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Newspaper coverage of intimate partner femicide in Italy

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ABSTRACT

The study sought to analyse how Italian newspapers portrayed intimate partner femicides (IPFs) in 2013, focusing on the three elements that make domestic violence media frames: victim blaming language, sources of information and context of the IPF. The study's aim was to verify whether the existing research findings, usually referring to American news media, apply to Italian newspapers as well; therefore, a summative content analysis, which begins with keywords or items derived from the literature, was conducted. The analysis of the portrayal of the victim and the perpetrator and the attribution of blame showed that victim blaming tactics were heavily used in the sample; also, six tactics which were not identified by previous research were found. The investigation of the sources cited in the articles demonstrated that personal sources were used more often than public sources and that Facebook and politicians, which were not found in previous studies, were also mentioned. The analysis of the context of the IPFs revealed that most of the articles did not portray the IPF within the problem of DV. Finally, the comparisons between national and local newspapers showed that national articles tended to be less victim blaming, to use public sources more often and to portray the IPF within a DV context more frequently than local articles. To sum up, the study proved that existing research findings about DV media frames cannot completely be applied to Italian newspapers.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an introduction to the study: it begins with the statement of the study's aims and objectives and an analysis of the background the research took place in, it moves on with a discussion on domestic violence terminology and the problem of femicide in Italy, and it concludes with the exposition of the four research questions and an overview of the organisation of the study.

Aims and objectives

The current study seeks to analyse how Italian newspapers portray intimate partner femicides (IPFs). First of all, the language used to describe victim and perpetrator will be explored, with particular attention to victim blaming and/or perpetrator excusing frames; secondly, the sources of information and their influence on the IPF portrayal will be taken into account; thirdly, the context the IPF is put in will be analysed, to examine whether a history of domestic violence (DV) is acknowledged; finally, a comparison between local and national newspapers will be made, to test whether there are any differences in language, sources of information and context. The study's aim is to verify whether the existing research findings, usually referring to American news media, apply to Italian newspapers as well.

Background

The media paid little attention to DV, defined as the abuse of women by their male partners, until the latter part of the 1970s, when the 'battered women movement' developed to help abused women. The movement had the merit of transforming wife beating 'from a subject of private shame and misery to an object of public concern' (Tierney 1982, 210), as it helped to increase public discussion, academic research and media attention given to DV. Intimate partner violence (IPV) comprises a wide range of acts, from verbal harassment and other forms of emotional abuse to daily physical or sexual abuse; at the far end of the spectrum is femicide, the murder of a woman.

   The news media play a vital role in the construction of social problems: they are not only a source of information, but they are also able of shaping society's perception of social issues. Since the battered women movement has its root in the

United States, most of the existing research on media coverage of DV analysed American news media. In particular, a huge gap in the literature about the topic has been identified in Italy, the researcher's native country. As moral panics about DV and IPF have developed in Italy since 2012 (Tartari 2015), the need has emerged to explore the way Italian newspapers portray these events. For this reason, the current study seeks to analyse the frames local and national Italian newspapers employed in 2013 when reporting IPFs; in order to do that, it will focus on the three elements media frames are made of: language, sources of information and context. More specifically, research related to IPF media coverage found that victim blaming language is very prominent in media reports of DV, which are usually provided by the police and fail to represent the event as the final act of a history of abuse (Bullock and Cubert 2002, Taylor 2009, Maddox 2010, Richards et al. 2011, Richards et al. 2013, Gillespie et al. 2013).

DV and terminology

'Intimate partner violence is one of the most common forms of violence against women and includes physical, sexual, and emotional abuse and controlling behaviours by an intimate partner' (WHO and PAHO 2012). In many countries, such as Italy, 'domestic violence' is used as a synonym of 'intimate partner violence', although it can also encompass abuse by and to any member of a household. This study will employ both the terms indifferently to indicate violence against women by a former or current partner/husband. The use of 'domestic violence' has been criticised by some researchers, who argue that it does not accurately portray the majority of the victims of DV, which are women: Lamb (1991) suggested that 'battered women' or 'battering men' would be a more effective way to describe the victim and the perpetrator, while Ferraro (2006) supported the use of 'violence against women' (VAW), which would be a more accurate term to describe the victims of DV.

The term 'femicide', which indicates the extreme form of DV, was first used in 1974 by the American writer Carol Orlock, who wrote an unpublished book called 'Femicide'. Two years later, it was first used in public by Diana Russell at the first International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women, which took place in Brussels. She defined it as 'the killings of females by males because they are females', using the word 'females' rather than 'women' to include baby girls and older girls. In 2004

Marcela Lagarde, a well-known Mexican feminist scholar, asked Diana Russell for permission to translate the term 'femicide' into Spanish as 'feminicidio'. It is on this translation that some Italian researchers (see for example Spinelli 2008) drew the word 'femminicidio', which is the most common term in Italy to describe this type of homicide, although a few number of scholars and activists prefer to use the term 'femicidio', drawn on the English 'femicide'. Russell's definition has not been accepted by all scholars: Dawson and Gartner (1998) defined it as the 'killing of a woman by a male intimate partner', Campbell and Runyon (1998) used the term to indicate 'all killings of women, regardless of perpetrator status', while Ellis and Dekesedery (1996) viewed the definition for femicide as 'the intentional killings of females by males'. This latter definition will be used in this study for the term 'femicide'; 'intimate partner femicide' will be employed to denote femicides committed by a current or former husband or boyfriend.

Femicide in Italy

The conflict between the traditional values of family and the Catholic Church and the values of global postmodernity is one of the main causes of IPV in Italy (Bartholini 2016). Until their abrogation in 1981, the two 'honour crimes' articles provided mild penalties for criminal acts (including homicide) committed against women because of the supposed necessity to protect one's honour (Gius and Lalli 2014). The term femicide first appeared in Italy in 2012, when it 'was used in a broader sense to refer to different situations ranging from abuse to murder' (Tartari 2015, 3). Concerns about femicide, and the consequent moral panic, were caused by the protests of the left-wing and feminist movements against the sexual scandals of the Prime Minister Berlusconi. While in 2006 Italian evening news programs were obsessed with immigrants as a danger for women and children (Giomi and Tonello 2013), by 2012 the focus shifted to IPV: the victims were not 'women in general', but women involved in intimate relationships, and the offenders were men who they had had a relationship with. This moral panic developed a link between media culture and femicide which was appropriated by politicians during
the 2012–2013 electoral campaign: it was in that period that the topic of VAW became central to the political discourse, which rapidly adopted the term 'femminicidio' (Bandelli and Porcelli 2016). Moreover, together with the need to fall in line with the other European countries, it led to an important development in the

legislation: in 2013 a new law was approved, which introduced more severe penalties against persecutory acts committed by the separated spouse (even if *de facto)*, or a person who is or has been linked to the victim by an emotional relationship. All European countries have a formal commitment in protecting women's human rights, as they ratified the most important treaties promoting the equality between men and women, and have in place national legislation and actions against VAW. However, Spinelli (2013) highlighted a lack of structural and long-term measures to properly address VAW, as most of the European countries do not address the underlying causes of discriminatory violence: only Spain adopted a holistic legislation that addresses both discrimination and VAW and provides not only for prosecution, including the creation of special courts, but also for preventive and supportive measures. Moreover, most European countries are not able to collect comparable data about VAW, IPV and femicide: at the moment, the most complete data collection instrument in use in Europe is the Finnish Homicide Monitoring System (FHMS), which allows in-depth research about femicide. Italy does not have official statistics about femicide: the most reliable data are those collected by EURES, a private research institute that started working on femicide in 2012. According to EURES, 2013 has been the worst year in Italy with regard to the number of killings of women, as 179 women were killed, 81 of whom by the hands of their partner/ex-partner (EURES 2014). In 2012, 157 femicides occurred, with 73 women murdered by their partner/ex-partner, while in 2014 there were 152 killings of women, 70 of whom were perpetrated by the actual or ex-partner (Table 1).

Table 1. Number of femicides and IPFs in Italy 2012-2014

	Femicides	*IPFs*
2012	157	73
2013	179	81
2014	152	70

Source: EURES 2014

Data about femicide have also been published every year since 2005 by a women's shelter situated in Bologna, called 'Casa delle donne' ('Women's house'). However, since their research is based on data available from the Italian press, it does not provide a complete list of femicide cases. In 2012, the press reported 126 out of 157 femicide cases (Ashton et al. 2013), in 2013 134 out of 179 (Crociati et al. 2014) and

in 2014 115 out of 152 (Bortolato et al. 2015). On the other hand, because they rely on the information given by the press, these reports offer a list of the names of the victims of femicide.

Research questions

This research addresses the following questions:

1. Which language did the articles use to portray the victim and perpetrator of IPFs? Did they blame the victim for her murder and/or excuse the perpetrator?

2. Which were the sources of information cited in the articles? How did they influence the portrayal of IPFs?

3. Which context did the articles put the IPFs in? Was a history of domestic violence acknowledged?

4. Are there any differences in language, sources of information and context between national and local newspapers?

Overview

The study is made of five chapters. After this introduction, Chapter 2 provides a literature review which offers a critical evaluation of previous research related to the topic: the chapter starts with a discussion on IPV and IPF and an examination of the theories that guided the study, feminist theory and social constructionism theory; it moves on with an analysis of the three components DV media frames are made of: victim blaming, sources of information, and context; finally, it considers the limitations of previous research and gives insight about the significance of the study. Chapter 3 provides a justification of the research methodology employed, giving attention to both the method used and the philosophy behind it. It includes four sections: a general overview about the methodological approach employed, an analysis of the data sources, a discussion about the method of analysis and an examination of the coding process. Chapter 4 presents the results of the study; it includes four sections which correspond to the four research questions: portrayal of victim/perpetrator and attribution of blame, sources of information cited in the articles, context cited for IPF and comparisons between local and national newspapers. Finally, Chapter 5 summarises the key points of the study and discusses

its results in relation to existing research. It also identifies the limitations of the study and provides recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides a literature review of the topic: first of all, a brief section about IPV and IPF gives a general picture of the problem, focusing on the risk factors identified by previous research; secondly, the theoretical framework offers an examination of the theories that guided the study, feminist theory and social constructionism theory; thirdly, an analysis of DV media frames and the three components they are made of (victim blaming language, sources of information and context) discusses IPF media coverage in more detail; finally, the chapter considers the limitations of previous research and gives insight about the significance of the study. The sections discussing IPV, IPF and feminist theory draw mainly on Dobash and Dobash's works, from their first to their last book (Dobash and Dobash 1979, 2015), while the part reviewing social constructionism theory and media portrayal of DV is based on Berger and Luckmann's (1966) and Berns' works (2004). In examining the three components of DV media frames, a number of key studies have been taken into account: some of them broadly addressed instances of DV, such as Bullock and Cubert's research (2002), while others focused specifically on femicide or femicide-suicide, for example Meyer's works (1994, 1997), Taylor's study (2009) and Maddox's follow-up research (2010), and the articles of Richards, Gillespie and Smith (Richards et al. 2011, Richards et al. 2013, Gillespie et al. 2013). As to the Italian context, Gius and Lalli's study (2014) is considered, since it is the only one focusing on IPF media coverage in Italy.

IPV and IPF

The literature about IPV identified a series of risk factors that includes the type of the relationship between victim and perpetrator, the childhood and adulthood of the perpetrator, and previous violence by the perpetrator to the victim (Dobash et al. 2009, Dobash and Dobash 2015). As to the type of relationship, it has been proved that cohabitation and serious dating relationships are related to a higher risk of homicide compared to marital relationships (Wilson and Daly 1998, Campbell et al. 2003, Dobash et al. 2007). A number of plausible explanations have been generated to explain this trend: Brownridge and Halli (2002) argue this is due to a lower security in cohabiting unions that 'may lead to higher level of compensatory domineering behaviour' (ibid. 345), while Shackleford and Mouzos (2005) think this is caused by the differences in demographic characteristics of the individuals in such

relationships, as people in cohabiting relationships tend to be younger and to have more limited resources than people in marital relationships. VAW has consistently been linked to the perpetrator's childhood: men who have witnessed or experienced DV when children are more likely to use violence against a woman in adulthood, and problems at school, a disruptive behaviour or a problematic personality have been linked to subsequent DV as well (Ehrensaft et al., 2003). However, it has to be noted that adversity in childhood is related to all types of offending, and therefore is not a distinct risk factor for DV (Dobash et al. 2007). As to the perpetrator's adulthood, problems such as alcohol and/or drug abuse, mental health problems and unemployment have been linked to DV (Campbell et al. 2003). Existing research revealed a continuity between IPV and intimate partner murder, even though the perpetrator had no previous convictions: Dobash, Dobash and Cavanagh (Dobash et al. 2009), for example, found that nearly half of the perpetrators without convictions had previously used violence toward the victim. This finding challenges the idea that the perpetrator is usually a conventional man living in an unproblematic and violent relationship, and that the femicide came 'out of the blue': rather, it means that he can be more accurately described as 'abuser turned murderer' (ibid. 216).

Theoretical framework

The current study seeks to examine media coverage of IPF through a feminist framework. Feminist theories argue that there is an asymmetry in the perpetration of IPV: as most feminist research demonstrates, lethal and non-lethal DV is overwhelmingly perpetrated by men against women (Dobash and Dobash 1979, Daly and Wilson 1988, Dobash et al. 1992, Wilson and Daly 1992, Kurz 1993, Dobash and Dobash 2004). The asymmetry in IPV comes from an inequitable power in relationships within the family, the workplace and the community: DV is reflective of a larger patriarchal structure that functions to subordinate women, and our social institutions perpetuate gender inequalities which reinforce the patriarchal view that male domination over women is normal. As Croteau and Hoynes pointed out, 'the inequality that women still face in society as a whole is clearly reflected in the unequal treatment women receive in the media' (Croteau and Hoynes 1997, 149): the patriarchal roots of society are clearly reinforced through the use of victim blaming language, which supports the idea that women are the subordinate sex (Meyers 1997). Since the way the media represents DV has a great influence on how this

social problem is constructed, another important framework for the current study is social constructionism. Social construction theory posits that 'reality is socially constructed' (Berger and Luckmann 1966, 13): language and the ability to communicate through the production of signs are a determining factor in the organisation of the social world, since they order the world into objects that are in turn 'apprehended' or seen as reality. The news media play a vital role in the construction of social problems: when private troubles are understood as exemplifying a larger social problem, the media have the ability to invest them with a broader meaning and make them available for public consumption (Sacco 1995).

Media portrayal of DV

As Berns argues, 'most people who have no firsthand experience with social problems use the media as their main source of information' (Berns 2004, 36). People who use the media to get information about DV know more about the victim, but continue to hold her as responsible for solving the problem. The media are not only a significant source of information, but also have the ability to construct the public experience with social problems. In particular, 'professional judgements of newsworthiness and the selective use of news sources allow some groups, rather than others, the possibility to express a view about what is and what is not a problem and how any such problem should be managed' (Sacco 1995, 145-46). In her interviews with nine local journalists in the Atlanta metropolitan area, Meyers (1997) found that unusualness was a guiding principle in the determination of coverage, together with the number of people affected, the number likely to be interested and the timeliness of an event. However, what gets covered is also a function of what police think should be covered: since police are the primary source of information in crime reporting, 'crime news provided by police officers with whom reporters have established a working relationship tend to reflect the views, assumptions, and opinions of the police' (Meyers 1997, 92).

The society's understanding of social issues is shaped by different frames, which can be defined as 'prepackaged social constructions that function as fully developed templates for understanding a given social phenomenon' (Gillespie et al. 2013, 4). Media frames are often shaped by three components: language, sources of information and context (Taylor 2009, Maddox 2010, Richards et al. 2011, Richards et al. 2013, Gillespie et al. 2013). With regard to DV, the media framing literature

has highlighted that 'the language used in a story plays a key role in both how the actors are portrayed and how they will be perceived by readers' (Taylor 2009, 25). In particular, media reports of DV tend to use a positive language to describe the perpetrator and to provide him with an excuse for his actions, while the victim is often depicted in a negative way and blamed for her murder (Meyers 1997, Bullock and Cubert 2002, Taylor 2009, Maddox 2010, Richards et al. 2011, Richards et al. 2013, Gillespie et al. 2013). The sources of information for DV cases have been usually divided into three categories: public sources, especially police; personal sources, such as neighbours, friends and family members; DV experts (Taylor 2009, Richards et al. 2011). It has been well established that, in regard to crime news, police are the primary source of information and as a result their opinion influences the framing of criminal events (Meyers 1997, Bullock and Cubert 2002, Taylor 2009, Heeren and Messing 2009, Maddox 2010, Richards et al. 2011, Richards et al. 2013). In the examination of the context, prior literature has revealed that journalists usually fail to represent the event within the broader social issue of DV, portraying the IPF as an isolated event or as just another homicide (Bullock and Cubert 2002, Taylor 2009, Maddox 2010, Richards et al. 2011, Richards et al. 2013, Gillespie et al. 2013). Since its aim is to verify whether those existing research findings, usually referring to American news media, apply to Italian newspapers as well, the current study will analyse each of these components and provide a comparison of their use between local and national newspapers.

<center>Victim blame</center>

Meyer's research (1994) was the first one to reveal the presence of a dichotomy of victim blame in news coverage of IPF. The textual analysis conducted on two articles published in 1990 in the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* about the femicide-suicide case of Wanda and Dennis Walters showed that the authors managed to discredit the victim with both direct and indirect victim blaming tactics. Wanda's murder was depicted as the product of individual pathology rather than the logical result of the systematic oppression of women, as Dennis's mental state and spontaneous reaction were given as a rationale and excuse for his actions. Since Dennis's pathology was represented as the reason for the murder, Wanda became the only one who was in control of the situation: if things got out of hand, it was her fault. Meyer's study was conducted on two articles only, therefore it is an exploration into a specific case of

media coverage of IPF which cannot be representative; however, her dichotomy of victim blame was empirically supported by Taylor (2009), who conducted a content analysis of 292 articles published in *The Orlando Sentinel* from 1995 to 2000. She found that direct victim blaming tactics included using a negative language to describe the victim, highlighting her decision not to report and/or prosecute past incidences, and focusing on her actions with other men, while indirect tactics involved using a positive language to describe the perpetrator, highlighting the victim's or the perpetrator's mental or physical problems, discussing the couple's financial despair and assigning equal blame to both the victim and the perpetrator. In 2010, Maddox (2010) replicated this study conducting a content analysis of 198 articles published in *The Orlando Sentinel* from 2004 to 2009, and compared her results to Taylor's findings. The same victim blaming tactics were found; however, she noted an increase in the percentages of articles describing the victim in a positive manner (from 9% to 34%) and the perpetrator in a negative manner (from 14% to 67%). This is a particularly relevant finding, since a change in the use of language can assist in placing responsibility of IPF on the perpetrator. Moreover, in Richards et al.'s (2011) content analysis of 995 articles representing 299 IPF cases that occurred across the state of North Carolina over a six-year period (2002-2007), the discussion of infidelity preceding the IPF was surprisingly found to be quite rare. Again, this is fundamental to bring the focus back on the perpetrator, since the dominant focus of popular media discussing DV is on the victim (Berns 2004). This has its roots in the battered women movement, whose activists emphasised the need for women to end abuse, and not to hold the abusers responsible. Since media turned to those activists for information about this new problem, their coverage also focused on victims. While victimization was initially designed to absolve victims from responsibility, to identify the sources of harm and to specify help for the victim, in the popularised use of victimization the victim is the person held most responsible for solving the problem, the male abuser is obscured and power is defined as a personal choice, ignoring its political and social dimensions.

<div align="center">Sources of articles</div>

As several studies highlighted (Meyers 1997, Bullock and Cubert 2002, Taylor 2009, Maddox 2010, Richards et al. 2011, Richards et al. 2013, Gillespie et al. 2013), police are the primary source for crime information. Reliance on a report created by

the official source has two main advantages for reporters: it is a cost-effective way to collect potential stories and allows reporters to cloak themselves in objectivity, as the police are highly credible in the eyes of the public. As a consequence, news workers are reluctant to criticise the police, fearing of losing access to them in the future, so that any failures on the part of the police are unlikely to be reported (Heeren and Messing 2009). The media reliance on the police, defined by Websdale and Alvarez (as cited in Heeren and Messing 2009, 207) 'forensic journalism', works for IPFs as well. In this case, this can be particular problematic because the police's opinions are commonly grounded in patriarchal attitudes that are biased against female victims (Heeren and Messing 2009). The overuse of police as source of information, or the 'police frame' (Bullock and Cubert 2002), is considered to misrepresent the broader social problem of DV. Adhering to the 'just the facts' approach, it fails to present IPF as the culmination of a history of DV; therefore, DV fatalities are considered isolated incidents that only happen to certain types of people, coming from different cultures or from a low social class. The second source of information is usually represented by friends, family and coworkers (Meyers 1997, Bullock and Cubert 2002, Taylor 2009, Maddox 2010, Richards et al. 2011, Richards et al. 2013, Gillespie et al. 2013), who may know more about the relationship, but are unlikely to cite a history of past abuse, since victims of DV often choose not to report and take great measure to conceal the presence of violence (Taylor 2009). Finally, DV experts and advocates, who are the most qualified informants, are undercited in news coverage of DV (Bullock and Cubert 2002, Taylor 2009); however, when a DV advocate is used, there are usually multiple quotations and the information is thorough and useful to put the individual incident in the context of DV as a larger social problem rather than a private issue (Maddox 2010).

<u>IPF as a private issue</u>

Media portrayal of DV is largely responsible for the public's view of the problem: as most of the studies demonstrated (Bullock and Cubert 2002, Taylor 2009, Richards et al. 201, Gillespie et al. 2013), since media are more likely to represent DV as a private issue, society struggles to understand that it is rather a social problem that needs social intervention. Bullock and Cubert (2002) found that only 2.6% of their sample indicated that the case involved DV; moreover, they pinpointed two relevant frames in this respect: a frame indicating that the people involved were different, and

a frame implying that perpetrators are not normal and should be easily identifiable. The first frame indicated that DV only happens to certain types of people, especially those coming from different cultures or from a low social class. Those people are often referred to as 'troublemakers' even before the incident, because of their involvement with drugs and/or alcohol or their criminal past. Thus, perpetrators of DV should be easily identifiable, since they belong to a certain type of person. Gillespie et al. (2013) were able to find two additional frames among the articles in their sample that did not define the event as DV: a frame minimising the event focusing on a broader issue, especially health, since it was primarily used in cases involving an elderly couple, and a frame indicating a loss of control by the perpetrator. While in Gillespie et al.'s study (2013) the loss of control frame was found to be relatively rare (7% of the sample), Gius and Lalli (2014) showed that this was the most pervasive strategy used in the Italian press to explain the circumstances that lead to IPF, as 61% of the sample indicated a loss of control which was usually framed as a 'raptus', a word commonly used in the journalistic jargon to denote an outburst of violence. The loss of control frame was very often coupled with a dimension of romantic love: the IPF was usually explained as the result of a sudden impulse caused by the inability of the perpetrator to accept the partner's decision to end the relationship. The combination of these two frames reinforces the common understanding that IPFs can occur in the presence of love, and that they are difficult to predict and therefore arduous to prevent. Moreover, as Smith demonstrated in her study (2012), the focus on the presence or absence of male love influences the amount of attention the victim perspective receives: if the killer appeared unloving, the victim voice becomes more evident through her family and friends, even though it is often marginalised to appear as 'emotional comment'; on the other hand, the fact that he loved the victim in a particular way or was a proper husband mitigates his violence.

IPF as a social issue

Even though most of the articles analysed in various studies failed to present IPFs within the context of DV, those which did presented some different and positive characteristics. Richards et al.'s study (2011) showed that articles employing a framework of DV included contact information for local domestic shelters and noted messages from the victim's friends and family to other victims of DV. Moreover,

they placed some of the blame for the IPF on the criminal justice system: multiple articles referred to the victim's failed attempts to obtain help from the police, others blamed the uselessness of protective orders, and oftentimes the victim's friends and family members' frustration with the criminal justice system's response to DV was reported. Gillespie et al. (2013), conducting a frame analysis on the articles that did define the IPF as DV, were able to identify an important frame that did not appear in previous research: DV as a social problem. These articles not only employed a framework of DV, but also defined it as a social problem, talking about its pervasiveness, using domestic advocates as sources, discussing the current mechanisms that help protect victims of DV and including information for readers who may be in an abusive relationship. The victim's experiences were accurately portrayed, and the complexity of DV was explained by experts, who acknowledged that if a victim is not safe if she stays, she is even less safe if she tries to leave. Considering IPF as the deadly end to DV, which is not an individual problem, but a community problem, suggests that the traditional portrayal of DV as an individual issue is changing.

<u>Limitations of previous research</u>

The studies cited had different limitations, first of all a focus on the United States and a limited generalisability to other countries: even though they analysed DV and IPF coverage in different countries of the United States, such as North Carolina (Richards et al. 2011, Richards et al. 2013, Gillespie et al. 2013), Florida (Taylor 2009, Maddox 2010) and Washington State (Bullock and Cubert 2002), most of the literature on the topic refers to the United States context, while there is a lack of research in other countries. In particular, the three studies relating to North Carolina are likely to be influenced by the strong presence of the North Carolina Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCCADV), which limits generalisability to other states, especially those with little DV activism. Second, some of them only analysed one newspaper, such as *The Orlando Sentinel* in Taylor's (2009) and Maddox's studies (2010): despite the articles were written by reporters all over Florida, the attitudes of reporters and editors and the political thinking of the newspaper must be taken into account. Third, a few studies only analysed 1-year coverage (Bullock and Cubert 2002, Gius and Lalli 2014), limiting generalisability to other time spans. Fourth, almost all studies had some missing cases (Taylor 2009, Maddox 2010, Richards et

al. 2011, Richards et al. 2013, Gillespie et al. 2013). Finally, existing research chose to analyse either local or national newspapers: Taylor (2000) opted for local newspapers because national newspapers only cover the most remarkable femicide cases, while Gius and Lalli (2014) decided to analyse three Italian national newspapers, since it is important to explore how they depict DV not just as news of local interest but also as a nationally significant issue.

<u>Significance of the study</u>

The current study seeks to expand our knowledge about media coverage of IPF in Italy: since most of the existing literature refers to the United States, it is important to analyse how the media report DV in other countries. The choice of the Italian context as the subject matter of the study is first of all due to the nationality of the researcher. Moreover, a huge gap in the literature was identified: to date, the only research on this topic is Gius and Lalli's study (2014), which analysed 166 articles referring to 53 IPF cases published in three major national Italian newspapers in 2012. Gius and Lalli's study is the first of this kind conducted on the Italian press, 'providing important context for the discussion of the different ways in which violence against women, in general, and femicide, in particular, are represented in this context' (Gius and Lalli 2014, 59). The current study represents a follow-up research which will extend Gius and Lalli's study and will address its limitations. First of all, it will analyse a greater sample of articles; secondly, it will consider a more significant year, not only because of the higher number of IPFs, but also because of the impact the media representation of IPF had on the legislation; finally, while Gius and Lalli only took three national newspapers into account, this study will look both at national and local newspapers, exploring whether there are any differences in the reporting of IPFs. More important, Gius and Lalli analysed the frames employed to explain the crime without taking into account the three elements they are made of: victim blaming language, sources of information and context.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides a justification of the research methodology employed, giving attention to both the method used and the philosophy behind it. It includes four sections: a general overview about the methodological approach employed, an analysis of the data sources, a discussion about the method of analysis and an examination of the coding process.

Methodological approach

First of all, the use of victim blaming language will be taken into account to explore whether the articles employed victim blaming tactics and, if so, whether they used direct or indirect tactics. Secondly, the study will investigate the sources of information cited in the articles to determine the role of police, friends and/or family members, and DV advocates in the reporting of the IPF. Thirdly, the investigation will focus on the context the IPF is placed in to find out whether the articles portrayed it as a private or a social issue. Finally, the study will compare national and local newspaper articles to explore whether there are any differences in the use of victim blaming language, sources of information and context of the IPF.

Data sources

Berns (2004) indicates that people often consider newspapers as more reliable than television, even though television is the most popular medium to get information from. For this reason, the current study seeks to understand how Italian newspapers portray DV. While previous research chose to analyse either national or local newspapers, this study takes into account both of them. On the one hand, it is important to examine how national newspapers depict DV not just as news of local interest, but also as a nationally significant issue, enhancing the understanding of the agenda setting in the news-making journalistic process at national level. On the other hand, DV crimes are more likely to be reported in the local news, since they are usually deemed of local interest (Meyers 1997), and 'national media, covering only the most egregious or unusual DV murder cases, would be a less reliable arena in which to evaluate coverage' (Ryan et al. 2006, 217). Moreover, this study will compare the portrayal of IPFs in national and local newspapers, to explore whether there are any differences in the use of victim blaming language, the sources of information and the context the IPF is placed in. The bulk of the cases for the current

study has been drawn on the list compiled by Crociati et al. (2014) that included 134 women killed in Italy in 2013. As the study focuses on IPFs, it only took into account the 77 women who have been killed by their partner/ex-partner. Since in 2013 81 women were murdered by their current or former partner, four cases were not reported in the Italian press. A news article search has been performed using Google News; the choice of Google News over LexisNexis, which is the most widely used news archive in the social sciences, was due to the fact that it includes both national and local newspapers, while LexisNexis only provides five national Italian newspapers as 'general news sources'. It is acknowledged that there is a significant diversity in the printed and online press: for example, truncations of articles and mistakes in capturing headlines may introduce error into studies of news content; however, this error is not large and it does not necessarily bias results systematically (Weaver and Bimber 2008). The name and surname of the victim were searched using the day of the IPF as the starting date; only articles referring to the event were taken into account, excluding news about the victim's funeral and the perpetrator's conviction. Blog entries were not considered, and the research sought to include at least one national and one local newspaper article. There was great diversity in the amount of reporting, as some cases received more attention than others, especially when the victim was an Italian young girl; when the victim was an elder woman or a foreigner, it was difficult to gain much information: in one case the victim was 'a Romanian woman', whose name was not reported. This search produced a sample of 193 articles referring to 77 women killed by their partner/ex-partner; 125 of them were local newspaper articles, 68 were national newspaper articles.

<div align="center">Method of analysis</div>

In accordance with social constructionism, which represents one of the theoretical frameworks of the study, constructivist epistemology plays an important role in qualitative content analysis. Constructivist epistemology posits that knowledge is situated and relative, and that there are multiple realities based on people's varied interpretative constructions and categories. Latent content may not be immediately evident to all readers, and differences in interpretations are inevitable; however, what is important is to make explicit how and why interpretations were made. A content analysis has been performed, which is 'any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages'

(Holsri as cited in Berg 2004, 240). More specifically, a summative content analysis (Hsieh and Shannon 2015) has been chosen, which involves a quantitative and a qualitative phase. The choice of a summative content analysis over conventional and directed content analysis (Hsieh and Shannon 2015) lies with the coding process: while conventional and directed content analysis starts with observation and theory respectively, summative content analysis begins with keywords or items. In the first phase the manifest content, which includes 'those elements that are physically present and countable' (Berg 2004, 242), is examined: data analysis begins with searches for occurrences of certain words or contents in order to understand their contextual use; this quantification is as attempt not to infer meaning but to explore usage. Rather than analysing the data as a whole, summative content analysis approaches the text as single words or in relation to particular content. Since the aim of the study is to verify whether existing research findings concerning victim blaming language, sources of information and context apply to Italian newspapers as well, starting with items derived from the review of the literature seems the most reasonable approach. First of all, statements showing that the victim was to blame and/or that the perpetrator had an excuse have been identified and quantified; secondly, the frequency of use of various sources has been examined; finally, the context of the IPF has been explored by looking at terms indicating a private issue or a social problem. In the second phase the latent content, which is 'the deep structural meaning conveyed by the message' (Berg 2004, 242), is taken into account, as the analysis of the patterns leads to an interpretation of the contextual meaning of single words or content. The analysis of the articles has been conducted through NVivo, which has been chosen because it comes with a web browser extension, NCapture, that allows to capture the articles and import them into the software. Each article was captured, imported to Nvivo and assigned to the case folder; the cases were in turn divided by month. Then, the articles were assigned to the 'national newspapers' and the 'local newspapers' sets.

Coding

Each article, rather than each case, was analysed as a separate unit: using the article as the unit of analysis allows to more accurately represent the frequency of news frames, and acknowledges that the audience may not read all the articles relating to one case (Fairbairn and Dawson 2013). For example, on three articles concerning the

same IPF case, only one may include victim blaming frames; being the case the unit of analysis, it would either have to be coded as including (because of the presence) or as not including (because the majority of articles did not) victim blaming frames. The coding scheme was adapted from past research examining news coverage of IPF; therefore, it was primarily deductive, as certain keywords and themes were identified beforehand. However, there was also an inductive element, since certain keywords and themes that had not been anticipated based on prior research emerged through the research process. Each article was read for content relating to victim blaming language, sources of information, and context of IPF. Victim blaming language was divided into two categories: direct tactics, which were specifically aimed at blaming the victim for the IPF, and indirect tactics, which provided excuses for the perpetrator. Direct tactics included using a negative language to portray the victim and/or mentioning: victim's decision not to report or prosecute, victim's actual or suspected infidelity, victim's use of alcohol and/or drugs, perpetrator's criminal past, victim's abuse of perpetrator, victim's underestimation of danger and victim precipitation. Indirect tactics involved using a positive language to describe the perpetrator, representing the IPF as accidental and/or mentioning: perpetrator's and/or victim's physical or mental problems, money issues, perpetrator's use of alcohol and/or drugs, perpetrator's inability to accept the end of the relationship. The sources of information were divided into public and personal sources: the first group included investigators/police, coroners, judges, perpetrator's and victim's lawyers, public prosecutors and politicians; the second group encompassed community members/acquaintances/neighbours, perpetrator, perpetrator's coworkers/family/friends, victim's coworkers/family/friends/ex-partners, victim's and perpetrator's children/friends/relatives, pastors and witnesses. Finally, the context of the IPF was coded as 'DV/social problem' when the article presented the IPF within the broader social problem of DV, and as 'NO DV/private problem' when the IPF was depicted as a crime of passion or as the consequence of an argument between victim and perpetrator and/or of the perpetrator's loss of control. At the end of this analysis, a comparison between national and local newspapers was conducted with regard to each node to explore differences in the use of victim blaming language, sources of information and context.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

This chapter presents the results of the study. It includes four sections which correspond to the four research questions: portrayal of victim/perpetrator and attribution of blame, sources of information cited in the articles, context cited for IPF and comparisons between local and national newspapers. The two phases of the summative content analysis, quantitative and qualitative analysis, are merged under these four themes: the quantitative findings are presented and then provided with context by discussing the qualitative results.

Portrayal of victim/perpetrator and attribution of blame

Victim blaming language was divided into two categories: direct tactics, which were specifically aimed at blaming the victim for the IPF, and indirect tactics, which provided excuses for the perpetrator. 123 articles were found to use victim blaming tactics (63.7%); more specifically, 53 articles (27.5%) blamed the victim, while 102 (52.8%) provided an excuse for the perpetrator. These tactics and the frequency of their use is detailed in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Victim blaming tactics

Victim blaming tactics	N	% total sample (N = 193)
Direct	53	27.5
Victim's actual/suspected infidelity	22	11.4
Victim's decision not to report/prosecute	21	10.8
Victim's precipitation	11	5.7
Victim's abuse of perpetrator	8	4.1
Perpetrator's criminal past	4	2
Victim's underestimation of danger	3	1.5
Victim's use of alcohol/drugs	2	1
Negative language victim	1	0.5
Indirect	102	52.8
Separation/divorce	28	14.5
Money	27	14
Perpetrator's problems	20	10.3
Victim's problems	18	9.3
Positive language perpetrator	17	8.8
Accident	9	4.6
Perpetrator's use of alcohol/drugs	8	4.1
Victim's personality	2	1
Perpetrator called victim	1	0.5

As highlighted in Table 2 above, the most often used direct tactic was mentioning the victim's actual or suspected infidelity (11.4%). In some cases, the victim started a new relationship with another man, who was often wounded by the perpetrator during the IPFs: during the murder of Giovanna Longo, for example, Luigi Avarello, who was shot, 'had a relationship with the victim immediately after she left her husband' (25/06/2013[1]). However, this happened with the victim's alleged lover as well: Marco Loiola, before killing her ex-wife Cristina Biagi, shot six times and wounded 'the man he considered the cause of their marital crisis' (28/07/2013), Salvatore Gualdiero, who was a friend of Cristina's. The second most used victim blaming tactic was mentioning the victim's decision not to report and/or prosecute past incidents (10.8%). Sometimes, the victim turned to the police to ask for help, but did not press charges eventually: for example, Marta Deligia, murdered in Cagliari by her ex-partner Giuseppe Pintus, asked the Carabinieri[2] for advice because he started tailing her, but did not want to press charges. In another case, the IPF was preceded by an argument where the perpetrator, Franco Capone, threatened his ex-wife Erika Frida Ciurlia with an axe; the police intervened, but could not convince her to press charges against him. This tactic was often coupled with another one mentioning the victim's underestimation of danger and her decision to meet the perpetrator one last time: in one article an investigator was cited, who said: 'Maybe, as other women did before, Lucia underestimated the dangerousness of her ex-partner, she did not report him on time. Finally, she accepted to have dinner with him: a choice that marked her end' (12/08/2013). In another case, the public prosecutor said: 'We believe the victim did not understand the dangerousness of her ex-husband, since they continued to see each other, especially for the sake of their daughters' (29/07/2013). In 11 articles (5.7%), the victim was blamed for precipitating the violence: for example, Jamila Assafa was murdered after blaming her husband for treating her badly in front of their relatives, Fabiana Luzzi, a 16-year-old girl, was stabbed and burned alive by her 17-year-old partner after trying to assault him, and Rosa Graziani was shot by her husband after seeing him with a gun and saying: 'What are you doing with that gun, do you want to kill yourself?' (4/09/2013). The victim was also blamed for abusing the perpetrator in eight articles: in one case, the victim blackmailed her husband asking him for 8000 euros not to

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[1] When an article is cited, it is mentioned by the date of its publication, since most of the times the author did not appear. See Appendix A for a chronological list of those articles and Appendix B for original quotations.
[2] The national gendarmerie of Italy.

reveal some residence permits related to fictitious jobs. More often, the victim was described as humiliating the perpetrator: for example, Francesca Milano was murdered by her partner because she told him he was a loser. In one case, the couple's daughter explicitly said: 'This is not a femicide. My mom oppressed him [the father]' (17/09/2013). In four articles, the perpetrator's criminal past was used to blame the victim for staying with him: referring to Alessandra Iacullo's partner, who had an 18-year sentence for voluntary manslaughter, the author of an article said: 'Wasn't Alessandra afraid of such a man, who committed a murder in the same area?' (10/05/2013). In another case, the perpetrator had a 4-year sentence for sexual abuse. The victim's use of alcohol and/or drugs was only found in two articles referring to the same case, where both the victim and the perpetrator were used to drinking. A negative language to describe the victim was used in one article, where the perpetrator's lawyer believed the victim harmed herself; moreover, the victim had four Facebook accounts, where posts that exalted the devil could be found. According to the perpetrator's lawyer, the victim had gothic clothes, knives, an axe and 'a picture where she was near the wall with a sinister shadow that could be attributed to the devil' (24/09/2013a).

The most often used tactic to indirectly blame the victim was mentioning the perpetrator's inability to accept the end of the relationship (14.5%): 28 articles reported that the perpetrator 'did not accept' or 'could not deal with' it. The second most often used indirect tactic was mentioning money problems (14%): in most of the cases, the couple had economic problems; however, seven articles mentioned the couple's financial disparity: for example, one article said 'Antonia kept her job, while Mustafa had been unemployed for a year, and this had worsened his despair' (19/01/2013). Four articles mentioned the perpetrator's economic difficulties because of the separation: for example, Maria Pia Vigoni and her ex-husband 'had been arguing for a long time because of economic issues related to the separation' (17/09/2013). Mentioning the perpetrator's problems was another frequent indirect victim blaming tactic (10.3%); some articles referred to the perpetrator's problematic family situation: Fabiana Luzzi's 17-year-old partner, for example, had a difficult family situation, since his father, who was on the dole, and his mother, who was a housewife, were separated but living together. Moreover, another article mentioned a community member who said: 'He was very jealous, but you have to understand him: he had a difficult situation at home. Because his mother has a relationship with a municipality director. He had to deal with this betrayal publicly. The whole town

knows that' (27/05/2013a). However, in most of the cases, the perpetrator had mental health problems, especially depression, which could be caused by the victim's illness: 18 articles mentioned the victim's problems, both physical and mental, that contributed to depict the IPF as a mercy killing. For example, Marcello Rigodanzo, 83 years old, killed her wife, Adriana Carolo, 79 years old, who suffered from Alzheimer, and said: 'Now she won't suffer anymore […] Now she is finally in peace. I couldn't bear to see her like that. I couldn't do this anymore' (5/03/2013). It is especially in those cases that a positive language to describe the perpetrator could be found: Marcello Rigodanzo, for example, was defined as 'always present, thoughtful and affectionate' (ibid.). However, a positive language was also found when the IPF was not a mercy killing: the perpetrator was often described as a hard worker, a good father, educated, kind and quiet. Nine articles reported that the IPF was an accident: oftentimes the perpetrator said he did not want to kill the victim; in one case, the perpetrator, who strangled the victim, said he hugged her too tight, while Rosa Graziani's husband, who shot her after she asked 'What are you doing with that gun, do you want to kill yourself?', said they were joking. The perpetrator's use of alcohol and/or drugs was found in eight articles: most of the times, the perpetrator was drunk when he killed the victim. Sometimes, the perpetrator was excused mentioning the victim personality; one article said: 'A very active woman. Maybe this annoyed a man who couldn't rise to the occasion' (17/07/2013), while another article: 'Her husband didn't tolerate her personality' (11/07/2013). Finally, in one article Fabiana Luzzi's mother said that Fabiana's partner was a poor victim too.

<div align="center">Sources of information cited in the articles</div>

Personal sources were used more often than public ones (66.8% compared to 60%), even though the most frequently used source included Carabinieri, investigators and the police. These sources and the frequency of their use is detailed in Table 3 below.

Table 3. Sources of articles

	Total sample (N = 193)	
Sources	N	%

Personal	129	66.8
Victim's family/friends/coworkers/ex-partners	45	23.3
Perpetrator	42	21.7
Community members/acquaintances/neighbours	36	18.6
Victims and perpetrator's friends/relatives	22	11.3
Perpetrator's family/friends/coworkers	12	6.2
Facebook	9	4.6
Witnesses	9	4.6
Pastors	4	2
Other	3	1.5
Public	116	60
Carabinieri/investigators/police	87	45
Politicians	20	10.3
Perpetrator's lawyer	15	7.7
Coroners	14	7.2
Public prosecutor	11	5.6
Victim's lawyer	3	1.5
Judge	3	1.5
Doctors	2	1
Multiple	7	3.6
DV experts	3	1.5

As showed in Table 3 above, the victim's family, friends, coworkers and ex-partners (23.3%) were the most cited personal sources. They usually provided a positive portrayal of the victim, but sometimes they also described the perpetrator positively and expressed their distress at the event: for example, a colleague of Stefania's Maritano said: 'Her husband was a reserved and introverted person. What happened […] is unbelievable. I can't explain it' (11/10/2013). On the other hand, the victim's family usually blamed the criminal justice system, reporting that the victim had pressed charges against the perpetrator or that the police knew about the situation. In the case of Erika Frida Ciurlia, who had been threatened with an axe by her ex-husband Franco Capone but did not press charges against him, her brother said: 'He had to be stopped before […]. When he threatened my sister with an axe in May no provision was made' (31/07/2013). Sometimes the victim's family also justified the victim: Erika Frida Ciurlia's brother, for example, explained: 'My sister had been different times to her ex-husband's house since they separated. After 25 years of marriage it's not easy to end up a relationship overnight' (ibid.). The perpetrator was the second most often used personal source (21.7%); he usually explained why he killed the victim or gave details about the murder: most of the times, he said he did not want to kill the victim or he killed her after a raptus, a loss of control or an

outburst of rage. Fabiana Luzzi's partner said she was still alive when he burned her, while Cinzia Agnoletti's partner described the murder as an escalation of violence: he first strangled her bare-handed, then with the lace of a rolling shutter, with a pillow and with a bag on her head. Community members, acquaintances and neighbours (18.6%), and the couple's friends and relatives (11.3%) usually knew about past violence between the victim and the perpetrator, especially if they lived closed to them, but most of the times they said they could not imagine he could do such a thing. Victim and perpetrator were usually described as normal, quiet and reserved people, who did not have any particular problems. Another personal source was used which did not appear in previous studies, Facebook (4.6%). The social network was usually used to gain information about the victim and the perpetrator, and to explore whether there was any sign on it suggesting what he was going to do. In the case of Cristina Biagi, who was shot six times by her husband, one article said: 'Even the perpetrator's Facebook account showed disturbing scenarios. In his last post, this morning at around 9, a few hours before killing his wife, Marco cited Bob Marley […]. And beside: I forgive a lot but not everything! I forget immediately, but not always! I don't harbour bitterness but I hate who fools me!' (28/07/2013). In other cases, Facebook did not show anything that could suggest what was going to happen: Chiara Di Vita's husband, who was a security guard and shot her wife six times, 'did not leave any messages but last Wednesday he posted the last pictures which did not foretell what would happen a few hours later: him and his son laying on a lawn with a ball' (3/05/2013). Moreover, he wrote he was a pontifical collaborator, and posted many pictures of their meetings with Pope Bergoglio right after his election.

Carabinieri, investigators and police were by far the most often used public sources (45%). Reported speech was usually used: 'According to the police' and different variations were frequently employed to introduce their opinion. This category was found to be especially victim blaming: they usually explained the victim did not press charges against the perpetrator and in one case, an investigator was cited, who said that the victim underestimated the dangerousness of her ex-partner, and she also accepted to have dinner with him, marking her end. In another case, the General of the Carabinieri explained why it took so long to notify the mandatory removal to the perpetrator: 'It is a measure that must be followed by explanations […] It cannot be sent as a fine, or it may have a trigger effect' (24/09/2013b). The second most used public source, which was not identified by

previous research, were politicians (10.3%). Both local and national politicians were cited, who expressed their distress at the event but also portrayed the IPF within the context of DV: for example, the President of Lazio Nicola Zingaretti defined DV as a 'social plague characterised by a men's prevarication of women that can flow into femicide' (19/04/2013), while the President of the Regional Council of Puglia Onofrio Introna said 'femicide is an intolerable social wound that must be stopped' (29/12/2013). National politicians participated as well: the President of the Chamber of Deputies Laura Boldrini said the murder of Fabiana Luzzi was 'violence disguised as love' (27/05/2013b), and 'no violence can be destroyed until the relationship between man and woman will not get rid of concepts as subalternity and possession' (ibid.). The perpetrator's lawyers were employed four times more than the victim's ones (7.7% compared to 1.5%) and did not use victim blaming language frequently. Apart from the case of Ilaria Pagliarulo, who was defined as part of a Satanic cult by her partner's lawyer, they usually described the perpetrator as shocked, upset and desperate. They also excused him mentioning his mental illness and defining the IPF as a raptus. The victim's lawyers, cited in only three articles, talked about the couple's past and encouraged the perpetrator to shed light on the dynamics of the murder. A final category of public sources was identified, which consisted of medical professionals: coroners or the autopsy reports (7.2%) were mentioned to examine the dynamics of the murder, while the doctors who tried to save the victim or collateral victims of the IPF (1%) gave details about the victim's last moments or about the collateral victim's condition. DV experts were only mentioned in three articles (1.5%), providing context for the IPF: one of them said

> 'Motivations are always insufficient, they don't even deserve to be taken into account. Because nothing can explain or justify such a carnage. But this continuous violence against women needs a far larger space in the civil debate, because, there's no point in denying it, this is about actions that, despite representing only criminal behaviours, don't receive the absolute social condemnation they deserve. […] Femicide is a social, but first of all cultural issue. And sometimes it serves the indifference of who sees elements of aggression towards women and doesn't intervene' (17/07/2013).

One article also provided contact information for the 'Telefono rosa' association and statistics about femicide.

Most of the articles did not portray the IPF within the problem of DV (63.7%). Only 79 articles (41%) contextualised the murder as the final act of a history of abuse. The contexts of the IPFs and the frequency of their use is detailed in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Context of IPF

Context	N	% total sample (N = 193)
NO DV	123	63.7
Crime of passion	65	33.6
Argument	48	24.8
Raptus/loss of control/rage	31	16
No problems	25	13
Despair	10	5.1
DV	79	41
Past problems	65	33.6
Criminal justice system	17	8.8
Commonplace	13	6.7
DV contextualised	12	6.2
Femicide law	3	1.5

As demonstrated in Table 4 above, when a history of DV was not acknowledged, the IPF was usually depicted as a crime of passion (33.6%). Most of the times the perpetrator was jealous or could not accept or deal with the separation. Some articles talked explicitly about love: for example, one article said 'The tragedy of another desperate love' (15/01/2013), and the perpetrator in another article was cited, who said 'I didn't want to kill her, I love her' (22/01/2013). However, love was usually mentioned with regard to mercy killings: two articles referring to the IPF of Adriana Carolo, who suffered from Alzheimer, said his husband killed 'the love of his life' and explained the murder saying: 'Now my love won't suffer anymore' (6/03/2013). Another way of presenting the IPF without contextualising it as DV was depicting it as the result of an argument (24.8%). Most of the times, the articles said the argument had been started by the victim, or was due to the perpetrator's jealousy. Oftentimes they referred to previous arguments of the couple, but did not include them in a DV context. The argument often resulted in a raptus, an outburst of rage or a loss of control (16%); one article said: 'Yesterday morning something terrible

happened in his head, which led him to grab his service revolver and kill' (22/06/2013), while another one: 'Malabarba acted in a moment of darkness. The rationality switch turned off' (11/07/2013). This was usually the explanation given by the perpetrator's lawyer or by the perpetrator himself for the IPF. In some cases, the IPF came completely unexpectedly (13%): the victim's family, friends, coworkers and ex-partners either knew about a history of DV, but did not expect such an event, or did not know about previous violence. Finally, the IPF was frequently portrayed as an act of despair (5.1%): sometimes, the perpetrator was upset because of the separation, while in the case of mercy killings the IPF was often described as a desperate act of love.

The articles that did describe the IPF as the final act of a history of abuse usually referred to the couple's past problems (33.6%), even though most of the times they did not label the killing as DV. When a history of abuse was acknowledged, the criminal justice system was often blamed for the murder (8.8%): for example, in the case of Antonella Russo, killed by her husband in front of their 4-year-old son, the victim's family said: 'If the institutions had intervened, this tragedy could have been avoided. It's the law enforcement agencies' fault, who didn't intervene' (14/08/2013), while Marta Deligia's cousin said: 'It's a State crime' (25/09/2013). Some articles normalised the event as commonplace (6.7%): for example, they indicated that the IPF was another in a long list of IPFs in the country, using expressions like 'another femicide case' or 'another victim of violence against women', or they linked the IPF to other murders that took place recently: 'The event worsens the turmoil of the community, already shocked by the murder of another woman, Sandita Monteanu' (19/06/2013). DV was contextualised by DV experts and politicians (6.2%), who portrayed the IPF within the context of DV and also referred to the femicide law (1.5%): for example, a mayor, referring to the murder of Anna Maria Cultrera, which took place in October, said: 'We didn't want to become famous for the first femicide case after the law approval' (12/10/2013).

Comparisons between local and national newspapers

Overall, local newspapers tended to be more victim blaming than national ones: the frequency of most direct tactics was higher in local newspaper articles, except for victim's abuse of perpetrator, perpetrator's criminal past and victim's underestimation of danger. The use of a negative language to describe the victim did not appear in national newspapers, and was found in 0.8% of the local newspaper articles. A higher frequency in local newspapers was found for most indirect tactics as well. The highest differences concerned the mention of perpetrator's problems (7.3% of national and 12% of local articles) and the use of a positive language to describe the perpetrator (5.8% of national and 10.4% of local articles). A lower frequency was found with regard to the allusion to the perpetrator's inability to accept the separation or divorce and to his use of alcohol and/or drugs; in local newspapers the perpetrator was never called a victim. These tactics and the frequency of their use in national and local newspapers is detailed in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Victim blaming tactics in national and local newspaper articles

Victim blaming tactics	% national newspaper articles (N = 68)	% local newspaper articles (N = 125)
Direct	29.4	32.8
Victim's decision not to report/prosecute	11.7	12.8
Victim's actual or suspected infidelity	8.8	11.2
Victim's precipitation	4.4	6.4
Victim's abuse of perpetrator	4.4	4
Victim's use of alcohol/drugs	/	1.6
Perpetrator's criminal past	2.9	1.6
Victim's underestimation of danger	2.9	0.8
Negative language victim	/	0.8
Indirect	47	53.6
Money	11.7	15.2
Separation/divorce	16.1	13.6
Victim's problems	7.3	10.4
Perpetrator's problems	7.3	12
Positive language perpetrator	5.8	10.4
Accident	2.9	5.6
Perpetrator's use of alcohol/drugs	5.8	3.2
Victim's personality	/	1.6
Perpetrator called victim	2.9	/

As displayed in Table 5 above, the highest differences concerned the victim's actual or suspected infidelity, the victim's underestimation of danger and the victim's

precipitation of violence: for example, a local article referring to the murder of Michela Fioretti said: 'Since Michela's daughters had started to appreciate more Italo (the man and colleague who Michela started a relationship with about one year ago) Guglielmo lost his mind' (20/04/2013), while a national article referring to the same case did not mention Michela's new partner. In the same way, the investigator who said that Lucia Bellucci underestimated the dangerousness of his partner was cited in a local article, but not in the national ones: on the contrary, a national article about the case cited a DV expert, who gave contact information for the Telefono Rosa association and statistics about femicide. Finally, a local article about Cinzia Agnoletti's murder reported that the victim was punching the door, winding her husband up; the national article did not use the verb 'punch', but 'knock': 'she started knocking on the door, and Gilberti, after opening it, attacked her until he killed her' (27/09/2013). As to indirect tactics, the difference was even more pronounced. The perpetrator's problems were more frequently used in local articles: for example, in a local article about Ilaria Pagliarulo's murder, a psychiatric report was cited which mentioned the perpetrator's psychological problems; the report was not cited in the national article about the same case. Local articles used a positive language to describe the perpetrator more often than national ones: in a local article Cristina Biagi's husband was depicted as a good man, destroyed by the separation from his wife, while in a national one he was portrayed as a stalker, who was reported twice by the victim. Finally, local articles also mentioned money problems more frequently: in the case of Giovanna Longo's murder, the financial disparity between victim and perpetrator only came out in a local article.

Personal sources were used more often than public sources in both national and local newspaper articles; however, the frequency of personal sources in local articles was slightly higher than in national ones (66.1% of national and 67.2% of local articles). On the other hand, public sources (63.2% of national and 58.4% of local articles), multiple sources (5.8% of national and 2.4% of local articles) and DV experts (2.9% of national and 0.8% of local articles) were used more often in national articles than in local articles. These sources and the frequency of their use in national and local newspapers is detailed in Table 6 below.

Table 6. Sources of national and local newspaper articles

Sources	% national newspaper articles (N = 68)	% local newspaper articles (N = 125)
Personal	66.1	67.2
Victim's family/friends/coworkers/ex-partners	22	24
Perpetrator	22	21.6
Community members/acquaintances/neighbours	17.6	19.2
Victim's and perpetrator's friends/relatives	7.3	13.6
Facebook	7.3	3.2
Witnesses	5.8	4
Pastors	2.9	1.6
Perpetrator's family/friends/coworkers	2.9	8
Other	1.4	1.6
Public	63.2	58.4
Carabinieri/investigators/police	54.4	40
Politicians	11.7	9.6
Coroners	8.8	6.4
Perpetrator's lawyer	4.4	9.6
Victim's lawyer	2.9	0.8
Doctors	2.9	/
Judge	1.4	1.6
Public prosecutor	1.4	8
Multiple	5.8	2.4
DV experts	2.9	0.8

As illustrated in Table 6 above, with regard to public sources, carabinieri/investigators/police, politicians, coroners, victim's lawyers and doctors were used more often in national than in local articles; perpetrator's lawyers, judges and public prosecutors appeared more frequently in local than in national articles. This had a great impact on the tone of the articles: national articles seemed willing to appear as objective as possible by citing law enforcement agencies and to take the victim's side using politicians, who contextualised the IPF as DV, coroners and doctors, who gave information about the dynamics of the murder which oftentimes refuted the perpetrator's reconstruction of the event, and the victim's lawyers, who obviously took the side of the victim and her family. Local articles tended to maintain a certain degree of objectivity by mentioning judges and public prosecutors, who just reported the facts, but used to be more sympathetic towards the perpetrator by citing the perpetrator's lawyers, who usually provided excuses for him by

mentioning his mental or physical problems. As to personal sources, the perpetrator, Facebook, witnesses and pastors were more often cited in national articles, while the victim's family, friends, coworkers and ex-partners, community members, acquaintances and neighbours, the couple's friends and relatives and the perpetrator's family, friends and coworkers were used more frequently in local articles. In this case, local articles employed a wide range of personal sources to give a more intimate portray of both the victim and the perpetrator; some of them knew about a history of DV, but did not expect such an event, while others did not know about previous violence: therefore, most of the times the IPF was depicted as an unpredictable and isolated incident.

With regard to the context, local newspaper articles tended not to contextualise it as DV more than national ones (42% compared to 40%). The contexts of the IPF and the frequency of their use in national and local newspapers is detailed in Table 7 below.

Table 7. Context of IPF in national and local newspaper articles

Context	% national newspaper articles (N = 68)	% local newspaper articles (N = 125)
NO DV	61	64.8
Crime of passion	35.2	32.8
Argument	22	26.4
Raptus/loss of control/rage	16.1	16
No problems	11.7	13.6
Despair	1.4	7.2
DV	42	40
Past problems	29.4	36
DV contextualised	10.2	4
Commonplace	8.8	5.6
Criminal justice system	5.8	10.4
Femicide law	2.9	0.8

As revealed in Table 7 above, when a history of DV was not acknowledged, national articles described the IPF as a crime of passion (35.2% of national and 32.8% of local articles) more often than local articles. The frequency of the portrayal of the IPF as the consequence of a raptus, a loss of control or a burst of anger was similar in national and local articles (16.1% of national and 16% of local articles). Arguments and despair were identified as the cause of the IPF more often in local newspapers (22% and 1.4% of national and 26.4% and 7.2% of local articles) where it was also

more frequently mentioned that the couple had no problems or that the IPF came completely unexpectedly (11.7% of national and 13.6% of local articles). For example, in Fabiana Luzzi's case, most of the national articles mentioned the perpetrator's jealousy, while a local article only said 'at the end of an argument'. When a history of DV was acknowledged, local articles tended to mention the couple's past problems and to blame the criminal justice system for the IPF more often than national ones. On the other hand, national articles included the IPF in a context of DV and cited the femicide law more frequently than local articles (10.2% and 2.9% of national and 4% and 0.8% of local articles). This is a consequence of the sources of information used by national and local newspapers: national newspapers, mentioning politicians and DV experts more often than local ones, provided a context for the IPF, while local articles, which used personal sources such as the victim's family, friends, coworkers and ex-partners, and community members, acquaintances and neighbours, reported past problems between victim and perpetrator and blamed the criminal justice system.

<u>Summary of findings</u>

In summary, this chapter has presented the study findings under four key themes relevant to the research questions. The analysis of the portrayal of the victim and the perpetrator and the attribution of blame showed that victim blaming tactics were heavily used in the sample; also, six tactics which were not identified by previous research were found. The investigation of the sources cited in the articles demonstrated that personal sources were used more often than public sources and that Facebook and politicians, which were not found in previous studies, were also mentioned. The analysis of the context of the IPFs revealed that most of the articles did not portray the IPF within the problem of DV. Finally, the comparisons between national and local newspapers showed that national articles tended to be less victim blaming, to use public sources more often and to portray the IPF within a DV context more frequently than local articles. In the next chapter, these findings and their implications will be discussed in detail.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter summarises the key points of the study and discusses its results in relation to existing research. It also identifies the limitations of the study and provides recommendations for future research.

<div align="center">The study</div>

The study shed light on the portrayal of IPFs in Italian newspapers in 2013: since most of the existing literature refers to the United States, it was important to analyse how the media report DV in other countries. The choice of the Italian context as the subject matter of the study was first of all due to the nationality of the researcher; moreover, a huge gap in the literature was identified, as to date only one study (Gius and Lalli 2014) addressed this topic. However, it only considered Italian national newspapers, and analysed the frames employed to explain the crime without taking into account the three elements they are made of: victim blaming language, sources of information and context.

The present study addressed these limitations by considering both national and local newspapers and by evaluating the DV media frames components: first of all, it took into account the use of victim blaming language to explore whether the articles employed victim blaming tactics and, if so, whether they used direct or indirect tactics; secondly, it investigated the sources of information cited in the articles to determine the role of public and personal sources in the reporting of the IPF; thirdly, it focused on the context the IPF was placed in to find out whether the articles portrayed it as a private or a social issue; finally, it compared national and local newspaper articles to explore whether there were any differences in the use of victim blaming language, sources of information and context of the IPF.

The bulk of the cases for the study was drawn on the list compiled by Crociati et al. (2014) that included 77 women who have been killed by their partner/ex-partner. The search of the articles on Google News produced a sample of 193 articles (125 local and 68 national newspaper articles). A summative content analysis was conducted, which involves a quantitative and a qualitative phase; this choice lay with the coding process: since the aim of the study was to verify whether existing research findings applied to Italian newspapers as well, summative content analysis, which begins with keywords or items derived from the literature, seemed the most reasonable approach.

The analysis showed that victim blaming tactics were heavily used in the articles; also, six victim blaming tactics were identified which did not appear in existing research. Personal sources were cited more frequently than public ones, and both a personal and a public source not identified by previous research were found: Facebook, which was used to explore whether there was any sign on it suggesting what the perpetrator was going to do, and politicians, who contextualised the IPF as DV. Nevertheless, most of the articles did not portray the IPF within a DV context, but described it as a crime of passion or as the consequence of an argument or of a raptus, a loss of control or an outburst of rage. The comparison of local and national newspaper articles demonstrated that national articles tended to be less victim blaming, to use public sources more often and to portray the IPF within a DV context more frequently than local articles.

To sum up, the study proved that existing research findings about DV media frames cannot completely be applied to Italian newspapers, which demonstrated particular characteristics in the portrayal of IPFs, especially the high use of victim blaming language and the failure to portray the IPFs within a DV context. A possible explanation for these differences between American and Italian newspapers can be related to the persistence in the Italian culture of the idea of 'honour crime': the victim must have done something to compromise the perpetrator's honour, and is therefore considered responsible for her murder; on the other hand, the perpetrator, seeing his honour compromised, can lose control and physically react in order to re-establish his power.

<u>Discussion of findings</u>

The study sought to analyse how Italian newspapers portray IPFs, focusing on the three elements that make DV media frames: victim blaming language, sources of information and context of the IPF. The aim of the study was to verify whether existing research findings concerning these elements apply to Italian newspapers as well. Some of the studies which have been taken into account broadly addressed instances of DV, such as Bullock and Cubert's research (2002), while others focused specifically on femicide or femicide-suicide, for example Meyer's works (1994, 1997), Taylor's study (2009) and Maddox's follow-up research (2010), and the articles of Richards, Gillespie and Smith (Richards et al. 2011, Richards et al. 2013, Gillespie et al. 2013); however, all of them analysed DV and IPF coverage in the

United States. The only study focusing on the Italian context is Gius and Lalli's research (2014), which is therefore the only one to compare the present study results with in relation to Italian newspapers coverage of IPF.

Overall, Italian newspapers were found to employ victim blaming tactics much more frequently than American ones: 63.7% of the sample used victim blaming tactics, almost twice as much as Taylor's (2009) and Maddox's (2010) findings (34% and 25%). In particular, direct tactics appeared in 27.5% of the sample, compared to Richards et al.'s (2011) 11%. Among direct tactics, some of those identified by previous research were found, such as the victim's infidelity and the victim's decision not to report or prosecute, which were used more often than in previous studies, and the victim's use of alcohol and/or drugs and a negative language to describe the victim, which appeared less frequently. Five other direct tactics were identified which did not appear in previous research: the victim's precipitation of violence, the victim's abuse of the perpetrator, the perpetrator's criminal past and the victim's underestimation of danger. This finding corroborates Meyers' (1997) assumption that victim blaming language reinforces the patriarchal roots of society: since the Italian family is gradually abandoning the idea of male domination and supremacy, men have a post-patriarchal 'identity revanche' in assuming the dominant role of perpetrators in private life (Bartholini 2016). Indirect tactics were used almost three times more in this study than in previous ones, since they were found in 52.8% of the sample (compared to 14% in Richards et al. 2011). In particular, separation, money problems, the perpetrator's and the victim's problems were mentioned more often than in existing research, while a positive language to describe the perpetrator, the perpetrator's use of alcohol and/or drugs and the portraying of the perpetrator as a victim were used less frequently. Another indirect tactic was found which was not mentioned in previous research, the victim's personality. The identification of both direct and indirect tactics which did not appear in previous studies not only increases the number of victim blaming tactics, but gives a particular connotation to Italian newspapers reporting IPFs: the victim is blamed for almost everything she did or was. She either provoked the perpetrator, humiliated him, stayed with him despite his criminal past or underestimated his dangerousness; in any case, it was her fault. Even her personality was used to indirectly blame her: she was too successful or active, at least more than the perpetrator; therefore, it was her fault if he could not manage to deal with it anymore.

As to the sources of information, personal sources were used much more often in this study than in existing ones, while the frequency of use of public sources was similar to previous findings: personal sources appeared in 66.8% and public sources in 60% of the sample, while Richards et al.'s study (2011) found that personal sources were used in 37% and public sources in 57% of the sample. It is difficult to compare the frequencies of each personal and public source to the existing research's results, because of their different categorisation; however, it can be said that the major differences from the literature concerned the use of the victim's family, friends, coworkers and ex-partners, and the perpetrator: in this study, the victim's friends and relatives were employed in 23.3% and the perpetrator in 21.7% of the sample, which is more than twice and five times more than in Bullock and Cubert's (2002) study (10.4% and 4.3%). On the contrary, the similarities between this and previous studies concerned the use of police and community members: police were cited in 60% of the study, which is not so different from Bullock and Cubert's (2002) and Maddox's (2010) results (58.3% and 53%). In the same way, community members, acquaintances and neighbours were mentioned in 18.2% of the sample, which is slightly lower than Bullock and Cubert's (2002) 20%. The most interesting result regarding personal sources was the identification of a source not previously found in other studies: Facebook. The social network was usually used to know more about the perpetrator and to explore whether he had posted something that could suggest what he was going to do: sometimes, posts about anger and revenge could be found, but most of the times the content of the perpetrator's Facebook page was completely discordant with his real thoughts and intentions; as a consequence, Facebook usually contributed to depict the IPF as an isolated and unexpected event. Another source not identified by existing research was found with regard to public sources as well: politicians. This finding is not important for the use of politicians per se, but because politicians did what DV experts did in previous studies: contextualise the IPF within the social problem of DV. Even though their use was relatively rare in previous research as well, DV experts were mentioned in only 1.5% of the sample in this study, which is three articles out of 193. Politicians, who were cited in 10.3% of the sample, replaced DV experts in defining the murder a femicide and in portraying it in a DV context. This trend reflects the link between media culture and femicide that was appropriated by politicians during the 2012-2013 electoral campaign, when moral panics about DV and IPF arose and the topic of VAW became central to the political discourse (Tartari 2015, Bandelli and

Porcelli 2016). However, it has to be said that when DV experts were mentioned, they provided important information such as contact information for shelters and statistics about femicide.

Politicians and DV experts contributed to portray the IPF within a DV context more often than in previous studies, even though most of the articles did not portray the IPF within the problem of DV: 41% of the sample was found to describe the IPF as the final act of a history of abuse, compared to Bullock and Cubert's (2002) 30%, Taylor's (2009) 34%, Maddox's (2010) 22% and Richards et al.'s (2011) 22.1%. Again, it is difficult to compare each specific DV or NO DV context to existing research's results, because of their different categorisation; however, it has to be said that when a history of abuse was acknowledged, the couple's past problems were mentioned more frequently than in previous studies: 33.6% of the sample was found to cite them in this study, compared to 22.6% in Bullock and Cubert's (2002) and 21% in Richards et al.'s research (2011). This would be an important way of describing the IPF as the culmination of a history of abuse; however, when the couple's past problems were mentioned, it was usually through the victim's and/or the perpetrator's family and friends, or community members, acquaintances and neighbours, who often said they did not expect such an event: as a consequence, mentioning continuous arguments or past acts of violence did not contribute to include the IPF within a DV context, but rather suggested that those acts were normal since they did not ring alarm bells in those close to the couple. A surprising finding also needs to be highlighted: in this study, when a history of DV was not acknowledged, a raptus, a loss control or an outburst of rage were mentioned less frequently than in Gius and Lalli's (2014) study (16% compared to 25.3%). Since both studies analysed Italian newspapers, a similar result was expected; on the contrary, it is much more similar to Richards et al.'s (2013), who found a loss of control in 14% of the sample. A possible explanation for that lies with the sampling: while Gius and Lalli only analysed national newspapers, this study took into account local newspapers as well, which represented 64% of the sample; since they were found to employ the loss of control slightly less frequently than national newspapers, they may have decreased its frequency.

The very fact that local articles represented 64% of the sample is worth noting, as it corroborates the literature's finding that DV crimes are more likely to be reported in the local news, since they are usually deemed of local interest (Meyers 1997). The comparison of national and local newspapers showed that the sources of

information employed had a great impact on both the use of victim blaming tactics and the contextualisation of the IPF. National articles, which tended to cite public sources more often than local ones, used victim blaming tactics less frequently and portrayed the IPF within a DV context more often than local articles. The use of Carabinieri, investigators and police, who the literature found to be especially victim blaming (Meyers 1997, Bullock and Cubert 2002, Taylor 2009, Heeren and Messing 2009, Maddox 2010, Richards et al. 2011, Richards et al. 2013), was in fact balanced out by the mentioning of politicians, medical professionals and the victim's lawyers, who did not use any tactics to blame the victim. Rather, they contributed to contextualise the IPF as the final act of a history of abuse and to define DV as a social problem. On the other hand, local articles employed personal sources more frequently than national ones; as a consequence, they used victim blaming tactics more often and contextualised the IPF as DV less frequently than national articles. Personal sources, especially the victim's and the perpetrator's family and friends, may be more qualified than police to provide some insight into the context of the relationship (Taylor 2009). However, since the victims usually take great measure to conceal the presence of violence, they often said they did not know about a history of DV; even though they knew about it, they usually did not expect it could lead to such an event. Moreover, community members, neighbours and acquaintances may contribute to perpetuate harmful myths about DV, such as the idea that femicide can be an isolated and unpredictable act of violence (Taylor 2009).

<div align="center">Limitations and future research</div>

The present study has its limitations. First, it only analysed one-year coverage, preventing a generalisation of the results to other time periods. Second, focusing on online newspapers (which may also be different from the printed press), it did not analyse the portrayal of IPFs in other types of media such as television. Third, four IPFs were not reported in the Italian press. To address these limitations, future research should analyse and compare different time spans to explore trends and patterns of IPF media coverage over time. In particular, it would be useful to explore media portrayal of IPF in about a 7-year time: as Maddox (2010) did with the Violence Against Women Act of 1994, such a study could reveal any progresses or hindrances occurring in the IPF media coverage a decade after the approval of the femicide law in Italy in 2013. Future research should also include other types of

media, such as internet sites, television news programs and social networking outlets, particularly given the emerging trends in relation to social media which the research has identified. Finally, it should analyse actual homicide reports or conduct further analysis to determine why some incidents get reported and others do not.

Appendix A

15/01/2013 Montesilvano, omicidio-suicidio: dopo l'uomo anche l'amante muore in ospedale per le ustioni

http://ilcentro.gelocal.it/pescara/cronaca/2013/01/15/news/montesilvano-e-morto-l-uomo-che-ha-dato-fuoco-a-se-stesso-e-all-amante-per-gelosia-1.6354207

19/01/2013 Donna accoltellata dall'ex marito. Lui confessa: "Non mi portava rispetto"

http://milano.corriere.it/milano/notizie/cronaca/13_gennaio_19/bernareggio-monza-donna-uccisa.-casa-marito-marocchino-2113624162964.shtml

22/01/2013 "Non ricordo nulla: amavo Antonia, non volevo ucciderla"

http://www.ilgiorno.it/monza/cronaca/2013/01/22/834135-Omicidio-Bernareggio-Antonia-Stanghellini.shtml

5/03/2013 Uccide la moglie malata nel sonno

http://m.ilgiornaledivicenza.it/home/uccide-la-moglie-malata-nel-sonno-1.287578

6/03/2013 Uccide la moglie, parlano i figli: "Papà, ora ti vogliamo a casa"

http://corrieredelveneto.corriere.it/veneto/notizie/cronaca/2013/6-marzo-2013/uccide-moglie-parlano-figli-papa-ora-ti-vogliamo-casa-21251473892.shtml

19/04/2013 Acilia: uccisa dal marito lascia due figlie piccole. Zingaretti: "Le assisteremo"

http://www.romatoday.it/cronaca/omicidio-acilia-michela-fioretti.html

20/04/2013 Uccisa sul viadotto. La figlia usata come esca

http://www.iltempo.it/roma-capitale/cronaca/2013/04/20/uccisa-sul-viadotto-la-figlia-usata-come-esca-1.1130881

3/05/2013 Guardia giurata uccide la compagna e si suicida

http://roma.corriere.it/roma/notizie/cronaca/13_maggio_3/omicidio-suicidio-aurelia-212965926505.shtml

10/05/2013 "Era pericoloso, Alessandra lo sapeva e lo aveva lasciato"

http://roma.corriere.it/roma/notizie/cronaca/13_maggio_10/fragona-arrestato-cinquantenne-2121066746766.shtml

27/05/2013a Fabiana, in paese tutti sapevano nessuno l'ha salvata

http://www.lastampa.it/2013/05/27/italia/cronache/fabiana-in-paese-tutti-sapevano-nessuno-lha-salvata-hDA5flLYHwMVJWxO1ZHAAK/pagina.html

27/05/2013b Sedicenne uccisa, oltre venti le coltellate. La madre: "Anche l'assassino è una vittima"

http://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2013/05/27/news/cosenza_omicidio_ragazzo-59727527/

19/06/2013 Dell'Est la donna uccisa trovata nello scatolone. Scomparso il marito, ricercato dai carabinieri

http://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2013/06/19/news/donna_uccisa_scatolone_marito_ricercato-61411865/

22/06/2013 Brinda coi colleghi, poi ammazza la moglie

http://www.ilgiornale.it/news/interni/brinda-coi-colleghi-poi-ammazza-moglie-929465.html

25/06/2013 Una storia finita, la gelosia. Uccide l'ex moglie e ferisce un uomo

http://livesicilia.it/2013/06/25/giovanna-longo-luigi-gallo-sparatoria-a-ravanusa-donna-uccisa-uomo-ferito-spari-tra-la-folla-fermato-ex-marito_339181/

11/07/2013 Omicidio a Pavia. La supplica di Tiziana: "Marco, cosa mi fai?"

http://laprovinciapavese.gelocal.it/pavia/cronaca/2013/07/11/news/omicidio-a-pavia-la-supplica-di-tiziana-marco-cosa-mi-fai-1.7402181

17/07/2013 Ventenne uccisa a martellate fermato il giovane fidanzato

http://parma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2013/07/17/news/omicidio_in_via_rondizzoni_uccisa_ragazza_di_20anni-63144497/

28/07/2013 Femminicidio Massa, uccide ex moglie e spara all'amante. Poi si toglie la vita

http://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2013/07/28/massa-uccide-ex-moglie-e-suo-amante-poi-si-suicida-feriti-anche-due-minori/669665/

29/07/2013 La tragedia di Marina di Massa, Marco e Cristina la sera prima insieme a una festa in famiglia. Loiola minacciava di far del male anche alle figlie
http://www.lanazione.it/massa_carrara/cronaca/2013/07/29/926920-marina-massa-omicidio-ristorante-lorens-cristina-biagi-morta.shtml

31/07/2013 Tragedia di Taurisano la rabbia dei Ciurlia contro polizia e giudici. Funerali rinviati a domani
http://www.lagazzettadelmezzogiorno.it/news/home/479366/tragedia-di-taurisano-la-rabbia-dei-ciurlia-contro-polizia-e-giudici-funerali-rinviati-a-domani-.html

12/08/2013 Caso Bellucci-Ciccolini, un investigatore: accettare l'invito a cena, l'errore più grave
http://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/notizie/2013-08-12/caso-bellucciciccolini-investigatore-accettare-215230.shtml?uuid=AbVoIjMI

14/08/2013 Omicidio-suicidio Avola, i figli accusano "Forze dell'ordine inerti dopo denuncia"
http://palermo.repubblica.it/cronaca/2013/08/14/news/omicidio-suicidio_avola_i_figli_accusano_forze_dell_ordine_inerti_dopo_denuncia-64755338/

4/09/2013 Magliana, anziano uccide la moglie: "Stavo scherzando, pensavo arma fosse scarica"
http://www.romatoday.it/cronaca/omicidio-magliana-via-pescaglia-3-settembre-2013.html

17/09/2013 Donna di 66 anni uccisa dall'ex marito. Ma la figlia della vittima difende il padre
http://www.corriere.it/cronache/13_settembre_17/civitanova-anziana-uccisa-da-ex-marito_9da1a60e-1f71-11e3-9636-b0708204026a.shtml

24/09/2013a L'avvocato del killer di Ilaria "L'ha istigato a spararle"

http://bari.repubblica.it/cronaca/2013/09/24/news/l_avvocato_del_killer_di_ilaria_l_ha_istigato_a_spararle-67184983/

24/09/2013b Marta vittima di un amore malato. E' stata strangolata dall'ex fidanzato
http://www.unionesarda.it/articolo/cronaca_sardegna/2013/09/23/coppia_scomparsa_a_villacidro_si_teme_un_omicidio_suicidio-6-330914.html

25/09/2013 Parla la cugina di Marta: "Pedinata dal killer, nessuno l'ha aiutata"
http://www.castedduonline.it/sardegna/campidano/9278/parla-la-cugina-di-marta-pedinata-dal-killer-nessuno-l-ha-aiutata.html

27/09/2013 Femminicidio a Piacenza, il compagno: "L'ho strangolata con il laccio della tapparella"
http://www.corriere.it/cronache/13_settembre_27/femminicidio-piacenza-emergono-i-dettagli-sulla-dinamica_fb7837ea-2771-11e3-94f0-92fd020945d8.shtml

11/10/2013 Uccide la moglie, vicesindaco di Borghetto e poi si toglie la vita. Si stavano separando
http://genova.repubblica.it/cronaca/2013/10/11/news/omicidio_suicidio_loano_uccisa_vice_sindaco_borghetto-68381533/

12/10/2013 Viterbo, uccide la compagna a coltellate
http://www.lastampa.it/2013/10/12/italia/cronache/viterbo-uccide-la-compagna-a-coltellate-T16v5LD1nY9fkKILQ3Ye5I/pagina.html

29/12/2013 Francesca, uccisa dal compagno per un profilo aperto su Facebook
http://27esimaora.corriere.it/articolo/francesca-uccisa-dal-compagnoper-un-profilo-aperto-su-facebook/

Appendix B

- p. 21
- 25/06/2013 Con cui la donna avrebbe anche intrattenuto una relazione sentimentale dopo la separazione da Gallo.
- 28/07/2013 L'uomo che riteneva causa della crisi coniugale
- 12/08/2013 Forse, come altre donne prima di lei, Lucia ha sottovalutato la pericolosità del suo ex fidanzato, non lo ha denunciato per tempo. Da ultimo ha accettato di incontrarlo a cena: una scelta che ha segnato la sua fine.
- 29/07/2013 Presupponiamo - dice il Pm Alessandra Conforti - che neanche la vittima avesse capito la pericolosità del marito, visto che continuavano a frequentarsi, soprattutto per il bene delle due figlie.

- p. 22
- 4/09/2013 Che fai con quella pistola, ti vuoi ammazzare?
- 17/09/2013 Non è femminicidio, mia madre lo vessava.
- 10/05/2013 Ma Alessandra non aveva paura di un uomo così, già autore di un altro omicidio avvenuto proprio nel quartiere?
- 24/09/2013a Una foto che ritrae la ragazza vicino al muro con un'ombra sinistra riferibile al demonio
- 19/01/2013 Antonia continuava ad avere il suo lavoro; Mustafà era disoccupato da un anno, e questo aveva aggravato ancor più la sua esasperazione.
- 17/09/2013 Erano in lite da tempo per questioni economiche legate alla causa di separazione.

- p. 23
- 27/05/2013a Il fidanzato era molto geloso […] ma per certi versi bisogna capirlo: viveva una situazione difficile in famiglia. Perché la madre ha una storia con un direttore del Comune. Così lui ha vissuto queste corna pubbliche. Tutto il paese lo sa.
- 5/03/2013 Adesso non soffrirà più […] Adesso finalmente è in pace. Non sopportavo di vederla in quello stato. Non ce la facevo più.
- 5/03/2013 Sempre presente, sempre premuroso ed affettuoso.
- 17/07/2013 Una vera donna impegnata. Forse anche questo disturbava un uomo non all'altezza della situazione.
- 11/07/2013 Il marito subiva un po' la sua personalità.

- p. 24
- 11/10/2013 Suo marito era una persona taciturna e schiva. Ciò che è accaduto […] è incredibile. Non so spiegarmela.
- 31/07/2013 Andava fermato prima […] A maggio quando minacciò mia sorella con l'ascia non venne adottato alcun provvedimento.
- 31/07/2013 Altre volte mia sorella era andata a casa dell'ex marito da quando si erano separati. Del resto dopo 25 anni di matrimonio non è facile troncare una relazione da un giorno all'altro.

- p. 25
- 28/07/2013 Anche la pagina Facebook dell'omicida-suicida lasciava trasparire scenari inquietanti. Nell'ultimo post, questa mattina intorno alle 9, poche ore prima di uccidere la moglie, Marco citava di Bob Marley […] E poi accanto: Perdono molto ma non tutto! Dimentico subito ma non sempre! Non porto rancore ma detesto chi mi prende in giro!
- 3/05/2013 Non ha lasciato biglietti ma soltanto mercoledì scorso aveva postato su Facebook le ultime foto che non facevano presagire ciò che sarebbe accaduto poche ore più tardi: lui e il figlio sdraiati su un prato con un pallone.

- p. 26
- 24/09/2013b E' un provvedimento che deve essere accompagnato da spiegazioni […] non può essere inviato come una multa, altrimenti potrebbe avere un effetto scatenante.
- 19/04/2013 Piaga sociale della violenza domestica, caratterizzata dalla prevaricazione degli uomini sulle donne, che rischia di sfociare, purtroppo in molti casi, nel femminicidio.
- 29/12/2013 Il femminicidio è una ferita sociale intollerabile e deve essere fermato.
- 27/05/2013 Violenza travestita da amore.
- 27/05/2013 Nessuna violenza può essere debellata fino a quando il rapporto uomo-donna non si libererà di concetti come, subalternità e possesso.
- 17/07/2013 Le ragioni sono sempre insufficienti, non meritano nemmeno di essere considerate. Perché nulla può spiegare o giustificare una tale

carneficina. Ma questa continua violenza sul corpo della donna impone uno spazio ben più ampio nel dibattito civile, perché, inutile negarlo, si tratta di azioni che, pur rappresentando solo e unicamente comportamenti criminali, non ricevono purtroppo quella assoluta condanna sociale che meritano.[…] Il femminicidio è una questione sociale ma prima di tutto culturale. E sconta talvolta l'indifferenza di chi coglie elementi di aggressività nei confronti delle donne e non interviene.

- p. 27
- 15/01/2013 La tragedia di un altro amore disperato.
- 22/01/2013 Non volevo ucciderla, io sono innamorato di lei.
- 6/03/2013 Ora il mio amore non soffrirà più.

- p. 28
- 22/06/2013 Ieri mattina è scattato qualcosa di terribile nella sua testa che lo ha «spinto» a impugnare la pistola di ordinanza e a uccidere.
- 11/07/2013 Malabarba avrebbe agito in un momento di buio. L'interruttore della razionalità spento.
- 14/08/2013 Se fossero intervenute le istituzioni questa tragedia poteva essere evitata. La colpa è delle forze dell'ordine che non sono intervenute.
- 25/09/2013 E' un omicidio di Stato.
- 19/06/2013 Il delitto acuisce il turbamento della comunità folignate, già sconvolta da un altro grave fatto di sangue di cui è stata vittima una donna: Sandita Munteanu.
- 12/10/2013 Non volevamo diventare famosi per il primo caso di femminicidio dopo l'approvazione della legge.

- p. 29
- 20/04/2013 Da quando le figlie di Michela hanno iniziato ad apprezzare quasi più Italo (l'uomo e collega con il quale l'ex moglie aveva iniziato una relazione circa un anno fa), Guglielmo ha perso la testa.

- 27/09/2013 La compagna ha iniziato a bussare e Gilberti, una volta aperta la porta, l'ha aggredita fino ad ucciderla.

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