

‘Til Death Do Us part

Representations of men in the Italian
mainstream press coverage of femicide

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Abstract

Femicide is the ultimate expression of the violence against women. It is the ultimate act of male dominance over a woman. Despite the criminal justice systems and governments have acknowledged femicide as a crime, there is little public awareness about the patriarchal roots that diffuse and maintain men's power. Even though the causes of femicide cannot be separated from the causes of patriarchy, femicide continues to be seen only as a crime. Little action or reflection has been deployed to critically look at the perpetrators of femicide.

This thesis embarks from the standpoint that the representations in the news media play a significant role in affecting the extent to which the perpetrators of femicide are regarded as justifiable for their crime. With the aim of enhancing our understanding of femicide and the mediation of men and masculinities, the present thesis investigates how a selection of perpetrators of femicide was discursively represented in Italy's three mainstream newspapers during 2018.

By using tools from critical discourse analysis and qualitative coding, this thesis shows how news media to a great extent do not problematize the homicidal actions of the man within the context of a persisting patriarchal system. The perpetrators of femicide are represented in a continuous negotiation of their profile: mad men/lucid men, violent men/caring fathers/lovers. The thesis links these representations to ongoing trends where patriarchal and hegemonic masculinity discourses – centered on the male breadwinner figure and the dehumanization and decontextualization of the killer – have affected the news reporting.

The mediation of masculinity within a femicide context has remained an under-researched topic within the field. The conclusions of this study – that the news media are more interested in gazing at the lurid details of the men's killing dynamics than critically examining them – suggest that more critical reflection on the crime news as a playground for morality is to prevail.

Keywords: *'News media', 'femicide', 'masculinity', 'crime news', 'journalism ethics', 'Critical Discourse Analysis', 'representations', 'Italy', 'mainstream newspapers', 'negotiation'*

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1. Introduction

Femicide is a social and criminal phenomenon widespread across the world. The research and advocacy organization Femicide Watch reported a datum from a BBC Monitoring investigation: 47 women were killed each day in 2018¹ around the world because they were female. This concerning trend confirms what the United Nations wrote in the *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women* in 1993: “the historically unequal power relations between men and women”, which imply a system of male dominance from the public to the private sphere.

This thesis project embarks from a position that mainstream media play a significant role in making an impact on a societal issue such as the femicide: in comparison with alternative media which might have a different and stronger position on what femicide socially embodies, the mainstream ones have a bigger public resonance and hence a bigger normative power to critically address the problem and advocate for an effective solution. Although acknowledging the globality of such an extreme case and the importance of a global media network to find common guidelines in reporting this crime, the present research design will investigate the Italian context. During the year 2018, 93 women were murdered by an intimate partner, a family member, a male friend: in a timeframe, every 72 hours, femicide occurred. In 2011, the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence - known better as Istanbul Convention - signed and ratified by Italy in 2014- called indeed for the involvement of media to set guidelines and self-regulatory standards to critically explain the phenomenon and to enhance respect for the victims' dignity.

Therefore, this work wants to be a contribution to an ongoing conversation on how mainstream news tackles a sensitive topic like femicide by examining, with the help of a radical feminist and critical masculinity theoretical framework, the representations of the male perpetrator within three Italian newspapers. The scope is to employ a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) on the news articles to unpack the discursive practices embedded within the construction of the man and to thoroughly reflect on the problematics implicated by their usage.

¹ Research accessed on January 25th at the following link: <http://femicide-watch.org/products/47-women-killed-one-day-around-world-because-their-gender-bbc-news>.

1.1. Aims and objectives

The first main objective of this study is to analyse how the mainstream press represents men responsible for femicide in Italy. The intention is to use CDA and to be guided by the theorization on masculinity to investigate the news coverage on femicide in 2018, to deconstruct the articles and obtain a series of representations concerning the male subject. In doing so, this project commits in a comparison among the mainstream newspapers to explore the presence either of common trends in reporting femicide or either of differences. Seeing as femicide is occurring worldwide, the aim is to supply contextual knowledge which can contribute to the broader research field of media, masculinity and gender studies. By adopting a radical feminist standpoint, the interest is also to examine an extreme case like femicide and therefore to scrutinize whether the men guilty of femicide are framed as agents of that patriarchal structure this feminist strand repeals. In tackling issues such as media representations, news coverage and crime, another objective is to critically reflect on journalism ethics, on its values and rules of conduct in order to contribute to the ongoing discussion on the best practices of doing journalism when it comes to reporting a delicate topic like femicide. On the methodological front, this project will contribute with an alternative approach advocating that the focus on male individuals can function as a fruitful getaway for deconstructing the hegemonic discourses on femicide and for shedding a light on how its crime reporting can improve.

1.2 Research questions

The data collected will answer to the following research questions:

1. *In what ways are the men who committed femicide in Italy represented in the mainstream national press?*
2. *What kind of masculinities emerge in the mediated identification of the perpetrators of femicide?*
3. *How do representations of men and masculinities in the news coverage of femicide reflect the dominant discourses on gender relations in Italy?*

The first two questions were thought to drive the conversation into the core of the research topic: the man and the masculinity intended as social category, therefore going from a descriptive to a more analytical level of analysis. The third question wants to dive deep into the Italian context by looking at the discursive practises emerging in the news media analysis and mirroring the gender relations in Italy.

2. The sociocultural contextualization: God, family and media in Italy

Elisa Giomi (2010) critically says that in a country where Silvio Berlusconi, the political leader of sexual scandals and sexist jokes, had been ruling for about twenty years, it is hard to find a genuine interest for an improvement in the way the Italian population see women as equal as men. Ages of Berlusconiism contributed to a mediatic worldwide attention on the Italian socio-political reality, yet these years of reckless leadership are one of the expressions of the national patriarchal symptoms. The purpose of this section is to illustrate the sociocultural dimensions peculiar of the Italian context.

2.1 God

A highly important role in the men-women relations is played by the Catholic Church whose state is in Rome. The political, cultural, and even economic ties between this state and the Italian institutions remain strong. The feminist movements of the 60s and the 70s energetically fought the conservative roles women had to stick with and stood up for eliminating discriminatory laws affecting women's lives, such as the reparatory marriage- which imposed the women victim of rape to marry their rapist to erase the shame from their family (Caffaro et al., 2014). Their activists demanded- succeeding- new laws, like the legalization of abortion and the regulation of the divorce by the Italian state, previously strictly ruled by the Catholic Church. However, the Church managed always to be influential especially through the Christian Democracy party, who had been leading the governmental institutions after the World War II.

Despite the fall of the Christian Democracy, the Church still represents a solid stakeholder when it comes to legislate over sensitive issues to women, such as major fundings for the public hospitals who practise the abortion or a faster procedure for a divorce practice. Indeed, in 2018 the Italian people assisted to a stronger return of the pro-life movements whose campaigns were visible in the major Italian cities and whose requests were welcome by some Italian local councils.

The Catholic values are embraced by political institutions to formulate decisions which hinder the women's right to freely make a choice and the next section will better clarify this aspect.

2.2. A family-centric law proposal

The presence of a strong stakeholder like the Catholic Church has lately reached a peak with a new family-centric law proposal.

Simone Pillon, pro-family and pro-life supporter and senator of the Northern League, the current ruling party together with the Five Stars Movement- planned a draft law aimed at revolutionising the actual divorce procedure. This legislative proposal is aimed at- using Pillon's own words- "putting again the family at the centre" of the social and juridical policies. This is established through an alternative dispute resolution of the children custody which strives for a more shared agreement and an equal share of the childcare expenses (Di Meo, 2018). What attorneys and feminist activists strongly criticise is that this draft law is an economic blackmail, because it discourages women with a low income to leave their husband as they will encounter high difficulties in sustaining the living cost of her and her children on her own.

The harshest critique claims that there is an attempt to privatise the domestic violence by setting separation and divorce procedures to the mediation of a private attorney, who is bonded to the professional secret by the law. Related to this last aspect, this draft law wants to sanction the parents who try to alienate the children from the other parent, which can be a powerful tool into the hands of abusive men who can claim that their former partners tried to keep the children away from them.

Conservative values put strong emphasis on the heterosexual family and an exaltation of fixed family roles and conservative practices, like the privatization of social issues such as domestic abuses which threaten women's welfare and their safety. Gaia Pianigiani (2019) writes that a sexist storm has been spreading over the courts in Italy, referring to sentences which reduced the jail time for a man responsible for femicide because he was in the middle of an emotional storm; or another sentence- written by female judges- which denied that a girl was raped because she looked too masculine.

If on a global perspective, female identities are changing due to a better education and a more awareness of their rights, in Italy there is still a persistent culture wherein marriage is the biggest aspiration and achievement if you are a woman. As Elisabetta Ruspini (2009) observed, the education system still produces and reproduces stereotypes of what is masculine and what is feminine: for instance, disciplines in the field of natural sciences are seemed more suitable to men, whereas the humanistic ones are seen appropriate for "the sensitive" women. A conservative and family-centric context constructed throughout decades has built gendered stereotypes hard to undone and avoid in the discursive and social practises.

2.3. The Italian mainstream media sphere

Seeing Italy as a country wherein conservatism is a mixture of religion and fixed gender roles, it comes with no wonder that the national mass media reflect a similar scenario. A recent research revealed of how newspapers still hold a conservative role in the representations of female politicians by using a generic masculine language which suggest that politics is a job for men only (Sensales & Areni, 2017). In 2009, a documentary elaborated by Lorella Zanardo, Cesare Cantù and Marco Malfi Chindemi showed examples of TV (both public and private) daily programmes wherein women are represented as a sexual object, obedient to the male host or just silent, in the background. The documentary titled *Women's Body* demonstrates another side of the patronizing and patriarchal practises within the Italian society.

In the #metoo era, the Italian media kept proposing genres and texts wherein stories of sexual and psychological harassments are questioned and put in doubt by a panel of male opinionists or of women who proclaimed themselves feminists. The victim-blaming practises are justified under the slogan of the freedom of expression a democracy like Italy needs to guarantee. The current public digital sphere dominated by right-wing and populist political (male) actors are making the tones harsher against who is against them, especially against women to whom certain politicians wished to be raped (Marchio, 2019) or compared to monkeys or floating dolls (Eduati, 2016). The current minister of the Interior used social media to post photos of girls- often under 18-old- protesting against him with subtle offenses which incentivise his already inflamed supporters to write hateful comments against them (Angeletti, 2019).

In the aims and objectives of this project, I clarified the intentions of supplying knowledge about both the discursive representations of men and the reflections of the ongoing gender relations in Italy through the news outlets covering femicide. The discussion on the Italian context provides those social and cultural dimensions constructing the Italian realm and its mainstream media sphere which are going to be scrutinized in this study with the due theoretical frameworks.

3. Literature review

In the following chapter, six points will be thoroughly analysed. The first one will concern the contextualization of femicide as a global studied phenomenon. The second and third part will look at media studies and the necessity of a stronger approach to news coverage of femicide, with a particular focus on what was done academically in Italy and the fourth part will offer a

reflection on the gap emerging from these studies. The last ones will be a critical reflection on media power and its agency towards femicide specifically and finally an overview of crime news as genre.

3.1. Femicide around the world

Italy is not the only country wherein femicide is a practise raising concerns and calling for a look inwards the society. Previous researchers showed how this phenomenon does not know geographic limits: from East to West, from North to South, scholars scrutinised the local context and the dynamics wherein femicide took place. These academic works referred to this crime using different expressions: intimate homicide, uxoricide, honour-killing (Mathews et al., 2004; Wilson; 2008; Nasrullah et al., 2009).

Mathews and her fellow colleagues (2004) explore the prevalent factors associated with intimate femicide in South Africa. Their concerns are the lack of an in-depth analysis of this emergency's magnitude. At demonstration of that, they show that in South Africa, a woman was killed by her intimate partner every six hours.

Margo Wilson (2008) conducts a research on uxoricide (i.e. women killed by their former abusive partners) in Canada, based on the homicide statistics provided by the police. Her research purpose is to extract quantitative data to show which scenarios are the most common ones wherein uxoricide took place and to discuss the policies implemented by the local and national government to combat domestic abuses.

Nasrullah and his team (2009) analyse the honour killing in Pakistan, a cultural practice frequent in this country, yet poorly described. What the research team highlights is that a high level of surveillance and monitoring of domestic violence would help to assess the preventive strategies implemented by the local and national government and to call for eventual new measures. This monitoring role can be embodied by newspapers, although this study shows how in Pakistan, the press offers limited or incomplete information about the incidence of honour killings in the country (ibid.).

This section briefly describes the global side of femicide. Although it might be called in different ways, this extreme practise needs to be problematised and criticised by looking at more than numbers and statistics. This present research will go beyond the quantitative data by pursuing a qualitative study of the mediation of femicide.

3.2. Media studies and violence against women

The study by Nasrullah and his colleagues mention the monitoring role that media can absolve when they report femicide news. Seeing this project embarks in the media exposure of femicide and its perpetrators, this section wants to review how news media and femicide are investigated and why it is imperative to adopt a different approach towards this research area.

Overall, the majority of media studies focuses their attention on the broader issue of violence against women- wherein the femicide is clustered as its extreme form- with the aim of obtaining patterned characteristics of news coverage. For instance, Cynthia Carter (1998) illustrates the practice of victim-blaming in the news coverage of sexual abuse within the UK tabloids. Other studies investigate the news coverage of violence against women within the broader spectrum of the crime news to extract statistics and ethnographic data for their research purposes (see: Naylor, 2001; Grabe et al., 2006).

However, there are other works compliant to the approach adopted by this project. The activist and journalist Rama Hussein (2008) observes the lack of news coverage dedicated to honour-related crimes in Jordan and subsequently urges the media to a more active role in galvanizing the public attention on this gendered issue.

Another interesting work is the one on femicide in Chile done by Soledad Rojas Bravo in 2007 (2008). She uses textual analysis and memory study to look at how the media exposure, jointly with the support of feminist movements arose critical awareness among the population on the high rate of femicide in the country. Despite this study openly employs a feminist methodology to research femicide, it does not exclusively tell in what ways media represented the murderers and the victims of femicide, and what kind of textual and discursive tools are employed in the news coverage, an aim that the present project is committed to pursue.

3.3. Feminist media studies: a critical approach towards the news media

The media studies previously reviewed offer a foundation for understanding how news media can be a fruitful source for interpreting the context wherein a certain event occurred. Considering that this media study employs a radical feminist and critical masculinity standpoint to look at how we locate women's issues into particular ideological frameworks, it is important to look backwards to previous academic feminist media projects on news and violence against women.

One of the researches which can consistently back up mine and is worth mentioning in this literature review is *News Coverage of Violence against Women: Engendering Blame* by Marian Meyers (1997). She uses a Black feminist framework combined with a critical discourse analysis to investigate how news broadcasting in the city of Atlanta represented physical attacks against women. What I found significant in Meyers' work is that she addresses the violence against women as a social and institutional issue and she criticised the media crime narratives as filled with predominant male supremacy, patriarchy and misogyny discourses (1997: 6-8). Despite my research design implies the investigation of only one medium - newspapers- rather than other media like TV news broadcasts, Meyers' work provides an enriching contribution to reflect on the theoretical and methodological framework(s) functional to explore the gender representations in the media. Moreover, Meyers considers both micro-level (i.e. content) and macro- level (i.e. structural) aspects of problems associated to mediated representations which furnish a complete reading key of social and criminal phenomenon like femicide.

Together with the work by Meyer, the handbook *Gender and the Media* by Rosalind Gill (2007) was a source of reflections and inspirations on how to critically study the gender representations in the media as well as on the feminist and masculinity theories developed in the academia. Gill defines news- a key-term of my thesis "a cultural product that reflects dominant cultural assumptions about who and what is important [...]. It is not surprising, then, that most news is designed for, about and by men" (2007: 114). This definition is empirically sustained by her research data collected in research investigations on TV news broadcast channels and other media genres which are analysed with textual and visual methods. Some of the outcomes revealed the use of psychological discourse and post-feminist discourse in news reportages of rapes which aimed at constructing the crime as "not real" or as a "false allegation" (Ibid, 2007: 140-146).

In the broader studies on violence against women and media, gender is analysed together with other variables. Class, ethnicity and race were examined to highlight the dominance of white Western subjects within the news coverage. These studies dealt specifically with the representations of a particular targeted group in the mainstream media: Meyers dedicates multiple studies on case of Black women and men in the Atlanta news coverage (1994; 1997). MacKenzie and Marcel scrutinise the media coverage of U.S. Transwomen of colour, looking at the sensational tones and the double standards of the race discourse (2009 in Cuklanz &

Moorti, 2009). Other case studies look at particular contexts wherein the culture of honor and integrity of the family lead to treat violence against women as a private issue (see: Minhas, 2009 in: Cuklanz & Moorti, 2009).

My research investigates a Western context similar to the one investigated by Meyers, yet without looking at a particular target group: it will be a holistic approach analysing all the news concerning any woman killed by an intimate person. This choice will help me answer to my research questions about which discourses are put into action in reporting femicide and about the representations of any perpetrators in the Italian reality.

3.3.1 News coverage of femicide: Studies made in Italy

My study conducted on the Italian context and its mainstream press is not the first of its kind. Cristina Karadole (2012) analyses the main news agency plus two popular newspapers in their news coverage of femicide in Italy during 2006. The quantitative purposes of her research are the capture of demographic data about the individuals involved in the crime and statistics about the most frequent geographic area wherein the crime took place. However, in the concluding remarks, she urged the media to not diminish the problematics of this crime by using merely stereotypical expressions without raising any public debate about the structural dimensions of femicide.

In 2010, Elisa Giomi reviews the saturation of the news coverage of two particular intimate homicides and the double-standards applied in representing foreigner and national victims and offenders. Differently from Karadole, Giomi reflects upon how the media are effective in mobilising the public debate and galvanize the state action when the female victim is Italian, and the murderer is a foreigner/ migrant man.

In 2014, Chiara Gius and Pina Lalli explore the thematic framework used by the mainstream press to report femicide. Their research critically goes through the textual and discourse analysis of articles written in 2012 (124 women were killed in Italy that year) and demonstrate how Italian newspapers play the ‘romantic love’ myth to represent and implicitly justify the femicide. The methodological design of both Giomi’s and Gius and Lalli’s studies will help me to support my findings and my reflections on the relation “dominant discourses- media representations”.

Comparing my study on the Italian media to the ones listed above, my research focus is more narrowed down. Indeed, their research interests are in the femicide as act itself combined with ethnographic and political discourses within the news media. Instead, my contribution to the research on media and gender studies is to scrutinise how dominant discourses construct representations of men in the Italian news coverage of femicide with an original combination of radical feminism and theories around masculinity. Furthermore, what else differs from the previous studies focused on Italy is an additional analysis of the traditional journalism ethics with the purpose of questioning the worthiness of its values when it comes to discuss the societal roots of femicide.

3.4 Addressing the gap in the academic conversation on news media and femicide

In the introductory part of this study, the aims and two of the research questions clarified the intention of developing a critical inquiry on the mediated representations of men. This research focus was decided on after having noticed that no prior study had devoted a full exploration of the male perpetrators and the embodied social category of dominant masculinity. By employing a theoretical approach entirely centred on the deconstruction of hegemonic masculinities within society, the present project will address this gap.

For instance, a project conducted by Peralata and his colleagues in 2010 openly acknowledge that there is an absence of a research focus on men in the studies of intimate partner violence. This research team aims at addressing this gap with a scrutinization of the root causes to such violence, in particular of the correlation between alcohol and both intimate and interpersonal violence. Although this acknowledgement has similarities with this present study, the high leverage attributed at the use of alcohol by men for explaining violent behaviours does not dive deep into the structural causes within such phenomenon, rather it focuses on explaining the violence in terms of the addiction discourse.

A review of the literature revealed that studies on the perpetrators of violence against women within the media coverage were conducted by scholars like Meyers (1997) and Gillespie with her colleagues (2013) by using broad and open methodological approaches- from framework to discourse analysis with the aim of comparing those representations with the ones elaborated for the female victims. For instance, Gillespie and her team (ibid.) adopt a framework analysis of news articles concerning femicide- suicide cases with the objective of uncovering frequent stylistic and linguistic patterns and reporting rules in the coverage of this crime in specific.

Pamela Scully (2009, in Cuklanz & Moorti, 2009) also conduct a research on the media constructions of ethnicized masculinity in South Africa during a trial for sexual assault to let emerge how media play the traditional masculinity and the victim-blaming discourses to justify the crime committed by a popular politician. Although all these mentioned studies acknowledge that femicide is a social phenomenon, their analyses do not address what kind of discourses the medium puts at work in the production of the killer's and male criminal's identity and reproduction of a dominant type of masculinity.

Despite these general studies, it is safe to say that research projects completely dedicated to examine thoroughly the men within the news coverage of femicide are really rare, because studies like the ones mentioned in the previous sections primarily focus on the representations of women, or on the statistical data of the femicide phenomenon. Wendy Kozol rightly observes in her comparative analysis of news coverage and popular media genres focused on domestic violence: "Focus on women's guilt or victimization displaces attention from male abusers and the patriarchal system that supports these" (1995:657). It is exactly the patriarchal system embodied by the men committing femicide that this project wants to inquire through a critical theoretical framework merging radical feminism and the theorizations around masculinity. Further, these approaches both adopt a critical standpoint towards power relations, dominance and control within the social relations giving an extreme relevance to all those discursive constructs reinforcing the patriarchal power.

The addressed gap places the research inside the pattern of men and extreme case of violence, and their mediation. The next paragraph will briefly examine the studies on this academic interest.

3.4.1. Representations of men in extreme cases

In embarking in the mediation of men and masculinity in the framework of news coverage of femicide, this study places itself within the research field investigating mediated representations of men in the context of an extreme case. In the paragraph above, this was touched upon by looking at the works by Meyers (1997) and Scully (2009) concerning men, media, and violence against women. They both give particular relevance to the race and ethnicity issue in the mediated construction of the abuser and abused subjects with the aim of showing how being part of a dominant group (i.e. White, middle-upper class in Meyer's work; part of the South-African political leadership in Scully's investigation) can impact on the representations of the male subjects, making them undeserving of the accusation. Issues of

racialized representations of men in the media are scrutinized also in the investigations around other extreme cases, such as school shootings or terror attacks.

In a framework analysis of the major US newspapers coverage of the 2007 Virginia Tech shooting, Park and his colleagues (2012) measure quantitatively the frequency of the race attributed of the perpetrator as key-feature of his criminal profile. They argue that racialized representations occurred when the responsible is an immigrant or part of the Afro-American population, whereas when the shooters are white, their mediated identification is centred around youth alienation or depression. Same double standards return in the mediated representation of terrorist attacks often imbued. Emad A. Alghamdi (2015) uses a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to shed a light on the initial media coverage of the 2011 Norway terrorist attacks. By looking at the manipulation and westernization of the language, he notices how in media outlets, Western journalists tend to immediately associate the terror attacks to Muslim men or some Islamic groups as responsible, later disconfirmed by the capture of the 'White' and 'far-right terrorist' Breivik.

The academic examples presented in this section provide brief insights into the research field around men and news media coverage of extreme cases. The tendency is to focus on different identification variables- from race to religion- with the purpose of reflecting on the misrepresentations and of old stereotypes. On one hand, this distortion contributes to the development of racism and islamophobia, and on the other hand it does not effectively contextualize the phenomenon of mass shootings and terrorism. My research will contribute to this area of study by exploring through CDA an extreme case- femicide- and discussing the discursive practises constructing the crime news and their social implications.

The theoretical frameworks used in the analysis of my thesis are power centered, so before going into a detailed discussion about them, the next section must illustrate the debate on the news media power and the crime news as genre.

3.5. Media power: can news media stop femicide happening?

This study argues since the beginning that femicide is the most extreme form of the male power over a woman, the worst outcome of the patriarchal system. Therefore, an investigation of the media representations of men is loaded with further relevance because it offers another reflective window on media power. Media are tools in the hands of a group of individuals- but also of a single subject in the digital era- who produce, reproduce and spread information,

values, beliefs into the public sphere. In this study the interest on media power is channelled in a discussion on the power of journalism, contextualizing it within the frame of the news coverage of femicide.

John Corner is one of the most eminent scholars who theorises and analyses media power academically. He argues that it is imperative to not dissociate the cultural power embodied by media from the economic and political power. This is important because it is through the media products- in the present study, news coverage of femicide- that the political and economic forms of power find a public shape and are presented to the citizens (2011: 14). Another important point made by Corner is that we need to understand media power as a productive force, a concept derived from Michel Foucault's analysis of power. Media power has an active agency in producing and sharing knowledge with the scope of setting the basis of a public debate (ibid: 17-18). Following this logic, the inter-relations amongst forms of power result in the organization and creation of visual, auditive and written media forms that either unpack an issue either reduce its damaging capacity. This refers back to what also Elisa Giomi argues (2010), when she highlights the capacity of media of contributing to transfer to the public the necessity and the legitimation of the 'safety package' laws to protect the Italian women from the attacks of foreigners on the Italian soil.

Coming from a slightly different analytical angle on media and femicide, Gillespie and her research colleagues (2013) investigate the frames adopted to report femicide and they conclude how the historical and social changes (i.e. women's movements) are visible in the level of media attention dedicated to this type of social matter. This analysis confirmed the embeddedness of media within the social system, the importance of old and new elites in formulating and articulating new challenges to society (Corner, 2011: 20). However, as the studies on news media and femicide show (see section 3.3), power dynamics can hinder the unveil of dominant practises and beliefs about an issue and the news media can either be the watchdog on power or internalise the dominant standpoint.

Arguing that femicide cannot be spoiled from its societal dimensions, this present study looks at the normative power held by journalism in educating the public sphere and in advocating for a collective awareness on the structural causes of the phenomenon. In the dialogue on the normativity of media power, Vincent Sacco (1995) enriches the discussion by looking at how media operate in the construction of crime news. He argues that news media invest with a

broader meaning what is at a first glance a private problem, by turning it into a public issue. Seeing media as containing “action/non-action enhancing” duality, John Corner (2011: 135) again comes in help with his reflections over whether media represent a good or bad power. In the femicide narrative, a good media power is seen as the circulation of accurate information and reflections about the political, social, and cultural dimensions hiding behind a crime expressively targeting women. In a nutshell, good media power is exercised by journalists having in mind that the produced content is addressing an audience not of consumers, but of citizens who can demand to the state to act more strongly against femicide.

In line with Corner’s and Sacco’s words, Richards and her team fellows (2014) pointed out that the good normative role media entangle must be transposed in practise into their responsibility of guiding the public through the understanding of facts. In their specific research focus on femicide, the duality bad/good media power is scrutinised with the intention of envisioning media as the voice that can openly criticise and problematise femicide by facing its patriarchal roots. Nonetheless, media can be the channel of distorted representations of such crime, silencing its root causes. Indeed, a bad media power is seen as “the uncritical reflection of established realities as acceptable and even natural, or [...] the strategic reproduction of dominant assumptions and ideas in ways which exclude others”. (Corner, 2011: 23). Italian media have something to say about the phenomenon of femicide- but in which modalities? What kind of discourses have they been entangling to galvanize or not the state’s action? How can a crime news tell that there is something wrong going on in a society? These questions spontaneously arise across this study, and this is why CDA was chosen as investigative method and applied on the news material.

Discourse is an important component of media power as through its practices it delivers representations articulating the news text and therefore it can potentially raise consciousness about a particular public or private management of an issue and about the overall social order (ibid: 32-35; Fairclough, 1995: 17). It is imperative to scrutinise the discursive elements within the media- and in this specific case, crime news- because, they have the capacity to spark a reaction or naturalise practices of domination. The power of discourse lies exactly in its status of constant appearance and unavoidable appearance in the media space, constructing visions of the world imbued with political and socio-cultural shades (Chouliaraki & Fairclough., 1999: 17).

In his book on media and morality, Roger Silverstone dedicates a significant space to the use media do of particular rhetoric to vehicle the representations of events and people (2007: 61-64). Contextualizing Silverstone's reflections in this study, the relevance of media power is in reporting episodes of femicide by providing emotional and reflective tools about the crime. These tools can involve the audience with such a level of empathy that people are brought to include femicide into the public debate. Seeing media power as a productive and reproductive force of a certain moral education, it leads to critically inspecting the media representations as a site of political, social, cultural discourses. Going beyond the textuality is what studies like the present one is heading to with the aim of understanding the media power by researching news on femicide.

3.6. Femicide news as crime news

When illustrating the representations of men guilty of femicide, the analysis looks at a specific media genre: crime news. From 'routine crime stories' (Humphries, 1981:192), to editorials, opinion columns, and follow up articles, this news media genre was the first one to appear in the first English newspapers in the 1830s, feeding since then the appetite of the audience. Peter Dahlgren (1989) refers to the fascination of the mundane which crime news deliver with their accounts of the relationship between the victim and the offender, the details of the crime damage (i.e. robbery, death), the news source, and all the predictable repertoires of the crime news template.

From a media power perspective, crime news embodies the normative power previously discussed. Indeed, as Jack Katz (1987) argues, this news genre constitutes a ritual moral exercise by expressing what is right and what is wrong in a society, but also by individualising dangerous threats to the community- from a particular social category to a diffused criminal practise. Vincent Sacco (1995) is aligned with Katz's argumentation on crime news and morality, however, Sacco is also concerned with the routinization of crime in the everyday news which diminishes the propulsive force of the news media in problematising the crime and proposing solutions.

If the moral and critical judgements are not always visible, what is a recurring feature of crime news is the use of sensational tones and an emphasis on details offering dramatic visual moments of the crime (Katz, 1987; Sacco, 1995). This choice replies to two stakeholders: The first is the media industry and its capitalistic hunger to sell copies by offering sensational

pieces. The second one is the audience to whom journalists want to give an empathic shock by creating news charged with every small detail about the background, the motivation and the dynamics of a crime (Katz, 1987). Femicide news are not exempt from sensationalism and eye-catching headlines- especially when the victim is young, or the dynamics of the murder are particularly worth the public attention for their cruelty.

Finally, crime news has the power to question the social order by publishing similar stories of the same crime (ibid). This aspect belongs to the normative and cultural role news media are invested with, yet Sacco (1995) urges a careful look at the news framing of a problem and the prospective solutions. In fact, the adoption of a specific frame might marginalize root causes of a crime and- consequently- the key to tackle them. Mia Consalvo (2003) agrees with Sacco by arguing that news media must give a fair reflection of crime and the context wherein the crime occurred. What stands out from Consalvo's article is the tendency of journalists to dehumanise the criminal, especially if the subject is an outcast in the community the news story is addressing. This choice implies the avoidance of criticising the societal roots by focusing only on the crime as an isolated fact rather than an action- despicable- imbued with cultural, economic, political dynamics.

Despite the research focus is on the mediation of the male responsible for femicide, this study wants to contribute to the ongoing conversation on crime news, arguing that changes in the ethics and style must be applied to the specific coverage of gender crimes.

4. Theoretical frameworks

The relevance of this study responds to the theoretical frameworks which will guide the data analysis. The choice falls into the radical feminism and masculinity studies, two approaches which embark in critical reflections over power within gender relations. In the last section, an analysis of the dialectic between journalism ethics and feminist ethics will bridge the theories and the data analysis.

4.1. Defining femicide

As the previous section showed, mediated representations of subjects involved with acts of violence against women were investigated by several scholars coming from the most various academic backgrounds. It is fair to say that femicide as defined by our society and institutions is as relatively new concept as well as a word. Definitions like "uxoricide", "female homicide"

or “honour-related crime” were used in both academia and media to refer to women killed by men (see, for instance: Titterington, 2006).

A close review of the literature reveals the debate amongst activists and researchers to give a common shared and agreed definition of femicide. This can be seen in a publication of contributions made by the participants to an international conference held in Washington D.C. in 2008 and focused on femicide. This conference tackled the problem of femicide as a sociocultural issue. Two strands were prevailing in the definition shaping of this phenomenon: The first one refers to the definition given by Diana Russell (2001 in Widyono, 2008: 7), according to whom femicide is a term defining broadly “the murder of females because they are females”. This definition aims at highlighting the inequality in gender relations which culminates in the murder of the woman. Yet, this definition is not suitable for the research focus because it is too generalist and too reductive as it does not frame a more precise spectrum of who committed the crime.

Therefore, this study will employ a definition of femicide constructed through the years by Karen Stout (1991 in Widyono, 2008: 8) as “the killing of women by male intimate partners” and by Myrna Dawson and Rosemary Gartner (1998 in Widyono, 2008: 8) who specify who these intimate partners are: “current or former legal spouses, common-law partners or boyfriends”. In summary, this interpretation of femicide implies the intimate ties between the victim and the perpetrator and it better addresses the sociocultural patterns present in a context-like the Italian one- where episodes of violence against women occur in intimate context and where men are still holding most of the decisional power in both public and private sphere.

4.2. The feminist strands

In an academic article, Liesbet van Zoonen (1994) frames three main feminist perspectives on media. She examines under a critical standpoint the socialist, liberal and radical feminist approach. All of them looked at the media as a site of debate in the awareness that media are tools through which a particular message is delivered. A close glance at social feminism let emerge the interest to dive deep into the socio-economic conditions which- together with the gender variable- contribute to unequal power relations (ibid). According to this feminist strand, the role of media is instrumental to reinforce capitalist discourses about labour conditions and elitist politics.

Of another view is the liberal feminism which belongs to the third wave of feminism. This approach dedicates a wide analysis to mass media, above all popular cultural programmes concluding that the contemporary media products offer more women as role models for the present and future generations of feminists (Sowards & Renegar, 2004). As Jenny Coleman (2009) critically observes, both liberal and the emerging post-feminism do not care about the bigger structural issues affecting women's life, but they focus on the concept of the women's self-empowerment. Rosalind Gill agrees with Coleman's thought and she continues by warning that mainstream media did not become feminist all of a sudden, but rather that they have been adopting a depoliticised feminism which flames out all the feminist fights, reducing them to an exaltation of the individual and free choice (2010: 268-270). In line with Gill, Rachel O'Neill (2015) shows concerns about the rising of post-feminism which disarticulates the logic of feminism as a social and political movement, also thanks to the help of the mainstream media outlets (i.e. talk show broadcasted in the major TV channels) which advocate that feminism is outmoded. Following this logic, the sexual politics- which is a critical approach to the unequal power relations between men and women- is dismantled by the diffusion of messages which say that it is up to the individual to be or not a feminist and it is not up to any social institutions or movements to tell him/her how to morally think and act.

4.3. The “personal is political”: a radical feminist framework

It is in this feminist theoretical debate that the framework of radical feminism is framed. The strong advocacy for the abolishment of any patriarchal aspects places radical feminism as a political current within the second wave of feminism. It is the one of the Women's Liberation Movement (WML) of the 60s and 70s, when “women [were] defending their own interests in the face of male supremacy” (Thompson, 2001: 2). One of the exponents of this approach- Catherine MacKinnon defines feminism as a “discipline of a hostile reality” (1990: 5). Seeing feminism as a continuous action of resistance and raising consciousness, every issue is a woman's issue. Hence, radical feminists strive for a change of the social and political patriarchal order and under the slogan “the personal is political” they advocate for collective campaigns against whatever reinforces male domination (Chambers, 2005). The radical battle against male dominance does not imply the abolishment of state power. Rather, as Denise Thompson points out (2001: 10), the restrictive power exercised by the police can put an end to any episodes of violence against women.

What is at stake in this approach is all the discursive and non-discursive practices of the patriarchal power. Following this argumentation, Jane Caputi investigates sexual murders, which are- in her own words- “the ultimate expression of sexuality as a form of power” (1989: 439). This reflection further enriches the previous discussion around what femicide is with highlighting how the male use of violence equates his affirmation of superiority over an intimate partner. Therefore, the specific elements of radical feminism towards violence against women and sexuality allow major attention to the structure of the patriarchal communication embedded in the social practises of storytelling and reporting of male abuses. Another exponent of radical feminism, Andrea Dworkin (1976: 16-19) highlights the systematic elements in the male oppression which subjugate women in ongoing circles of physical and psychological violence, which can culminate in femicide. Following this trend, media depicts men guilty of sexual crimes as some kind of mythological monsters who are not part of the society. This is what Caputi (1989) goes against, asserting that men who committed such crimes are and represent the dominant masculine part of society who dispose of women as they wish. This standpoint is shared also by radical feminists who commit their activisms and academic work towards the effects that patriarchal structures exercise over women’s bodies and identities.

Radical feminism is not exempt from critiques. Lisa Heise (1995) agrees with the radical feminists when they stand against the objectification and oppression of women, yet she criticises the pessimistic view embraced towards sex relations which ends up in a demonization of men and male sexuality. The points raised by Heise are shared by other feminist groups, especially the one of the third and fourth waves which, as already discussed above, set their activism into the woman not solely as a victim, but as an active agent who can succeed in her life as much as a man. However, as Denise Thompson asserts (2001: 8), radical feminism is not a crusade against men as human beings, rather against the male domination system which casts women and men in meanings, values, practises and institutions legitimizing an unequal share of power.

An early radical feminist, Ellen Willis (1984), urges radical feminism to extend its focus on the other social and cultural dominant features of the social system which help to contribute women’s discrimination and male dominance. “An antisexist politics abstracted from a critique of familialism, a commitment to sexual liberation, and race and class struggle cannot sustain itself as a radical force” Willis claimed (1984: 117).

Transposing this argumentation into a media-related studies like this present project, Van Zoonen (1994) observes how there are few radical feminist studies focused on media. They are mainly on pornography with a strong claim that it is an apparent sexual objectification of the female body, an abuse as much as prostitution (MacKinnon, 1990). However, this study argues that the feminist politics embodied by radical feminists can strongly contribute for critically shedding a light on how the mainstream media might be failing women as citizens in the discursive modalities employed as they cover femicide. Indeed, Denise Thompson (2001: 25) highlights that feminism is also a look at how male dominance creates those myths Meyers (1997) and Gius together with Lalli (2014) illustrate in their research works on media and violence against women. Following this logic, constructs like “romantic love”, “honour”, “good family father/ mother” channel the power of the dominant men by investing it with an emotional charge or a a morally imperative (i.e. always family first). Radical feminism seeks an active role of the media by demanding them a radical change in the way a female issue is reported. It is asked from all the media genres to break the chain of the dominant discourses about violence against women and to galvanise institutions and society’s actions to put an end to the phenomenon.

The adoption of radical feminism is motivated by its strong commitment to unpack the patriarchal system through several angles of analysis, although the news media field is a bit neglected. Therefore, this study wants to be a spin to radical feminist scholars to dive deeper into this research focus not only through the tools of the protest and sit-in, but also through their academic work.

The urgency to have a more exhaustive theoretical understanding of men and male power requests to include another theoretical framework which together with radical feminism will enrich the academic dialogue in this project.

4.4. Analysing the man: hegemony, toxic masculinity, and violence

Van Zoonen (1994) urges the media scholars to dedicate more attention to how masculinities are constructed within the media, to thoroughly question whether their absence as research focus might be a way to maintain unchallenged the dominant discourses about men. Masculinity studies are an answer to the unveil of the discourses and practises constructing boys and men and to the research questions of this project.

Mimi Schippers (2007) defines masculinity as a set of practises and characteristics shaping what it is masculine in contraposition to what is feminine. She also addresses the relevance of

the sociocultural and economic changes and their impact to the construction of the symbolic meaning of being masculine and feminine, although she warned that these changes do not affect at all the power relations which remain in favour of the men.

Raewyn Connell set a benchmark in the masculinity studies when she introduced the concept of “hegemonic masculinity” (2005: 77). She illustrates with this theorisation that not all masculinities are equal and there are some dominating the others like the homosexual masculinity or the one clustering low-class men. Always according to Connell (2003), in the contemporary neo-liberal order, the hegemonic masculinity model is the businessman, the successful male running political institutions and enterprises. In sum, it is “the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women in the global world” (Connell, 2005: 77).

Also, Robert Hanke gives his own definition of hegemonic masculinity as “a social ascendancy of a particular version or model of masculinity that, operating on the terrain of the ‘common sense’ and conventional morality, defines what it means to be a man” (1990: 232). The two presented definitions on hegemonic masculinity do not exclude each other, rather they complete each other. They provide the reader with the possibility to reflect on the social, institutional and cultural elements legitimising men as the hegemonic social category through a consensus-based approach. Following this critical stance, the hegemonic masculinity is developed in a community wherein both men and women accept through regular social practises models of masculinity (and femininity).

In the discussion about hegemonic masculinity, Rosalind Gill (2010: 31) argues that the hegemonic masculinity concept developed by Connell might lead to too generalist conclusions which do not fully capture the context under investigation, the specificities and the multi-dominant masculinities present within a society. Following this logic, the already mentioned study of Pamela Scully (2009 in Cucklanz and Moorti, 2009) offers a valid example of how the media coverage of a rape trial entangles the ties connecting traditional masculinity, dominant groups and rape culture and rape law in the South African context. From a critical stance, Jeff Hearn (2004; 2012) rises up the difficulty to give a fixed definition of what masculinity is and represents: is it a cultural ideal? An abstract category? He argued that rather than debating on an agreed conceptualization of what hegemonic masculinity is, the focus should be on the hegemony of men, reflecting on all the social and economic dynamics favouring the legitimization of the dominant positions of heterosexual men over women. Following this

reflection, Hearn (2012) urges critical masculinity studies to open a more in depth-conversation on violence of men against intimate female partners, a research focus which has been for too long poorly addressed favouring more general studies on the masculinity and violence in sports or during wartime. Seeing intimate physical violence as the extreme exercise of the hegemony of men in gender relations, this research project replies to Hearn's invitation by employing masculinity studies to investigate how men's power might be problematised or not by the media when it comes to report male abuses against women.

In another theoretical discussion over masculinity, Rachel O'Neill (2015) observes how the logic of post-feminism are reproduced in the inclusive masculinity theory whose main scholar is Eric Anderson. This new theoretical approach wants to go over Connell's hegemonic masculinity by claiming that we are currently living in an increasing homophobia-free era and we are going towards "acceptable forms of masculine behaviours" (Anderson, 2007: 97). In his highly optimistic perspective, Anderson thinks that in this historical era, men are showing more inclusivity towards every other masculine category which used to be discriminated. O'Neill (2015) criticises the simplistic theory elaborated by Anderson, in particular his erasure of sexual politics from an academic work on men and masculinities. Indeed, Anderson (2007: 47) argues that an inclusive masculinity theory would take away the price tag for men given by sexism because in the contemporary age sexual politics is already fading. This linear social and cultural progress denies in an idealist way the new barriers imposed by dominant male groups as well as the ability of who is power to remain in such a privilege status despite the changes within society.

The inclusive masculinity theory, imbued with neoliberal and postfeminist strands, endangers the academic and activist work done by scholars and social movements who everyday explore sexual politics' hidden and visible threats. In Anderson's book, there is no indeed question of how men keep exercising their power through violence, rather just an optimistic positive view of the future years to come prevails. In the conclusion of her reflections, O'Neill (2015) encourages the academic world to distrust the optimistic discourses around men and masculinities and this study follows this commitment to no settling for naive explanations, rather it searches for the words, idioms, metaphors building up a mediated femicide context disrupting or subtly sustaining the patriarchal social order.

In another recent contribution to the masculinity theoretical framework, Banet- Weiser and Miltner discuss toxic masculinity, “a (heterosexual) masculinity that is threatened by anything associated with femininity (whether that is pink yogurt or emotions)” (2016: 171). The interpretation of toxic masculinity recalls the ‘old’ one of hegemonic masculinity in problematizing its refusal of acknowledging that men and women are equally human beings with the same feelings, the same tastes and practises, and its pulling on the apotheosis of the “macho/ alfa man” reaffirming his emotional and physical superiority. It is the opposition of the strong man/ family breadwinner to the motherly/weak woman (Karner, 1998). With stronger tones, Banet- Weiser and Miltner (2016) asserted toxic masculinity is another manifestation of misogyny and patriarchy; this definition reinforces the argumentation carried by this ongoing study about the necessity of deploy more critical masculinity theories when it comes to explore representations of men constructed by mainstream media which are part of a system of knowledge conveying ideological messages. As Jeff Hearn (2012) says about the construction of hegemonic categories of men, the theory needs to question whether if the mention of these violent elements attributed to men are used to reinforce or undermine their hegemony.

Overall, most of the masculinity studies dedicated attention to men by adopting various methodological designs- from focus group to investigate process of socializations to the analysis of representations of men and masculinities in the popular media genres with a particular eye to either the “White strong man” or the homosexual masculinities and hence the reproduction of old classic commonplaces. Talking about masculinity with/in the media, Robert Hanke (1990) scrutinises once again the role of the media in the reproduction and reinforcement of the ordinariness element of the male violence within the popular genres and he observes how media- especially the mainstream ones- are imbued with patriarchal features which grant constant updated profiles of dominance. In a more straightforward approach, Banet-Weiser and Miltner (2016) criticise the popular mass media to have spread popular misogyny with the normalization of the rape culture or the perpetuations of mediatic scenarios wherein women are evidently objectified and vilified by men. Years before the mentioned scholars, Tracy Xavia Karner (1998) refers exactly to the media reproductions of hegemonic ideal types of men which contribute to the individual and collective imaginary of how a man should and should not act. The normal association to men of aggressivity, violence, rage elaborated by media products map what society expects from men and from women.

What else lacks in the masculinity studies within media is a major attention to the news coverage of the ordinary man who commits an act of violence against an intimate female partner. It is common to explore deviant cases or extraordinary cases which are casted as beyond our understanding by the media- like Mia Consalvo (2003) observes in a study she conducted to the mass shooting at the Columbine High School.

This study claims that the examination of mainstream news coverage of femicide and its construction of the murderer will benefit from the masculinity studies due to their interest in understanding which discursive pieces put together the identification of a man, making him deserving or undeserving the empathy despite the crime committed. Also, this study intends to contribute to address the gap in the masculinity and media field by supplying analytical and empirical knowledge on the importance of embracing critical masculinity studies- and not only feminist approaches- when it comes to scrutinise violence against women and its perpetrators.

4.5. Towards the analysis of the news coverage of femicide: journalism ethics and feminist ethics

Since the data analysed are coming from journalistic pieces, it is imperative to dedicate a last theoretical reflection to the debate around ethics. Journalism ethics calls for the responsibility to inform people about what is happening in the world. Journalists appeal to values of objectivity and neutrality when they operate on the field. Yet, when it comes to news such as the coverage of an act of violence against women, are neutrality and objectivity still applicable? In the analysis of the main strands of journalism approaches, Ward points exactly out that the civic engagement with sensitive issues struggles with the rules of sticking with the objective reality, with the result that “today, many journalists see themselves as some combination of informer, interpreter and advocate” (2009: 299).

Feminist ethics refuses the traditional journalism ethics taught since the birth of this profession. From radical to post-colonialist activists, they all agree that values like objectivity, rationality, neutrality are used by the male dominant group to hold their power in the political, social and cultural institutions to whom media belong to. Tong and Williams (2009) call this ethics ‘a status-oriented feminist approach’ as these different feminist groups strive for equality among the individuals. By applying a radical feminist perspective in the media, what we expect in a news article about a violent act against a woman is an ethics of engagement with the story. This means to go beyond the mere news reporting and the statistics about crimes in a city, to propose

ethical ways of acting to solve the issue, to care about what is written (Ward, 2009). Following this logic, a feminist journalism ethics rejects claims of truths because of the embeddedness of the reporters within institutions which reinforce, justify and normalise cultural frameworks privileging men over women (McManus & Dorfman, 2005). However, Michael Ryan (2009) argues that journalists have to pursue objectivity in their job because it is the only way to not be manipulated by the powerful and therefore to present an absolutely transparent coverage of a certain event or issue. Furthermore, he counter-attacks the feminist ethics as it does not really open up to a concrete alternative to the old objectivity paradigm and he concludes that those sceptical about the journalism ethics can opt for a constant monitoring activity to verify that those standards of accuracy, impartiality and transparency are maintained within the news. On one hand, Ryan's observations are valid as a lack of objectivity might distort the perception of reality; on the other hand, the objectivity proposed by this scholar is more an ideal type than a real practise: journalists are individual in a sociocultural context which they might support or resist. At this purpose, Ward (2008) urges journalists to pursue an ethical conduct in reporting which takes into account the historical roots wherein an issue is inserted and, more importantly, to be culturally aware of the discursive nuances of the text produced.

All the feminist and media studies reviewed critically above address the functional objectivity of reporting crime news about violence against women. The present thesis will take a critical feminist ethical imperative to examine the textual and discursive elements present in the Italian mainstream press, bearing in mind the dialectic with the traditional journalism ethics and the feminist one as parameter for analysing the material.

5. The methodological design

This thesis project discusses the discursive practises employed by mainstream media to construct the profile of a specific murderer, arguing that these practises might be failing to make femicide a matter of public concerns. CDA was chosen for the purpose of detecting meticulously the news outlets, to spoil them of their discursive elements and set a conversation around the powerful outcomes.

In presenting the methodological design, this section will look at the philosophy and at the shortcomings behind CDA, followed up by a digression on material collection, sampling, and methods tools.

5.1. Social constructionism

Norman Fairclough talks about CDA as an “attempt to show systematic links between texts, discourse practises, and sociocultural practises” (1995: 17). Behind this attempt, there is a social constructionist approach towards how we understand the world and how we make assumptions about it and its inhabitants. Vivien Burr writes that discourse “refers to a particular picture that is painted of an event (or person or class of persons), a particular way of representing it or them in a certain light” (1995: 32). Social constructionism looks at those discourses employed to distribute power, in particular at whom goes the biggest slice of power, upon which the organization and the decision-making positions of a society depend. As this project takes a critical stance towards the mediated representations of men responsible for femicide, social constructionism contributes to the research aims by reminding that: the application of CDA to the collected material calls for a knowledge of the social and cultural context wherein the scrutinised discourses are produced through social interaction (ibid: 34-36); as Foucault said: “knowledge is power and power is knowledge” (1975: 36), which means that in the disarticulation of the discursivity of the representations under analysis, this study will look at the discourse as one of the power outcomes; finally, this chosen methodology urges to reflect on the research findings and attempt to elaborate a better alternative- in this specific case, a better representation of the perpetrators of femicide.

5.1.2. Text, Discourse, Social Practise: CDA at the mirror

CDA proposes itself to be an “explanatory critique” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: 33) of the power dynamics occurring in the communicative events. This is obtained by enlightening how a text can contribute to sustain or challenge existing social arrangements by prioritizing certain discourses over others, wrapping them in what Fairclough called ‘order of discourse’ (1995: 55). The need to be critical departs from the awareness that powerful groups deploy certain discourses and exclude alternatives based on the truth claims they want to convey (Fairclough, 1995: 54-56). In applying its critical stance towards a text, CDA sustains its validity claims with bringing into dialogue a variety of theories coming from several academic fields (ibid: 17) which contribute to conceptually explain the empirical textual findings. In an earlier paper, Fairclough illustrates the importance of researching on texts, because they are “sensitive barometers of social change” (1992: 211) and this project chose to focus on media outlets to dive deep into their linguistic and ideological creations to represent a social category under a critical or more neutral reporting lens. In short, this study undertakes to explain the power relations favouring a prevailing mediated framework wherein the Italian public sphere should cast the perpetrators of femicide.

“Do the [media] constitute a substantive democratization, or do they primarily have a legitimizing role in respect of existing power relations?” Fairclough asks in his book (1995: 137). In the aims and objectives of this project it precisely emerges the intention of unpacking the mediated representations of the perpetrators of femicide and discussing how these discursive frameworks may distort the social problematic of femicide but also be the mirror of the ongoing gender relations in Italy. The choice to opt for a CDA is further motivated by this research of what is foregrounded and backgrounded (Burr, 1995: 48) in the news media, arguing that potential elements of invisibility might contribute to keep in place dominant logics of understanding femicide as a regular crime and not as the extreme demonstration of patriarchy.

5.2. Framing the qualitative analysis: mainstream newspapers, material collection, sampling and methods

In this part of the methodological design, a description of newspapers under investigation, material collection, rationale of the sampling and qualitative methods will be discussed.

5.2.1. The Italian mainstream press: a look at the newspapers under investigation

The introductory chapter already mentioned the purpose of investigating the mainstream press coverage of femicide. The rationale behind the selection was based upon the data provided by the ADS (Accertamenti Diffusione Stampa), an organization which quantifies how many copies a newspaper sold and how many times it was read in both the digital and paper format during the year 2018². The top-five most read newspapers are: *Corriere della Sera*, *La Repubblica*, *IlSole24Ore*, *La Gazzetta Dello Sport* and *La Stampa*. Three of them will be taken under investigation: *Corriere Della Sera*, as the daily newspaper at the first place in the top-five chart, followed by *La Repubblica*, which scored second. To guarantee transparency to this research, it is imperative to underline that *La Stampa* is the fifth most read newspaper in Italy, behind *Il Sole24Ore* (third) and *La Gazzetta Dello Sport* (fourth). However, the first one mentioned focus primarily on financial, political-economics news, whereas the second writes and comments sport, without dedicating a proper section to crime news. Therefore, the reasons why investigating *Corriere Della Sera*, *La Repubblica*, and *La Stampa* is their being a daily general-interest newspaper covering what occurs in Italy as well as in the world.

² The ADS data have been consulted on the website: www.primaonline.it

Seeing CDA as driven to the attention to the power dynamics behind the text production (Fairclough, 1995: 20), it is important to clarify the ownership and the mission statement of each examined newspaper.

Corriere della Sera: the current ownership belongs to the RCS MediaGroup S.p.a, an international publishing multimedia group listed in the Italian Stock Exchange³. The administration council of *Corriere Della Sera* includes entrepreneurs, former editors-in-chief, businessmen. Its main redaction is based in Milan. The newspaper's slogan is "the freedom of ideas" which is practised by giving voice to every social actor in the national and international scene and by reporting events following the traditional journalism ethics (BBC Monitoring, 2006). However, space is dedicated also to quite liberal and bourgeois opinions written by political leaders, famous journalists, ministers, public figures, in the name of the freedom the editor group, in line with the administration council, wants to pursue. *Corriere Della Sera* created also a section called *La27esima Ora* ('the 27th Hour') wherein articles, columns, photo-reportages about violent against women and gender-related issues are clustered.

La Repubblica: the current owner is the Italian media conglomerate GEDI Gruppo Editoriale S.p.A⁴. Alike the *Corriere*'s owner, this group operates in other media, yet this newspaper's editorial and administrative group is composed by people from the publishing and journalism field. Its main redaction is in Rome. Since its foundation, *La Repubblica* is considered a leftist newspaper (ibid.), although more moderate compared with the beginning. Whereas *Corriere Della Sera* offered a more neutral stance at the socio-political issues, *La Repubblica* took stronger positions against actors such as Silvio Berlusconi or the Catholic Church or in favour of debated campaigns like the legalization of euthanasia or the one seeking justice for political homicides. Speaking about violence against women, this second newspaper has a thematic section entitled "Femicide" devoted to gather articles about this issue.

La Stampa: the current owner is the same as *La Repubblica*'s, after an agreement with the FIAT owners, the Agnelli family who had been at the head of the editing group for decades. No surprise that its main redaction is in Turin, headquarters of the car company. *La Stampa*, as

³ For further investigation on this business company, please review the content of its website: <http://www.rcsmediagroup.it/en/>.

⁴ For further investigation on this business company, please review the content of its website: <http://www.gedispa.it/it/nc.html>.

Corriere Della Sera, is a very old newspaper, whereas *La Repubblica* is the youngest amongst the three. Its historical roots and its ties with the entrepreneurial world make the tone of the news more neutral and centrist (ibid.), compliant with the journalism ethics previously discussed. Despite being a national daily newspaper, *La Stampa* devotes particular attention to what occurs in Turin and its region Piemonte, especially in the coverage of crime news.

Their news coverage of femicide as object of analysis will be an opportunity to compare the three newspapers and observe whether they adopt a similar or a different style in reporting this crime.

5.2.2. Data collection and sampling

To obtain the analytical sample, this project proceeded with the following steps:

1. Conducted a search for the amount of femicides in Italy in 2018, which gave 93 in total. The reasons why the 2018 was chosen as the sole year of investigation is because it marked the fifth anniversary of the law 119/2013 listing femicide as a crime in Italy and because it marked the beginning of the current government who is promoting the reform of the divorce and parental custody mentioned in the Italian context section. Considering that every month in 2018 at least four femicides were committed and considering that a role of crime journalism is to report what occurred and to inform the citizens, it is confident that during this year the mainstream press supplied a consistent amount of news coverage of the femicide issue. The list of the victim's name and correlated information was extracted from the *Corriere Della Sera*'s section dedicated to the meticulous report of data, news, statistics about violence against women in the Italian context. The name of this section is called *La27esimaOra* (translated: *the 27th hour*) and it is run by journalists. A part of this section is called: *Oltre la violenza- la strage delle donne* (translated: *Beyond the violence- the slaughter of the women*) and it is here where the list of the women killed from 2012 to 2019 is located (see appendix A for further information on the list).
2. To countercheck the quantitative accuracy of this list, I checked the statistics provided by the research institute EURES⁵, whose focus is centred around social and economic themes, but also around data about the types of homicides occurring in Italy. According

⁵ Accessed indirectly on March 15th, 2019, at the following link:
<https://tg24.sky.it/cronaca/photogallery/2018/11/23/violenza-sulle-donne-dati.html>.

to the data released in December 2018, around 120 women were murdered, of whom the 79.2% occurs in the familiar/intimate context at the centre of this current research project. Hence, the list provided by the *Corriere Della Sera*'s section resulted fairly in line with the statistics published by EURES.

3. Two sources were deployed to collect the 2018 news coverage of the 93 femicides: The first refers to the newspapers' digital archives which were accessed by opening the search browser present at the top corners of the newspapers' homepage. Due to the limitation of the articles number accessible (unless paying a weekly fee) in the case of *Corriere della Sera*'s archive and sometimes also in the case of *La Stampa*'s as well, the software LexisNexis is another source for the data collection. This database enabled a full access to articles published both online and on the paper format, although it did contain very few articles by *La Repubblica*, which has a complete archive of both digital and paper articles within its website.
4. To search crime news concerning femicide, the following buzzwords were typed in the search engine: the victim's full name, the perpetrator's full name followed up by the word "omicidio = homicide" and the city/town wherein the crime occurred. The rationale behind adding also the location is that a more detailed coverage of femicide sometimes appeared in the regional section of the newspapers or the victim's name was too common that it gave multiple articles concerning other topics. Also, articles around the same femicide were suggested via hyperlink or put at the bottom of the articles under the voice "similar articles/ articles you might be interested in". Therefore, they were collected as part of the research material.
5. Throughout the year of 2018, 330 articles were written in total by the three newspapers under analysis. The collected material was listed in a new database elaborated for this specific project (see the appendix B). The articles were clustered under month of publication- from January to December 2018-, newspaper, and also under the victim's name with the intention of obtaining a clear order in time, space, and subject. Furthermore, each article was highlighted with a different colour in accordance to the genre of crime news it represented: editorial, follow-up, opinion column, report.
6. As this project is interested in comparing how three mainstream newspapers represented the perpetrators of femicide, I manually excluded femicide cases which were not covered by the three news outlets. To further narrow down the sample, the femicide cases which got a significant amount of coverage (a total amount varying from 8 until 18 articles across the three newspapers) were chosen as material for the empirical

analysis. Six femicide cases (see appendix C for further details about their accounts and their coverage) were selected from a timeframe going from January to June; the rationale behind the choice of this timeframe was that this period registered the peak of femicide cases in Italy (54 out of the 93 in total).

7. This sampling process brought to the final 80 articles consisting of reports, opinions, follow-up pieces. The choice of deconstructing different genres whose purposes are different (informing, diving deep into the crime's background and aftermaths, opinion forming) is to have a holistic view of the representations of men responsible of femicide, as well as to compare eventual changes in the representations among genres.

5.2.3. *The analytical tools*

This project selected a group of analytical tools which have the function of 'let the text talk' and its representations of perpetrators of femicide be interpreted. Fairclough (1992) puts particular emphasis on the linguistic analysis as part of the discourse analysis departing from the assumption that language is itself socially constructed and grounded in a determined context. Hence, the present textual analysis will look at: *words, figures of speech, syntax*; the whole assembling conveys a specific storytelling line about a subject topic (Richardson, 2007: 46-48).

This step allows to examine the organization of the text in terms of *transitivity* and *modality*. The first one locates the event's participant as active or passive through the choice of the verb in the principal clause and how such subjects are related to the others (ibid.: 54-58). Modality refers instead to features of text which express what the journalists want to communicate: a judgement, a comment, an attitude (Fairclough, 1995: 27; Richardson, 2007: 59). This process involves also analysing the voices within a text, such as the people interviewed and quoted in the articles on femicide, how the voices are distributed along the text and what kind of discursive representations these voices reproduce (Fairclough, 1995: 81,161). Following that, another analytical step is the intertextual analysis which interprets the merging of genres, voices (texts) and discourses in a communicative event, a hybridization typical of news products in daily general-interest newspapers (Fairclough, 1992). Together, these analytical tools will shed a light on the media order of discourse about femicide and whether the news media challenge or reproduce dominant assumptions about masculinity and femicide (Fairclough, 1995: 61).

Seeing CDA as an interpretative and a constructionist approach, one of its shortcomings is an understanding of identification processes (ibid: 103-105). Embarking in the unveiling of the representations of men in an extreme context like femicide, this project looks at how the journalists and the voices reported in the articles identify these subjects, scrutinising what is said and what is left unsaid (see appendix D for a sample of CDA in this project).

The other analytical tool this project makes use of is thematic coding. The choice of adopting a second qualitative method is aimed at strengthening the validity of the CDA findings through making a comparison with the results achieved during the coding. Pat Bazeley provides guidelines (2013, 125-134, 190-195) for the coding process to obtain the themes connected to the representation of men, which will be then analysed with the support of the linguistic and semantic analysis. First, I read the 80 articles and from them I extracted descriptive codes as I was working on the text during the CDA, highlighting words and sentences concerning the man responsible of femicide (i.e. personal data, relation with the victim/s, everyday behaviour, evaluation of his crime). Following up, analytical codes were individualised, keeping in mind the research scope of critically explaining the mediated construction of the perpetrators of femicide. Finally, the analysis of these conceptual codes- combined with a reading of the aims and objectives and a confrontation with the CDA of the sample, conducted to a list of recurrent themes throughout the news articles.

The themes are: “*meet the man*”, “*his drawing of death*”, “*I would never hurt you*” (see appendix E for further information on the coding process).

In addition, the aims of this analysis are also to compare the three newspapers producing the content and to scrutinize similarities and/or differences in the journalism reporting. The rationale behind this comparison is to sharpen the observations around the research topic and to keep questioning the data (ibid.: 255) about the mediation of men within a femicide context.

6. Analysis of the findings

The qualitative analysis on the 80 articles designated for investigating the mediated representations of men provided valuable findings.

The first one emerges from the comparison among the three newspapers object of this study. The news coverage of femicide realised by *Corriere Della Sera*, *La Repubblica* and *La Stampa* revealed similar linguistic and discursive notes in their constructing and storytelling the profile of the male perpetrators of the crime. Indeed, the CDA showed that in all the articles under

scrutinization prevailed the combination of informative, sensationalist and also technical language to convey representations within the crime news.

A close glance at the authors behind these news outlets illustrated how their sexual orientation did not involve any changes in terms of style and content within the coverage of femicide. These first elements begin to frame an answer to the research questions and to fulfil the research aims of comparing the three mainstream newspapers.

Further, the joint use of CDA and coding process resulted in the frame of three main themes characterising how the mainstream Italian press represent the perpetrators of femicide: “*Meet the man*”, “*His drawing of death*”, and “*I would never hurt you*”. Each of them is going to be examined in the next paragraphs.

6.1. “*Meet the man*”

A due task of writing about a crime is to identify the subjects involved in the narrated event. All three newspapers invested sentences as well as detailed paragraphs to inform about who the man behind the femicide was. “*Meet the man*” is the first theme emerging from the qualitative analysis. It refers to all the standard information about his age, his full name, his personality- excluding the violent behaviour which deserves its own thematic section - his profession or his relationship with the woman he killed. The different accounts given about each man deserve a better description and framing. This is the reason why they have been clustered in the following descriptive categories: “*the man in the mirror*”, “*he had a resume of all respect*”, “*he and she*”.

6.1.1. “*The man in the mirror*”

The introduction of the man before turning into a killer takes the traditional journalism path in the mainstream coverage of femicide: full name, age, birth-town and sometimes nationality if the person is not Italian, as in the case of Abdelmjid El Biti, portrayed as

“a 50-years old man who has Moroccan origins” (*La Repubblica*, 9.06.18)⁶.

⁶ Original version: “un cinquantenne di origini marocchine”

Such data represent a sort of ethnographic map of the man, useful for demographic studies like the one conducted by Karadole (2012) on femicide in Italy in 2006. Indeed, it gives to the readers a standardised identity card of the killer, a proof of his existence in this world before being part of the news media. The basic information about the man as a persona are enriched with details about his personality and his everydayness expressed throughout evaluative comments, like the one *Corriere della Sera* wrote on Alessandro Garlaschi:

“Shy character, his social profiles tell about a man at the constant search for money through business proposals of few euros, infinite sequences of online announces to sell bicycles, motorbike helmets, cheap jewels, mobile phones, and also short sub-letting of the house” (*Corriere della Sera*, 8.02.2018).⁷

Aside the comments expressed by the journalists, the three newspapers made large use of the voices coming from whom got to know personally the man, providing insights on his behaviours, recalling random episodes from his life before the femicide. In talking about his brother-in-law, a man said to *Corriere Della Sera*:

“Last Friday morning, he saw me cutting the grass in front of our house ad he told me: ‘Leave it, rest, tomorrow I will take care of it’. And the he went to the gym” (*Corriere Della Sera*, 21.05.2018)⁸.

This first sub-theme plays around the representation of the man as a human being, framed by his most essential identifying features- such as the name, the age, and the physiognomy in the pictures included in the articles- and by how his personality was seen through the mirror of the others. In doing so, the purpose is to not only report generalities, but also to open a window on their personal life, their habits, their being just like anyone else. In summary, this is part of what Norman Fairclough calls “conversationalization” (1995: 89), which is the modulation of the crime news discourse around private domain practises attributed to the news subject. Therefore, the result is to deliver a normalised and normalising profile of the man as part of an ordinary context (Hearn, 2004) wherein readers can mirror themselves.

⁷ Original version: “Personaggio schivo, i suoi profili social raccontano di un uomo alla continua ricerca di soldi con proposte di affari da pochi euro, sequenze infinite di annunci online per la vendita di biciclette, caschi da moto, bigiotteria, telefonini, e anche brevi subaffitti della casa”

⁸ Original version: «Venerdì mattina mi ha visto rasare il prato davanti casa e mi ha detto: "Lascia stare, riposati, domani ci penso io". E se n'è andato in palestra».

6.1.2. “A resume of all respect”

The representation of the male perpetrators of femicide continues with a focus on their professional life. The report of the employment status came often in the media coverage of male criminals, as already illustrated by Carol Stabile (2004), to give another aspect of the killer’s masculinity through the most common pattern ‘man = worker’. The three newspapers use the man’s job title to open their articles with sensationalist headlines, such as

“The live confession of the policeman” (*La Stampa*. 2.03.2018)⁹.

From the analysis it emerged a recurrent representation of the killer by referring at his working life. For instance, Alessandro Garlaschi was identified in several articles of the three newspapers as “il tramviere = the tram driver”. The reliance on the professional aspect of the killer is part of what Raewyn Connell (2003) and Mia Consalvo (2003) casted as an affirmation of a masculinity which becomes hegemonic through the work as process of socialization. It is that legitimization of the man’s dominance through the economic benefit and the social admiration received in highlighting the man’s successful story. This is apparent in the portrayal of Fausto Filippone, the manager who killed his wife and daughter, before he killed himself. *La Repubblica* outlined that

(He) had a resume of all respect, and he graduated at the Ca’ Foscari University in Venice. He was also member of a charity association (*La Repubblica*, 21.05.2018)¹⁰.

whereas *La Stampa* called him “manager with the ineffable manners”¹¹ (22.05.2018) and *Corriere Della Sera* referred at him as “manager of the Brioni firm”¹² (23.05.2018) throughout the news coverage of this femicide- suicide case. It is the mediated affirmation of the male breadwinner in Italian family illustrated by the study of Menniti an Demurtas (2012). Although the man is responsible for the assassination of an intimate person, he is presented in his socio-economic contingency (Chambers, 2005) clustered in his successes at work.

⁹ Original version: La confessione in diretta del carabiniere.

¹⁰ Original version: Aveva un curriculum di tutto rispetto, e si era laureato all’università Ca’ Foscari di Venezia. Era anche volontario del Banco alimentare.

¹¹ Original version: Il manager dai modi ineffabili.

¹² Original version: manager della Brioni.

The media interest on the man as a worker was enlarged also to a thorough description of his tasks as well as the mention of any problems he had at the workplace, as it shows this account on Alessandro Garlaschi:

Tram driver of the line 16, during the last period he would have had several accidents of small entity (*La Repubblica*, 9.02.2018)¹³.

The insistence on these details are aimed at providing information about the killer's profile and communicating his social affirmation in accordance to his job title and also- as in the case of Fausto Filippone- to his study title. This kind of representational tool is functional to present the man as part of a society, as a person contributing to the economy of the country, but also as a man with struggles every reader can imagine, perhaps even relate to.

6.1.3. "He and She"

The concluding part of the first theme rotates around the relationship between the subjects who are part of a femicide: the perpetrator and the victim(s). As said in the paragraph 4.1. dedicated to defining the type of femicide this study is looking at, it is revealed that across the investigated articles the perpetrators are identified as "father", "friend", "boyfriend", "husband", "ex-husband". Whereas the other two sections played on the everyday and partially on the economic discourse, the identification of the man in relation of their victim was played around the relational discourse with a combination of emotional and informative language.

For instance, in describing the relationship between Manuel Buzzini and her girlfriend Sara Luciani, *Corriere Della Sera* said that

[they] built a love relationship turned almost into a shell to protect Sara from her fragilities (*Corriere Della Sera*, 11.06.2018)¹⁴.

Chiara Gius and Pina Lalli (2014) already analysed in depth the love as the framework in the news coverage of femicide in Italy, however here the affective sphere was functional to representing the man as a social agent in an intimate relation. The male subject who perceives

¹³ Original version: Conducente del tram della linea 16, nel corso dell'ultimo periodo avrebbe avuto diversi incidenti di piccola entità.

¹⁴ Original version: costruito un rapporto d'amore diventato quasi un guscio per proteggere Sara dalle sue fragilità.

that his ties to the partner are still intact- as in the case mentioned above- or crumbling down due to an incoming separation which needs just to be formalised. In the reportage about how Luigi Capasso killed the two daughters and almost killed the wife, *La Stampa* reported in the form of a direct quote what he said to the wife from whom he was about to be divorced:

“Give me the chance to get close to the girls [referring to the two daughters]” (*La Stampa*, 1.03.2018)¹⁵.

This mediated representation plays around what Schippers (2007) already observed: a negotiation of the man and his idea of dominant position within the powerful shifts in the familiar or intimate dynamics which require a reconstruction of his power through the exercise of violence, as the next theme will in detail demonstrate.

6.1.4. Summary

The theme “*Meet the man*” discloses the construction of masculinity in its basicness, everydayness, its professional achievements, its struggles at work as well as at a personal level, the bonds with the people he created a relation, or a family. The crime news of femicide departs from this ordinary package of information to tell the criminal story and its subjects. In general, this section shows a mixture of personalization and emotional intensity typical of the contemporary news (Gill, 2007: 134) which dispatches meticulous reporting of the man’s appearance. Indeed, the content is informal and intimate, it responds to the personalization (Fairclough,1995) of the news which is aimed at catching the human interest of the public to the represented subjects.

It is now that we turn to the core of the news coverage of femicide in the Italian mainstream press with the analysis of the second theme.

6.2. “His drawing of death”

The next thematic section sheds a light on the man into the femicide dynamics respecting the accuracy requested by the traditional journalism ethics (Ward, 2009). In reporting a crime such as the one here presented, the news media outlets embark in reconstructing the time-space frame wherein it occurred, the subjects involved, the extreme outcomes. The emergence and sometimes even indulgence on the destructive masculinity is apparent in all the investigated

¹⁵ Original version: “Dammi la possibilità di avvicinarmi alle bambine”

news crime accounts which insisted on a storytelling with a particular care of the violent behaviour of the man.

This element strongly places this study on the same research line of previous works on crime news and violence against women, which observe the attention devoted by the media on feeding the public audience with whatever detail can be interesting to read (Giomi, 2010). However, it goes even further by stating that in reporting an extreme case of gendered violence as a femicide is, the Italian mainstream press dive deep into the violent agency of the male perpetrator, from the background events preceding the homicide until the accomplishment of it.

In this thematic section, the analysis will be split into three sub-themes to illustrate the representations of the man in his drawing of death: *“It was known to be an aggressive man”*, *“He gave her a kiss and threw her off the bridge”*, *“I made a trouble: I have a dead girl at home”*.

6.2.1. “It was known to be an aggressive man”

In the section 6.1.3 the representation of the man in relation to the victim-to-be was discussed in the domain of the emotional but also intimate discourse. This present section bridges the identification of the man as “father/partner/friend” with the one of the aggressive men towards the victim-to-be. The portrayal of previous episodes of aggressivity gives the context wherein the murder is developed, an aspect Richards and her fellow colleagues (2013) encourage the media to pursue in framing femicide-suicide cases.

Every account concerning the pre-femicide violent behaviours were expressed via indirect or direct quotes of statements made by man’s or victim’s relatives or friends. Their language is descriptive, colloquial, but also loaded with immediate reactions and comments, considering that these sources were interviewed right after the femicide occurred, performing that immediacy and liveness important to the news media (Gill, 2007: 133).

For instance, *La Stampa* gave voice to the lawyer of a woman whose daughters were killed by her husband and father of the two victims, Luigi Capasso:

“A father-boss. [...] he controlled the wife as if she was his property” (*La Stampa*, 2.03.2018)¹⁶.

From a masculinities studies perspective, this is an example of that toxic masculinity illustrated by authors like Banet-Weiser and Miltner (2016): the man turning aggressive in the exact moment he does not dominate over the household, embracing that culture of possession contingent to the patriarchal structure radical feminism vehemently stands against (Mackinnon, 1989: 149). Also, journalists commented the violence pre-femicide, loosening up the standards of neutrality and objective reporting. For instance, *La Stampa* described Luigi Capasso by outlining his refusal to lose power over his family:

Luigi could not accept to be outside the house, to not have the control anymore (*La Stampa*, 1.03.2018)¹⁷.

Again, this short example gives back a sense of awareness in implicitly identifying the man as a person which sought control within the household in virtue of his assumed idea of dominator (Hearn, 2004). However, in the newspapers there is never a mention of how the violence embraced by men derives from the Italian patriarchal structure which normalises the male exercise of any sort of violent tools to prevail in the private and the public scene (Connell, 2005). Further, the examined sample presented the violent man by insisting on highly visual descriptions which were treated as a supporting story of the crime story rather than a starting point to build up a conversation of the violence against women as a public issue.

In sum, in the news outlets analysed, but especially in the follow-up articles, the attention to the crime's background-imbued with denunces of stalking, witnessing of physical mistreatments and psychological humiliations- were described. The purpose is to somehow prepare the public with what comes next, but also of communicating a sort of expectations of an extreme conclusion in the case of violent relationships.

6.2.2. “*He kissed her and then he threw her off the bridge*”¹⁸

¹⁶ Original version: <<Un padre-padrone. [...] sorvegliava la moglie come se fosse una sua proprietà>>.

¹⁷ Original version: Luigi non riusciva ad accettare di essere fuori casa, di non avere più il controllo.

¹⁸ Original version: “Le ha dato un bacio e l’ha lanciata dal ponte” (*Corriere della Sera*, 24.05.2018).

If in the previous section, the man was portrayed in his non-mortal aggressivity against the woman, here the man is identified as the killer in action, accomplishing his destructive plan. At a first glance, the reconstruction of the femicide dynamics and the discourse analysis revealed what Marian Meyers calls “over-completeness” (1994: 52), which means the presence of irrelevant details in the mediated illustration of the man’s agency.

An example is given by the news coverage done by the three newspapers on Fausto Filippone who first killed his wife and then their daughter, throwing her away off a bridge, before killing himself. *Corriere Della Sera* wrote:

[he] killed himself on the highway bridge, after having thrown down few hours earlier Ludovica as well, the 10-old daughter whom the father had been holding her hand along the highway, then into his arms, sit on the edge of the guard-rail. (*Corriere Della Sera*, 22.05.2018)¹⁹.

and *La Stampa* said that

the father sets her [the daughter] free in the emptiness (*La Stampa*, 23.05.2018)²⁰.

Was it necessary to indulge on the ‘fatherly behaviour’ the killer assumed before brutally killing the daughter? Furthermore, the usage of the verb “liberare qualcuno nel vuoto = set someone free in the emptiness” makes think about a positive action, a liberatory and liberating act, rather than an action framed in a femicide context. The image emerging from these two quotes is a negotiation between the fatherly figure and the killer one, which gives a confusing representation of his responsibilities.

A second element of this over-completeness is given by what Cynthia Carter (1998, in: Carter et al., 1998) conceptualises as a more explicit and lurid language in illustrating how the man committed the homicide, concentrating on how many stabs or shots were necessary to kill his victim(s), which part of the victim’s body he punched, how he moved along the crime scene. In following this crime storytelling, the three newspapers employed the official discourse on

¹⁹ Original version: si è suicidato dal viadotto Alento sull’A 14, dopo aver lanciato nel vuoto poche ore prima anche Ludovica, la figlia di 10 anni che il papà aveva tenuto mano nella mano sul ciglio dell’autostrada e poi in braccio, seduto sul guard-rail.

²⁰ Original version: il padre la libera nel vuoto

the femicide case with the purpose of validating their over-accuracy of dark details through the authority embodied by the investigative sources.

For instance, *La Stampa* gave a full illustration of what Alessandro Garlaschi did to his victim, as this extract shows

Garlaschi [...] after the first stab into the girl's stomach, continued to stab her into her chest. After, as reconstructed by the official document, he set the lower part of her body on fire, in the attempt of get rid of the girl's corpse [...] (*La Stampa*, 7.02.2018)²¹.

It can be concluded for this part of the analysis that in the news repertoire of reconstructing the man's mortal actions, two points emerge: the first one is a negotiation between the man maintaining intimate gestures and the man as a ferocious killer. The second one is a long insistence on his homicidal agency, relying also on the official discourse on the femicide dynamics.

6.2.3. *"I made a trouble: I have a dead girl at home"*

The final part of this theme identifies the man in the aftermath of his drawing of death. In the femicide cases analysed, four out of the six perpetrators committed suicide, whereas the (alive) rest of them is under arrest with the accusation of 'omicidio volontario = voluntary homicide'. The news articles gave voice to all of them, reporting in direct quotes their declarations in front of the judges, like Alessadro Garlaschi's words mentioned by *La Stampa*:

[...] but I "turned the knife", which she had in her hand, against her "and I hit her at the stomach" (*La Stampa*, 9.02.2018)²².

Also the suicidal killer gained voice in the news outlets under examination, always in the name of what Marian Meyers calls "the professional imperatives" of reporting what occurred and its developments (1997: 22), but also with the intention of keeping the reader's attention high on the criminal case by feeding him/her with insights into the criminal's mind (Katz, 1987).

²¹ Original version: Garlaschi, [...], dopo il primo colpo allo stomaco della ragazza ha inferto altre coltellate al petto. Poi, è ricostruito nell'atto, le ha dato fuoco nella parte inferiore del corpo nel tentativo di sbarazzarsi del cadavere della giovane [...].

²² Original version: ma io "ho rigirato il coltello" che aveva in mano contro di lei "l'ho colpita allo stomaco".

For instance, the three newspapers mentioned the goodbye notes that Pasquale Vitiello wrote before killing his wife Immacolata and committing suicide:

Immacolata's husband would have left a note wherein he announced to meditate a "proposition of make justice on his own" (*La Repubblica*, 19.03.2018)²³.

"I will make justice on my own". He kills her in front of the school (*La Stampa*, 19.03.2018)²⁴

And even his imaginary final dialogue with the daughter. "I am proud of you" he writes to her "I will look at you from the sky" (*Corriere Della Sera*, 21.03.2018)²⁵.

As for the case of Fausto Filippone mentioned in the section above, the newspapers conveyed the dualistic image of the man devoting attention to his daughter, and the man who decides to reaffirm his own sense of justice by punishing with death his wife. This repetition in the findings not only connects the thematic sections, but most importantly reflects a continuous process of empathic humanization of the killer, imbued with emotional language to soften the man's status of criminal (Meyers, 1994). Hence, Pasquale Vitiello was surely a killer, but the mainstream press reminded that he held a conventional social role in quality of father, conveying a masculinity which is not problematised for its destructivity, rather was constructed around the traditional acceptable patriarchal roles (Kivel & Johnson, 2009).

Aside giving voice to the killers, the news outlets used visual elements, such as pictures to represent them in the moments following the crime. The benefit of iconographic text is a transfer of liveness of the crime event (Gill, 2007: 131), it gives concreteness to the man's destiny after the crime, but it also serves as a moral warning to the reader (Katz, 1987): this is what happens when a person commits a homicide.

²³ Original version: Il marito di Immacolata avrebbe lasciato una lettera in cui annunciava di meditare un "proposito di farsi giustizia da sè".

²⁴ Original version: "Mi farò giustizia da solo". La uccide davanti alla scuola.

²⁵ Original version: E pure un suo immaginario dialogo finale con la figlia. «Sono fiero di te», le scrive, «Ti guarderò dal cielo».



In this picture taken by *La Stampa* (8.02.2018), Alessandro Garlaschi (the man in the middle with the eyes staring down) was escorted outside his house by the policemen after the femicide of Jessica. The visual aspect not only gives a more concrete factuality of the crime, but also enables to identify the man as a killer, although other pictures were used to identify the man as an existing individual before the coverage of his criminal acts (see paragraph 6.1.1).

Seeing the crime as an event which becomes of public domain through the mediation process, the scrutinised newspapers relied again on the official and public discourse with the purpose of drawing upon beliefs, evaluations, positioning of the femicide subjects within the context of reference (Fairclough, 1995: 204). In commenting the femicide- suicide of Laura and her boyfriend Manuel, a neighbour of theirs said to *Corriere Della Sera*

“They have been together since the beginning of the year. They were very united, he could have never killed her” (*Corriere Della Sera*, 11.06.2018)²⁶.

whereas *La Repubblica* reported in direct quote what the autopsy documentation declared on this killer- suicidal man

The autopsy: “He is dead by hanging himself” (*La Repubblica*, 12.06.2018)²⁷.

²⁶ Original version: «Stavano insieme da inizio anno. Erano molto uniti, non avrebbe mai potuto ucciderla».

²⁷ Original version: L'autopsia: “Lui è morto impiccato”.

La Stampa interviewed a key-witness of the double femicide executed by Luigi Capasso. She used a colloquial metaphor “fare piazza pulita = literally: make a square clean” to say that he made a massacre

“I only know that he made a massacre” (*La Stampa*, 28.02.2018)²⁸.

As already emerged in the study on femicide-suicide in the media done by Richards and her colleagues (2013), the news outlets make broad use of the official and unofficial sources to, on one hand, spin the objective construction of the killer given by the official discourse with its “categorically modalised statements” (Fairclough, 1995:162). On the other hand, the unofficial voices offer the possibility to give immediate and far-to-be neutral constructions of the man—either depicting him as an unlikely killer, either as a fully responsible for his crimes. The latter aspect brings to the surface what Katz (1987) elaborates on in the making of a crime news: the necessity to make sense of the criminal’s behaviour, the search for the right words to describe an action which does not belong to the ordinary course of the daily life.

In sum, the representations emerging in this subsection reflect both the self-affirmation of the man as an active agent who explains his own actions in terms of deciding for his victim’s and his own destiny and the public and/or official identification of the man: from free subject to under-arrest subject, from man in a love relationship to a man killing the women he said to love.

6.2.4. Summary

This theme allowed us to observe three results: First, the representation of the man as an example of toxic masculinity, constructed around the illustration of the man’s previous aggressive behaviours against the victims before the femicide. However, the examined sample failed to open a broader discussion about the toxic man as social category. By departing from the input of reflections given by each femicide case. As already illustrated by Meyers (1994), each man is treated individually, disabling any comments on the Italian social problem of violence against women. Second, it was observed a negotiation between the identification of the man as killer in action and the one of a man in a non-criminal context: the example of Pasquale Vitiello. This case merged the man’s ‘fatherly words’ towards the daughter who was about to be orphaned with his intention of making his own justice written down on a goodbye

²⁸ Original version: “Io so solo che ha fatto piazza pulita”.

note. Third, the multivocality in the news coverage of the crime reconstruction and its aftermath balances the necessity of the media to provide both accuracy guaranteed by the investigative team's declarations and the public point of view of the man's actions, with the effect of bringing the femicide up to an emotional level rather than a critical one.

6.3. *"I would never hurt you"*

The last theme emerged from the connection of the CDA and the coding process is another negotiation of the man's identification construction. This time, the discursive practises within the crime news order rotate around the psychic, lucid and emotional system of knowledge. By doing so, the man is evaluated according to his capacity of killing consciously or unconsciously due to a mental or emotional problem. This is a traditional attempt in the news coverage of femicide to try to explain why and how such an extreme conclusion of a friendship or intimate relation between a man and a woman occurred (Meyers, 1994; Gius & Lalli, 2014). Seeing this theme as a bridge connecting the man in his everyday persona (see paragraph 6.1) and his criminal action (see paragraph 6.2), the following analysis will not focus on a particular moment of the covered femicide, rather it will go back and forth from the previous two themes and shed a light on other nuances of the mediated representations.

Like for the other themes, this one was divided into three sub-sections: "*A sudden explosion of madness*", "*He planned everything*", "*An emotional storm*".

6.3.1. *"A sudden explosion of madness"*²⁹

The qualitative analysis detected the recurrent use of the psychiatric discourse to label the femicide as 'follia = madness' of the man. In the paragraph 3.5.1., the examined literature revealed how the mainstream media often go back to psychiatric concepts, i.e. alienation, OCD, pathological disturbs to portray the male perpetrators of extreme crimes (Park et al., 2012).

In the news coverage of the double femicide committed by Luigi Capasso, known to be an aggressive man according to his wife's friends, the three newspapers mentioned the psychological tests the killer passed during a medical control after revealing to his superiors at work his hard times at home.

For instance, *Corriere Della Sera* wrote:

²⁹ Original version: "Un'improvvisa esplosione di follia" (*Corriere Della Sera*, 22.05.2018).

After having prescribed him eight days of rest, the commission of the General Command visited him and judged him “fitting for the job” and did not dispose any follow-up control about his health status (*Corriere Della Sera*, 2.03.2018)³⁰.

whereas *La Repubblica* used the official discourse to reinforce the representation of a mentally unstable man:

Vitigliano [provincial commander of the carabinieri] defined Capasso “in a status of strong agitation and not perfectly lucid in his reasoning in this moment” (*La Repubblica*, 28.02.2018)³¹.

The use of the killer’s mental health in the news coverage of femicide constitutes an explanation as well as an excuse for his action. As observed by Katz (1987), in representing the man as a pathological case, the media dehumanise the man, taking away his crime from the societal roots which are favouring the manifestation of femicide- the patriarchal system. In calling the killer a “mostro = monster” as Alessandro Garlaschi was addressed by his neighbours during his arrest (*La Stampa*, 8.02.2018), the result is a refusal to identify the killer as a man which with this ultimate extreme gesture imposed his control over the woman. A monster is something ‘extraordinary’, meaning that it is beyond our ordinary practises and our capacity of explaining what he did by framing the crime within our socio-cultural reality. It is the sort of myth Denise Thompson (2001) talks about in her reflection over the patriarchal creation of explanatory discourses to justify the male dominance, a discursive strategy which demonizes the individual, but leaves the social category of the hegemonic destructive masculinity out of any criticisms.

6.3.2. “*He planned everything*”

An interesting result from the analysis was the representation of the ‘lucid man’ who planned in detail the femicide and then tried to hide his tracks. This representation enters in apparent contradiction with the image of the ‘mad man’ acting against his victim due to his psychiatric pathologies. As emerged in the thematic section “*his drawing of death*”, the three newspapers

³⁰ Original version: Dopo avergli concesso otto giorni di riposo, la commissione del Comando generale lo sottopose alla visita che lo giudicò «idoneo al servizio» e non dispose alcun controllo successivo sul suo stato di salute.

³¹ Original version: Vitagliano aveva definito Capasso "in stato di forte agitazione e non perfettamente limpido nel suo ragionare in questo momento".

framed the assessment of the man's lucidity- as well as of his insanity- through the official sources of the crime news.

La Repubblica quoted the document confirming the arrest of Abdelmjid El Biti, accused of femicide and corpse-vanishing. This official paper explained that

“The kid [daughter of the couple] told that in the evening the father warned her to be careful because the mother could go somewhere and leave them alone, thing which makes apparent how the crime was premeditated” (*La Repubblica*, 9.06.2018)³².

The identification of the killer as a lucid actor in accomplishing his femicide plan recalls the definition that Jane Caputi (1989) makes on femicide as the extreme exercise of the patriarchal power over the women. Therefore, the man is not killing in the midst of a “sudden explosion of madness”- to quote the previous section-, rather he is practising an ultimate systematic violence against his victim(s). However, the media discourse on lucidity was not framed within a critique of the patriarchal system favouring the conditions for a man to decide whether his partner/daughter/friend has the right to live or to die. The lucid man was indeed negotiated with the ‘mad man’, expressing the message that although the killer had planned to commit a femicide, his mind was unstable during the execution of the plan.

For instance, in commenting the double femicide committed by the policemen Luigi Capasso, *Corriere Della Sera* opened a follow-up article said that

a mix of premeditation and loss of his mind seems to have armed the hand of Luigi Capasso (*Corriere Della Sera*, 3.03.2018)³³.

This negotiation between the mad and the lucid killer is the result of the editorial choices to not expose themselves when it comes to the coverage of such extreme and at the same time delicate cases. Norman Fairclough (1995: 84) explains how these woven contrasting voices, ordered by the dominant media discourse, give the text heterogeneity but also a direction by prioritizing certain voices rather than others, as in the man's madness-lucidity argumentation. The newspapers' claim for objectivity returns in this section to communicate that yes, the man was

³² Original version: “E la bambina quella sera ha riferito che il padre l'aveva avvertita di stare attenta perché la madre poteva andare da qualche parte e lasciarli a casa da soli, cosa che rende manifesto come il gesto sia stato premeditato”.

³³ Original version: Un misto di premeditazione e perdita di senno sembra aver armato la mano di Luigi Capasso

both lucid and insane at the same time, because this is the only answer thinkable for such a crime. Yet femicide reality has nothing to do with madness, rather it is the manifestation of the destructive force men are taught to own (Coleman, 2009).

6.3.3. “*The emotional storm*”

The previous two parts dealt with the man’s psyche to identify him into the patterns of insanity-lucidity. This section investigates the representations of the man in the midst of his emotions. Interestingly, emotions are represented in what the patriarchal system calls ‘feminine - emotional behaviour’. In their hegemonic masculinity, emotions are dismantled to the physicality and control of the situation and replaced with a range of sentiments (Connell, 2005). In part 6.2.1. it emerged the manifestation of the toxic masculinity through its physical and aggressive expression of power over the woman, but here, the man is caught in his “emotional storm”, to use the justification given by an Italian judge in a sentence on femicide (see section 2.3).

La Stampa said about Pasquale Vitiello’s goodbye notes:

The majority [of the goodbye notes he wrote] addresses the daughter for whom he has words of affection and dedication; other letters address the parents and a friend to whom he reveals his condition of rejected man. The rage and hatred against Imma took over. (*La Stampa*, 20.03.2018)³⁴.

whereas on the same femicide case *La Repubblica* wrote that

in those hand-written pages, it emerges a torment which becomes day by day deeper. Until the intention of “have justice on his own” noted down on a paper sheet, which exploded in a dramatic way yesterday morning. (*La Repubblica*, 19.03.2019)³⁵.

There is the subtle yet visible idea behind these mediated representations of the killer under his emotional storm: a personalization and humanization of the crime. As previous studies on

³⁴ Original version: La maggior parte è indirizzata alla figlia per la quale Vitiello spende parole di affetto e dedizione; altre lettere sono rivolte ai genitori e a un amico a cui sfoga la sua condizione di uomo respinto. La rabbia e l'odio nei confronti di Imma hanno avuto il sopravvento.

³⁵ Original version: In quelle pagine manoscritte, si dipana un tormento che si fa via via sempre più profondo. Fino al proposito di “farsi giustizia da solo” annotato su un foglio, ed esploso in maniera drammatica ieri mattina.

mainstream news and femicide acknowledged (Meyers, 1997; Gius & Lalli, 2014), the news media reduce a complex and socio-cultural issue like femicide within the storytelling of the man's personal feelings during the preparation and execution of femicide. In the examples shown, Pasquale Vitiello killed his wife triggered by the rage and hatred against her, a torment which, according to himself, could only be solved via the act of putting her life to an end.

Femicide becomes more understandable when it is looked at the affective dimensions of the media discourse of emotions, which we as humans feel in our daily life. By doing so, there is what Gaye Tuchman (1979) previously elaborated on the distortions between the mediated portrayals of the man and his practise of femicide: the man is not another example of the patriarchy in Italy, but he is a subject who had a lot of feelings and chose to express them in the most dramatic way.

In sum, if Gius and Lalli (2014) identified love as the leading feeling framing the news coverage of femicide in Italy, the investigated sample of this study showed the perpetrators of femicide as enraged, jealous and even caring about his victims. Luigi Capasso said to one of her kids: "Non ti farei mai del male = I would never hurt you" (*Corriere Della Sera*, 2.03.2018). Alessandro Garlaschi wrote to Jessica: "Sei dentro il mio cuore = You are in my heart" (*Corriere Della Sera*, 10.02.2018). The representations of these men add more personal nuances to the femicide. What lacked from the media side was to do what Susanne Kappeler recommended (1990): position this personal at a political level to structure a critique of the patriarchal gender relations which normalise practises of male violence against women culminating with the misogynist belief that it is legit to kill a woman if she rejects his control masked by a sentiment.

6.3.4. Summary

In this thematic section, the mediated representations of the perpetrators of femicide fall into the old stereotypes of the 'mentally unstable' or 'the emotional man', negotiated with the identification of a 'lucid killer'. However, these themes do not dive deep into the hegemonic masculinity which teaches men that abusing and killing a woman is a possible solution in case of conflict. In portraying the man as a deviant or as a man acting in the burst of his emotions, the crime news outlets follow dominant representations which mirror the institutionalised patriarchal power (Hearn, 2004), dehumanising or humanising the male killer to not look at him as the perpetrator of the most extreme form of patriarchy. Indeed, the effect is a de-

responsibilization of the subject for its crime, but not because he is White, rather because he is a man, a member of a dominant social order (MacKinnon, 1990) which plays the authoritative card of the psychiatric discourse or the ‘emotional storm’ one, more empathic, more humanising, to cover its tracks and to avoid to be questioned within the public sphere.

7. Discussion

The analysis showed three main themes around which the sample centred the representations of the responsible for femicide. By synthesizing these themes, it is now possible to conduct a critical reflection on the role of the Italian mainstream press in tackling femicide and what were the common fallacies in portraying the man behind this patriarchal crime. Finally, these sections would like to propose how to improve the reporting quality of femicide with the aim of raising that awareness and that social responsibility Susanne Kappeler refers at when she talks about measures to deploy against the patriarchal order (1990). A final note on methodological limitations and suggestions for further research will be discussed.

7.1 The duty of informing

Roger Silverstone (2007) attributes to media the responsible role for reporting what is happening in the world so that people can get an exhaustive knowledge of the processes, institutions and people involved, reasons and logics behind an event. In the news coverage of the femicide in Italy, this exhaustive knowledge was translated by the mainstream press into a detailed description of how the man killed his victim(s), information accessed through the conventional sources of policemen, lawyers, common witnesses and acquaintances of the victim and killer (paragraph 6.2.2). However, the insistent repetition of number of stabs or shoots, how tall the bridge from which the victim was thrown off was, loses the critical and crucial focus on why femicide is an alarm of a deeper and broader phenomenon: violence against women.

This is the reason why this project is aligned with the criticisms addressing the principle of objectivity supported by the traditional journalism ethics (see paragraph 4.5) Further, the analysis pointed bluntly out that this call for an accurate reporting failed to play that normative role of addressing the Italian citizens and problematising those values and practices cultivating patriarchy and that hegemonic masculinity favouring logics of masculine violence and dominance. Men were represented in their complete pre-homicidal (paragraph 6.2.1) and homicidal agency, in their last exercise of a feature, the physical violence, the triumph of a

cultural belief that if you-man- do not show your muscles and impose your authority, you are not man enough (Banet-Weiser & Miltner, 2016). Although all three investigated newspapers stated how certain femicides were- to use an idiomatic expression common in the Italian colloquial discourse- “an announced tragedy” due to the accounts of previous episodes of domestic violence, they did not all go beyond the mere task of assembling the information and the sentiments collected through interviews and fieldnotes.

It lacked in this scrutinised news coverage what Sowards and Renegar call “a process wherein you become critically aware of your culture” (2004). Each femicide was treated as a single event, disconnected from the others and the national context, except in those 2-3 articles aimed at releasing quantitative data or statistics on the recurrence of this crime during the first trimester, or after six months of the year 2018.

This study asserts that news media can exercise a better normative role in saying more about the wider social and cultural context and its fixity (Fairclough, 1995: 50-52), criticising for instance the primary and secondary education system in Italy which impose stereotypes both on men and women, i.e. the attribution of violence as a natural feature of the man. Turning this evaluation into practise, the suggestion to the mainstream press is to make more connections among the femicide occurring throughout the months, but not to hand in a number at the end of the year, which is something that other institutions can provide with. The press has the normative capacity of diffusing a more engaging message against the ongoing conservative Italian gender relations and that model of destructive masculinity, embraced by the current political leaders at the Italian government, constructing the perpetrator of femicide.

7.2. Call him by his name

Carol Stabile claims that journalism objectivity is androcentric (2004) based on the minimalistic representations that reporters gave to a male white-collar criminal in comparison with a more blaming-oriented coverage of a female criminal. In this study, it happened the contrary. Representations of male perpetrators of femicide were abundant of details: from his professional and personal life (see section 6.1) until his killing modalities.

Although the journalism ethics calls for a fair offer of ‘both sides of the story’, the broad attention given to the everydayness of the man does not add a critical value to the story. The employment status, the trips done with the family he is going to murder few weeks later, the gifts given to the girl he is going to butcher, are meaningless elements if not included in a wider

analysis of the Italian patriarchal institutions (i.e. family, workplace, school) and their capacity to construct power relations in favour of the man as social category (O'Neill, 2015).

In illustrating the first thematic area, this study argues also that the media's insistence on socially understandable elements articulate specific regimes of visibility (Fairclough, 1995: 106-109) which reduce the complexity of the femicide phenomenon within predictable representative categories of killers and victims. In agreement with Robert Hanke's argumentations (1990) on the hegemonic masculinity, the project's findings showed that the mediated male figures constructed with the purpose of let the readers identify or not with them. There is the killer, the target of a social moral judgement, but there is also the male worker figure which finds resemblance with the normal course of a normal social life. In a nutshell, the examined crime news conveys both patriarchal accepted social positions and the extreme results of the patriarchal power held by the men over their women.

Seeing news as a media product which is "made upon choices" (Fairclough, 1995: 202), the studied sample operated indeed a process of selection of what is important for the dominant patriarchal system in Italy. Therefore, the choice of furnishing information about the man's job, his daily routine, his family life, eroded the media's normative commitment to start a mobilising action against those social forces silencing the negative and extreme impact that the hegemonic and toxic masculinity exercises over gender relations.

The mediated construction of the perpetrator's image urges a clearer identification process which passes through calling the man by his real name: a killer, an example of that hegemonic masculinity which imposes a destructive power via a criminal patriarchal act. By doing so, the text will assume less a conversational tone and more an active role in positioning the man within the social practise and meaning of femicide.

7.3 He is not depressed neither impulsive: explaining a patriarchal category

Several times in the analysis, it emerged a consistent media's use of various sources to put together the different representations of the man. On one hand, these sources constituted a valid witnessing of the man's past violent behaviour and therefore offered a point of departure to demonstrate that perpetrators of femicide must not be taken as people who randomly killed their female partner/relative. On the other hand, these voices designed mediated figures who bargain public comprehension for their homicidal crime. Arguing that crime news contributes to create what Grabe and her colleagues conceive as a playground for morality (2006), the

illustrated sample delivered representations which nourish an already heard repertoire of explanatory reasons of why the man decided to commit a femicide.

By constructing the man as a subject acting out of his mind or in the midst of an emotional breakdown, the news media performed a simplification procedure: they arranged the identification process within stock characters which belong to the traditional crime news format (Meyers, 1997: 19- 20). The 'monster' figure, the 'mad man', the 'man fallen into a deep sadness' are just some identifying figures recurrent in the Italian articles about femicide (see paragraph: 3.3). The simplification involves the use of the pathological imaginary reinforced by the voice of criminal psychology experts and investigators, as well as the use of the emotional discourse in the journalist's comments or in the interviews to who knew the femicide subjects. Bearing in mind radical feminists' reflections on how the patriarchal system maintains its power by producing cultural norms justifying the designated unbalanced social order (paragraph 4.2), this study illustrates that in proposing pathological and/or emotive men, the Italian mainstream news media continued to reproduce powerful myths which serve to hide those social and cultural dimensions prompting men to feel legitimised to dominate women. As Rosalind Gill already outlines in her book (2007: 147), these outdated discourses in the crime news not only fail to problematise the destructive effects of the hegemonic masculinity but are also dangerous as they mystify a social phenomenon. In the attempt of feeding the public sphere with immediate accounts of the crime, the scrutinised news media renounced to challenge the Italian system of conservative knowledge on its product of hegemonic and destructive masculinity.

The argumentation of this section is that news media need to be more consistent with the delicate topic they are treating: the findings illustrated how the intertextuality within each article circumnavigates the man's embodiment of the Italian patriarchal values and practises within their personal relations. Indeed, the news text went from implying that the man was already known to be violent to questioning his mental status during the femicide, from commenting how the man executed the wife to talking about his words of affection and devotion towards the daughter. By presenting different voices interwoven in single communicative events, the news media attempted to apply impartiality and objectivity in their products, but- de facto- they ended up in privileging options which do not attack the hegemonic social system they are part of (Fairclough, 1995: 86). Thus, policemen, criminal psychology experts, but also common people represented the option to expose representation of the

perpetrator of femicide convenient to news media business to give prompt outlets to the recipients, rather than products of more critical awareness of the phenomenon.

Having said that, mainstream media can learn from this lack of focus by finding other texts to include in their gendered crime reporting. Gillespie and her colleagues (2013) suggest the usage of different sources in the femicide and/or femicide/suicide reporting to open a more realistic debate on such phenomenon. These sources include anti-violence centres spokespeople, domestic violence experts, feminist groups and scholars. The Italian mainstream press has already been working with them when it comes to produce statistics or to strive for particular request to the government (i.e. the opening of more women's shelters). Employing on regular basis their voices in the news coverage of femicide can be valuable contributions to raise a public advocacy for putting back the femicide and the violence against women into the public agenda.

7. 4. Limitations of the study and suggestions for further research

The first limitation of this study is methodological as the focus was on the discourse production, putting aside the other part of the CDA: the discourse consumption, how the recipients make sense of a communicative event. This limitation is motivated by the short amount of time of the research conduct as well as by the conducted research aims in unpacking the media order of discourse in the news coverage of femicide. Therefore, a suggestion for further investigation on mainstream journalism and femicide could be an analysis of the discursive practises deployed by the news readers in the comments below the news articles published online and compare them with the ones produced by the news media business. It would be interesting to examine whether there is a consensus on the article's words, or a conflict developed through critical comments toward the news outlets

A second limitation is placed in the choice of the investigated newspapers, which represent a traditional genre of journalism. Again, the lack of time and the interest in examining newspapers which still collect a big audience made the study not opt for newspapers with stronger political orientations. It could be interesting to make a comparative study among far-right and central-right wing newspapers with left-wing newspaper to scrutinize their discursive practises on men and femicide, inserting also other analytical variables, i.e. nationality and religion of the man, to observe any eventual changes in the crime reporting.

Finally, a complementary research to this one presented would be the analysis of the discursive representations of the victim of femicide in the Italian mainstream newspapers with the purpose of closing the circle around the research topic of mainstream paper media and femicide.

8. Concluding remarks

Norman Fairclough (1995: 204) perceives news as a social action embedded within a sociocultural context. In this research journey, the scope was to unpack the discourses shaping the representations of the perpetrators of femicide with a retrospective on how these discourses reflect the current gender relations in Italy, and to reflect on how the mainstream press cope with such an extreme topic.

The decision of investigating the Italian top-three daily newspapers of general interest, rather than focusing on alternative media- i.e. social networks, blogs, niche-newspapers- was motivated by the fact that they are the manifestation of the dominant system of knowledge and values. Therefore, this study contributes to reinforce the importance of examining mainstream journalism, focusing in particular on questions of its mediated representations of men and its traditional ethics within the news coverage of femicide. In addressing these research points, a specific theoretical combination was chosen to analyse the male perpetrator of femicide. Indeed, the usage of both radical feminism and masculinity studies has never been experimented in the study field of media and journalism. The research focus on men within a femicide context demanded a theoretical approach which did not only expose the patriarchal nuances of reporting the crime, but also opened a more comprehensive analytical window on the mediation process of the man and the social category of hegemonic masculinity. Whether radical feminism gave strength to this project with its exhortation in making a woman's issue like femicide part of the political and social agenda, the critical theorizations around masculinity enhanced the importance of having an in-depth understanding of the social and cultural characteristics constructing the responsible of femicide and especially the discursive and fluid negotiations of his identification within the news media. The additional value of critical masculinity studies to this project is to recognise the man as part of a masculine category which must be the object of a mediated critical revision and representation. In connecting these two theories, the present project was able to set a conversation on the traditional journalism ethics, debating whether it necessitates an upgrade in terms of engagement and renounce to the classic paradigms of professed neutrality

In illustrating the research outcomes, the questions posed at the beginning of this study have been addressed to embark in a final discussion about how critically approach mainstream Italian press coverage of femicide. The first question looked for the representations of the men within the mainstream news coverage of femicide in Italy, whereas the second focused more analytically on the masculinity categories these representations embodied. The qualitative analysis of 80 articles across the three chosen newspapers conveyed precise answers. The first one is a construction of the perpetrator of femicide always negotiated among different identifications: the killer figure is combined with the fatherly figure; the aggressive and manipulative man is paired with the emotive man; the lucid planner goes together with the man acting under a psychiatric disease. By reflecting on these descriptive findings, the answer to the second question was given, which is based on hegemonic and toxic masculinity. These two correlated masculine categories emerged in the discursive practises insisting on the man's violent agency before and after the femicide as well as on his social position in quality of professional subject and his family role.

Bridging the first and second questions, the construction of the perpetrator of femicide failed to set a discussion about the man being part of the Italian hegemonic masculinity, supported by dominant patriarchal institutions and taught via primary and secondary process of socialization (Ruspini, 2009), which claims power through the use of discursive and non-discursive practises.

Through the examination of the Italian man responsible of femicide, this study also questioned how these representations shredded a light on certain dominant discourses reflecting the gender relations in Italy. The answers were found in the traditional family discourse developed in the news outlets to diffuse the male breadwinner practise or the '*pater familias*'³⁶ devoted to take care of every decision. Also, the psychological discourse absolved a role in the media outlets to convey the message that when the man shows rage and aggressive behaviours toward an intimate female person, he is going through some psychic issues or depression. Another dominant discourse is the public one used to reflect either the demonization and dehumanization of the violent man part of a relationship, either the belief that the man is still the white knight protecting and loving his woman. In the era of a new awakening of the women's movements and a more global mediatic and social attention to the category of

³⁶ This latin expression literally meaning 'father of a family' is used in the Italian language to express the authoritative figure embodied by the man within the family context.

hegemonic masculinity hindering gender inequality through practises of psychological and sexual violence, the Italian mainstream media cannot continue to play the old cards of the 'happy family' and of the 'young tormented love'. They are called to treat each gender issue with giving salience to the past, present and future factors contributing to the reproduction of that issue. To give a concrete example, in this study the new Italian divorce law proposal and its fallacies in favouring more possibilities for an abusive man to perpetrate his violence against his partner was exposed in the second chapter. Mainstream media should guide the public sphere and institutions to demonstrate of the deleterious effects the draft law on reforming divorce can have with a focus on its extreme outcome-the woman's death. Only by contextualizing femicide within the social and political context, can the media exercise a democratic role in favouring a transparent dialogue on the phenomenon of femicide.

The apparent hypertextuality and multi-discursivity within the news sample led to finally think about the role of traditional journalism ethics in the crime news covering an extreme case such as femicide. This study highlighted how it is not enough to open news sections entirely focused on women's issues and femicide in order to take a normative stand against what lies behind the voluntary killing of intimate partners, daughters, girlfriends.

It is not enough to report how the femicide dynamics developed and to be abundant with sometimes turbid details to feel to have accomplished the duty to objectively and fairly inform the public.

It is not enough to rely only on official sources who represent those political and legal institutions who want to keep femicide being treated like an isolated act or like the shortcoming of the actions of a troubled man.

It is not enough and absolutely not dignifying for the victim to give account to friends and family members of the killer when they indulge in describing the killer as a man in love with the woman he has just assassinated.

Throughout this study, the investigation indicated how the news media power failed to convey the due problematization of the femicide. Indeed, each article presented patriarchal myths which outlined the male social position or the man's dehumanization (i.e. the man's career or the man as a monster, an outcast). They simultaneously covered up through these discursive strategies that social category of hegemonic masculinity which supports the belief that the physical and psychological violence are natural elements embedded in the man who can use them when he sees he is losing control over his woman. As Vincent Sacco points out (1995), media have the power to invest a private problem with broader meanings to deliver to an

audience. In line with this point, this study still suggests that mainstream newspapers have that kind of normative and advocacy power to make a subject topic result as an issue endangering a particular group of citizens as well as to show the democratic trust in the institutional problem-solving. For that, femicide should be treated as an issue and with it, the reproduction of that dominant construction of masculinity favouring the blood as the only solution to not lose power. If media should be considered the lighthouse shedding a light on the problems ongoing in a country, it is imperative that they go over the impartial traditional role assumed so far in the coverage of femicide. After all, femicide is not a political issue until the public sphere- of whom media are big representatives and at the same time mobilizers- acknowledges it as such.

Therefore, this study wants to advocate for a more engaged journalism with the problematization of this criminal phenomenon, starting with a more engaging language. By doing a CDA of the sample, it emerged how all three newspapers employed a vocabulary coming from the merge of official, colloquial, crime news texts which lacked concision and cohesion. The shortcoming of this intertextuality was a flat tone of the news coverage of femicide (Dahlgren, 1989): same repertoires, same lurid details, same sensationalism, same discursive practices (i.e. the psychological/pathological discourse, the emotional discourse, etc.) in representing the event and its involved subjects. Based on these empirical observations, this project wants to suggest a more feminist vocabulary in tackling what is in reality a result of patriarchy and its hegemonic destructive masculinity; as Catharine MacKinnon (1990) outlines, a feminist approach favours a more critical eye on power positions and powerlessness. Mainstream media would make their femicide coverage stronger by casting this crime and its perpetrators within a broader critique of the political and sociocultural order. By embarking in a more feminist elaboration of the Italian news coverage of femicide, it would be possible to read in the text less about the man's madness or working life, and more about the toxicity and the damages of a masculinity interiorised throughout the socialization processes; to convey less information about the femicide dynamics and more information about what the society as a whole needs to change within institutions, laws, and education to combat the plague of violence against women and femicide.

Mainstream journalism cannot stop femicide from happening and this study does not ask it to. However, what it is requested to the mainstream newspapers is to be less afraid to "make more noise" when it comes to report this crime, to dare to be truly objective and write that those men

chose death to not lose their last element of power over their woman. By doing so, the mainstream media will not continue to fail the female citizens or residents in Italy as they will act as a voice striving for a change in the societal and cultural institutions - not only in regard to femicide but also to the negotiations of a hegemonic masculinity which for too long have been legitimising and justifying male violence.

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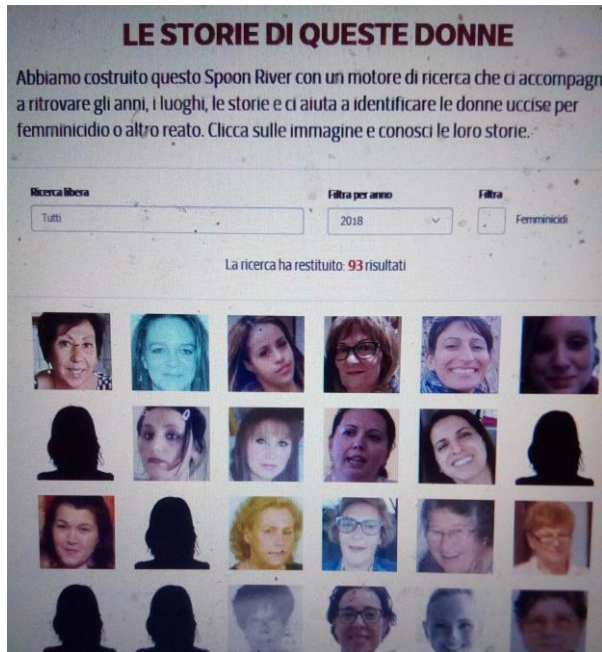
Widyono, M. (2008). *Conceptualising Femicide*. Paper published within the handbook: *Strengthening understanding of femicide. Using research to galvanize action and accountability*.

APPENDIX A

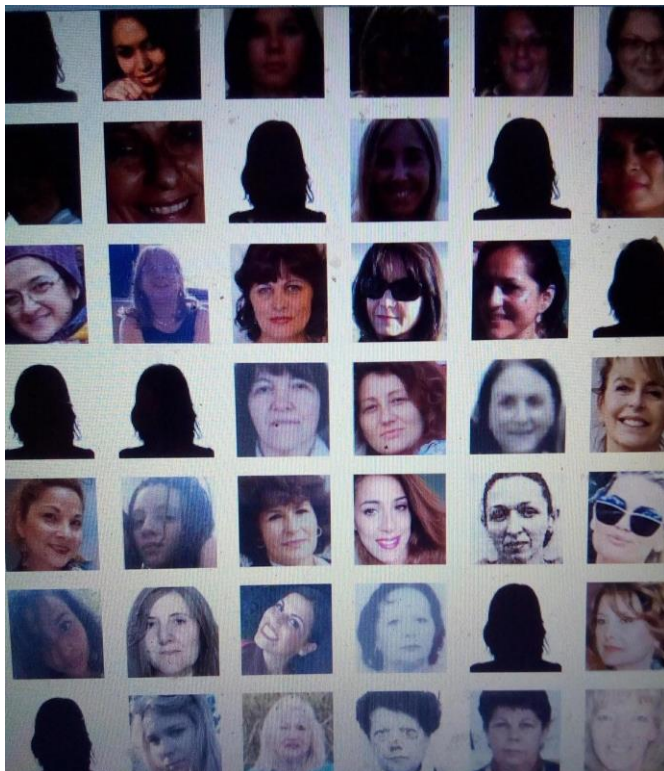
The list of the 2018 femicides in Italy

In the section 5.2.2 dedicated to the description of the material collection and sampling, it has been briefly explained the source from whom this project took the list of the femicides occurred in Italy in the year 2018. Here are screenshots of the list, accessible at the following link: <https://27esimaora.corriere.it/la-strage-delle-donne/>. It might occur that the link sends the user to the general homepage which gives a number of the total femicides committed from 2012 until 2019. Therefore, to review the list of the year investigated by this study, the step to make is to click on the box under the voice “Filtra per anno = filter by year”. The result for the year 2018 is 93 femicides. The description of the list says: “We built this Spoon River with a search engine which makes us company in finding the years, the places, the stories and it helps us to identify the women killed for femicide and other crimes. Click on the images and get to know

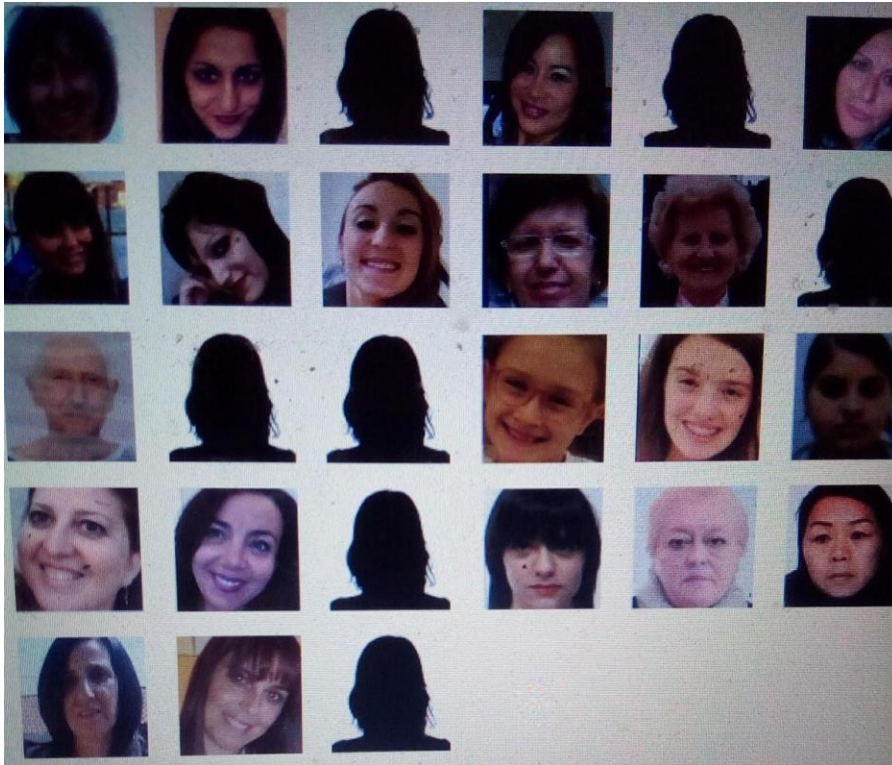
their stories". The fourth screenshot offers a sample of this interactive list: it provides an account of the femicide and basic information about the victim.



Picture 1- Screenshot of the first page of the list.



Picture 2- Screenshot of the second page of the list.



Picture 3- Screenshot of the third page of the list.



Picture 4- The account of the femicide case of Immacolata Villani.

APPENDIX B

The material collection

Here is the database of the whole news coverage of femicide in Italy from January to December 2018. As said in the section 5.2.2, 330 articles were collected using the software LexisNexis and the newspaper's digital archives and based on the list illustrated above. A note of transparency: the buzzwords used to search the articles on LexisNexis were used also on the archives, giving the same number of articles per each femicide case.

In this database, different colours were used to highlight the article genre encountered:

Yellow = report

Blue = follow-up

Red = opinion piece

Green = editorial

Under some of the femicide cases, there is the number of articles written across the three newspapers. It was done with the scope of planning the next step- the sampling process- by looking at the femicide cases which received the overall highest coverage- from 8 until 19 article.

Month	Victim's name	Corriere della Sera	La Repubblica	La Stampa
January	Lun Suqing			docview/getDocForCuiR
	Francis Mirade	https://video.corriere.it/cronaca/2018/01/02/news		
	Sara Pasqual	https://www.nexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiR	/cronaca/2018/01/10/news	
			/cronaca/2018/01/15/news	
	Esther Eghianruwa		t/cronaca/2018/01/20/news	/2018/01/20/italia/donna
	Anna Carusone	https://corrieredelmezzogiorno.corriere.it/	/cronaca/2018/01/22/news	docview/getDocForCuiR
	Nunzia Maiorano	zzogiorno.corriere.it/	/cronaca/2018/01/26/news	
		zzogiorno.corriere.it/	/cronaca/2018/01/22/news	
	Chen Aizhu	m/docview/getDocFo		docview/getDocForCuiR
February	Jessica Valentina Faoro	nexis.eu.ludwig.lub.lu.se/	t/cronaca/2018/02/07/news	com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/do
	(14 articles)	com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/	t/cronaca/2018/02/12/news	/2018/02/08/italia/jessica
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/	t/cronaca/2018/02/18/news	
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/	t/cronaca/2018/02/24/news	
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/		
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/		
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/		
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/		
	Igina Fabbri	it/cronache/18_luglio	/cronaca/2018/07/07/news	/2018/02/07/edizioni/la-
			/cronaca/2018/02/07/news	/2019/03/08/alexandria/
	Vilardi	it/cronache/18_febbr	cronaca/2018/02/12/news/	
	Francesca Citi	m/docview/getDocFo	https://firenze.repubblica.it	docview/getDocForCuiR
	Federica Ventura	com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/	ronaca/2018/02/16/news/f	com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/do
	Azka Riaz	.it/cronache/18_febbr	cronaca/2018/02/25/news/	docview/getDocForCuiR
		.it/cronache/18_febbr		
	Irene Rizzo	zzogiorno.corriere.it/	ronaca/2018/02/24/news/z	com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/do
	Alessia and Martina Capasso	com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/	cronaca/2018/02/28/news/	
	(19 articles)	com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/	cronaca/2018/03/01/news/	com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/do
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/	cronaca/2018/03/01/news/	/2018/03/03/italia/ultim
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/	t/repubblica/archivio/repu	/2018/03/02/italia/ultim
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/		2018/03/01/italia/antoni
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/		/2018/02/28/italia/crona
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/		/2018/03/01/societa/la-
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/		
March	Vera Sartore		/cronaca/2018/03/09/news	/2018/03/10/cronaca/la-
	Emestina Malandrino		/cronaca/2018/03/11/news	
	Parravicini	e.it/foto	t/cronaca/2018/03/15/new	
	Laura Petrolito	.it/cronache/18_marz	.it/cronaca/2018/03/18/ne	/2018/03/18/italia/crona
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/	.it/cronaca/2018/03/19/ne	/2018/03/22/italia/uccisa
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/		
	Immacolata Villani	com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/	/cronaca/2018/03/19/news	com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/do
	(12 articles)	com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/	/cronaca/2018/03/20/news	com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/do
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/		
		corriere.it/18 marzo 19	cronaca/01/11/11/e	
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/		
			/cronaca/2018/03/23/news	
			ronaca/2018/03/23/news/f	

April	Leila Gakhitrovan	neto.corriere.it/ve-ne			
	Roberta Felici	neto.corriere.it/ve-ne			
	Fulvia Maria Baroni				
	Luciana Savonito		/cronaca/2018/04/06/ne.ws	/2018/04/06/cronaca/ton	
	Ange la Jenny Reyes Coello	Ange la badante assa	it/cronaca/2018/04/06/ne.w	/2018/04/07/cronaca/tr	
	Elisa Giacchini		it/cronaca/2018/04/12/ne		
	Valeria Bufo	https://milano.comie	it/cronaca/2018/04/19/ne.w	/2018/04/19/milano/bria	
	Monika Gruber	https://milano.comie	it/cronaca/2018/04/20/ne.w		
	Antonietta Ciancio	zzorio.mo.comie.re.it/	ronaca/2018/04/20/news/b	scrive un biglietto."Sono	
May	Maria Clara Comelli	mydocvie.w/eeTDocFo	https://torino.repubblica.it	docvie/w/eeTDocFo/cuIR	
	Teresa Ricciardello	mydocvie.w/eeTDocFo			
	Maryna Novozhylova	zzorio.mo.comie.re.it/	https://napoli.repubblica.it	/2018/05/05/italia/melfi	
	Rosangela Paratore	com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/			
	Filippone	mydocvie.w/eeTDocFo	ronaca/2018/05/20/news/fr	/2018/05/28/italia/rovat	
	(15 articles)	mydocvie.w/eeTDocFo	https://www.repubblica.it	docvie/w/eeTDocFo/cuIR	
		mydocvie.w/eeTDocFo	https://www.repubblica.it		
		it/cronache/18-magg	ronaca/2018/05/29/ne.ws/		
		https://www.corriere	re.pubblica/archivio/repu		
			ronaca/2018/05/28/ne.ws/		
			ronaca/2018/05/23/ne.ws/1		
	Silvana Marchionni	https://www.corriere	https://www.repubblica.it	/2018/05/21/italia/uccid	
				/2018/05/23/italia/ei-	
	Elisa Amato	https://www.nexis-co	it/cronaca/2018/05/26/ne.w	docvie/w/eeTDocFo/cuIR	
			it/cronaca/2018/05/26/ne.w		
			it/cronaca/2018/05/27/ne.w		
			ronaca/2018/05/28/ne.ws/		
			it/cronaca/2018/05/31/ne.w		
	Eka Te rez lu	mydocvie.w/eeTDocFo			
	Fioralba Nonaj	e.it/notizie/cronaca/1			
		e.it/notizie/cronaca/1			
	Monica Gondos				
June	Aliou Soud		it/cronaca/2018/06/09/ne.w	/2018/06/09/italia/mam	
	(8 articles)		it/cronaca/2018/06/08/ne.w		
			it/cronaca/2018/06/08/ne.w		
		mydocvie.w/eeTDocFo			
	Sorina Monea	com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/			
		com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/			
	Fernanda Paoletti	https://www.nexis-co	https://www.repubblica.it	/2018/06/16/italia/a-ann	
	Sara Luciani	https://www.nexis-co	it/cronaca/2018/06/12/ne.w	com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/do	
	(12 articles)	https://milano.comie	it/cronaca/2018/06/10/ne.w	/2018/06/13/italia/mico	
		https://milano.comie	it/cronaca/2018/06/13/ne.w	/2018/06/20/milano/la-by	
		e.it/notizie/cronaca/1			
		e.it/notizie/cronaca/1			
	Mora Alvarez Alexandra de l Rocio	https://milano.comie	it/cronaca/2018/06/10/ne.w		
	Donatella Bricci	https://www.corriere	ronaca/2018/06/13/ne.ws/		
	Nikoleta Iordana Griqoras		/cronaca/2018/06/22/ne.ws	/2018/06/22/cronaca/ucc	
	Anna Grishchenko				
	Roberta Percosino	https://torino.corrie	https://ricerca.repubblica.it	com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/do	
			/cronaca/2018/06/07/ne.ws	/2018/06/09/cuneo/it-	
July	Tappe n	tino.comie.re.it/fine			
	Maria Carmela Isgro	https://www.corriere	it/cronaca/2018/07/09/ne	impicca lei lo denunciò	
			it/cronaca/2018/07/10/ne		
	Paola Sechi	https://www.corriere	ronaca/2018/07/07/ne.ws/		
	Adele Crosetto	https://torino.corrie	ronaca/2018/07/12/ne.ws	/2018/07/12/cronaca/le-i	
	Sabrina Malipiero	https://www.corriere	ronaca/2018/07/14/ne.ws/		
		https://27esimora.co	ronaca/2018/07/15/ne.ws/		
		riere.it/18_luglio_15/			
		riere.it/18_luglio_15/			
	Teresa Russo	https://corrie.re.de	ronaca/2018/07/18/ne.ws/1		
		zzorio.mo.comie.re.it/			
	Zene b Badid	https://www.corriere	ronaca/2018/07/25/ne.ws/	/2018/07/25/italia/massa	
	Immacolata Stabile	https://corrie.re.de	ronaca/2018/07/23/ne.ws		
	Giustina Diome de		/cronaca/2018/07/24/ne.ws		
	Manuela Bailo	https://brescia.comie	https://milano.repubblica.it	/2018/06/23/italia/omici	
	(9 articles)	https://27esimora.co	it/cronaca/2018/08/20/ne.w		
		https://27esimora.co	it/cronaca/2018/08/21/ne.w		
			it/cronaca/2018/08/23/ne.w		
			it/cronaca/2018/08/27/ne.w		

(January- June = 186)

August	Maria Dolores Della Bella	https://milano.carriere.it/cronaca/2018/08/05/new		
	Elena Panetta	https://www.nexis.com/cronaca/2018/08/06/news/	/2018/08/06/italia/roma-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDaFarCuiR	
	Maila Beccarello	https://www.nexis.com/cronaca/2018/08/08/news/	/2018/08/08/italia/cavari	
		https://neto.carriere.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/08/08/news/	/2018/08/08/italia/uocisa	
	Rita Pisarotti	https://carriere.dibologna.neto.carriere.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/08/27/new	/2018/08/14/italia/sessa	
	Rosa Maria Schiaffino	https://repubblica.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/08/27/new	https://repubblica.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/08/27/new	
September			https://repubblica.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/08/27/new	
	Tanja Dugalic	https://neto.carriere.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/09/15/news/	cam.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDaFarCuiR	
		https://neto.carriere.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/09/16/news/		
	Paola Rosa	https://neto.carriere.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/09/16/news/		
	Angela Ferrara	https://www.carriere.it/cronaca/2018/09/15/news/	cronaca/2018/09/16/news/	
			cronaca/2018/09/16/news/	
	Maria Grazia Innocenti	https://carrierefirenze.it/cronaca/2018/09/16/news/	cronaca/2018/09/16/news/	
	Elide Valentini	gna.carriere.it/bologna/cronaca/2018/09/16/new		
	Alexandra Riffeser	https://www.carriere.it/cronaca/2018/09/25/news/d	cam.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDaFarCuiR	
	Loredana Lopiano (8 articles)	https://carriere.dibologna.neto.carriere.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/09/28/news/	https://repubblica.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/09/28/news/	/2018/09/27/italia/ancor
		https://www.carriere.it/cronaca/2018/09/27/news/	/2018/09/28/italia/delitt	
	Giuseppina Bellizzi	https://carriere.dibologna.neto.carriere.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/09/27/news/	cronaca/2018/09/27/news/	
	Paola A diutori	https://repubblica.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/09/28/news/	cronaca/2018/09/28/news/	
	Luisa Valli	https://repubblica.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/09/28/news/	cronaca/2018/09/28/news/	
October	Dina Mapelli	https://repubblica.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/10/08/news/	https://repubblica.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/10/08/news/	
	Maria Tanina Momilia (11 articles)	https://www.nexis.com/cronaca/2018/10/09/news/	cronaca/2018/10/09/news/	docview/getDaFarCuiR
		https://www.nexis.com/cronaca/2018/10/08/foto/gi	cronaca/2018/10/08/foto/gi	
		https://roma.carriere.it/cronaca/2018/10/11/news/	cronaca/2018/10/11/news/	
	Brigitte Louis e Pazdemik	https://cronache/38_genn.it/cronache/38_genn	cronaca/2019/01/24/news/	
	Maria Zarba (8 articles)	https://cronache/38_ottobr.zzagiamo.carriere.it/cronaca/2018/10/11/news/	https://ricerca.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/10/11/news/	docview/getDaFarCuiR
		https://cronache/38_ottobr.zzagiamo.carriere.it/cronaca/2018/10/12/news/	cronaca/2018/10/12/news/	
	Gina Ricò	https://carriere.dibologna.neto.carriere.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/10/25/news/	cronaca/2018/10/25/news/	
	Maria Rusu	m/docview/getDaFarCuiR	https://ricerca.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/10/25/news/	docview/getDaFarCuiR
November	Antonietta Musacchio	https://carriere.dibologna.neto.carriere.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/11/09/news/	cronaca/2018/11/15/news/	
	Violeta Senchiu	https://www.carriere.it/cronaca/2018/11/23/news/	https://napoli.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/11/23/news/	docview/getDaFarCuiR
	Elvira Marchioni	gna.carriere.it/bologna/cronaca/2018/11/09/news/	cronaca/2018/11/15/news/	
	Antonella Laurenza e Rosanna Laur	https://www.carriere.it/cronaca/2018/11/15/news/	cronaca/2018/11/15/news/	docview/getDaFarCuiR
		https://www.nexis.com/cronaca/2018/11/23/news/	cronaca/2018/11/23/news/	
			cronaca/2018/12/19/news/	
	Roxana Karin Zenteno	https://cronaca/2018/11/18/new	cronaca/2018/11/18/new	
	Anna Filomena Barretta	https://neto.carriere.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/11/27/news/	https://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/11/27/news/	docview/getDaFarCuiR
	Anna Bertuzzi	https://carriere.dibologna.neto.carriere.it/veneto/cronaca/2018/11/27/news/	cronaca/2018/11/27/news/	
December	Daniel and Gabriele	m/docview/getDaFarCuiR	https://palermo.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/12/14/news/	docview/getDaFarCuiR
	Michela Fiori	https://www.carriere.it/cronache/38_dice	cronaca/2018/12/23/news/	
	Francesca Petrolini	https://cronache/38_dice.it/cronache/38_dice	cronaca/2018/12/23/news/	/2018/12/24/italia/pista
	Medina Peña	https://cronache/39_genn		
	Maria Magdalena Oberholzer	https://cronache/39_genn.zzagiamo.carriere.it/cronache/38_dice	https://palermo.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/12/23/news/	docview/getDaFarCuiR
	Rosaria Sara Parisi	https://cronache/38_dice		

January- December: 330

APPENDIX C

THE SAMPLE

This section provides accounts of the six femicide cases analysed in this project.

Jessica Valentina Faoro: she was a 19-old girl who met Alessandro Garlaschi, 39-old, via a Facebook post he published, announcing he was renting a room. They became flatmates. However, Garlaschi wanted more than a friendly relation with the girl, who called once the police fearing that he harassed her when she was sleeping.

On February 7, 2018, Garlaschi called the forces of order to notify the presence of a dead girl at his place. He stabbed her to death. The investigative team will arrest him with the accusation of voluntary homicide and attempt to get the corpse disappeared.

Martina and Alessia Capasso: they were two sisters of 7 and 13-old respectively. They were living together with their mother, Antonietta Gargiulo, who was separating from the husband and father of the kids, Luigi Capasso, 43-old, after years of domestic violence.

On February 28, 2018, Capasso arrived at his family home in the early morning. He waited for the wife and shot her, although not deadly. He took her keys and went upstairs, where the two girls were sleeping, and killed her. Then, he barricaded himself into the house and during the negotiations with the police and a criminal psychologist, he made them believe the kids were still alive. After some hours, he went back inside and shot himself.

Immacolata Villani: she was a 31-old woman and a mother, separating from her husband, Pasquale Vitiello, 36-old. The reasons behind the separation were the frequent fights culminated lately with episodes of violence against her.

On March 19th, 2018, Vitiello waited Immacolata to take their kid to school. When she saw her coming out, she approached her and he shot her. He ran away. After few hours, the police found his body not far from the crime scene.

Marina Angrilli and Ludovica Filippone: a 52-old teacher and mother, and her 10-old daughter. With Fausto Filippone, 50-old, they formed a family with no records of crisis or domestic abuses.

On May 20, 2018, Filippone pushed Marina from the balcony of their apartment, after he tricked her to go to the house to check a piece of furniture. Then, he picked the daughter up and with the car he went to a bridge of the hallway. He lifted the kid and threw her from the bridge. Once the police came, they found him at the edge of the bridge, ready to jump. After hours of negotiations, he decided to kill himself.

Suad Allou: a 29-old mother and colf. She was separating from her husband, Abdelmid el Biti, 50-old, due to his repeated domestic abuses. They were not living together anymore.

On June 8, 2018, she was reported missing by the husband himself. The investigative team collected enough evidences to arrest him with the accusation of voluntary homicide and corpse-vanishing. Until now, the body of the woman has not been found yet.

Sara Luciani: a 21-old girl who lived with her boyfriend, Manuel Buzzini, 31-old. Lately, they had been arguing often.

On June 10, 2018, Manuel's body was found in his grandmother's house, whereas nobody could find Sara. She will be found dead on one of the river's argins. The investigative team concluded that Manuel first killed Sara and then himself.

Table of the research sample

The following table lists all the 80 articles which were taken into analysis. This scheme includes source of the material, femicide case, newspaper, month of publication, articles genres highlighted with the same colours used for the articles database exposed in the Appendix B.

Month	Femicide case	Corriere Della Sera	La Repubblica	La Stampa
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February	Jessica Valentina Faoro	LexisNexis: http://academic.lexisnexis.eu.ludwig.lub.lu.se/	Newspaper's digital archive: https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/02/07/news/donna_morta_in_casa_milano_polizia_sospetta_omicidio_al_vaglio_posizione_del_marito-188241190/	LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?Ini=5RM4-D3M1-F12V-X0M3&csi=280434&oc=00240&perma=true
		LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?Ini=5RM5-MGJ1-F13X-92JB&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	Newspaper's digital archive: https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/02/12/news/ragazza_uccisa_a_coltellate-188673463/?ref=search	Newspaper's digital archive: https://www.lastampa.it/2018/02/08/italia/jessica-ha-provato-a-difendersi-dal-tranviere-cGfVcO5ep89OPQ9e4NrEkK/pagina.html
		LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?Ini=5RKR-P6V1-F13X-9069&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	Newspaper's digital archive: https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/02/08/news/ragazza_uccisa_coltellate_milano_tranviere-188325772/	
		Lexis Nexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?Ini=5RMC-KP31-F13X-915Y&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true&secondRedirectIndicator=true	Newspaper's digital archive: https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/02/24/news/milano_ventenne_uccisa_a_coltellate_funerali_jessica_faoro-189635346/	
		LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?Ini=5RN1-H8H1-F13X-926W&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true&secondRedirectIndicator=true		

		LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5RKY-NCK1-F13X-93YR&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true		
		LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5RKR-P6V1-F13X-903S&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true		
		LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5RMT-J1H1-F13X-93KB&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true		
	Martina and Alessia Capasso	LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5RSF-26T1-F13X-942D&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	Newspaper's digital archive: https://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/02/28/news/latina-carabiniere_uccide_la_moglie_e_si_barrica_in_casa_con_le_figlie-189968367/	LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5RVH-HMD1-JDKT-60GT&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true
		LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5RSN-1BS1-F13X-92NN&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	Newspaper's digital archive: https://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/03/01/news/strage-di-latina-in-ospedale-il-dolore-dei-parenti-di-antonia-ora-solo-silenzio-190130667/	Newspaper's digital archive: https://www.lastampa.it/2018/03/02/italia/ultima-telefonata-del-carabiniere-7ZynbLwbotnpg3oKwEGUzK/premium.html
		LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5RKY-NCK1-F13X-93YR&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	Newspaper's digital archive: https://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2018/03/01/italia/ultima-telefonata-del-carabiniere-7ZynbLwbotnpg3oKwEGUzK/premium.html	Newspaper's digital archive: http://www.lastampa.it/2018/03/01/italia/ultima-telefonata-del-carabiniere-7ZynbLwbotnpg3oKwEGUzK/premium.html

		LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5RV4-TM71-F13X-952V&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true		
March	Immacolata Villani	LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5RXG-GPC1-F13X-9181&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	Newspaper's digital archive: https://napoli.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/03/19/news/donna_e_stata_uccisa_a_terzigno-191657407/	LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5RXN-7FT1-F12V-X2K5&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true
		LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5RX8-HPC1-F13X-92M3&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	LexisNexis: https://napoli.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/03/20/news/si_e_ucciso_il_marito_di_immacolata_vitiello_il_corpo_trovato_vicino_alla_scuola-191737320/	LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5RXW-6PF1-F12V-X374&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true
		LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5RX8-HPC1-F13X-92M3&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	LexisNexis: http://www.repubblica.it/economia/diritto-e-consigli/famiglia/2018/03/23/news/femminicidio_ecco_gli_indici_che_portano_alla_violenza_e_all_omicidio-191768822/	
		Newspaper's digital archive: https://27estmaora.corriere.it/18-marzo-19/strage-infinita-femminicidio-ogni-60-ore-722b903f1-3bb5-11e8-9539-b2aeef27df10.shtml	Newspaper's digital archive: https://napoli.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/03/23/news/femminicidio_silenzio_e_capi_cchini_al_funerale_di_pasquale_vitiello_che_ha_ucciso_la_moglie_davanti_scuola-192058796/	
		LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5RXW-6PF1-F12V-X374&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	Newspaper's digital archive: http://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/03/23/news/femm	

		ni=5RX8-HFC1-F13X-92M2&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	inici serve subito il piano antiviolenza-192066099/	
May	Marina Angrilli and Ludovica Filippone	LexisNexis: https://www.lexisnexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5SCG-J8B1-JDMV-K3HN&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	Newspaper's digital archive: http://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/05/20/news/francavilla_al_mare_uomo_lancia_la_figlia_dal_viadotto_della_a14-196893055/	Newspaper's digital archive: https://www.lastampa.it/2018/05/28/italia/trovata-cocaina-nellauto-delluomo-che-getta-la-figlia-dal-cavalcavia-e-si-suicida
		LexisNexis: https://www.lexisnexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5SCP-HDP1-JDMV-K28H&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	Newspaper's digital archive: https://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/05/22/news/filippone_moglie_uccisa_non_caduta_accidentale_chieta-197108746/	LexisNexis: https://www.lexisnexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5SD3-7FK1-JDKT-60J6&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true
		LexisNexis: https://www.lexisnexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5SD4-FT71-F13X-9178&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	Newspaper's digital archive: http://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/05/21/news/tragedia_di_chieta_filippone_non_aveva_problemi_psichici-196973819/	LexisNexis: https://www.lexisnexis.com/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5SCW-87K1-JDKT-654G&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true
		Newspaper's digital archive: https://www.corriere.it/cronache/18_maggio_21/marina-angrilli-studenti-7bf414f4-5d03-11e8-9df6-a1f7c25f6df9.shtml	Newspaper's digital archive: https://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/05/29/news/tragedia_del_viadotto_la_piccola_ludovica_fu_sedata_dal_padre-197667795/	
		Newspaper's digital archive: https://www.corriere.it/cronache/18_maggio_24/chieta-parla-testimone-filippone-era-li-polizia-non-lo-ha-fermato	Newspaper's digital archive: https://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2018/05/21/il-dirigente-diventato-assassino-da-sei-mesi-era-molto-cambiato18.html	

			Newspaper's digital archive: https://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/05/28/news/francavilla_getta_figlia_dal_cavalcavia_cocaina-197599388/	
			Newspaper's digital archive: http://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/05/23/news/la_tragedia_del_viadotto_sono_sconvolto_filippone_poteva_essere_fermato_-197152374/?ref=search	
June	Souad Allou	LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5SJ5-XBB1-F13X-93SB&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	Newspaper's digital archive: https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/06/09/news/brescia_donna_scomparsa_chiussa_in_un_sacco_marito_negli-198538902/	Newspaper's digital archive: https://www.lastampa.it/2018/06/08/italia/mamma-di-anni-scomparsa-da-giorni-fermato-lex-laccusa-omicidio-XryQnnP9vZ6RU6yivyBkaO/pagina.html
		LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5SHJ-0RW1-JDMV-X0M4&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	Newspaper's digital archive: https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/06/08/news/donna_scomparsa_a_brescia_fermato_il_marito_con_l_accusa_di_omicidio-198439632/	
		LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5SHJ-0RW1-JDMV-X0M5&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	Newspaper's digital archive: https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/06/29/news/il_mistero_della_donna_nel_sacco_i_sommozzatori_scandagliano_oglio_e_mella-200350045/	
		LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5VPG-H971-JDMV-		

		KORS&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true		
	Sara Luciani	LexisNexis: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5SJK-VP91-JDMV-K1T1&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true	Newspaper's digital archive: https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/06/12/news/ragazza_scomparsa_melzo_fidanzato_impiccato_ricerche-198846633/?ref=search	Newspaper's digital archive: https://www-nexis-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/docview/getDocForCuiReq?lni=5SK0-JNK1-JDKT-60FT&csi=5950&oc=00240&perma=true
		Newspaper's digital archive: https://milano.corriere.it/notizie/cronaca/18_giugno_12/milano-ragazza-scomparsa-buco-due-ore-voci-terzo-uomo-nell-ultima-notte-sara	Newspaper's digital archive: https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/06/10/news/giovane_impiccato_a_melzo_ricerche_fidanzata-198645184/	Newspaper's digital archive: https://www.lastampa.it/2018/06/13/italia/ritrovato-il-corpo-di-sara-era-scomparsa-da-venerd-nel-milanese-il-fidanzato-si-ucciso-dYxXLcFpgkkBnnhpbg9mO/pagina.html
		https://milano.corriere.it/notizie/cronaca/18_giugno_11/milano-paura-sara-scomparsa-venerdi-suo-fidanzato-trovato-morto	Newspaper's digital archive: https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/06/13/news/milano_trovato_il_corpo_di_sara_luciani_pescatore-198913391/?ref=search	Newspaper's digital archive: https://www.lastampa.it/2018/06/10/milano/giovane-trovato-impiccato-nel-milanese-si-cerca-la-fidanzata-di-anni-DjfyaJoETISYLQ8vEmj9wJ/pagina.html
		Newspaper's digital archive: https://milano.corriere.it/notizie/cronaca/18_giugno_15/milano-sara-luciani-non-annegata-ecco-primi-risultati-dell-autopsia		

		Newspaper's digital archive: https://milano.corriere.it/notizie/cronaca/18_giugno_13/milano-scomparsa-sara-minacce-morte-notte-droga		
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APPENDIX D

The CDA sample

In the section 5.3 the CDA procedure in examining the selected material was illustrated. This first part of the analysis consisted of 229 pages written in a separate document and whose results are readable in the chapters 6 and 7.

This appendix shows in concrete the CDA by providing one sample. First at all, there is the reading of the text in Italian. The most significant parts were highlighted in different colours: yellow for general information about the femicide (i.e. reactions of the police, relatives, reconstruction of the investigative work), green for the parts talking about the man, purple for the parts focused on the victim. Following the guidelines articulated by Fairclough (1992), it was important to not translated into English the text during the analysis, because the translation process would have lost the idiomatic and syntactic characteristics typical of the original language. Therefore, the only relevant part for the aims and objectives of the research project were translated and reported in the first part of the CDA: the textual analysis. The second part of the analysis offers an insight into the modality and transitivity of the text, whereas the third part is dedicated to the identification of the subjects involved with the femicide. Aware that the research project focuses on the representation of the male subject, the CDA ethics of considering the identification of the people a communicative event focuses upon demanded also a light on the victim as well- although this extra amount of data will not be used here but might be engaged within another research on mainstream press and femicide.

The last part of the CDA in this study explored briefly also the other social practises emerging in the text and linked with the practise of femicide and news reporting.

Here is the sample:

Newspaper: Corriere della Sera

Section: Crime section of Rome

Genre: follow-up

Headline: I colleghi dell'Arma: «Sembrava tranquillo»; Castelli romani

Sub-headline: Lo stupore e il dolore nella caserma dei carabinieri di Velletri

Body text: Il piantone lo ha visto uscire che fuori ancora faceva buio e si gelava. Luigi Capasso si è lasciato alle spalle la nuova caserma in via Fontana delle Fosse dove lavorava da qualche mese. «Sembrava tranquillo, come sempre - raccontano i colleghi carabinieri -. E non era nemmeno una cosa strana che uscisse a quell'ora, così presto. Lo faceva ogni tanto. Partiva per andare a trovare i parenti in Campania». Ma l'appuntato napoletano suicida ieri pomeriggio a Cisterna di Latina aveva probabilmente già in mente quello che avrebbe fatto di lì a poco: uccidere la moglie Antonietta che lo aveva lasciato - secondo il suo avvocato - dopo mesi di maltrattamenti che avevano portato anche a due esposti alla polizia (un altro invece lo aveva presentato lui). E togliere poi la vita anche alle figlie Alessia e Martina, 13 e 7 anni. «Non ci eravamo accorti che la situazione fosse così drammatica. Sapevamo da tempo della crisi matrimoniale e della separazione, ma immaginare una cosa del genere...», aggiungono i militari che ogni giorno lavoravano fianco a fianco con Capasso negli uffici della stazione dell'Arma di Velletri, a due passi dalla Scuola marescialli e brigadieri di via Salvo D'Acquisto.

«L'appuntato aveva finito il turno di servizio a mezzanotte di martedì - fanno notare -, poi è andato a dormire nel suo alloggio in caserma. Una camera che aveva chiesto e ottenuto nel settembre dell'anno scorso. Ci aveva detto che non poteva più dormire a casa sua. «È meglio così - ci aveva detto -. È meglio per tutti». Gli avevamo chiesto se avesse bisogno di aiuto, ma lui non ha voluto. Gli bastava un posto dove dormire. Per noi, come per tanti altri padri di famiglia che si separano, non è purtroppo una novità. E anche lui è venuto a dormire qui».

A Velletri, che dipende direttamente dal Gruppo di Frascati, Capasso lavorava da due anni. Prima aveva prestato servizio nel napoletano, poi anche a Roma. «Si occupava di lavoro d'ufficio, soprattutto. Ogni tanto faceva il piantone, altre volte svolgeva incarichi in aula in tribunale. Accoglienza del pubblico in caserma per presentare denunce - racconta ancora chi lo ha conosciuto - Qui sono tutti piuttosto scossi per quello che è successo. Di maltrattamenti alla moglie o in casa, però, non sapevamo nulla». L'avvocato di Antonietta Gargiulo ha riferito ieri che la donna si era rivolta ai vertici della caserma. «Non sappiamo con chi possa aver parlato di questa situazione». Della scadenza del prossimo 29 marzo, data della prima udienza per la separazione, Capasso aveva tuttavia messo al corrente i colleghi. Un appuntamento che aspettava con nervosismo. La moglie, ora ricoverata in terapia intensiva al San Camillo - è molto grave, è sedata e la sua vita è appesa a un filo -. La donna aveva raccontato che il marito, sposato nel 2001, era ossessionato dalla gelosia. Lei aveva paura. Al punto da cambiare la serratura di casa. Quel passo davanti al giudice ha probabilmente aumentato la rabbia che l'appuntato covava da tempo. Una rabbia nascosta ai commilitoni, con i quali parlava in continuazione delle figlie. Una vera e propria adorazione. Sulla pagina Facebook tempo fa Capasso aveva postato la fotografia di una maglietta con la scritta «Alcune persone mi chiamano carabiniere, la più importante mi chiama papà».

The analysis of the text

The article reports the comments of the carabinieri, colleagues of the man who killed his daughters, attempted to kill the wife and then committed suicide.

The often use of direct speech is functional to give them voice to the carabinieri's storytelling about the day of the homicide and how the killer looked like. <<Sembrava tranquillo = he looked chilled>> they tell referring at his mood when he left the workplace to go somewhere else. Interviewed by the journalist, they told the assumptions made by them when they saw the killer leaving in the early morning the workplace. The use of the contrasting conjunction "ma = but" is functional to disconfirm their assumptions and reveal the homicide- suicide and the aggressive nature of the killer towards his family.

It follows up comments on what happened, the colleagues express their unawareness of the dramatic situation, they are quoted saying that they thought he was a regular separated man based also on the man's words «È meglio così - ci aveva detto -. È meglio per tutti = It is better this way- he said to us- it is better for everyone» when he explained why he moved to the accommodation provided by work.

In the third section there is a brief description of the man's duties illustrated by the colleagues and quoted as direct speech. They got questioned about the talks the man's wife had with some superiors about her husband's mistreatments. The question is not reported, but their answer is reported in direct quote: «Non sappiamo con chi possa aver parlato di questa situazione = we don't know with who she could have spoken about this situation». The article uses again the contrasting conjunction “tuttavia = however” to report that the man shares with the colleagues the incoming trial for the formal separation. In a dramatic tone, the article uses multiple time the word “rabbia = rage” to refer to how the man felt against the wife, to what drove him to kill his family. This rage- the article continues- was kept secret with the colleagues, talking only about his daughters. The article mentions his adoration for them, proven by a photo of his on facebook with a t-shirt which says <<Alcune persone mi chiamano carabiniere, la più importante mi chiama papà = Some people call me policeman, the most important (person) calls me dad>>.

Modality and transitivity: the article want to give an opportunity to the man's colleagues to say their version about the homicide-suicide case. It is functional to express their unawareness about the murder plan, highlighted by the quote: <<Non sapevamo la situazione fosse così drammatica = We did not know that situation was so dramatic>>. The article also judges that rage can be kept secret from colleagues, people the man was spending most of his time, and therefore the policemen could not prevent the crime. These latter judgement and belief are also highlighted by the decision of talking about his adoration for the daughters, mentioning one of his pictures in the social media. When it comes to transitivity, since the articles deals with direct

quotes or with descriptions of actions, active and present verbs are used to express a certain speed in the dynamics of the crime scene.

Identification: the victims are identified by their name, their age, their being daughter, the fatherly adoration towards them who publicly said they were the most important people in his life.

The killer is identified through his colleagues' words as quiet, as an early bird, by his work routine and history, by his being a separated father like many of them. His words about the good decision of moving out to the accommodation of service makes look like a lucid and reasonable person. Yet, the article mentions his mistreatments against his family which culminated with a double homicide and an attempt one. The man is also identified by his wife's indirect words: "era ossessionato dalla gelosia = he was obsessed by jealousy" and this was one of the causes for separation. The articles refer to his "long-time rage = rabbia che provava da tempo" increased by the separation date getting closer. But then, all of a sudden, the article talks about him as a father in total true adoration for her daughters, as if he had not murdered them.

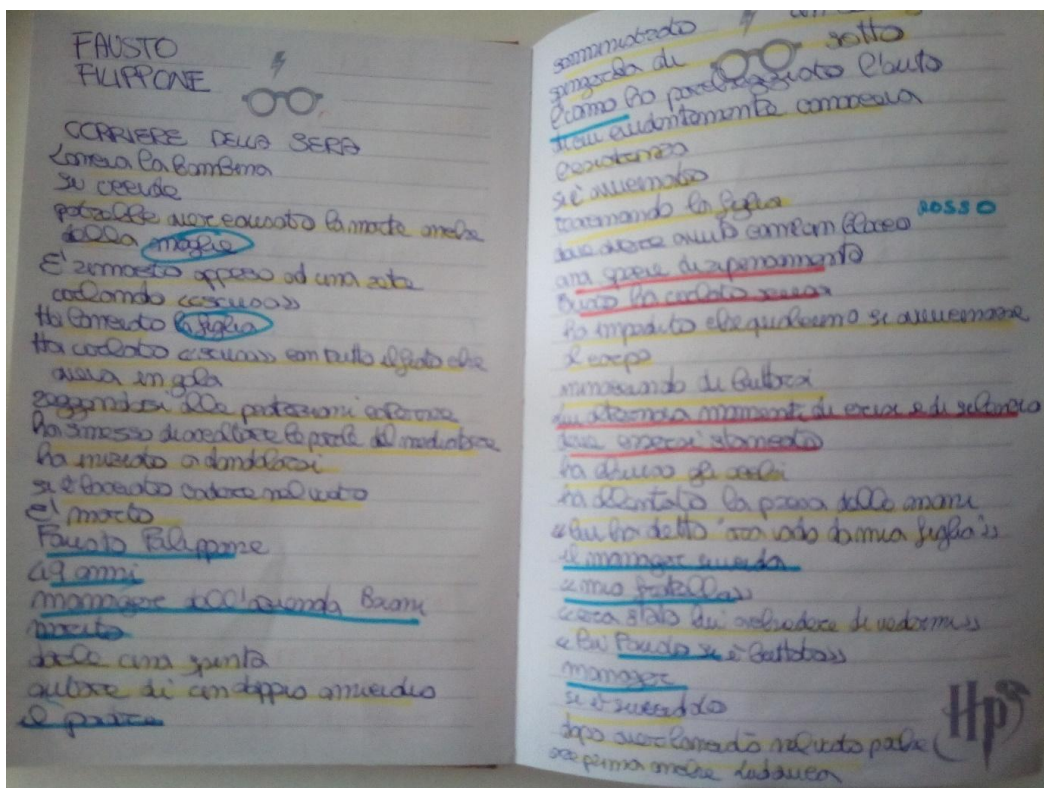
Analysis of the other social practises: the article reconstructs what is the life of the killer before committing the femicide. Indeed, by using the reporting tool of the interview, it gives insights of the killer's work-relations both at a professional and personal level, by mentioning the killer's work duties and his more intimate conversations with the colleagues. The article, finally, refers to the social media practise of posting something intimate of the life, which contrasts the reality of the facts wherein the man killed the daughters to whom he dedicated the Facebook message.

APPENDIX E

The coding process: a sample

In the section 5.3, the coding process was briefly exposed as well. This appendix illustrates in more detail the analytical stages which brought as outcomes the three themes discussed in the chapters 6 and 7.

1. The ‘pencil-and-paper’ strategy indicated by Pat Bazeley’s handbook (2013: 132) was used to frame all the data highlighted in green in the news texts during the previous CDA analysis. Each code referred to each perpetrator of femicide was written down the newspaper it was extracted from, considering that this is also a comparative study among the top- three mainstream newspapers in Italy. Writing on a notebook all the descriptive codes helped to have a better sense of understanding of the whole picture. Once done this preliminary handwriting job, I started highlighting all the codes which have a possible thematic resemblance with three different sharpies. This process was applied to each femicide case under scrutiny, following the exactly steps- use of the same sharpie for each potential big thematic group as well. The picture below gives an example of the 65 pages of manual coding produced in this part of the analysis.



Picture description: two of the 65 pages of my manual coding

2. The next stage was to transfer the three big groups into three Excel spreadsheets. I read again each list of codes to detect more specific thematic connections among them

(Bazeley, 2013: 192) with the purpose of catching all the discourses employed in the representations of responsible men of femicides. This stage brought to cluster groups of descriptive codes (685 in total) under categories or secondary thematic sections (9 in total) which consistently justify and make sense of the general themes (3 in total) explaining and answering the research questions.

Here is a sample of the work done for the theme "*I would never hurt you*": each descriptive code was highlighted in a specific colour in accordance to the category it was part of. At this stage of the analysis, it emerged already a common line adopted by the three newspapers under investigations in treating the perpetrators of femicide, therefore the distinction on 'which media said what' was not relevant.

Descriptive codes	Analytical codes	Theme
	"a sudden explosion of madness"	"I would never hurt you"
	"he planned everything"	
	"the emotional storm"	

è nel centro osservazione neuropsichiatrica = he is in the neuropsychiatric observation centre
è sorvegliato a vista= he is watched
eyes are staring down
avoiding the contact with the public
nella sua psiche= in his psyche
"Sei nel mio cuore" = "You are in my heart"

<p>"Ciao bimba, sai che TVB. E ci tengo un casino a te. Ti giuro e te lo scrivo, sei dentro al mio cuore" = Hi, baby, you know that I love you. And I care a lot about you. I swear and I write you it, you are in my heart</p>
<p>un "chiaro interesse sessuale = a clear sexual interest"</p>
<p>"ha agito con determinazione = he acted with determination"</p>
<p>"con lucidità ha gestito la fase successiva = with lucidity he handled the next phase"</p>
<p>"ambigui comportamenti tenuti da Garlaschi = ambiguous behaviours had by Garlaschi"</p>
<p>Sguardo basso = eyes staring down</p>
<p>per proteggerlo da se stesso, ma anche dagli altri detenuti = to protect him from himself and the other prisoners</p>
<p>avrebbe tentato di tagliarsi i polsi = he would have tried to cut his wrists</p>

"Mostro = monster"
provare a ragionare = try to reason
nella testa del killer = in the killer's head
"sei un mostro = you are a monster"
"Ciao bimba, TVB = Hi, baby, I love you"
per il giudice il killer ha agito con lucidità = for the judge the killer acted with lucidity
psiche e deviazioni dell'assassino = psyche and deviances of the killer
la tensione allo stesso tempo infantile e maldestra = the tension at the same time childish and awkward
un maniaco dall'aspetto innocuo = a maniac with the innocent aspect
un uomo con un miserabile menage familiare = a man with a miserable familiar menage

l'ossessione per le giovanissime = the obsession for the very young girls
"con lucidità ha gestito la fase successiva = with lucidity he handled the next phase"
"diceva frasi sconnesse = he said not connected sentences"
manda segnali equivoci = he sends ambiguous signals
Il 43enne comincia a dare segni di instabilità = the 43-years old man begins to give signals of instability
Parla del Paradiso = speaks about Heaven
"ci rivedremo lì" ripete = "we'll see each other there" he repeats
svelò la crisi familiare = he revealed the familiar crisis
"idoneo al servizio = fitting for the service"
suo stato di salute = his health status
"sto molto male = I am feeling very bad"

"sono seguito da uno psicologo = I am followed by a psychologist"
"perché sto vivendo un periodo molto difficile = because I am living a very hard period"
nonostante la dolorosa situazione che stava vivendo = although the painful situation he was going through
"la rabbia era tutta per la moglie = the rage was all for the wife"
un misto di premeditazione e perdita di senno sembra aver armato la mano di Luigi Capasso = a mixture of premeditation and lost of ratio seems to have armed Luigi Capasso's hand
L'improvvisa presa di coscienza sulla irrimediabilità della situazione = the awareness of the irremediability of the situation

La scelta lucida di spingersi fino al gesto estremo = the lucid choice to push himself until the extreme gesture
non si ravvisano elementi di pericolosità = elements of danger are not spotted
"io non ti farei mai del male = I would never hurt you"
"hai anche tante problematiche = you have also many problematics"
"Era un'ossessione = he was an obsession"
"Sembrava tranquillo = he seemed calm"
aveva probabilmente già in mente di uccidere= he had probably already in mind to kill
era ossessionato dalla gelosia = he was obsessed by the jealousy
"E' meglio così- ci aveva detto- è meglio per tutti" = "It is better in this way- he said to us- It was better for everyone"

<p>rabbia che l'appuntato covava da tempo = rage which the carabiniere had been feeling for long time</p>
<p>rabbia nascosta ai commilitoni = rage hidden from the colleagues</p>
<p>il delirio di un carabiniere = the madness of a carabiniere</p>
<p>"Era molto giù = He was very blue"</p>
<p>una furia omicida = a homicidal fury</p>
<p>"in stato di forte agitazione = in a status of high agitation"</p>
<p>"non perfettamente limpido nel ragionare = not perfectly clear in reasoning"</p>
<p>sottoposto a visita medica = subject to a medical visit</p>
<p>dichiarato idoneo = declared fitting</p>
<p>rifiutò il supporto psicologico per la crisi coniugale = he refused the psychological support for the marriage crisis</p>
<p>si dice tanto innamorato = he said to be so in love</p>

una follia omicida = a homicidal madness
sete di sangue = thirst for blood
il lato oscuro dell'appuntato = the dark side of the carabiniere
aveva premeditato tutto = he premeditated everything
aveva pianificato tutto = he planned everything
la follia del loro padre= the madness of their dad
ossessivo nel controllo = obsessive in the control
impazziva = he went crazy
furia di Luigi= Luigi's fury
"Era un ossesso = he was an obsessed"
maturava il proposito di ammazzare sua moglie = he matured the proposal of killing his wife
volersi "fare giustizia da solo" = want to "make justice on his own"

<p>ha deciso che era arrivato il momento = he decided the moment has arrived</p>
<p>se in fuga, Pasquale aveva programmato anche quella = if on the run, Pasquale planned also that one</p>
<p>Pasquale aveva già deciso che poi sarebbe toccato a lui = Pasquale already decided that it would have been then his turn</p>
<p>"sono fiero di te = I am proud of you"</p>
<p>"Ti guarderò dal cielo = I will look at you from the sky"</p>
<p>"la premeditazione nell'agire = The planning beforehand in the act"</p>
<p>quasi una confessione preventiva = almost a preventive confession</p>
<p>si dipana un tormento che si fa via via sempre più profondo = it opens a torment which makes itself step by step deeper</p>

uomini che non si rassegnano a un amore che finisce = men who do not give up on a love story which ends
scatenare la sua furia= provoke his fury
ma il marito non si arrendeva all'idea di perderla = but the husband did not surrender to the idea of losing her
"sono un incompreso = I am a misunderstood man"
sfoga la sua condizione di uomo respinto = he gave vent to his condition of rejected man
la rabbia e l'odio nei confronti di Imma hanno avuto il sopravvento = the rage and hate towards Imma took over
Lui alternava momenti di crisi e di silenzio = He alternated moments of crisis and of silence
"Un'improvvisa esplosione di follia = a sudden explosion of madness"

"provava un senso di solitudine = he felt a sense of loneliness"
era molto nervoso, farfugliava = he was very nervous, he said random things"
"si teneva le mani tra i capelli = he kept his hands in the hair"
aveva fatto i test psichiatrici = he took psychiatrist tests
"soggetto normale all'esito dei test = normal subject to the test outcome"
"Sai, è che proprio non riesco a superare la morte di mamma = You know, I cannot get over mum's death"
non era più lo stesso dalla morte della mamma = he was not the same after the mum's death
Ma niente, nei suoi comportamenti, lasciava presagire un disagio così profondo = But nothing, in his behaviours, let fear a so deep disease

autore del folle gesto = author of the mad gesture
"Filippone ha dovuto cercare dentro di sé il coraggio per buttarsi giù = Filippone had to find inside him the courage to throw himself down"
"Mai ha provato a cercare dentro di sé il coraggio per uscire da quel viadotto = He has never tried to find inside him the courage to get out that bridge"
"Nella sua mente tutto era definitivamente finito, tutto non aveva nessuna possibilità di essere portato avanti = In his mind, everything was definitely over, everything had no chance to be taken forward"
"il fatto che la sua esistenza dovesse terminare con un atto risolutore e risolutivo = the fact that his existence had to be finished with a resolute and resolving act"

"Filippone non aveva problemi psichici = Filippone did not have psychic problems"
un gesto incontrollato = a non- controlled gesture
"Da 6 mesi era molto cambiato = since six months he was changed"
la sua psiche = his psyche
la furia omicida = his homicidal fury
gettandosi in un vuoto ancora più grande di quello in cui era sprofondato = throwing himself into an empty space even bigger than the one he was fallen into
"in preda a uno stato che non aveva un aspetto di normalità = in a status which did not have an aspect of normality"
"sconvolto dalla malattia della madre = shaken by the mother's loss"
potrebbe aver assunto droghe = he could have assumed drugs

depresso = depressed
(aveva rifiutato di curarsi = he refused to take a cure)
"Fino a 15 mesi fa la mia vita era felice = Since 15 months ago, my life was happy"
"Bisogna che mi faccia perdonare = It needs I make myself be forgiven"
"Non posso salvarmi. Devo seguire mia figlia = I cannot save myself. I have to follow my daughter"
"entrato in un tunnel di sofferenza psichica accentuato dal rifiuto dei farmaci e degenerato in tragedia = got into a psychic suffering tunnel, increased by the refusal of treatments and degenerated into tragedy"
non riusciva a finire frasi compiute = he could not finish sentences which makes sense
"Voglio chiedere scusa = i want to apologise"

pieno di
ossessioni = full of
obsessions

3. The final stage was a review and revision of the coding and CDA work. I have reviewed the textual and discourse analysis done on each article and compared with the coding tables constructed to check whether there were contradictions. I removed irrelevant materials and recoded the texts wherein I noticed some data had been missed out. Once I realised that the conceptual codes were related to each other enough to create a big thematic section and efficiently describing the representations of men and the discourses around masculinity within a femicide context, the coding process was declared concluded.