



“The victim lived an intense life”: media (mis)representations of femicide crimes in the Republic of Cyprus

Venetia Papa, Theodoros Kouros & Andrea Lambe

To cite this article: Venetia Papa, Theodoros Kouros & Andrea Lambe (07 Jun 2024): “The victim lived an intense life”: media (mis)representations of femicide crimes in the Republic of Cyprus, *Feminist Media Studies*, DOI: [10.1080/14680777.2024.2363841](https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2024.2363841)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2024.2363841>



© 2024 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.



Published online: 07 Jun 2024.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 210



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

“The victim lived an intense life”: media (mis)representations of femicide crimes in the Republic of Cyprus

Venetia Papa^a, Theodoros Kouros^b and Andrea Lambe^c

^aDepartment of Social and Political Sciences, Programme of Journalism, University of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus; ^bDepartment of Communication and Internet Studies, Cyprus University of Technology, Limassol, Cyprus; ^cDepartment of Social and Political Sciences, Programme of Sociology, University of Glasgow, Limassol, Cyprus

ABSTRACT

International media research has recently emphasized the coverage of “partner homicides” in news media outlets with specific focus on the traits/characteristics and the forms of femicides. This led us to consider the ways in which news media outlets construct, portray, affect audiences and certain groups of individuals through the representations of such crimes. Through thematic content analysis of crime news, the purpose of this study is to determine how femicide victims are portrayed by major news media outlets in the Republic of Cyprus. The research consisted of an analysis of 366 femicide-related articles referring to 37 femicides that took place from 2006 to 2020. The data were analyzed to determine effects on newsworthiness, public perception, and patterns of victim blaming. The phenomenon of victim blaming emerged from the analysis as a recurring frame, both in a direct and indirect manner. Such blaming strategies include the usage of language with negative connotations in descriptions of the victim, such as highlighting their “promiscuous” pasts, and the attribution of “male honor”-related motives to the perpetrators, using sympathetic language to describe the perpetrator, highlighting the victim’s mental or physical problems, and so forth.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 11 February 2023
Revised 29 May 2024
Accepted 30 May 2024

KEYWORDS

Femicide; Cyprus; media; gender; victim-blame

Introduction

Femicide incidents have been rampant globally for decades, prompting many activists to act against femicides and violence against women. The media plays a crucial role in shaping the public perception and understanding of femicide within the context of gender violence. Recently, there has been growing interest in researching the media’s role in preventing violence against women (Dolors Comas-d’Argemir 2015) and in examining media (mis)representations of such violence (Lane Kirkland Gillespie, T. N. Richards, E. M. Givens and M. D. Smith 2013). The media significantly influences contemporary social and political debates by determining which issues gain publicity in the public

CONTACT Venetia Papa  Papa.venia@gmail.com 

© 2024 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

sphere (S. M Chermak 1995). This influence extends to shaping public perception on various issues, impacting public policy, and reinforcing social control or initiating change (M Meyers 1996; C Bullock 2007). In the case of crimes like femicide, this influence can be decisive.

The term femicide refers to the killing of a woman, usually by a male intimate partner (M Dawson and R Gartner 1998; Bullock 2007), and is a leading cause of death for females globally (C. A Anderson and J. B Brad 2002). In some legal and policy contexts, femicide is not recognized as gender violence. However, recent policies and legislation increasingly contextualize femicide as violence against women and a gender crime. It is typically “the result of a violent interaction, whereby a woman or a girl dies, i.e., an extreme and direct form of violence as part of an interpersonal process within a larger social context” (C Corradi, M. S Chaime, S Boira and S Weil 2016, 985). In 2016, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women (UN SRVAW) described these crimes as “the most extreme form of violence against women and the most violent manifestation of discrimination against women and their inequality.” The United Nations Economic and Social Council defines femicide as “the killing of women and girls because of their gender” (ECOSOC 2013, 2). In Cyprus,¹ the criminalization of femicide is a significant step towards legally recognizing femicide as a gender crime.

Femicide crimes represented a total of 87.000 women² intentionally killed worldwide in 2017, 50000 of which were killed by intimate partners or other family members. More than a third (30,000) of the women intentionally killed in 2017 were killed by their current or former intimate partner. To combat this, feminist activism globally has flourished fighting gender violence and femicide. For example, in Spain the feminist movement for institutional recognition of femicide as gender violence led to the establishment of the Act on Integrated Protection Measures against Gender Violence in 2004, which includes policies such as the creation of special courts, budgetary resources, infrastructure, perpetrator programs, and awareness-raising campaigns” (Comas-d’Argemir 2015, 122).

Another prominent example is the case of Mexico, where the anti-femicide movement has inspired social and institutional change regarding women and gender violence. The term “*feminicidio*,” promoted by feminist activists for the killings of women, replaced “*homicidio*” and later “*femicidio*,” to highlight the state’s involvement in organized crime and gender violence (K Webb 2023). “*Feminicidio*” emphasises the political nature of femicide, which the term “*femicidio*” failed to capture (Webb 2023). *Feminicidio* is linked to human rights and the pursuit of justice for female victims of gender violence, involving the reconfiguration of institutional, political, and legislative frameworks (Y De Los Ríos and L M 2010). This redefinition has influenced the understanding and handling of femicide cases, creating an ideology expressed not only in politics and legislation but also inspiring global political and cultural activism against gender violence (De Los Ríos and M 2010).

Similarly, in the context of Cyprus, it can be said that feminist activism, women’s movements, organisations and NGOs were the “conveyors” of a kind of “*feminicidio culture*,” providing visibility and recognition of several issues of women that were ignored before. Some of these include the Cyprus Women’s Lobby, the Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies (MIGS), and the Association for the Prevention and Handling of Violence in the Family (SPAVO). Their actions have led to the social, legal and political recognition of femicide in the context of gender violence, replacing the term *homicide*.

Despite such actions, media still portrays femicide crimes as an “individualized” problem instead of a wider social issue (T. N Richards, L. K Gillespie and M. D Smith 2011b). This is highly problematic due to the significance of the news media outlets’ role in the interpretation of the problem, at the individual and societal level. The construction of social issues begins when an individual problem is identified, framed, and given broader societal meaning within the public sphere. At the public policy level, naming and framing a problem is the first step towards creating collective resources or policy solutions. Thus, how news media outlets portray and frame the issue of femicide can influence the audience, shaping societal perceptions of such violence and its potential solutions (Gillespie et al. 2013). The power of traditional media can either restructure social norms and influence public opinion on issues like femicide or reinforce stereotypes and maintain the status quo. Considering the media’s role in shaping public perceptions and attitudes, particularly regarding violent cases such as femicides, examining media (mis)representations is a crucial first step in understanding and addressing the problem. This study explores how Cypriot news media construct, portray, and impact audiences and specific groups through their representations of such crimes.

Context: femicides in Cyprus and Cypriot media

This section focuses on the context of Cyprus and specifically on previous research regarding two dimensions of femicides in Cyprus, namely the *legal framework* and *media representations* of femicides on the island, and how these can be explained under a feminist lens and theoretical approach. Even though the present article only examines media coverage of femicides in the Republic of Cyprus, that is, the Southern part of the island, previous research has focused on the Northern side as well.

The legal framework

The Republic of Cyprus’ legal framework regarding domestic violence can be described as efficient if considering only the quantity of laws and policies established, as the majority of European and International Acts have been implemented in the country’s legal system. As highlighted by E Kofou, C Kouta, S Pavlou and A Shakou (2021),

with the recent passage of the Prevention and Combatting of Violence against Women and Domestic Violence Law 20219 (VAW Law 2021), the legal framework has been expanded and covers all forms of gender-based violence against women [...] including economic violence and psychological violence. (ibid, p. 9)

Domestic and intimate partner violence cases in Cyprus fall under the Violence in the Family Law of 2000 (as amended). Article 5 of this law criminalizes marital rape. Victims have access to protective measures such as temporary protection orders and restraining orders. Civil protection orders are governed by the Parents’ and Children’s Relations Law of 1990. Protective measures can be applied before or after judicial procedures and are not dependent on the outcome of other judicial processes. There is no available data on the number or types of protection orders issued, making it difficult to assess their prevalence or effectiveness.

These laws have proven insufficient in mitigating and combating violence against women and protecting victims. This insufficiency is partly because the laws fail to address the gendered nature of such violence as a consequence of gender inequity (S Walby and J Towers 2018). This oversight contributes to the prevalence of femicides, particularly in recognizing and addressing them as acts of intimate-partner violence. Consequently, the gender-neutral approach to domestic abuse and femicides leads to inadequate responses from authorities. For instance, the Cyprus Police do not systematically record or dismiss such incidents, classifying femicides under “homicide/ma-slaughter” rather than as a distinct offense. This reflects the issue being perceived as insignificant enough for public awareness (A Lambe 2023). Additionally, protective orders can be issued regardless of other judicial processes, but there is no data on the number or types of protection orders issued in Cyprus for victims of violence. Therefore, it is impossible to determine their prevalence or effectiveness in safeguarding victims.

However, an important step towards the recognition of domestic abuse as gender violence, was the establishment of femicide as a distinctive offense with gender dimensions, with 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). The article defines what is considered as the offense of femicide: “A person who causes the death of a woman by unlawful act or omission is guilty of the offense of femicide and is subject to life imprisonment.” The article also lists what factors the court in its measurement and penalty enforcement for the offense of femicide considers as an aggravating factor that results in death; “(a) violence by a sexual partner, (b) torture or violence on grounds of misogyny, (c) domestic violence, (d) violence on grounds of honor, (e) violence on grounds of religious belief, (f) violence based on sexual orientation or gender identity.”

Femicides in Cypriot media

As an equivalent of the gender blindness of the legal framework of violence against women or domestic violence, the media frequently adopt and project a masculine perspective favoring the viewpoint of the perpetrator, according to a study of media portrayals of femicides perpetrated in the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot populations in Cyprus, from 2010 to 2016. The media’s attention was centered on weapon and firearms control³ in situations when the offender used a gun to commit femicide, and the debate was limited to gun violence, the army’s influence, and limiting access to firearms. Similarly, in cases where there is evidence of mental illness, the media frequently blames the female for the male perpetrator’s mental health.

The gender-related features of femicide and their link to violence against women and domestic violence are not well understood by the media. By emphasizing the masculine perspective, this link is frequently neglected. By emphasizing male violence and the perpetrator’s point of view (for example, his rage at the victim’s desire to divorce him) the media indirectly delivers a threatening message to women who appear to question society’s traditional gender roles, and that male violence is acceptable. Following the discovery of serial femicide in 2019, there has been greater attention to femicide and

more frequent use of the term, particularly when reporting on foreign news (FEM United National Report). Overall, media coverage of femicide fails to recognize the gendered nature of the crime and its connection to violence against women and domestic violence in general.

Framing femicide crimes in the media: theoretical considerations

These responses towards femicide and violence against women in general, are attributed to the patriarchal structure of the Cypriot society that constructs the gender order and relations between women and men (C Cockburn 2004), and subsequently their public, legal and media representations. Having feminist theory as theoretical framework, media and communication theorists have long studied the representation of crimes within the media, considering that the offenders' or victims' understandings/"social constructions" of crimes is often a "mediated experience" (R Surette 2014).

Nancy Berns (2001, 263) argues that newspaper articles serve as "public arenas where images of domestic violence are constructed, debated, and reproduced." Researchers like Browyn Meyers, and D Croteau, W Hoynes and S Milan (1997) conclude that the media reinforces women's subordinate status by reflecting their unequal treatment. This coverage often exonerates men through victim blaming, which can perpetuate and normalize such behavior (K. S Lowney and J Best 2017). S. E Merry (2009) describes this as "doing violence is a way of doing gender" (p. 11), where masculine identity involves violent behavior against women, and feminine identity involves acquiescing to it (Lambe 2023, 14).

Media theorists note that violence against women and femicide are often represented through episodic or thematic frames (P Eastal, L Young and A Carline 2018; E Balica 2018), with episodic framing being more common (J Fairbairn and M Dawson 2013). Gillespie et al. (2013) identify seven media frames of femicide: "(1) A common-place frame, (2) an isolated incident frame, (3) a frame that blames the criminal justice system, (4) a victim blaming frame (6) a framework that minimized the femicide by focusing on a crisis in the life of the victim/perpetrator and (7) a domestic violence frame as a broader social problem framework" (Gillespie et al. 2013, 237). The literature detects two techniques within these frames: direct and indirect blaming. Direct victim blaming includes describing the victim negatively (e.g., as a bad mother or unemployed), suggesting infidelity, lack of cooperation with authorities, or highlighting love affairs (R Taylor 2009; T. N. Richards, L. K. Gillespie and M. D. Smith 2011a; Gillespie et al. 2013). Indirect victim blaming involves portraying the aggressor positively, such as highlighting financial, health, or emotional issues, or loss of control (Meyers 1997; Taylor 2009; Richards, Gillespie, and Smith 2011a; Gillespie et al. 2013). Another indirect technique involves representing the victim as a sexual object and a passive victim of abuse through images, which implicitly blames the victim (Taylor 2009; Richards, Gillespie, and Smith 2011a; Gillespie et al. 2013). K Lumdsen and H Morgan (2017, 14) argue that using overtly sexual images implies that the victim's actions led to the response. These media techniques reinforce the normalization of violence against women and gendered violence by promoting stereotypes about women and excusing assailants' acts (R Bivens 2015; J Kitzinger 2004, 14).

Other studies also stressed that media coverage of violence against women is mainly sexualized (K Sopthill and S Walby 1991; M Lloyd and S Ramon 2017). This argument is supported also by E Balica, M Valentina and M Balica (2020), who demonstrate that the employment of images from the victim's personal social media can be considered a source for refining victim-blaming techniques. This new type of source "only reinforces the existing dominant traditional narratives about violence and femicide in a way which diminishes offender responsibility and normalize criminal behavior towards women." E Balica, M Valentina and M Balica (2020, 16), also highlight that the representation of victims in photos with "sexy" postures "could be assessed as an indication of journalists' interest in attracting audience's attention towards this type of victim's visual representations." Researchers concluded that journalists use indirect blaming techniques as these are more "commercially profitable" (W. E Heuva 2016, 1).

Methodology

Procedure

Examinations of crime in the news media have relied on a variety of methods, including content analysis, ethnography, and interviews, with the former being the most common methodology utilized (Chermak 1995; Taylor 2009). According to B. L Berg (2004, 269), "[content analysis] is a passport to listening to the words of the text and understanding better the perspective(s) of the producer of these words." Berg pointed out two dimensions of text offered for analysis: *manifest* content and *latent* content. The former refers to "elements that are physically present and countable," and the latter to "the deep structural meaning conveyed by the message." Although there is some controversy about which of the two should be utilized in content analysis (see Taylor 2009), Berg believes that using both when appropriate is the best way. The current research examines both the explicit and implicit content of newspaper stories. In addition, for each element of latent analysis, specific examples are provided to support the authors' interpretation.

Operationalization

Regarding the notion of *femicide*, we will be using the broad definition offered by Dawson and Gartner (1998, 383): "The killing of women by a male intimate partner." *Primary victim* refers to the persons who suffer directly from a crime (Chermak 1995). In this analysis, it will refer to the women who have been killed by their intimate partner. *Perpetrator* will refer to the persons who have committed the crime, in this case, the male who has killed a female.

Data collection and sampling

The current study seeks to analyze a large sample of newspaper articles, covering several years. Four national newspapers were chosen for the current analysis: *Fileleftheros*, *Politis*, *Charavgj* and *Simerini*. Articles were retrieved from their respective online archives. *Fileleftheros* has a daily circulation of more than 60,000 and a Sunday circulation of more than 90,000, *Politis* 28000 (daily) and 39,000 (Sunday), *Charavgj* 16000 (daily) and 19,000 (Sunday), while *Simerini* 7,000 (daily) and 18,000 (Sunday) (Data Gnora, 2016). The

readership of all four newspapers spans all provinces in the Republic of Cyprus and they cover nation-wide news. Domestic homicide articles covering an incident or events after the killing (i.e., court proceedings) in the Republic of Cyprus from any section within each newspaper from 2006 to 2020 were retrieved for use in the analysis. Although the contents of the articles, including the title, subtitle, and photograph captions, are precisely duplicated in the online archive version, a replica of the article is not accessible. In other words, the articles retrieved from the archive are not pictures of the article as it was featured in the newspaper. Certain types of incidents were omitted from the sample. Specifically, attempted murders and actual murder related to a domestic situation (i.e., a platonic roommate or extended family member) but not perpetrated against an intimate partner were not included, as to be consistent in analyzing coverage of actual femicide.

Description of sample

A total of 366 media articles were identified using the keywords indicated in [Table 1](#), representing 18 separate cases of femicide. The number of articles included in the analysis reflects the total number of incidents that occurred between 2006 to 2020. There were multiple incidents for which numerous media articles were written, from the time of the incident through the judicial process. For example, the widely publicized killings of 5 women by Nikos Metaxas were featured in most of the media articles for the period in which these femicides occurred. Thus, 39.5% ($n = 106$) of the articles retrieved from 2019 were related to this femicide incident, which monopolized public discourse at the time, given that it was arguably the most atrocious crime in the recent history of Cyprus. All articles covering femicides were collected and analyzed. However, those cases involving a male-perpetrated intimate partner homicide with a female victim (i.e., femicide) were of major interest. In this sense, the case of Nikos Metaxas, even though analyzed sufficiently, did not produce as many relevant results as other cases where domestic violence and femicide of an intimate partner were involved.

Table 1. Keyword Searches based on femicide crimes in the Republic of Cyprus from 2006–2020.

Γεωργία Γεωργίου (<i>Georgia Georgiou</i>)
Ντανιέλα Ρόσκα (<i>Daniella Roska</i>)
Σοφία Ζήνωνος (<i>Sofia Zenonos</i>)
Σύρια 31 ετών (<i>Syrian 31 years old</i>)
Μαρία Χάρπα (<i>Maria Harpa</i>)
Γυναίκα από το Βιετνάμ (<i>Woman from Vietnam</i>)
Νίκη (<i>Niki</i>)
Λίβια Μπουένα (<i>Livia Buena</i>)
Ασμίτα Κάχα Ανού (<i>Asmita Kacha Anou</i>)
Μαρί Ρόουζ (<i>Mari Roose</i>)
Αριάν Παλάνας Λοζάνο (<i>Arian Palanas Lozano</i>)
Μαρικάρ Βαλντέζ (<i>Marikar Valntez</i>)
Ανδρούλα Γούμενου (<i>Andoulla Goumenou</i>)
Yulia Oboroc (<i>Yulia Oboroc</i>)
Μαργαρίτα Κουλουμά (<i>Margarita Koulouma</i>)
Ζωή Κατσαρή (<i>Zoe Katsari</i>)
Στέλλα Πιερί (<i>Stella Pieri</i>)
Αντωνίτσα Ροδοσθένους (<i>Antonitsa Rodosthenous</i>)

Analysis

A coding scheme was prepared for the analysis of each media article. The items of interest were based on what was deemed worthy of special attention from similar studies on femicide coverage in news media outlets, primarily Taylor's (2009). Media articles were analyzed by reading first, to ensure that the media article met the criteria for inclusion in the study, then by going through each article carefully recording the frequencies of the items of interest. The following were included in this analysis, in line with Taylor (2009):

- (1) Title of the article
- (2) Negative adjectives/behaviors attributed to victim
- (3) Negative adjectives/behaviors attributed to perpetrator
- (4) Positive adjectives/behaviors attributed to victim
- (5) Was any domestic violence context referenced (including known history of domestic violence)?
- (6) Sources referenced for domestic violence context
- (7) Physical, mental, or other pathological issues concerning victim
- (8) Physical, mental, or other pathological issues concerning perpetrator?
- (9) Tone of story

Each article was analyzed following the coding scheme and coded (listing each adjective, characteristic, etc.) by both authors. The specific items were then divided by type (perpetrator illness, financial distress, infidelity, etc.) and counted individually. The tone of the story was determined in tandem with the other items of interest and involved multiple rounds of analysis. Initially, media articles were given a variety of labels for tone based on the first analysis; others were coded as "*fact only*" when they contained little detail of any kind, other than reporting that a murder had occurred with information about the crime's characteristics.

After completing the initial data collection and coding, articles were grouped based on common patterns and themes. Such groupings include media items that are part of a series about the same incident and have a similar tone. Each group was reanalyzed to confirm the initial classification, find any other story aspects that were overlooked, and study the tone's relationship with the other elements more carefully (Taylor 2009). For example, we were interested in cases where pieces about a perpetrator's financial despair, also employ derogatory language to describe the victim(s). Such findings were noted on the coding sheet and analyzed appropriately. In the following table, some indicative frequencies are listed, which provide the reader with a better overview of the sample of articles studied in this article.

Sample frequencies

366 articles were retrieved

$n = 18$ cases of male-perpetrators/female victim

$n = 0$ cases of female-perpetrated/male victim

17% ($n = 62$ articles, corresponding to 3 individual cases) of male-perpetrated murder—suicide

Findings

Article titles

For the analysis, each article title was examined to determine whether the article was qualified as a femicide crime event or as a crime between intimates. First, each article's title was examined to determine whether the article was identifiable to readers as a femicide—suicide event or even as a crime between intimates. Titles were organized into three different categories: (1) titles that described the crime as an ambiguous homicide/homicide—suicide ($n=288$), (2) titles that identified the relationship between the perpetrator and victim, but were vague as to the crime ($n=20$), and (3) titles that indicated the crime was a femicide ($n=19$). The majority of titles of the second category assigned to femicide—suicide articles described the crime as an ambiguous homicide or homicide—suicide. These titles did not indicate a relationship between the perpetrator and the victim such as “They killed Daniella with unbelievable animosity” and “Motives of slayer still unspecified: Murder and suicide by the perpetrator” (M Kalatzis 2020). At other times, the title did not even reveal that the crime was a murder—suicide, such as “Lakatamia tragedy: Victims died from internal bleeding.” The next category of titles (femicide—suicide events) indicated that there was an intimate relationship between the two victims, but often, these titles did not distinguish who was the perpetrator and who was the victim. Examples of such titles include, “Murder in Nicosia: Waiting for the autopsy results” and “Limassol tragedy: It seems there was an argument between them.” A third group of titles described the crime as femicide. These titles distinguished that the perpetrator was male and the victim was female and described the nature of their present or past intimate relationship. Examples of this type of title included: “He killed his ex-partner and then killed himself.”

In general, it seems that the Zenonos femicide in 2019 is a turning point on how journalists cover femicide crimes in Cyprus. Out of the 19 reports of actual cases that contain the term femicide 15 concern that particular case. These are not only strictly related to the case, but it seems that the latter sparked public debate around the issue of femicide crimes associated with the reporting language. The rest uses of the term femicide in our sample include two in the case of Buena, 1 in that of Harpa, and one in Pieri's case, all after 2018. There are more occurrences of the term, however in general articles on past cases of femicide crime in Cyprus. Interestingly, most of these general pieces (74%) have titles that include the word “family,” such as “family crimes that shook Cyprus.”

Direct victim blaming tactics

In many cases, direct victim blaming tactics were spotted in the media articles under investigation. These journalistic techniques include a direct, negative language when describing the victim, with an emphasis on the victim's choice not to report past incidences of domestic violence, therefore contributing to her murder. Also, the media articles in question are mostly highlighting victims' actions and/or affairs with other men, figuring as a form of direct blaming technic. Such forms of direct victim tactics are

detected in several media articles even though indirect tactics are more common, as we will demonstrate in the next section.

The most representative example of direct victim blame tactics, comes from a case from 2015, when a Moldovan woman, Daniella Rosca, was violently murdered by her lover, who was engaged with another woman at the time. The “lover” conspired with two other men to kill her and steal her valuables. The woman was then portrayed in media articles under scrutiny here as very promiscuous with an “intense” (sic) lifestyle. Indicatively, according to a media article from 2017, “the investigation of the case revealed that the victim lived an *intense life* in recent years and that she maintained a *parallel love affair* with various persons, including a 26-year-old Greek Cypriot” (our italics). In a different piece, this view is repeated almost verbatim: “The investigation of the case revealed that the victim lived an *intense life* in recent years and maintained *parallel love affairs* with various persons, including the 26-year-old who broke off his relationship with her in mid-2015.” In the same vein, a woman from Vietnam who was killed by a man who then proceeded to commit suicide was also depicted as promiscuous: “Police are also investigating *the woman’s relations with other persons*, as there is information that *other persons were seen in the house*.” This view, especially of immigrant women and more commonly of women of Eastern European origin, reflects a strong stereotype rooted in the local culture, that deems said women as promiscuous: “non-national women of color [are] being framed by racial biases and stereotypes as ‘appropriate’ to undertake domestic work, whereas ‘not quite white’ women from Eastern Europe are preferred as sexual partners” by Greek-Cypriot men (Mihaela Fullias- Souroulla 2008, 124).

Interestingly, such direct victim blame techniques were sporadic and only targeted specific groups of women, such as immigrants. In opposition, local women were never blamed directly in the media articles, even though there were specific cases in which they were blamed indirectly, as we will illustrate in the next section. Moreover, as illustrated earlier with the case of Rosca, Eastern Europeans are more likely to be represented as promiscuous and at risk, something which apparently results from their lifestyle or their overall appearance.

Indirect victim blame tactics

Compared to the sporadic direct victim blame tactics by the media articles examined, *indirect* tactics were more common. These include mostly contradictory framing techniques that construct the victim’s and perpetrator’s portrayal.

Starting with the perpetrator, positive, sympathetic language is evident when describing Greek-Cypriot perpetrators, with an emphasis on their mental, physical, and emotional problems, the couple’s financial despair, and describing domestic violence in terms that assign equal blame to both the victim and perpetrator. In the case of Daniella Rosca, the perpetrator was engaged with another, local woman who was pregnant when the femicide crime was committed. When the case was brought to court, his child was born and this was considered positively by the court. This was emphasized heavily by the media: “his clean criminal record and the consequences of his imprisonment on his family and in particular on his minor child were taken into account” (Stis 13 Iouniou I pini gia ti dolofonia tis Rosca, 2017a). Another piece from a different newspaper states: “As mitigating factors in the imposition of the sentence, the Criminal Court took into account [. . .] his

overall good character, the health problems he faces, the consequences that his imprisonment will have on his family, especially the minor child and the fiancée, and his personal circumstances” (Stis 13 Iounou I pini ston P. Alexandrou gia ipothesi Rosca, 2017a). Finally, a statement by his attorney was reproduced several times in relevant media articles: “Mr. Georgiou [. . .] added that the accused after the crime had a baby girl who due to his arrest and detention, remains unbaptized to this day and at the same time failed to marry his fiancée and mother of the child” (Indicatively: Stis 13 Iouniou I pini gia ti dolofonia tis Rosca, 2017a; Stis 13 Iounou I pini ston P. Alexandrou gia ipothesi Rosca; 2017a). The perpetrator is represented as a man of “good character,” a family man, someone with health problems, as well as a good Christian, who wants to get married and baptize his child.

An interesting finding of this article, as further elaborated in the next sections, is the ways in which accounts of femicides tend to change over time and context, as the categorization and the connotations of such crimes are increasingly becoming a norm. In a case from 2020, only indirect blame tactics were identified, in this case, more covert than in the case of Daniella Rosca. In the case of Niki Siefertali, who was murdered by her partner, a case which also involved the perpetrator’s suicide, he is depicted as mentally unstable: “The autopsy findings confirm the scenario that the authorities had come up with, after they spotted a note on the scene, left by the 56-year-old, with which he stated that he would end his life and say goodbye to his family” (Foniko Lakatamias: Pirovolise ti 44chroni ke meta estrepse to oplo pano tou, 2020a). In another media article, domestic violence is portrayed in terms that assign equal blame to both the victim and perpetrator: “According to information, the couple has been having frequent arguments and quarrels lately and they had recently separated, which caused even more tension in their relationship. The 44-year-old seems to have gone to the apartment in Lakatamia where [name of perpetrator] lived to discuss their relationship, when the murder took place” (Foniko Lakatamias: Ekanan fillo ke ftero to diamerisma, 2020a).

There are more articles where the perpetrators’ alleged emotional and mental issues are emphasized. For example, in another femicide/suicide, that was in many cases called a “passion crime” by several newspapers, it is written: “According to information, the 35-year-old contacted 26-year-old Sofia Zenonos and expressed his intention to commit suicide. The girl rushed to stop him” (Pige na ton prolavi i 26chroni ke epese nekri, 2019a). Family and financial problems were also spotted as indirect victim blame tactics in some cases. Indicatively, in the case of an unnamed Syrian woman murdered by her ex-husband: “The tragic incident happened in the house where the family of the immigrants lived [. . .] for reasons that are being examined by the Police and which, however, are considered to have to do with family disputes” (D Christodoulou 2020). Similarly, in the case of Zoe Katsari, it is written: “According to reliable information, the couple had differences, including some of financial nature, for many years, and lived separately” (Enopion dikastiriou o 80chronos gia to fono sta Pervolia, 2016).

On the other hand, more negative language is used in cases where the perpetrator is not a national. For instance, negative language infused with class and ethnic characterizations is utilized to construct the perpetrator’s subjectivity as a “monster.” Indicative terms are “that’s what Muslims do,” or ironically referring to his homeless state or lower class, questioning these characteristics as being capable of functioning as the perpetrator’s motives (Lambe 2023, 52). This framing

is based on an exclusionary and subordinating agenda (S Keskinen 2012), creating “moral panics” that construct what R Sela-Shayovitz (2018) defines as “monstrosity” of foreign offenders (p. 21), combined with frames of the vulnerability of migrant women.

Last but not least, a common indirect victim-blaming tactic is describing domestic violence in terms that assign blame to both the victim and perpetrator. In the case of a woman from Vietnam, who was killed by her partner who then committed suicide, the crime scene is described vividly as a fighting ground, and the reader is left with the impression that death may have been an inevitable outcome. Moreover, the perpetrator is also called a victim: “Both victims had multiple stab wounds, but what troubled the police were the deep wounds in the man’s neck. He also had injuries to his abdomen and chest” (Foniko Lefkosias: Pollapla travmata feroun i dio soroi, 2020a). In the case of N., who was also murdered by her ex-husband in front of their children, it is emphasized that the woman “took the children with her,” also implying that she took them *away from* their father: “The bad relations between the parents peaked with their separation, last April. The mother left the house where they lived in Kokkinotrimithia, taking the children with her” (K Penintaex 2014).

The need for regulation of gun possession

In Cyprus, according to the “Small Arms Survey” organization based in Switzerland, for every 100 inhabitants there are 36 weapons. This has to do not only with the plethora of recreational hunters in Cyprus but also with the institution of National Guard Reserves, because of which all males after their military service and up to the age of 50 keep their military rifles in their homes. Some of the femicides examined here involve the use of such a rifle in the act of femicide. As M Zoumidou (2020) argues in the opening lines of her article in *Fileleftheros*, “The tragedy that unfolded [...] with victim the 21-year-old Maria Harpa, who fell dead from the G3 military rifle, reopens the timeless debate about the possession of weapons in Cyprus.”

This is an issue that either directly or indirectly was stressed in many of the articles studied here, given that many of the femicides we examine, were committed with the use of either a hunting shotgun or a military rifle. According to K Penintaex (2013), in a piece written as a response to a 2013 femicide of a 27-year-old woman in Limassol by her husband in front of their children:

... the legislation does not provide for checks on the suitability of reserves in possession of weapons, resulting in G3 being given even to people with a history of violent behavior. Amid political dilemmas, whether G3 National Guard rifles should be kept in the homes of the reserves, an issue that arose after the family tragedy in Limassol...

Indeed, the existing legislation arms citizens including individuals who display aggressive behavior. There are no mechanisms to check the suitability of reservists for storing military weapons in their homes, resulting in G3s being given to people with psychological problems and a history of violence.

Representation of the victim as guilty or innocent: vulnerability vs. “sexy” social media images

As it shown, the different, and most of the times opposing, representations of the victim construct the victims’ different positionalities and subjectivities, which determine their innocence or culpability. The vulnerability of being a mother sparks the journalists,’ and equivalently the audience’s, sympathy and therefore, is considered as the “correct” and honorable victim that deserves the public’s attention and does not deserve to die. Whereas, the vulnerability of migrant women for not being able to report their abuse is considered as incompetence and therefore a factor for their culpability (Lambe 2023). However, the status of migrant women is not only used not to showcase vulnerability but also in other cases direct culpability by being described as “whore,” “gold-digger” etc.

To enhance this dichotomy and contrasting subjectivities, in most of the articles studied for this study, the victims are represented visually with intimate clothes and sexy postures. Two-thirds of the articles were published together with such photos. As Lumsden and Morgan have pointed out, the use of this type of overtly sexual images could be assessed as “indicative of implicit victim blaming in that the response is framed as a direct result of her actions” (2017: p. 14). In most of the cases, these images are mostly retrieved from the personal social media profiles of the victims. These techniques are indirectly drawing the attention of the audience towards this type of visual representations of the victim. All the images represent the victims by emphasizing their beauty—as beautiful women wearing sexy clothes, as a distinguishing mark of their personality. This demonstrates, if we assess the sources used, the use of photos and videos posted in the online environment, especially on social media (Instagram, Facebook). Our findings are in line with previous studies (Balica, Valentina, and Balica 2020; A Goulandrīs and E Mclaughlin 2020) examining cases in which journalists used material sourced from social network sites to generate a “newsworthy murder victim.” These images are considered as negative elements which disregard the dignity and the personality of the victims. The most representative example is the case of a Moldovan woman (Figures 1-3) who was violently murdered. The woman in question is represented at the beginning of the article through a sexy image (luscious clothing and postures) in her car. The second image also represents a woman (Figures 4 and 5) who was murdered by his ex-husband. The woman appears in a photo retrieved from her Facebook account, wearing a sexy rose dress.



Figure 1. Picture of Daniella Rosca in an article in Charavgi. Source: Stis 13 Apriliou I telikes agorefsis gia ti Daniella Rosca, 2017.



Figure 2. Picture of Daniella Rosca in an article in Fileleftheros. Source: Stis 13 Apriliou I telikes agrefsis gia ti Daniella Rosca, 2017a.



Figure 3. Picture of Daniella Rosca in an article in Fileleftheros. Source: Stis 13 Martiou tha apologithi o Alexandrou gia ti dolofonia tis Daniella Rosca, 2017b.



Figure 4. Picture of Sophia Zenons in an article in Politis (Ch Nestoros 2019).



Figure 5. Picture of Sophia Zenons in an article in *Politis* (Nestoros 2019).

Conclusions

The goal of this research was to add to the growing body of international literature about how femicide and its victims are portrayed in news media in particular contexts. This research also as a case study, interconnects “the international” with “the national,” as it showcases the national characteristics of a global issue. Because the media shapes public perception, and perception shapes attitudes and behaviors, it is critical to better understand how femicide is depicted and represented in the media, in order to correct erroneous beliefs regarding femicide crimes and femicide victims. Erroneous beliefs might lead in the creation of stereotypes which might have a direct impact on how communities, law enforcement, and the court system respond to domestic abuse, hopefully reducing the number of cases. The article provided an overview of media representations of femicides in the Republic of Cyprus. We looked deeply at 366 articles retrieved from the four major newspapers, *Charavgi*, *Politis*, *Fileleftheros* and *Simerini*, to assess the ways in which several femicides, spanning from 2006 to 2020 were portrayed and reported. In order to do this, we analyzed the titles of articles, the content—in terms of direct and indirect victim blaming tactics—as well as the visual elements of the articles.

We illustrated how certain uses of language, visual elements and representations may be seen as indirect blame tactics towards that illustrate contradictory subjectivities for the victims. This is more evident in cases of femicide of immigrant women (or other vulnerable social groups). They are portrayed as promiscuous women, leading a “risky” lifestyle. This is a prime example of an indirect victim blame tactic, given that it implies the victims’ responsibility for the ends of their lives. Another interesting finding is the way in which Zenonos’ femicide was a turning point to the portrayal of femicides in Cypriot media. It was after that murder, that the term femicide started to become established in various pieces in daily newspapers.

The current study adds to the growing corpus of scholarship on femicide while also providing more evidence that victims of femicide are habitually blamed for their victimization directly or indirectly in the media, even if implicitly. This erroneous representation

subsequently filters into people's perceptions, hence influencing their attitudes and behaviors. As stressed in the introduction, the ways news media outlets portray, but also frame the problem of femicide, can indirectly affect their audience, influencing how society perceives the dynamics pertaining to such violence and its potential eradication. The power of traditional media can either restructure social norms, therefore influencing public opinion on specific social and political problems, like femicide crimes, or contribute in the strengthening of certain stereotypes and the status quo. According to previous research, it is critical to continue examining the media because it is the major source of information and understanding, as well as action and change (i.e., Berns, 2004; Elizabeth Carll, 2003; Katherine Taylor and Susan Sorenson, 2002; Meyers, 1997). The media have a significant part in the production and comprehension of societal problems, and knowing how the media works and where changes are needed is the first step toward intervention and prevention. Putting an end to victim blaming and delivering truthful stories about the gendered nature and normative foundations of chronic domestic violence, is a critical first step in femicide coverage. It is time for the media to employ their full power in order to operate as a source of activism against inequality and injustice.

Notes

1. For readability purposes, we refer to the Republic of Cyprus (the state) as Cyprus (the island).
2. UNODC, Global Study on Homicide 2019 (Vienna 2019).
3. The Cyprus Police dealt with 24 cases of premeditated murders, homicides, and pedophilia involving firearms out of 82 criminal cases from 2013 to May 5, 2020. These incidents involved G3 military rifles, shotguns, and other firearms. The "Small Arms Survey" organization based in Switzerland reported that Cyprus is the 6th highest country in terms of firearms owned by citizens, with 36 weapons per 100 inhabitants and a total of 275,000 registered weapons as of 2017. This high rate is partly due to the large number of recreational hunters in Cyprus and the institution of National Guard Reserves, where all males keep their military rifles at home after mandatory military service until age 50. Some femicides examined in this article involve the use of such rifles.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank Vyronas Kapnisis.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

References

- Anderson, C. A., and J. B. Brad. 2002. "The Effects of Media Violence on Society." *Science* 295 (5564): 2377–2379. doi:10.1126/science.1070765.
- Balica, E. 2018. "Young Intimate Femicide in Romania. Incidence and Risk Factors." *Anthropological Researches and Studies* 8 (1): 15–24. doi:10.26758/8.1.2.
- Balica, E., M. Valentina, and M. Balica. 2020. "Was Anastasia Victim of Partner Violence? Media Coverage of Femicide in Romania and Moldova." *Journalism Practice* 16 (1): 1–22. doi:10.1080/17512786.2020.1799236.

- Berg, B. L. 2004. "Methods for the Social Sciences." *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*.
- Berns, N. 2001. "Degendering the Problem and Gendering the Blame: Political Discourse on Women and Violence." *Gender & Society* 15 (2): 262–281.
- Berns, N. 2004. *Framing the Victim: Domestic Violence, Media, and Social Problems*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Bivens, R. 2015. "Under the Hood: The Software in Your Feminist Approach." *Feminist Media Studies* 15 (4): 714–717. doi:10.1080/14680777.2015.1053717.
- Bullock, C. 2007. "Framing Domestic Violence Fatalities: Coverage by Utah Newspapers." *Women's Studies in Communication* 30 (1): 34–63. doi:10.1080/07491409.2007.10162504.
- Carll, E. K. 2003. "News Portrayal of Violence and Women: Implications for Public Policy." *The American Behavioral Scientist* 46 (12): 1601–1610.
- Charavgi. 2016. "Enopion dikastiriou o 80chronos gia to fono sta Pervolia," [The 80 Year-Old Before the Court for the Pervolia Murder]. 4 March, 2016.
- Charavgi. 2017. "Stis 13 Apriliou I telikes agorefsis gia ti Daniella Rosca," [On the 13th of April the Final Court Hearings on Daniella Rosca's Case]. April 5, 2017.
- Charavgi. 2020a. "Foniko Lakatamias: Ekanan fillo ke ftero to diamerisma," [Lakatamia Killing: They Scrutinized the Apartment]. June 30, 2020.
- Chermak, S. M. 1995. *Victims in the News: Crime and the American News Media*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Christodoulou, D. 2020. "Dolofonia 31chronis stin Pafos: Entopistike to "foniko oplo" [Murder of 31-Year-Old in Paphos: The "Murder weapon"]." *Fileleftheros*, 20 January, 2020.
- Cockburn, C. 2004. "Chapter 1: Self and Other: Kinds of Line." In *The Line: Women, Partition and the Gender Order in Cyprus*, 23–40. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Comas-d'Argemir, D. 2015. "News of Partner Femicides: The Shift from Private Issue to Public Problem." *European Journal of Communication* 30 (2): 121–136. doi:10.1177/0267323114544865.
- Corradi, C., M. S. Chaime, S. Boira, and S. Weil. 2016. "Theories of Femicide and Their Significance for Social Research." *Current Sociology* 64 (7): 975–995. doi:10.1177/0011392115622256.
- Croteau, D., W. Hoynes, and S. Milan. 1997. *Media/Society: Industries, Images, and Audiences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Data Gnora. 2016. https://gnora.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/mediagnosis_mar_may_2016_en.pdf.
- Dawson, M., and R. Gartner. 1998. "Differences in the Characteristics of Intimate Femicides: The Role of Relationship State and Relationship Status." *Homicide Studies* 2 (4): 378–399. doi:10.1177/1088767998002004003.
- De Los Ríos, Y., and L. M. 2010. "Preface: Feminist Keys for Understanding Femicide: Theoretical, Political, and Legal Construction." In *Terrorizing Women: Femicide in the Americas*, edited by Rosa-Linda Fregoso and Cynthia Bejarano, xi–xxvi. New York, USA: Duke University Press.
- Easteal, P., L. Young, and A. Carline. 2018. "Domestic Violence, Property, and Family Law in Australia." *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family* 32 (2): 204–229. doi:10.1093/lawfam/eby005.
- ECOSOC. 2013. *Statement Submitted by the Academic Council on the United Nations System, a Non-Governmental Organization in Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council*. E/CN.15/2013/NGO/1, Vienna, 22–26 April 2013. Available at: 110 https://www.unodc.org/documents/commissions/CCPCJ/CCPCJ_Sessions/CCPCJ_22/_E-CN15-2013-NGO1/E-CN15-2013-NGO1_E.pdf (Accessed: 14 March 2023).
- Fairbairn, J., and M. Dawson. 2013. "Canadian News Coverage of Intimate Partner Homicide: Analyzing Changes Over Time." *Feminist Criminology* 8 (3): 147–176. doi:10.1177/1557085113480824.
- Fileleftheros. 2017a. "Stis 13 Apriliou I telikes agorefsis gia ti Daniella Rosca," [On the 13th of April the Final Court Hearings on Daniella Rosca's Case]. April 5, 2017.
- Fileleftheros. 2017b. "Stis 13 Martiou tha apologithi o Alexandrou gia ti dolofonia tis Daniella Rosca," [Alexandrou Will Testify on the 13th of March on the Murder of Daniella Rosca]. February 2, 2017.
- Fileleftheros. 2019a. "Pige na ton prolavi i 26chroni ke epese nekri" [The 26 Year-Old Tried to Stop Him and Fell Dead]. June 29, 2019.

- Fileleftheros. 2020a. "Foniko Lefkosias: Pollapla travmata feroun i dio soroi," [Nicosia Murders: Multiple Wounds on Both Corpses]. June 2, 2020.
- Fileleftheros. 2020b. Lakatamia Tragedy: Victims Died from Internal Bleeding (2020). July 1, 2020.
- Fullias- Souroulla, Mihaela 2008. "Marriage and Migration." *Cyprus Review* 20 (2): 117–143.
- Gillespie, L. K., T. N. Richards, E. M. Givens, and M. D. Smith. 2013. "Framing Deadly Domestic Violence: Why the media's Spin Matters in Newspaper Coverage of Femicide." *Violence Against Women* 19 (2): 222–245. doi:10.1177/1077801213476457.
- Goulandris, A., and E. McLaughlin. 2020. "'A Victim, and that's all': The Construction of Meredith Kercher in the British National Newspapers." *Feminist Media Studies* 20 (7): 1043–1058. doi:10.1080/14680777.2019.1690018.
- Heuva, W. E. 2016. "Commodification of Celebrities' Crimes: The "Live" Broadcasting of Oscar Pistorius' Murder Trial." *French Journal for Media Research* 5: 1–31.
- Kalatzis, M. 2020. "Agnosta ta kinitra tis sfagis: Fonos kai aftoktonia tou drastic [The Motives of the Massacre Remain Unknown: Murder and Suicide by the Perpetrator]." *Politis*, June 2, 2020.
- Keskinen, S. 2012. "Limits to Speech? The Racialised Politics of Gendered Violence in Denmark and Finland." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 33 (3): 261–274. doi:10.1080/07256868.2012.673470.
- Kitzinger, J. 2004. *Framing Abuse: Media Influence and Public Understanding of Sexual Violence Against Children*. Pluto Press.
- Kofou, E., C. Kouta, S. Pavlou, and A. Shakou 2021. Femicide Research and Data: CYPRUS. Country Report, Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies, CY, June.
- Lambe, A. 2023. *The Social Construction of Intimate-Partner Femicide in the Cypriot News Media: A Critical Gender-Frame Analysis*. MSc(R) thesis, University of Glasgow. Retrieved from: <https://theses.gla.ac.uk/83987/>.
- Lloyd, M., and S. Ramon. 2017. "Smoke and Mirrors: UK Newspaper Representations of Intimate Partner Domestic Violence." *Violence Against Women* 23 (1): 114–139. doi:10.1177/1077801216634468.
- Lowney, K. S., and J. Best. 2017. "Stalking Strangers and Lovers: Changing Media Typifications of a New Crime Problem." In *Images of Issues*, 33–58. London: Routledge.
- Lumsden, K., and H. Morgan. 2017. "Media Framing of Trolling and Online Abuse: Silencing Strategies, Symbolic Violence, and Victim Blaming." *Feminist Media Studies* 17 (6): 926–940. doi:10.1080/14680777.2017.1316755.
- Merry, S. E. 2009. "Chapter 1: Introduction." In *Gender Violence: A Cultural Perspective*, 1–24. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Meyers, M. 1996. *News Coverage of Violence Against Women: Engendering Blame*. London: Sage.
- Nestoros, Ch 2019. "Se dio peripou mines anamenontai apantisis gia ti Sofia [Answers About Sofia Are Expected in Two Months Time]." *Politis*, July 17, 2019.
- Penintaex, K. 2013. "I Nomothesia "Oplise" Ton Charilaou [The Law "Armed" Charilaou]." *Simerini*, October 4, 2013.
- Penintaex, K. 2014. "Grafete o epilogos tis tragodias [The Epilogue of the Tragedy Is Being Written]." *Simerini*, June 21, 2014.
- Politis. 2020. "Foniko stin palia Lefkosia: Afti ine I ilikia ke I ethnikotita ton nekron," [Murder in Old Nicosia: This Is the Age and Nationality of the Dead]. June 1, 2020.
- Richards, T. N., L. K. Gillespie, and M. D. Smith. 2011a. "Exploring News Coverage of Femicide: Does Reporting the News Add Insult to Injury?" *Feminist Criminology* 6 (3): 178–202. doi:10.1177/1557085111409919.
- Richards, T. N., L. K. Gillespie, and M. D. Smith 2011b. Framing Femicide-Suicide: The Media's Portrayal of Female Intimate Partner Homicide Victims and Male Perpetrated Homicide-Suicides. *The Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology*.
- Sela-Shayovitz, R. 2018. "She Knew He Would Murder her': The Role of the Media in the Reconstruction of Intimate Femicide." *Journal of Comparative Social Work* 13 (1): 11–34. doi:10.31265/jcsw.v13i1.157
- Simerini. 2017. "Skotosan tin Daniella me apistefti ktenodia," [They Killed Daniella with Unbelievable Animosity]. January 12, 2017.

- Simerini. 2019. "Stis 13 Iounou I pini ston P. Alexandrou gia ipothesi Rosca," [On the 13th of June the Penalty on P. Alexandrou for the Rosca Case]. June 9, 2017.
- Sopthill, K., and S. Walby. 1991. *Sex Crime in the News*. London: Routledge.
- Surette, R. 2014. *Media, Crime, and Criminal Justice*. London: Cengage Learning.
- Taylor, R. 2009. "Slain and Slandered: A Content Analysis of the Portrayal of Femicide in Crime News." *Homicide Studies* 13 (1): 21–49. doi:10.1177/1088767908326679.
- Taylor, C. A., and S. B. Sorenson. 2002. "The Nature of Newspaper Coverage of Homicide." *Injury Prevention* 8 (2): 121–127.
- UNODC, Global Study on Homicide. 2019. <https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/gsh/Booklet1.pdf>
- Walby, S., and J. Towers. 2018. "Untangling the Concept of Coercive Control: Theorizing Domestic Violent Crime." *Criminology & Criminal Justice* 18 (1): 7–28. doi:10.1177/1748895817743541.
- Webb, K. 2023. "Almost 30 Years Later: Anti-Femicide Activism in Mexico from 1933 to 2022." *Butler Journal of Undergraduate Research* 9 (1): 108–122.
- Zoumidou, M. 2020. "Oplokatochi Stin Kypro: Ypothesis, Nomotheties, Kena [Gun Possession in Cyprus: Cases, Law, Gaps]." *Filelefttheros*, May 16, 2020.