate-partner violence (IPV) have developed, studying the power structures and meanings of gender in intimate relationships where violence occurs (Merry, 2009), as well as its causes, outcomes, extent and prevention.

Traditional feminist theory focusing on IPV causes, conceptualises IPV “as a multifaceted phenomenon that is the result of a dynamic interplay among individual, relationship, community, and societal factors” (Kelly et al., 2011: 68) embedded in patriarchy. For example, Sugarman and Frankel (1996) correlate the ideological component of patriarchy theory, which includes a critique of attitudes towards violence, gender attitudes and schemas, with the phenomenon of wife assault as a form of IPV. They suggest that existing literature that proposes causality between patriarchy and wife assault is partially supported and requires meta-analytical review in the area of family violence. Another example is Merry’s (2009) analysis, recognising that IPV as violence against women in the home “is shaped by patterns of marriage and the availability of divorce, by conceptions of male authority and female submission, and by the family’s vulnerability to racism, poverty, or marginalization.” (p. 1); hence, it is connected with societal conflict and social injustice.

More contemporary IPV research has generated academic debates which can be summarised down to three areas: “(i) gender symmetry; (ii) causal factors; and (iii) meaningful outcome measures for intervention research.” (Sparango, 2019: 271). Therefore, researchers have established several negative subsequent consequences on IPV victims which “are not restricted to injury, but encompass a broad range of impacts” (Sparango, 2019: 266) and can indicate the gender-(a)symmetry, the roots of intimate-violent relationships and their responses. These impacts include high rates of ill-health and premature death for women (Ayre et al., 2016), physical, mental and psychological problems such as chronic pain, gastrointestinal and gynaecological issues, depression, anxiety and self harm (Rivara et al., 2007; Bonomi et al., 2006; Sparango, 2019).

Kelly and her colleagues (2011) recognise that IPV “can occur in all kinds of intimate relationships” (p. 52) such as marriage, committed relationships or dating relationships. They describe IPV as a pattern and not a single incident, where “the underlying dynamic is power and control of the (almost always) female victim” (p. 52). They also recognise IPV as the most significant risk factor that can lead to women’s homicide by their partner, referring to the phenomenon of “intimate-partner femicide”, and emphasising on the importance of acknowledging the historical, cultural, political and economic processes, as well as the current contemporary context of the intersection of multiple forms of GV as factors for the accentuation of IPV.

As an attempt for a coherent social theory and research of IPV, Finkel and Eckhardt (2013) aiming to “understand the key mechanisms underlying IPV perpetration” (p. 3) develop an advanced theoretical organisational framework for future research in the field of IPV studies. In order to achieve theoretical coherence in IPV research they suggest the use of I3 Theory as a

metatheory which “seeks to establish theoretical coherence by identifying the fundamental processes involved in IPV perpetration” (p. 14). They foster I3 as “a broad, integrative, and generative metatheoretical framework” (p. 36) of IPV that will help researchers in any field or setting advance their hypotheses as well as examine the process(es) in which each factor promotes IPV and their interaction.

Framing Gender Violence and Femicide

Taking into consideration the aforementioned, frame theory is crucial in understanding how violence against women is constructed and interpreted. Frames constitute particular typologies and themes that guide the analysis of social phenomena (Smith and Firth, 2011); there is a multiplicity of compatible or contradictory and oppositional frames. According to Vliegthart and van Zoonenhat (2011: 7-8),

“frames are part of a struggle for meaning between different actors that have unequal material and symbolic resources; that news frames are the result of situated social and routinized processes in which the agency of the individual journalists is relative; that frames used by audiences are the result of socially situated articulations between particular issues, individual and collective differences, experiential knowledge, popular wisdom and media discourse”.

The concept of frame in sociology was introduced by Erving Goffman (1974) who explained how frames function as tools in the social construction of reality. He identified six main characteristics of a frame: that it is a “transformed” action, it “contains its own logic, its own set of motives, its own meanings, and its own activities” (Denzin and Keller, 1981: 55), it contains not only the reasons and the expectations of the involved actors, but also their engrossment activities, and lastly that a keying of the frame induces the interest in others to follow along (Goffman, 1974; Denzin and Keller, 1981). He also distinguished between “real or fictive

sequences of happening”, but recognised that the latter undergo a process of transporting into frames which end up becoming real (Verhoeven, 1985); he states that “actions framed entirely in terms of a primary framework are said to be real or actual, to be really or actually or literally occurring.” (Goffman, 1974: 47).

Moreover, he argued that what is considered real depends on the dynamic relationship between the perspectives of actors that produce the information and the ones that receive it. Thus, frames operate as schemas of interpretation of reality (Denzin and Keller, 1981) and the organisation of experience and knowledge (Goffman, 1974; Verhoeven, 1985). However, he also highlighted that reality is not totally fabricated, but also pre-given (Goffman, 1974; Verhoeven, 1985), making a distinction between actual pragmatic reality and interpreted reality both by the involved actors and the actors that are interested in a specific situation (Goffman, 1974). For Goffman, reality is “an outer happening independent of the individual actor” (Verhoeven, 1985: 76), but it also receives its meaning “from the involved individuals, although they are using pre-given frameworks, keyings” (Verhoeven, 1985: 76) to understand and interpret it.

Deriving from this theory, the concept of media framing was developed in sociology. Several scholars have tried to define media-framing, understand and study its ability in constructing social phenomena, and producing and diffusing ideas and perceptions around them (Gillespie et al., 2013). For example, according to Entman (1993), media framing involves the aspects of selection and salience; this means “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (p. 52). In this sense, frames set the definitional boundaries of a problem, they determine its ontology through diagnosing a specific cause and effect relation, for which they make moral judgments

and evaluations or suggest solutions and remedies (Entman, 1993). In addition, Best (2013) describes the process of the formation of social issues through media frames; he argues that the construction of social problems or the reality around them is achieved in the media through the use of several techniques such as novelty, judging which stories are “more deserving of coverage than others” (p. 131), and avoiding complex stories or trying to simplify them in order to make them more appealing and entertaining for the audience.

Based on these, scholars have emphasised on how frames of gender have been depicted in the media (Bleiker and Hutchison, 2019) and their role in shaping social problems, such as violence against women. Several studies have shown that media gender frames shape gender perceptions of and responses to the phenomenon of GV/DV. However, most of them have emphasised on the framing of the victim, ignoring in most instances how gender frames of the perpetrator influence perceptions of the phenomenon.

For instance, Easteal et al. (2015) reached the conclusion that the messages reproduced in the media are substantially conservative perpetuating salient patriarchal perceptions. They also identified a recurrent theme of attributing the victim’s merit to the responsibility of the occurrence of violence against her, reinforcing sexist gender structures and values; this in turn shapes how violence against women is perceived by perpetrators and society in general, reproducing a culture of fear of reporting and double victimisation and traumatisation for the victims and their families. Similarly, Collins (2016) pointed out that the media distinguish between gender frames of ‘good’- innocent and ‘bad’-deserving victims, by using different language and tone. Overall, she identified the diffusion of images of blaming women for their own victimisation, a frame which results in creating “a discourse that some women are victims

due to poor decisions and lifestyle choices.” (p. 12). This indicates gender biases significantly affect media frames of women in crime reports and how violence against them is considered.

Moreover, Bleiker and Hutchison (2019) explored the links between gender, violence and media images in photographic representations in news of humanitarian crises, finding that visual representations of violence define women’s and men’s self-representations and understandings of their “political capacity, agency and actions” (p. 244). They argued that these gender representations of violence, such as the extensive use of “the mother–child metaphor” (p. 236), are forms of structural violence associated with gender power relations and political and social inclusion or exclusion, entrenching problematic gender neo-colonial stereotypes.

Other studies have shown that the notion of gender itself does not sustain a holistic understanding of violence against women in the media, but an intersectional approach can better demonstrate the problematic media gender frames. This was shown in Hart and Gilbertson’s (2018) research, where they identified that overlapping notions of gender in racialised and classed narratives in Australian media of victims and perpetrators sustain an individualised, and isolated portrayal of male violence. Similar results were discovered by Jackson (2013), who identified gender media frames not only lack marginalised voices purviewing mostly representatives of white male population, but they also provide a contextual reproduction of intersected sexism and racism by framing black men as a threat to society and gender violence “rooted in individual pathology” (p. 16).

Studying in particular the role of media framing in the construction of social reality around the issue of femicide, as “message communication systems and symbols” (Herman and Chomsky, 1988), the media contribute to the manifestation and internalisation of specific ideologies,

lifestyles and understanding of the real world; with their function and ability to deposit the same thoughts and ideas in the mass public (Tocqueville, 1835), they shape perceptions regarding femicide, affect the relative importance attached to it as a social problem, and act as a powerful influence in both the private and public sphere (Maratea, 2008). It can be said that the reform of femicide into a social problem leading to policy development occurs when it is promoted from the media as threatening to the social order, and not just to the victims (Swanton, 2019); the understandings and the framing the media produce for femicide are reflected in public debates, legislation and policy-making (Swanton, 2019).

Femicide

Taking into consideration all the aforementioned theories and research, it becomes evident that the reduction and eradication of femicide and any other forms of violence against women require both scientific and public attention to their gender dimensions (Walby and Towers, 2017).

Global perspectives of Femicide

In these guidelines, femicide has been the subject of policy-making globally for the protection of women's rights. According to the *European Institute for Gender Equality* (2017) femicide is:

The killing of a woman by an intimate partner and death of a woman as a result of a practice that is harmful to women. Intimate partner is understood as former or current spouse or partner, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the victim (p. 11, Table 1).

Femicide is also defined by the *United Nations Economic and Social Council* as “the killing of women and girls because of their gender” (ECOSOC, 2013: 2; Corradi and Bandelli, 2019: 132), listing eleven forms of femicides:

(1) the murder of women as a result of intimate partner violence; (2) the torture and misogynist slaying of women; (3) killing of women and girls in the name of ‘honour’; (4) targeted killing of women and girls in the context of armed conflict; (5) dowry-related killings of women; (6) the killing of women and girls because of their sexual orientation and gender identity; (7) the killing of aboriginal and indigenous women and girls because of their gender; (8) female infanticide and gender-based sex selection foeticide; (9) deaths related to genital mutilation; (10) accusations of witchcraft; and (11) other femicides connected with gangs, organized crime, drug dealers, human trafficking and the proliferation of small arms.

Theoretical approaches to Femicide

Beyond the policy sphere, the notion of femicide was first introduced in 1976 in academia by feminist activists, with the political purpose of replacing the gender-neutral term “homicide” and establishing women’ violent death by men as a distinctive form of crime (Corradi and Bandelli, 2019). Hence, many social researchers have tried to capture the ontology of femicide, identifying its systemic and social causes and forces.

For example, Radford and Russell (1992), and Russell and Harmes (2001) use the concept of patriarchy to define femicide as the outcome “of patriarchal power within the social system” (Corradi and Bandelli, 2019: 131). The former define femicide as the “misogynist killing of women by men” following an intersectional perspective and exploring the different forms, statistics and motives of femicides in the UK, USA and India. They also examine the interpretation and representation of femicide in the media, where they identify patterns of negligence and perceptions of unworthiness of femicide news (Radford and Russell, 1992; Prinz, 1994). Overall, they argue that femicide killings as a significant constituent in the continuum of

the problem of violence against women need to receive further public and scientific scrutiny and recognition (Radford and Russell, 1992; Prinz, 1994).

Similarly, Russell and Harmes (2001), in the context of patriarchy, describe femicide as “the killing of females by males because they are female” (p. 3), aiming to increase the recognition of femicide in the field of sexual politics (Martin, 2002). Their goal is to challenge individualistic elucidations of GV as a private or pathological issue (Martin, 2002), broadening the concept of femicide. Overall, they understand femicide as a hate crime which is part of the continuum of sexism and terrorisation of women (Martin, 2002).

More contemporary feminist theories, utilising the framework of patriarchy, expand the concept of femicide to GV, DV and social structures. For example, Weil (2018) identifies femicide as “the intentional killing of women and girls because of their gender” (p. 1), criticising prior approaches to femicide as being designed on gender-neutral or male-centred meanings. Examples of such meanings include the terms “‘lethal killings of women’, ‘female homicide’, ‘female homicide victimization’ or even ‘manslaughter’” (p. 2). Moreover, she refers to some measures that can function as preventive factors for femicides in Europe, such as the increase of awareness of the issue to the general public through the media, the publication of “reports and articles on the extent and nature of femicide” (p. 11), and the study of family and different ethnic groups in order to identify the multiplicity of reasons of the occurrence of different forms of femicide and ways to prevent them.

In general, all these studies contribute to the recognition of social, systemic and power disparities and inequalities affiliated with gender structures and hierarchies (Weil, 2018), criticising social systems of gender norms and stereotypes; they recognise femicides as intentional killings driven

by the victim's sex as motive, identifying the gender of both the perpetrator and the victim (Corradi and Bandelli, 2019).

Femicide in the Media

Having as foundation this theoretical background there have been several studies worldwide concerning the media portrayal of femicide; these studies reflect on the crucial role the media play in the construction not only of the incidents of femicide per se, but also the victims and the perpetrators. Some of their key findings suggest that the media use codes such as the culpability of the victim, partial or no link between femicides and the broader context of GV/DV presenting them as isolated events, partial or full depiction of the state's and partial or none representation of the perpetrator's responsibility, and the depiction of femicide as a social issue.

Culpability of the Victim

The conclusions of the majority of the studies indicate that the most common framing of the victim is as being culpable and responsible for her femicide, which is achieved by either direct or indirect tactics of victim-blaming. In a few studies it was shown the framing is mostly infused with passiveness of the victims and racialised notions.

Starting with direct tactics of victim-blaming, scholars have identified negative language and characterisations of the victim to be pervasive throughout media templates, depicting her behaviour, actions and personal problems as the causes for the femicide (Taylor, 2009; Richards et al., 2011; Mahadeen, 2017; Sela-Shayovitz 2018; Al Agkmpari, 2020; Gomez, 2021). For example, Al Agkmpari (2020) identified different portrayals of victims and perpetrators in each case differentiating "good", quiet, not deserving victims from "bad" victims who deserved their femicide. Similarly, Mahadeen (2017) discussed the different classification and hierarchy of

victims presented as either culpable by default, or as ideal victims who even capture the image of a “martyr” or a saint-like icon. In other words, morality (Bouzerdan and Woodring, 2020), distinguishing between women who are noteworthy or salient members of society (Gomez, 2021), is shown in the existing literature as the basic direct method which journalists follow to impute responsibility on the victim and portray femicide as self-inflicted violence and murder resulting from the victim’s own wrong choices (Gomez, 2021).

In addition, studies show that the media use as an indirect victim-blaming technique mostly the emphasis on the socio-psychological and demographic portrait of victims (Busso et al., 2020). For instance, Al Agkmpari (2020) demonstrated that the delineation between good and bad victims is infused with emphatic mentions on the ethnicities of both victims and perpetrators who were not Greek nationals, with narrations favouring the perpetrator and blaming the victim if the former was a greek man and the latter a “foreigner”. Thus, as shown by Sela-Shayovitz (2018) the social construction of the culpability of the victim is reliant on the intersection between different positionalities such as gender, social class and ethnic origin.

Moving on, aiming to explain the occurrence of this dichotomy of direct and indirect victim-blaming, Richards et al. (2011) and Al Agkmpari (2020) exhibited that this is attributed to the sources of information and the context in which journalists place femicide incidents. On the one hand, the former explained that this relies on the choice of using public or private sources for information, with the private ones being less blaming than public sources which are used more often as main sources for information in femicide news coverage. On the other hand, the latter determined that the selection of mostly secondary data from the coverage of the local media and their sources is indicative of selection and gender bias against the victim. Similarly, Balica and her coworkers (2022) found that the content of both the victim’s and the aggressor’s social media

profiles, as sources of information, functions as a platform that defines if direct or indirect victim-blaming techniques will be used.

Lastly, a few studies discovered that victim-blaming is not the most frequent frame for the victims; instead the framing of the innocent victim of the circumstances discourse (Gomez, 2021) or a frame in which victims are not discussed are more common. This was shown in the study of Ogunlana and her colleagues (2021), where they found that there were no reflections of victim-blaming but rather a more passive discussion of the victims in the media representations of femicide.

Partial or None Context of GV/DV - Femicide as Isolated Event

Except for the victim-blaming frame, scholars have shown that the social construction of femicide reflects on the integration or omission of a contextualisation of femicide as an outcome of GV/DV.

On that account, most of the studies have found out that the majority of the media made a few or none references to violence against women (Taylor, 2009; Gillespie et al., 2013; Sela-Shayovitz, 2018; Spies, 2020) portraying femicide as an episodic, individual event (Richards et al., 2011; 2014; Bouzerdan and Woodring, 2018; Sela-Shayovitz, 2018; Al Agkmpari, 2020; Spies, 2020; Gallur Santorum, 2022). Richards et al. (2014) concluded that 54% of the articles' titles described femicide as ambiguous homicide-suicide crimes without defining the perpetrator-victim relationship, and 78% of the texts of the articles defined these incidents as DV. Similar conclusions were made by Bouzerdan and Woodring (2018), stating that while journalists have the potential to draw connection frames between femicides and violation of women's human rights via GV/DV, they seldom position femicides in this context. Spies' (2020) findings

also indicate that intimate-partner femicides are framed in the media as isolated incidents rather than a social and systemic problem, entrenching notions of ideal victimhood and failing to capture the systemic nature of GV that is intersected with class and race oppression.

Some other studies have demonstrated that the news framing of femicide either in the context of GV/DV or as an isolated incident lies on the different classification and hierarchy of victims, interplaying with frames of victim-blaming (Mahadeen, 2017; Balica et al., 2022). Interestingly, Mahadeen (2017) saw that the media make links between femicide and violence against women, only in the cases of a “mega murder”, meaning the femicide of a victim that is considered ideal, and not in femicides that are considered as “routine cases” where the victim is depicted as culpable. Also, Balica and her coworkers (2022) observed none or minimum reference to previous violence incidents by the perpetrator against the victim or GV in general, and no connections made to other femicide cases.

Another interesting finding was made in Choquette’s (2012) study; although she identified patterns of contextualisation of violence against women, she found the framing of violence against women via statistical data as problematic. She argued that this specific problem has the opposite result of what is intended for, resulting in distancing the audience from the victim and the actual problem, as femicides and victims have ended becoming just mere quantities. She states that it “is problematic if an audience is constantly bombarded with femicide death tolls because the articles come off as impersonal and cold. Audiences identify with faces: not with numbers. With this type of frame, it may be difficult for an audience to identify with and care about the victims” (p. 70). Similarly, Busso and her colleagues (2020), when exploring the syntactic and collocational level of the language used in the newspapers, found tendencies of

referring to femicides in passive voice and metaphoric language picturing GV as an external force rather than a culprit's act.

Responsibility of the Perpetrator and the State

Another finding from the existing literature stipulates that the media give partial or none responsibility to the perpetrator, and partial or full responsibility to State actors and institutions for the occurrence of femicides.

Starting with the perpetrator, research has shown that his exoneration of any sort of accountability for his actions is sometimes done by framing femicide incidents in a neutral tone without making clear who was responsible, or blaming equally both the victim and the perpetrator (Taylor, 2009; Gillespie et al., 2013; Bouzerdan and Woodring, 2018; Sela-Shayovitz, 2018; Busso et al., 2020). This exoneration is found in some studies to be infused with gender, race and class discourses shaping femicide's social denial through constructions of victimisation and crime, and inhibiting participants from taking responsibility (Sela-Shayovitz, 2018; Al Agkmpari, 2020). Other techniques include blaming external conditions and circumstances as the causes of the femicide, such as jealousy, mental health, loss of control or moral breakdown, love or a crisis in the lives of the victim and the perpetrator (Gillespie et al., 2013; Richards et al., 2014; Bouzerdan and Woodring, 2018; Busso et al., 2020).

Regarding the State being held accountable for femicides, some studies have shown that the media find some fault in government officials and the criminal justice system (Gillespie et al., 2013; Bouzerdan and Woodring, 2018). According to Choquette (2012), mostly the Government as an entity is a safe scapegoating strategy by the media, because "Government" and "officials" are abstract groups. The concept of a "government" scapegoat is abstract because no individual

is identified to take the blame.” (p. 77). This results in absolving the government officials from their crimes and not illustrating the components of the redemption and silencing cycle. She argues that “using the Mexican government as a scapegoat is a safe strategy” (p. 77).

Femicide as Social Issue

Lastly, a framing of femicide which is not included or discussed in the majority of the studies is its portrayal as a social issue. Nonetheless, there are some studies that recognise and acknowledge the potential of the media in contributing to the prevention and elimination of femicide.

An example of such analysis was done by Comas-d’Argemir (2015) who recognised that the frame of partner femicides and partner-violence “as a public problem has improved the quality of the news, but some problems and shortcomings persist in the form of routines that are difficult to change.” (p. 10). Some of these problems are the media’s tactic of dramatisation of events or dramatic lexis and the journalists’ conceptual confusion of terms such as the overlapping of violence against women and sexist violence. Additionally, Spies (2020) highlighted the necessity for responsible reporting of intimate-femicide cases by the news media because it influences the responses and addressing of it as a public social problem. Last but not least, Gallur Santorum (2022) evidenced that the media call upon social and public institutions and actors to be more aware of the importance of their role in the prevention and elimination of femicide, rendering femicide as a social issue of public significance.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

On the foundation of this theoretical background, this research is based on the framework of a feminist constructivist epistemology utilising critical gender framing as research method in order to analyse the media material regarding intimate-partner femicide in Cyprus. Thus, this section includes a discussion of the core ideas of a feminist constructivist epistemology, the importance of critical gender-frame analysis, the methods and research tools used, and the analysis process as well as the limitations and some ethical considerations in the conduction of this study.

Feminist Constructivist Epistemology

Starting with the meaning of epistemology, it is a scholar's direction in approaching and understanding a social phenomenon (Sprague and Kobrynowicz, 2006). Based on Ring's (1987) definition of epistemologies, the known subject of this study is the news media in Cyprus and the object is the understanding of how the news media frames construct femicide.

Taking the concepts of "the known" and "the process of the knowing" deriving from Genova's (1983) theory of the triad of assumptions of epistemologies, which includes the concepts of the knower, the known and the process of knowing, the "knower" and "known" consist of the aforementioned scholars and theories that will function as lenses and determine the process of knowing as the operationalisation of feminist social constructionist epistemology through the tools of media gender-frame analysis. Therefore, the study's research methods derive from a feminist social constructionist epistemology that rejects notions of postulating social phenomena, subjects

and gender norms as objective, static, specific, homogeneous and natural (Sprague and Kobrynowicz, 2006).

In a social constructionist epistemology official knowings and meanings are perceived as not “objective, unbiased, apolitical processes” (Sprague and Kobrynowicz, 2006: 26), but rather as expressions of specific perceptions and views being internalised resulting in shaping the human consciousness (Sprague and Kobrynowicz, 2006). According to Burr and Dick (2017), the core tenet of a social constructionist approach is the understanding and perception of the world, objects, people and events as products of the representation and reproduction of the social world. Hence, the analysis of language, cultural and historical specificity, discourse and disciplinary power, power relations, relativism are key features of social constructivism. On that account, social constructivism problematises the concepts of validity and reliability as well as the notion of a “single truth” disclaiming the ideal of objectivity in social research, and engaging with aspects of human subjectivity and its interrelation with the social construction of reality (Burr and Dick, 2017).

In order to conceptualise and understand the social construction of reality, Mannheim (1936) talked about the concept of ideology. He describes two conceptions of ideology, the total one and the particular one; both of them socially construct the concept of “ideas” as determinants of social actors and their positions in the social milieu, and as products of historical, social, political, ecological and economic processes and structures. This means that according to Mannheim, “ideas” are dynamic social constructs produced, reproduced and transposed by the social environment shaping individual and collective “consciousness”. Thus, “every fact and event...is only explicable in terms of meaning” (p. 61), with the interpretation and conception of social reality being constructed through the interdependence of meanings that are re-interpreted

and sustain its coherence and continuity. In this context, he raises and deals with the notions and amalgamation of objectivity and bias in the construction of “ideas” and ideology functioning as lens for meanings of the social reality.

Developed from the perception of the social world as socially constructed, Schutz (1967) tried to explain the social construction of “common sense” and scientific thinking. He contends that in order to understand this it is necessary to consider what is actual/real in experience, therefore distinguishing between fiction and reality. Therefore, everyday life undergoes processes of time and space successions, as well as hypothetical sense and imaginative presentations to be constructed as an object of a single meaning and sense. Subsequently, “the so-called concrete facts of common-sense perception are not so concrete as it seems” (p.3), but rather constructs containing complex abstractions, generalisations, formalisations and idealisations that require attention by the scientific gaze otherwise “fallacy of misplaced concreteness” (p. 4) will be committed. As a result, both common-sense and scientific thought is infused by intersubjectivity that renders actors’ sense and knowledge of social reality as well as scientific knowledge into social systems of constructs of their typicality.

Moving to feminist constructionist approaches, Haraway (1988) dealt with the academic and activist inquiry of objectivity. In her article she inscribes the production of knowledge “to philosophers codifying cognitive canon law” (p. 575), meaning that knowledge which is considered concrete and objective is actually a social construct and a result of scientific subjectivity. Thereupon, she admits that feminist scholars end up in a paradoxical and dangerous situation: “how to have simultaneously an account of radical historical contingency for all knowledge claims and knowing subjects, a critical practice for recognizing our own “semiotic technologies” for making meanings, and a no-nonsense commitment to faithful accounts of a

"real" world" (p. 579). To achieve this she believes that it is necessary for feminists to build global connections to make possible the translation of knowledge to different contexts and power relations' systems, as well utilise critical theories to build concrete and timeless meanings and embodiments that mediate situated knowledges into processes of subjectification; this is done by acknowledging the agency of the "object" and problematising binary and passive distinctions, in order to capture the social construction of reality, and prevent errors and fallacies in scientific knowledge.

Studying in particular the media's role in the construction of social reality around the issue of femicide, as "message communication systems and symbols" (Herman and Chomsky, 1988), they contribute to the manifestation and internalisation of specific ideologies, lifestyles, meanings and understandings of the real world, where the mainstream neglect or the way femicide incidents are framed in the news agenda are "embedded in the construction of public knowledge" (Walby et al., 2014: 188); with their function and ability to deposit the same thoughts and ideas in the mass public (Tocqueville, 1835), they shape perceptions regarding femicide, affect the relative importance attached to it as a social problem, and act as a powerful influence in both the private and public sphere (Maratea, 2008).

In this framework, femicides are perceived and analysed in this study as the products of social processes induced via the news media. Based on the rejection of the dichotomy between the public and the private sphere by a feminist epistemology (Sprague and Kobryniewicz, 2006), the study tries to capture how macro-scale processes through the media institution produce gender illustrations that operate as the core ideas for the manifestation of media representations of femicide. These illustrations can have the ability to fabricate gender perceptions regarding the

phenomenon of femicide taking as foundation that “questions of gender permeate all aspects of media coverage of violence” (Bleiker and Hutchison, 2019: 231).

Furthermore, from a feminist standpoint partial understandings of social phenomena can be surpassed by critically assessing a viewpoint in a two-sided perspective (Haraway, 1988; Sprague and Kobryniewicz, 2006), which is utilised in the study as a guideline for the critical analysis of the data. According to Haraway (1988), access to two perspectives of one phenomenon can reveal and supplement the limits and constructedness of each other (Sprague and Kobryniewicz, 2006), hence the translation of multifaceted distinct situations and perspectives, knowledges and meanings can operate as rational built-up of a holistic analysis and approach (Haraway, 1988), showcasing the dialectical relation between the subject and the object of a study.

Critical Gender-Frame Analysis

On the foundation of this feminist constructivist epistemology, the utilisation of critical gender-frame analysis as a methodological tool-strategy will enhance visibility on the significant role and effect of news media on people’s reflections and perpetuations of the social world and reality around the phenomenon of femicide.

The reason for choosing this approach lies on the fact that frames are particularly useful in analysis of qualitative descriptive data, “enabling different aspects of the phenomena under investigation to be captured” (Ritchie and Lewis 2003; in Smith and Firth, 2011) and providing conceptual preciseness (Vliegthart and van Zoonenhat, 2011). In addition, they can function as explanatory and helpful accounts for the interconnection of the stages in the process of

systematic analysis from the collection and initial management of data to the carrying out of results (Smith and Firth, 2011).

Utilising frames as lens and guidelines, Critical Frame Analysis (CFA) originated from the theory of social movements and was further refined with gender elements in the field of political science in order to analyse power dynamics and the different representations of actors in policy making (Verloo, 2005; Verloo and Lombardo, 2007, Van der Haar and Verloo, 2016). It was “built on insights from communication research, social movement theory, and critical policy studies” (Van der Haar and Verloo, 2016: 1-2) to mitigate the limitations or issues that arise from qualitative and quantitative discursive research, promoted as an alternative methodology (Van der Haar and Verloo, 2016) for conceptualising and measuring gender inequality (Verloo and Lombardo, 2007).

Moving beyond the field of political sciences, CFA was integrated and further developed in qualitative social research (Smith and Firth, 2011), by providing meanings to the concept of frame and showcasing its pivotal role in transforming social reality as effective on “the classification of spheres of experience into realities that are either keyed or fabricated” (Denzin and Keller, 1981: 55). In the context of the sociology of culture and the media, CFA has been used in order to understand the construction of social issues and social phenomena, as well as gender frames and depictions in the media agenda.

Thus, Gender-Frame Analysis, as a form of CFA, derives from the idea that all social interactions are navigated by cultural beliefs and sex-categorisations of men and women, where gender becomes the primary and fundamental positionality of understanding social reality, shaping and defining social relations (Maher and Tetreault, 1993; Fisk and Ridgeway, 2018). Gender is

utilised by institutions, such as the media industry, as a frame to promote and sustain “gender inequality...in the face of societal change” (Fisk and Ridgeway, 2018: 157) or promote gender disparities as a social problem that requires public scrutiny. For this reason, gender-frame analysis is a useful tool in the identification of causal pathways (Walby and Towers, 2017) of gender inequality frames that “have a powerful effect on people’s understandings of and responses to inequality” (Jun et al., 2022: 1).

The importance of gender-frame analysis is that it enables the recognition of the several ways cultural gender beliefs are diffused through virtual representations (Bleiker and Hutchison, 2019), resulting in becoming normalised shared common knowledge (Fisk and Ridgeway, 2018), constructing and organising social relations and social phenomena based on gender stereotypes and norms. Some of the gender stereotypes that are used as frames of social organisation and social interaction - which will be also used in this study as guidelines-frames of analysing the media content of femicides - is the association of men with agency, dominance, assertiveness, power, competency, and women with communality, sensitivity, responsibility of the family and the house, honour and passiveness (Fisk and Ridgeway, 2018). These social gender differences in most instances correlate to status differences which morph into gender inequality.

Subsequently, gender-frame analysis gives accountability to the role gender as a frame can influence the creation of status hierarchies with subsequent macro- or micro-level gender inequities (Fisk and Ridgeway, 2018), as well as the implicit ways dialogues around gender qualities/characteristics construct social reality via the production, aggrandisement or juxtaposition of sexist gender ideology (Maher and Tetreault, 1993). These inequalities can be produced and reproduced in the context of the media succouring the emergence of systematic inequalities based on gender-frames (Fisk and Ridgeway, 2018). In the media industry, gender

frames often portray images of gender or GV/DV - specifically femicides - as “legitimised masculinized power and dignity versus feminized sacrifice” (Bleiker and Hutchison, 2019: 232). Moreover, gender-frame analysis is quintessential in conceptualising and understanding the use of language in media repertoire as impactful for the self-relevance, significance and legitimacy of a specific social problem and how it should be addressed (Swanton, 2019; Jun et al., 2022).

Methods and Data Collection

Based on this framework, the study follows a qualitative methodology with the collection and critical analysis of secondary data; the study’s data sample consists of 2681 online newspaper articles of the last decade that refer specifically to 26 incidents of “intimate-partner femicides” in Cyprus for the period January 2012 - January 2023, or in general to the phenomenon of femicides in Cyprus.

The reason for choosing the specific form of femicide is that it provides specificity to the data sample (Sparango, 2019), clearly identifying the victim-perpetrator relationship, thus being more theoretically accurate and empirically focused (Gorradi and Bandelli, 2019). Furthermore, having as research focus the framing of this specific femicide form can provide perceptibility on the portrayal of gender notions in femicide-suicide situations, which can only occur in intimate relationships between victims and perpetrators (Gorradi and Bandelli, 2019). Regarding the time-framing of the data sample, it was chosen to be representative of the last decade to show trends of the media repertoire and gender-framing. Thus, in selecting to analyse articles from the last decade can bring on the surface chronic frames of gender (in)equality which “have a substantial ability to impact people’s understanding of and relationship to inequality” (Jun et al, 2022: 2) and determine public responses to address femicides.

Additionally, the selection of the specific archival material is based on the objective for the results to be representative of the media-framing context from the whole country, including national and local newspapers. The reasons for selecting only digital newspapers lie on the fact that not only they are more accessible, but also they can be useful in showcasing how gender-frames construct social phenomena in the Internet era in more implicit and salient ways (Fisk and Ridgeway, 2018). Moreover, the Internet provides a greater range of available information (Maratea, 2008) and heterogeneity, which help in a comparative and multifaceted approach. What is more, internet news platforms can function as a beneficial lens in the investigation of public debate of social phenomena and the collection of collective reactions to them (Bas et al., 2022).

Moving on, the newspaper articles were collected from all the digital Cypriot newspapers in Greek and English language (see Appendix II); the list of the 31 digital Cypriot newspapers was retrieved from the *Cyprus Press and Information Office (PIO)* (<https://www.pio.gov.cy/en/media-list/>). Financial, Showbiz, Cooking, Travel and Sports' newspapers, as well as articles that refer to attempted femicides that did not lead to the victim's death or other types of femicides, such as femicides by family members or perpetrators that did not have any relation with the victim, were omitted from the sample as to be consistent (Taylor, 2009) in analysing only the coverage of intimate-partner femicides. Consequently, the data collection was obtained electronically from the websites of each newspaper using a set of the same keywords in Greek (see Table 1) and English language (see Table 2) to search for relevant articles that refer to the social phenomenon of femicide in general in Cyprus, or to specific femicide incidents that occurred in the country during the time frame of interest.

The selection of the specific set of keywords emerged through the literature review based on a feminist approach to showcase how media framing constructs both the phenomenon and the actors involved; on the one hand, femicide as a natural or individual problem or as a structural gender issue, and on the other hand, the actors involved based on sexist or feminist gender notions. Regarding the newspapers' websites that do not provide the search tool, their whole archival files were browsed for relevant articles. In addition, the information regarding the femicide incidents was gathered from Press Releases by the *Cyprus News Agency (CNA)* (<https://www.cna.org.cy/>) and the *Cyprus Police* (www.police.gov.cy), translated from Greek to English for the purposes of this research. This information can be found in Appendix I.

Table 1: Keywords in Greek language

γυναικοκτονία, γυναικοκτονίες, οικογενειακή τραγωδία, έγκλημα πάθους, έγκλημα αγάπης, δολοφονία, φόνος, φονικό, ανθρωποκτονία, συζυγοκτόνος, γυναικοκτόνος, συντροφοκτόνος, ενδοοικογενειακή βία, έμφυλη βία, σύζυγος, σύντροφος

Table 2: Keywords in English language (translated from Greek)

femicide, femicides, family tragedy, passion crime / crime of passion, love crime / crime of love, murder, killing, homicide, manslaughter, uxoricide, wife / spouse murderer / killer, woman murderer / woman killer, partner murderer / partner killer, domestic violence, gender violence, wife, husband, partner / intimate-partner

Analysis Process

With reference to the analysis process, the gender frames analysed in the study emerged both from the existing literature and after reading through all the selected articles and identifying crosscutting themes. Nonetheless, as it was noticeable that each article can contain several

different or even opposing frames, the title, subtitles and theme of each sentence or paragraph are taken into account, and each article is analysed individually. The characteristics considered to identify which gender frames are used include the language, tone, phraseology, nouns and adjectives for victims, perpetrators, and violence against women, in order to capture the complexity and abundance of gender-frames depicted in the news media.

Last but not least, concerning the process of the analysis, firstly, the gender frames used for the victims, perpetrators and violence against women will be identified and described providing some exemplary excerpts for each gender frame, retrieved from the newspaper articles and translated to English from Greek. All the media gender frames can be found in Appendix III. Lastly, after the description of which gender-frames were extracted from the articles, a critical analysis of how they socially construct femicide will be conducted, based on the guidelines retrieved from the conclusions in the existing literature on the specific topic, combined with the results from this study's data sample, meaning that of a sexist representation and a representation of femicide as a social problem.

Limitations of the study

What is more, I would like to discuss some of my study's limitations as part of the discussion for subjectivity-objectivity and self-reflexivity which are crucial parts of a feminist constructionist epistemology.

Firstly, it can be said that I did not take into consideration the sources of information and financing of the newspapers (Herman and Chomsky, 1988), as I analysed each article individually. To address this I would say that, although the sources of information and financing are significant factors to understand the reasons behind each portrayal of femicide, that was not

part of my research question therefore was not studied; my study's aim was based on the "what" and the "how?" questions and not the "why?".

Furthermore, as I collected only online articles I was faced with the situation that some articles were deleted from the newspaper websites after I had already added them to my archive, thus had to be removed from the final results; this was the case especially with *Cyprus Mail* from which all the articles written before 2020 were deleted after May 2023. Moreover, some of the newspapers were created in 2016, hence they did not have any articles regarding femicides that took place before that period. However, this was partially mitigated as I analysed all the Cypriot online newspapers, the majority of which were created before the year 2000 or during that period. Lastly, I did not fully analyse the chronological differences between gender frames, a fact which can be viewed as a negative point due to the study's large data sample chronologically-wised; for this I would answer that I mentioned some chronological differences which I did not fully cover because my research question was to indicate both theme and time cross-cutting gender frames.

Ethical considerations

In the last part of the methods' chapter, I would like to discuss some ethical considerations regarding qualitative research, subjectivity, knowledge-production, bias and feminist epistemology as part of a feminist constructionist perspective.

Sociological qualitative studies multiple times have been criticised as being subjective in terms of bias, representation, broadness, and specificity. In order to address these issues, the feminist scholar Smith (1990) recognises a distinction between ideology and science describing that mainstream feminist sociology is alienated from social life, meaning that sociologists examine

and define the empirical world through the lenses of conceptual frameworks, reproducing the hierarchy of dominant ontologies and epistemologies. In this context, she argues that feminist sociology should understand “reality” as concerted in people’s action and mobilisation to address material and concrete imperatives and circumstances.

Examples of efforts of going beyond the subjectivity in feminist social studies and disrupting the continuance of dominant knowledge, is the feminist critical race/intersectional theory by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989), and the black feminist epistemology by Patricia Hill Collins (1989). The former provides an alternative feminist epistemology of moving away from analysing individual level factors as single-axis or “exclusive categories of experience and analysis” (Crenshaw, 1989: 139), but rather as intersecting crosscutting factors for discrimination, subordination and oppression. Similarly, Collins (1989) suggests an alternative feminist epistemology based on four parameters that concern the dialectical process of knowledge creation in research through concrete and every-day experience and emotion, and the positionality and biography of the scholar(s). These approaches were implemented in the present study, as intersectional positionality of victims and perpetrators was recognised as a platform for knowledge production via the news media.

However, these efforts showcase the significance of subjectivity and that its removal actually cannot and has never been accomplished (Sprague and Kobrynowicz, 2006), as observations are theory-laden and require back-ground assumptions that produce a system of beliefs guiding scientists’ interpretations, ontologies and epistemologies (Sprague and Kobrynowicz, 2006). The ethical considerations of subjectivity (Denzin and Keller, 1981) are inherent in the field of qualitative social science rendering it an eminent scholar paradigm, as it is the only science that can capture and understand inter-subjectivities, uncover hidden facts (Sprague and Kobrynowicz,

2006) and become the product of self-reflexivity. In this context, my choice of engaging with news “narratives is not only a methodological choice, but also an ethical posture: a curiosity about knowledge and an orientation towards power” (Krystalli, 2019: 174).

Deriving from these ethical considerations it is useful to ask “How does the language in which we write about our research raise questions about accessibility and the politics and hierarchies of knowledge production?” (Krystalli, 2019: 174). The answer of this can be found when addressing my self-subjectivity; as a young European woman from a single-parent (my mother) family, who considers herself a feminist - and was raised as such - my choice of the specific topic followed by the choice of a feminist methodology can be considered as a defining factor for my writing language. My choices can be seen by some as a part of the continuance of the feminist ‘canon’, targeted to an audience of only white feminists. However, my intention is not addressing only white feminists but the society as a whole, as the issue of femicide, that is infused with gender, racial and class notions, concerns every individual, regardless of their beliefs and ideology. Thus, choosing the methodology of gender framing was the most suitable for showcasing that femicide is a gender-related issue based on a gender dichotomy that is “lived” by every person. Last but not least, by analysing the media I do not wish to offend journalists, but rather show the crucial role they play in the construction of femicide and their ability to promote social change (Tocqueville, 1835).

CHAPTER IV

FRAMING FEMICIDE IN THE CYPRIOT NEWS MEDIA

To move on to the critical analysis of news framing femicide in Cyprus, I will discuss a series of gendered frames used by the media in Cyprus to portray the phenomenon of femicide; three main groups have been identified which construct the depiction of the victim, the perpetrator and the integration of femicide in the framework of gender-based violence.

The Victim

Starting with the portrayal of intimate-partner femicide victims based on gender notions, two main groups of opposing media frames have been identified: “the innocent woman” and “the guilty woman”, featuring different language - phraseology, terminology, tone, and adjectives used. All the characteristic excerpts and terminology used for each frame category can be found in Appendix IV.

The “Innocent” Woman

The first gender frame consists of media articles relying their description of the victim on characteristics such as motherhood, ‘fate’, and socioeconomic status, producing the representation of the victim as “the mother” or “the victim of bad circumstances”.

Firstly, the frame of “the mother” is evident by the description of the victim as a mother who is leaving behind her children; children are often described in such framing as bereaved, unlucky, distressed, orphans, torturous, innocent souls and little angels in an unfair and terrible situation. They are often illustrated as tragic figures who witnessed their mother’s unfair death or depicted

as victims themselves after having such a traumatic experience in which the incident happened in front of their frightened eyes. This frame was found 947 times.

The second gender frame used for the “innocent victim” is the “Victim of bad circumstances” ($n=919$); in this frame women are characterised as “unlucky/unfortunate/poor” ($n=791$) and “defenceless/helpless/unprotected” ($n=78$). In this case, women are delineated as being in a state of terrible physical and mental pain, suffering, anxiety and distress, due to the experience of a slow and torturous death, which is often described by journalists as “martyrdom”. In addition, the media also report cases of an incurable illness victims were suffering prior to the femicide, using phrases such as “She was in constant agony and felt that she had lost all her dignity” and “she was suffering from terrible, unbearable pain”, as well as cases of the victim being afraid to report DV. In most instances also her destitute financial problems of being homeless or a migrant/refugee are used to show how unlucky, fateful, conjunctural conditions led to her victimisation. References to her socioeconomic position with positive connotations were found 50 times. In general, women's ethnicity/migrant and foreign status - migrant women are often represented as in need of help and protection and as victims of their patriarchal cultures – function as racialised representations of femininity reinforcing the victimhood frame used for femicide victims.

The “Guilty” Woman

Moving on to the second gender frame group of the “guilty” woman, it includes descriptions of the victim based on her behaviour, social status and negative characteristics she embodies, as well as her negative behaviour towards the perpetrator.

Firstly, it is evident that the victim is depicted as “the whore” or “the gold-digger” ($n=118$), with journalists making references to her infidelity - that she cheated on her husband/boyfriend. Numerous times it is mentioned that she had had “an intense love life with numerous love affairs and partners”, including the perpetrator, from whom she stole money and who sustained her financially. This frame appears 97 times. In order to enhance this portrayal, intersections of gender, race and class are utilised as factors of the woman’s culpability; some references to her socioeconomic status with negative connotations are made ($n=21$), such as her being a foreigner who is a drug user, drunk, or dirty, to indicate her behaviour as the trigger for the perpetrator’s behaviour. What is more, some articles provide inaccurate information about the victim’s age, and misspell or even omit her name from the narrative, especially for non Cypriot nationals.

Besides references to her love life, the victim is often presented as the woman responsible for the separation and the one who abandoned, or annoyed her partner/perpetrator, therefore deserving of the perpetrator’s “punishment”. This representation is found 142 times. Namely, images of her leaving her partner and starting a new relationship, or being an annoying “murmuring/mumbling” woman who causes disputes, quarrels and arguments, and which the perpetrator needs to be appeased from, are graphically described ($n=140$) as the causes of the femicide, functioning as a sort of justification of such violence based on sexist perceptions of women. In support of this frame, a few articles also mention her violent behaviour ($n=2$) towards her partner-perpetrator. These representations prescribe stereotypical characteristics to femicide victims that are often correlated to womanhood in the duality of femininity/masculinity, operating as reasons of her accountability, and showcasing Cyprus’ sexist and racist cultural, social structures.

The Perpetrator

Apart from the use of gender frames for the victim, such patterns are also found in the portrayal of perpetrators. These frames range from the invoking of the hurt feelings of the perpetrator or his individual pathology, to finding excuses or extenuating circumstances that can justify his actions. As a result, three main frame groups are apparent, which are “the partially guilty man”, “the good man”, and “the bad man”, which are stereotypical perceptions of manhood that promote the normalisation and justification of male violence by depicting it as the inevitable result of natural characteristics and relations between men and women.

The “Partially Guilty” Man

The first gender frame found in the portrayal of partially attributing responsibility to the perpetrator for the femicide, is the one of “the jealous man” ($n=160$). In this illustration the perpetrator is represented as a man whose actions are driven by “pathological jealousy” towards the victim ($n=114$). Moreover, references to his inability to accept their separation or divorce and asking for reunion, but being repeatedly rejected by the victim are also made ($n=46$). Thus, the man is not fully responsible for his actions but individual pathology, such as “pathological jealousy” or refusal to accept the separation, which indirectly places the fault on the victim, combined with personal characteristics, such as foreign/migrant status, seem to be the causes for the femicide.

As a second gender frame, journalists use the image of the “psychopath” or the “infuriated” man ($n=383$); they attribute his actions to psychiatric or mental health problems ($n=218$), such as schizophrenia, dysfunctional brain, dissociation disorder or paranoia, making references to his examinations by psychiatrists and admission to a psychiatric institution. In addition to psychiatric problems, fury or rage after an argument, quarrel, infidelity and disrespect or insults

by the victim are outlined as reasons that led the perpetrator to the femicide ($n=165$), describing him as consumed by insaneness, hysteria or rampage.

The third gender frame for the perpetrator creates the image of a man who is a “victim of bad circumstances” ($n=352$), referring to his socioeconomic situation and psychological health state not only as the cause, motive or excuse for the femicide, but also as reasons to empathise with him. For example, the perpetrator is characterised as victim or unlucky ($n=60$) with references to his financial problems ($n=150$), such as being homeless, a drug user or addicted to gambling, and financial differences and disputes with his partner or ex-partner, such as the fact that the victim stole money from him. Regarding his psychological and health state, his remorse and apology and the consequences on his own mental state such as depression, alcohol or drug consumption are adduced as mitigating factors for his femicide act ($n=142$); he is often described as unaware of his actions, vulnerable, devastated, fragile, terrified, in shock, and suicidal because he cannot stand the pain of the loss of his partner.

The “Good Man”

The template of “the good man” is the second gender frame employed by the news media, depicting the perpetrator as a kind of a “saviour” or “redeemer” and thus, the femicide as a “mercy killing”; meaning that he killed the victim in order to relieve her from the pain caused by a terminal/incurable illness such as cancer, or claiming that she herself asked him to do it and that “they had agreed to kill her so that she would no longer suffer from her illness.”. Indicative phrases used are: “she was sick with leukaemia and he couldn't watch her suffer.”, “to redeem her from the torment caused by the incurable disease from which she was suffering.”, “he assisted his sick wife to die”. This frame occurs 270 times. In addition to this claim, references to his good character and beloved personality are supported by testimonies from his relatives and

friends; these testimonies include begging judges to show mercy and compassion towards the perpetrator, and narratives of his loving relationship with the victim and his devotion to the care of his family and partner. The framing of the “saviour” is also accompanied by discussions regarding euthanasia and the deficiencies of Cyprus’ medical system.

The “Bad Man”

The third gender frame used in Cypriot newspaper articles to create the perpetrator’s image is that of the “bad” man; meaning that his infidelity is being reported a limited number of times ($n=11$), and a few times indirectly blame is indirectly attributed to him by utilising notions of class or race. For instance, journalists use classed gender frames that ironically refer to his homeless state or lower class, questioning these characteristics as being capable of functioning as the perpetrator’s motives. Moreover, racialised gender notions are also employed to showcase the “bad character” of the perpetrator imputing his behaviour to a specific ethnic/religious group, by using phrases such as “that’s what muslims do”, “that’s how muslims are”.

Violence Against Women

Besides gender notions in the portrayal of the victim and the perpetrator, three main gender illustrations are evident in the framing of the phenomenon of femicide. Namely, the most commonly used frames are the “Male Violence or Femicide as Love”, and “Femicide as individual and isolated incident with no reference to GV/DV”. However, another frame is often evident mostly in recent years (but less than the other frames), representing “Femicide as a structural social problem - In the context of GV/DV”.

Male Violence or Femicide as “Love”

In the first frame, male violence is propagated as love, as it is characterised as passion or love crime 121 times, with vivid descriptions of emotional fluctuations and tensions in the victim-perpetrator relationship. What is more, it is narrated as a “death rendezvous” between a loving couple, or their relationship as “toxic love relationship”, “fatal relationship”, “fatal passion or love”, providing the explanation of the femicide as an act of love, passion and supreme devotion by the perpetrator to his partner; these feelings are promoted as the triggers that armed his hand or pushed him towards killing her. In this meaning, the result is that “he killed her because he loved her”, he acted out of his love, therefore love and passion are presented as the perpetrator’s motives which render femicide to an “act of love and passion”.

Femicide as Individual/Isolated Incident - No reference to GV/DV

The second frame which is most commonly used in the Cypriot newspaper articles is the demonstration of femicide as an individual, private family issue and an isolated incident; it is renditioned as “shocking/unprecedented incident” ($n=638$), “mystery ($n=15$), “puzzle ($n=98$), “thriller ($n=5$), “tragedy/family tragedy” ($n=851$) and “drama” or “family/romantic drama” ($n=22$). The use of terms other than femicide to describe the incident, with no references to DV or GV enhance this portrayal of femicide as an obscure phenomenon. Specifically, the other terms used to characterise the incidents are “murder/killing” ($n=5996$), “crime/felony/offence” ($n=3049$), “homicide/manslaughter” ($n=686$), “uxoricide” ($n=540$), “carnage” ($n=39$), and “slaughter/bloodbath” ($n=10$).

Furthermore, to sensationalise the narrative journalists use a list of adjectives, such as heinous, gruesome, terrifying, wild, unhuman, appalling, hideous, fateful, brutal, riveting, unbelievable, abominable, creepy, awful, horrible, sad, savage, brutal, and creepy, or phrases like “it causes

goosebumps”, “unbearable pain from her death/funeral”, “a tragic end came upon her”. Additionally, passive voice is commonly engaged to describe the femicide “story”; some examples are: “the thread of her life was cut”, “she was killed/murdered”, “she died”, “her life ended”, “she found a tragic end/death”.

Femicide as Structural Social Problem - A Crime of GV/DV

In contrast to the previous framing category, multiple articles recognise femicide as a structural social problem, promoting it as a crime of GV /DV. This includes five ways of framing femicide; First, as a social problem, second, making references to violence against women, third, correlating social structures and gender inequality with the phenomenon, fourth, interconnecting the problem of gun possession and the occurrence of femicide in Cyprus, and fifth making references to the law of criminalisation of femicide that was established in 2022.

In the recognition of femicide as a social problem ($n=460$), journalists provide femicide’s definitions and meaning, and use the term per se to describe incidents of intimate-partner femicide; specifically the term femicide is found 1251 times, appearing for the first time in 2019 and used more systematically from 2022 onwards. On top of that, they acknowledge patterns of femicide cases by providing statistical data or published research for femicides in Cyprus or globally, in order to illustrate that femicide is not an isolated incident; in this context femicide is described as a “global scourge”, “a silent epidemic”, and a “pandemic of femicides”, with events, protests in Cyprus against femicides being described and promoted. In addition, ironic or even scathing and sarcastic tone and language are utilised to criticise the failure, negligence, indifference, ignorance and apathy by State Authorities in regards to the problem of femicide, highlighting the importance for the issue to gain public visibility and scrutiny as a distinctive offence and social issue. Besides these, criticism is done for portrayals of femicide in the media

by the application of terminology such as “Crimes of passion”, “Tragedies” and for attributing femicides to “Love”.

Moving on, in the framing of femicide as a social problem, many times the phenomenon is placed in the context of GV/DV ($n=123$). In this framework, femicide is displayed as deriving from violence against women, with references to GV/DV by the perpetrator to the victim(s) as the outcome of a relationship of control, domination and psychological violence - and not “love” - between men and women. In some instances intersectional features, such as being a migrant/refugee woman, are mentioned as well, as magnifying factors for potential victimisation of women - DV is exacerbated by the trauma of displacement. In order to showcase the extent of this violence, events, protests and statistical data of GV/DV in Cyprus or globally are provided, accompanied with criticism to the failure, negligence, indifference, ignorance and apathy by the State Authorities for the problem of violence against women. Journalists also call attention to the importance for the issue to be made a priority, through appropriate legislation, sound management protocols and awareness of society.

As part of this framing, femicide as a social problem and the outcome of violence against women, derives from unequal gender relations and structures in the society as a whole, thus in many articles femicide and GV/DV are placed in the context of gender structures and society ($n=101$). Femicide is recognised as murder of women because of their gender, a human rights’ violation and a patriarchal phenomenon; it derives from patriarchy, sexism, unequal gender relations, subsequently being the outcome of the exercise of control over the body and choices of women, rendering women “victims of a rotten, patriarchal system”. In this context, ways to combat femicide and GV/DV are highlighted, which include the necessity of delegitimation of violence through the deconstruction of everyday gender attitudes, perceptions and mentalities

that breed and reinforce it. Journalists also suggest the establishment of effective systems to ensure abused women, especially the ones with migrant status, have access to the relevant service providers, in order to prevent and address violence, exploitation and abuse, as well as the requirement of systematic activities to increase awareness and improve knowledge about preventing and addressing GV/DV.

Following the representation of femicide as the consequence of gender inequality and violence, journalists bring to the surface the problem of gun possession and ownership in Cyprus, recognising that the majority of the incidents were done with rifles and shotguns - but also knives. In this frame, gun ownership is recognised as a means men use to abuse and keep women in a state of fear, and therefore as a factor for the continuance of violence against women. These arguments are supported by the presentation of statistical data of guns as the weapons of committing femicide, alongside questioning and criticism of the Cyprus Government's position in regards to the issue and the limited legislation in Cyprus regarding the phenomenon.

Lastly, references to the new law of criminalisation of femicides in Cyprus are made ($n=175$) with underlying either positive, negative or neutral connotations. These connotations include framing the law in the context of GV/DV and gender structures, and the actors involved as victims or culpable, determining the volume of the importance for the issue to be integrated in the public and legislative sphere as a social gender problem.

On the one hand, positive presentations of the law ($n=123$) include politicians' opinions and statements placed in its favour, and descriptions of it as useful and necessary to give visibility and contribute to the prevention and elimination of the phenomenon of femicide and GV/DV. Additionally, it is recognised as a platform to raise the issues of gender inequality, power and

dependency relations between women and men. On the other hand, negative presentations ($n=47$) include politicians' opinions and statements placed against the specific legislation, with criticism by journalists perpetuating it as unnecessary or unequal for men, but still acknowledging femicide and violence against women as issues of quintessential importance. This is indicative of a partial sexist bias by journalists perpetuating gender positions that place men – femicide perpetrators as the victims. However, there are a few instances journalists are more neutral or are not exclusively against the criminalisation of femicide ($n=5$), but offer some suggestions and differentiations to the proposal of the law.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF FEMICIDE IN THE MEDIA

Looking into the effect that the aforementioned gender frames have on the comprehension of the phenomenon of femicide, with subsequent impact on the addressing and responses to it, I identified two opposing results. On the one hand a sexist social construction of the phenomenon, and on the other hand a social construction of femicide as a public social problem, are perceptible.

Sexist Representations of Femicide

To start with the sexist social construction of the phenomenon, it derives from the sexist framing of the issue in the newspapers promoting a representation of the issue that cultivates the dramatisation-romanticisation of femicide, notions of victim-blaming and perpetrator-absolving, and the justification and normalisation of femicide and violence against women.

Romanticisation of Femicide

From the analysis of the gender frames of the Cypriot newspapers, a tendency of romanticisation of femicide and violence against women is apparent, as it was also shown in the previous studies of Comas-d'Argemir (2014), Gius and Lalli (2014), Sela-Shayovitz (2018), Al Agkmpari (2020), Busso et al. (2020), Bas et al. (2022).

Through the framing of “Male violence and Femicide as Love”, femicides are promoted as “romantic love”, and acts and signs of love or intimacy (Gius and Lalli, 2014); femicide cases are narrated as “love stories” (Busso et al., 2020), signifying the subsequent internalisation and normalisation of male violence as “normal” and non-problematic (Gius and Lalli, 2014). Subsequently, the amalgam of the frames of “Femicide and Male Violence as Love” and as “Isolated and Individual Incidents”, is fused with a coverage of femicide incidents that is characterised by sensationalised and dramatic language (Comas-d'Argemir, 2014; Sela-Shayovitz, 2018; Al Agmpari, 2020; Bas et al., 2022), using a multiplicity of vivid and intense characterisations and adjectives that add a more “mysterious” aspect to the incident. Such framing forms a contextualisation process of the phenomenon as a “private matter”, and a “natural”, single incident driven by romantic emotions as a demonstration of deep love, and not as an act of gendered violence and the result of structural gender inequalities; thus a decentralisation of the framework of violence against women takes place.

Additionally, the combination of these with the frames of the “jealous man” and the “infuriated man” create an illustration of femicide with the theatrical significance of a drama, a tragedy or a novel (Best, 2013), which adds a certain “beauty” to the act of femicide (Howe, 2014). In this case, the abuser appears as a “hero” who is fighting against material or symbolic deprivation that he experiences by the victim, resorting to violence as a means against this “incredible injustice”

(Howe, 2014); his portrayal as a fighting hero romanticises violence as a theatrical drama, resulting in its construction as something “natural”. Based on this, the strategy of dramatisation by the media is reflected (Best, 2013), simulating femicide and male violence to a Shakespearean or an Ancient Greek tragedy of ‘scandals’ (Walby et al., 2014) or “fateful encounters that ended in tragedy” between a jealous angry man and a woman who does not fulfil her “normal” and “proper” role of the wife (Howe, 2014), climaxed by the man’s suicide in the end. Thus, the victim and the perpetrator are narrated as protagonists of a tragic drama in which “the thread of the victim’s life was cut” as a punishment for her actions.

Another aspect that was observed, which in previous literature of media framing of femicide was not considered, is the tendency of journalists in presenting opposing, rival or antagonistic sides within the same article, such as the two sides of defence and prosecution “crossing swords” in a femicide court hearing or contrasting opinions regarding the criminalisation of femicide. This technique was visible to a great extent in the Cypriot newspapers, including graphic, descriptive and sometimes story-telling tone that dramatises the incidents making them more interesting and appealing to the audience (Best, 2013).

In sum, the techniques used by the journalists in the aforementioned frames that promote the romanticisation and beautification of femicide, are novelty, sensationalisation, dramatisation and spectacularisation (Best, 2013; Busso et al., 2020). These ways of framing enable the newspapers to publish narratives that will be more appealing and fascinating to the public, and thus more financially successful as they will “sell” more (Gomez, 2021) both metaphorically and literally.

Victim-blaming and Perpetrator-absolving

Beyond romanticising femicide, another construction of the phenomenon involves the contextualisation of it in frames of direct and indirect victim-blaming interplaying with perpetrator-absolving; a result in consistency with previous literature (Taylor, 2009; Richards et al., 2011; Choquette, 2012; Gillespie et al., 2013; Mahadeen, 2017; Sela-Shayovitz, 2018; Al Agkmpari, 2020; Gomez, 2021; Balica et al., 2022; Jun et al., 2022).

Starting with the direct ways of victim-blaming, they can be found in the framing of the victim as a “whore”, a “gold-digger”, “annoying” and a woman who abandoned her partner. This portrayal cultivates the idea that women were responsible for exposing themselves to situations such as infidelity, profiting financially from their partner(s) (Taylor, 2009; Richards et al., 2011; Balica et al., 2022), maintaining several love relationships, insulting or being violent towards their partner and refusing his love, affection and protection, resulting in their femicide (Gomez, 2021). Hence, there is a cultivation of a sort of “demonisation” of the victims, who are presented as immoral, irresponsible and deviant actors (Jun et al., 2022), unworthy of respect and holding “an equally distributed responsibility” (Balica et al., 2022: 190) or even full responsibility for their femicide.

This also brings forward the dichotomy between the frames of the innocent and the guilty woman, which functions as an indirect victim-blaming method. This means that only the innocent victims represented as “the mother” - which is the most frequently used frame for the portrayal of an innocent victim - or an unlucky, unprotected, defenceless and “honourable” victims deserve the public’s respect and sympathy (Gomez, 2021), as their femicide was a very sad, tragic and unfortunate event. Whereas the “guilty” victims take the blame for their own femicide, which in this case is depicted as justified and a deserving punishment for their behaviour. In this dichotomy based on the victims’ “honour” and “personal and moral conduct”

(Mahadeen, 2017: 47), journalists also tend to give attention to socio-demographic characteristics in some cases, which they extensively describe as causes of vulnerability (Sela-Shayovitz, 2018) reflecting the “complex relationship between violence” (Walby, 2013: 103) and positionalities of gender, race and class. Although this vulnerability is utilised as a means to create sympathy towards the victim (Richards et al., 2011; Howe, 2014), such vulnerability is sometimes indirectly posed as a victim-blaming technique in cases where the victim was afraid to report DV and therefore failed to take the correct measures for her own safety and protection (Taylor, 2009; Richards et al., 2011) which had as an outcome the act of femicide.

Regarding the perpetrator, accountability for the femicide is rarely or never pointed towards him, with the frames of the “jealous man”, the “psychopath”, the “infuriated man” and the “victim of bad circumstances” shifting the blame from the perpetrator to the victim (Richards et al., 2011; Gillespie et al., 2013; Sela-Shayovitz, 2018) or to external situations. These frames emphasise either on the victim’s behaviour towards the perpetrator or the good characteristics, the individual pathology or the socio-economic, health and personal vulnerability of the perpetrator, especially in femicide-suicide cases, switching the primary focus away from the actual femicide incident (Gillespie et al., 2013) and towards a disclosure of the issues or problems the perpetrator undergoes (Taylor, 2009). These tactics result in the minimisation, mitigation, obscurity or absolving of his culpability (Richards et al., 2011; Gillespie et al., 2013; Sela-Shayovitz, 2018).

An even more exemplary frame of perpetrator-absolving is the portrayal of the perpetrator as a “saviour-redeemer”; this frame uplifts all responsibility from the perpetrator utilising the victim’s own vulnerability to justify his actions. This indicates that the great extent of the use of the frame of femicide as “a mercy killing” (Richards et al., 2014) and the perpetrator as a “saviour” in the

Cypriot news agenda, accompanied by testimonies that validate his actions and his “beloved personality” is a tactic to garner sympathy (Taylor, 2009) or even empathy towards the perpetrator; the message implied, transferred and internalised is that any “good husband/boyfriend” would do anything to help or save his wife/girlfriend, even if that includes violence in the form of femicide.

Despite the aforementioned, there is only one exception - the “bad man” frame - which is hardly ever shown in the news articles - though still in this frame the perpetrator is partially presented at fault for the femicide as just merely an adulterous partner or a person of a low social status due to his demographic features. The only situation where the perpetrator as a “bad man” is given full responsibility is when his portrayal is infused with ethnotic or religious characterisations, more specifically targeted to muslim men, based on an exclusionary and subordinating agenda (Keskinen, 2012), creating “moral panics” that construct what Sela-Shayovitz (2018) defines as “*monstrosity*” of foreign offenders (p. 21), combined with frames of the vulnerability of migrant women.

This indicates that racialised gender notions of violence and femicide that interplay with discourses of colonial, hegemonic, racist rhetoric (Keskinen, 2012) are frequently invoked to criticise the problematic aspects of migration, multiculturalism and the incompatibility of non-european culture with the ethics and core values of a European society (Keskinen, 2012), in this case Cyprus. As a result, recurrent media gendered notions of ethnicity cultivate the construction of the identity of migrant women as subaltern victims of patriarchal ‘premodern’ cultures and migrant men as misogynists and violent. Such racialised gender notions cultivate a culture of anti-immigration and racist perceptions that create identities of what Anthias (2008) describes as ‘translocational positionality’; such positionality constructs both victims’ and

perpetrators' identities based on the intersection of class, gender, ethnicity, and migration status, determining their behaviour, characteristics, mental state and vulnerability in terms of ethnic, cultural and spatial difference (Anthias, 2008). This difference is exemplified by the media as a result of migrant-refugee status, implicitly constructing hierarchical social divisions which render intersectional positionality of either victims' or perpetrators' as means of perpetuating or receiving violence.

Overall, patterns of explicit or implicit victim-blaming and perpetrator-absolving are visible. However, in contrast to the majority of previous studies that show that media focus more on the victim rather than the perpetrator, the gender frames in Cypriot news articles demonstrate the perpetrator and the reasons that justify his actions more as a focal point when it comes to apportionment of responsibility for the femicide.

Justification and Normalisation of Femicide and GV/DV

Victim-blaming, perpetrator absolving and the romanticisation of femicide foster and contribute to the continuum of the dominant gender order, which perpetuates the justification and normalisation of femicide and GV/DV; a result in accordance with the existing literature (Choquette, 2012; Gillespie et al., 2013; Mahadeen, 2017; Bouzerdan and Woodring, 2018; Gomez, 2021; Gallur-Santorum, 2022: 102).

First, they diffuse the idea that individual pathology or socio-demographic inequality has as “natural” consequence the potential of perpetrating or being victimised by violence (Anderson, 1997) that can lead to death. Thus, on the one hand the actions of a man being a “psychopath” or a “victim of bad circumstances” is justifiable, and on the other hand the victimisation or femicide of a woman who is a “victim of bad circumstances” is a normal outcome, due to their condition.

To add to this, the selection of descriptions such as unlucky, unfortunate and “fateful house, morning, day, death, relationship, end” diffuse the contextualisation of femicide and male violence as a “natural” event prescribed or predetermined by “fate” or even by “god”.

What is more, the use of passive voice with phraseology like “she lost her life”, “she passed away”, “she found death/died”, “she faced death”, “she fell dead”, “she found fateful death” promotes a kind of anti-politicisation of the phenomenon, since the perpetrator is excluded from any responsibility or blame or is even not portrayed, which results in transforming the incident itself as something arbitrary, autonomous and “natural.” Passive voice also renders femicide as caused by natural causes or external factors and “problems other than violence against women” (Bouzerdan and Woodring, 2018: 223), as the exclusion of the perpetrator from the narrative transforms him to an invisible or non-existent actor.

Third, by distinguishing between femicides that were more systematically and to a greater extent covered, such as the femicides of Sofia Zenonos, Ghada Al Nouri and Androulla Avraxidou, and other femicides which were poorly or not added to the media’s agenda, the dichotomy between “mega-murders” and “routine killings” that Mahadeen (2017) showcased, is visible. This dual classification brings again forward the twofold portrayal of the victim as either “innocent” or “guilty”, with the femicide of the latter considered as a common “routine killing” on the basis of a justified violence, whereas the former perceived as a “mega-killing” noteworthy and sparking criticism and discussions about male violence.

Fourth, by framing femicide cases as isolated, unexpected and individual instances, “without making any connection with other cases of femicide” (Balica et al., 2022: 191), conceals the very nature of femicide as a manifestation and part of a broader pattern of GV/DV (Mahadeen, 2017;

Bouzerdan and Woodring, 2018). Subsequently, femicide becomes a sort of a “one-off news item” (Gallur-Santorum, 2022: 102) normalising the phenomenon as a “commonplace” (Gillespie et al., 2013); this is followed by a framing that makes minimal or no links to violence history between the victim and the perpetrator, silencing the bigger problematised social issue (Gomez, 2021) which is violence against women, and failing to recognise and discuss its complexity (Gillespie et al., 2013) and importance. As a result, a normalisation of femicide and violence against women is structured promoting a culture of acceptance, tolerance and indifference to these social problems (Choquette, 2012).

Femicide as Public Social Problem

In contrast to the sexist representation of femicide, mainly the years 2019 and onwards a change in some of the news frames was evident, constructing the phenomenon as a social problem important for public recognition and addressing. This construction involves linking femicide with GV/DV and social structures, and recognising the role the State, the competent Authorities and the media play in its perception by the public.

Links between Femicide, GV/DV and Social Structures

To start with the links between femicide with GV/DV and social structures, the use of the term femicide is an important step in deconstructing the sexist representation of the phenomenon, placing it in the context of violence and gender relations (Richards et al., 2014). This also includes in several articles the recognition of “relationships of power, exploitation, domination, accommodation, and resistance” (Maher and Tetreault, 1993: 125) between women and men.

Discussions about GV and DV in the Cypriot news began in 2019 with the femicide of Sofia Zenonos, which also sparked mobilisation of women’s organisations and movements against

violence and femicides in Cyprus; these mobilisations in many instances were described and promoted through the news calling the audience to participate. These discussions were intensified with the femicides of Ghada Al Nouri in 2020 and Androulla Avraxidou in 2021, both of whom were DV victims ignored by the Police and the Social Welfare Services, and continuing until today. They also included considerations and an effort by several journalists to address the causes and the context of femicide incidents and the phenomenon in general, exposing the nature of it as a gender crime rooted in patriarchal beliefs and structures (Gomez, 2021). This contextualisation enables journalists to shift femicide “from invisibility to visibility, from an event to a social problem, from a women’s issue to a public matter that affects the whole of society.” (Comas-d’Argemir, 2014: 127). This portrayal is supported through the use of the technique of appealing to authority, by providing politicians’, scientists’ and experts’ opinions and statements either regarding femicide and GV/DV or the law for the criminalisation of femicide.

In this framing of femicide, as the most violent manifestation of gender discrimination and inequality, justifications of the incidents or victim-blaming are reduced or removed completely; this also conveys the negation of gender stereotypes and clichés in an effort to raise awareness of the issue as a public problem (Comas-d’Argemir, 2014). Such framing includes the positioning of femicide victims in a pattern of timelessness of male violence by demonstrating statistical data of violence and femicides in Cyprus or globally, creating a sort of a “moral panic and broad concerns” (Swanton, 2019: 163) that aims to spark the public’s awareness and empathy, and thus shift in social and cultural gender norms (Ogunlana et al., 2021). These also show an integration of frames that deal with issues of human rights (Bouzerdan and Woodring, 2018), and male dominations and power as the structural causes of femicide (Comas-d’Argemir, 2014).

Apart from sexism as the root of the problem, it is important that racism is also understood as a social structure that affects or even causes the victimisation and violence against foreign and migrant women. Discussions in the media about racism and anti-immigration policies as causes of GV/DV that lead to femicide were triggered after the femicide of Ghada Al Nouri. Journalists recognise that the intersectional positionality of migrant women leads to the intensification of their vulnerability and double victimisation (Keskinen, 2012) by the restrictive immigration policies, lack of protection by the State and limited legislation protecting and establishing their rights. Therefore, these media representations centre the problem of femicide and GV/DV in the context of national culture, conditions for the inclusion of migrants (Keskinen, 2012) and “translocational” positionality of femicide victims.

However, in multiple articles the mere utilisation of the term femicide does not follow such framing in the context of GV/DV and social structures, but it is just used as any other term in the framing of femicide as an isolated and individual incident, or in a mundane portrayal. In a few instances, journalists even express their negative positioning in regards to the importance of the issue or its criminalisation, either directly through their personal opinion or indirectly through politicians’ and experts’ statements. Last, some others seem more neutral placing the phenomenon in the context of gender inequality and violence against women but not recognising the criminalisation of femicide as useful, necessary or correctly written.

Recognition of the Responsibility of the State, Competent Authorities and the Media

Following the aforementioned construction of femicide, is the journalists’ recognition of the responsibility of the State, the competent Authorities and the media in the continuance of femicide and violence against women.

These discussions were triggered mainly after the femicides of Ghada Al Nouri in 2020 and Androulla Avraxidou in 2021, with journalists expressing scathing criticism and irony in regards to the irregularities, deficiencies, gaps, mistakes and shortages of the system, the law, and the State actors (Richards et al., 2011; Gillespie et al., 2013; Gomez, 2021) to prevent femicide and the victimisation of women and their families, as well as protect DV victims and their rights. Specifically, ongoing criticism is done against the Government that was in power each period, the Social Welfare Services, the Police, the Mental Health Services, the Forensic Department and the Legal System as “justice fails to move fast” in the femicide cases in the court in contrast to other crimes, depicting the State as a “silent accomplice” to femicide and violence against women by not taking measures or promoting gun culture and racism. References to the mentalities of *Εγνώ εν Τζιαι*⁷ and *Κρύψε να Περάσουμε*⁸, which the State and Authorities follow, are also mentioned to amplify this framing, as some of the worst traits and characteristics of Cypriot society; in some cases the State even takes the full blame for femicide due to its inadequate response and treatment of the phenomenon and the victims (Richards et al., 2011).

Another aspect that was not mentioned or analysed in previous literature, is the recognition by journalists of themselves or their profession as holders of the blame for the continuum of femicide and GV/DV. This includes criticising sexist representations of the phenomenon in the media, in an effort to promote social change and awareness in their own professional and peer environment. This contemplates the ability of some journalists to self-reflect upon their own subjectivity, bias, and messages they transmit as individuals, social actors and representatives of the media and cultural industry, trying to delegitimise violence against women.

⁷ phrase used metaphorically to describe the mentality of not accepting responsibility of one’s own mistakes and blaming or scapegoating others

⁸ phrase used metaphorically to describe the mentality of not speaking up, ignoring or neglecting the existence of a serious incident/phenomenon because of fear, apathy or indifference

Some other framings that do not rely fully on gender notions, but still function as the recognition of the State's accountability in regards to other social issues, include discussions and raising of dilemmas and ethical considerations about the complexity and controversiality of euthanasia. In other discussions, the shortages of the medical system in Cyprus that brought the deterioration of the victim's health, are considered as factors that led the perpetrator to femicide. These discussions are part of the framing of the perpetrator as "saviour".

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Reaching to the end, most of this study's results are in accordance with the existing literature; they indicate that the media play a quintessential role in transmitting messages to the public (Tocqueville, 1835) that socially construct intimate-partner femicide (Sela-Shayovitz, 2018). This construction is achieved with framing that is either part of the perpetuity of sexism and gender inequality, or the effort to promote the significance of the phenomenon of femicide as a social and public gender problem.

As it is shown, social construction of intimate-partner femicide undergoes a process of mediatisation (Richards et al., 2014), revealing "patterns of recurrent usage" (Busso et al., 2020: 47) of gender frames. Utilising the motion of splitting, as described by Haraway (1988), the frames produced in the media are classified into two broad categories that distinguish between stereotypical and sexist portrayals of femicide and the actors involved, and representations that position femicide in the context of GV/DV as well as gender inequalities, trying to promote it as

a public social problem. The former depict perpetrators and victims as a reflection of the dominant socio-cultural structure (Sela-Shayovitz, 2018) inadvertently perpetuating cultural models of gender inequity and violence (Jun et al., 2022); this results in the construction of femicide based on sexist and racist perceptions. On the contrary, the latter use femicide as a platform to mobilise social change and social action (Richards et al., 2014) towards the prevention and elimination of femicide and violence against women.

Regarding the gender frames used in the Cypriot newspapers, these are categorised as frames of the victim, the perpetrator, and violence against women. Gender frames for the victim ranged from her representation as the “innocent” victim - as “the mother” and “the victim of bad circumstances, the “guilty” woman - as “the whore”, “the gold-digger”, the “annoying woman” and the woman who abandoned her partner. The perpetrator was depicted as first, the “partially guilty” man - “the jealous man”, “the psychopath”, “the infuriated man”, and the “victim of bad circumstances”, second, the “good man” - “the saviour/redeemer”, and third, the “bad man”. Violence against women frames depicted firstly, male violence as “love”, secondly, femicide as an individual and isolated incident with no reference to GV/DV, and thirdly, femicide as a structural social problem and a crime of GV/DV.

In addition, these frames “were not mutually exclusive” (Gillespie et al., 2013: 236), but the majority of the articles featured a multiplicity and overarching of framing methods. Moreover, victims in the most cases were discussed passively (with exception the framing of “the mother”), emphasising more on intersectional characteristics and providing justifications and “reasonable” or “logical” explanations for the perpetrator’s actions. Furthermore, there was a large number of articles releasing hate and criticism towards the State and Cyprus’ social and cultural structures.

Last but not least, a significant difference between older and more recent journalism is the fact that in former articles, written before 2019, more sexist representations and discourse occurs, while after 2019 more articles presented femicide as a serious social problem, with the blame falling both on the perpetrator and patriarchal gender and racial structures. This is logically due to the time-historical evolution and change of ideas about gender roles and stereotypes, which are also reflected in the opinions and ideology of journalists as social actors and facades of the media they represent (Best, 2013).

APPENDICES

Appendix I

Intimate-Partner Femicides in Cyprus (December 2011-March 2023) - Retrieved from the *Cyprus News Agency (CNA)* and the *Cyprus Police* - Translated from Greek to English

Date of Femicide	City	Victim(s)	Perpetrator	Perpetrator's relation with the Victim	Weapon/Mean used against the Victim(s)	Context of Femicide
25 January 2023	Trikomo, Famagusta (Occupied part of Cyprus by Turkey)	Zehier Helin Resour, 16 years old (Turkish-Cypriot)	Sefer Bougra Altundag, 21 years old (Turkish-Cypriot)	Boyfriend/ Partner	Iron hammer - Injuries to the head Galvanised pipe - Injuries to the neck	Committed after a fight between the victim and the perpetrator
30 August 2022	Strovolos, Nicosia (Republic of Cyprus)	Liliana Niteanu, 55 years old (Romanian)	Name not made public, 64 years old (Romanian)	Spouse	Knife - Multiple stabs	Committed after a fight between the victim and the perpetrator
6 June 2022	Agios Ioannis, Limassol	Giorgoulla Charalambous, 82 years old	Name not made public, 84 years old (Greek-	Spouse	Hammer - Multiple injuries to the head	The perpetrator feigned personal issues between him and his wife as the reason for killing her, such as that

	(Republic of Cyprus)	(Greek-Cypriot)	Cypriot)			she was very mumbling and called him skimpy
23 March 2021 - day the body was found (the time-frame of the crime was estimated to be in October)	Athienou, Nicosia (Republic of Cyprus)	Natalia (surname not made public), 38 years old (Ukrainian)	Name not made public, 32 years old (Egyptian)	Boyfriend/ Partner	Battering - Multiple injuries to the face. The victim was found buried in a field	The perpetrator killed the victim in their apartment during a quarrel, after a scene of jealousy. After he killed her, he left her body in the apartment and the next day he carried her in a greengrocer's cart to the field where he buried her
11 February 2021	Ergates, Nicosia (Republic of Cyprus)	Androulla Avraxidou, 52 years old (Greek-Cypriot) Her son: Stelios Giagkou, 20 years old Attempted murder to her second son: Charalambos Giagkou, 25 years old	Costas Giagkou, 59 years old (Greek-Cypriot)	Spouse - Father	Knife - 27 stabs to the mother, cut of throat to one of the sons Use of wire to suffocate the second son	The perpetrator was diagnosed with schizophrenia, and claimed that he wanted to murder his family because they were trying to admit him in a psychiatric centre
18 December 2021	Tremithousa, Paphos (Republic of Cyprus)	Janice Hunter, 75 years old (British)	David Hunter, 74 years old (British)	Spouse	Suffocation - Closed her nose and mouth	The perpetrator claimed that he killed his wife at her own request, so she wouldn't suffer anymore from her leukaemia. and would have killed himself afterwards
11 October 2020	Agios Tychonas, Limassol (Republic of Cyprus)	Iryna Hurkaya, 36 years old (Belarusian)	Aistis Mikalauskas, 29 years old (Lithuanian)	Boyfriend/ Partner	Suffocation and battering - Multiple injuries to the face	The femicide was committed after a fight between the couple
29 June 2020	Lakatamia, Nicosia (Republic of Cyprus)	Niki Shieftali, 44 years old (Greek-Cypriot)	Christakis Christodoulou, 56 years old (Greek-Cypriot)	Estranged partner	Shotgun - The Police found the two bodies shot and the gun next to them	Femicide-Suicide: The perpetrator shot the victim and then shot himself leaving a suicide note next to his body
31 May 2020	Perikleous Street, Old Nicosia (Republic of Cyprus)	Name not made public, 46 years old (Vietnamese)	Name not made public, 64 years old (Romanian)	Boyfriend/ Partner	Knife - Multiple stabs (around 25) - Two knives were found on the crime scene	Femicide-Suicide: The perpetrator first stabbed the victim to death and then himself with a different knife. A bloodied bouquet was found next to the victim. Witnesses from neighbours of the couple spoke of great tension between them before the crime
20 January	Paphos	Ghada Al	Hussein	Estranged	Knife - Stabs to	The perpetrator claimed the femicide

2020	(Republic of Cyprus)	Nouri, 31 years old (Syrian)	Farouh, 42 years old (Syrian)	spouse	the stomach	was an “honour killing”. The crime was committed in the presence of their children
29 June 2019	Agia Fyla, Limassol (Republic of Cyprus)	Sofia Zenonos, 26 years old (Greek-Cypriot)	Petros Papantoniou, 35 years old (Greek-Cypriot)	Ex-boyfriend /partner	Shotgun - The two bodies were found by the perpetrator’s father	Femicide-Suicide: The perpetrator shot the victim after her refusal for reconnection of their relationship, and then shot himself
19 November 2018	Kioneli, Nicosia (Occupied part of Cyprus by Turkey)	Sevinç Karasalih, 60 years old (Turkish)	Hasan Yılmaz Karasalih, 63 years old (Turkish)	Spouse	Strangulation - The two bodies were found by their son	Femicide-Suicide: The perpetrator strangled the victim while she was sleeping and then killed himself with an electric wire
31 October 2018	Gerolakkos, Nicosia (Occupied part of Cyprus by Turkey)	Giulbahar Ulutan, 45 years old (Turkish)	Fatih Çikrikçi, age not made public (Turkish)	Ex-boyfriend /partner	Knife - 13 stabs	The perpetrator was waiting outside the house where the victim was working as a housekeeper and when she came out he stabbed her and left her there to die. He feigned her refusal for reconnection as the reason for killing her
10 June 2017	Kioneli, Famagusta (Occupied part of Cyprus by Turkey)	Halime Çetin, 45 years old (Turkish)	Hayrettin Ozchomert, 43 years old (Turkish)	Ex-boyfriend /partner	Shotgun - 3 shots	Femicide-Suicide: After a fierce fight between the couple, the perpetrator shot the victim and then tried to shoot himself
20 April 2017	Mia Milia, Famagusta (Occupied part of Cyprus by Turkey)	Gamze Pehlivan, 37 years old (Turkish)	Swat Asir, 35 years old, (Turkish)	Spouse	Knife - 36 stabs all over the victim’s body	The perpetrator and victim were arguing while they were in the bus, and when the victim got off and started to run the perpetrator followed her and stabbed her in front of other people trying also to burn her with petrol. He claimed that the victim’s infidelity was the reason for fighting with her and stabbing her
18 April 2017	Famagusta (Occupied part of Cyprus by Turkey)	Burjew Okumus, 25 years old (Turkish)	Ozgur Okumus, 42 years old (Turkish)	Spouse	Knife - Six stabs to the heart and neck	The perpetrator and victim were fighting in a coffee shop and when the victim went out the perpetrator followed her and stabbed her. Afterwards he stabbed himself one time but he did not die. He claimed that the victim’s infidelity and pregnancy from another man was the reason for fighting with her and stabbing her. Afterwards, the autopsy of her body showed that she was not pregnant
15 October 2016	Lakatamia, Nicosia (Republic of Cyprus)	Galina Glavan, 53 years old (Romanian)	Vasile Bistriceanu, 44 years old (Romanian)	Ex-spouse	Hydrochloric acid - Burns all over the victim’s body	After a heated argument, the perpetrator threw the acid on the victim, causing her severe burns all over her body

04 March 2016	Pervolia, Larnaca (Republic of Cyprus)	Zoe Katsari, 77 years old (Greek- Cypriot)	Giagos Katsaris, 80 years old (Greek- Cypriot)	Estranged spouse	Shotgun - 5 shots	The perpetrator visited the victim's house and after a heated argument regarding financial disputes shot the victim in the presence of her domestic worker, with a shotgun he had illegally in his possession
31 October 2015	Mackenzie, Larnaca (Republic of Cyprus)	Daniela Rosca, 37 years old (Moldavian)	Panagiotis Alexandrou, 26 years old (Greek- Cypriot)	Ex-boyfriend / partner	Repeated bangs of the head on the floor - The victim was found with tied hands	The perpetrator was planning to steal money from the victim and murder her for infidelity reasons. He committed the crime with the help of his friends Plamen Tsvetkov Pelov, 32 years old (Bulgarian) and Daniel Slavchev, 31 years old (Bulgarian)
23 July 2014	Kritou Terra, Paphos (Republic of Cyprus)	Aliki Christoforou, 78 years old (Greek- Cypriot)	Evipridis Christou, 83 years old (Greek- Cypriot)	Spouse	Walking stick - Injuries on the head	After a fight regarding financial disputes the perpetrator hit the victim on the forehead. She was found in the yard of her home, covered with a blanket
17 June 2014	Strovolos, Nicosia (Republic of Cyprus)	Margarita Koulouma, 37 years old (Greek- Cypriot) Her daughter: Antonia Pitti, 9 years old Attempted murder to her son Kleopas Pittis, 14 years old	Andreas Pittis, 41 years old (Greek- Cypriot)	Estranged spouse	G3 rifle - 2 shots on the head and the shoulder	Femicide-Suicide: The victim visited the perpetrator's parents' house with their two children and when she got home the perpetrator was waiting for her outside. When they got out of the car the perpetrator shot the mother and their two children (the 9 years old girl died and the 14 years old boy was injured) and then himself
30 September 2013	Agios Ioannis, Limassol (Republic of Cyprus)	Georgia Georgiou, 27 years old (Greek- Cypriot)	Pantelis Charilaou, 32 years old (Greek- Cypriot)	Estranged spouse	G3 rifle - Multiple shots	Femicide-Suicide: After an argument the perpetrator shot the victim and then himself. The crime was committed in the presence of their three children aged 10 years old, (who was shot by accident on the hand), 3 years old and 3 months old
08 September 2013	Oroklini, Larnaca (Republic of Cyprus)	Name not made public, 32 years old (Romanian)	Christos Rosos, 50 years old (Greek- Cypriot)	Ex-boyfriend / partner	Shotgun - 2 shots	Femicide-Suicide: After the victim had broken up with the perpetrator and was not accepting his requests for reunion, the perpetrator shot her and after himself
10 December 2012	Aradippou, Larnaca (Republic of Cyprus)	Stavroulla Iordanous, 56 years old (Greek- Cypriot)	Nicos Iordanous, 63 years old (Greek- Cypriot)	Spouse	Shotgun - 2 shots on the head	The perpetrator, using his shotgun illegally, shot the victim at close range while she was sitting on the sofa of their apartment watching TV, after an argument regarding his extramarital affair. The perpetrator claimed that the victim committed suicide using his gun

16 March 2012	Derynia, Larnaca (Republic of Cyprus)	Christina Kalaitzidou, 30 years old (Pontic Greek)	Giorgos Kyriakides, 35 years old (Pontic Greek)	Spouse	Suffocation - Strangulation and burns from cigarettes	The victim was found dead on her bed which was ignited. The perpetrator committed suicide after two years during his imprisonment
26 February 2012	Agios Antonios, Nicosia (Republic of Cyprus)	Name and age not made public (Bulgarian)	Name and age not made public (Bulgarian)	Boyfriend	Knife - Stabbed 15 times	Femicide-Suicide: The perpetrator stabbed the victim in the hands, lungs, kidneys and spleen. The perpetrator stabbed himself afterwards

Appendix II

List of the Cypriot Digital Newspapers and the number of articles collected

	Name of Newspaper	Language	Number of relevant articles ($\Sigma=2681$)
1.	24h	Greek	83 articles
2.	24News	Greek	162 articles
3.	Adesmevtos tis Paphou/Cosmos News	Greek	17 articles
4.	AftodioikisiCY	Greek	2 articles
5.	Alithia/AlphaNews.Live	Greek	231 articles
6.	Ant1 News	Greek	164 articles
7.	Avant-garde	Greek	17 articles
8.	Brief	Greek	18 articles
9.	CyprusMail	English	62 articles (first collected 129 articles, but 67 articles were deleted from the website)
10.	Cyprus Times	Greek	230 articles
11.	FamagustaNews	Greek and English	63 articles in Greek, 63 articles in English
12.	Faros	Greek and English	56 articles in Greek, 56 articles in English
13.	Foni tis Paphou	Greek	No relevant articles
14.	Gnomi	Greek	6 articles
15.	Haravgi/Dialogos	Greek	149 articles
16.	InCyNews	Greek and English	No relevant articles

17.	InCyprus	English	73 articles
18.	Kathimerini	Greek	171 articles
19.	Laimitomos News	Greek	49 articles
20.	LimassolToday	Greek	7 articles
21.	Must	Greek	16 articles
22.	Newsbomb Cyprus	Greek	28 articles
23.	Offsite	Greek	85 articles
24.	OmegaNews	Greek	143 articles
25.	PhileNews	Greek	195 articles
26.	PolitisNews	Greek	102 articles
27.	REPORTER	Greek	128 articles
28.	Signalive	Greek	100 articles
29.	Taxydromos24	Greek	67 articles
30.	ToThemaOnline	Greek	138 articles
31.	Vouli.tv	Greek	No relevant articles

Appendix III

List of the Gender Frames used in the Newspaper Articles

THE VICTIM	<p><u>The Innocent Woman</u></p> <p>A. The mother = 947 times</p> <p>B. The victim of bad circumstances = 919 times Unlucky/unfortunate/poor woman = 791 times Defenceless/helpless/unprotected = 78 times Reference to socioeconomic position (positive connotations) = 50 times</p> <p><u>The Guilty Woman</u></p> <p>A. The whore and the gold-digger = 118 times Infidelity/Multiple lovers/Stealing money = 97 times Reference to socioeconomic position (negative connotations) = 21 times</p> <p>B. The annoying woman and the woman who abandoned her partner = 142 times Annoying/Abandonment = 140 times</p>
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	Violent woman towards the perpetrator = 2 times
THE PERPETRATOR	<p><u>The Partially Guilty Man</u> A. The jealous man = 160 times Driven by jealousy = 114 times Asking for reunion with no response/not accepting the separation or the divorce = 46 times B. The psychopath or infuriated man = 383 times Psychopath - paranoid = 218 times Possessed by fury or rage = 165 times C. The victim of bad circumstances = 352 times Victim/Unlucky = 60 times Reference to socioeconomic position (positive connotations) = 150 times Health issues and psychological state of the perpetrator = 142 times</p> <p><u>The Good Man</u> A. The saviour/redeemer = 270 times</p> <p><u>The “Bad Man”</u> A. Infidelity = 11 times B. Reference to socioeconomic position (negative connotations) = 3 times</p>
VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN	<p><u>Male Violence or Femicide as “Love”</u> A. Passion/love crime = 121 times</p> <p><u>Femicide as individual and isolated incident - No reference to GV/DV</u> Murder/killing = 5996 times Crime/Felony/Offence = 3049 times Homicide/Manslaughter = 686 times Uxoricide = 540 times Shocking/unprecedented incident = 638 times Mystery = 15 times Puzzle = 98 times Carnage = 39 times Thriller = 5 times Slaughter/bloodbath = 10 times Tragedy/Family Tragedy = 851 times Drama or Family/Romantic Drama = 22 times</p> <p><u>Femicide as a structural social problem - A crime of GV/DV</u> A. Femicides in Cyprus as a social problem = 460 times Femicide = 1548 times B. Femicide in the context of GV/DV = 433 times C. Femicide and GV/DV in the context of gender structures and society = 101 times D. Reference to the problem of gun possession = 41 times E. Reference to the legislation of criminalisation of femicide in Cyprus = 175 times Positive presentation = 123 times Negative presentation = 47 times Neutral presentation - Offering suggestions/differentiations = 5 times</p>

Appendix IV

List of Excerpts and Terminology for the Gender Frames used in the Cypriot Newspaper Articles

“The Mother”

1. “She was a little girl just 13 years old. At an age when others of her age are playing carefree. She was found in the hands of a 25-year-old. She started giving birth to his children. One after another. In 17 years, from the age of 14 when she gave birth to the first child until the day before yesterday, at the age of 31, when she flew to the land of angels, she gave birth to seven children. There was never a teenager. A child and then a woman. A mother. With what that entails. A soul tortured at the hands of an anthropomorphic beast.”

Καλλινίκου, Γ. (2020) ‘Βάλτε ψυχή, να τερματίσουμε τις γυναικοκτονίες από τα κτήνη...’, PhileNews, 22 January. Available at:

<https://www.philenews.com/apopsis/article/896789/valte-psichi-na-termatisoume-tis-ginekoktonies-apo-ta-ktini/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

1. “The unfortunate 32-year-old’s five underage children remain in the custody of social services.”

InCyNews. (2020) ‘Syrian who brutally murdered his estranged wife sentenced to 18 years’, 23 July. Available at:

<https://in-cyprus.philenews.com/news/local/syrian-who-brutally-murdered-his-estranged-wife-sentenced-by-paphos-court/> (Accessed: 11 May 2023)

2. “a tortured soul now called upon to cross his own Calvary and manage the death of his mother and brother and the heinous act of his father.”

AlphaNews.Live. (2021) ‘Καμία απόφαση για τον 25χρονο επιζώντα του οικογενειακού μακελειού στους Εργάτες’, 24 February. Available at:

<https://www.alphanews.live/cyprus/kamia-apofasi-gia-ton-25χροno-epizonta-toy-oikogeneiakoy-makeleioy-stoys-ergates> (Accessed: 30 January 2023)

3. “she saw her papa put a knife into her mamma, and her mamma moaned and closed her eyes.”

Ant1 News. (2020) ‘Ποινή φυλάκισης 18 ετών σε 42χρονο για ανθρωποκτονία σε βάρος της εν διαστάσει συζύγου του: Ο κατηγορούμενος διέπραξε το αποτρόπαιο έγκλημα σε βάρος του θύματος ενώ βρισκόταν στο σπίτι τα ανήλικα παιδιά τους.’, 23 July. Available at:

[https://www.ant1live.com/koinonia/386384_poini-fylakisis-18-eton-se-42χροno-gia-anthropoktonia-se-baros-tis-en-diastasei](https://www.ant1live.com/koinonia/386384_poini-fylakisis-18-eton-se-42χροno-gia-anthropoktonia-se-baros-tis-en-diastasei-syzygou-tou) (Accessed: 07 February 2023)

Kathimerini. (2020) ‘18 χρόνια φυλάκιση σε 42χρονο για την δολοφονία της εν διαστάσει συζύγου του: Ήταν μητέρα επτά παιδιών εν των οποίων τα δύο ηλικίας 16 και 17 ετών διαμένουν στην Συρία’, 23 July. Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/kypros/18-xronia-fylakisi-se-42χροno-gia-tin-dolofonia-tis-en-diastasei-syzygov-toy> (Accessed: 12 May 2023)

4. “Witness of the savage murder a little girl just seven years old. A little girl whose soul is condemned "for a lifetime", after the man who brought her to life was destined to stigmatise her in the most horrible way...”

REPORTER. (2020) ‘«Η μαμά κοιμήθηκε...»-Αυτόπτης μάρτυρας ενός ειδεχθούς εγκλήματος, ετών... επτά’, 21 January. Available at:

<https://reporter.com.cy/article/2020/1/21/150083/e-mama-koimetheke-autoptes-marturas-enos-eidekhthous-egklematos-eton-epta/> (Accessed: 27 March 2023)

5. “The seven-year-old woke up by the shouting and saw the fatal blow, as well as the mother's desperate attempt then to stop the bleeding using a piece of cloth. The little girl also ran to the room where their two younger siblings were sleeping and woke them up telling them that "Daddy was hitting mommy and then she fell asleep.””

Χριστοδούλου, Ν. (2020) ‘Φόνος 31χρονης: Συγκλονίζουν όσα αποκαλύπτονται’, PhileNews, 21 January. Available at:

<https://www.philenews.com/kipros/koinonia/article/895281/fonos-31chronis-sigklonizoun-osa-apokalyiptontai/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

6. “the oldest of the three children who were home at the time, a 7-year-old girl, woke up by her mother's screams as she was being attacked. The child went to the bedroom where she witnessed the tragic events, and then went

to the bedroom where the two younger children were and woke them up telling them that "Daddy hit mommy and mommy fell asleep".”

Χριστοδούλου, Ν. (2020) ‘«Ο μπαμπάς χτύπησε τη μαμά και αυτή κοιμήθηκε»’, PhileNews, 22 January. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/kipros/koinonia/article/895619/o-bampas-htipise-ti-mama-ke-afiti-kimithike/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

7. “The 7-year-old girl heard voices and woke up with her two younger siblings aged 3 and 4. She saw her father strike her mother with a knife, and then as the child herself said. "Mom fell asleep."”

OmegaNews. (2020) ‘«Είδα τον παπά να χτύπα την μάμα και μετά κοιμήθηκε» – Ανατριχιαστική η μαρτυρία της 7χρονης για το φονικό της Πάφου’, 21 January. Available at: <https://omegalive.com.cy/astynomika/%ce%b5%ce%af%ce%b4%ce%b1-%cf%84%ce%ab%ce%bd%cf%80%ce%b1%cf%80%ce%ac-%ce%bd%ce%b1-%cf%87%cf%84%cf%8d%cf%80%ce%b1-%cf%84%ce%b7%ce%bd-%ce%bc%ce%ac%ce%bc%ce%b1-%ce%bc%ce%ab5%cf%84%ce%ac-%ce%ba%ce%b1%ce%b9%ce%bc%ce%ae%ce%b8%ce%b7%ce%ba%ce%b5%ce%b1%ce%bd%ce%b1%cf%84%cf%81%ce%b9%cf%87%ce%b9%ce%b1%cf%83%cf%84%ce%b9%ce%ba%ce%ae-%ce%b7%ce%bc%ce%b1%cf%81%cf%84%cf%85%cf%81%ce%af%ce%b1-%cf%84%ce%b7-7%cf%87%cf%81%ce%b1%ce%bd%ce%b7%cf%82-%ce%b3%ce%b9%ce%b1%cf%84%ce%b1%cf%86%ce%ab%ce%bd%ce%b9%ce%ba%cf%8c%cf%80%ce%ac%cf%86%ce%b1%cf%85/> (Accessed: 25 May 2023)

8. “The child, in fact, painted the horror her little eyes were destined to witness that irreparably injured her soul.”

REPORTER. (2020) ‘Με την πλάτη στον τοίχο αλλά... δεν λυγίζει ο φερόμενος δολοφόνος’, 25 January. Available at: <https://reporter.com.cy/article/2020/1/25/149255/me-ten-plate-ston-toikho-alla-den-lygizei-o-phenomenos-dolophonos/> (Accessed: 27 March 2023)

9. “the unfortunate woman after her injury was still alive and was trying to heal her trauma in the presence of three of her five children who were staying with her.”

OmegaNews. (2020) ‘Γύριζαν με τον αδελφό του υπόπτου τα τρία ανήλικα παιδιά της γυναίκας που δολοφονήθηκε στην Πάφο’, 20 January. Available at: <https://omegalive.com.cy/astynomika/%ce%b3%cf%8d%cf%81%ce%b9%ce%ab6%ce%b1%ce%bd-%ce%bc%ce%ab5-%cf%84%ce%ab1%ce%bd-%ce%b1%ce%b4%ce%ab5-%ce%ab%cf%86%cf%8c-%cf%84%ce%ab1%cf%85-%cf%85%cf%80%cf%8c%cf%80%cf%84%ce%ab1%cf%85-%cf%84%ce%ab1-%cf%84%cf%81%ce%af%ce%ab1-%ce%b1%ce%bd%ce%ae%ce%ab%ce%ab9%ce%ba%ce%b1-%cf%80%ce%ab1%ce%b9%ce%ab4%ce%ab9%ce%ac-%cf%84%ce%ab7%cf%82-%ce%ab3%cf%85%ce%bd%ce%ab1%ce%af%ce%ab%ce%ab1%cf%82-%ce%b1%cf%80%ce%ab1%cf%85-%ce%ab4%ce%ab1%ce%ab%ce%ab1%cf%86%ce%ab1%ce%bd%ce%ae%ce%ab8%ce%ab7%ce%ba%ce%ab5-%cf%83%cf%84%ce%ab7%ce%bd-%cf%80%ce%ac%cf%86%ce%ab1/> (Accessed: 25 May 2023)

OmegaNews. (2020) ‘Φονικό Πάφου: Τη σκότωσε και πέταξε το μαχαίρι στον κάλαθο της κουζίνας – Βρέθηκε μοιρασμένο στα δύο’, 20 January. Available at: <https://omegalive.com.cy/astynomika/%cf%86%ce%b1%ce%bd%ce%b9%ce%ba%cf%8c-%cf%80%ce%ac%cf%86%ce%ab1%cf%85-%cf%84%ce%ab7-%cf%83%ce%ba%cf%8c%cf%84%cf%89%cf%83%ce%ab5-%ce%ba%ce%b1%ce%b9-%cf%80%ce%ad%cf%84%ce%b1%ce%be%ce%ab5-%cf%84%ce%abf-%ce%bc%ce%ab1%cf%87%ce%ab1%ce%af%cf%81%ce%ab9-%cf%83%cf%84%ce%ab1%ce%bd-%ce%ba%ce%ac%ce%ab%ce%ab1%ce%b8%ce%abf-%cf%84%ce%ab7%cf%82-%ce%ba%ce%ab1%cf%85%ce%ab6%ce%af%ce%ab%ce%ab1%cf%82-%ce%ab2%cf%81%ce%ad%ce%ab8%ce%ab7%ce%ba%ce%ab5-%ce%bc%ce%ab1%ce%bd%ce%b9%cf%81%ce%ab1%cf%83%ce%bc%ce%ad-%ce%bd%ce%abf-%cf%83%cf%84%ce%ab1-%ce%ab4%cf%8d%ce%ab1/> (Accessed: 25 May 2023)

PolitisNews. (2020) ‘Φόνο εκ προμελέτης διερευνά η αστυνομία- Καταζητείται 42χρονος’, 20 January. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/cyprus/343263/fono-ek-promeletis-diervnna-i-astynomia-kataziteitai-42chronos> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

REPORTER. (2020) ‘Την δολοφόνησε μπροστά στα παιδιά τους, προσπάθησε να επουλώσει το τραύμα της’, 20 January. Available at: <https://reporter.com.cy/article/2020/1/20/150279/ten-dolophonese-mprosta-sta-paidia-tous-prospathe-se-na-epoulosei-to-trauma-tes/> (Accessed: 27 March 2023)

Νάνος, Κ. (2020) ‘Απροστάτευτη και αβοήθητη – Ο ηθικός αντουργός, πάλι το κράτος’, *PolitisNews*, 21 January. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/cyprus/343506/aprostateti-ke-abloihti-i-ithikos-aftoyrgs-pali-to-kratos> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

10. “three of the 31-year-old's five children who lived with her, aged 7, 11 and 12, are trying to recover after the traumatic experience they experienced” (used in many articles)

11. “Unbearable is the pain for the 18-year-old Zacharias Bocan, son of the 53-year-old woman who was murdered by her ex-husband, who poured hydrochloric acid on her.”

Βιολάρη, Φ. (2016) ‘Συγκλονίζει ο γιος της γυναίκας που δολοφονήθηκε με οξύ’, *Sigmalive*, 04 November. Available at: <https://www.sigmalive.com/news/local/376913/sygklonizei-o-gios-gynaikas-pou-dolofonithike-me-oksy/> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

12. “The children aged 7, 11 and 12 who lived with their mother returned to school in an effort to recover from the traumatic experience they experienced while receiving daily support from child psychologists in order to protect themselves and deal with the tragic facts that happened to their family.”

Taxydromos24. (2020) ‘Φόνος Πάφος: Υπό φρούρηση τα παιδιά της 31χρονης Γιατά’, 28 January. Available at: <https://www.taxydromos24.com/2020/01/28/fonos-ipo-frouresi-ta-paidia-tis-31xronis-giata/> (Accessed: 12 March 2023)

13. “The tragic aspect of the heinous murder, is that of the eye contact of a young child with the extraction of his mother's life while it was taking place”

Χριστοδούλου, Ν. (2020) ‘Αιτία του φονικού η παθολογική ζήλια’, PhileNews, 23 January. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/kipros/koinonia/article/897997/etia-tou-fonikou-i-pathologiki-zilia/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

14. “The most tragic aspect of the case is the fact that the unfortunate 26-year-old is a 6-year-old child, the fruit of her love with another man.”

Cyprus Times. (2019) ‘Μητέρα ενός παιδιού η 26χρονη που έπεσε νεκρή από τα χέρια του πρώην συντρόφου της στη Λεμεσό (pics-video)’, 29 June. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/mitera-enos-paidiou-i-26chroni-pou-epese-nekri-apo-ta-cheria-tou-proin-syntrofou-tis-sti-lemeso-pics-video/> (Accessed: 25 April 2023)

The “Victim of bad circumstances”

1. “a case of the death of an unprotected mother who left behind three orphans.”

PhileNews. (2021) ‘Μια δολοφονία που απαιτεί δικαίωση’, 03 March. Available at <https://www.philenews.com/downtown/article/698900/mia-dolofonia-pou-apeti-dikeosi/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

2. “The unfortunate Ghada, 31 years old and a mother of 7 children, was desperate for protection after feeling she was in danger from her husband's violent behaviour.”

OmegaNews. (2020) ‘«Είδα τον παπά να χτύπα την μάμα και μετά κοιμήθηκε» – Ανατριχιαστική η μαρτυρία της 7χρονης για το φονικό της Πάφου’, 21 January. Available at: <https://omegalive.com.cy/astynomika/%ce%ab5%ce%af%ce%ab4%ce%ab1-%ce%84%ce%ab%ce%abd%ce%80%ce%ab1%ce%80%ce%ae-%ce%bd%ce%ab1-%ce%87%ce%84%ce%8d%ce%80%ce%ab1-%ce%84%ce%ab7%ce%bd-%ce%bc%ce%ac%ce%bc%ce%ab1-%ce%bc%ce%ab5%ce%84%ce%ae-%ce%ba%ce%abf%ce%ab9%ce%bc%ce%ae%ce%b8%ce%ab7%ce%ba%ce%ab5%ce%ab1%ce%abd%ce%ab1%ce%84%ce%81%ce%ab9%ce%87%ce%ab9%ce%ab1%ce%83%ce%84%ce%ab9%ce%ba%ce%ae-%ce%ab7-%ce%abc%ce%ab1%ce%81%ce%84%ce%85%ce%81%ce%af%ce%ab1-%ce%84%ce%ab7-7%ce%87%ce%81%ce%abf%ce%abd%ce%ab7%ce%82-%ce%ab3%ce%ab9%ce%ab1%ce%84%ce%bf%ce%86%ce%abf%ce%85/> (Accessed: 25 May 2023)

3. “She came with her children from Lebanon with hope as their only baggage.. for a better life.....A life dreamed up away from the bane of war in Syria...”

AlphaNews.Live. (2020) ‘Συγκλονιστικές αποκαλύψεις: Από την προσφυγιά στο θάνατο... (BINTEO)’, 22 January. Available at: <https://www.alphanews.live/cyprus/syglonistikes-apokalypseis-apo-tin-prosfygia-sto-thanato-binteo> (Accessed: 30 January 2023)

4. “she had come to Cyprus with her children a year and a half ago, travelling in a wooden boat with dozens of other refugees, who set out from Lebanon after the chaos in Idlib and after several attempts to come to Cyprus to reunite with her husband.”

REPORTER. (2020) ‘Ταξίδεψε σε ξύλινη βάρκα με τα παιδιά για να τον βρει και αυτός την σκότωσε’, 22 January. Available at: <https://reporter.com.cy/article/2020/1/22/149864/taxidepse-se-xuline-barka-me-ta-paidia-gia-na-ton-brei-kai-autos-ten-skotose> (Accessed: 27 March 2023)

5. “the 31-year-old Ghada Al Nouri left her last breath in front of her children’s terrified eyes.”

REPORTER. (2020) 'Τα κίνητρα των γυναικοκτόνων, η κορύφωση της βίας και οι τρομακτικοί αριθμοί', 22 January. Available at: <https://reporter.com.cy/article/2020/1/22/149997/ta-kinetra-ton-gunaikoktonon-e-koruphose-tes-bias-kai-oi-tromaktikoi-arithmoi/> (Accessed: 27 March 2023)

6. "the method chosen by the 44-year-old brought terrible physical and mental pain to the victim, but also to the people who saw the face of the deceased melting, especially of course to her own child. It could also not be overlooked that the deceased experienced a continuous and unbearable torment for about two weeks before ending up"

Νεάρχου, Γ. (2018) 'Ζήλεψε και τη σκότωσε με καυστική σόδα', PhileNews, 28 April. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/kipros/koinonia/article/165097/zilepse-ke-ti-skotose-me-kafstiki-soda/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

7. "Alone in a foreign country with five underage children struggling to make ends meet like any mother heroine who protects her little ones at a heavy price and at any cost by pressing pause on her own life, her own needs and desires.", "Let us attempt to feel the fear, the despair, the hopelessness, the terror, the pain, the threat."

Νομικός, Μ. (2020) 'Τι θα λέγατε για λίγη ενσυναίσθηση;', Avant-garde, 23 January. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/nea/istories/ti-tha-legate-gia-ligi-ensynaisthisi> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

8. "The unfortunate 31-year-old from Syria arrives on the wooden boat in Cyprus... A boat, packed with refugee children and Ghada Al Nouri, holding in her arms her five children, who finally managed to flee from the horrors and havoc of the war in Idlib. A journey that started... with only hope as her baggage. Hope for a better tomorrow..."

Στυλιανού, Ρ. (2020) 'Η στιγμή που η 31χρονη Ghada έφτασε στην Κύπρο για ένα καλύτερο αύριο (BINTEO)', AlphaNews.Live, 23 January. Available at: <https://www.alphanews.live/cyprus/i-stigma-poy-i-31hroni-ghada-efitase-stin-kypro-gia-ena-kalytero-ayrio-binteo> (Accessed: 30 January 2023)

9. "She came in a rotten boat with her children to escape the bane... to escape the chaos of the war in Idlib where she lived with her family and reunite with her 42-year-old husband who was already in Cyprus."

Φέσις, Λ. (2020) 'Ήρθε με σαπιοκάραβο μαζί με τα παιδιά της για να γλυτώσουν από τον όλεθρο...', AlphaNews.Live, 22 January. Available at: <https://www.alphanews.live/cyprus/irthe-me-sapiokarabo-mazi-me-ta-paidia-tis-gia-na-elytosovn-apo-ton-olethro> (Accessed: 30 January 2023)

10. "when the unfortunate woman left her country to escape the civil war, she made a long and arduous journey to reunite with her husband, who was already in Cyprus."

Cyprus Times. (2020) 'Νέα στοιχεία για επιθετική συμπεριφορά του φερόμενου συζυγοκτόνου. Απειλήσε συμπατριώτη του γιατί ζήλεψε', 28 January. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/nea-stoicheia-gia-epithetiki-syberifora-tou-feromenou-syzygoktonou-apeilise-sybpatrioti-tou-giati-zilepse> (Accessed: 25 April 2023)

11. "She had embarked with her five children on a wooden boat from Lebanon, cramped with tens of other Syrian refugees, after fleeing the chaos in Idlib."

Charalambous, A. (2020) 'UNHCR shocked and sad over murder of Syrian refugee mother', InCyNews, 22 January. Available at: <https://in-cyprus.philenews.com/news/local/unhcr-shocked-and-sad-over-murder-of-syrian-refugee-mother/> (Accessed: 11 May 2023)

12. "the unfortunate 31-year-old had boarded with her five children from Lebanon on a wooden boat with dozens of other refugees to reach Cyprus and be reunited with her husband who today is the suspect for her murder."

Χριστοδούλου, Ν. (2020) 'Φόβοι συριακού «εμφυλίου» μετά τη σύλληψη του φερόμενου συζυγοκτόνου', PhileNews, 24 January. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/kipros/koinonia/article/901095/fovi-siriakou-emfiliou-meta-ti-sylliphi-tou-feromenou-sizigoktonou/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

13. "The unfortunate woman was a mother of 7 children and came to Cyprus for a better life not knowing what awaited her."

Taxydromos24. (2020) 'Φόνος Πάφου: Στη νομική υπηρεσία ο φάκελος της υπόθεσης', 06 February. Available at: <https://www.taxidromos24.com/2020/02/06/fonos-pafou-stin-nomiki-ipiresia/> (Accessed: 12 March 2023)

“The Whore” and “The Gold-digger”

1. “the victim lived an intense life and maintained parallel love relationships with various people” (used in the majority of the articles)
2. “the victim in recent years lived a very intense life, since she maintained parallel love ties with various persons, who essentially supported her financially, since she did not work.” (used in many articles)
3. “it is a crime of passion since the 36-year-old had relationships with various men who supported her financially.”

Cyprus Times. (2015) 'Οι στυγρές δολοφονίες του 2015 που συγκλόνισαν το παγκύπριο', 30 December. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/oi-stygeres-dolofonies-tou-2015-pou-sygklonisan-to-pagkyprio/> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

Dialogos. (2016) '5μερη κράτηση στον 2ο Βούλγαρο για το φόνο της Μολδαβής Ντανιέλα', 26 June. Available at: <https://dialogos.com.cy/5meri-kratysi-ston-2o-voulgaro-gia-to-fono-tis-moldavis-ntaniela/> (Accessed: 09 May 2023)

Dialogos. (2016) 'Επταήμερη κράτηση σε 26χρονο για τον φόνο της Ντ. Ρόσκα', 21 June. Available at: <https://dialogos.com.cy/eptaimeri-kratysi-se-26chronos-gia-ton-fono-tis-nt-roska/> (Accessed: 09 May 2023)

4. “Daniela was residing permanently in Cyprus for the past six years, during which she established several ties with Cypriots, including businessmen (some are well-known names), as well as with a Lebanese”

ToThemaOnline. (2015) 'ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΠΤΙΚΟ: Ανακρίθηκαν Κύπριοι επιχειρηματίες για τη δολοφονία της Ντανιέλα', 05 November. Available at: <https://www.tothemaonline.com/Article/42132/apokalyptiko-anakrithkan-kyprioi-epiheirhmaties-gia-th-dolofonia-ths-ntaniela> (Accessed: 03 March 2023)

5. “the 56-year-old, who in Romania worked as a gymnast, went around in the same clothes and was almost always drunk, and was given food every day.”

Kathimerini. (2013) 'Δολοφονία 56χρονης Ρουμάνας στη Λάρνακα: Η νενομισμένη νεκροτομή έδειξε εσωτερική αιμοραγία ως την αιτία θανάτου', 09 September. Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/kypros/146518/?ctype=ar> (Accessed: 12 May 2023)

The “Annoying Woman” and the Woman who Abandoned her Partner

1. “the woman abandoned the 50-year-old” (used in many articles)
2. “the 44 - year-old had entered into another relationship. This event seems to have sparked intense fights that led to murder and suicide.”

Καλατζής, Μ. (2020) 'Τραγωδία στη Λακατάμια: Σήμερα η νεκροτομή στις δύο σορούς', PolitisNews, 01 July. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/cyprus/376120/tragodia-sti-lakatamia-simera-i-nekrotomi-stis-dyo-sorouy> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

3. “the fact that the victim was in a relationship with another person and that the accused saw them on the couch of the house kissing justify the temporary loss of self-control of the accused.”

Kathimerini. (2020) '18 χρόνια φυλάκιση σε 42χρονο για την δολοφονία της εν διαστάσει συζύγου του: Ήταν μητέρα επτά παιδιών εν των οποίων τα δύο ηλικίας 16 και 17 ετών διαμένουν στην Συρία', 23 July. Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/kypros/18-xronia-fylakisi-se-42xrono-gia-tin-dolofonia-tis-en-diatasei-svzygov-toy> (Accessed: 12 May 2023)

4. “The two had been living together for the past five years in Larnaca, but the woman abandoned the 50-year-old.”

Kathimerini. (2013) 'Τραυμάτισε κρίσιμα 32χρονη και μετά αυτοκτόνησε: Απόπειρα φόνου στην Ορόκλινη - Εγκλημα πάθους διερευνά η Αστυνομία - Κρίσιμα 32χρονη', 08 September. Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/kypros/146399/?ctype=ar> (Accessed: 12 May 2023)

5. "Georgia's refusal to return to him allegedly angered the 32-year-old and spurred him on to the heinous crime."

Πενηταξέ, Κ. (2014) 'Οι φόνου που συγκλόνισαν το 2013', Signalive, 16 February. Available at:

<https://simerini.signalive.com/article/2014/2/16/oi-phono-pou-sugklonisan-to-2013/> (Accessed: 26 March 2023)

6. "he killed his partner because they had personal differences and 'she deserved to be killed'"

Cyprus Times. (2021) '«Της άξιζε να την σκοτώσω» είπε ο δράστης στον συνεργό... Στην φυλακή ο ένας για τη δολοφονία γυναίκας στην Αθήνους', 25 June. Available at:

<https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/tis-axize-na-tin-skotoso-eipe-o-drastis-ston-synergo...-Stin-fulaki-o-enas-gia-ti-dolofonia-gynaikas-stin-athienou/> (Accessed: 25 April 2023)

7. "he killed her because she pissed him off."

Cyprus Times. (2022) 'Ποινή φυλάκισης 16 ετών στον άντρα που έθαψε την πρώην φίλη του στην Αθήνους και την έλουσε με οξύ', 04 March. Available at:

<https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/poini-fylakisis-16-eton-ston-antra-pou-ethapse-tin-proin-fili-tou-stin-athienou-kai-tin-elouse-me-oxu/> (Accessed: 25 April 2023)

"The Jealous Man"

1. "the motive of the murder was the pathological jealousy of the 42-year-old"

Hadjimitsis, M. (2020) 'ΦΟΝΙΚΟ-ΠΑΦΟΣ: Συνελήφθη στη Λεμεσό ο φερόμενος συζυγοκτόνος', *Faros*, 23 January. Available at:

<https://www.farosnair.com/farosnews/foniko-pafos-synelifthi-sti-lemeso-o-feromenos-syzygoktonos/> (Accessed: 02 May 2023)

2. "Pathological jealousy seems to have armed the brutal killer's hand"

REPORTER. (2017) 'Στυγερό έγκλημα στα κατεχόμενα-Σκότωσε τη γυναίκα του μπροστά σε όλους', 19 April. Available at:

<https://reporter.com.cy/article/2017/4/19/296581/stugero-egklema-sta-katechomena-skotoso-te-gunaika-tou-mprosta-se-olous/> (Accessed: 27 March 2023)

3. "Jealousy is the reason behind the murder"

Cyprus Times. (2017) 'Άγριο φονικό στην Αμμόχωστο (pics)', 19 April. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/agrio-foniko-stin-ammochosto-pics/> (Accessed: 25 April 2023)

Cyprus Times. (2017) 'Άγριο φονικό στην κατεχόμενη Αμμόχωστο... Μαχαίρωσε τη 25χρονη σύζυγο του στη μέση του δρόμου (pics)', 19 April. Available at:

<https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/agrio-foniko-stin-katechomeni-ammochosto-machairose-ti-25chroni-syzygo-tou-sti-mesi-tou-dromou-pics/> (Accessed: 25 April 2023)

FamagustaNews. (2017) 'Έγκλημα πάθους στην κατεχόμενη Αμμόχωστο (ΦΩΤΟ)', 19 April. Available at: https://famagusta.news/news/blog-post_231/ (Accessed: 30 January 2023)

4. "Jealousy armed the hand of 42-year-old Ozgur Okumus and killed his 25-year-old wife"

Ρούσσο, Μ. (2017) 'Έγκλημα πάθους στην κατεχόμενη Αμμόχωστο (ΦΩΤΟ)', *AlphaNews.Live*, 19 April. Available at:

<https://www.alphanews.live/cyprus/egklema-pathovs-sta-katechomena> (Accessed: 30 January 2023)

FamagustaNews. (2017) 'Passion crime in occupied Famagusta (PHOTO)', 19 April. Available at: https://en.famagusta.news/news/blog-post_231/ (Accessed: 27 April 2023)

5. "Reasons of jealousy led 42-year-old Ozgur Okoumous to kill his 25-year-old wife, Bourtziou, yesterday with a knife in a main street of occupied Famagusta, shortly before 11am."

Kathimerini. (2017) 'Έγκλημα ζήλιας συγκλονίζει τα κατεχόμενα: 42χρονος σκότωσε με μαχαίρι την 25χρονη συζυγό του', 19 April. Available at:

<https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/kypros/egklima-zilias-sygklonizei-ta-katexomena> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

ToThemaOnline. (2017) 'Άγριο φονικό συγκλονίζει την κατεχόμενη Αμμόχωστο: Έσφαξε τη σύζυγό του με έξι μαχαίρες μπροστά στα μάτια θαμώνων καφετέριας', 19 April. Available at:

<https://www.tothemaonline.com/Article/82666/agrio-foniko-sygklonizei-tin-katechomeni-ammohwsto-esfaxe-th-syzygo-tov-me-exi-mahairies-mprosta-sta-matia-thamwnwn-kafeterias> (Accessed: 03 March 2023)

PhileNews. (2017) 'Έγκλημα ζήλιας συγκλονίζει την τ/κ κοινή γνώμη', 19 April. Available at:

<https://www.philenews.com/kipros/koinonia/article/29182/egklima-zilias-sygklonizi-tin-t-k-kini-enomi/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

6. “He got jealous and killed her with acid”

ToThemaOnline. (2018) ‘ΛΕΥΚΩΣΙΑ: 16 χρόνια φυλάκιση σε 44χρονο – Ζήλεψε και την σκότωσε με καυστική σόδα’, 28 April. Available at: <https://www.tothemaonline.com/Article/122816/leykwsia-16-hronia-fylakish-se-44hrono-%E2%80%93-zhlepse-kai-thn-skotwse-me-kaystikh-soda> (Accessed: 08 April 2023)

7. “his aggressive behaviour was due to his pathological jealousy for the unfortunate 31-year-old”

Cyprus Times. (2020) ‘Νέα στοιχεία για επιθετική συμπεριφορά του φερόμενου συζυγοκτόνου. Απειλήσε συμπατριώτη του γιατί ζήλεψε’, 28 January. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/nea-stoicheia-gia-epithetiki-syberifora-tou-feromenou-svzygoktonou-apeilise-sybatrioti-tou-giati-zilepse/> (Accessed: 25 April 2023)

8. “The behaviour and actions of the accused is the result of his jealousy towards the victim and the selfish fact that he could not accept that the victim did not want him and loved someone else”

Ant1 News. (2020) ‘Ποινή φυλάκισης 18 ετών σε 42χρονο για ανθρωποκτονία σε βάρος της εν διαστάσει συζύγου του: Ο κατηγορούμενος διέπραξε το αποτρόπαιο έγκλημα σε βάρος του θύματος ενώ βρισκόταν στο σπίτι τα ανήλικα παιδιά τους.’, 23 July. Available at: https://www.ant1live.com/koinonia/386384_poini-fylakisis-18-eton-se-42hrono-gia-anthropoktonia-se-baros-tis-en-diastasei (Accessed: 07 February 2023)

9. “the 42-year-old Hussein Farouh was pathologically jealous of the 31-year-old, often made scenes of jealousy, became violent towards her and beat her.”

Cyprus Times. (2020) ‘Έδωσε κατάθεση το 7χρονο κοριτσάκι για το συγγρό φονικό στην Πάφο... Αφαντος ο συζυγοκτόνος’, 22 January. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/edose-katathesi-to-7chrono-koritsaki-gia-to-syngro-foniko-stin-pafo...-afantos-o-svzygoktonos/> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

Taxydromos24. (2020) ‘Έγκλημα πάθους και ζήλιας – Γείτονες και συγγενείς γνώριζαν αλλά «σιωπούσαν»’, 21 January. Available at: <https://www.taxydromos24.com/2020/01/21/egma-pathous-kai-zilias/> (Accessed: 12 March 2023)

10. “the cause of the murder was the pathological jealousy that the estranged husband of the victim had towards the 31-year-old Ghada.”

Dialogos. (2020) ‘Συμβολή της δικαιοδικής ομάδας της Αστυνομίας στις έρευνες για εντοπισμό του φερόμενου δολοφόνου της 31χρονης’, 22 January. Available at: <https://dialogos.com.cy/symvoli-tis-dikoinotikis-omadas-tis-astynomias-stis-erevnes/> (Accessed: 09 May 2023)

Faros. (2020) ‘ΔΟΛΟΦΟΝΙΑ – ΠΑΦΟΣ: Δικαιοδική ομάδα θα βοηθήσει την Αστυνομία – Αιτία του φονικού «η παθολογική ζήλια»’, 21 January. Available at: <https://www.farosnair.com/farosnews/dolofonia-pafos-dikoinotiki-omada-tha-voithisei-tin-astynomia-etia-tou-fonikou-i-pathologiki-zilia/> (Accessed: 02 May 2023)

Taxydromos24. (2020) ‘Πάφος: Συμβολή της δικαιοδικής ομάδας της Αστυνομίας στις έρευνες για εντοπισμό του φερόμενου δολοφόνου της 31χρονης’, 22 January. Available at: <https://www.taxydromos24.com/2020/01/22/pafos-simvoli-tis-dikoinotikis-omadas/> (Accessed: 12 March 2023)

ToThemaOnline. (2020) ‘ΔΟΛΟΦΟΝΙΑ – ΠΑΦΟΣ: Δικαιοδική ομάδα θα βοηθήσει την Αστυνομία – Αιτία του φονικού «η παθολογική ζήλια»’, 22 January. Available at: <https://www.tothemaonline.com/Article/212749/dolofonia-%E2%80%93-pafos-dikoinotikh-omada-tha-boithhsei-thn-astynomia-%E2%80%93-aitia-toy-fonikoy-h-pathologi> (Accessed: 03 March 2023)

Χριστοδούλου, Ν. (2020) ‘Αιτία του φονικού η παθολογική ζήλια’, *PhileNews*, 23 January. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/kipros/koinonia/article/897997/etia-tou-fonikou-i-pathologiki-zilia/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

Χριστοδούλου, Ν. (2020) ‘Φόνος 31χρονης: Επεκτείνονται και στα κατεχόμενα οι έρευνες’, *PhileNews*, 22 January. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/kipros/koinonia/article/896190/fonos-31chronis-epektinonte-ke-sta-katechomena-i-erevnes/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

11. “the accused developed and harboured passion and jealousy towards the deceased, elements that did not allow him in any way to stay away from her and or accept their separation, regardless of her behaviour towards him.”

Dialogos. (2017) ‘Έγκλημα πάθους ο φόνος της Galina Glavan’, 15 March. Available at: <https://dialogos.com.cy/egklima-pathous-o-fonos-tis-galina-glavan/> (Accessed: 03 April 2023)

12. “for the past year he has been persistently asking for a reunion but to no avail.”

Kathimerini. (2013) ‘Τραυμάτισε κρίσιμα 32χρονη και μετά αυτοκτόνησε: Απόπειρα φόνου στην Ορόκλινη - Έγκλημα πάθους διερευνά η Αστυνομία - Κρίσιμα 32χρονη’, 08 September. Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/kypros/146399/?ctype=ar> (Accessed: 12 May 2023)

Ιωάννου, Θ. (2013) ‘Έγκλημα Πάθους: Την πυροβόλησε και μετά έθεσε τέρμα στη ζωή του...(VIDEO)’, *Ant1 News*, 08 September. Available at: https://www.ant1live.com/arheio/62910_egklima-pathous-tin-pyrobolise-kai-meta-ethese-terma-sti-zoi-tou-video (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

13. “From our information, in any case, the 35-year-old after his separation with the 26-year-old, was not well psychologically and friends and relatives were looking for him.”

OmegaNews. (2019) ‘Μητέρα ενός ανήλικου κοριτσιού το θύμα της τραγωδίας στην Αγ.Φύλα’, 29 June. Available at:

<https://omegalive.com.cy/astynomika/%ce%bc%ce%b7%cf%84%ce%ad%cf%81%ce%b1-%ce%b5%ce%bd%cf%8c%cf%82-%ce%b1%ce%bd%ce%ae%ce%bb%ce%b9%ce%ba%ce%ab%cf%85-%ce%ba%ce%ab%cf%81%ce%b9%cf%84%cf%83%ce%b9%ce%b9%cf%8d-%cf%84%ce%bf%ce%b8%cf%8d%ce%bc%ce%b1-%cf%84%ce%b7%cf%82-%cf%84%cf%81%ce%b1%ce%b3%cf%89%ce%b4%ce%af%ce%b1%cf%82-%cf%83%cf%84%ce%b7%ce%bd-%ce%b1%ce%b3-%cf%86%cf%8d%ce%bb%ce%ab1/> (Accessed: 25 May 2023)

OmegaNews. (2019) ‘Το μοιραίο ραντεβού λίγο πριν την τραγωδία στην Αγ.Φύλα-Τα πρώτα στοιχεία της αστυνομίας’, 29 June. Available at:

<https://omegalive.com.cy/astynomika/%cf%84%ce%bf%ce%bc%ce%b9%cf%81%ce%b1%ce%af%ce%bf-%cf%81%ce%bd%cf%84%ce%b5%ce%b2%ce%ab%cf%8d-%ce%bb%ce%af%ce%b3%ce%bf-%cf%80%cf%81%ce%b9%ce%bd-%cf%84%ce%b7%ce%bd-%cf%84%cf%81%ce%b1%ce%b3%cf%89%ce%b4%ce%af%ce%b1-%cf%83%cf%84%ce%b7%ce%bd-%ce%b1%ce%b3-%cf%86%cf%8d%ce%bb%ce%ab1-%cf%84%ce%b1-%cf%80%cf%81%cf%8e%cf%84%ce%b1-%cf%83%cf%84%ce%bf%ce%b9%cf%87%ce%b5%ce%af%ce%b1-%cf%84%ce%b7%cf%82-%ce%b1%cf%83%cf%84%cf%85%ce%bd%ce%ab%ce%bc%ce%af%ce%b1%cf%82/> (Accessed: 25 May 2023)

14. “The cause of the tragedy are family differences, as the couple were separated.”

Ιωάννου, Θ. (2014) ‘Λεπτομέρειες-σοκ από την οικογενειακή τραγωδία στο Στρόβολο’, *Ant1 News*, 18 June. Available at:

https://www.ant1live.com/arheio/84358_leptomereies-sok-apo-tin-oikogeneiaki-tragodia-sto-strobolo (Accessed: 07 February 2023)

15. “he killed his ex-girlfriend because she didn't want them to meet anymore.” (used in many articles)

16. “he killed Ulutan because she no longer wanted to be in a relationship with him.”

InCyNews. (2018) ‘Turkish-occupied north murder suspect remanded’, 06 November. Available at:

<https://in-cyprus.philenews.com/news/local/turkish-occupied-north-murder-suspect-remanded/> (Accessed: 11 May 2023)[FS1]

17. “he was begging the victim and wanted them to continue their marriage”

Kathimerini. (2020) ‘18 χρόνια φυλάκιση σε 42χρονο για την δολοφονία της εν διαστάσει συζύγου του: Ήταν μητέρα επτά παιδιών εν των οποίων τα δύο ηλικίας 16 και 17 ετών διαμένουν στην Συρία’, 23 July. Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/kypros/18-xronia-fylakisi-se-42xrono-gia-tin-dolofonia-tis-en-diastasei-svzygov-toy> (Accessed: 12 May 2023)

18. “The Syrian who was extremely jealous of his ten years younger wife was clouded when she asked him to break-up and when information about her inappropriate relationship came to his knowledge”

Taxydromos24. (2020) ‘Πάφος: Στη φυλακή για 18 χρόνια ο Σύρος που σκότωσε τη γυναίκα του’, 23 July. Available at:

<https://www.taxydromos24.com/2020/07/23/sti-filaki-gia-18xronia-o-siros-poy-skotose-th-gynaika-toy/> (Accessed: 12 March 2023)

19. “Angry lover behind beautiful Danielle's murder...he was furious with the victim lately because of the not desirable for him direction their relationship took”

REPORTER. (2015) ‘Όργισμένος εραστής πίσω από την δολοφονία της όμορφης Ντανιέλλας;’, 04 November. Available at:

<https://reporter.com.cy/article/2015/11/4/356534/orgismenos-erastes-piso-apo-ten-dolofonia-tes-omorphes-ntaniellas/> (Accessed: 27 March 2023)

“The Psychopath” or “Infuriated Man”

1. “the 58-year-old appears to have psychiatric problems and this led him to his heinous act”

ToThemaOnline. (2021) ‘«Καθόταν μαχαίρωμένος δύο μέτρα από τη νεκρή μάνα του» - «Πιάσε ασθενοφόρο και θα πεθάνω» Συγκλονίζουν τα όσα αναφέρει γείτονας για το φρικτό έγκλημα στους Εργάτες’, 11 February. Available at:

<https://www.tothemaonline.com/Article/271106/kathotan-mahairwmenos-dvo-metra-apo-th-nekrh-mana-toy---piase-asthenoforo-kai-tha-pethanw-sygklonizovn-ta-osa-anaferi-geitonas-gia-to-frikto-egklhma-stovs-ergates-> (Accessed: 08 April 2023)

2. “the perpetrator, who was experiencing psychiatric problems and so far it is unknown if he was following the prescribed medication, got up in the morning and with a knife started chasing the wife whom he fatally wounded” (used in the majority of the articles)

3. “A fight between an elderly couple becomes the cause of another heinous uxoricide in Cyprus.”

Καβάζη, Ε. (2022) ‘Σκότωσε τη Γιωργούλα χτυπώντας την 4-5 φορές με σφυρί στο κεφάλι (BINTEO)’, *AlphaNews.Live*, 06 June. Available at: <https://www.alphanews.live/cvprus/skotose-ti-giorgovla-htvpontas-tin-4-5-fores-me-sfyri-sto-kefali-binteo/> (Accessed: 09 April 2023)

4. “some frictions between them seem to have been the cause of the tragedy.”

Cyprus Times. (2022) ‘Την σκότωσε στην αυλή και πήγε να παραδοθεί. Προστριβές του ζεύγους στο επίκεντρο για το φονικό στη Λεμεσό (pics-video)’, 06 June. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/tin-skotose-stin-avli-kai-pige-na-paradothei-prostrives-tou-zevgous-sto-epikentro-gia-to-foniko-sti-lemeso-pics-video/> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

5. “The 59-year-old husband and father, according to the facts of the case, was overwhelmed by incredible fury and caused the unimaginable tragedy.”

Cyprus Times. (2021) ‘Σήμερα τα τελευταία «αντίο» σε μάνα και γιο που δολοφονήθηκαν στους Εργάτες (pic)’, 13 February. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/simera-to-teleftaio-antio-se-mana-kai-gio-pou-dolofonithikan-stous-ergates-pic/> (Accessed: 25 April 2023)

Cyprus Times. (2021) ‘Σοκαρισμένοι από το μένος του δράστη... «Σκαλίζουν» την υπόθεση του 1976 μετά το διπλό φονικό’, 13 February. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/sokarismenoi-apo-to-menos-tou-drasti-skalizoun-tin-yprothesi-tou-1976-meta-to-diplo-foniko/> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

Χατζηβασιλίδης, Μ. (2021) ‘Τραγωδία που κρύβει ευθύνες - Κατελήφθη από αμόκ ο ύποπτος’, *PhileNews*, 12 February. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/eidiseis/article/692128/tragodia-pou-krivi-efthines-katelifthi-apo-amok-o-ipoptos/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

6. “The 41 - year-old in a moment of madness starts shooting indiscriminately, spreading death. His estranged wife and nine-year-old daughter fell dead from his fury, while his 14-year-old son was wounded in the back.”

Χαραλάμπους, Σ. (2020) ‘Έγκλήματα με όπλα σε σπίτια της Κύπρου – Τραγωδίες που συγλόνησαν την κοινή γνώμη’, *OmegaNews*, 12 May. Available at: <https://omegalive.com.cy/astynomika/%ce%bc%ce%b5-%cf%84%ce%ab1-%cf%8c%cf%80%ce%bb%ce%ab1-%cf%83%cf%84%ce%bf-%cf%83%cf%80%ce%af%cf%84%ce%ab9-%ce%ab1%cf%83%cf%8d%ce%bb%ce%bb%ce%ab7%cf%80%cf%84%ce%ab5%cf%82-%cf%84%cf%81%ce%ab1%ce%ab3%cf%89%ce%ab4%ce%af%ce%ab5%cf%82-%cf%83%cf%84%ce%ab7%ce%ab4-%ce%aba%cf%8d%cf%80%cf%81%ce%abf/> (Accessed: 25 May 2023)

7. “The couple's meeting to discuss the future of their relationship ended in tragedy when a 41-year-old Greek-Cypriot man in a moment of insanity kills his estranged 35-year-old wife, the 9-year-old daughter, injures his 14-year-old son and ends his life.”

OmegaNews. (2019) ‘Κύπρος: Οικογενειακά αιματοκυλίσματα – Όταν σπλίζεται το χέρι του συγγενή’, 22 December. Available at: <https://omegalive.com.cy/astynomika/%ce%ba%cf%8d%cf%80%cf%81%ce%abf%cf%82-%ce%bf%ce%b9%ce%ba%ce%ab%ce%b3%ce%ab5%ce%bd%ce%b5%ce%b9%ce%ab1%ce%ba%ce%ac-%ce%ab1%ce%b9%ce%bb%ce%ab1%cf%84%ce%bf%ce%ba%cf%85%ce%bb%ce%af%cf%83%ce%bc%ce%ab1%cf%84%ce%ab1-%cf%8c%cf%84%ce%ab1%ce%bd-%ce%bf%cf%80%ce%bb%ce%af%ce%ab6%ce%ab5%cf%84%ce%ab1%ce%ab9-%cf%84%ce%bf-%cf%87%ce%ad%cf%81%ce%ab9-%cf%84%ce%bf%cf%85-%cf%83%cf%85%ce%ab3%ce%ab3%ce%b5%ce%bd%ce%ae/> (Accessed: 25 May 2023)

8. “the perpetrator's fury is imprinted on the body of his 52-year-old wife.”

ToThemaOnline. (2021) ‘Με 7 μαχαίριές αφάιρεσε τη ζωή της συζύγου του - Το μένος του δράστη κατά τη δολοφονία’, 11 February. Available at: <https://www.tothemaonline.com/Article/271082/me-7-mahairies-afairese-th-zwh-ths-svzvgov-tov--to-menos-tov-drasth-kata-th-dolofonia-> (Accessed: 03 March 2023)

9. “it was committed instantaneously and under conditions of emotional charge due to the behaviour of the victim”

Kathimerini. (2016) ‘Ποινή «χάδ» στον 80χρονο για ανθρωποκτονία της συζύγου του: Έξι χρόνια φυλάκισης επέβαλε το Κακουργιοδικείο στον Γιάγκο Κατσαρή’, 19 May. Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/kypros/239435/?ctype=ar> (Accessed: 11 April 2023)

10. “they had some disagreement with each other and his unfortunate 82-year-old wife called him a miser. This fact angered the 84-year-old who took a hammer and with multiple blows to the head killed her.”

Παζούρος, Γ. (2022) ‘Στις Κεντρικές Φυλακές μέχρι τη δίκη ο 84χρονος συζυγοκτόνος’, PolitisNews, 15 June. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/489626/stis-kentrikes-fylakes-mechri-ti-diki-o-84chronos-syzygoktonos> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

11. “the 77-year-old did not want him to go there, attacked him and beat him with a basket cover, as a result of which he became angry, pulled a revolver from his pocket and shot her three times in the chest.”

Cyprus Times. (2016) ‘Αρνείται φόνο εκ προμελέτης ο 80χρονος συζυγοκτόνος’, 02 June. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/ameitai-fono-ek-promeletis-o-80chronos-syzygoktonos/> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)
Cyprus Times. (2016) ‘Έπεσε αιμόφυρτη στο έδαφος και συνέχιζε να πυροβολεί την σύζυγο’, 02 June. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/epese-aimofyrti-sto-edafos-kai-synechize-na-pyrovolei-tin-syzygo-tou/> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

12. “the woman's attitude towards him had negative consequences on him, that is, caused him low self-esteem, insult to his dignity, insecurity, pain and frustration”

Δημητρίου, Μ. (2017) ‘Η τοξική σχέση και ο χημικός θάνατος της Galina Glavan!’, 24News, 19 March. Available at: <https://24h.com.cy/i-toxiki-sxesi-kai-o-ximikos-thanatos-tis-galina-glavan/> (Accessed: 31 January 2023)

13. “he was infuriated because she had called him ‘stingy’”

Charalambous, A. (2022) ‘Elderly man says he killed his wife for over 60 years after calling him ‘stingy’’, InCyNews, 07 June. Available at: <https://in-cyprus.philenews.com/news/local/elderly-man-says-he-killed-his-wife-for-over-60-years-after-calling-him-stingy/> (Accessed: 11 May 2023)

The “Victim of bad circumstances”

1. “Financial disputes armed the hand of the 80-year-old man who shot and killed his estranged wife.”

Newsbomb Cyprus. (2016) ‘Τραγωδία στην Κύπρο: Ογδοντάχρονος σκότωσε την εν διαστάσει σύζυγό του’, 03 March. Available at: <https://www.newsbomb.gr/kypros/story/675547/tragodia-stin-kypro-ogdontaxonos-skotose-tin-en-diastasei-syzygo-tou> (Accessed: 24 May 2023)

2. “For his gambling addiction, which led him to commit the heinous crime”

Cyprus Times. (2020) ‘Ηθελε το αποτύπωμα της Iryna για να μεταφέρει χιλιάδες από τις καταθέσεις της... Ο εθισμός στον τζόγο και οι μετακινήσεις μετά τον φόνο’, 17 October. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/iithele-to-apotypoma-tis-iry-na-gia-na-metaferei-chiliades-apo-tis-katatheseis-tis-o-ethismos-ston-tzogo-kai-oi-metakiniseis-meta-ton-fono/> (Accessed: 25 April 2023)

3. “The 30-year-old's motive was the illegal financial gain to get out of the difficult situation he had been in due to his gambling addiction.”

Μάντζηπα, Ι. (2021) ‘Κάθιρηξε 22 ετών στον δολοφόνο 36χρονης μητέρας’, PhileNews, 08 September. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/eidiseis/article/625373/kathirxi-22-eton-ston-dolofono-36chronis-miteras/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

4. “For the past two years the couple have been separated and have had differences over financial issues that appear to have been the cause of the murder.”

Cyprus Times. (2016) ‘«Αξιίζει μου κρεμάλα», αναφώνησε στο δικαστήριο ο 80χρονος συζυγοκτόνος’, 02 June. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/axizei-mou-kremala-anafonise-sto-dikastirio-o-80chronos-syzygoktonos/> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)
Kathimerini. (2016) ‘Στο Κακουργιοδικείο ο ύποπτος για το φόνο της συζύγου του: Παραπέμφθηκε σε απευθείας δίκη στις 20 Απριλίου’, 11 March. Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/kypros/233907/?ctype=ar> (Accessed: 12 May 2023)

5. “The financial and property differences that the 80-year-old had with his 77-year-old separated wife was the reason for the unfolding of the family tragedy in Larnaca”

Cyprus Times. (2016) ‘Με περίστροφο της ΕΟΚΑ Β’ δολοφόνησε τη σύζυγό του. Δεν μετάνιωσε!’, 02 June. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/me-peristrofo-tis-eoka-b-dolofonise-ti-syzygo-tou-den-metaniose/> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

6. “The motives of the murder are attributed to financial differences, since according to reports the couple quite often quarrelled over money.”

Kathimerini. (2016) ‘Με πέντε πυροβολισμούς σκότωσε τη γυναίκα του στα Περβόλια: Την Αστυνομία ειδοποίησε η αλλοδαπή οικιακή βοηθός η οποία διέμενε με την 77χρονη’, 03 March. Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/kypros/233235/?ctype=ar> (Accessed: 12 May 2023)

ToThemaOnline. (2016) ‘Φόνος Περβόλια: Παράνομο το όπλο του Κατσαρή - Πρώην μαία η Ζωή’, 03 March. Available at: <https://www.tothemaonline.com/Article/51903/fonos-perbolia-paranomo-to-oplo-toy-katsarh---prvhn-maia-h-zwh> (Accessed: 03 March 2023)

7. “Alcohol and bickering ended in savage murder.”

Κώστα, Δ. (2022) ‘Συνεχίζονται οι έρευνες: Αλκοόλ και διαπληκτισμός κατέληξαν στον άγριο φονικό (BINTEO): Υπό κράτηση τέθηκε 64χρονος. Ψάχνουν για το μαχαίρι που σκότωσε την 55χρονη Liliana οι Αρχές’, *Ant1.Live*, 01 September. Available at: https://www.ant1live.com/koinonia/516604_synehizontai-oi-erevnes-alkool-kai-diapliktismos-katelixan-ston-agrio-foniko-binteo (Accessed: 20 April 2023)

8. “his child will grow up without the presence of a father, his fiancée will wait for him to be released, while his personal business will collapse, resulting in the family being deprived of financial support.” (used in many articles)

9. “It is worth noting that before the court, the 29-year-old, apologised for the "harm he caused" and expressed his intention to cooperate fully with the police.”

Dialogos. (2020) ‘Υπό οκταήμερη κράτηση οι δύο ύποπτοι για το φόνο της 36χρονης Iryna’, 17 October. Available at: <https://dialogos.com/cy/vpo-oktaimeri-kratise-oi-dyo-upoptoi-gia-to-fono-tis-36chronis-iryna/> (Accessed: 09 May 2023)

ToThemaOnline. (2020) ‘ΦΟΝΟΣ 36ΧΡΟΝΗΣ: Έχασε τον μισθό του στον τζόγο και συνωμότησε να την ληστέψουν - ‘Συγγνώμη για το κακό που προκάλεσα...’’, 17 October. Available at: <https://www.tothemaonline.com/Article/252780/fonos-36hronhs-ehase-ton-mistho-toy-ston-tzogo-kai-synwomothse-na-thn-lhstepsoyn---sygnwmh-gia-to-kako-poy-prokalesa...> (Accessed: 03 March 2023)

“The Saviour/Redeemer”

1. “His wife suffered from terminal leukaemia and it seems that she asked her husband to end her life.”

Δημητρίου, Μ. (2022) ‘Ένας θάνατος στην Τρεμιθούσα Πάφου’, *PhileNews*, 08 May. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/eidiseis/article/529411/enas-thanatos-stin-tremithousa-pafou/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

2. “it took him about 15 minutes to "save her", killing her, ending the unbearable physical pain of the 74-year-old, who had been diagnosed years earlier with leukaemia.”

Signalive. (2022) ‘Φόνος Τρεμιθούσας: «Μια πράξη αγάπης- Θα μπορούσαν να ήταν όλα διαφορετικά»’, 18 December. Available at: <https://www.signalive.com/news/local/1046365/fonos-tremithousas-mia-praksi-agapis-tha-mporousan-na-itan-ola-diaforetika> (Accessed: 26 March 2023)

3. “Janice begged her husband to end her life, as she herself suffered from the disease of leukaemia and her health had deteriorated.”

Νικολάου, Ε. (2022) ‘Συζυγοκτόνος Τρεμιθούσας: «Απελπισμένος» για εκδίκαση της υπόθεσης’, *OmegaNews*, 19 September. Available at: <https://omegalive.com.cy/astynomika/%cf%83%cf%85%ce%b6%cf%85%ce%b3%ce%b1%ce%ba%cf%84%cf%8c%ce%bd%ce%b1%cf%82-%cf%84%cf%81%ce%b5%ce%bc%ce%b9%ce%b8%ce%b1%cf%8d%cf%83%ce%b1%cf%82-%ce%b1%cf%80%ce%b5%ce%bb%cf%80%ce%b9%cf%83%ce%bc%ce%ad%ce%bd%ce%b1%cf%82-%>

[https://www.taxidromos24.com/2022/10/14/pafos-mia-althini-agapi-pou-kateliξε-se-fono... Την σκότωσε για να μην πονάει- ΦΩΤΟ](https://www.taxidromos24.com/2022/10/14/pafos-mia-althini-agapi-pou-kateliξε-se-fono...), 14 October. Available at: <https://www.taxidromos24.com/2022/10/14/pafos-mia-althini-agapi-pou-kateliξε-se-fono-tin-skotyse-gia-na-min-ponaei/> (Accessed: 25 May 2023)

4. “A true love that ended in murder... he killed her so she wouldn't suffer”

Τσαγγάρη, Χ. (2022) ‘ΠΑΦΟΣ: Μία αληθινή αγάπη που κατέληξε σε φόνο... Την σκότωσε για να μην πονάει- ΦΩΤΟ’, 14 October. Available at: <https://www.taxidromos24.com/2022/10/14/pafos-mia-althini-agapi-pou-kateliξε-se-fono-tin-skotyse-gia-na-min-ponaei/> (Accessed: 12 March 2023)

5. “He strangled his wife so she wouldn't be tortured anymore -she was suffering from leukaemia- and tried to end his life”

PolitisNews. (2021) ‘Έπνιξε την γυναίκα του για να μην... βασανίζεται και προσπάθησε να θέσει τέρμα στη ζωή του - Βρετανός στην Τρεμθούσα’, 18 December. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/51523/epnixte-tin-gynaika-toy-gia-na-min-vasanizetai-kai-prospathise-na-thesei-terma-sti-zoi-toy-vretanos-stin-tremithoussa> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

PolitisNews. (2021) ‘Πάφος: Σε απ' ευθείας δίκη στο Κακούργιοδικείο ο Άγγλος που έπνιξε τη σύζυγό του για να... μην υποφέρει’, 31 December. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/55373/pafos-se-ap-eftheias-diki-sto-kakourgiodikio-o-agglos-poy-epnixte-ti-syzygo-toy-gia-na-min-yproferei> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

Νάνος, Κ. (2022) ‘Ενώπιον Κακούργιοδικείου ο Βρετανός που έπνιξε τη σύζυγο του’, *PolitisNews*, 10 February. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/cyprus/58121/enopion-kakourgiodikioy-o-vretanos-poy-epnixte-ti-syzygo-toy> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

6. “Janice was suffering from blood cancer with which she was diagnosed in 2016, and David alleges that she begged him to help her end her life, as she was suffering insurmountable pain. Should there be a right to die? The subject is highly sensitive and evokes strong emotions and opposing views.”

Browne, B. (2023) ‘Hospice care could have prevented killing of Briton's wife’, *CyprusMail*, 08 January. Available at: <https://cyprus-mail.com/2023/01/08/hospice-care-could-have-prevented-killing-of-britons-wife/> (Accessed: 22 February 2023)

7. “the outcome could have been so different if the couple had better access to medical treatment during the pandemic, along with support of a hospice. Dealing with acute pain and terminal illness took an enormous toll on their mental health.”

Browne, B. (2023) ‘Hospice care could have prevented killing of Briton's wife’, *CyprusMail*, 08 January. Available at: <https://cyprus-mail.com/2023/01/08/hospice-care-could-have-prevented-killing-of-britons-wife/> (Accessed: 22 February 2023)

8. “Janice was suffering from blood cancer with which she was diagnosed in 2016, and David alleges that she begged him to help her end her life, as she was suffering insurmountable pain. Should there be a right to die? The subject is highly sensitive and evokes strong emotions and opposing views.”

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The “Bad Man”

1. “Homeless, with no other possessions, but yet he kept a windpipe to help in the house of the woman he loved so much. He even found it by chance once on the street and kept it because it would be useful to him.”

Χατζηδημητρίου, Χ. (2017) 'Τη σκότωσε γιατί την αγαπούσε', *PhileNews*, 17 March. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/apopsis/article/12948/ti-skotose-giati-tin-agapouse/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

2. "the husband was having an extramarital affair with another woman and was trying to reap the entire apartment in which they were living."

Ant1 News. (2014) 'Ένοχος για την ανθρωποκτονία της συζύγου του ο Ν. Ιορδάνου που ισχυρίστηκε ότι αυτοκτόνησε', 20 June. Available at: https://www.ant1live.com/arheio/84513_ enohos-gia-tin-anthropoktonia-tis-syzygou-toy-o-n-iordanou-poy-ishyristike-oti (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

Kathimerini. (2014) 'Ένοχος ανθρωποκτονίας ο Νίκος Ιορδάνους: Για το θάνατο της συζύγου του, το Δεκέμβριο του 2012', 20 June. Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/kvpros/175384/?ctype=ar> (Accessed: 09 April 2023)

Sigmalive. (2014) 'Κρίθηκε ένοχος ανθρωποκτονίας ο Ν. Ιορδάνους για το θάνατο τ', 20 June. Available at: <https://simerini.sigmalive.com/article/2014/6/20/kritheke-enokhos-anthropoktonias-o-n-iordanous-gia-to-thanato-t/> (Accessed: 26 March 2023)

Κλεάνθους, Ν. (2018) 'Ο Δεκέμβριος του αίματος τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες στην Κύπρο (pics)', *REPORTER*, 24 December. Available at: <https://www.reporter.com.cy/police/article/435262/o-dekembrios-toy-aimatos-tis-teleftaies-dekaeties-stin-kypro-pics121> (Accessed: 27 March 2023)

3. "the 26-year-old, during the time he had Daniela as his mistress, he was engaged and also had a parallel relationship with another girl."

Μαντζιηπα, Ι. (2016) 'Φόνος Ρόσκα: Είχε τρεις διαφορετικές σχέσεις ταυτόχρονα ο 26χρονος Αλεξάνδρου', *ToThemaOnline*, 28 June. Available at: <https://www.tothemaonline.com/Article/61440/fonos-roska-eihe-treis-diaforetikes-sheseis-tavtochrona-o-26hronos-alexandroy> (Accessed: 03 March 2023)

Male Violence or Femicide as "Love"

1. "Homeric quarrels and frequent friction in the "puzzle" of the savage murder of the 38-year-old"

AlphaNews.Live. (2021) 'Ομηρικοί καβγάδες και συχνές προστριβές στο "παζλ" του άγριου φόνου της 38χρονης', 12 April. Available at: <https://www.alphanews.live/cyprus/omirikoi-kabgades-kai-syhnes-prostribes-sto-pazl-toy-agrioy-fonoy-tis-38hronis> (Accessed: 30 January 2023)

2. "He killed her because he loved her" (used in many articles)
3. "Everything indicates that the man from Romania took the life of the 46-year-old Vietnamese woman, due to (apparently sick) feelings... of love he had for her."

Μακρίδης, Φ. (2020) 'ΛΕΥΚΩΣΙΑ: Την σκότωσε γιατί την 'αγαπούσε' -Εδώ και δυο χρόνια την παρακαλούσε να αφοσιωθεί σ' αυτόν', *ToThemaOnline*, 02 June. Available at: https://www.tothemaonline.com/Article/231588/levkwsia-thn-skotwse-giati-thn-agapoyse--edw-kai-dyo-hronia-thn-parakaloyse-na-afosiwthei-s%CE%84-ayton#.XtYzPFem_p_o_facebook (Accessed: 03 March 2023)

4. "Passion and love are blinding. Even the purest emotions can be distorted..."

Newsbomb Cyprus. (2012) 'Έγκλημα πάθους στην Κύπρο', 26 February. Available at: <https://www.newsbomb.gr/kosmos/story/167026/egklima-pathoys-stin-kypro> (Accessed: 24 May 2023)

Femicide as Individual/Isolated Incident - No Reference to GV/DV

Terminology

Murder/killing, Crime/Felony/Offence, Homicide/Manslaughter, Uxoricide, Shocking/Unprecedented Incident, Mystery, Puzzle, Carnage, Thriller, Slaughter/bloodbath, Tragedy/Family Tragedy, Drama or Family/Romantic Drama

Adjectives

heinous, gruesome, terrifying, wild, unhuman, appalling, hideous, fateful, brutal, riveting, unbelievable, abominable, creepy, awful, horrible, sad, savage, brutal, creepy

Phrases

“it causes goosebumps”, “unbearable pain from her death/funeral”, “a tragic end came upon her”

Passive voice

“the thread of her life was cut”, “she was killed/murdered”, “she died”, “her life ended”, “she found a tragic end/death”

Excerpts

1. “The last act of the 58-year-old's history drama was written and stained with blood”

Χρυσάνθου, Γ. (2021) ‘Το σκοτεινό παρελθόν του 59χρονου: Η ταινία πριν το φόνο του '76 (VID)’, *AlphaNews.Live*, 12 February. Available at: <https://www.alphanews.live/cyprus/skoteino-parelthou-toy-59hronoy-i-tainia-prin-fono-toy-76-vid> (Accessed: 30 January 2023)

2. “The tragic end of the common life of an elderly couple in Limassol causes shock.”

Cyprus Times. (2022) ‘Το τραγικό τέλος της άτυχης Γιωργούλας και όσα ομολόγησε ο συζυγοκτόνος’, 07 June. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/to-tragiko-telos-tis-atychis-giorgoulas-kai-osa-omologise-o-syzygoktonos/> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

The phenomenon of Femicide in Cyprus as a Social Problem

Femicide - Definitions/Meaning

1. “Taking away a woman's life also takes away her goals, her dreams, her right to life”

Guest. (2022) ‘Η έκθεση “She’s gone” είναι μια σιωπηλή διαμαρτυρία για όλες τις γυναικοκτονίες του κόσμου: “Αφαιρώντας τη ζωή μιας γυναίκας αφαιρείς και τους στόχους, τα όνειρα της, το δικαίωμα της στη ζωή” - Η Επιστημονική Διευθύντρια του ΣΠΑΒΟ μιά για την έκθεση’, *Avant-garde*, 18 March. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/prosopa/svnentevxeis/i-ekthesi-shes-gone-einai-mia-siopili-diamartyria-gia-oles-tis> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

2. “a blood-stained battlefield that echoed the last cries of pain of the victims as they died from gunfire, strangulation, hanging, fists, stab wounds, blows with stones or irons...a battlefield that carried the weight of misogyny and murderous violence of the perpetrators.”

Δημητρίου, Μ. (2022) ‘Σόκαραν τα φορέματα δολοφονημένων γυναικών (εικόνες)’, *PhileNews*, 27 March. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/eidiseis/article/511776/sokaran-ta-foremata-dolofonimenon-ginekon-ikones/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

3. “The murder of Sophia Zenonos was not an isolated incident that rarely happens. Cypriot society is often shaken by femicides, as we have not been able to prevent such crimes.”

Λοϊζου, Μ. (2019) ‘Η γυναικοκτονία στην Κύπρο, οι δολοφονίες που συντάραξαν και η... ανοχή’, *REPORTER*, 04 July. Available at: <https://reporter.com.cy/article/2019/7/4/185289/e-gunaikoktonia-sten-kupro-oi-dolophonies-pou-suntaraxan-kai-e-anokhe/> (Accessed: 27 March 2023)

Criticism to the State and Authorities - Importance for the issue to gain public visibility and scrutiny

4. “It's time to stop calling it a crime of passion and call it what it is: femicide.”

Σάββα, Κ. (2020) ‘#ΕίναιHώρα, χωρίς ρολόι’, *PolitisNews*, 20 February. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/apopseis/350872/-einaihora-choris-roloi> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

5. “the term femicide is important. Words matter in the way we think. But one word is not enough.”

Χατζηδημητρίου, Χ. (2022) 'Γιατί ξενίζει ο όρος γυναικοκτονία', PhileNews, 29 April. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/apopsis/article/526157/giati-xenizi-o-oros-ginekoktonia/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

6. "The administration of justice in our country takes too long and destroys mentally and financially the victims and their relatives who patiently await their vindication."

Χατζηστουλιανού, Μ. (2021) 'Ο φόνος που σχεδόν συγκαλύφθηκε και η απονομή της δικαιοσύνης που αργεί', PolitisNews, 02 July. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/apopseis/21578/o-fonos-pov-schedon-syngalyfthike-kai-i-aponomi-tis-dikaiosynis-pov-argei> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

7. "They were mothers, daughters, sisters, victims of femicide - Need of meaningful measures to be taken by the State so that many women in Cyprus and elsewhere stop living in fear and insecurity"

Κωνσταντίνου, Ε. (2022) 'Ήταν μάνες, κόρες, αδελφές, ήταν θύματα γυναικοκτονίας – Ανάγκη λήψης ουσιαστικών μέτρων: Ανάγκη λήψης ουσιαστικών μέτρων από την Πολιτεία, έτσι ώστε πολλές γυναίκες στην Κύπρο και αλλού να πάψουν να ζουν υπό καθεστώς φόβου και ανασφάλειας', *Dialogos*, 21 August. Available at: <https://dialogos.com.cy/anes-kores-adelfes-thy-ata-gynaikoktonias-anagki-lipsis-oysiastikon-metron/> (Accessed: 09 May 2023)

8. "Femicides should be established as an offence as soon as possible. They must be accompanied by a deterrent prison sentence and a judicial process, where the burden of proof falls on the perpetrator and not on the victim. After all, this will also be an essential step against discrimination, violence and sexism."

Ψύλλου, Δ. (2021) 'Δεν υφίσταται αγάπη μέχρι θανάτου', PhileNews, 06 November. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/apopsis/article/601467/den-ifistate-agapi-mechri-thanatou/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

9. "Put a soul into ending femicides by the beasts...enough is enough. In the name of Ghada Ayuri, wake up at last. All of you who have any authority in this state. A role. What we have written down in some laws and some protocols is not enough. In the name of Ghada Ayuri, change whatever is needed. Change the laws. Strengthen them as needed. In the name of Ghada Ayuri, fast forward to Parliament the bill criminalising a number of offences provided for in the Istanbul Convention, which Cyprus ratified in 2017." "From this tortured creature, when she no longer endured the abuses and cried for help, the Authorities waited for her to make complaints. They ignored all the brutal conditions to which the anthropomorphic monster subjected her. They asked her to act as any other "normal" woman would act." "She was a little girl just 13 years old. At an age when others of her age are playing carefree. She was found in the hands of a 25-year-old. She started giving birth to his children. One after another. In 17 years, from the age of 14 when she gave birth to the first child until the day before yesterday, at the age of 31, when she flew to the land of angels, she gave birth to seven children. There was never a teenager. A child and then a woman. Mother. With what that entails. A soul tortured at the hands of an anthropomorphic beast."

Καλλινίκου, Γ. (2020) 'Βάλτε ψυχή, να τερματίσουμε τις γυναικοκτονίες από τα κτήνη...', PhileNews, 22 January. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/apopsis/article/896789/valte-psichi-na-termatismo-tis-ginekoktonies-apo-ta-ktiini/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

10. "the depth and importance of the problem are overlooked by those who attribute the phenomenon to either chronic behaviours or conjunctural factors."

Χριστιάς, Π. (2022) 'Παθολογίες του έρωτα', Kathimerini, 08 August. Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/apopseis/arthrografia/panagiotis-xristias/1-pathologies-toy-erotu> (Accessed: 12 May 2023)

11. "As long as the crime is not recognised for what it really is, the murder of a woman due to her nature, so long will the harbinger of abuse not be taken seriously and the bodies will be stacked...It's femicide, you idiot."

Νομικός, Μ. (2020) 'Είναι γυναικοκτονία ηλίθιε', *Avant-garde*, 26 November. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/nea/istories/einai-gynaikoktonia-ilithie> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

12. “to make us aware of what is happening behind closed doors, but also of the urgent need to put a brake on this phenomenon...To raise awareness and inform about the Prevention of this phenomenon, especially young women and to bring to the surface the danger of these incidents.”

Guest. (2022) 'Η έκθεση "She's gone" είναι μια σιωπηλή διαμαρτυρία για όλες τις γυναικοκτονίες του κόσμου: "Αφαιρώντας τη ζωή μιας γυναίκας αφαιρείς και τους στόχους, τα όνειρα της, το δικαίωμα της στη ζωή" - Η Επιστημονική Διευθύντρια του ΣΠΑΒΟ μάζ μιλά για την έκθεση', *Avant-garde*, 18 March. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/prosopa/syntevxeis/i-ekthesi-shes-gone-einai-mia-sionili-diamartyria-gia-oles-tis> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

13. “it appears that there have been misdirections by the state agencies, leading to another tragedy.”

Cyprus Times. (2021) 'Κλειστό το στόμα του 59χρονου που σκότωσε γυναίκα και γιο στους Εργάτες. Συγκλονίζει ο 25χρονος που γλίτωσε', 15 February. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/kleisto-to-stoma-tou-59chronou-pou-skotose-gynaika-kai-gio-stous-ergates-syngklonizei-o-25chronos-pou-plitose/> (Accessed: 25 April 2023)

14. “How many more brutal deaths before state services assume responsibility?...there would have been a much greater probability that the killing of a mother and her son would have been avoided if state services showed more care when carrying out their responsibilities.”

CM: Our View. (2021) 'Our View: How many more brutal deaths before state services assume responsibility?', *CyprusMail*, 14 February. Available at: <https://cyprus-mail.com/2021/02/14/our-view-how-many-more-brutal-deaths-before-state-services-assume-responsibility/> (Accessed: 22 February 2023)

15. “The police are the exact den of patriarchy and either we will say without the lines of "there are good cops "or let it remain part of the responsibility by continuing not to" offend" the police...“Who gave all these potential killers their national and gender privileges? The police, the journalists, the school holidays, the parliament, the budgets they do not give to protect women, the judges.”

Ερμογένους, Α. (2021) 'Με αφορμή μια ακόμα γυναικοκτονία', *LimassolToday*, 13 December. Available at: <https://limassoltoday.com.cy/stiles/ta-anthi-tou-kakou/me-aformi-mia-akoma-gynaikoktonia/> (Accessed: 20 May 2023)

16. “The lack of accountability when such murders are committed must stop and the state and the police must respond more adequately.”

Haviara, L. B. (2022) 'Understanding the complex phenomenon of femicide', *CyprusMail*, 24 July. Available at: <https://cyprus-mail.com/2022/07/24/understanding-the-complex-phenomenon-of-femicide/> (Accessed: 22 February 2023)

17. “On paper at least, when a crime is committed and once the police undertake a case, authorities must brief the victim or the victim's relatives about the course of investigations within five days at most. In the case of individuals classed as vulnerable, police must provide this briefing within 24 hours. In practice, this is not rigorously adhered to. As a result, according to Charalambidou, some people end up “being victimised twice”.”

Hazou, E. (2021) 'Bill protecting victims of crime ready for House vote', *CyprusMail*, 01 November. Available at: <https://cyprus-mail.com/2021/11/01/bill-protecting-victims-of-crime-ready-for-house-vote/> (Accessed: 24 April 2023)

Hazou, E. (2021) 'Father's struggle to prove daughter's murder highlights legal shortcomings', *CyprusMail*, 12 July. Available at: <https://cyprus-mail.com/2021/07/12/fathers-struggle-to-prove-daughters-murder-highlights-legal-shortcomings/> (Accessed: 24 April 2023)

Criticism to the Media

18. “The intense criticism of the media for the way the recent murder of the 26-year-old Sophia Zenonos by her ex-partner, who subsequently committed suicide, creating involuntary-or possibly voluntary-extenuating circumstances for the perpetrator, was depicted, brings back to the fore the need for media representatives, who are an integral part of society, but have the power to influence it, to understand the meaning of the words they use or the power of the expressions they choose.”

Σάββα, Κ. (2019) ‘Γλώσσα λανθάνουσα, ποιου την αλήθεια λέγει: Οι σωστές λέξεις και τα στερεότυπα της χρήσης τους’, PolitisNews, 14 July. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/cyprus/305289/glossa-lanthanousa-poiou-tin-alitheia-legei-oi-sostes-lexeis-kai-ta-stereoty-pa-tis-chrisis-toys> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

19. “a huge responsibility also lies with the media in shaping attitudes and beliefs around gender-based violence...in the case of the murder of 26-year-old Sophia Zenonos, instances of irresponsible manipulation on the part of the media were identified.”

PhileNews. (2019) ‘Διαμαρτυρία για τη βία κατά των γυναικών στο Αρχηγείο Αστυνομίας’, 01 July. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/kipros/koinonia/article/369161/diamartiria-gia-ti-via-kata-ton-ginekon-sto-archigio-astinomias/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

20. “the media is also responsible for the problem that tends to develop into a scourge. Often there is the phenomenon of "romanticising" femicide cases, presenting them as isolated incidents, through a journalistic language that almost incriminates the victim and reproduces gender stereotypes. "Passion blinded him", "he could not bear rejection", "his mind was clouded by jealousy", are some of the titles that occasionally accompanied cases of femicide and which are demonstrably unhelpful for society to understand such phenomena.”

Χατζηκόστα, Γ. (2022) ‘Στοιχεία που καθιλώνουν: Κύπριοι θύτες στο 72% των γυναικοκτονιών - Άγνοια αρχόν και ευθύνη στα ΜΜΕ’, PolitisNews, 04 April. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/cyprus/64446/stoicheia-pov-kathilonovn-kyprioi-thytes-sto-72-ton-gynaikoktonion-agnoua-archon-kai-eflhvni-sta-mme> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

21. “it's time to talk about how words are used by journalists; how public perceptions are built from words. That there is a typical ritual of crimes in the phrases when describing crimes...We call patriarchy crimes, honour crimes. We don't sit around and see what's wrong and women are killed by fathers, former or current partners and wannabes. Where we don't sit down to say, what societies have to work, and what education has to do. And we regurgitate so to say something that moves the responsibility to the spectrum of the indefinite, a very light neo-liberal pacifier “everything begins at home.””

Ερμολόγους, Α. (2021) ‘Με αφορμή μια ακόμα γυναικοκτονία’, *LimassolToday*, 13 December. Available at: <https://limassoltoday.com.cy/stiles/ta-anthi-tou-kakou/me-aformi-mia-akoma-gynaikoktonia/> (Accessed: 20 May 2023)

22. “the murders of women are also given a romantic dimension, with the interpretations of the police newsletter and the journalists ranging from "he was blinded by passion "to"jealousy armed his hand". It was not thus, a man's crime, but a mixture of pathological love and rage that took his hand, almost against his will, and made him raise the gun, the knife, the ironstone. In love and passion, as it is well known, both are to blame, so indirectly some of the responsibility is passed on to the woman as well.”

Σταυρινού, Τ. (2019) 'Γυναικοκτονία είναι η λέξη που ψάχνεις', *PhileNews*, 08 January. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/apopsis/article/280130/ginekoktonia-ine-i-lexi-pou-psachnis-2/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

23. "It depends who you ask. For SigmaLive it is the victim who armed his hand."

Νομικός, Μ. (2019) 'Για τη Γεωργία, τη Μαργαρίτα, την Τζούλια, τη Σοφία...', *Avant-garde*, 02 July. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/stories/gia-ti-sofia-ti-gevgia-ti-margarita-kai-tis-alles-gynaikes> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

24. "And when (if?) the perpetrator is arrested (if it is a man), the media will again say that he "loved her", "he was clouded by passion", "he couldn't stand the breakup", "he couldn't see her with others" and other blithe things that will make him look "traditional male" and "real king" from above – and with guaranteed fan mail in prison." "Poor Daniela. It is a good thing that you were not forced to apologise for living carelessly and on the edge of the razor, which apparently caused your own murder with "multiple ties with various businessmen" and now you are making it difficult for the authorities in their work with your "quite enlarged circle" and "many phones". You lived like a whore and died like one, didn't you?"

Νομικός, Μ. (2021) 'Ελάχιστα πράγματα άλλαξαν από τον «μοναχικό θάνατο της Ντανιέλας Ρόσκα»', *Avant-garde*, 25 November. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/nea/stories/elahista-pragmata-allaxan-apo-ton-monahiko-thanato-tis-ntanielas-roska> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

25. "The news are presented with a fixation on the gory details, with dramatic verbal excesses with the aim of the emotional charge. Justified uncritically, the actions of the perpetrator of the crime with expressions, such as "crime of passion" "blinded by jealousy" introducing the femicide as a love story with a tragic end. The victim appears at least partly responsible for his death, since his position, action, or terms brought, caused the offender to commit a crime. Of course, it is recorded with a surprise how young, handsome, educated or successful the killer is, implying that the murderers are ugly, uneducated and mostly losers. Losers...A change in media culture, in the way femicide is framed and presented, can lead earlier to a change of positions and views within society with consequences for improved public policy and strategy!"

Λάμπρου, Η. (2021) 'ΑΠΟΨΗ: Η αγάπη δεν είναι εμπράγματο δικαίωμα', *Brief*, 20 June. Available at: <https://www.brief.com.cy/apopseis/apopsi-i-agapi-den-einai-empragmato-dikaioma> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

26. "even more tragic is the finding of how this femicide is dealt with by several mainly electronic media who rushed to write that "he killed her because he loved her", that "love armed his hand", that "Sophia and Petros left together"”

Κωνσταντίνου, Ε. (2019) '«Σκοτώστε» τη βία', *Dialogos*, 02 July. Available at: <https://dialogos.com.cy/haravgi/36170-2/> (Accessed: 30 January 2023)

27. "A society that finds them constantly extenuating circumstances, thinks inwardly "who knows what she did to him" inadvertently blaming the victim, which romanticises - through the media-the murders as "family tragedies" and **"crimes of passion".**"

Νομικός, Μ. (2019) 'Για τη Γεωργία, τη Μαργαρίτα, την Τζούλια, τη Σοφία...', *Avant-garde*, 02 July. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/stories/gia-ti-sofia-ti-gevgia-ti-margarita-kai-tis-alles-gynaikes> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

28. "The invocation, then, of love and pathological jealousy may justify a murder. Especially if the victim is a woman and if the perpetrator claims the existence of another man. And especially if the murder wasn't premeditated and the perpetrator just kept the murderous material so it would be easy to be found." [ironically]

Χατζηδημητρίου, Χ. (2017) 'Τη σκότωσε γιατί την αγαπούσε', *PhileNews*, 17 March. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/apopsis/article/12948/ti-skotose-giati-tin-agapouse/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

29. "femicide is dubbed by clicothoracic websites "crime of passion", " he killed her because he loved her", " love armed his hand" and other such rubbish written by 25-year-old semi-educated journalists for 60-year-old Facebook readers (not even legit websites). Even when men kill each other, all-willing media sleuths will find out that the... "root of evil", "cause of the murder", "apple of discord, "instigator", "fatality, "for her eyes" it is -a surprise!- a woman."

Νομικός, Μ. (2019) 'Μη χτυπάς, μη βιάζεσαι, μη σκοτώνεις... τι λέτε για το απλούστερο, ΜΗΝ ανατρέφεις τον γιο σου ως μελλοντικό μαλάκα;', *Avant-garde*, 25 November. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/nea/istories/mi-htypas-mi-biazeis-mi-skotoneis-ti-lete-gia-aploystero-min-anatreifeis-ton> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

30. "information about the 16-year-old's private life spread in the media in the north "as if to excuse the child's murder...The statement concluded that if the media refer to this crime as one of 'passion' then they will seek legal action."

Prakas, N. (2023) 'Students hold protest over murder of their classmate', *CyprusMail*, 31 January. Available at: <https://cyprus-mail.com/2023/01/31/students-hold-protest-over-murder-of-their-classmate/> (Accessed: 22 February 2023)

31. "In cases of femicide, it should be shown that the gender of the victim was the dominant criterion in the execution of the homicide and that the causes are systemic / social"

Κωνσταντίνου, Ε. (2023) 'Δήμητρα Κογκίδου: Οι κόκκινες γραμμές των ΜΜΕ στην αναπαραγωγή έμφυλης βίας', *Dialogos*, 19 March. Available at: <https://dialogos.com.cy/dimitra-kogkidov-oi-kokkines-gra-es-ton-mme-stin-anaparagogi/> (Accessed: 09 May 2023)

32. "Integration of femicide into the legal framework is necessary" "How many more femicides will we allow as a society?"

Λοΐζου, Μ. (2021) 'Αναγκαία η ένταξη του όρου γυναικοκτονία στο νομικό πλαίσιο: Τι είναι αυτό που πρέπει να γίνει ώστε να αποτρέψουμε άλλα τέτοια εγκλήματα μελλοντικά - Η δράση του ΣΠΑΒΟ', *Ant1 News*, 22 August. Available at: https://www.ant1live.com/koinonia/437022_anagkaia-i-entaxi-toy-ovroy-gynaikoktonia-sto-nomiko-plaisio (Accessed: 07 February 2023)

Femicide in the Context of GV/DV

Femicide as the outcome of GV or DV

1. "The majority of them [femicides] derive from intimate surroundings and are the culmination of a series of violent acts that take place against women."

Cyprus Times. (2019) '37 δέντρα...37 θύματα. Δεντροφύτευση εις μνήμη των γυναικών που δολοφονήθηκαν από νυν & πρώην συντρόφους (video)', 23 November. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/37-dentra-37-thymata-dentroyfytisi-eis-mnimi-ton-gynaikon-pou-dolofonithikan-apo-nyn-proin-syntrofous-video/> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

2. "by using the term femicide with conceptual clarity and precision it will help recognise the crime in cases in which it was not recognised before such as domestic violence and women abuse exposing this recurring pattern of crime against women."

Haviara, L. B. (2022) 'Understanding the complex phenomenon of femicide', *CyprusMail*, 24 July. Available at: <https://cyprus-mail.com/2022/07/24/understanding-the-complex-phenomenon-of-femicide/> (Accessed: 22 February 2023)

3. "Violence in a partner relationship can be dangerous, can even lead to the death of a woman."

Guest. (2022) ‘Η έκθεση “She’s gone” είναι μια σιωπηλή διαμαρτυρία για όλες τις γυναικοκτονίες του κόσμου: “Αφαιρώντας τη ζωή μιας γυναίκας αφαιρείς και τους στόχους, τα όνειρα της, το δικαίωμα της στη ζωή” - Η Επιστημονική Διευθύντρια του ΣΠΑΒΟ μάς μιλά για την έκθεση’, *Avant-garde*, 18 March. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/prosopa/synteyxeis/i-ekthesi-shes-gone-einai-mia-siopili-diamartyria-gia-oles-tis> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

4. “violence against women is widely accepted as a form of discrimination that violates the constitutionally enshrined principle of equality.”

Avant-garde. (2021) ‘Η πρόταση της προέδρου της Βουλής για τις γυναικοκτονίες’, 07 October. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/nea/news/i-protasi-tis-proedrov-tis-bovliis-gia-tis-gvnaikoktonies> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

5. “Violence is not an isolated incident, but it is built over a long period of systematic abuse, that is why the exit from it should be gradual, with careful movements and always with the safety of the victim in mind. It is no coincidence that the majority of femicides take place at the very moment when the victim is determined to abandon the abuser.”

Cyprus Times. (2022) ‘Είκοσι γυναικοκτονίες στην Κύπρο σε τρία χρόνια. Καμπανάκι από αρμόδιους’, 25 November. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/eikosi-gvnaikoktonies-stin-kypro-se-tria-chronia-kabanaki-apo-armodiouis/> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

6. “a strong message against the global phenomenon of violence against women and girls and in particular the most extreme form of gendered and sexist violence, femicide, perpetrated against them just because they are women, by husbands, partners and other family members.”

Δημητρίου, Μ. (2022) ‘Σόκαραν τα φορέματα δολοφονημένων γυναικών (εικόνες)’, *PhileNews*, 27 March. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/eidiseis/article/511776/sokaran-ta-foremata-dolofonimenon-ginekon-ikones/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

7. “It is very important to let men understand that violence is the responsibility of the perpetrator, that there is no justification for violence, and to demystify things, to understand what respect and equality between the sexes means, and to recognize the effects that exist at all levels when violence is practised.”

Guest. (2022) ‘Η έκθεση “She’s gone” είναι μια σιωπηλή διαμαρτυρία για όλες τις γυναικοκτονίες του κόσμου: “Αφαιρώντας τη ζωή μιας γυναίκας αφαιρείς και τους στόχους, τα όνειρα της, το δικαίωμα της στη ζωή” - Η Επιστημονική Διευθύντρια του ΣΠΑΒΟ μάς μιλά για την έκθεση’, *Avant-garde*, 18 March. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/prosopa/synteyxeis/i-ekthesi-shes-gone-einai-mia-siopili-diamartyria-gia-oles-tis> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

8. “the path to combat gender-based violence goes through the promotion of a new perception of manhood, away from toxic masculinity, and prevention should begin in early childhood.”

Κωνσταντίνου, Ε. (2022) ‘Ήταν μάνες, κόρες, αδελφές, ήταν θύματα γυναικοκτονίας – Ανάγκη λήψης ουσιαστικών μέτρων: Ανάγκη λήψης ουσιαστικών μέτρων από την Πολιτεία, έτσι ώστε πολλές γυναίκες στην Κύπρο και αλλού να πάψουν να ζουν υπό καθεστώς φόβου και ανασφάλειας’, *Dialogos*, 21 August. Available at: <https://dialogos.com.cy/anes-kores-adelfes-thy-ata-gvnaikoktonias-anagki-lipsis-oysiasstikon-metron/> (Accessed: 09 May 2023)

9. “being a refugee is always an ordeal, but for most women who are refugees, the risk is twofold. Too often, it is added, domestic violence is exacerbated by the trauma of displacement.”

Cyprus Times. (2020) ‘Έφτασε στην Κύπρο με βάρκα πριν ενάμιση χρόνο για να βρει τον σύζυγο που την δολοφόνησε’, 22 January. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/efase-stin-kypro-me-varka-prin-enamisi-chronio-gia-na-vrei-ton-szygo-pou-tin-dolofonise/> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

Criticism to the State and Authorities- Importance for the issue to be made a priority

10. “They left them in "god's mercy"” (used in some articles)

11. “frontline police officers either do not want or are unable to assess the incidents of domestic violence that have resulted in 37 murders of women over the past 19 years. Responsibilities and those who supervise them.”

Σάββα, K. (2019) ‘#BeTheirVoiceCY3: Μου ζητάνε αποδείξεις - πού να τις βρω;’, PolitisNews, 01 January. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/cyprus/335631/-betheirvoicecy3-moy-zitane-apodeixeis-poy-na-tis-vro> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

12. “the need to address harmful attitudes, behaviours and stereotypes that obscure the root causes of violence against women as well as the collective demand from the state for effective state policies and measures to prevent femicides”

Ant1 News. (2021) ‘Έρευνα: Δεκατρείς γυναικοκτονίες στην Κύπρο μέσα σε δύο χρόνια: Όλες οι γυναικοκτονίες σε ποσοστό 90% διαπράχθηκαν από τον ή πρόην σύζυγο ή σύντροφο’, 29 March. Available at: https://www.ant1live.com/arheio/469679_ereyna-dekatreis-gynaikoktonies-stin-kypro-mesa-se-dyo-hronia (Accessed: 07 February 2023)

13. “Ping pong” of the state blame...Predictably, after tragedy struck, all the different state services that had let the family down engaged in the customary shifting of responsibility. Lakatamia police, according to one press report, had no record of receiving two calls from the sister, relating to family violence. The Social Welfare Services said it had received no reports of violence in the family, its social workers visiting the family having noticed nothing worth reporting. Meanwhile, the Mental Health Services, which was monitoring the suspect, said that if any worker from another state service had noticed family violence, they should have reported it to the police. Social Welfare Services disagreed, saying mental health issues were the responsibility of the Mental Health Services.”

CM: Our View. (2021) ‘Our View: How many more brutal deaths before state services assume responsibility?’, *CyprusMail*, 14 February. Available at: <https://cyprus-mail.com/2021/02/14/our-view-how-many-more-brutal-deaths-before-state-services-assume-responsibility/> (Accessed: 22 February 2023)

14. “A wake-up call to all of us for support, safety, protection of victims of gender-based violence and prevention of the social phenomenon through the promotion of appropriate policies and actions based on gender equality.”

The Avant Team. (2022) ‘Η έκθεση “She’s gone” στέλνει ένα ισχυρό μήνυμα ενάντια στη βία κατά των γυναικών: Μια έκθεση από ρούχα δολοφονημένων γυναικών από τον σύνδεσμο ΣΠΑΒΟ’, *Avant-garde*, 08 March. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/zoi/ektos/i-ekthesi-shes-gone-stelnei-ena-ishyro-minyma-enantia-sti-bia-kata-ton-gynaikon> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

15. “They did everything “right” Ghada was murdered...The evidence for the brutal murder of the 31-year-old Ghada Al Nouri, a mother of many children from Syria, reveal gaps, weaknesses and possibly omissions of state agencies responsible for protecting victims of domestic violence.”

Νάνος, K. (2020) ‘Τα έκαναν όλα «σωστά» η Ghada δολοφονήθηκε’, PolitisNews, 22 January. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/343889/article> (Accessed: 2 April 2023)

16. “if the State functioned as a united entity, there would be and would operate in practice a mechanism of mutual information and feedback between the Mental Health Services, the Social Welfare Office and, of course, the Police. By receiving the complaint or at least the information from the victim's sister, the police could cross-check whether the particular family or individual was under surveillance. If there were no coordination at a more central level, all three of these agencies -and possibly others- would have to work together either ad hoc or on a regular basis to help the family. If there are no tools, then it is up to the State to invent them. But I am afraid that the issue -again- is not a question of tools but of culture change.”

Κουντουρή, Α. (2021) '«Η επόμενη μέρα του διπλού φονικού στους Εργάτες» της Αλεξίας Κουντουρή', PolitisNews, 17 February. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/apopseis/3002/-i-epomeni-mera-toy-diploy-fonikoy-stovs-ergates-tis-alexias-koyntovri> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

17. “How many other women out there have the same treatment? How many other women like Christina live in fear when the nightmare will return? How many reports "boil" in local police stations?...But the leadership of the police and the Minister of Justice have turned a blind eye to the individual incidents of members of the force. Like the SWS and MHS and other agencies of the state, they are all links in the chain of the welfare state which is not only providential.”

Σάββα, Κ. (2019) '#BeTheirVoiceCY3: «Εμένα μου το φάγανε το παιδί μου»', PolitisNews, 31 December. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/cyprus/344147/-betheirvoicecy3-emena-moy-to-fagane-to-paidi-moy> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

18. “It is time to shout out for our safety. It's time to shout out for equality. For what is rightfully ours. It is time to raise our voices and wake up those who are deaf. This time you will hear us. Because no woman is a minor incident. Because no woman should cover scars”

Σάββα, Κ. (2020) '#ΕίναιΏρα, χωρίς ρολόι', PolitisNews, 20 February. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/apopseis/350872/-einaihora-choris-roloi> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

19. “another woman, while the police knew, was not protected, and as a result she was murdered”

Πογιατζής, Α. (2020) 'ΠΑΦΟΣ – ΔΟΛΟΦΟΝΙΑ: Η Αστυνομία γνώριζε την κατάσταση κι έλαβε μέτρα σύμφωνα με τον Ανδρέου – Άφαντος ο συζυγοκτόνος', ToThemaOnline, 21 January. Available at: <https://www.tothemaonline.com/Article/212566/pafos-%E2%80%93-dolofonia-h-astynomia-gnwrize-thn-katastash-ki-elabe-metra-symfwna-me-ton-andreu-%E2%80%93-afantos-o-svzvohtonos-> (Accessed: 03 March 2023)

20. “The young Syrian woman, who was murdered by her husband, came to be added to a macabre chain of women who paid with their lives for the decision to escape from an abusive husband. Yet another case that was "well known" to the police and the welfare services, as we are used to saying, in a recurring pattern of blame in cases of chronic abuse.”

Σταυρινού, Τ. (2020) 'Την εγκατέλειψαν όλοι στα χέρια του – Το χρονικό του φονικού', PhileNews, 21 January. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/kipros/koinonia/article/895444/tin-egkatelipsan-oli-sta-cheria-tou-to-chroniko-tou-fonikou/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

21. “the murder of Christina who was found unprotected, despite the fact that her repeated abuse was known through complaints to the authorities, which were simply ignored covering up the killer who was none other than her estranged husband.”

PhileNews. (2021) 'Μια δολοφονία που απαιτεί δικαιοσύνη', 03 March. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/downtown/article/698900/mia-dolofonia-pou-apei-dikeosi/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

22. “many times women complain and the police urge them to return home and be patient and not to irritate the husband or partner. In several of these cases, women who followed these admonitions ended up in the grave, he said, and expressed the position that the government's responsibility is enormous in preventing and investigating crimes.”

Cyprus Times. (2019) '«Ούτε μια λιγότερη»... Έξο από το Αρχηγείο για τη Σοφία και την κάθε Σοφία (pics-video)', 02 July. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/oute-mia-ligoteri-exo-apo-to-archigeio-gia-ti-sofia-kai-tin-kathe-sofia-pics-video/> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

23. “Christina warned that she was in danger from her estranged husband. She was "screaming" that she couldn't get away. She begged for help but no response from the police.”

Cyprus Times. (2017) ‘Αναβιώνει η δολοφονία της Χριστίνας από το σύζυγο της στη Δερύνεια... Αρχικά είπαν ατύχημα και χρειάστηκε εκταφή’, 27 October. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/anavionei-i-dolofonia-tis-christinas-apo-to-syzygo-tis-sti-deryneia-archika-eipan-atychima-kai-chreastike-ektafi/> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

24. “Not all those police officers who, when a woman arrived at the police station after having been beaten by her husband, rushed to recommend her not to denounce him so as not to break up the family, have retired: "He is your husband. It is natural on his nerves for him to beat you a little. How would he be a man if he didn't?"”

Μαύρος, Α. (2021) ‘Αντίτα Δημητρίου ΠτΒ & Γυναικοκτονίες 2021 μ.Χ.’, Signalive, 07 November. Available at: <https://simerini.signalive.com/article/2021/11/7/annita-demetriou-ptb-gunaikoktonies-2021-mkh/> (Accessed: 26 March 2023)

25. “But when those who fail or refuse to acknowledge the problem are legislators, judges, social workers, police officers, ministers, journalists, teachers-those who are directly involved with victims of abuse or form the public opinion around the issue-then we have a problem. Huge problem.”

Νομικός, Μ. (2020) ‘Τι θα λέγατε για λίγη ενσυναίσθηση;’, *Avant-garde*, 23 January. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/nea/istories/ti-tha-legate-gia-ligi-ensynaisthisi> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

26. “How many complaints about brutal husbands have been met with disbelief, irony, indifference or some condescending "go home and everything is fine" until the next call is made not by her but by a neighbour who heard gunshots;” “Twice the victim reported the abuser to the police for threats and violent behaviour, and both times they confiscated the gun to return it to him because it was not there... written complaint (I imagine it was easier for them to seize it once and for all when they detached it from its shattered head).”

Νομικός, Μ. (2019) ‘Για τη Γεωργία, τη Μαργαρίτα, την Τζούλια, τη Σοφία...’, *Avant-garde*, 02 July. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/istories/gia-ti-sofia-ti-georgia-ti-margarita-kai-tis-alles-gynaikes> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

27. “the police send the abuse victims back home (“go home and he will not do it again”) so their men can finish the job with G3 or hunting guns that no one thought to remove three complaints earlier.”

Νομικός, Μ. (2019) ‘Μη χτυπάς, μη βιάζεσαι, μη σκοτώνεις... τι λέτε για το απλούστερο, ΜΗΝ ανατρέφεις τον γιο σου ως μελλοντικό μαλάκα;’, *Avant-garde*, 25 November. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/nea/istories/mi-htypas-mi-biazeis-mi-skotoneis-ti-lete-gia-aploystero-min-anatreifeis-ton> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

28. “the police have a share of responsibility because if the case is not properly examined, if they do not act proactively and immediately, violence in a home will continue to escalate, until it leads to death.” “indifferent attitude of the police officers who tell the women who arrive at the police station for complaint to return home and be patient and try not to irritate their husband.”

Στυλιανού, Μ. (2019) ‘37 κόκκινα παπούτσια για τα θύματα βίας από τον σύζυγό του: Η εκδήλωση ξεκίνησε μετά από πρωτοβουλία της Τόνιας Σταυρινού και με την στήριξη άλλων γυναικείων οργανώσεων’, *Kathimerini*, 02 July. Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/kypros/37-kokkina-papoytsia-gia-ta-thymata-bias-apo-ton-syzygo-toy> (Accessed: 12 May 2023)

29. “The harassment, threats and intimidation continued as usual in families with a tyrant father who live in a country with a strict patriarchal system that favours male toxicity and appears unwilling to effectively protect its victims.”

Νομικός, Μ. (2020) 'Είναι γυναικοκτονία ηλίθιε', *Avant-garde*, 26 November. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/nea/istories/einai-gynaikoktonia-ilithie> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

30. "it reveals for the umpteenth time the inadequacy of the materially competent state services, which again appear to throw the ball of responsibility at each other."

Χαραλάμπος, Χ. (2020) 'Μπαλάκι ευθυνών μεταξύ Αστυνομίας και ΥΚΕ για τη δολοφονία της μητέρας: Ο 42χρονος ξυλοφόρτωνε και απειλούσε πολλά χρόνια το θύμα', *Dialogos*, 22 January. Available at: <https://dialogos.com.cy/mpalaki-evthvnon-metaxy-astynomias-yke-ti-dolofonia-tis/> (Accessed: 09 May 2023)

31. "we need radical restructuring and strengthening of services, modernisation of obsolete legislation, the operation of special centres... We are incapable of learning from our mistakes"

Αδάμου, Μ. (2021) 'Η νοοτροπία του «εγώ εν τζαι»', *Ant1 News*, 14 February. Available at: https://www.ant1live.com/arheio/411252_j-nootropia-toy-egio-en-tzjai (Accessed: 20 April 2023)

32. "the responsibility of all, especially the State, for the production and reproduction of violence against women-abuse, femicide, rape, silence, cover-up and denial of protection is great...In the words and the grandiloquence, but empty speeches on the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women, we are experts. When they are shot in the streets like dogs by macho barbarians, we once again pretend to fall from the clouds. Or that they were blinded by passion..."

Νομικός, Μ. (2020) 'Είναι γυναικοκτονία ηλίθιε', *Avant-garde*, 26 November. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/nea/istories/einai-gynaikoktonia-ilithie> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

33. "urgent need for measures and demonstration of the necessary political will at all levels to end gender violence."

Cyprus Times. (2019) 'Έξω από το Αρχηγείο για τη Σοφία... Και την κάθε Σοφία που δολοφονήθηκε', 01 July. Available at: <https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/exo-apo-to-archigeio-gia-ti-sofia-kai-tin-kathe-sofia-pou-dolofonithike/> (Accessed: 25 April 2023)

34. "The welfare services, the psychiatric services, and the police, have been under fire following the murder for allegedly not acting before despite the signs being there."

Psyllides, G. (2021) 'Family of murdered mother and son asked to pay for suspect's medical aid', *CyprusMail*, 18 February. Available at: <https://cyprus-mail.com/2021/02/18/family-of-murdered-mother-and-son-asked-to-pay-for-suspects-medical-aid/> (Accessed: 22 February 2023)

35. "We saw a lack of support structures, hospitality, programs. We saw Welfare Services absent and distanced... "A society, in order to deal with violence against women, must first acknowledge it and then confess it. After she diagnoses, she then finds out what cures her, not as a painkiller but as an amputation. He must speak honestly, not of weaknesses, but of deficiencies. To tear down, to build from the beginning... the existing state system has failed to ensure a sense of protection. The municipalities, if supplied, can be turned into a protective net for the female victims of their citizens."

Ερμιογόνους, Α. (2020) 'Πολιτικές αντιμετώπισης έμφυλης βίας, κράτους και πόλης', *LimassolToday*, 29 November. Available at: <https://limassoltoday.com.cy/stiles/ta-anthi-tou-kakou/politikes-antimetopisis-emfylis-via/> (Accessed: 20 May 2023)

36. "From this tortured creature, when she no longer endured the abuses and cried for help, the Authorities waited for her to make complaints. They ignored all the brutal conditions to which the anthropomorphic monster subjected her. They asked her to act as any other "normal" woman would act."

Καλλινίκου, Γ. (2020) 'Βάλτε ψυχή, να τερματίσουμε τις γυναικοκτονίες από τα κτήνη...', *PhileNews*, 22 January. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/apopsis/article/896789/valte-psichi-na-termatismois-tis-ginekotonies-apo-ta-ktiini/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

37. “We have a second pandemic, that of gender-based violence, which we have to deal with seriously because unfortunately the incidents are increasing, and one tragedy gives the baton to another... Violence has crept into homes”

Ant1 News. (2021) ‘Γυναικοκτονία: Στοιχεία που σοκάρουν - Εκατομμύρια αναζητήσεις στο διαδίκτυο η φράση «πώς να χτυπήσω τη γυναίκα μου χωρίς συνέπειες»: Η βία έχει μπει μέσα στα σπίτια, πρέπει να υπάρχει υποστηρικτικό περιβάλλον, αναφέρει ψυχολόγος’, 31 October. Available at:

https://www.ant1live.com/arheio/447717_gynaikoktonia-stoiheia-pov-sokarovn-ekatommyria-anazitiseis-sto-diadiktvo-i-frasi-pos (Accessed: 07 February 2023)

Femicide and GV/DV in the Context of Cultural Structures and Society

Femicide as murder of women because of their gender

1. “Femicide is the term indicating the act of intentionally killing a female person, either woman or girl, because of her gender.”

Charalambous, A. (2022) ‘New draft bill tabled provides life sentence to femicide cases’, *InCyNews*, 08 March. Available at:

<https://in-cyprus.philenews.com/news/local/new-draft-bill-tabled-providing-life-sentence-to-femicide-cases/> (Accessed: 11 May 2023)

2. “femicides are murders of women and girls because of their gender, crimes based on deeply entrenched social perceptions and gender stereotypes, according to which women are inferior and subordinate to male power”

Νικολάου, Μ. (2021) ‘«Τι θα πει γυναικοκτονία» και «γιατί δεν κάνουμε straight pride»’, *Avant-garde*, 19 June. Available at:

<https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/nea/istories/ti-tha-pei-gynaikoktonia-kai-giati-den-kanoyme-straight-pride> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

3. “the murders of women because they are women are clearly motivated by patriarchal norms and stereotypes, which are reproduced within modern societies. In any case, women who refuse to obey the laws of patriarchy become easy targets”

Βασιλείου, Π. (2021) ‘Κύπρος: 24 δολοφονημένες γυναίκες σε τέσσερα χρόνια’, *Dialogos*, 09 December. Available at:

<https://dialogos.com.cy/kypros-24-dolofonimenes-gynaikes-se-tessera-chronia/> (Accessed: 30 January 2023)

4. “Femicide: Killing of females by males which is caused to any significant degree, overtly or indirectly, by male supremacy; misogyny; patriarchal norms, laws, and acts; or men’s sense of entitlement, superiority, and ownership of women.”

Haviara, L. B. (2022) ‘Understanding the complex phenomenon of femicide’, *CyprusMail*, 24 July. Available at:

<https://cyprus-mail.com/2022/07/24/understanding-the-complex-phenomenon-of-femicide/> (Accessed: 22 February 2023)

5. “The victims were neither “unlucky” nor femicides “fateful”, they were not killed by “love”, “passion”, “jealousy” or “excessive love”, it goes without saying that they did not cause it, nor “armed the perpetrator”. They were murdered precisely because they are women, victims of a society that is still growing, men who do not take no for an answer, who consider them their property and who easily raise their hand or weapon when their masculinity is allegedly offended.” “But a pattern is formed, a way of thinking and behaving that stems from our upbringing... Basically, instead of raising men to not become abusers, we oppress women so they don't become potential victims.”

Νομικός, Μ. (2019) ‘Για τη Γεωργία, τη Μαργαρίτα, την Τζούλια, τη Σοφία...’, *Avant-garde*, 02 July. Available at:

<https://avant-garde.com.cy/istories/gia-ti-sofia-ti-gevrgia-ti-margarita-kai-tis-alles-gynaikes> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

Femicide as a patriarchal phenomenon

6. “Femicides: a patriarchal phenomenon from antiquity to the present day...Femicides also appear with the patriarchal social system, the emergence of property and hereditary rights...Femicide is one of the punishments that the patriarchs have used for centuries to intimidate women, to subjugate them and make them weak beings for their own use...Looking at the laws and culture of societies in different parts of the world, but also in Cyprus, femicides were a form of punishment acceptable for reasons of honour, but also because the woman was considered the property of the man and an object for the use of the man, without any particular value.”

LimassolToday. (2022) ‘Γυναικοκτονίες: Ένα Πατριαρχικό Φαινόμενο από την Αρχαιότητα Μέχρι Σήμερα’, 17 April Available at: <https://limassoltoday.com.cy/koinonia/gynaikoktonies-ena-patriarchiko-fain/> (Accessed: 20 May 2023)

7. “In Cyprus, we had about 30 incidents in ten years. None, however, were designated and named as such. Not by the police, not by the collective consciousness shaped mainly by the media narrative. The pattern is not recorded anywhere: as a rule a man kills a woman. And the covert cause has a name: patriarchy. No jealousy, no blur of the mind. Patriarchal code of values. And it's time to start saying it.”

Σταυρινού, Τ. (2019) ‘Γυναικοκτονία είναι η λέξη που ψάχνεις’, PhileNews, 08 January. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/apopsis/article/280130/ginekoktonia-ine-i-lexi-pou-psachnis-2/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

8. “For those who do not understand the term 'femicide', and propose 'androcide', some explanations may indeed be needed...Language terms, social phenomena and customs arise as a result of specific, age-old social trends and established customs...you're lucky that you don't need a special term for your community: it means that you, and people like you, aren't victimised every day in the most brutal way.”

Corteau, A. (2021) ‘Για όσους δεν αντιλαμβάνονται τον όρο «γυναικοκτονία»’, *Avant-garde*, 18 June. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/nea/istories/gia-osovs-den-antilambanontai-ton-oro-gynaikoktonia> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

9. “Love arms no man's hand, and endless love and passion need two living persons to be able to be expressed. Violence or even murder cannot be associated with any tender feeling. The hand of each offender is armed by his hatred and by his selfishness. From his belief that a woman might be his property. From his assertion that he is in a weaker position and ought to put up with everything. That she is inferior to him. That she owes him everything, even her life. That her body and her whole substance belong to him.”

Ψύλλου, Δ. (2021) ‘Δεν υφίσταται αγάπη μέχρι θανάτου’, PhileNews, 06 November. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/apopsis/article/601467/den-ifistate-agapi-mechri-thanatou/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

10. “Present femicide cases mirror past murders, as, despite the time passing, some men continue to behave as if women are their property, refusing to accept their right to make decisions concerning themselves.”

Λοΐζου, Μ. (2019) ‘Η γυναικοκτονία στην Κύπρο, οι δολοφονίες που συντάραξαν και η... ανοχή’, REPORTER, 04 July. Available at: <https://reporter.com.cy/article/2019/7/4/185289/e-gunaikoktonia-sten-kupro-oi-dolophonies-pou-suntaraxan-kai-e-anokhe/> (Accessed: 27 March 2023)

11. “When the possessive macho festers, the "either with me or with no one", "you will respect me or I will kill you" becomes a reality. It has nothing to do with gender. Whether it's called femicide or murder. Whether the victim was a man or a woman. It has to do with the wrong, sick picture we have of what love is. With this terrifying familiarity of ours with violence, physical and psychological. With this incomprehensible insistence on convincing ourselves that this paranoia is indeed love and that we have not translated something well into

ourselves. With this obsession of staying with people who, though a voice within us, loudly cries out to us that something is wrong, we persist in believing that we are loved.”

Δαλιάνη, Ν. Κ. (2022) ‘Όταν θεραπεύει η κτητική ματσίλα, γίνεται πράξη το «ή με μένα ή με κανέναν»’, PolitisNews, 03 August. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/apopseis/505730/otan-therivei-i-ktitiki-matsila-ginetai-praxi-to-i-me-mena-i-me-kanenan> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

12. “It is clear that such phenomena constitute serious human rights violations and perpetuate mentalities that degrade people, the victims.”

PhileNews. (2022) ‘Το αδίκημα της γυναικοκτονίας και η υποχρέωση της Πολιτείας’, 11 March. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/apopsis/article/554345/to-adikima-tis-ginekotonias-ke-i-ipochreosi-tis-politias/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

Suggestions to combat Femicide

13. “This is sadly lacking in men. Empathy. This is because we can never put ourselves in their place. Nor is it sufficient to have mothers, sisters, or daughters, the asshole who abuses his partner usually first makes his practice of the women of his intimate family circle” “no matter how many tears are shed, ...no matter how many laws and treaties we pass, no matter how many big announcements are made, it's all useless if we men don't get empathy.”

Νομικός, Μ. (2020) ‘Τι θα λέγατε για λίγη ενσυναίσθηση;’, *Avant-garde*, 23 January. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/nea/istories/ti-tha-legate-gia-ligi-ensynaisthisi> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

14. “Perhaps the reason why society is unable to react is because it is blinded by stereotypes about the nature of the erotic phenomenon, so that it does not intervene until it is too late? How well known are the pathologies of love in today's society? Not only educational textbooks don't promote love as a pathological phenomenon, but they also make it a symbol of purity and truth of interpersonal relationships.”

Χριστιάς, Π. (2022) ‘Παθολογίες του έρωτα’, Kathimerini, 08 August. Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/apopseis/arthrografia/panagiotis-xristias/1-pathologies-toy-erota> (Accessed: 12 May 2023)

15. “In Cyprus every time a person falls victim, society instead of evaluating what went wrong comes upfront, in order to blame—on the basis of its cognitive dissonance—the one it considers as responsible. The one he disagrees with. Part of it reproduces unacceptable, unscientific and stereotypical perceptions”

Ιωάννου, Γ. (2022) ‘Ξανά για τ’ αυτονόητα’, Kathimerini, 31 January. Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/apopseis/arthrografia/giannis-ioannoy/1-xana-gia-t-aytonoita> (Accessed: 12 May 2023)

16. “the exposure to serious issues proves something else: that conservatism remains horizontally diffused across large sections of society. And it's a conservatism that doesn't know about criteria of educational or living standards, gender and ideology.”

Ιωάννου, Γ. (2022) ‘Ξανά για τ’ αυτονόητα’, Kathimerini, 31 January. Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/apopseis/arthrografia/giannis-ioannoy/1-xana-gia-t-aytonoita> (Accessed: 12 May 2023)

17. “Don't hit, Don't rape, don't kill... how about the simplest, don't raise your son as a future asshole;” “for centuries you have sown oppression, inequality, double standards, enslavement, violence, intimidation, terrorism and death. It makes sense that one day the reap will backlash, with political correctness and #metoo. And they were late...Do not raise your sons with the gnomon of the “right man” (which means absolutely nothing) but

with the “right HUMAN/PERSON” (which means everything). For once at last let us prevent evil instead of again weeping over coffins and lined heels on the pavement. To stop being ashamed of being men.”

Νομικός, Μ. (2019) ‘Μη χτυπάς, μη βιάζεσαι, μη σκοτώνεις... τι λέτε για το απλούστερο, ΜΗΝ ανατρέφεις τον γιο σου ως μελλοντικό μαλάκα.’, *Avant-garde*, 25 November.

Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/nea/istories/mi-htypas-mi-biazeis-mi-skotoneis-ti-lete-gia-aploystero-min-anatrefeis-ton> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

Reference to the Problem of Gun Possession in relation to Femicide and Violence Against Women

1. “With the permission of Archbishop Makarios⁹ the weapon of the wife-killer”

Cyprus Times. (2016) ‘«Με άδεια του Μακάριου» το όπλο του συζυγοκτόνου στη Λάρνακα’, 20 April. Available at:

<https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/me-adeia-tou-makariou-to-oplo-tou-syzygoktonou-sti-larnaka/> (Accessed: 27 January 2023)

2. “to emphasise for the umpteenth time the self-evident, to receive for the umpteenth time the same wishful thinking and vague assurances for stricter gun controls for disturbed people”

Νομικός, Μ. (2019) ‘Για τη Γεωργία, τη Μαργαρίτα, την Τζούλια, τη Σοφία...’, *Avant-garde*, 02 July. Available at:

<https://avant-garde.com.cy/istories/gia-ti-sofia-ti-gevrgia-ti-margarita-kai-tis-alles-gynaikes> (Accessed: 19 February 2023)

3. “the loaded with a thousand complexes and psychologically brutal and despotic bastard was armed with a G3 that the government granted him to fight some future enemy. And he turned it against his family. He was not the first and certainly will not be the last, statistically reservists have murdered many more women than Turkish soldiers.”

Νομικός, Μ. (2020) ‘Είναι γυναικοκτονία ηλίθιε’, *Avant-garde*, 26 November. Available at: <https://avant-garde.com.cy/articles/nea/istories/einai-gynaikoktonia-ilithie>

(Accessed: 19 February 2023)

4. “The case raises serious questions about the military rifles held by reservists which are kept in their homes and can easily be used in criminal acts if they want to.”

Cyprus Times. (2016) ‘Η στυγερή δολοφονία του 15 Αυγούστου και οικογενειακές τραγωδίες στην Κύπρο (pics)’, 14 August. Available at:

<https://cyprustimes.com/koinonia/i-stygeri-dolofonia-tou-15-avgoustou-kai-oikogeneiak-es-tragodies-stin-kypro-pics/> (Accessed: 25 April 2023)

5. “When the issue of femicides is brought forward, the issue of gun ownership comes back to the fore...the law does not anticipate for people who already own a shotgun to undergo regular psychological or other examinations”

Κυριάκου, Ι. (2022) ‘20 γυναικοκτονίες σε τρία χρόνια, 18 φόνοι με κινηγητικά σε δέκα: Τι δείχνουν τα στοιχεία που έχει στην κατοχή της η «Κ»’, *Kathimerini*, 08 June.

Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/kypros/20-gynaikoktonies-se-tria-xronia-18-fonoi-me-kynigetika-se-deka> (Accessed: 12 May 2023)

Reference to the Legislation of Criminalisation of Femicide in Cyprus in the Context of Gender Equality and Violence Against Women

Positive presentation

1. “In the coming days, Cyprus is expected to take an important step in the visibility and prevention of this social phenomenon, as it will be brought to the Parliament for the adoption of a law proposal to introduce femicide as a distinctive offence”

⁹ Archbishop Makarios was the first President of the Republic of Cyprus after its independence in 1960.

Κυριάκου, Ι. (2022) '20 γυναικοκτονίες σε τρία χρόνια, 18 φόντοι με κληρονομικά σε δέκα: Τι δείχνουν τα στοιχεία που έχει στην κατοχή της η «Κ»', Kathimerini, 08 June. Available at: <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/kypros/20-gynaikoktonies-se-tria-xronia-18-fonoi-me-klhroνομika-se-deka> (Accessed: 12 May 2023)

2. “The proposal should be welcomed on principle in the clearest and unambiguous way. Through this proposal, the Republic complies with its international obligations, implements an indispensable criminal policy imperative, aptly continues its good tradition of legislating against gender discrimination in the framework of a criminal law protecting and strengthening human rights, and is at the forefront of the establishment in the European legal area of the crime of femicide, honourably distinguished from other inactive or even regressive national legal orders.”

Παπαχαράλαμπος, Χ. (2021) 'Γυναικοκτονία: Η ώρα της ευθύνης', PhileNews, 05 December. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/apopsis/paremvaseis-ston-f/article/564097/ginekoktonia-h-ora-tis-efthinis/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

3. “This existing horrible phenomenon, the focused conception of femicides, aspires to address with its introduction into criminal law. - As a necessary spotlight, able to illuminate the deeper roots of homicides against women, because they are women, in the perpetrator - victim relationship.”

Μαύρος, Α. (2021) 'Αννίτα Δημητρίου ΠτΒ & Γυναικοκτονίες 2021 μ.Χ.', Sigmalive, 07 November. Available at: <https://simerini.sigmalive.com/article/2021/11/7/annita-demetriou-ptb-gynaikoktonies-2021-mkh/> (Accessed: 26 March 2023)

Negative presentation

4. “Why the term "femicide" tends to be "adopted" superficially - as a legal one...it is wrong to separate "femicides" from other homicides, because we focus on the tree and lose the forest, which is nothing other than the increase in criminality and its causes and not its... triggers! And also, emphasis and visibility is given only to homicides against women while homicides of men by women pass they pass to the small print”

Ζαρκαδά, Μ. (2021) 'Ανθρωποκτονία ή «γυναικοκτονία»; Χωρούν άραγε φυλετικές διακρίσεις στο έγκλημα κατά της ζωής;', Newsbomb, 28 July. Available at: <https://www.newsbomb.gr/bomber/apopseis/story/1218844/anthropoktonia-i-gynaikoktonia-xorovn-arage-fyletikes-diakriseis-sto-egklima-kata-tis-zois> (Accessed: 24 May 2023)

5. “it is an obvious observation that such an amendment to the law: Firstly, it will offer nothing more than what is already established in Cyprus, since the offence of manslaughter is already punishable by a maximum penalty of life imprisonment. 2. Secondly, it may, in practice, lead to anti-legal and unconstitutional results, since this amendment of the law will institutionalise the unequal and uneven treatment of cases of homicides and defendants, as more or less serious, depending on the sex of the victim. 3. Thirdly, the existing law proposal does not cover cases where the killing of a person is the result or the culmination of systematic or even chronic (usually domestic) abuse and violence.”

Χρίστου, Φ. Μ. (2022) 'Γυναικοκτονίες και τροποποίηση του νόμου', PhileNews, 04 April. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/apopsis/article/515495/ginekoktonies-ke-tropopiisi-tou-nomou/> (Accessed: 04 April 2023)

6. “it is very difficult and dangerous to enter into such dividing lines, because as all experts and scholars point out, each homicide has its special characteristics, which is the taking of a human life no matter by who it was committed and its causes.”

Ζαρκαδά, Μ. (2021) 'Ανθρωποκτονία ή «γυναικοκτονία»; Χωρούν άραγε φυλετικές διακρίσεις στο έγκλημα κατά της ζωής;', Newsbomb, 28 July. Available at: <https://www.newsbomb.gr/bomber/apopseis/story/1218844/anthropoktonia-i-gynaikoktonia-xorovn-arage-fyletik-es-diakriseis-sto-egklima-kata-tis-zois> (Accessed: 24 May 2023)

Neutral - Offering suggestions/differentiations

7. "With the appropriate elaboration and modification by the Legal Service of the above suggestions, the purpose of attributing significant legislative importance to the alarming phenomenon of femicides could be achieved, without, on the other hand, creating inequalities in the law and unconstitutional disproportions that ultimately cause more problems than those they were intended to solve."

Δαλιάνη, Ν. Κ. (2022) 'Σκοντάφτει η ποινικοποίηση γυναικοκτονιών - Πρακτικές δυσκολίες βρίσκει η πρόταση της Αννίτας', PolitisNews, 18 April. Available at: <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/412287/skontaftei-i-poinikopoiisi-gynaikoktonion-praktikes-dyskolies-vriskei-i-protasi-tis-annitas> (Accessed: 02 April 2023)

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