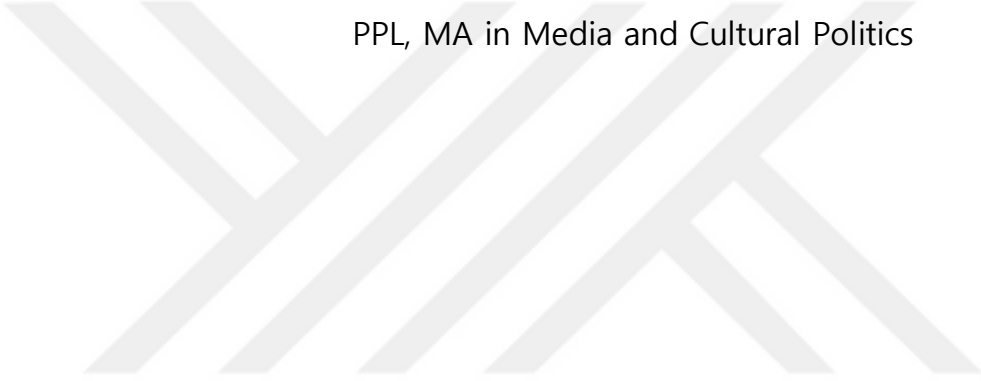


**To what extent does the discourse surrounding
sexual abuse in Turkey contribute to a culture in which
violence against women is trivialised?**

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PPL, MA in Media and Cultural Politics



A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

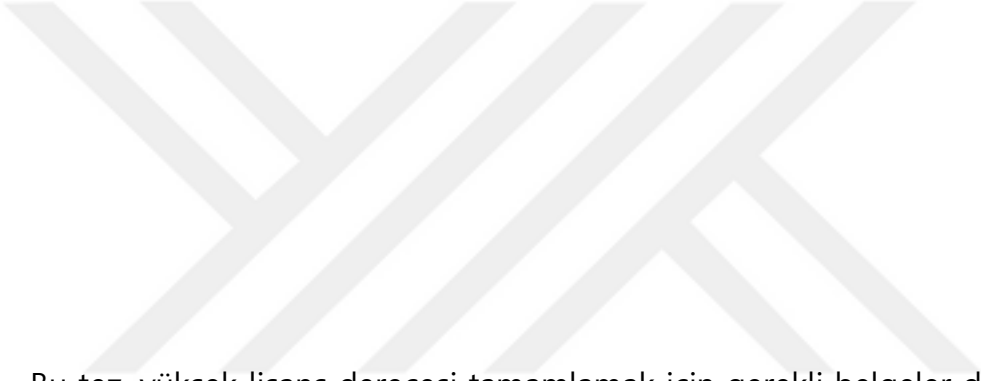
University of East Anglia (UK)

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**Türkiye’de cinsel istismar söylemleri, kadına şiddetin
normalleştiği bir kültüre ne ölçüde sebep olur?**

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Abstract

When evaluating women's social structure in Turkey, in terms of gender, women are considered as vulnerable and dependent upon men and this structure's continuation reinforces male dominance. This dominance of men and gendered culture is reproduced and legitimized by media with gendered discourses, therefore, both women and men are forced to obtain certain gender

roles and these roles are normalized in time, their consequences and problems are trivialized and become part of the culture. This study aims to find out what extend newspapers, that is a media channel, reproduces and creates a culture which violence against women is trivialized. In doing so, an analysis will be carried out on the language and discourse of newspaper articles about sexual abuse.

Key Words: Gender, Discourse, Media Influence, Newspapers, Sexual Violence, Rape Culture.

Özet

Kadının türk toplum yapısındaki yerine bakıldığında, terim olarak erkeğe bağımlı ve savunmasız niteliklerine sahip olduğunu görürüz, bu durum erkek egemenliğini güçlendiren ve sürdürülebilir kılan şeylerden biridir. Bu egemenlik ve yarattığı cinsiyetçi kültür, medya tarafından cinsiyetçi söylemlerle birlikte yeniden üretiliyor ve meşrulaştırılıyor. Bunun sonucu olarak hem kadın hem de erkek belli cinsiyet rollerini edinmek ve bunları uygulamak durumunda kalıyor, bu roller zaman içerisinde normalleşiyor ve günlük hayatın hayata yerleşiyor, bunun sonuçları ve yarattığı sorunlar ise kültürün parçası haline geliyor. Bu çalışma, gazete makalelerindeki söylemleri inceleyerek medya araçlarının kadına şiddeti ne ölçüde normalleştirdiğini tartışmayı hedefliyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadın, Söylem Analizi, Medya Etkisi, Gazete, Cinsel İstismar, Tecavüz Kültürü.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

To transfer thoughts, feelings and desires, need for communication was born with human history. It is the same for gender roles; with first human beings, the terms women and men occurred as parts of society and their search for estate began. Especially after the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century, existing patriarchal system was strengthened, women were given the private sphere while men got the public sphere, therefore, women were put into the condition of secondary citizen. And in time, media was evolved on the basis of this patriarchal system; therefore, it is effected by the traditional understanding of gender and reproduces it, hence it creates and effects stereotypes.

In modern societies; beyond being a source of information, media reproduces culture and understandings via words; it transfers messages, propagandas and manipulates how we behave and think. It turns culture into a

product and sells it to the receiver; with this product, state of belonging and identity is created and strengthened. (Uluç, 2008)

In Turkey, media reproduces traditional gendered approach and reinforces male dominance with reflecting women as vulnerable and dependent upon men. Newspapers, dramas, movies, magazines are sources of gendered culture. For instance, in newspaper articles, women are subjected to either 3rd page news, which are about murder, rape, violence or to the magazine page as a sexual object. (Tönel & Akça, 2011) As a consequence; the problematic placement of women and men in society is normalized; the masculine language of media and gendered abusive language are trivialised. Accordingly, as a product of this gendered approach, violence is strengthened as a part of the culture.

This study aims to find the extend of the contribution of the media's gendered discourse surrounding sexual abuse to the trivialization of violence against women in Turkey by conducting critical discourse analysis on newspaper articles on sexual abuse news.

In doing so, chapter 2 and 3 introduce the literature of media effects, discourse effects, rape culture and gender in Turkey, Chapter 4 discusses the methodology of the research, Chapter 5 is on the critical discourse analysis of articles and finally Chapter 6 is the conclusion.

Chapter 2: Existing Studies on Media Influence, Gender Development and Rape Culture

To discuss the question, it is needed to understand media effects on people's actions and behaviours, its contribution to creation of certain perspectives in time, and specifically its relation with gender development. Also it is needed to understand how and why words create an influence and how to study their effects.

This chapter will be looking the literature on media influence and try to specify it into the newspapers. In doing so, stereotypes will be defined and gender development will be discussed. Then works on rape culture will be looked to see how rape is normalized and how this normalization effects people's perception of gender. Discourse will also be defined and importance of words will be explained.

2.1: Defining the Media and its Influence

There is not only one definition for media but simply; media is a communication system which can transmit information and entertainment across time and place to individuals and groups of people. It includes systems like; cinema, newspapers, radio, advertisements, magazines, social platforms, video games, computers, televisions and phones. For society, it is a way to

make sense of the world but it is controlled by certain groups who make sense of society on behalf of others. (O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2008)

There are two models to understand the relationship between media and society. Reflection Model suggests that; media does not have a direct effect, rather it only acts as a mirror and could be used as a resource to understand society. On the contrary, Effects Model suggests that media does have an effect on people and can influence behaviours, thoughts and beliefs. (Potter W. J., 2012) So basically, media is either a mirror or constructs reality.

The reflection model is unsatisfactory because it assumes that media transparently reveals the truth and does not become a part of the events and change them. But actually, it is a significant player of the events and decides how and when an incident is reported and sometimes even creates them. On the other hand, the effects model is based on the belief of media's power of create, change and produce common sense. It suggests that media producers, texts and audiences are all part of the society and not separate entities, so they all effect and are all effected. (O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2008) What I believe is; media is not just a reflection, the reporters and the way they report create a different view of the word, not every TV show or newspaper reports an event in the exact same way and media is not passive at all, it has a strong influence and a big part of our lives, while we get information, we are exposed to the

propagandas, advertisements. Therefore, the way we act and think change accordingly, but obviously this change is not sudden, rather it develops through time; it is not easy as, I see violence therefore I'll be violent but after seeing violence over and over again for ages in different forms, it becomes normal.

Media contributes to the construction of gender norms, reflects and forms gender stereotypes, that is "...a relatively fixed and over-simplified generalization about a particular group or class of people," (Colman, 2015, s. 729). By interacting with media channels, people obtain certain characteristics and there is no doubt that people share culturally defined understanding of gender. (Golombok & Fivush, 1998) To create a common understanding, media simply presents particular model of something and this representation changes society's perception of gender in time. (Gauntlett, 2002) In another words; media constructs and evolves the cultural structure of a society and defines; what is feminine and masculine. (Dinçsoy, 2012) Therefore, people's lives, opinions and attitudes are effected and shaped, as a result the stereotypes are created and these stereotypes control social life by transferring the dominant ideology of the society. (McLuhan, 1964)

Gender stereotypes are pervaded to the media discourses. They are created by everyone and people cannot function without their influence. Especially with the images of stereotypes, which effects young people with

gender constructions, it is not surprising for a society to be raised with certain gender roles. (Mujtaba & Mughal, 2011) There are several studies which shows that teenagers are affected by body image of the celebrities in media.

Psychology Today's survey (McSweeney, 2012) for instance; found out that 23% of the women told that they are affected by the body image of celebrities in TV or Movies and 22% told that they are affected by fashion magazine models. So media is strong enough to change the society from youth to elders; children and teens are exposed to the certain gender roles, which are constructed by media.

So it might be concluded as; media has a power to create and change thoughts and actions by constructing certain reality about gender roles and media channels establish man's hegemony by institutionalizing of male dominance over women with stereotyped discourses.

2.2: News and Gender

We can see the male dominance and unequal representation of genders in news. According to Global Media Monitoring Project Research, (World Association for Christian Communication (WACC), 2011) women are significantly misrepresented in news coverage and 76% of the people read about males in the news and women is underrepresented.

Before 1970s, media paid little attention to the violence, after mid 70s, there was a rise in media attention to the domestic violence and rape. For instance, in Britain, between 1970 to 1976, there were only 7 articles discussed wife-beating but in 1977 this rose to 44, (Tierney, 1982) and reports of rape doubled itself after 1978 and doubled again to 124 by 1985. (Byerly, 1999) With this change we can see how media exposure is important to raise public awareness. Since this topic became a discussion in documentaries, talk shows and soap operas and coverages are being transformed, media became a vital part for reshaping the public awareness. But it is still not enough and problems are still there, because the violence grows as well. (Kitzinger, 2004) Also there is a shift in the society; women becoming to take some positions that are reserved for men but the articles are not reflecting this shift and this may show that "women are unimportant for public events and activities and undeserving of leadership roles." (Armstrong, 2006, s. 448-449) So it might be said that; the bias against women in newspapers constructs the bias against women in the society.

2.4: Extraordinary Becomes Ordinary

Even though the rise in the number of articles about violence leads to a rise in the awareness, it also made these events become an ordinary part of our lives. As Tirohl (2002) states; many people believe violence is not acceptable but

is a part of relationships, because reports of sex crimes became an ordinary part of the news in these days. So to have the news value, media mostly reports the most extraordinary sexual violence. Thus, this level of extraordinary is increasing in time, therefore, the 'ordinary' forms of sexual violence becomes more severe day by day. (Stanko, 1990)

The danger, frequency and the acceptance of sexual violence contribute to shaping the behaviour and identity of the society in time, and this hurts women both on streets and in courts. (Higgins & Silver, 1991) This situation creates the rape culture, which is a "setting in which rape is pervasive and normalized due to societal attitudes about gender and sexuality," (Olfman, 2009, s. 9) which is socially constructed, legitimized and always in a change. In the countries with this culture, rape and other kinds of sexual violence is rationalized because of their representations as to appear natural and inevitable. Also there are; victim blaming, which occurs "when the victim of a crime or any wrongful act is held entirely or partially responsible for the harm that befell them." (Rape Crisis Information, 2008), sexual objectification, discrimination, homophobia, intolerance and denial of rape as a problem of whole society. (Attenborough, 2014)

This culture has an effect on women's social positioning and sexual identity, also encourages gender violence, and perceives women as guilty

because of how she acts and dresses. (Higgins & Silver, 1991) This is why, most rape victims do not report what has happened and 6% of women said, they didn't report because they were afraid of not being believed by police and becoming guilty and judged by the society. (Backman, 1988)

The consequences of rape culture can be seen in our everyday life, in the way we act and behave, in media and discourses as well. The countries, that have rape culture includes, Pakistan, India, US, UK and Canada. (See: Kehar, 2013; Soundararajan, 2014; Sielke, 2002; Bates, 2012) And I believe Turkey could be one of those and the media discourse may lead to the normalization of violence, this is what I am aiming to find out.

2.3: Power of Words

Words have power to create and change, they are central to the construction of social reality and words carries certain values.

Beside the dictionary definition of a word, which is called denotation (Colman, 2015, s. 196); there is also a deeper meaning beyond, which is called connotation. (Colman, 2015, s. 161) So basically, we connect some ideas with a term and bring meaning to it. It can be seen in gender; via words, society construct some roles to genders by possessing different characteristics. By analysing words, it is possible to find evidence that a language is gendered and shares society's cultural terms and understandings, which could be generally

called as stereotypes.

3. Gender in Turkey

To understand the results of the discourses in Turkey, the culture and gendered language should be discussed deeply. The value and importance of men and women are determined by society, gender do not just refers to the differences between women and men, it is an "organizing principle in people's everyday experiences." (Todd & Fisher, 1988, s. 1) and also refers to a hierarchy between them, which is socially and culturally learned. (Sunderland, 2004) Male-dominated understanding is strengthened and legitimized with literature, culture, religion, education and history in Turkey.

Any human experience can be gendered and 'being gendered' can be applied on anything like occupation, a leisure practice, a written text and so on, simply it is about sense of being different and "something to do with gender is going on here." (Sunderland, 2004, s. 21) What is understood from the gendered language is; when a women/men/boy/girl is represented/expected to behave in certain gendered ways, then the discourse is positioning, therefore, gendered. Actual behaviour may be different but either way, people are exposed to the particular position of the discourse and this legitimizes and strengthens particular gendered behaviour/expectation. (Wetherell, 1998) So

with discourse, gender can be constructed, represented, performed and indexed.

When it comes to Turkey; the 'women, girl, wife and mother' are the most problematic terms that are being used for the female. What Turkish society understands from the term women is; affectionate, caressing, understanding, submissive, unstable, passive, helpless and dependent upon her husband. (Demez, 2005) and this term is being used as 'not virgin,' if a 'woman' is not a wife and mother, then she is bad, not an ideal model of female who does not deserve to marry. Girl is being used for a virgin, a child or a teenager. If a female is 'girl' then she is not married, she is preparing herself for her future husband by acquiring some roles like cooking, cleaning, taking care of a baby and men's needs. A female is not reflected as a profession, rather she is mother or wife therefore she has to fulfil her roles and she is all dependent on man. (Spenle, Onur, & B, 1991)

When it comes to a man; the discourse is again problematic, and what outrages the men is masculinity itself. (Atay, 2004) What is understood from the term men is; physically, sexually and mentally invincible, protector, has authority and power to rule, successful and winner in every field, strong enough not to show his feelings, drink infinite alcohol and smoke, plus more important than women. (Demez, 2005)

In Turkey, there are levels that boys should go through to be men. As Uluocak, Gökulu, Bilir, Karacık, and Özbay (2014) discuss deeply; first level is circumcision. It is a pride to show sexual organ for a boy in this era because being men is something to celebrate. Boys are only being welcomed when they have heterosexual trends so secondly; there is a need to have a sexual relationship with a woman to be a grown up men. Elders supports the boy and sometimes take him to brothels. Paradoxically it is strictly forbidden for a woman to have a sexual relationship before marriage in Turkish culture.

After 20s man should go soldiering, which is a bounden duty. After this man should be able to feed a family so should get a job and make money. Lastly, he should have a family to feed and protect. With marriage, man is fully accomplished levels to be a hegemonic man. With family, men have regular sexual life and a platform to build up his power.

The distinction of woman and girl leads to an understanding of bad and good. Because if you are a girl then there are things that are expected from you, you have to prepare yourself for your future husband and you must stay clean and if you don't behave accordingly, then you are a bad girl, therefore a man can sexually harass you, rape you and kill you. And if a man is a husband and especially a father then he has fully completed the level of being a true and strong man, then he has right to do whatever he wants with his family and

because his sexuality is part of his power, raping or sexually harassing a bad girl is not makes him guilty, rather, he is always been encouraged to get into a sexual relationship with a bad girl to become a real man.

This gendered language can be seen everywhere; politicians and famous people, who are role models of the society use this language consequently. For instance; in 14th of November 2014, Prime Minister Erdoğan made a speech at Social Gender Equality Platform; "It is right to have equality between women, but it is not right to have equality between women and men because we are not created in this way." (T24, 2014) In the same year, at a University, to the female students; "Don't wait to marry and don't be selective, find a men and marry as soon as possible." (T24, 2014) In 2016 at Women and Democracy Association, he gave some 'advices' to women; "A woman who is not mother is a half woman. Women should not deny their reason to be born and their biology. If a woman doesn't care about home and doesn't want to have a child, then she is unsuccessful on fulfilling her duties and identity." (Diken, 2016) In his speeches, he always makes a clear distinction between women and girl. It is same for religious figures and famous people, there are statements like; "It is forbidden and perverted for a pregnant woman to go out, women shouldn't laugh, women should be silent, shouldn't go to vacation without husband" from The Department of Religious Affairs, or like "You get raped and we got to deal

with the consequences, don't get raped and have sexual relationships." from Chief Public Prosecutor. These are only couple examples, but there are countless gendered statements and speeches like that. (T24, 2014)

This gendered language and its results can be seen in news and in daily language in Turkey. In the magazine pages of Turkish newspapers, women are reflected as sex objects and even if they are famous and successful, it is because of their body and appearance. In the 3rd page news, which are about murder and rape; women are reflected as a victim, this causes men to be seen as innocent. (Çiler, 2000) There is a perception created; if a girl is out late at night and wears skirt or drunk, if a wife is failed to take care home or leaves home, then she deserves to get sexual harassment or die. (Dursun, 2000)

What I believe is; even though there are lots of discussions and analyses on gendered language and media in Turkey, there is a gap in the Turkish rape culture and while trying to solve the problem of violence and raise social awareness, the discourse that is being used actually leads to the normalization of this violence, therefore the gendered language of Turkish media should be analysed and discussed on the basis of its contribution to trivialization of violence. This is what I am aiming to do.

4. Methodology

Discourse analysis, which is "an approach to the analysis of language that looks at patterns of language across text as well as social and cultural context in which the text occurs." (Paltridge, 2006, s. 1), will be used to conduct this research. In this analysis, language is not simply taken as a tool for description or way of communication, but as a social practice. (Wood & Kroger, 2000) So it is basically an analysis of language, but we don't call it language analysis, since this analysis focuses on rather than the language as an abstract system, but focuses on the language that is created on the basis of social and cultural values and on the language that creates the social and cultural values as well. So discourse is a broader term; it is "language-in use" (Gee, 2014, s. 19) and it "covers all forms of spoken interaction, formal and informal and written texts of all kinds." (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, s. 7) It is shaped by the world and shapes the world, it carries the ideas, cultural values and beliefs.

Therefore, we might say that; behind the first definition of a word, it has a deeper meaning, which is related to society's cultural norms, and by analysing the discourses, it is possible to understand the society's actions and behaviours. As in the news; what is presented in a newspaper would construct and promote a particular point of view. But this doesn't mean that what is produced would be taken by the receiver in the same way, people would interpret the messages according to their background. So a discourse is not just about the producer's

message, it refers to what receiver might get from the text as well. (Widdowson, 2011)

The aim of the discourse analysis is to “uncover how language works to construct meanings, that signify people, objects and events in the world in specific ways. It is concerned with the way in which discourse builds social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge or belief and how these discourses maintain power through their ideological properties.” (Potter W. J., 2012, s. 462) It answers the questions of; what kind of knowledge about the world does a specific discourse construct. So this is why I believe discourse analysis is an efficient way to answer my questions since I am aiming to understand how language influences and creates meanings.

There are some weaknesses as well as strong points of this analysis. Discourse analysis is subjective, its sample size is really small, therefore generalizability could be a problem and its always open to interpretation and negotiation. However, it will be possible to analyse and understand unacknowledged aspects of human behaviour and how a concept like gender roles are built upon time (Morgan, 2010)

I will be doing discourse analysis on the newspaper articles from 2002 to 2015. The reason I choose this time period is because the Justice and Development Party (AKP) was founded in 2001 and elected in 2002 and still they rule the country. It is a social conservative party and it is developed from

the tradition of Islamism and they have the ideology of conservative democracy.
(Akdoğan, 2006)

Since 2001, AKP has the whole power and had a long time to build and strengthen its influence on public discourse. Now they both have executive and legislative powers and it might be said that they also control media and judicial branch. Therefore, we can see the proof of their discourses and ideology are all over Turkey, they do control how we believe and think, how we live our religion and gender roles. (see; Bingöl, 2012; Öztürk, 2016; Yıldızoğlu, 2015)

From this time period, I have chosen 3 key cases to discuss periodically; NÇ Case from 2002; murder of Münevver Karabulut from 2009; rape and murder of Özgecan Aslan from 2015. All these 3 cases are milestones of the evolution of the violence against women in Turkey, both victims and murderers/rapists reflect the other cases and these cases are the major ones that are still being discussed and referred to all gender problems in Turkey. By discussing these cases, it will be possible to see the frequency, intensity and generality of the violence.

I will be making a sample list of articles with stratified sampling method; I will break the newspapers down into units according to their position and randomly sample articles from these strata therefore it would be possible to get more diversified data and discuss the discourses of all positions.

4. Media and Sexual Violence in Turkey

To discuss the relation between newspaper articles and sexual violence in Turkey. I have created 4 stratum that includes 50 national newspapers, on the basis of political alignment; leftist, rightist, pro-governmental and anti-governmental. From these stratum, I have randomly sampled 5 newspapers to do critical discourse analysis on and *Hürriyet*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Yeni Şafak*, *Sözcü* and *Yeni Akit* came up.

Hürriyet was founded in 1948 and has the highest circulation. (MedyaTava, 2016) Its political alignment is centre-left, secularism and Mainstream Liberalism. (Özyürek, 2006) *Cumhuriyet* as the oldest newspaper of Turkey, was founded in 1924, it is 21st in the circulation, (MedyaTava, 2016) it is centre-leftist, secularist, social democrat and Kemalist. In 2015, it was awarded the Freedom of Press Prize by international NGO Reporters Without Borders for standing against government pressure. (see; Bihr, 2015; Hurriyet, 2015) *Sözcü* was founded in 2007 and known with its lurid anti-government stance. It is Kemalist, Secularist and Nationalist. It is the 4th in the circulation. (MedyaTava, 2016)

Yeni Şafak was founded in 1994 with rightist, Islamist, conservative and Anti-Semitist stance (see; Sancak, 2014; Kaplan, 2014; Tenekeci, 2014) It is the 11th in the circulation. (MedyaTava, 2016) It is known for its support of the

government and President. (Çandar, 2014) *Yeni Akit* was founded in 2010 as an acid supporter of JDP, it is far-rightist, Islamic Fundamentalist and also Anti-Semitist. It is known for its Islamic Extremist views, support of militant Islamist organizations, hate speeches to Jews, Atheists, Feminists, Greeks, Yazidis, LGBT, Secularist, freemasons, socialist, communist, Kemalist and Armenians. It is one of the top three newspaper resorting to hate speech in Turkey. (see; Gümüş, 2012; Hurriyet, 2013; Doğ an News Agency, 2012; Milliyet, 2014; BBC, 2014) Both have anti-LGBT and anti-abortion views. (see; Radikal, 2012; Erdoğan, 2012; Bearak, 2016; Ellis, 2016)

I will randomly sample one article from each newspaper then conduct critical discourse analysis.

4.1. NÇ Case

This case, which is named as "shame case," is from 2002. NÇ was an anonymous 12-year-old girl who was living in an orphanage and who was forced to work as prostitute for the people including government officials and raped by totally more than 28 people in time and 17 people at the same time. (see; Ş effaf Gazete, 2011) In the court one of the defence that has been underlined over and over again was; she was raped in anal ways only and she was still virgin, therefore a 'girl.' This makes people think like rape is soften as a

crime if the victim stays virgin. And some suspects got report of being impotence and tried to clear themselves by not being 'men.'

At the end, suspects were set free for a pending trial and they have returned their jobs and lives because the judge's decisions were; she had consent for the sexual relationship, therefore suspects are not guilty. She was protected with anonymity and was sent to another city to live. The case took 10 years for a decision and finally rapists were sentenced 1,5 to 5-year prison, then the decision was taken to the supreme court and in 2013, the case was reopened, this time suspects got 5-9-year, which is an eased penalty because she had consent. Now, NÇ is a law student, still on a treatment for the post-traumatic syndrome and her case is sent to the supreme court again.

This case was reflected with a traditional gendered approach as a representation of other children who are violated and showed how children are vulnerable and needed protection while creating a distinction between girls and big boys. Nevertheless, it was not broadly covered by newspapers especially by pro-governmental ones, since it has ties with authorities and it wasn't wanted to become viral to protect 'big boy's.

When we look at the newspapers, an article came up from *Cumhuriyet* with a gendered headline; "Women came together for NÇ" (Cumhuriyet, 2011) In the first paragraph of the article, there is a statement which is; "The rapists

were teachers, lieutenants, public servants, men!" We can see there is a clear generalisation here and puts all men into the position of rapist. The statement continues by putting women into the position of victim and claiming that they all are always under the pressure of men. Rather than stating there are some problems about judicial system, they claim that judicial system is all wrong because it favours men, only women are fighting against rape but men doesn't care. So they themselves creates a discrimination between men and women by reflecting 'we' as women and victim and 'they' as men and guilty. By choosing to report Feminist Collectivity's this statement, Cumhuriyet actually chooses a side and fails to reflect what men thinks and strengthens the discrimination between women and men. What I believe, while reporting, article should criticize gendered approach of the Collectivity and shouldn't reflect that the fight against violence is also against men.

In *Hurriyet*, a column came up with the headline of; "They declared 12-year-old girl as a whore!" Makes people think by using contrast words. Armutçu (2013) began her article with stating how hard for them to read NÇ story, by 'them' she refers to *Hurriyet* staff. They have thought a lot on whether to publish this case or not and finally their conscience decided to do so and because they made this case become a part of national agenda, rapists got penalties. Basically, they are trying to get their share and some applause, plus

they are clearly opposition to government, who is believed to protect rapists.

Rather than making a clear discrimination between men and women, 'notable people' and 'unknown girl' is used. Also 'country's judicial system,' is used rather than men's. So there is a blame to the way that country is being ruled, an anti-governmental stance can be seen here. To strengthen the expression, She uses some blaming rhetorical questions and these questions are mostly towards to all citizens but actually targeting 'government's judicial system.'

She underlines the discrimination between 'big men' who has the power and mental capacity and 'little children' who is weak and needy by stating NÇ is not the only one and 'big men' is always there with their perverted desires. Nevertheless, NÇ will never be forgotten and she won't be a corrupted lawyer. While she doesn't propose a prevention, she assumes NÇ is going to be a lawyer to defend the victims like her without considering her judgements could be problematic and around male hate since she went through terrible times.

In *Sözcü*, an article with the headline of "Decision on NÇ Case!" (Sözcü, 2013) is on NÇ's lawyer's speech. She says, the final decision after 10 years is relatively better, this case represents all other children who are sexually abused and the decision is a precedent for next cases, therefore the decision should have been accepted by public opinion but 12-year-old-girl having consent on

rapes is unacceptable. She also underlines the word 'relatively' over and over again by saying they are definitely not happy with the eased penalties, but this is still a victory. It is like; the case was really important and it was not only about NÇ but actually represents more and the result is not satisfying but as a lawyer, she was successful, 'relatively' got a good decision, besides she will continue to fight.

The article continues with another lawyer's, who is responsible to follow the case in the name of Bursa Bar Association, speech. She says that as a citizen she agrees with the public opinion and criticize the decision but as a lawyer, she knows that the decision is made under the existing laws, therefore the criticism should have targeted National Assembly. She underlines that the precautions are more important than punishments and government should do something to prevent these kind of incidents. Even though there are no suggestions, finally the word prevention is mentioned and clearly the government is put into the responsible position.

This article is a bit more about the legal part of the case rather than framing NÇ's victimized position and how hard for women and children to survive in the men's world, and pitying them. It has anti-government stance and by reporting NÇ's side, it underlines government's insufficient response and holds them responsible for preventing violence and solving problems about

legal system.

In *Yeni Şafak* a column; "NÇ Case: Which religious book includes this?" came up. (Albayrak, 2013) Everything about this column is highly religious, from the headline to the end. First she gives some information about the case by using the words, 'child' and 'notable people.' Then adds Minister of Justice's statement about NÇ to clear the government, by doing so, she underlines that the old law was problematic but government eliminated these problems with the new law. She relates not having belief and fear of god with being wild animal and refers rape as a religious sin beyond being a socially perverted action. Then she asks rhetorical question which religious book could accept rape of a little girl. Finally, she qualifies being gendered to children as shame, sin, cruelty. It can be seen that, she questions our minds and conscience, and at least children should be freed from the problems of gendered society. She tries to clear the government and ties up everything with religion. She consistently underlines that raping is a sin. Again there is no suggested preventions or solutions.

Yeni Akit didn't cover the story since their publications are more recent.

The common point of all these newspaper articles are; there is a problem but the actual problem is not seen, therefore there are no proposed solutions or preventions. All stating that the problem is the wrong judgement of 12-year-

old-girl having consent and rapists get eased penalties. But the actual problem, the reasons and conditions for rape to take place is not spoken at all. Only NÇ being a lawyer to represent and defend victims like her is reflected as a solution but no one questions her physiological condition.

The other common point is to blame others. Either Government or men or society's understanding of women or being irreligious is blamed but no one questions themselves.

There is a common lexicalisation in all articles for 'women' who is victim; 'child' who is weak, unable to decide; 'notable' who has power, capability to decide; and 'men,' who are put into the guilty position and blamed. The legal system is titled in two ways; men's and government's, both are blamed. These lexicalisation makes reader think like; women are victims and they are under the pressure of men's world, the phrases such as 'women's defender, women's fight, women's problem' reflects women as needy and strengthens the distinction between women and men. On the other hand, notable men have power to act however they want and can be freed without any loss.

4.2. The Murder of Münevver Karabulut

Münevver was a 17-year-old high school girl who is murdered by her rich 17-year-old boyfriend Cem Garipoğlu, in 2009. She was killed by multiple stabbings and her body was found in dumpster into two pieces, her head was

cut off because killer tried to put her into a guitar case but it didn't fit in one piece. Cem was on run for 197 days, by this time the autopsy was done twice because it was found out that the autopsy report was altered by putting sperm samples to her underpants to show her as a 'bad girl' who deserves to die. At the end, Cem turned himself in and with him 7 people were sent to trial; including his father for helping him to cut and dump the body, his mother to destroy the evidence and his uncle to hide him. Münevver's parents believed Cem and his family made a Satanist sacrament and sacrificed Münevver. As a result, Cem was sentenced to 24-year, his mom and uncle was sentenced to 3-year and somehow his father was found innocent, Münevver's parents got 1 billion 287 thousand Turkish Liras as a compensation. In November 2014, Cem hang himself in his cell.

Münevver's and Cem's poor girl-rich boy love story became viral with irrelevant photos on magazine pages and Münevver was reflected as guilty because of having boyfriend. Cem's playboy life and Münevver's parent's cravings for revenge became more important than the murder itself.

In *Cumhuriyet*, article about Münevver's father's comments on Cem's suicide came up. (Cumhuriyet, 2014) The headline was; "Münevver's father has spoken: I'll open his grave." The words that are underlined in the subheading is 'the boyfriend' and 'brutal murder.' It is seen that; Münevver is mentioned with Cem being his boyfriend, her murder is reflected as brutal, father's peace is

dependent upon Cem's being precisely dead, dead of a murderer is good news and there is a correlation between having conscience with committing suicide because of guilt. Article underlines that Münevver's family is religious by saying father was at Friday praying when he heard the news, then he went to the grave to tell Münevver, her revenge is now taken and adds Münevver's mother was praying for revenge every night and finally she got some answers.

Paradoxically, after underlining that family is religious, it is reflected as father feels relieved because of a suicide, and mother was praying for someone to die, which are sins in Islam. Because most of the population of Turkey is Muslim, article is reflected with religious norms to get some sympathy from public, additionally I believe family's statements are reported consequently to get attention from parents and to message them to be responsible and in control of their daughters, otherwise they can also face with such murder. Besides, as an oppositional newspaper, *Cumhuriyet* didn't connect family's religion with government's Islamist stance but to only use it to link the article with society.

An anti-governmental column came up from *Hurriyet* with the headline of 'Münevver Karabulut.' Doğan, (2015) claims Turkey is shaken with this murder, then he quotes Istanbul Chief of Police who was leading the chasing of Cem; "Parents should have protected their daughter." and adds that autopsy report was done twice, first judge was related to Cem's family, finally writes

sarcastically of the judge's decision. Basically, he underlines all the problems and means that the case was converted and problematic all along.

After criticizing authorities, he quotes President, former Prime Minister Erdoğan's speech about Münevver, but he doesn't write minister or president but only call him with his middle and last name; "As being mother and father we also have some duties, if there are unwanted murders lately then we should criticize ourselves, who ever is on one's own, would either go to drummer or to a person who plays clarion."¹ Then adds how government promised to do everything to stop violence against women and ironically how after 6 years, 1956 murders of women are committed by men. Here, he clearly doesn't feel like he belongs to this government, therefore he uses only the name of the former Prime Minister/President and blames the government and authorities. He refers to some cases and concludes; how little unimportant events became massive and motive to kill; hate speech, humiliation, bullying, othering became normal, people are like powder barrel ready to explode. He also uses the phrase 'bottom out' for Turkey. Lastly, he writes about how new Prime Minister is not consistent by giving some examples of his promises versus practice. In conclusion; it might be said that Doğan chooses to cite Istanbul Chief of

¹ This is a Turkish proverb, means; a girl at the age of marriage is keen on entertainment and if elders wouldn't control and warn her, then she would marry with a guy who is not approved. (Aksoy, 1995)

Police's and President's statements to blame government for Turkey's being bottom out, underlines how government, that is not owned and accepted by Doğan, failed to keep promises.

In *Sözcü*, a sarcastic article on the compensation came up. (Sözcü, 2013). There is a register in the headline; 'Expert assessed the Münevver: 37 thousand 486 Turkish Liras!' the word assess is used for a human being while it actually means to estimate value of property. According to the report, which was based on PMF-1931², Münevver would get marry, would have 2 children and would die at the age of 65. And the compensation is determined accordingly; Münevver would get a job, supposedly a minimum waged, and help her mother and father but not responsible for her brother, after the marriage and children this help would reduce 70%, mother and father would live until the age of 70, therefore Münevver's dead caused a lose of 18,138 TL to mother and 19,348 TL to father. This underlines how a human life is actually cheap in the eyes of government, lexicalisation refers to how a women's life could be unimportant; a basic job, marriage at 23 and 2 children after 3 years, working until 60 and die at 65.

Article continues with Münevver's family's statement on how Münevver is brutally murdered, the way of the murder, the way it was reported, the tools

² PMF-1931 stands for Population Masculine et Feminine, a French chart of life span which is being used to determine income. (Sözcü, 2013)

that are used, how they are suffering from irretrievable loss and how Cem's family is also guilty by helping him escape and hiding evidences. The lexicalisation of this statement is a proof of hunger for pity. Using 'brutal' and underlining how murder was committed and Cem's parents being guilty over and over again actually makes people to take a negative attitude of the victim and become apathetic because you feel like family is using the murder to make some gains from Cem's rich family, who claims compensation is extreme since Cem was only a student.

It can be felt that article is criticizing the so-called 'expert' and authorities to accept such report and it makes reader feel unimportant in the eyes of government. By underlining how murder was brutal, as a reader I feel like; even if I am brutally murdered, my life would mean nothing and I'll only be treated as a object.

In *Yeni Şafak*, an article came up with the headline of 'Her head was on his shoulder.' (Kirelko, 2009) Which is about the taxi driver's, who last saw Münevver alive, statement. Article starts with how Yeni Şafak managed to find the taxi and continues with his full statement. Again the murder is reported as 'brutal' with Münevver's age.

Driver clearly remembers how they hug and with lexicalisation, being lovers, hugging is reflected as something unusual and bad. He also remembers the phone call in detail; Cem telling his mother to leave home because he is

bringing a girl to home, apparently means that he is planning to have a sexual relationship, also him, telling driver that he didn't know when she would come out so there is no need to wait, refers to the same thing. Driver also says that he wasn't going to let that beautiful and pure girl leave the car if he would know what would happen, this refers to the girl's being needy and as a man, even though he is a stranger he actually got a duty to protect 'beautiful and pure' 'girl' from a bad boy who plans to reach his bad desires. Here, there is a clash of a good girl and bad boy; a girl is a victim of a boy's desires and makes reader think, to protect a girl/daughter, you have to have the control and not let the girl meet or hug with a boy or put her head to a boy's shoulder, this could all cause a 'brutal' murder because these things are unusual.

Lastly there are citations from a psychiatrist's on how a man can commit such brutal murder in which murderer cannot think or realise what is he/she doing with the reasons of jealousy, to have power of capability, desire for sexuality, rejection and hollow family relations. So, article adds some support to its statements above; Cem might be a bad boy with bad desires and plans and might get crazy after a rejection. The word 'rejection' also underlines that Münevver is a good 'girl' who wants to protect herself and remain untouched.

Paradoxically, a girl putting head to a man's shoulder has news value, it even became headline and every small detail about the trip and their love is reported, article reflects Münevver as guilty because of having boyfriend; Cem

as a bad boy with bad desires. As a reader, I feel like I can get brutally murdered if I have a boyfriend and stay alone with him and become guilty for my own murder.

Yeni Akit's article is supporting government and former Prime Minister, President Erdoğan. The headline is; "This man is the lawyer of chainsaw murder!" (Yeni Akit, 2014) referring the President of Turkish Bars Association Metin Feyzioğlu. Article does not even bother to pretend neutral and starts with saying; they are revealing his real face out; lied, slandered and accused government and Prime Minister being murderer of Berkin Elvan³ while he was defending Berkin. There is a link between being just, honourable, truthful and self-respecting with being on Münevver's side and it is claimed that Feyzioğlu doesn't have any of these, also they blame him for getting money from Garipoğlu to do his job. Münevver's father contradicts with himself by believing no women would vote for him if Feyzioğlu would have run for presidency. He frames men can commit such murder, can be on the Garipoğlu's side and accept an unjust decision, Besides, he accuses Feyzioğlu not to understand

³ Berkin Elvan is a 15-year-old boy, who was killed by the police at Gezi Park Protests in 2014 and became an icon of the movement. Even though his parents told that he was going to get some bread, he was found guilty because of 12 sparkles that was found in his pocket. Erdoğan said that, he was part of protests and there are proofs of Berkin's involvement to some terrorist groups. (see; CNNTURK, 2014; BBC, 2014; Alkaç, 2014; Munyar, 2015)

justice while saying 'his justice' is not served, by doing so, he violates 'justice' which is based on equality, he doesn't want the truth, rather he wants Garipoğ lu family to suffer and be punished. He uses words, 'aggrieved' and 'victimized' for themselves and creates a certain distinction between 'them' and 'Feyzioğ lu.' It's highly problematic that there is a correlation between being man and serving Münevver's father's justice, in doing so, article claims Feyzioğ lu is not a man.

It is said that Erdoğan was personally interested in the case, he stepped in and made Cem got arrested, if there would be any other government, Münevver's family was silenced. Prime Minister is truthful, just and righteous. I find it absurd that there is a belief that Erdoğan made Cem arrested even though he turned himself in. Besides Erdoğan clearly blamed families of the murdered girls in his speech about Münevver's case, moreover he is the Prime Minister, without knowing and meeting him how would anyone know he is good and righteous, just because he is also Muslim doesn't make him a good person, plus why would he personally step in such case. This statement makes people believe that Erdoğan cares about everyone and can solve anything, just because we have him as President, we do not have to worry about anything. This article distorts the truths while choosing a distinct side. I believe it is highly problematic for a media channel to distinguish society from government, rather then creating a bond between them.

In conclusion; this case became viral with family's suffering, rather than the murder itself. Münevver is never presented as an individual, she is either a beloved daughter or a girlfriend. Family never uses the name Münevver, but always uses 'my daughter, my angel, my nephew,' she was pure, good, always represented as a girl while referring Cem as murderer, guilty, butcher. I believe family's actions and statements are hateful, they do have hunger for revenge and never realized Cem is also a human being and a son. All Münevver's family did was to blame them, labelled them as Satanist. They did call themselves Muslim but they wanted to see others suffer and die. They gained billions but accused Garipoğlu's lawyers to gain money to do his job. Münevver's father even wrote a book about the murder. Without respecting equality and the truth, they consider their desire of revenge as justice. The way incident is reported made readers to lose their pity for the Münevver and become apathetic. I don't consider her family as a victim anymore, I am actually accusing them for using Münevver's murder to make gain; while trying to get some peace for themselves, they violate their daughter's memory.

While Münevver is always presented as daughter or girlfriend, Cem is always presented as boyfriend. Their love and irrelevant photos were always on sight, the murder became part of the race for ratings. Münevver is being framed as a naïve high school girl, who is needy and weak and failed to understand the bad boy's motives. The way murder was committed is always

being talked and the word 'brutal' is always being used. It makes reader feels like; if a girl has a boyfriend, she could brutally be murdered. Besides, it is represented as this murder is a problem because it was brutal, there can be normal murders which are less important and problematic.

The real motive and reason of the murder is never being talked, the trial became a clash between Islam and Satanism, while trying to blame the whole Garipoğlu family, the real problems are overlooked. No one talked why Cem committed that murder, why and how an 18-year-old boy find himself into a position that could kill, cut a body's head off with a chainsaw and dump it with a guitar case. While reading about how Münevver's family love their daughters and how it was hard for them to see her body like that, we stopped talking about the murder itself.

I believe, the way the murder is reported is corrupted, every article involves the family's statements, law suits and money issues, the clear reason for the murder is never discussed therefore there are no proposed measurements, the murder became a part of magazine, and Münevver never got a chance to be an individual, her having a boyfriend had news value. The message of; you should protect your daughters otherwise they can face with brutal murders and a girl with a boyfriend could brutally be murdered is sent to everyone.

4.3. The Murder of Özgecan Aslan

Özgecan was a 19-year-old college girl, who was beaten to death with an iron rod as she resisted a rape attempt by Suphi Altındöken, driver of a minibus she took to go home. Driver cut her hands off, burned her to the point that it rendered identification impossible and dumped her to a riverbed in 2015. It was decided that the murder was a case of monstrous and torturous homicide. Finally, with him, his father and friend were handed aggravated life sentences with no possibility of parole. In prison, Altındöken was killed by a shot into his heart in April 2016.

The murder caused nationwide outrage, thousands of citizens took the streets and criticized for insufficient response and alleged normalization of non-conservative women. Government response was criticized for being too little, too late. Now her name is given to streets, parks and youth centres. Besides, a petition was started to prevent reduction of sentences being given to perpetrators of violence and murder against women. It became the most popular one with 1.125.000 signatures, consequently the Özgecan Law⁴ is

⁴ Özgecan Law is a law which was promised by Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) and the Republican Turkish Party (CHP) and which "would remove the provision for the reduction of sentences for the perpetrators of violence and murder against women upon the grounds of "good behavior" and "unjust provocation" from Article 102 of the Turkish Penal Code. The proposal would also increase the penalty for child marriage and remove the provisions about the "consent"

created. (see; Johnson, 2014; Girit, 2015; Shafak, 2015; T24, 2015; Russia Today, 2014)

In Cumhuriyet, a column came up with the headline of "Violence against violence," (Balbay, 2015) Balbay's main argument is, true solution for stopping the violence is lays on men to start fighting for it. He says the responses to the Özgecan's murder are developed in a violent and authoritarian society. Rather than trying to find a solution, Government, especially Prime Minister are in the race of punishing the murderers; one side proposing the altering and other side is on the death sentence. This shows how murderers are raised and where they find motives. Luckily, as he says, Özgecan's father is not one of those, he believes death sentence is not a solution, the perverted views of men should change, no one should ever talk about hate, otherwise they lay the ground for more more murders of angels like Özgecan.

Balbay wishes Özgecan's father's attitude to become an example for the government who tries to solve everything with punishment but believes that's not possible to happen because parliament is trying to stop violence with violence. They are discussing a proposal which would normalize violence more,

of the child." CHP put forward such proposals since, but it never passed. (Karabağ Iı, 2015)

by punishing violence against women while giving everyone right to punish by law.

While stepping on a good point and asking readers to think about how to stop violence, he clearly blames government and the understanding that they have been creating over time. Also tries to diminish the inequality between men and women and show that this fight is ours, not just women's. This article makes me think that finally there is someone who is discussing something that is not about punishment and there is hope to find the real problem, even though there is no proposed preventions and the writing is all opposition to government. There is a clash between government and Özgecan's father plus 'rising consciousness' is mentioned, showing there is belief to the society.

Another column came up from Hurriyet, the headline is; 'How do we change?' (Karakartal, 2015) She starts with a rhetorical question and answers it; "Do you know what will happen after the brutal murder of Özgecan? That well-known forgetfulness of society will take place." There are lots of contradictions in this column; she is too pessimistic and does not believe violence could ever stop, even talking about violence is problematic and harmful for women, male domination is everywhere and silences women, being women is reason to suffer and talking about suffer causes more suffer, she mentions one of her memories that she was harassed with the main argument of how hard to be women since they are doomed to be abused, and underlines couple times that Özgecan will

be forgotten, she died for nothing, conditions won't get better. She also uses 'hell' for Turkey, where women are not safe. After all these depressive points, she says women cannot be silenced, and talking about abuses is solution, women will always fight against men. I believe, this makes readers become pessimistic about the society and confuses them since it is sensible that even reader herself does not believe what she writes but simply proposes insufficient, so-called solutions to end the column. She uses 'brutal' and 'slaying' for Özgecan's murder. Creates a distinction between men and women and refers to women being weak and suffering in men's world. As a reader, the article reminds me how bad the situation is and make me more silent, scared and hopeless.

From Sözcü, an article came up with the headline of "Castration should be discussed," (Sözcü, 2015) starts with quoting President of Committee on Justice who is a member of Justice and Development Party; saying that castration should be discussed as a punishment for sexual harassment which are not end up with murder and death penalty which are end up with violent murder. He believes murder of Özgecan is a black mark for humanity and punishments do not free them from responsibilities, they have to come up with a prevention and deterrent punishments, which would strengthen society's trust on justice, otherwise punishments would turn into prizes. Lastly, President's condolences to Özgecan's family and all Turkish society are shared.

Article's side is not clear but since they do not use 'our' for President of Committee on Justice and clearly underline he is from AKP, it can be said that there are opposition. President of the Committee says this murder is a crime of humanity and sends his condolences to all but his lexicalisation makes clear discrimination between men as criminals and women as victims, plus puts women in to a weak position which can only be protected by death penalty or abolishing masculinity, because simply masculinity is all about abuses and harassments; it is shown as men can rape and kill and only can be stopped by cutting off the sacred male sexual organ. This refers to the roots of violence; rather than changing the ideology and society's minds, solution is being searched in changing the surface, punishing the masculinity which is considered as perverted and bad. Paradoxically, while there is no respect for women's body and it is being violated constantly in a normalized way, men's body is everything to him and the worst punishment is considered to violate it. Besides, the President of Committee on Justice of the country is proposing death penalty and castration as punishments by believing they can be deterrent while there is no evidence of that at all. (see: Nagin & Pepper, 2012)

An article about the opening of Özgecan Cultural Centre on International Women's Day, came up from Yeni Şafak. (Yeni Şafak, 2016) It starts with quoting Mayor of Beylikdüzü, he wishes Özgecan to be alive therefore they wouldn't name the centre Özgecan, but unfortunately 'our' Turkey is going

through terrible times. He underlines centre's women orientation, women's importance as Atatürk and Islam say and education as a solution. Continuing with Özgecan's father's statements, saying rather than blaming, they turned themselves to god to get peace, love and happiness. He wishes this kind of centres to become a home for good faith and good example to all, he's dedicating his life to Özgecans from now on and men have very important duty; a sacred protection of angels and Özgecans who would bring peace. Men who are demonstrated as eagle, are there to protect women who are demonstrated as pigeon.

Paradoxically while believing solution is education and men has a sacred duty to protect, the centre which involves libraries, classes and art is women oriented. Both are religious and lexicalisation reflects that praying to god could bring peace therefore, there is no reason to do anything,

A column, which is highly religious, came up from Yeni Akit with the headline of "I wish government would have killed him!" (Karahasanog lu, 2016) Karahasanog lu believes, since women and men are strictly forbidden to have sexual relationships before marriage and Islam punishes it severely, the rapist of Özgecan should face death penalty. He doesn't use the word 'sexual relationship' but uses 'practice of wife and husband' which clearly frames sexual relationship is only involved in marriage naturally, in other circumstances it is forbidden and who ever does it is guilty. He says "Even god, who is the most

merciful one, believes that the punishment should be murder, therefore we shall believe in his justice." As 'we,' he refers to the whole society and says while 99%⁵ of society is Muslim, because of today's system and leftist people, death penalty is reflected as inhumane, right to life is reflected as it is above everything and life imprisonment as enough punishment, which is actually a gift since government gives you home and feeds you. Death penalty is given and commended by god, so no need to question its deterrence. He underlines that government failed to serve justice but justice is served by again a murder which is forbidden according to laws but which the true justice actually is. He believes government should be the one who have killed him to serve the true justice of Islam.

He makes a clear distinction between god's judgement and government/leftist; he assumes that society is all Muslim and it is opposition to the government. He believes justice should be served according to Kur-an, and god's sayings but not according to the laws of a democratic country. Islam is above everything, even above right to live and democratic norms. Paradoxically, Islam forbids to kill, even to kill the killers, only god can give life and take it but writer believes this murder is committed by god by the hand of a person. While religion is sacred and above humanity, ironically this article is written on the

⁵ Writer says 99% of the society is Muslim since the religion is written in Turkish people's national identity card and is Islam by default, independently from what would individuals identify themselves.

basis of Islam versus government and underlines if something is okay for religion then individuals shall obey without question.

In conclusion, women are always associated with weak qualities while men are always associated with strong ones. Murder is brutal, dead girl is someone's beloved and poor daughter, who is killed because she was a girl, outside at dark, alone, murderer is simple bus driver that everyone could bump into anytime and again any kind of relationship before marriage is problem and has news value. There is again clear distinction between women, who is reflected as victim and men who is reflected as guilty, But, there can be said that there is a slight change in the reporting, which gives me hope. Finally, the rights questions are began to be asked, even though there are no proposed preventions, the lack of existing preventions is reflected as a problem.

Nevermore, death penalty is still on the table and murder of murderer is reflected as justice, the punishments are the main discussion, everyone blames one another and no one questions themselves; one side believes government is failed to protect women and the other side is fatalist and believes god is there to serve justice and protect. Readers are assumed, rather as a Muslim and believe god would protect and avenge or as just a citizen whose government is failed to protect, they are afraid that there are lots of 'men' out there like bus drivers and simply returning home after dawn may result being brutally killed.

6. Conclusion

While each case constructs common culture and norms, on the story basis, they are constructed with some differences; NÇ case was not reported openly due to its anonymity and relation with authorities, some newspapers even did not cover at all. Mostly the coverage is all about the legal issues and the incident is framed as a legal problem. Münevver's story was covered in depth and details of her relationship with Cem. Her family played a major role and their religion was underlined. On the other hand, since Özgecan's family has a different background, they played a different role and not reflected with their hunger for pity and revenge.

When we look at the similarities; there is hate speech to either government or men, all reported with masculine language on the basis of traditional gender roles, all have traditional gendered approach which creates men versus women fight and which strengthens fear of women towards men. Lexicalisation of articles; puts women into either a guilty position because of having a boyfriend or vulnerable position as a pure girl, and puts men into a guilty, criminal position with abilities and power. Even though this positioning is wrong, it is normalized because it is repetitious. As a result of distorted reporting, rather than getting the information, readers face with rumour centred articles. It can be seen that there is a distinction between 'normal' murder, which lost its news value in years, and slayings. This leads violence to be

normalized and become part of the culture. Lastly, all articles focus on punishments without addressing the roots of the problem or proposing precautions. Nevertheless, a small improvement towards asking the right questions can be seen in Özgecan's case, consistency and results can be discussed in the further researches.

In conclusion, it can be seen that, a discourse which contributes to a culture which violence is normalized, is reproduced in newspaper articles. Lexicalisation strengthens masculine norms and traditional gender roles. What I believe is, by increasing critical media literacy, this reproduction can be prevented, therefore the real problems might be talked with efficient precautions. Of course there are hundreds of more articles on these cases to make discourse analysis on and with the methods focusing on individual's responses to these articles, this research can be improved and furthered.

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