

COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND JOURNALISM IN THE CONTEXT OF
FEMICIDE



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APPOROVAL PAGE



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ABSTRACT

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

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

Keywords: Collective Memory, Femicide, Journalism, News Production

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, evrensel bir sorun olan kadın cinayetleriyle ilgili Türk basınındaki haber üretim süreçlerini kolektif hafıza bağlamında incelemektedir. Bellek ve haber medyası arasındaki ilişki, Alison Landsberg'in (2004) “protez bellek” kavramıyla ilişkilendirilerek açıklanmaktadır. Ayrıca çalışmanın ana konusu olan kadın cinayetlerine ilişkin haberler üzerine kolektif belleğin nasıl/yeniden üretildiğini daha iyi analiz edebilmek için dünyada ve Türkiye’de geçmişten günümüze feminist hareketler ve kadınların bu konudaki düşünce ve faaliyetleri incelenmiş ve tartışılmıştır.

Araştırmada nitel araştırma yöntemlerinden biri olan derinlemesine görüşme yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Araştırmaya farklı haber kuruluşlarında görev yapan kadın gazeteciler katılımcı olarak dahil edilmiş ve katılımcılara haber üretim süreçleri, kadın cinayetleri ve toplumsal hafıza arasındaki ilişkiye dair sorular sorulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kolektif Hafıza, Kadın Cinayetleri, Gazetecilik, Haber Üretimi

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1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

explain the relationship between news, collective memory, and femicide, the development of feminism and its outlook on the problem of femicide are discussed.

The overall purpose of this study is to demonstrate the relationship between collective memory and journalism in the context of femicide. Unfortunately, when we look at the literature, we observe that this topic has not been given due respect. Therefore, this study is vital in terms of shedding light on the issue and being a source for similar studies to be done in the future.

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

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. What is Memory?

Memory is the conscious or unconscious re-enactment of past moments as a whole or in parts. Without memory, we would not carry any experience or knowledge about our history with us to every moment we lived. Being able to think and even learn is related to memory. Our memories, in which the past is recorded and re-enacted, affect the present.

Memory, an interdisciplinary concept, is the subject of a variety of scientific disciplines due to its divergent dimensions. Accordingly, the notion of “memory” has multiple definitions. Mithat Sancar (2016, pp. 39–40) explains how memory is handled in different disciplines in his book, *Geçmişle Hesaplaşma*, with the following words:

Neurologists study the neurological foundations of memory, thus its "hardware," in the context of a living organism. While psychologists examine individuals' cognitive and emotional recall processes in certain situations, psychoanalysts consider memory in terms of long-term life history. While sociologists are concerned with the problem of how recollection and narrative communities arise in groups with similar experiential backgrounds, historians investigate the reliability or distrust of human memory vis-à-vis written sources. Finally, while historians and political scientists discuss the ways and styles of societies to rebuild their pasts according to the needs of the day with the help of symbolic tools, literary and artistic circles deal with the cultural memory that emerges as a cultural heritage through texts and pictures.

The definition of memory, handled neurologically, individually, culturally, and socially, is interpreted according to the discipline in which it is studied. Memory in the social sciences and humanities is studied socially and individually because the memories of societies form the memories of individuals and vice versa. The remembering and forgetting processes of individuals and societies are what memory studies in the social sciences and humanities focus on.

Our memory performs the actions of remembering and forgetting. Memory is usually where perceptions, experiences, and information are stored. Memory is also a tool that allows the use of necessary semantic and episodic information when we need it (Gürşimşir, 2012, p. 21). It emerges through the reconstruction of events in the past of societies and personal memories (Yıldız, 2019, p. 91). We can interpret, evaluate, and learn from our past's teachings thanks to the knowledge we have gained from the society we live in, our environment, and the events we have experienced in the past. The past that takes place in our memory shapes our future.

Although remembering and forgetting emerge from individual experiences, they are also essential from a social point of view. Specifically, remembering, which is at the core of memory, occurs through interaction. Besides, the act of remembrance is carried out by the cultural values that directly affect society and the community (Schudson, 1993, p. 52).

Paul Connerton (2019), in his famous book *How Societies Remember*, has discussed three ways of remembering in modern societies. The first of these is personal memory. Personal memory is a type of recollection that consists of experiences and information that individuals have gained from their own life stories. The other type of memory is cognitive memory. Cognitive memory includes the past experienced or learned by the individual, like a book we read, a movie we watched, or

historical information about the society we live in. It is the type of recall in which what is learnt is remembered. The last type is experiential (habitual) memory, which is a form of remembering that we engage in by bodily performing and applying the information we have learned.

Memory studies, which have gained momentum in recent years thanks to the increasing interest in the past, allow social and individual history to be reviewed and interpreted from novel dimensions. Like individuals, societies interpret the "now" in light of the information gained from their past experiences.

2.2. What is Collective Memory?

The history of studies and research on memory goes back to Plato and Aristotle. In modern times, Friedrich Nietzsche, Sigmund Freud, Emile Durkheim, Henri Bergson, and Walter Benjamin have written about memory (Garde-Hansen, 2011, p. 11). The notion of collective memory was first discussed by the French sociologist Emile Durkheim (Olick, 1999, p. 334). Durkheim, who did not use the term "collective memory" directly, argued that societies should connect with the past to maintain harmony (Olick, 1999, p. 334). Durkheim also put forward the idea that individuals included in the group must be physically together to create a shared experience of collective memory. Based on the idea that memory consists of celebrations and totems, Durkheim emphasized the need to be in continuity with the collective past, arguing that the physical gathering of group members creates social enthusiasm (Olick, 1999, p. 335).

Sociologist and philosopher Maurice Halbwachs, a student of Emile Durkheim, was the first to use the concept of "collective memory" in his work. Halbwachs paved the way for the sociology of memory by saying that the act of

remembering occurs not only psychologically but also socially. While the concept of "society" was at the forefront of Durkheim's thought, the idea of "group" was foregrounded in Halbwachs' (as cited by Coser, 1992, p. 22). Halbwachs characterized "collective" memory with his group emphasis (as cited by Olick, 2010, p. 157).

According to Halbwachs (2018), who places memory within sociality and treats it as a sociological issue, individual memories are built and shaped within social groups. He argued that our memory is affected by groups and phenomena such as social class, tradition, culture, religion, and family, and that our memories pass through the filter of collective memory. Unlike Durkheim, Halbwachs (2018), argued that totems serve only as reminders of collective memory. Collective memory, also known as "social recollection," however, encompasses our "individual" and "personal" memories and past representations.

The reconstruction or recollection of individual and social memories depends on the groups that individuals belong to (Halbwachs, 2016, pp. 171–172). According to Halbwachs (2016), personal memory can only exist within the collective memory, and memories are shaped according to society; that is, each member of the community shapes their memories according to the direction of the collective memory (p. 346).

The accumulation of the past in our memory becomes meaningful by transferring it to other generations (Atik & Bilginer-Erdoğan, 2014, p. 2). Societies have memories just like people, and they form consciousness by feeding on their past experiences. However, memory and history are two different concepts. Halbwachs defines the distinction between history and collective memory as follows:

In reality, there are irregular and uncertain boundaries in the continuous development of collective memory, although there are no demarcated lines of separation as in history. The present is not in opposition to the past, as

two historically neighboring epochs are separate because the past no longer exists, whereas for the historian, both periods have as much reality as the other. The memory of society extends as far as it can go, that is, as far as the memory of the groups that compose it can reach. (Halbwachs, 2018, p. 80)

Collective memory enables the formation of people's identities thanks to the bond it establishes between the past and the future (Atik & Bilginer-Erdoğan, 2014, p. 3). The human being is a social entity. To survive, it must contact the members of the society of which it is a part—individuals form memories during this socialization process. The memory belonging to the individual is determined by the society in which the individual lives (Sancar, 2016, p. 41).

Halbwachs, in his book, *On Collective Memory*, explains the relationship between individual and collective memory with the following words:

Collective memory influences individual memories but does not interfere with them; it evolves according to their laws and changes shape as soon as they settle into a cluster that is no longer a personal consciousness, although occasionally some individual memories permeate it. (Halbwachs, 2018, p. 46)

Individuals cannot be considered in isolation from the society in which they live. People have to live together and communicate with other people to survive. Societies need connecting ties just like people. Important events such as wars, migration movements, disasters, and cultural elements such as tradition, custom, religion, language, literature, art, and law are the dynamics that make up the collective

memory. Societal memories are of great importance so that societies do not forget their past and identities. Lived history always has a living framework to preserve the image of an idea or event and to be able to find it again in retrospect (Halbwachs, 2018, p. 66).

Collective memory is reshaped according to the requirements of time and the needs of the dominant power. The memories of individuals are directed as desired by the order that dominates society, and collective memory influences individual memory (Halbwachs, 2018, p. 46).

Individuals' memories are socially constructed. Everyone cannot always have direct information about the period in which they live. It needs the information obtained by others to learn the history of the society of which it is a member. It consists of the information we have acquired about the society we have lived in throughout our lives, whether through media reports or the testimonies of those who have lived directly in the past (Halbwachs, 2018, p. 46). Memories from the past that we have not personally witnessed are borrowed memories that do not belong to us (Halbwachs, 2018, p. 46).

Jan Assman divides collective memory into two types: communicative and cultural memory. While individuals' memories full of personal memories can be thought of as a mental archive, societies' memories that contain history can be thought of as cultural memories (Atik & Bilginer-Erdogan, 2014, p. 2). Cultural memory is the building block of collective memory. Values, ideas, and rituals form cultural memory and affect every individual living in society and the institutions formed and contained by individuals. Cultural memory also includes religion.

Communicative memory is related to how cultural and social information transfer takes place. Communicative memory does not occur spontaneously; it emerges through interactions with other people living in the community (Assmann, 2018, p. 27). Therefore, communicative memory is a living memory type and continues as long as the individual lives.

While communicative memory spreads spontaneously, cultural memory spreads depending on specific instructions (Assmann, 2018, p. 62). Jan Assmann (2018), in her book *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, expresses the polarization between communicative and cultural memory with these words:

The involvement of the group in communicative memory is uncertain. Some members of the group have more information, while others have less. Everyone is equally proficient in communicative memory. Participation is evident in cultural memory. Cultural memory has special carriers, and these carriers preserve group memory. (Assmann, 2018, pp. 61-62)

What constitutes memory and makes it different from the archive or storage is that memory is alive and can distinguish between the past and present (Huyssen, 1995, p. 3). Our memory and our collective memory consist of the accumulation of the human mind. Thanks to this accumulation, cultural and historical values emerge. The historical and cultural accumulation that starts with a small community is transferred to large groups to create a social identity. We need collective memory to establish, interpret and analyze the connection between today and the past.

Social groups maintain their existence thanks to the information passed down through generations. Collective memory includes the social dimensions and consequences of remembering and forgetting. How and in what ways collective memory is produced, its consequences, and how it influences society are based on the political dimensions of memory. Social groups present memories to individuals within specific frameworks. How the past is remembered and how what is experienced now will be remembered in the future is the reality constructed by individuals who have lived, created, and transferred/will transfer the past together (Doğu & Vardal-Deligöz, 2017, p. 546). The past is not an event that can create itself, but it is related to the cultural structure. The past is supported by special motives and expectations within the cultural structure. The frames presented by the present shape the consciousness of the past (Assmann, 2018, p. 98). Although forgetting is often considered a neurological problem for individual memory, social forgetting is accomplished by the power that dominates society. Ignoring the past is usually a strategy followed by the dominant power.

We position what we remember within the frameworks that social groups make available to us (Connerton, 2019, p. 66). All the information and experiences in our memory are associated with remembering and forgetting. Sometimes an event we encounter reminds us of the past, or an event we witnessed erases our memory. The things we remember or forget differ according to the necessities of society, our lifestyle, and the group we belong to.

There is a massive difference between the events we have experienced ourselves and those we have not. Most memories in our collective memory consist of someone else's experiences. When we remember any event that was important to

society in the past, we remember the information we have gained about the experiences of others, not our own.

Everything in our memory is only a perception. Perceptions are in an inevitable relationship with our bodies, and memories are made up of the thoughts of every society we live in and communicate in. Therefore, our perceptions are individual, while our memories are social (Assmann, 2018, p. 46). Memory creates the personalities and selves of individuals. The past and history in the memory of societies also provide the formation of national consciousness and social identity. Memory is a resource from which societies can obtain information and make inferences about their past and traditions. The knowledge and consciousness of people's past activities are acquired from the traces they leave (Connerton, 2019, p. 27). The individual is in constant communication and interaction with people, places, and groups that exist in the outside world. The fact that individuals are in communication with other individuals means that the information and memories in their memory are constantly in exchange with the memories of other individuals. The socialization process that the memory constantly experiences ensures that a memory is stored in more than one memory.

For many years, the concepts of remembering and memory were discussed only individually. While memory studies gained importance all over the world, especially after the Holocaust, the concept of "collective memory" gained importance as a result of the social, cultural, and economic events experienced in Turkey in the 1980s. Studies on memory emerged to investigate the traumatic effects of world wars and totalitarian regimes on society and the individual.

To remember, the events of the past must be reproduced in the present moment. In short, remembering takes place by reconstructing the past in the present. In addition, remembering makes people more sensitive to what is happening in the world. It fights to prevent similar incidents by raising awareness about injustices and traumatic events and by creating awareness about the consequences and causes of the incidents (Sancar, 2016, p. 59).

Memory's functions of recollection, recording, and storing memories and information are related to social events, historical influences, and psychological factors (Schudson, 1997, p. 348). Memory is social, and there are patterns of recollection shaped by society. These patterns result from diversity, such as different perspectives and different values. In his article titled "Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory," Michael Schudson (1997) talks about four different distortion processes: distanciation, instrumentalization, narrativization, cognitivization, and conventionalization.

Distanciation is the reformatting or disfiguring of memory. The memory, which cannot keep up with the change of time, gradually loses its details and emotional intensity. Social pains and wars lose their details as time passes, and their effect on society gradually decreases. Historically, time change means the gradual alienation and withdrawal of social events.

Memory can also be used as a tool. Memories of the past are remembered, formed, and used as a strategy to support any event or situation (Schudson, 1997, p. 351). Memory is instrumentalized to support particular interests or a single interpretation of the past. Censoring the past or covering up any situation is an example of *instrumentalization* (Schudson, 1997, p. 351).

Narrativization is the transfer of the past into the cultural form of a story with a beginning, development, and end. The narration does not directly convey past events but tries to embellish the events by making them more interesting (Schudson, 1997, p. 355). Presenting the past in a fancy way causes it to lose its reality and accuracy, and at the same time, it causes the past to be simplistic and exciting.

Memories to be transferred to society are designed and rehearsed for individual and collective memory (Schudson, 1997, pp. 358-359). Thanks to the recording and archiving of the past, the past is included in public memory. Recording the past also means preserving the past, making it culturally important and regularly celebrated. *Conventionalization* is the same as *cognitization* (Schudson, 1997, p. 360). Through memorialization, the past must be celebrated and appreciated through demonstrations. Although it is intended for cognitization, it causes distortions. The reason for this is social differences with different values, thoughts, and perspectives.

Collective memory emphasizes that people have common past knowledge (Atik & Bilginer-Erdoğan, 2014, p. 3), but it is always open to discussion (Schudson, 1997, p. 360). Different communities have different memories. Even if the events experienced by societies are the same, the images in their consciousness differ when they witness the same event. The resulting collective consciousness creates different outlooks and memories of events and situations that might pit two different societies against each other.

It is possible to obtain information about the past through oral transmission and written documents that have survived to the present day. History and memory play a role in remembering and transmitting the past. But the phenomena of memory and history are two different things. Memory is the process of remembering and

forgetting (Nora, 1989, p. 8). Living groups create it, so memory is life itself. On the other hand, history is the reconstruction of what no longer exists (Nora, 1989, p. 8).

For example, the Second World War is part of history and also our collective memory. The Second World War, which started in Central Europe, spread worldwide, and left deep scars especially in Germany's collective memory. After the war, Germany experienced a period of denial, confrontation, and reckoning in its history and collective memory regarding what happened during and after the war. Germany and other countries involved in the war interpreted the period in their own way and conveyed it to society verbally and in writing. The past has always played a primary role in political struggles (Sancar, 2016, p. 62). Different interpretations and evaluations of national identity have been made in each society, and approaches have been put forward on how and why the past should be remembered (Sancar, 2016, p. 62). This way, countries have formed their histories, shared memories, and national identities.

In sum, memory is produced, transmitted, and constantly renewed by social groups. Collective memory has much more historical power than individual memory as it allows for re-enactments. Every experience makes us feel like we have experienced it before due to our collective memory's accumulation. So collective memory is a kind of “*déjà vu*” (Atik & Bilginer-Erdoğan, 2014, p. 6).

2.3. Memory and Media

Individual and collective memory is formed in a historical and cultural context. Collective memory also contains information about events that we did not directly witness. While it is transferred from generation to generation, and references are made to the past based on political views (Başaran-İnce, 2010, p. 14). While

collective memory is generally transmitted through texts and photographs, movies, TV series, and documentaries have also been included in this transmission over time. Considering all this, it is seen that collective memory is restructured and transferred with specific tools.

Transferring memory and forming a shared memory are done through communication; society exists through communication (Dewey, 2004, p. 4). Communication is how reality is transmitted and produced (Carey, 2009, p. 19). Communication is also a tool that carries collective memory from generation to generation. It protects, develops, and transmits the bond between the individual and the society in which it lives.

The bond established between the past and the present ensures collective memory formation. Oral and written cultures have enabled the transfer of knowledge and skills from generation to generation. While individuals in preliterate societies conveyed their knowledge and skills by word of mouth, after the invention of the alphabet, individuals began to transfer their knowledge and skills from generation to generation in a more concrete way. While memory was transmitted from generation to generation through verbal communication, it could not preserve its originality. Although oral transmission of information and memories is essential and influential in forming social consciousness and memory, it takes a long time.

In time, thanks to the transition from oral culture to written culture, information and memories began to be recorded in a documented way. Although the written culture transfers memory more quickly and in a documented way than the oral culture, a memory other than the human body was needed (Crowley & Heyer, 2016,

p. 18). The increase in the need for communication allowed the emergence of communication tools (Crowley & Heyer, 2016, p. 18).

"Language" forms the basis of communication and, naturally, mass communication (Başaran-İnce, 2010, p. 17). Media is a social institution that exists and continues to exist to meet our need to receive news, which we can count among our basic needs. It records current events in audio, visual, and written form. Thanks to the media, we learn about and make sense of events and their effects. In this way, we use the memories recorded through the media and our own mind. The media records every moment and event that the human memory forgets over time, and the opportunity to be reminded when the time comes keeps the collective memory alive. Every piece of information created by the media can potentially become a part of collective memory, bring it to light, and remind us of it when the time comes.

Many theories about mass communication and the use of mass media have been proposed so far. However, despite the diversity of outlooks, critical and mainstream models are the main ones. Mainstream approach aims to collect data on mass communication and mass media tools to persuade and control society (Yaylagül, 2006, p. 30). "The magic bullet theory" put forward by Harold Dwight Lasswell forms the basis of mainstream communication studies. In the communication model developed by Lasswell in 1948, the sender and receiver are connected by causality (Yaylagül, 2006, p. 46). The person receiving the message shapes their behavior according to the message sent by the sender. Lasswell's approach was based on the pressure and superiority of political power, both physically and through the mass media, in the First World War and the Second World War.

Critical approaches question social values and norms. Critical approaches have worked on issues such as the industrialization and international aspects of communication, the effect of communication technologies on society, and the effect of mass media on culture (Yaylagül, 2006, p. 81). According to critical approaches, the media reinterprets the events and phenomena it presents to society and gives them to the community by attributing new meanings. In this way, it ensures that the dominant ideology is imposed on all individuals (Yaylagül, 2006, p. 83).

Unfortunately, due to political propaganda and ideological concerns, the principle of informing the public and doing accurate reporting has been left aside, causing the media to lose its essential function. As a result, the media not only reminds us of the past but also renders the past forgotten. Paul Connerton, in *How Modernity Forgets*, said the following about the media's power to make people forget:

If we are faced with the permeation and growth of a noise that imposes cultural forgetfulness when our time scale shortens, the main reason for this is the overlapping of consumption time and media time. (Connerton, 2011, p. 89)

The media exposes too much information about the events and situations it wants to make people forget. The press overloads information to eliminate recent historical experiences from view and get individuals away from them (Connerton, 2011, p. 89). It also constantly exposes it to repetition, making individuals forget. Institutionalized forgetfulness is made mandatory in this way (Connerton, 2011, p. 89). Given these circumstances, we can conclude that collective memory is not created objectively and accurately.

Mass media brings a different dimension to collective memory and memory spaces (Atik & Bilginer-Erdoğan, 2014, p. 4). It transfers it to us within a specific framework and plays a vital role in history, culture, consciousness, memory, and identity (Başaran-İnce, 2010, p. 23). Mass media, with the power to remind and forget, transfers collective memory and shapes its building power in a specific direction.

For political leaders worldwide, media channels are a tool used to shape memory. For example, after a devastating event in society, the agenda is changed by using the media and the press. In this way, the government ensures that society forgets the event by taking advantage of the power of the media to influence the masses.

2.3.1. Prosthetic Memory

All living things on earth have memories. Nevertheless, people have "prosthetic memory" as well as social and biological memory. The concept of "prosthetic memory" means living through the past without actually experiencing it. Alison Landsberg (2004) talks about prosthetic memory in her book *Prosthetic Memory*:

Prosthetic memories are not "socially constructed" because they do not arise due to living and upbringing in specific social frameworks. At the same time, prosthetic memories are portable and therefore not susceptible to biological or ethnic claims of ownership. So, these memories are neither essentialist nor socially constructed directly: they derive from a person's massively mediated experiences of a past traumatic event.

(Landsberg , 2004, p. 19)

The memory reproduced by mass culture has added extensions, namely prostheses, to existing individual memories. In this way, individuals have a history of events they have never experienced. The memory imposed by prosthetic memory is unnatural. Reproducing and presenting representations of past experiences makes the past unnatural. The commodification of the past, such as making memories into films and exhibiting them in museums, causes it to lose its naturalness. The memories presented consist of the experience of representations, and the memories of others are sensory and artificially embedded in our memory. The memories presented to individuals are also interchangeable. The reason for this is the way people of different races, different backgrounds, and different classes interpret and perceive the past. On the other hand, the memories offered by prosthetic memory feel natural and impact individuals' worldviews (Landsberg , 2004, p. 21).

Thanks to mass culture, memories of the past, which we could not experience in person, are transferred to the future. What makes memories portable to the future is that they are commodified (Landsberg , 2004, p. 27). Anyone who pays for them can access the memories that have been commodified (Landsberg , 2004, p. 19). The movie about a victory of great importance in society offers memories only to individuals who have bought movie tickets. Likewise, only those who can buy an entrance ticket to the museum can access a museum where the items belonging to that victory, that is, memories of the past, are exhibited. Memories become commodities as part of capitalism.

Cinema is the most influential area in the formation of our prosthetic memory. Movies appeal to our senses of sight and hearing. The locations, costumes, and dialogue used in the movies warn us in many ways and allow us to get into the story's

emotions. It allows us to empathize with and comment on events that we have not experienced, just as if we had. Films about the Holocaust are among the best examples of prosthetic memory formation. *Schindler's List*, a 1993 film directed by Steven Spielberg, is about Oskar Schindler, who was instrumental in saving thousands of Polish Jews during the Holocaust and genocide committed by the Nazis during World War II. Thanks to the fact that the film is about a true story and the time, through the spatial, costume, and dialogue elements used in the film, the audience can enter the spirit of that period while watching the film. The hardships, sufferings, and losses caused during the Holocaust by the Nazis were shown. The audience learns about a period they have never experienced, and they can empathize and make comments.

The memories captured by capitalism are transferred to the audience and readers as they are changed. It is possible to come across an example of prosthetic memory in the news, too. Anniversary news about events that happened years ago, news to compare past events to current events, or news to make inferences from events that happened in the past might impose prosthetic memories on readers and viewers. Individuals who read the news about the past acquire memories of an era they have never experienced or even lived in. In sum, prosthetic memories are created by mass media and play a role in forming collective memory.

2.4. What is News?

The most basic function of the media and the press is to inform individuals about society and the world. News is the information that the community needs. There is no single definition of "real news." News is a fictionalized representation of reality that will transform society's knowledge and interests according to the media

organization's structure, technology, and ideologies (Rigel, 2000, p. 177). It is a phenomenon perceived after the event rather than the event itself (Tokgöz, 1981, p. 52).

The news is usually present within specific frames. The news given according to certain frameworks works for the change or transformation of ideas individually and socially. For the news to be meaningful, news frames are created to determine what elements should be included in the news and what elements should be removed from the news (Atabek & Uzuntuğ, 1998, p. 100). In the news, framing emphasizes different aspects of a story. The news is presented in a specific framework to ensure that the ideology of the media organization or the dominant ideology in society penetrates the minds of the masses.

A news report cannot be said to be impartial since the news organization's structure and the journalist's words reflect subjective conditions (Yağlı, 2007, p. 357). The media highlights different dimensions of the news because of its ties to other power centers, and it ignores some others (Devran, 2010, p. 120). This situation is entirely related to the ideology of the media organization. Due to the power of the media, uniform mindsets are attempted to be created among the masses (Yağlı, 2007, p. 358). Media imposes specific ideas on society by generating consent without using force (Yağlı, 2007, p. 358).

An ideology is a set of more or less coherent ideas that guide political action, whether to preserve, modify, or overthrow the existing structure (Heywood, 2013, p. 28). Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser's analytical frameworks can explain the reflection of ideology in the news. Louis Althusser defines the concept of ideology in his book *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Devices*:

Ideology is an imaginary assemblage, a pure dream, empty and vain, constituted by the “daily residues,” the only absolute, positive reality, that of the concrete history of concrete, material individuals materially producing their existence. (Althusser, 2014, p. 175)

Althusser explained how capitalism reproduces itself through the ideological and repressive apparatuses of the state. As a way to describe institutions outside the state's control but which serve to convey its values, Althusser developed the concept of ideological state apparatuses. For Althusser, the police, the army, the legal system, and the prison are instruments of state repression that operate through force. The state uses the mass media, however, to spread its ideology alongside traditions, families, social circles, religious organizations, universities, and educational institutions.

Hegemony is the operation of political power on society to reproduce class relations and social structures (Dural, 201, p. 312). Antonio Gramsci defines hegemony as the moral, cultural, and ideological supremacy of the dominant class over society with the consent of the subordinated classes. The dominant class uses the state power to penetrate every corner of civil society, including the media, to present its interests as natural and universal, distance society from the truth, and make its hegemony permanent. According to Gramscian thinking, hegemony includes actions of the government to maintain ideology as well as communication and technology used to influence people (Portelli, 1982, p. 21). Also, according to Gramsci, intellectuals disseminate ideas within ideological frameworks of power to other social layers (Hall, Lumley, & McLennan, 1955, p. 17):

Gramsci not only says that the intellectuals are not independent, they are dependent on other intellectuals and the class they represent with their

economic corporate and caste privileges but also states that every group that wants to seize power needs intellectuals to strengthen its dominance. (Bağla, 1977, p. 82)

According to Gramsci's concept of hegemony, journalists are intellectuals the government uses to empower itself. The media is the most potent ideological tool used by the government. The dominant power needs the media to maintain its existence and ideology. Power gains hegemony over the masses thanks to its ideological functioning. Enlightened journalists aim to influence society by reporting on the doctrines of the government. In short, the news is presented to audiences within specific ideological frameworks to serve the ideology of the class that directs society.

2.4.1. Click-Bait Journalism

Thanks to technological developments, many innovations have occurred in our lives, new business lines have emerged, and existing professions have changed. The digitalization brought about by technological innovations has allowed journalism to change and the concept of digital journalism to emerge. The change experienced by the journalism profession has also caused changes in news production practices and environments. With the digitalization of journalism, “click-driven journalism” entered our lives—the concept of clickbait, internet articles, photos, etc.

It attracts attention and encourages people to click links to specific websites (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). Click journalism is the production of news using clickbait. While the headlines are generally emphasized in the news produced by click, the visual and other multimedia functions used in the news produced also have a place based on click (Özyal, 2016, p. 284).

In click-focused news presentations, sometimes images that are irrelevant to the news, misleading or exaggerated, or suitable for word games in the headline are preferred. In contrast, the news production process is carried out according to certain patterns, corrections are made with instant follow-up, and better ways are sought for the next news. (Özyal, 2016, p. 282)

Although the biggest reason for the change and transformation of journalism is digitalization and keeping up with age, the loss of traditional media's former popularity and decreased newspaper circulation play a significant role in the change in journalism practices. Click-focused journalism provides financial resources for the media and press organizations. It is essential that the number of clicks be one of the primary income sources of digital journalism (Dönmez, 2010, p. 106).

Click-driven reporting often consists of news with sensational headlines (Küçükvardar, 2023, p. 147). Before reading the news, readers are first attracted by the headlines. For this reason, news is organized to arouse the reader's curiosity (Küçükvardar, 2023, p. 147). We come across sensational headlines in the news about femicides on the internet. Internet media clickbait headlines include statements that clearly describe the details of the murder in the news about femicide, turn the news language into tabloids, and present graphic details of the murder and, in a sense, violent pornography (Tümay, n.d.).

More clicks on the news mean more ads and more earnings. This logic and the news produced for this purpose lose their news value. The news has been transformed into a tool that only aims to gain more attention by attracting more attention. While the news produced outside the purpose of informing the public and seen as a source of income causes a change in the understanding of journalism, it also causes the

production of news by ignoring human rights and freedoms in the news produced. The news made for more reading, moved away from the ethics of journalism due to the visuals and news language used, and caused violations of rights.

2.4.2. Rights-Based Journalism

Journalists have the power to direct society. Using this power should raise awareness of society and accurately transfer knowledge and values to society. A journalist should not produce news only with the awareness of producing news. It should defend human rights and freedoms impartially and correctly. Understanding human rights and freedoms, preventing rights violations, and doing rights-based journalism is known as "rights-oriented journalism."

Rights-based journalism requires not only the promotion of human rights and the reporting and monitoring of human rights violations but also that all news on political, public, and private life areas be focused on human (women's, children's, and minority) rights. It is a journalism approach that aims to transform news as a genre in the same direction. (Alankuş, 2007, p. 30)

Having a rights-based approach in journalism and reporting on rights violations are among the responsibilities of journalism. Every piece of journalism made for the benefit of society is an example of rights-oriented journalism (Özügür, 2009, p. 162). The language and visual selection used in news production are directly related to human rights (Dursun, 2007, p. 125).

For this reason, it is necessary to use language and visual selection more accurately, especially in events that will profoundly affect society and in events that

will harm society. The news should be produced by defending and protecting the rights of the person(s) reported without being marginalized.

After the increase in cases of femicide in recent years, femicide has become more visible in the news. When we look at the news about women and femicide, unfortunately, we encounter new language in which women's rights are violated and women's freedoms are discussed (Dursun, 2007, p. 119). In such news, the media, which should be on the side of the weak, not the strong, and defend the rights of the weak, produces the news, making the strong more substantial and the weaker both weaker and displaying a behavior far from defending their rights.

2.4.3. Women-Focused Journalism

Women are conveyed in the news by passing through many frames and filters. Gender equality in the media exists only within the framework of ethical rules. Although not explicitly stated, the gender of the media is masculine.

Women-focused journalism is a journalism practice that follows and investigates the violations of women's rights, talks about women's rights, acts with the principle of protecting women's interests and rights in every area that may be in favor of women in society, and protects women's rights and follows women's violations by avoiding sexist stereotypes (Tokdoğan, 2013, p. 17).

There are roles and norms that society imposes on us. Women are given the roles of mother and wife by society. It becomes news when women do not conform to the roles determined by the society or when they do not fully fulfill these roles (Tahaoğlu & Akgül, 2018, p. 27)

The way women are represented in the media in the news of violence and murders goes far beyond the purpose of informing and seeking rights. In the news of violence and murder, women are portrayed as if they "deserved" to be killed or subjected to violence (Uğur-Tanrıöver, 2007, p. 159), or it tries to convey the murder or violence against women by a man in a cause-and-effect relationship.

In order to convey the news correctly, it is crucial to use the new language correctly and to choose the news images correctly—the images used in the news cause everything used in the images to be accepted as correct (Ercan, 2021, p. 83). The images used in the news do not directly reflect reality. Images focus on the peak they choose in reality or the point they want to focus on (Ercan, 2021, p. 84). The visuals used in the news and accepted as valid by society begin to cause a belief problem (Ercan, 2021, p. 83).

In the news about femicide, we see photos of the murdered women used, but the photo of the murderer is blurred. This mistake made in the news of femicide violates the right to privacy and confidentiality of the murdered woman (Ercan, 2021, p. 89). The disclosure of the photos and private lives of the murdered women in the news violates the victims' rights and causes their families' rights to be violated (Ercan, 2021, p. 89).

Even though words seem innocent, their usage and usage patterns cause them to lose their innocence. Extra attention should be paid to the words and sentences used in the news. A misused word can produce sexist representations in the news (Uğur-Tanrıöver, 2007, p. 162).

Using masculine language in the new causes the news to deviate from the idea and event it wants to convey. We encounter masculine language, especially in the

news about femicide. We witness the news narrated, and unnecessary details are given to make it more remarkable. Unfortunately, in the news of femicide, we see that while the victim is disclosed, the perpetrator is not (Tahaoğlu & Akgül, 2018, p. 49). Nevertheless, the opposite should happen. The rights of the victims, namely the murdered women, must be defended and protected. Who the perpetrator is must be revealed.

Another mistake in producing news about femicide is the pornographicization of the news language (Tahaoğlu & Akgül, 2018, p. 50). While producing news, it should be considered how the people who will read the news will be affected by the news, and based on this idea, the news should be produced in a way that informs society. Discourses and images that negatively affect society should be avoided in the news. While producing news about femicide, news should be produced in a way that does not violate the rights of the murdered women, and news should be produced in a way that does not injure the families of the murdered women. It is necessary to avoid sexist discourse and images that will expose women and make them victims. At the same time, it is necessary to transfer news without tabloidizing or pornographicizing the news language.

Men kill women who want to have a say in their own lives. Most cases of femicide are portrayed as suspicious deaths in the media. The government does not take effective measures against the murders of women in society (Atlan, 2023). Instead of using its power to protect women and prevent femicide, the government sends the opposite message to society. At the request of the government, the media, which should make journalism focused on women, conveys messages to women about how they should dress, how they should walk on the road, how many children women

should have, how every woman should get married, and how women should treat their husbands (Atlan, 2023). The government, which holds the judicial power, causes the perpetrators of femicide to go unpunished or to be reduced and punished less for various reasons (Atlan, 2023).

The attitude of the government, which has all the power in a society, toward the problems and murders of women also affects society. Mainstream media and media organizations known for their closeness to the government, due to the government's attitude, also maintain their approach to femicide in direct proportion to the government's stance on femicide. The absence of women-oriented, rights-oriented, and gender-oriented journalism in the media is due to political effects. In this context, we can conclude that femicide is a social and political problem.

2.5. Collective Memory and Journalism

Memories and experiences formed over time and recorded in our minds are limited to the person who created them at a certain time and space, that is, their carriers (Assmann, 2018, p. 58). That is why we always need carriers to transfer memory. Considering the period, we are in, mass media such as newspapers, magazines, television, and radio, as well as other media professionals can be said to be the carriers of collective memory. The fourth power, the media, presents us with events we have never witnessed while at the same time reminding us of events we have witnessed but forgotten or offering a perspective that will enable us to interpret them from different perspectives.

Newspapers are still one of the most critical mass media tools today, where visual, digital, and social media tools are gaining momentum (Başaran-İnce, 2010, p.

19). Journalists trying to provide accurate and fast information to the public “write the first draft of history” (Edy, 1999, p. 71).

Journalism is a public duty. Activities such as researching, writing, editing, and transferring every event seen as news material to society constitute the definition of journalism (Mora, 2008, p. 5). Journalists enable us to learn about the past through their news and shape our thoughts about it. Journalists use the past to make inferences, make connections, and create stories to help us understand the present. Besides, journalists have authority over the coverage and interpretation of public events. They construct the past to be written in the future, creating the current reality (Zelizer, 1992, p. 72). Considering the fact that journalists are the primary narrators of events, their public role and their direct access to social events make them agents of memory (Zelizer & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014, p. 12).

Writing about and remembering the past used to be an “innocent act” in the past (Burke, 1997, p. 44). Rather than being an innocent act, remembering and writing about the past are now conditioned according to choices, interpretations, and distortions. Thus, our past memories are shaped by being subjected to distortions over time and are transferred to the present by being distorted, not as they are.

News is a historical process that provides the transfer of events that have happened in the past and will happen now (Carey, 2009, p. 17). Collective memory, in both cultural and communicative forms, contains materials that will feed the journalism profession and journalists. In this context, journalism and collective memory are two notions that shape each other (Olick, 2014, p. 18). At the same time, the membrane of our collective and individual memories is made up of journalists who make information publicly accessible (Schudson, 2014, p. 85).

What, how, and how long memory is preserved are related to individuals' and societies' cultural frameworks and capacities. In time, the individual adds its memories and experiences to the memory of the society it was born into. Nevertheless, some social memories and current events are subject to distortion as memory is the act of seeing and not seeing and includes the acts of remembering and forgetting (Assmann, 2018, p. 181).

According to Schudson, news production is handled from a political economy perspective in terms of journalistic autonomy and decision-making power and also by cultural-anthropological approaches (Schudson, 1989, p. 266). The political economy perspective pays attention to the conservative profit-making news system and argues that the sovereign power opposes journalists' independence and decision-making powers, disrupting their professional routines. According to the cultural-anthropological approach, journalists influence audiences through cultural symbols, and journalistic habits differ according to cultural norms and values (Schudson, 1989, p. 266). Finally, he says that news production is about national and political developments and is a discourse on the daily definition of political reality (Schudson, 1989, p. 267). In this context, journalists convey the wishes and desires of sovereign power to their recipients rather than being independent commentators and public officials.

Journalists use different distortion dynamics depending on the ideology of the newspaper while constructing collective memory and producing news. They produce news and shape collective memory by attributing ideological meanings to events they report. That is, journalists who claim to be objective produce news, in reality, according to the prevailing ideological forces.

As mentioned above, there are four dynamics of memory distortion. The distanciation dynamic in the news usually conveys only the positive or negative aspects of a past event without giving detailed information about it. In this way, the reader distances himself from the event itself. Another distortion dynamic, instrumentalization, involves reminding or forgetting an event by establishing a connection between the past and the present. On the other hand, narrativization dynamics often appear in the news in the form of exaggerated headlines, and the news is made more attractive. This mechanism is used not only for past events but also for any event experienced in the present. Finally, conventionalization, the last dynamic of distortion, appears as the transfer of certain news but not others in the press so that it will be remembered more. Each dynamic used serves the same purpose. The main reason for using distortion dynamics in the news is to ensure that collective memory is shaped in a certain way.

Journalists cannot convey reality as it is, so the reality of journalists is not an objective reality but socially and culturally constructed. However, societies trust journalists because the press and media witness social events (Garde-Hansen, 2011, p. 24). Therefore, journalists, who play an essential role in the formation, transmission, and shaping of collective memory, significantly influence the way society remembers (Edy, 2014, p. 66).

Journalists regularly and systematically feed on the past while producing news according to the period and the moment they live in (Zelizer, 2014, p. 32). They cover and convey the past in three ways: through commemorations, historical contexts, and historical analogies (Edy, 1999, pp. 74-80).

Memorial news is the news and events made after an event or person that profoundly affects society. The past can exist in the present thanks to this news. This type of news is open to interpretation by groups of different ideas, races, cultures, and classes, however. Examples of commemorative news are the events held on the national holidays of the societies or the news on the death anniversary of the leader, who has an important place in the community.

Historical analogies are types of news that involve explaining the past in connection with the present to learn and analyze the cause and effect of an event that is happening now. After the coup attempt in Turkey on July 15, 2016, the news about the coup attempt was associated with the 1980 coup, which had tremendous effects on Turkish history. After the coup attempt, the newspapers made connections with the coups in the past and made inferences and analogies about the present. The news about the past, which is intended to comment on the present, also reminds society of its history and preserves collective memory.

When the past is used as a historical context in news, it is used to explain a current event through a causal relationship instead of an analogy. In this type of news, how and why it got to this point is usually explained by looking at the past. We can think of it as the opposite of the example mentioned above. After the coup in 1980, another coup attempt on July 15, 2016, caused the news to be interpreted based on the past to make sense of how the country got to this point in the period from 1980 to 2016. Again, as mentioned above, establishing a connection with the present based on the past causes the past to not be forgotten.

For journalism, the past is a source of news. Journalists frequently use references from the past to understand the events of today and present the present to

us by associating it with the past in one way or another. So, it is part of the job of journalists to remember events and determine how society will remember them. Therefore, journalists are archivists of collective memory. What journalists convey to society portrays our present and past and contributes to our prosthetic memory (Akkaya, 2019, p. 79). The accuracy of the news is limited only by the reality of journalists (Lippman, 1998, pp. 358-360).

The media and the press, which are shaped under political and economic pressures, either remind or forget the past imposed by the figures of power (Başaran-İnce, 2010, p. 24). Which aspects of history will be included in the present or the future is determined ideologically.

Although journalists are archivists and transmitters of collective memory, the reality presented by journalists has such a biased view that it cannot be accepted as an objective reality. On the other hand, although the news produced by journalists is shaped by the ideological views held and maintained by media bosses and media organizations, it cannot be denied that society has confidence in journalists. Journalists, who are the first to witness public events, are considered reliable observers in the eyes of society (Zelizer, 1992, p. 126).

Not everything we remember consists of the memories that our memory presents to us. There are political memory projects that manage actions such as remembering and forgetting. The news we read in the present tense allows us to remember the past by including it in the present with its reference to the past. In short, collective memory is produced and transmitted through the mass media by journalists, who are memory producers, and imposed on individuals in society who are memory consumers.

2.6. Women and Collective Memory

The histories of societies are not as neutral as those presented in the media or taught in schools. The past reflects current preferences and beliefs in a way that confirms them (Blatz & Ross, 2009, p. 225). Societies often produce and transmit versions of history that justify national, ethnic, and religious actions (Blatz & Ross, 2009, p. 225). Objectively conducted historical studies show that the events in the past of every society should be settled and that the past is manipulated while creating a collective memory. Societies hide bad events in the past and glorify their history because memories serve political and psychological purposes (Blatz & Ross, 2009, p. 234).

Our collective memory consists of historical events and events that profoundly affect society. Events such as war, natural disasters, and economic crises occur in our collective memory and profoundly affect society. As a result of wars, the gains or losses of societies come to light. The most affected by wars are women and children. Throughout history, the patriarchal order has subjected women to psychological and physical violence. Women's violence in wars is quite different from the violence they have been subject to in peacetime (Özdemir, 2015, p. 310).

Women are subject to violence and even killed because of their gender, identity, or ethnic origin (Özdemir, 2015, p. 311). Inequality between women and men is the main cause of violence against women and femicide. When we look at the memory studies for women, we see that women are victimized, subjected to violence, and killed by the patriarchal order, not only during a war.

In order to understand the gender inequality experienced throughout history, it is necessary to review the events that have been recorded in history and that have

taken place in collective memory. For example, on December 13, 1937, in Nanjing, China, Japanese soldiers committed sexual violence against women and girls for eight weeks (Wood, 2010, p. 127). Pregnant women, older women, and even girls under the age of eight have been sexually abused (Öğrenenefe & Bakırcı, 2022). As a result of the raids on the houses, the Japanese soldiers followed this event by forcing family members, namely fathers, to rape their daughters and boys to rape their mothers (Öğrenenefe & Bakırcı, 2022). Women held captive during the war were forced to work in brothels. Around 400,000 women between the ages of 16 and 21 who were made to work as sex slaves were subjected to heavy penalties if they did not please the soldiers.

Women forced to live in a patriarchal order were exposed to violence in their daily lives and in times of social disaster and crisis. Especially in times of war, sexual assault and rape against women were used as weapons. Another example of this was seen in the Bosnian War. During the war in Bosnia between 1992 and 1995, rape and sexual violence against women were systematically experienced (Özbaş, 2014, p. 176).

Bosnia has hosted many civilizations throughout history and has been the cradle of civilizations where various ethnicities live together. According to the 1991 census, 43.5 percent of the Bosnian population was Muslim, 31.3 percent Serbs, 17.3 percent Croats, and 6 percent Yugoslavs (Özbaş, 2014, p. 176). During the war in Bosnia, "ethnic cleansing" was carried out to reduce the non-Serb population. Especially Muslim women living in Bosnia were raped, held as captives, and were forced to work in brothels. It was condoned and encouraged as "sowing Serbian seeds in Bosnia" (Özbaş, 2014, p. 177). Women were forced to give birth to children by

getting pregnant. Rape is used as a weapon in the patriarchal system—sexual attacks against the female ego are used as a show of strength.

Unlike the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, sexual violence during the war in Sierra Leona did not involve an ethnic war. (Wood, 2010, p. 129). Sinhalese and Tamils suffered years of civil war in Sri Lanka. Tamils worked under conditions of slavery. Women were raped and sexually assaulted. Women were crucial in maintaining peace during the civil war in Sri Lanka (Wood, 2010, p. 129). The woman who lost her husband and children in the war began to seek rights. Working women in Sri Lanka fought for peace in the class struggle and their pursuit of rights (Wood, 2010, p. 129).

Traumatic events created by man cause harmful effects on those who are exposed to them (Yalçın, 2023, p. 514). Throughout history, it is seen that women's right to live has been taken away, and an attempt has been made to establish ownership over women's bodies. Women living in the patriarchal order, exposed to violence and killed, have a place in the collective memory. The subordination of women in the male-dominated order and the violence men subject to them has led to the emergence of women's movements to ensure gender equality for women.

Traumas such as war or social crises are experienced more intensely and more painfully by women. However, unfortunately, even if they are transmitted from generation to generation through communicative memory, they are forgotten or kept silent even if it is limited.

Women are the most affected by what happened during and after the war. Despite the current programs of international non-governmental organizations, women are still being persecuted by war today (Yakıt-Ak, 2018, p. 935). There is a

connection between wars, militarism, and patriarchy (Çetinkaya, 2021). In events that adversely affect society, such as war, crisis, and natural disasters, women's demands are delayed, and women are oppressed. Violence, sexual abuse, and oppression against women during the wars cause injustice and ignore the female gender in society (Çetinkaya, 2021).

Women's revolts in wartime and feminist movements first emerged during the Cold War (Özlük, 2007). Founded in the 1960s, Women Strike for Peace was a feminist movement opposed to nuclear proliferation (Özlük, 2007). It was founded as a nationwide revolt of over 50,000 women against peace and the use of nuclear weapons (Crandall-Robinson, 2021). Women Strike for Peace to protect women, their children, and family integrity. After World War II, she called on women to oppose war. They challenged Cold War-era sexist roles and militarism. By 1964, boycotts were organized by Vietnamese women to protest the Vietnam War in the name of unity against the war (Crandall-Robinson, 2021).

Women have always been forgotten in history; they were not even allowed to express their traumas. However, recently opened feminist institutions and implemented projects try to rewrite this forgotten history of women and make it known. For example, the Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı (Women's Works Library and Information Center Foundation) in Turkey aims to research women's histories and to make women's histories even more known. The Women's Works Library and Information Center Foundation in Turkey, which is the first and only women-centered archive and library in Turkey, is important in transferring women's written documents to future generations (Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, n.d.). The library contains resources such as

personal archives for women, family documents, letters, campaigns of women's organizations, autobiographies of women, and works of art (Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, n.d.). At the same time, works on women's studies and gender studies that developed and increased after 1990 are also included (Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, n.d.).

International human rights mechanisms should take essential steps to prevent violations of women's rights and women's problems and to make these problems more visible (Berktaş, 2003, p. 51). It should be reminded that violence against women, discriminatory family traditions, restrictions on women's reproductive rights, and pressures applied due to sexual preference stem from the patriarchal order against those who deny the universality of human rights and that women have equal rights with men (Berktaş, 2003, p. 61). One of the aims of feminist movements is to come to terms with the trauma histories that have been forgotten due to the events that women have experienced, not to make them forget their trauma past, and to prevent future traumas.

2.6.1. Feminism and Femicide

The news is a kind of reminder of the past. It links any event that happens today to a similar event in the past. It establishes a relationship between the past and the present. It takes the reader back to the past to connect with the now. The past that is ignored somehow reminds us of itself just by being presented in the news. It increases the effect of the past that is intended to be forgotten, feared, and painful (Sancar, 2016, p. 17). Journalists can associate any current event with a similar event in the past. This association made by journalists forces society to confront the past or the present.

The press and media are responsible for informing the public about events and situations that are important to communities. Especially in recent years, violence has become a problem that the whole world is trying to deal with. Violence against women by men is among the most visible forms of violence. The gender order and the roles it brings with it are the main reasons for violence against women.

Sex refers to biological sex, such as the masculine or feminine reproductive organs and physical characteristics that humans or animals have when they are born (Yazar, 2020). Gender, on the other hand, expresses the socio-cultural identities of individuals. Gender roles are assigned according to the biological characteristics of individuals (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, 2020). The family we have, the society we were born and raised in, and the environment we have acquired impose gender roles on us (Avcı & Güdekli, 2018, p. 477). Gender roles are not innate traits but teachings imposed by society. The notion of gender involves expectations that society or culture imposes on the male/female body assigned to us at the moment we are born (Avcı & Güdekli, 2018, p. 478).

The gender roles that we encounter in all areas of life affect our family, school, work, and social lives. According to conventional gender roles, women do the housework, give birth, and take care of children, while men work and earn money and a living. On the other hand, the man is the leader. He represents power and authority. A woman has to be protected by a man, and a man can dominate a woman. Moreover, conventional gender roles expect women to be "honored" and to listen to male members of their families.

This gendered status difference permeates every aspect of society and causes women to remain in the background, leading to the formation of a patriarchal order.

The word “patriarchy” means the authority of the father (Acar-Savran, 2021). It represents a family structure in which the father is the supreme power, i.e., male dominance.

Patriarchy manifests itself not only in family relations but also in the public sphere. The authority that men have, namely patriarchy, is a concept that emphasizes the inequality between men and women in many areas, such as family life, social life, politics, the economy, and education (Nash, 2009, p. 43). This power that the gender order provides to men goes beyond their dominance over women and gives rise to violence. Women who do not "listen" to their father, lover, or any other man, do not fulfill their wishes, or do not comply with the "honor" criteria imposed by society, are exposed to violence. So, violence acts as a mechanism used by men to establish and maintain control over women.

Throughout modern history, women have reacted to their inferior status in society and the violence perpetrated by male power. Women's pursuit of rights, their struggle for freedom, and their efforts to make their voices heard have led to the emergence of feminism, thus making women more visible in society. The idea and action of women having the same degree of equality and freedom as men in society is called "feminism." Women's struggle for equality and freedom started to manifest itself in Western countries as feminism in the 19th century.

The term "feminism" was first used by the French socialist and philosopher Charles Fourier. The word “feminism,” which derives from the Latin word "femine," meaning woman, was first used in 1837. Feminism emerged as a political movement that exposed the reasons for women's experiences of inequality, oppression, and subordination in social life. The idea of feminism, which was first born in England in

the 18th century, took place in the academic field with Mary Wollstonecraft's work *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* in 1792 (Sevim, 2005, pp. 7-8).

In general terms, feminism defends the equality of rights between the sexes against the "gender-based" injustices and difficulties that women experience in the social, cultural, and political arenas. It is seen as a kind of struggle for women's liberation. The idea of feminism defends the idea that women have equal rights in the private and public spheres and that their rights are justified. The main aim of feminism is to create the rights that will build the freedom of women and to eliminate the patriarchal order and the patriarchal ideology that subordinate women.

Feminism has gone through many historical processes from its origins to today. Due to historical differences and circumstances, interpretations from different perspectives have been added to feminist theory, and many feminist theories have emerged. Between the 19th century and the 21st century, three main feminist waves emerged.

The first feminist wave was founded on Mary Wollstonecraft's (1792) demands in *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. These demands were mainly women's suffrage, equality in education, and property rights. Women wanted to be seen not only as women but also as citizens in the society where they lived and have the right to vote like men. Until the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, women's demands for the right to vote and be elected as citizens remained a problem all over the world. For example, in Europe, only women whose spouses held important positions had the right to vote. In the United States, black people and women were denied the right to vote (Taş, 2016, p. 169). Class differences, racism, and patriarchy were the factors that prevented women from

voting. After black men were granted the right to vote, women began to fight both against racism and for their rights in the social and political arena.

By the 1960s, alternative methods and drugs had emerged in the West that allowed women to give birth safely. Second-wave feminism started the struggle to provide women worldwide access to these alternative methods and medicines and abolish oppressive and conservative laws against women (Taş, 2016, p. 169). Women demanded that their bodies be theirs alone and that men have no control over women's bodies. They brought up the separation of sexuality and fertility, as well as the spread of birth control, thanks to developing technology in the West. Women demanded the right to abortion and to have a say over their bodies. During this period, feminists fought for all women, not just one particular group. It aimed at raising awareness and providing support on all issues concerning sexuality, fertility, and women. As a result of women's struggles, birth control was made legal in England and many other European countries.

Third-wave feminists that emerged in the 1990s highlighted violence against women, sexuality, gender, class differences, and many other problems that limit women's existence. Feminists continued to politicize the numerous problems women were experiencing (Taş, 2016, p. 172). Besides this, the thought that the third-wave feminism movement had was that the differences among women were an important issue (Taş, 2016, p. 172). Second-wave feminism maintained that the oppression and exploitation of women by society are universal (Düzkan, 2021). Third-wave feminists, who took a post-modern perspective, supported the idea that differences between women should have political consequences as well (Düzkan, 2021). All these feminist waves contain feminist movements that adopt different ideologies. Each

feminist movement has approached and interpreted existing problems from different perspectives.

Liberal feminists, who emerged with the first wave of the feminist movement, embraced the idea of individual freedom adopted by liberalism. Liberal feminists demanded that women have equal rights and freedoms with men in social life, including the right to vote and be elected. Although women have almost the same rights as men in public life, male dominance continues in the private sphere. In addition, the patriarchal structure in the family prevented women's liberation in their personal lives. However, liberal feminism did not interfere much with the patriarchal system in private life while struggling to ensure women's freedom in the public sphere.

Radical feminists, on the other hand, recognized the oppression of women by men as a universal problem. According to radical feminists, women are oppressed by men only because they are women, regardless of race or class, and they are seen as secondary in society. Second-wave radical feminists focused on the family and the private sphere as the primary spaces where men oppress women and declare and maintain their dominance. Radical feminists fought to overthrow the dominance of men over the female body and to raise women's awareness on this issue. Patriarchy is a universal social system for radical feminists.

Marxist feminists discussed the emancipation of women by making them more visible in society from the perspective of Marxist theory (Parlak, 2021). They saw the existence of class societies based on private ownership of capital and wealth as the actual cause of women's secondary status and domination (Parlak, 2021). Marxist feminists explain the oppression of women, their subordination, and their lack of

equal rights with men through the notion of “reproduction” (Güneş, 2017, p. 247).

Marx noted that social reproduction has its pre-industrial non-economic times, starting with the government's social copy in the family and education as the superstructure of society (Philips, 2014, p. 706).

Socialist feminists approached the word “patriarchy,” which radical feminists use to describe the domination of men over women, from a different perspective. According to socialist feminists, the patriarchal capitalist system is the source of gender inequality. For socialist feminists, the exploitation of women’s labor begins in the family; capitalism and patriarchy are the primary sources of the subordination of women in society (Güneş, 2017, p. 247). Socialist feminists, who argue that women’s labor is exploited in the home first, say that men and capitalism benefit from women’s work (Güneş, 2017, p. 245).

Women have sought equality and rights in the male-dominated social order throughout history. Thanks to past struggles, women now have more rights than ever before. However, unfortunately, masculine power still exists in many societies, although not worldwide. Women want to be treated as women and as individuals, on a par with men. However, unfortunately, even today, women are considered only wives and mothers. There are still prevalent opinions that women should not work and study. Today, women are given qualifications such as being mothers, being men’s wives, and doing housework. Since women are in second place in society and women are seen as weak, male-dominated power continues to exist, so much so that men show violence against their wives, partners, and children to the extent of causing their death.

Violence perpetrated by an individual against any living thing in its environment is a form of behavior and action that causes physical, sexual, economic, or psychological harm. Violence includes many acts such as harm, fear, harassment, oppression, and torture that cause physical and mental harm.

Physical violence causes permanent or temporary damage to the person's body and sometimes causes death (Polat, 2016, p. 19). When a man uses physical force on a woman to frighten, threaten, or humiliate her, this is considered physical violence (Mor Çatı Kadın Sığınağı Vakfı, n.d.). Any behavior that harms the sexual integrity of a woman without her consent is sexual violence. Sexual violence also includes physical violence (Polat, 2016, p. 19). Sexual violence is physical as well as verbal. Every word and behavior that humiliates, belittles, scares, or punishes women is psychological and emotional violence. Furthermore, the defamatory statements and behaviors that men use against women expose them to psychological violence. Economic violence is the humiliating use of financial power against women. The most common but least visible forms of violence are economic and psychological-emotional violence (Polat, 2016, p. 19). Men use violence to humiliate women, force their wishes, prevent them from doing something, and scare them. All forms of violence negatively affect women's private and social lives.

Violence by men against women sometimes causes the deaths of women. The term "femicide" was first used in a work by John Corry called *A Satirical View of London*. The term "femicide" was also used in 1976 by feminist activist Diana Russell to describe women's exposure to death at men's hands. Russell's purpose in using the term "femicide" was to distinguish it from other types of murder. The concept of "femicide," which means that men kill women because they are women, has the

meaning of honor killing in America and the Middle East, while it is used as dowry murder in South Asia and as murder in Africa (Spinelli, 2011, p. 17).

In societies with a patriarchal order, men see women as weaker than themselves in every field and sense, take away their rights, and resort to violence. Femicide is the most extreme form of gender-based violence. Women are killed by their relatives, spouses, partners, fathers, siblings, children, and even by men they have never seen due to honor, jealousy, and economic and psychological problems.

Violence against women, including femicide, has been an unsolved problem from the past to the present for Turkey, like many other countries in the world. However, the rising feminist movements in the second half of the 1980s began to discuss it in the public sphere in Turkey. Mustafa Durmuş, a judge of the Ankara Civil Court of First Instance, denied the divorce request of a woman who had been married for ten years and was the mother of three children in 1987, stating that violence is not a reason for divorce (Peker, 2021). Feminists in Turkey reacted to the decision of the judge, who thought that violence was not a reason for divorce, by telegram, petition, and finally, a march on May 17, 1987 (Tahaoğlu, 2017). The first women's mobilization was the march for "Solidarity Against Beating." It was the first authorized march in Turkey following the September 12 military coup (Peker, 2021). The "Solidarity March Against Beating," which was held in Turkey on May 17, 1987, with the participation of 2500 women, is the first street march that advocates the idea that domestic violence, a social problem, should also be discussed outside the private sphere (Karal & Aydemir, 2012, p. 7).

Marching with the slogan "No to beating," women said no to the violence seen as legitimate by society and spread daily. This march paved the way for feminist

movements in Turkey, enabling women to have their voices heard. In addition, it was instrumental in opening the Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation, which continues to exist in Turkey today (Peker, 2021).

The Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (DEDAW), adopted in 1967, is a human rights declaration advocating for women's rights (UNWOMEN, n.d.). Although not binding, it was a pioneering declaration that formed the basis of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (UNWOMEN, n.d.). The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was adopted by the decision of the United Nations Board in 1979 and is a convention to which 189 countries are parties (Arslan, 2004, p. 4). The Convention includes the idea that men and women should be equal before the law. Unfortunately, the Vatican, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Somalia, Sudan, Tonga, and Niue are countries that still need to take steps to become parties to the Convention.

Also, the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action took measures to protect the rights of indigenous people, especially women, and children, at the World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in 1993 (United Nations, n.d.). The Declaration, which contains over 100 articles, advises states on human rights and freedom. The conference, also held in Vienna, was the first human rights conference after the Cold War (United Nations, n.d.).

More recently, 45 countries and the European Union signed a convention on May 11, 2011, to protect women from discrimination, prevent violence, and raise awareness based on gender due to the increasing violence against women, which is a universal problem. The Istanbul Convention on the Prevention and Combating of

Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence, also known as the Istanbul Convention, promotes international cooperation against violence and aims to ensure equality between men and women.

Turkey signed a gender equality convention for the first time in history. Conservative media and religious communities started a campaign in February 2020, claiming that the Istanbul Convention disrupted the Turkish family structure and led to homosexuality. As a result, several right-wing traditional parties, communities, and groups supported the government and targeted the Istanbul Convention. One of the communities attacking the Istanbul Convention was the İsmailağa community. The İsmail Ağa Community of Naqshbandiyyah, of which Mahmut Ustaosmanoğlu is the sheik, is one of the most strict and radical practitioners of the “method of resistance,” as the Iranian writer D. Shayegan describes the regression towards the mythology of origin (Çakır, 1990, pp. 60-61).

A statement was published on the website of the İsmail Ağa community, arguing that the Istanbul Convention "has the character of waging war" against Islamic values, encourages homosexuality, assigns different missions to women, aims to disrupt the family structure, and the community demanded the government's withdrawal from the contract (Yükler, 2022).

Turkey terminated the Istanbul Convention by presidential decree on March 20, 2021. This decision by Turkey entered into force on July 1, 2021. Turkey became the first country to terminate the Istanbul Convention. After Turkey unilaterally terminated the Istanbul Convention, the reason for the termination of the agreement was explained on the official website of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of Communications:

As it is known, Turkey has become the first signatory of the Istanbul Convention, demonstrating its strong commitment to protecting women's status in society and combating all forms of violence against women. Nevertheless, unfortunately, the Istanbul Convention, which initially aimed to promote the strengthening of women's rights, was manipulated by a segment that sought to normalize homosexuality, which was incompatible with Turkey's social and familial values. Turkey's decision to withdraw from the convention was based on this reason (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı İletişim Başkanlığı, n.d.)

Following the abolition of the Istanbul Convention, İsmailağa Community issued a message of thanks to President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan for the dissolution of the Istanbul Convention.

Founded on March 8, 2013, the Women and Democracy Association (Kadın ve Demokrasi Derneği, abbreviated as KADEM) is a non-governmental organization that acts with the principle of "equality in existence, responsibility, and justice" and aims to build a fair and secure future for women in society (KADEM, n.d.).

KADEM, of which President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's daughter Sümeyye Erdoğan Bayraktar is the vice president, made the following statement on their official Twitter accounts after Turkey terminated the Istanbul Convention:

As the Women and Democracy Association, our choice on this issue was to give the Council of Europe a comment statement that would eliminate the discussions in question. Significant gains have been achieved so far with all the pioneering and supportive policies of the government on women's rights. As KADEM, we will persistently follow our achievements in the general struggle for women's rights with the slogan

"Equality in Existence, Justice in Responsibility," as before. We declare to the public that we will work with all our strength to further strengthen Law No. 6284 to combat violence and eliminate the problems in implementation. (KADEM, 2021)

The government's attitude towards the Istanbul Convention shows its importance to women in society. Despite the opposition of KADEM, of which Sümeyye Erdoğan Bayraktar is the vice president, to the annulment of the Istanbul Convention, the fact that President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan acts according to the wishes of the congregations is an indication that women's issues are political.

Violence against women and femicide continue to increase all over the world. For example, according to the 2019 data from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Guinea had the highest violence against women globally, while Ireland had minor violence against women (OECD, 2019). Turkish women experience the most violence against them among the EU, OECD, and G20 nations. It is estimated that four out of 10 women in Turkey experience physical or sexual violence at the hands of men. Turkey follows Colombia, Costa Rica, and the United States in 129 countries (Gök, 2022). Canada has the lowest male violence against women rate, at two percent, among OECD countries (Gök, 2022).

Thirty-seven percent of women between the ages of 15 and 49 worldwide have experienced physical or sexual violence (WHO, 2021). In 2021, 81,100 women and girls were murdered on a global scale (UNODC, UN Women, 2022, p. 5). Close partners and family members were responsible for the deaths of 45 thousand women and girls (UNODC, UN Women, 2022, p. 5). Their spouses or family members committed 56 percent of the murders of women (UNODC, UN Women, 2022, p. 5).

One hundred and 47 percent of women and girls subjected to violence were killed by a family member or partner (UNODC, 2021).

Worldwide, violence against women and femicide are much more common in low- and middle-income countries, including Turkey. In Turkey, 300 women were killed in 2020, 280 women were killed by a man in 2021, and 280 in 2022 (We Will Stop Femicide Platform, 2022). Again, in Turkey, 171 women died in 2020, 217 in 2021, and 200 in 2022, all suspiciously (We Will Stop Femicide Platform, 2022). In the first six months of 2023, a man killed 148 women, and 128 women died suspiciously (We Will Stop Femicide Platform, n.d.).

All over the world, women are subjected to violence or killed by men every minute of every day. The media tells us about women who have been subjected to violence or killed by men anywhere in the world. However, as in all matters, the media, especially mainstream media, reports these killings from a patriarchal framework that devalues women and justifies male domination. Besides, all the information transmitted through the media resides in our memory, and we remember events the way the media wants us to remember them.

2.6.2. Femicide News as Part of Collective Memory

Women are thought to represent honor and morality, especially in Muslim societies. The way women dress, their education, the life they live, and even the way they walk on the street are handled within specific moral and religious rules. Society expects the moral and religious rules imposed on women to become ritualized. The sociocultural structure is closely related to women's status in society. Contracts, laws, or feminist uprisings to protect women are functional to a certain extent in protecting women. Therefore, it is necessary to change societies' perspectives toward women and

raise awareness. The media is the voice of the community. For this reason, the media has a highly influential role in increasing society's awareness.

News is information that tells us what is happening around us and in the world. Although the news conveys who is doing what when and with whom, when we consider it as a whole, it is part of world knowledge (Dursun, 2010, p. 21). The media and the press make the problems, solutions to the problems, deficiencies, the wishes of the people, and their voices heard in the social and global context; therefore, it is a public matter.

The media conveys to society what is happening in our country or the rest of the world. The media should act as a bridge between the sovereign power and the people and be the people's voice. Society sees the media as the tool that presents the news most accurately. It must expose inequalities and wrongs and make the facts public. Thanks to the media that meets our news needs, we can see that violence against women is a universal problem.

However, the media uses its power for specific interests. As a result, the media fails to use its power to raise public awareness about violence against women (İnam & Hotun-Şahin, 2020, p. 2). In the presentation of news on violence against women, particularly femicide, the media and press should convey the news to society by following the principles of ethical journalism. Since the media has the power to influence societies, it should adopt the principle of impartiality. However, the media frequently acts in the dominant power circles and reflects society's opinion rather than informing the public and directing society's views correctly (Heywood, 2013, p. 179-181).

Media organizations act by considering their market share due to the political views they defend. The media's political biases and economic interests have led to a disregard for ethical journalism principles. In this context, the media also plays a vital role in determining and justifying gender roles.

Violence against women and femicide are social problems. For this reason, sexist discourse should be avoided in the news, and the news should not be conveyed in a sensational way to increase circulation. The press' and media's sexist discourse changes the perspective of readers and viewers. News language reveals the point of view of the media organization and the journalist. For this reason, it is necessary to pay attention to the language used, the chosen words, and the defended views. For example, the role of women in society should not be addressed within patriarchal frameworks. In communities where male-dominated power is dominant, news usually reflects the norms of patriarchal society, however.

Showing the extent of violence in the news means the normalization of violence (Süllü, 2014, p. 32). The news about violence against women and femicide is usually written in masculine language. In addition, stereotyped discourses imposed on women by gender roles indicate that news is presented in a sexist way (Süllü, 2014, p. 33). Also, news about violence is usually conveyed by establishing a cause-and-effect relationship (Süllü, 2014, p. 33). For example, a woman's desire to break up with her partner is shown as a reason, while a man's inflicting violence on a woman who wants to break up with him or kill her is shown as a result.

Discourses in the news that show the perpetrator as the victim and accuse the victims of violence reveal an unfair and sexist approach. Violence is not an action that can be justified or defended, so the press and media should make news to instill this

consciousness in society. In the news of violence against women and femicide, attaching the perpetrator's crime to a specific cause, such as honor, morals, morality, or love, causes violence against women and femicide to be legitimate.

There is no excuse for verbal, physical, sexual, emotional, or psychological violence. When compiling information about violence against women and femicide, it is necessary to pay attention to the language of the news. Word games made to make the news text more attractive, making violence pornographic, using sexist language, and deciphering the victim instead of the perpetrator are among the biggest mistakes in the news language (Tahaoğlu & Akgül, 2014, p. 49-50). Even a single mistake in the news language makes the victim guilty. Discourses that accuse the victim are an attempt to exonerate the perpetrator. Concern for the news to be read more hinders journalistic ethics and causes errors in the language of the information (Tahaoğlu & Akgül, 2014, p. 49).

It is imperative that the unequal social relationship between men and women, which men primarily establish, be transformed. At the same time, this transformation must find a response in social consciousness. At the point of transforming social consciousness in favor of women, essential duties are assigned to the media and the education processes. (Dursun, 2010, p. 23)

Especially in societies with a patriarchal order, the media's presentation and reproduction of violence against women and femicide cannot go beyond specific patterns. The news about violence against women and femicide focuses on the way women dress, when they go out, where they go, or whom they flirt with. Such

discourses used in the news reduce the murderer's criminal status and cause it to be normalized.

The acceleration of feminist movements in the 1970s allowed women to increase their visibility in the media. They exposed the responsibility of the press and media organizations in the news about violence against women, and the way the press covers the issue began to be discussed (Serdar-Tekeli, 2016, p. 130). However, in today's news about women, the media and the press still include stereotypical discourses about women. The roles attributed to women are legitimized through the media (Serdar-Tekeli, 2016, p. 133).

While society should defend, discuss, and protect women's rights on issues such as femicide and violence against women, the media usually portrays women as victims.

The media, which guides society's view of events, tells individuals what to think and how to think and shapes what is right and wrong in the light of social acceptances and expectations. As a part of social violence, victimization by the media introduces the victim to large masses, allowing her life and actions to be questioned and, to a large extent, blamed.

(Serdar-Tekeli, 2016, p. 133)

Even if we are not always aware of the news about the events that affect society deeply, they take place in our memory. The news about violence against women and femicide, which has increased worldwide in recent years, has also taken place in our memory. Such a sensitive issue must be conveyed and reminded without harming the women who have been subjected to violence or the women who have been murdered.

As previously discussed, the media and press remind us of the past while conveying events, allowing those who hear the news to form an emotional connection with the past. The same is true for news on violence against women, particularly femicide. When creating news about women who have been subjected to violence or killed by a man, they are sometimes associated with similar events in the past.

Collective memory is multifaceted and is both a social and political construction (Doyuran, 2017, p. 236). As with any news story, journalists are more interested in a specific aspect of the events and convey it to society in order to make the event and the situation that results from it exciting and narrate it accordingly. While the part of the event that the journalist showed interest in and conveyed to society takes place in our collective memory, the rest of the event is completely erased from our memory (Doyuran, 2017, p. 236).

The news about social events takes place in our memories. It is associated with, connected to, and analogies are made with events in the past. The same is true in the news about femicide.

On March 3, 2009, in Turkey, high school student Münevver Karabulut was murdered by her boyfriend, Cem Garipoğlu. Münevver Karabulut's body was found dismembered in the garbage container (Kireklo, 2022). Following the murder, the suspect's family was charged with destroying evidence and helping the suspect hide. Cem Garipoğlu received a 24-year prison sentence for "murder by design against a child, with a monstrous feeling and tormenting," and committed suicide in prison in 2014 (Duran, 2022).

On July 16, 2020, university student Pınar Gültekin was strangled by a man who was said to be her ex-boyfriend, Cemal Metin Avcı, who burned her in a barrel

and poured concrete on her. The suspect's brother was also tried for concealing and destroying criminal evidence (Venedik, 2020). Although Cemal Metin Avcı was sentenced to aggravated life imprisonment for murdering the woman, his sentence was reduced to 23 years with an "unjust provocation" reduction (Venedik, 2020). However, after the case was postponed to March 10, 2023, the unfair provocation discount from Cemal Metin Avcı was removed. Instead, he was sentenced to aggravated life imprisonment for deliberate murder (Şaşmaz & Zeybek, 2022).

These two femicides, which had a significant impact on Turkish society, were associated with each other in the news. Both women were killed by their male partners. Also, Münevver Karabulut's corpse was found in the garbage container, and Pınar Gültekin's corpse was found in the barrel. Another reason for associating the murders of two women, who are almost the same age and exposed to extreme violence, is that they are said to have been killed because of "jealousy," which is considered a "reasonable excuse" in the patriarchal order.

On February 11, 2015, Özgecan Aslan, a university student, was stabbed to death by Ahmet Suphi Altındöken, the driver of the minibus she was taking home. Ahmet Suphi Altındöken's father and friend severed Özgecan's hands so that no evidence could be found during DNA testing and then burned her body by pouring gasoline over it (Yağmur, 2022). As a result, the suspect was sentenced to aggravated life imprisonment and 27 years in prison, while his father and friend were sentenced to aggravated life imprisonment. Ahmet Suphi Altındöken was killed in prison in 2016 (Yağmur, 2022).

On December 3, 2019, university student Ceren Özdemir was stabbed to death by Özgür Arduç, whom she never knew, while entering her house (Ordu, 2019).

Özgür Arduç, who has a criminal record and escaped from prison, was sentenced to life imprisonment for engaging in "deliberate murder with a monstrous feeling" (Ordu, 2019).

These two cases of femicide, which caused deep social sadness, were also associated with each other. Moreover, the fact that Özgecan Aslan and Ceren Özdemir were the same age and killed by people they had never met and experienced the extreme point of violence caused a connection between these two cases of femicide in collective memory.

Considering the examples given above, the roles attributed to women by society in the news of violence against women are presented as the main reason for violence in the patriarchal structure (Arslan, 2017, p. 157). In addition, news of violence against women is made into a tabloid, making it sensational (Arslan, 2017, p. 157). The media, which affects our collective memory and thoughts, makes the news of violence against women a magazine element, thereby contributing to gender inequality in society.

Violence is a phenomenon that is seen as a global problem and causes physical problems and deaths (Güneş & Yıldırım, 2019, p. 937). Extreme violence leads to murder. Femicide is a common problem all over the world. Killing women by men because they are "women" violates women's right to life. Gender inequality, one of the causes of femicide, means discrimination in political, economic, social, and cultural fields based on gender and restriction of freedoms (Demiröz-Bal, 2016, p. 14). Femicide is debated in society as long as it exists in the media. Femicides shown to the public through mass media constitute a tiny part of current cases of femicide. Women who were killed are not remembered unless similar events take place.

Thanks to the increasing awareness of society, especially women, femicide is less forgotten than before. Many websites and social platforms include the names of the murdered women so that the murders of women are not forgotten and are always commemorated. Worldwide, informative websites and organizations are addressing murdered women, seeking and defending the rights of women and girls, as well as feminist movements, such as <https://www.femicidecensus.org> (Femicide Census), <https://www.womankind.org.uk> (Womankind Worldwide), <https://www.womenforwomen.org> (Women for Women International), <https://www.femicideincanada.ca/home/contact> (Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability), and <https://kadincinayetlerinidurduracagiz.net> (We Will Stop Femicide Platform). In addition, there is a digital memorial counter for murdered women in Turkey, where the rate of femicide is relatively high, at <http://anitsayac.com> (Anıt Sayaç), and <https://kadincinayetleri.org> (Kadın Cinayetleri) websites that map cases of femicide covered in the media.

Some authors argue that the increase in the number of female employees in the media will ensure that every issue about women is frequently conveyed to society. They claim that the decline of masculine language in the news will prevent the woman from being shown as a criminal or victim. The increase in the number of female employees in the media sector allows the problems experienced by women in society to become visible and shown to the world (Uluslararası Kadın Radyo ve Televizyon Çalışanları Derneği, 2022, p. 16). Although the increase in the number of women in the media effectively changes and transforms sexist discourses, it may not be sufficient (Erdoğan, 2011, p. 37).

The sexist discourses in the media continue to exist in the professional structure of the media. The media sector has fit women into two molds. The first is seen as a woman's mother and wife in the patriarchal structure, and the second is a source of attraction and sensation for women (Tekvar, 2016, p. 436).

Although the increase in the number of women journalists in the media sector or the fact that women are in managerial positions in the media sector is an essential step in terms of employment in the field of journalism (Dursun, 2010, p. 29), its impact on news production is open to discussion.

The first female journalists in Turkey started journalism in the 1980s, and journalism is a tool that can make their voices heard because of their interest in women's rights (Tekvar, 2016, p. 437). Today, although the number of female employees in the media sector is increasing, the existing patriarchal regime in the media sector needs to be changed. (Dursun, 2010, p. 29). Considering the studies carried out, it has been noticed that although the presence of female journalists in the media has increased, not only male journalists but also female journalists have a share in the use of masculine language in news production (Dursun, 2017, pp. 330–331). Masculine language is used in news production, but there is no awareness about not using masculine language, especially in news about femicide or violence against women (Dursun, 2017, pp. 330–331).

Gender equality, the rights of women and girls, and femicide are issues that every society should care about and not forget. Everyone in the media sector should be trained on the subject that killing women just because they are women violates gender equality and women's right to life. They should react to the violence perpetrated against their fellow men in the media and the deprivation of their right to

life, produce accurate news, and act as an intermediary for the rights of every murdered woman. In order to create a world where women are not killed because they are women and live freely, the media must guide society correctly and raise awareness. The way to guide and raise awareness is that everyone working in the media sector, regardless of gender, should not violate rights while producing news about femicides.

Femicide is a social problem that should not be forgotten or kept quiet about. There is no excuse or reason why women who are killed by men just because they are women are deprived of their right to life. Women's rights should be protected by the government, and society should be made aware of gender equality. Forgetting or being forgotten in society prevents femicide from being prevented. It causes equality between men and women to not be accepted by society; it causes women to live in fear; and it causes men to see themselves as superior to women. Forgetting and being forgotten about femicide causes women not to seek their rights, and society's inability to confront the past is related to femicide.

Journalists are people who report what is happening in society and the world. Journalists must convey the correct information and raise public awareness. They should convey the news about the gender inequality and femicide experienced in society accurately and critically. Journalists, who have the power to direct and raise awareness of society, should bring femicide to light with their news and create a collective memory regarding femicide, which is a social problem.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Subject and Purpose of the Research

Femicide, as the most extreme form of violence against women, is a common problem in the whole world and affects societies deeply. Besides, cases of femicide have an essential place in the public memory in Turkey. This study aims to determine to what extent and how female journalists use the past in the news of femicides and thus determine the role of female journalists in creating a collective memory of femicide. Also, it aims to interpret how and in what way newspapers with different ideological structures use collective memory in their news about femicide.

3.2. Research Questions

- 1-What are the priorities of female journalists regarding femicide?
- 2-Do female journalists aim to create a collective memory with their news about femicide?
- 3- How do ideological differences affect female journalists' practices of making femicide remembered or forgotten in their news?

3.3. Research Method

In the study, the "in-depth interview" method, which is a method frequently used in social sciences and communication sciences, will be used. Interviews will be held with female press members working in *Aydınlık*, *BirGün*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet* and *Sabah* newspapers. The in-depth interview method was found suitable for research to learn the motivations of female journalists in writing news about femicide and their perceptions of the forces that limit them in news production.

The details about the ideological orientation and ownership structures of the news outlets the participants work for are given below:

Aydınlık, the first socialist newspaper of the Ottoman Empire, was published in 1921. *Aydınlık* newspaper, which Şefik Hüsun Değmer founded, was closed and reopened many times during its establishment due to strict administration. *Aydınlık* newspaper, which adopts the slogan “Labor-Honor-Motherland,” is seen as a newspaper which currently supports the government in Turkey although it claims to adopt a socialist orientation.

Birgün newspaper, founded with the help of capital collected from various sources, started to be published on April 14, 2004, by trade unions and professional chambers. There is no editor-in-chief position. *Birgün*, which embraces socialism, is seen as an opposition newspaper in Turkey.

Cumhuriyet newspaper was founded by Yusuf Nadi in 1927. *Cumhuriyet* newspaper belongs to the Cumhuriyet Foundation. It is seen as an opposition newspaper in Turkey due to its Kemalist ideological views and editorial policy.

Hürriyet newspaper was founded on May 1, 1948, by Sedat Simavi. *Hürriyet*, one of Turkey's mainstream newspapers, is owned by Demirören Holding and largely supports the government today.

With the permission of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Milliyet* newspaper started its publication on February 11, 1926. It is one of the mainstream newspapers in Turkey. Demirören Holding owns *Milliyet* newspaper as well. *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet* largely follow a similar editorial policy.

Sabah newspaper, which started to be published in 1985, belongs to the Turkuvaz Media Group. *Sabah* newspaper is known for its closeness to the government in Turkey due to its ideological views and publishing policies.

Six female journalists working in *Aydınlık*, *BirGün*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet*, and *Sabah* newspapers participating in the research were first informed about the subject, purpose, and scope of the research, and their informed consent was taken orally. The actual names of the participants were not used in the study. Participants were named with numerical codes, according to the alphabetical order of the newspapers.

Information about the participants is given below:

Participant 1: works for the *Aydınlık* newspaper.

Participant 2: work for the daily *BirGün*.

Participant 3: works for the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*.

Participant 4: works for the daily *Hürriyet*.

Participant 5: works for the daily *Milliyet*.

Participant 6: works for the daily *Sabah*.

Meetings with the participants were held in video format on online platforms. The interviews were audio-recorded with the permission of the participants. Interview dates were selected based on their own experience, working hours, and succession. The interviews lasted approximately 30 to 45 minutes.

3.4. Contribution of the Research to the Literature

When we look at the literature, the book *Journalism and Memory* (2014), edited by Barbie Zelizer and Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2014), reveals the relationship between collective memory and journalism. In addition, the relationship between media and collective memory is described in Barbie Zelizer's books *Remembering to Forget* and *Covering the Body* (1992), with examples from the Holocaust and the assassinations of John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Kadın Odaklı Habercilik (2007), edited by Sevda Alankuş, is an essential resource in the literature to understand how news about femicide should be produced and how women are represented in the media.

In addition to these critical studies on collective memory and journalism, there is extensive literature on the relationship between gender and journalism and the presentation of femicide in the news. As a result of the literature review, Ilgaz Gökırmaklı's master's thesis titled *Yeni Medyanın Toplumsal Hafıza İnşası Üzerindeki Rolü: 140journos Belgeselleri Üzerine Bir İnceleme* (The Role of New Media on Collective Memory Construction: An Analysis on 140journos Documentaries), is similar to the work I have done. The study revealed the differences between the mainstream media and the 140journos platform in producing collective memory (Gökırmaklı, 2020).

Gizem Herdem's master's thesis titled *Medya ve Toplumsal Bellek: 15 Temmuz Darbe Girişimi Üzerine Bir İnceleme* (Media and Collective Memory: An Analysis on the July 15 Coup Attempt), is also similar to my work. The study aimed to reveal the collective memory of the 15 July coup attempt, and as a result of the research, data

showed that the cultural memory products produced about the 15 July coup attempt were fake and unconvincing (Herdem, 2019).

Özlem Akkaya's 's article titled “Gazetecilik Kendi Geçmişini Yazarken: Bir Hatırlama Figürü Olarak Metin Göktepe” (Journalism Writing Its Past: Metin Göktepe as a Figure of Memory), bears similarities with the study. In her article, Akkaya examined the news in digital newspapers about the murdered journalist Metin Göktepe regarding memory practices and confronting the past (Akkaya, 2019).

The studies mentioned above are similar to my own in focusing on the relationship between collective memory and journalism. However, no study has been found to create a social memory of femicide through the news. The study, which aims to show the role of women journalists and newspapers in constructing social memory regarding femicides, can close this gap in the literature.

3.5. Limitations of the Research

In the study, newspapers with different ideological perspectives, such as *Aydınlık*, *BirGün*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet*, and *Sabah*, were chosen as the sample. Therefore, other newspapers were excluded from the study.

Another limitation of the scope of the research is that only female journalists were interviewed in in-depth interviews, and male journalists were excluded from the study. By including only women journalists in the research, it tried to analyze how the practices of women journalists in producing news about femicide in the male-dominated order in the media sector take shape. In addition, another reason only female journalists are preferred is that it is thought that women journalists will reveal the truths or mistakes made in producing femicide news with a more critical approach.

Within the scope of the research, the practices of women journalists to create a collective memory about femicide and to use the past in the prosthetic memory production processes were examined. For this reason, the readers' perspective was not included in the study.

Future studies can focus on the readers' reception of femicide news and its impact on their collective memory formation about the issue. This study, which focuses on journalists' collective memory production processes, will fill a gap in the literature and be a reference for future studies in social memory and journalism.



4. RESULTS

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

4.1. Participants' Perspectives on the Profession of Journalism and News Production Processes

The participants were asked about their expectations from the journalism profession, the difficulties they have experienced, and their ideas about news production processes.

Participant 1 answered the questions as follows:

“My journalistic life would be based on research, and I would make news. Professional life is generally about following routines and making certain news. Although I occasionally work on research files, they are insufficient. Contrary to what is thought, even though I am exhausted and sometimes I say that I do not want to write anymore, I love my profession with all its problems. I know there are problems such as mobbing or nepotism in the sector, but I did not encounter these problems in my institution. Information flow and consumption are accelerating. Everything that happens during the day becomes obsolete the next day. One of the most critical points is disinformation. Journalists should fight disinformation before citizens. I confirm the information I have gathered through at least two or three sources. A single source is never reliable. As can be seen here, the digitalization of journalism changes the news production processes after the technological developments experienced, and together with digitalized journalism, it is difficult for society to reach accurate information due to disinformation.”

Participant 2 thinks that meeting expectations in the journalism profession is related to the worldview of the newspaper. She answers the questions as follows:

“However, the most significant effect of my ability to repay this sense of curiosity is working for a newspaper that suits my ideas and views. I could not work for a more conservative or mainstream newspaper with my current view. I need to discuss the quality of the news without being a party in the institution I work for and someday be an institution that meets this expectation. Being a female journalist working in the field is very difficult. Journalists who do their jobs due to the political stance of *Birgün* newspaper can sometimes be seen as activists and detained. Digitization has reduced the circulation of newspapers. Everyone started reading the news on their phones and tablets to get the news more quickly. Nobody buys newspapers anymore. I cannot comment on whether this is good or bad because it needs to be evaluated from many angles. With digitalization, news has been consumed very quickly, causing rapid news production. With digitalization, it has become difficult to measure the accuracy of the news. For example, a woman on Twitter is preparing a torrent of violence. It is not enough to reach women and convey information. Everything that is said is nothing but an assertion for us until it is proven.”

From the statements of Participant 2, it is understood that working for an anti-opposition newspaper published in Turkey has enabled her to express her ideas freely. The fact that she can freely write and convey her ideas as a journalist allows her to love her profession and meet his expectations.

Participant 3 similarly states that she is happy because of the similarity in her thinking and the institution she works for and explains her perspective on the profession as follows:

“I was always aware that journalism was a challenging profession. When I entered business life, I encountered this reality once again. Working for an organization where you can freely express and defend your opinion is crucial. *Cumhuriyet* is a place where I feel happy in this sense. However, as with any job, I had difficulties. I had experienced times when many situations, such as Turkey's agenda, political environment, institutions, organizations, and individuals, affected and made news production difficult. Readers prefer to access news on the internet instead of reading printed newspapers. With the emergence of the social media platform Twitter and the increase in the number of users, the speed of the news, the easier circulation of fake news, the rapidity of the news thanks to social media, and the changing of society's news habits... These social media channels announce many decisions that affect our lives before television and newspapers. It is necessary to make sure that the information is complete. First of all, the news must be trustworthy. In other words, rumors we hear for the first time can turn into news only after they are proven true. Then the news is confirmed according to the person who conveyed the information: If their statements are to be conveyed as an opinion, they are explained as they are. In some cases, this information is verified in several ways.”

Participant 4, on the other hand, says that she practices journalism on the issues that appeal to her. The participant said:

“When I started my career, *Radikal* newspaper had an excellent atmosphere. One could have done more free and objective journalism. Turkey and the press were

not as polarized as they are now. When I first started, I wanted to spend my life as a journalist, and I still do. I expected more media outlets and journalism for publications that fit my mind. At this point, my expectation has been met.

Nevertheless, I've been doing journalism for 12 years and doing things that appeal to me... When I started my career, I knew it was impossible to make much money from this business. The low salaries in the journalism profession did not come as a surprise to me. Still, I want journalists to get the salary they deserve; I expected this.

Technological developments and Turkey's political climate have caused journalism to change significantly. As people access news directly on the internet, the circulation of newspapers has generally decreased, and digital journalism has come to the fore.

However, digital journalism offers less regularity than print media. Newspapers are placed on the pages in order of importance. In other words, newspapers have fiction, but news in digital journalism is not prepared as carefully as in newspapers. The news is produced in a more click-oriented way. The ranking of which news is important and which is less critical loses its importance due to click reporting. Journalism is rendered unqualified because of click reporting.”

Participant 5 similarly refers to the distrust created by disinformation in the journalism profession:

“It was a time when social events were very active. The excitement was high. The excitement would continue, and I would enjoy the profession more as I gained experience. My expectations were partially met, but no journalist could experience satisfaction today. We are now in a period where it is effortless and fast to reach news and information. Digital media and social media are in the middle of our lives. Fake news and disinformation can spread rapidly, and it is not easy to fix this situation.

News production processes are different since I participate in the print media. For example, there is time for processes such as confirming news from its source or authorized person and getting opinions. We do not have instant and fast news sharing unlike in digital media. Therefore, it is challenging for false news to enter the newspaper or authorized names; news institutions still need to confirm that they are not included in the newspaper. Print media is more reliable than the internet for accurate information; of course, impartiality is one thing, but that is a separate issue.”

Participant 5 mentions that print media is more reliable than digital journalism. She says that the speed of digital media affects the accuracy of the news, and therefore, the production of "fake news" increases.

While Participant 6 mentions the difficulty of journalism, she also argues that only some news producers are journalists.

The participant said the following about this subject:

“I started my career in a master-apprentice relationship. I met my news director at a school where I was interning and was spotted by him after I asked a few questions. I never dreamed of being a journalist. I used to think that journalists had a busy and striking life. It was not for me. It was perfect for me. A brisk life keeps me young. Shortly after I started my career, I aimed for a professional career full of awards. That is what happened. The job itself is complex. Communicating with people and doing it tirelessly is tiring. No matter how nervous, stressed, sad, and tired you are outside of work, the moment the working hour starts, there is no smile on your face, and you should not think about your life outside of work. Journalism used to be good. Everyone is making news now. Look, I am not saying this as a journalist. There is a difference. Thanks to social media, we can share everything in the flow of

our lives and inform people. Journalists have to think about many things in order to produce news. It will benefit people, inform, entertain, hurt, and applaud when appropriate. People with the title “journalist,” who do not carry a journalist identity, ignore this motive. There is news of poor quality, unproven, and full of pollution. We are faced with a situation like the stone of rice. It is essential to confirm official documents, materials, and information.”

Although the participants give different answers about whether the journalism profession meets their expectations or not, as can be seen, they mention the disinformation caused by rapid news production and consumption because of digitalization and the point that the news produced loses its quality. Using untrue information for manipulation and propaganda means disinformation (Erkan & Ayhan, 2018, p. 206). Generally, news channels of disinformation produced by individuals or newspapers produce false news by using the misinformation produced as a source (Erkan & Ayhan, 2018, p. 206). The problem is that every piece of news produced and transferred to society takes place in the memories of individuals and contributes to the formation of collective memory.

4.2. Participants' Understanding of Collective Memory

The interviews with the participants investigated how well the journalists had mastered the concept of collective memory and whether they produced the news of femicide to create a collective memory about the issue. The answers given by the participants to the question of what collective memory is are related to the journalists' perspectives on society. Journalists, who know collective memory and how it is constructed and reproduced, produce news to raise social awareness. The answers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The vehicles that enable prosthetic memory about such events are newspapers, magazines, television, cinema, and today's social media. Journalists also convey events we have not experienced; thanks to the news they produce to raise awareness and inform society. Journalists' transmission of past and current events to society enables both the formation of our prosthetic and collective memories. To the question of whether journalism contributes to the formation of collective memory, the participants gave the following answers:

Participant 1 said: “Absolutely, because journalists and their news are transmissions. To convey an event is to enliven something in the minds of those people. However, it has to be done correctly. If you are not objective, you will mislead people's collective memory. Some events have a different place in people's minds because of distortion. Our task is to convey this with objectivity.”

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

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

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

“Journalists who produce news from scratch know they are producing collective memory. Journalists leave a written document in their news reports. When a researcher searches for a past issue and finds the news of a journalist, she sees the news as a historical document and uses it as a source. For example, in the first years of my career, I worked at the *Radikal* newspaper and kept the news in the newspapers. I was surprised when I looked at the newspapers I made because I encountered a very

different reality in Turkey. I was surprised by the use of visual news and how we approached news from different angles. As journalists, we did not feel comfortable informing them in those years. Since Turkey is in a politically complex process, I can now see how free we are when I look at the news. Even this example is about the construction of collective memory. When I look at the news I wrote in those years, I have an idea about the past, and I can even see what kind of process Turkey went through. News is a connecting tool used to interpret the past. When we look at social media, we see that past news is on the agenda again.”

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

Similarly, Participant 6 stated that in the past, journalists produced their news in order to create a collective memory with the following words: “We know that this was the case before. It used to be a duty for journalists to tell the public about good or bad events. Journalists also emptied their memories by sweeping and ignoring events

they could not report under the carpet. On anonymous social media, the reporters took this task from us. It fills the memory with so-called "dirty news."

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

The participants were then asked the question, "Do you associate a reported event with similar events in the past?" Participant 1 replied to this question as follows: "Associating events with each other is the editorial part of journalism. Of course, I report by connecting the past and the present. In this way, I remind the person who reads the news about the past and help her to situate the news better in her mind. For example, one of our citizens is injured or dies due to negligence. I remind you of a previous incident or investigation related to that negligence. Alternatively, if there is annual or monthly data on this subject, I will add it. or an official's explanation of a previous event."

Participant 2's response was as follows: Of course, the past is our archive. For example, *Birgün* newspaper campaigned about women who fell from balconies and lost their lives. We wanted to show everyone that 93 women died by "falling" from the balcony in two years. In the campaign we prepared, we aimed to show that the women who died by falling from the balcony did not die due to an accident but were killed by a man. In addition, it was to show a recurring problem in society. We wanted to tell society about a problem here and focus on it. Repeated acts cannot be

an accident; they cannot be neglected; they must be seen and shown to be crimes. We wanted to make people remember the murders that were made to look like accidents. The journalist's task is to point out the problem and show it. Consequently, the past is a source of news for the future, and the future is a source of news for the past.”

Participant 3 said the following: “One of the most fundamental elements of solid news is its ability to connect with the past. Reminding the reader causes the memory to be refreshed and contributes to a better understanding of current events in context. For this reason, I make reminders in the news that will connect with the past and contribute to the present. If an event that happened in the past has been repeated today or a similar situation has occurred, there is much news that we refer to from the past. There was a problem in the past that is still happening today; we mean that if the problem is not solved, the same thing will happen again. For example, when reporting on women who died by falling from a window, Şule Çet comes to mind directly. Referring to similar events in the news makes us remember the past and keeps society's memory alive. Of course, this does not only apply to worst-case scenarios. We can also refer to the past when a good event that happened in the past is experienced again today. Look, to say that we had such good feelings in the past...”

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

to provide social benefits. The establishment of the past aims to provide social benefit. Connecting with historical events creates a general framework and consciousness in people's memories. In this context, connecting with the past is valuable for social benefit. It is essential to follow the news, so in some cases, it is necessary to connect with the past. Another duty of journalists is to remember any event in society. Connecting with the past and historical references is sociologically essential. Connecting journalists with the past helps the reader interpret the past and the present from different perspectives and analyze the present better.”

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

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

While the participants state that the past or the news made in the past is a source for the news produced today, they also argue that the remainder of the past creates collective memory and consciousness. The examples of Participants 2, 3, and 4 are intended to make people remember the events that deeply affect society. In addition, we see that using the past as a source is generally found in negative news. It is thought that the reason for this is to remind society that the events of the past were

not learned from or that precautions were not taken, and to come to terms with the past.

4.3. Participants' Approaches to Women's Issues

In the interviews with the participants, questions were asked about their approaches to women's problems in society as journalists and in the newspaper, they work for after the questions about their understanding of news production processes and collective memory. It was observed that if the news outlet for which they work attaches importance and priority to women at an institutional level, this allows the female journalist to write about women's issues or women in general. The participants were then asked the following question: "Do you think that the issues and problems with women are prioritized in your institution?"

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

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

reason is the state's power if something happens to women and cannot be prevented. We are one of the rare newspapers that says and defends this.”

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

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

Participant 4 continued as follows:

“This is because the number of male employees in editorial jobs is higher than the number of female employees. Unfortunately, we do not have a female employee as the editorial coordinator of *Hürriyet* newspaper. The number of men and women in our correspondents is proportional. Still, we reporters give the raw version of the news. For this reason, we can see a male-dominated point of view in visual preference and sometimes in news language. For this reason, I had some problems with the women's news I prepared and continue to do so. I am constantly interfering with the

news I have prepared to prevent this problem. Men are often unaware of the sensitivity of women's news. For example, when I make news about a female pilot, it is emphasized that the pilot is a woman. However, the purpose of making that news is not to show that the pilot is a woman but to show that there are women in different occupational groups. I think that male reporters should improve themselves in terms of gender. To summarize, the *Hürriyet* newspaper shows critical importance and care in the context of femicide. However, we can encounter masculine language because few women work in writing jobs.”

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

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

While each participant stated that the institution, they work for attaches importance to women's issues and problems, they approached it from different

perspectives. Participant 1 emphasizes the importance of working with women in not ignoring women's issues while emphasizing that the print media can skip some news to catch up with strict deadlines. Participant 2 criticizes the government with the phrase "power state," stating that many lawsuits have been filed because of the institution's importance to women's issues or problems. Participant 3 argues that women should not be dealt with only for their grievances. Participant 4 says that the importance of women's issues is emphasized in the institution where she works, and she criticizes the high number of male employees in the editorial office for making the new language masculine. Participant 5 emphasizes the importance of the fact that the institution she works for is the media partner of UN Women, but she also mentions the absence of female managers in the institution she works for. Participant 6, unlike all other participants, focused the issues and problems of women working in the institution. From the participants' answers, it was concluded that male employees in the mainstream media are more common than female employees in Turkey. While those working in the opposition newspaper generally focused on women's issues, those working in the pro-government newspaper drew attention to the gender policy of the institutions.

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

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

the inequality experienced by women in social life in terms of employment and produces news that touches on the problem in society.

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

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

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

"I think that the visibility of news on violence against women and femicide is thanks to the struggle of women journalists and women's organizations. Violence against women is a social wound and a sociological problem. Turkish politics, family structure, and value judgments lie at the root of violence against women and femicide

in Turkey. I also pay attention to the fact that the number of male employees in the editorial offices of the newspapers is high. Unfortunately, they cannot develop themselves sufficiently in terms of gender. Therefore, news language is critical on such sensitive issues. Therefore, if I have to speak for myself, I have shown the necessary suspicion and care regarding every positive or negative issue regarding women in our society.”

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

Participant 6 answered the questions as follows:

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

The participants were asked about the importance they attach to women's issues and the frequency with which they report them. It was concluded that because

the participants were women, they felt like they could not ignore women's problems. In addition, when women's issues are mentioned, the first thing that comes to mind is femicide. The increase in femicide rates worldwide has led to increased news about femicide. They generally believe that violence and women's murder are social problems, so it is necessary to convey the violence and murder cases experienced in society in the most accurate way and to raise awareness about them in society.

4.4. Participants' Approaches to News about Femicide

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Participant 4 said the following:

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

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

"I write or edit news about femicide or violence against women. One of the most essential elements of this type of news is the title and content. I never use an accusatory expression towards the victim woman in the titles I use. I do not use

expressions (such as jealousy, honor, or because of) that aim to acquit the person who committed the murder, show violence, alleviate the incident, or show a reason for the incident. I take care not to use the name and photo of the victim in the news without the consent and knowledge of the victim. In addition, I do not give details that are offensive or incite violence when describing the event. It is essential to avoid what we call 'violent pornography.'"

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

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

4.5. Participants' Perspective on the Relationship Between Femicide and Collective Memory

Within the scope of the study, the aim was to investigate to what extent and how female journalists use the past in the news of femicide and thus the role of female journalists in creating a collective memory of femicide. Accordingly, questions were asked of the participants about the relationship between news about femicide and the

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

Participant 1 argued that ideology affects the news of femicide: “Of course, it does. Some media outlets present non-femicide cases as femicide and femicide cases as accidents. For example, in a street fight, the woman in the window died from random gunfire. Showing this as femicide does not reflect the truth; on the contrary, it is false reporting. The only reason this is done is ideology. On the contrary, it is a lie to say that all women in our country are not oppressed and live in prosperity. Some newspapers write this only because of their ideological line.”

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

Referring to the Istanbul Convention, which Turkey terminated on March 20, 2021, Participant 3 said the following: “Unfortunately, Law No. 6284 on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence Against Women, which has been the subject of debate for a long time, is interpreted from different perspectives in different newspapers with different ideological views. In such cases, ideological beliefs can often take precedence over the primary interests of society. For example, a woman killed by her boyfriend is referred to an organization with statements accusing the woman in conservative newspapers. In contrast, more liberal-minded newspapers

impartially report the event. Unfortunately, we cannot expect the idea that journalists should be objective to hold. However, on such sensitive issues, ideologies should be set aside, and what needs to be done should be done. Even if a journalist has an opinion different from the opinion of the institution she works for, she has to report according to the ideology of the institution he works for. In the news about women and children, ideologies, truths, and conscience should be kept in the foreground.”

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

“I think it is like that. Instead of using magazine language, it tried to create a sense of “honor” and find the reason for the murders of women. Frankly, there is no dominant ideological view in the *Hürriyet* newspaper. Since *Hürriyet* is a mainstream newspaper, it can or cannot focus on specific issues due to its position and patronage. However, the news generally reflects ideological views on violence against women and femicide. For example, we can see this in the *Akit* or *Yeni Şafak* newspapers, which have a more conservative ideology. However, in traditional newspapers, news of violence or murder against women is handled with ‘honor.’ However, *Hürriyet* does not approach the issue from such a point of view. As I said before, we see the ignorance of male editors in the language of news in *Hürriyet*.”

She continued as follows:

“To summarize, I do not think there is an ideological reflection in the news of violence against women and femicide in *Hürriyet*. However, I think there is a social misconception about the institution I work for. I do not think the newspapers that define themselves as leftist in Turkey differ significantly from the mainstream

newspaper *Hürriyet*. The thing that separates newspapers from women's news is their female editors. Unfortunately, left-wing newspapers also dominate male dominance. These newspapers accuse you of being liberal when you care too much about women's issues. We are trying to convey the political atmosphere of Turkey most accurately. The censorship applied to the news or the point of view in the news is not ideological; it is all about where the capital stands.”

Participant 5 thinks that femicide should be a matter of conscience and that ideology should not be at the forefront of the news about femicide: “I favor addressing this issue independently of all ideological views. However, unfortunately, I do not think so. We can hear expressions such as 'violence against women is exaggerated' and 'there is femicide not only in us but all over the world.' We see that journalist, who are under the influence of their ideological views or their interests, try to find reasons for violence or murders, cover them, or not give enough space to this issue, and cover it up.”

Considering the answers given by the participants above, it was concluded that the primary purpose of femicide news was regarded as seeking the rights of the murdered women. As a matter of fact, due to the increasing number of femicides in Turkey, every person living in Turkey has a collective memory of femicide. All of the participants think that the ideological views of the newspapers affect the production of news about femicide. However, Participant 6, who works at the newspaper known for its closeness to the government, gave the following answer to this question, "Unfortunately, yes. I am sorry for answering this question," which aroused the thought that the institution she worked for did not comment much on the subject.

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

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

Participant 2 stated that anniversary reporting is not frequently encountered in femicide: "We refer to similar murders in the past. For example, Şule Çet died by 'falling' from the glass. An attempt was made to make it look like an accident, but it was murder. When there is news about a woman who died, in the same way today, a connection is made with the death of Şule Çet. It was a visible femicide that resonated in society. The past reminded me not to forget the past and to say there is a problem here if it happened in the past and if it is still happening."

Participant 3 said the following: “Some femicides have become symbols in Turkey. For example, when we think of a woman killed by her boyfriend, we think of Münevver Karabulut or Pınar Gültekin. When a woman dies by ‘falling’ out of the window, Şule Çet comes to mind directly. That is why, yes, there is a connection with similar murders. Unfortunately, we do not see commemoration journalism very often in femicide.”

Participant 4 stated that there is a connection with the past in the news about femicide, as in every other issue: “Femicide is a problem that has always existed and

continues to increase daily. It is necessary to show this problem to society, not to forget. Although it is rare, commemoration journalism is made in femicide.”

According to Participant 5, cases of femicide bear similarities:

“Husbands usually kill women they want to divorce, ex-spouses, ex-boyfriends, and the man they reject. Here, it is necessary to repeatedly emphasize the male-dominated social structure and the fact that women are not effectively protected. Alternatively, when reporting on a woman killed by family members, it is necessary to talk about false traditions. Let me give you two concrete examples. Every month, the We Will Stop Femicides Platform shares the number of femicides, by whom, and how the murders were carried out with members of the press and the public. I try to include these statistics in my news and social media posts. Let me explain another concrete example: Three years after the murder of Özgecan Aslan, a psychology student in Mersin, I reported how many women were killed. In particular, I included information about young women who were victims of murder. I made my news in the year Özgecan Aslan would graduate and on his birthday. Thus, I emphasized in the article that 'she would have been a 23-year-old psychologist today if she had lived'. Based on this murder, I conveyed the views of Gülsüm Kav, the General Representative of the We Will Stop Femicide Platform.”

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

In the news about femicide, it is seen that there is a connection with past news in order to keep collective memory alive. In addition to this, the fact that Şule Çet and Münevver Karabulut were given as examples also shows that there are murders that

are symbolized in femicide. Considering the answers given by the participants, it was concluded that commemoration journalism was not practiced much as regards femicide, however.

As the participants emphasized the importance of news language in the news of femicide, they were asked questions about the use of tabloid language in femicide news. The participants answered the question of whether the femicide news produced by using tabloid language takes more place in our collective memory or whether it does have the opposite effect as follows:

According to Participant 1:

“It is wrong to get ratings by making public demagoguery, to deviate from the way it is, and to exaggerate. In the news of such events, only the event should be mentioned. However, it is necessary to include only some of the event details. For example, the person's name should not be given in total, and the photo should be frosted similarly. It is necessary to protect the family of the person who experienced this event and to make his life better. Also, the event should be kept a secret. The news that has been made into a magazine is engraved in the memory, but the change that should occur with the effect of the news is essential, not the fact that the news stays in the memory. Magazine news is not change but brings tears and conscientious relief.”

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

“I think reading story-like news is easier for our society than reading something informative. I do not think it makes any sense to make the news of the murder of a woman dramatic. The focus is on femicide. When a magazine's news language is used, the responsibility for the murder of the woman is placed on the woman. For example, in the murder of Şule Çet, which we mentioned earlier, statements such as ‘she died by falling from the 20th floor of the luxury plaza she went to with the men’ are used in the news. There is an attempt to create the idea that she would not have died without going to that plaza with men. Instead of looking for reasons for the murder of women, it is necessary to focus on why people who kill women are not punished.”

Participant 3's reply was as follows: “The storytelling of the femicide news and the creation of victims and criminals makes the event even more remarkable. Explaining every moment of the event in detail makes the event more memorable.” And she continued to say: “However, it is still a situation that is made for the news to be read more. The storytelling of the news language causes it to take more place in the memories.” Participant 4 stated the following on the issue: “While the tabloid language says that it is a prevalent situation in the news of femicide, he touches on the point that the news is told by telling stories so that it is read more and arouses curiosity while reading. It is entirely wrong to produce news in this way. A woman is being murdered; that should be the only thing to focus on.”

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

“Unfortunately, we witness the news language becoming tabloidized.

However, I do not think this situation contributes to the news in our collective memory. On the contrary, it is a matter of simplifying the event and only creating a soap bubble effect. Meanwhile, we can see that the news of violence or murder in our collective memory is mainly symbolic. 'Münevver Karabulut, Özgecan Aslan, Şule Çet murder...' When we look at these murders, we see symbolic details. The murder of Münevver Karabulut made much noise. The horrific murder of a young woman with a chainsaw by a young man was almost the first murder we had encountered. After this murder, the We Will Stop Femicide Platform was established. As for Özgecan Aslan's murder, society significantly embraced this issue. Because Özgecan Aslan was killed on her way home from school by men, she never knew. In other words, she turned all the excuses for femicide upside down. The death of Şule Çet was symbolic in that it revealed the appearance of suicides in femicide and kept the public busy for a long time.”

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

Considering the participants' answers, we conclude that tabloid language is frequently used in the news about femicide. Telling the news by narrating it in an eye-catching way, so to speak, provides a more permanent place in our memory. While focusing on the problem of women being killed, the answers to how and why women were killed are presented in a tabloid way. Discourses such as "killing women for divorce," "killing for breaking up with their lover," "killing a woman because of a

man's jealousy crisis," and "honor killings," when written in tabloid language, attribute the crime of the perpetrator to a seemingly legitimate cause.

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

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

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

“By giving more importance to women's news and not giving up the follow-up of the femicide they covered, on the road to the murder of women, not only the murderers but also every person, institution, and organization that causes women not to be protected... The organization should be disclosed, and by making news about the criminal's punishment, it can contribute to collective memory by not making women forget the murders. For example, an organization that says the annulment of the Istanbul Convention has led to an increase in femicide and an organization that advocates the abolition of the Istanbul Convention may not want the collective memory of femicide to be built. For this reason, we can say there is an ideological barrier at some point.”

Participant 3 gave the following response:

“Unfortunately, in order for the murder of a woman to be heard in our society, the murder must be told, and the woman must be shown as a victim. Unfortunately, our women who died without a similar event do not come to mind. Just like on the anniversaries of some social events, our deceased women should be reminded to prevent this. Femicide is a social problem. Forgetting or ignoring this problem causes the problem to grow day by day. For this reason, journalists should report regularly to make femicide visible in society and not be forgotten. In addition, if necessary, they should remind our deceased women on their social media accounts. We must never forget and remind ourselves that the women who died are not just numbers; they are all souls. In society, femicide is tried to be attributed to specific causes, such as honor killings. For this reason, I think social norms and patriarchy are the obstacles to constructing collective memory regarding femicide.”

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

“It is essential not to offend the women subjected to violence and not to hurt the families of the murdered women. Most importantly, one should not glorify the criminal, try to acquit him, or make excuses. In addition, it is necessary to follow the cases and news to make accurate news. It is necessary to make news by realizing that femicide is not just a number. It needs to be displayed in news images. It is essential to make news by giving importance to gender equality to highlight women's strengths, not make women look cowardly. In short, journalists need to show great sensitivity to all kinds of issues concerning women, show women's resilience, and remind them that they exist in society as individuals, not just women. The most crucial cause of

femicide is gender inequality and male-dominated views. For this reason, the lack of collective memory on this issue is due to gender inequality and male-dominated views.”

Participant 5 replied to the question as follows: “While the journalist thinks that he should keep femicide on the agenda, she should make news about hot developments and news for reminders. Violence against women and femicide should be discussed and become a problem in the conscience of society. This situation pressures those authorized to deal with this issue to fulfill their duties. However, if this issue falls off the agenda and becomes commonplace, the struggle will weaken just as much. The newspaper is, first and foremost, an archive. Of course, let us not just understand the written press here. TV programs and videos as well. No person or institution can escape from the archive. An archive is essential for the construction of collective memory.”

She continued: "Moreover, this archive must be repeated often. Political pressure is the biggest obstacle. All managers, from the lowest to the highest, want their service periods to be remembered positively, whether they are or not. This situation brings pressure and obstacles. Talking about how serious and important the murders of women are leads to damage to their reputations. That is why journalists can be interfered with. If a journalist keeps what he knows to himself, he does not benefit himself or society."

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

“People need to be educated first. I can write a thesis for the answer to this question. It is necessary to tell the woman that she is a woman and the man that she is

a human, and to teach that life is given to her people. A memory should not be created for the murders of women. A memory must be created to prevent femicide. The fact that women are seen as powerless by society, that they do not have economic power, that they are not independent, and that they feel insecure and inadequate causes them to remain silent about violence. Women who feel this way ignore me, saying that it happens to me too. Although journalists express this, ignorant women and society remain silent. The journalist cannot make this news because she received no feedback, because they cannot like the reporter whose news is not read, and the reporter gives up on making such news after a while.”

The participants think that the lack of collective memory in femicide is due to ideology, social norms, and patriarchy. The participant journalists, who think journalists have an essential role in creating a collective memory, defend the idea that femicide should always be kept on the agenda and not just be reported when it is on the agenda. In addition, they also stated that only making news about women being victimized, subjected to violence, or murdered will cause women to be seen as more vulnerable by society. To prevent this situation, the participants said that women's achievements should be highlighted and that women should be shown that they are not weak.

As a result of the interviews with the participants, it is seen that some of Michael Schudson's distortion dynamics are used in the news production processes. From the answers the participants gave to the questions, it was concluded that they used the dynamics of distanciation and narrativization.

For example, Participant 6 replied to the question, "While producing news, do you aim to remind people of past and forgotten events in order to be able to connect

with the events today?" as follows: "If the results of the events that bother people in society have received enough reaction, maybe we do this." It implies that some news is forgotten and loses its appeal more quickly than others that have already acquired a place in popular memory. So, we can claim that the dynamics of distortion and conventionalization apply to news production in general. However, when the answers given by the participants were examined, it was seen that the distortion dynamic of conventionalization was not used much in the news of femicide. It has been revealed that the murdered women are not memorialized in the news to make the past known; they are not used for commercial purposes, and there is not much anniversary reporting either.

All the interviewed female journalists replied to the question, "Do you agree with the idea of making the news language tabloidized to make the news of violence more attractive?" by emphasizing that the language of the news became tabloid. It has been concluded that the distortion dynamic of narrativization is used to make the past remarkable, to arouse curiosity, and thus to make more people read the news.

5. CONCLUSION

An individual is a part of the society in which she lives. The memory of a society is also the memory of the individual living in that society. To ensure the continuity of societies, they must have a memory of their own. The memory of society continues to exist by being transferred from generation to generation. From the invention of writing to these periods when we live in the age of technology, the memories of societies have been transferred in various ways. The transferred memory has been a reference to the future, enabling us to understand and interpret the past. Written documents are sources used to interpret the past and facilitate the formation and transmission of collective memory.

News is a source that makes up our collective memory. The news made by the journalists is like an archive. It is one of the sources used to learn what happened in the past and to establish a connection between the past and the present. In this context, journalists create written documents of collective memory.

The journalist has to convey every event of interest to society and to the individuals living in it. The human rights issue and the murder cases, the harshest form of violence, became more visible in society thanks to the news. Social norms play a role in the increase in violence and murder. Femicide rates are increasing, especially in patriarchal societies. This is because men are seen as superior, and human rights problems such as violence and murder are justified. Women who have been subjected to violence and killed have become more visible in society, especially in recent years because women's murders are more frequently included in the news. As in every other issue, society has a shared memory regarding femicide. Femicides,

which had significant repercussions in society in the past, are remembered again with the murder of another woman who was killed today.

This study asked to what extent and how female journalists use the past in their news about femicide and, thus, the role of female journalists in creating a collective memory of femicide. To this end, female journalists working in *Aydınlık*, *BirGün*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet*, and *Sabah* newspapers were interviewed.

As a result of the research, it was revealed that female journalists working in Turkish newspapers try to create a collective memory about femicide in their news; however, they are largely conditioned by the ideological orientation of the news outlet for which they work. Also, because communication is mostly carried out in digital environments, all the participants are stuck with the disinformation barrier at the point of reaching the correct information and conveying the right information.

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

It is thought that the short answers given by Participant 6, who works for a newspaper known to be much closer to the government, are related to the ideological thought of the institution she works for. From the answers given by Participants 2 and

3, who work for newspapers associated with the political opposition, it is estimated that the ideology of the institution positively affects news production. Participant 1, on the other hand, approaches the subject from a different point of view than Participant 6 due to the socialist tendency of the institution she works for, despite working in a newspaper also known for its closeness to the government.

In line with the answers the participants gave, it was also concluded that distortion dynamics were also used in news production. Although the purpose and usage patterns of the use of distortion dynamics are different, it is seen that reality is reproduced by distorting it in the news of femicide.

Mass media are ideological tools. The media is the easiest way to get an idea accepted by society. Therefore, the media is also a propaganda tool. The monopolization of the media in the hands of the dominant power causes censorship. Censored media becomes a tool that serves the interests of the dominant group. The news presented by the media should be a reliable source for society. However, the media considers their interests and interprets the news according to their ideological beliefs rather than transmitting them directly to society. The media does not convey the news directly to society; it reproduces it within an ideological framework and then transfers it to society. Therefore, the news of violence against women in the media somewhat legitimizes this violence.

The social mechanisms that control women's sexuality and fertility serve the purpose of maintaining male dominance in many societies. This understanding occurs directly through oppression, violence, and political, economic, social, and cultural orientations.

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

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

In the news of femicide, which includes the most extreme form of violence, it is necessary not to give too much detail about the way the murder was committed. Journalists, who have the task of forming public opinion and raising awareness of society, should not report the news of femicide in a way that would shock society. In order to raise awareness of society, extra care should be taken in the language of the news, and statements that will accuse the murderer should not be given. It should not be justified behind excuses such as "honor" or "jealousy." While covering the news about the murders of women, the confidentiality and privacy of the murdered women should be respected, and all kinds of statements that would injure their families should be avoided.

Although female journalists try to be conscious of the language of the news while producing news about femicide, it is seen that femicide news is produced in

masculine language due to the ownership of the media organization and the ideology of the media organization. It is seen that "rights-based journalism" remains only in theory in news reports about femicide, and it cannot be implemented in practice despite the participants' will to do so. Political obstacles, ideological views, and ownership of media outlets have prevented the defense of women's right to life. The changing ethics of journalism due to digitalization has also caused the news to evolve into "click-bait journalism." The news produced on the internet has started to be seen only as a source of financial income through clicks and advertisements, and the purpose of the news to inform has been ignored.

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

The women who were killed are not just numbers. For this reason, no woman whose right to life has been taken away should be forgotten. Journalists, who have the power to influence societies and build a collective memory, should produce news on gender equality, show the achievements of women to society, and produce news by aiming to show the guilty as the guilty, not the woman as a victim.

Although studies have been carried out about the relationship between collective memory and journalism in recent years, more is needed. For this reason, this thesis has tried to contribute to the literature by examining the relationship between femicide, a socio-political problem, collective memory, and journalism, with a focus on female employees working for newspapers with different ideological perspectives and ownership structures.

The research aimed to reveal the similarities and differences in the collective memory construction of the newspapers regarding femicide. The data obtained through the investigation led to insightful results. It is thought that the study will contribute to future studies. This research, which investigates the news production process as regards the construction of collective memory through femicide news, can be expanded by focusing on the consumption part of the news and the readers and taking the opinions of male journalists.



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Appendix A

1. How did you start your career? When you first started your career, you thought about what your journalism life would be like, were these expectations met?
2. How do you think journalism has changed from the past to the present?
How has the change in journalism affected your news production?
3. How do you measure credibility when creating news?
4. What comes to mind when you think of collective memory?
5. Can the profession of journalism contribute to the formation of collective memory?
6. When reporting a particular event, do you refer to similar events in the past?
7. Are the issues and problems related to women given the necessary priority and importance in your newspaper?
8. As a journalist, do you notice the issues and problems related to women in your news?
9. Do you write news about femicide or violence against women?
10. Do you think that ideological views affect news production in the news about social problems such as violence against women and femicide?
11. While writing the news of femicide, do you refer to similar murders in the past?
12. Do you agree with the idea that the language of the news is tabloidized to make the news of violence more remarkable? Do you think the news takes

more place in our collective memory in this way, or does it have the opposite effect?

13. What can a journalist do to build a collective memory of femicide?
14. What is the biggest obstacle for journalists to build a collective memory of femicide?

