

# **The Representation of Victims of Femicide by the German news magazine ‘Hallo Deutschland’**

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## ABSTRACT

Almost every third day, a woman is murdered by her intimate (ex-)partner in Germany (Erl, 2023). Including other forms of femicide, the rate is even higher. The way these women are represented by the German news creates a certain picture of violence, which may lead to a misunderstanding of the problem (Meltzer, 2022).

Previous research in Germany regarding the representation of victims of femicide mainly focused on newspaper reports and was approached through quantitative research. This is why this qualitative research aims to answer the following question: 'How does the German audio-visual news magazine 'Hallo Deutschland' represent victims of femicide?' The outcome of this research is intended to invite television broadcasters to reflect on their practices regarding the representation of femicide victims.

To answer the research question, different approaches to the news value theory and representation theory are discussed in the theoretical framework. The use of these theories aimed at analyzing which victims are deemed newsworthy by 'Hallo Deutschland' and how these victims are represented. The examined material consists of 48 news reports from 'Hallo Deutschland', which were analyzed by conducting a thematic analysis, following the steps developed by Braun and Clarke (2012). The use of this method provided insights into patterns of meaning throughout the data set (Braun & Clarke 2012). Looking at the results, it was found that the victims deemed newsworthy are mostly young, were brutally murdered, and are victims of murders resulting from intimate partner violence or sexual assaults. Furthermore, some of these cases contained striking audio-visual material.

These victims were on the one hand found to be represented in a negative manner through subjective representation. These were tendencies of victim blaming, for example by representing the victim through the interpretation of others. Furthermore, a classification of the victims was observed, by highlighting their age. Lastly, instances of individualization were found, where inaccurate sources were used to describe the victim's relationship with her partner. On the other hand, the victims were also found to be represented in a positive manner through objective and partly subjective representation by 'Hallo Deutschland'. This was done by emotionalizing and personalizing the victims, and by providing relevant information.

**KEYWORDS:** *Representation, News Value Theory, Victims, Femicide*

# Table of Contents

<b>1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>5</b>
1.1 Societal Relevance .....	6
1.2 Academic Relevance.....	7
<b>2. Theoretical Framework.....</b>	<b>9</b>
2.1 Introduction to Theoretical Framework.....	9
2.2 News-Value Theory .....	9
2.2.1 The Foundation of News Value Research .....	10
2.2.2 Contemporary News Value Research.....	11
2.3 Representation.....	13
2.3.1 Representation of Women in the Media .....	14
2.3.2 Representation of Victims of Femicide in the Media .....	14
<b>3. Methodology .....</b>	<b>18</b>
3.1 Research Design.....	18
3.2 Sampling.....	18
3.3 Operationalization .....	19
3.4 Data Analysis .....	27
3.4.1 Thematic Analysis after Kuckartz (2014).....	27
3.4.2 Thematic Analysis after Braun and Clarke (2012) .....	28
3.4.3 Comparison of the Two Approaches .....	29
3.5 Credibility and Ethical Considerations .....	30
<b>4. Results .....</b>	<b>32</b>
4.1 Theme 1: ‘Who is represented?’ .....	33
4.2 Theme 2: ‘Objective Representation of the Victim’ .....	36
4.3 Theme 3: ‘Subjective Representation of the Victim’ .....	39
4.3.1 Sub-theme 1: ‘Outside Interpretation’ .....	39
4.3.2 Sub-theme 2: ‘Emotionalization’ .....	43
4.3.3 Sub-theme 3: ‘Personalization’ .....	44

<i>4.3.4 Discussion 'Subjective Representation of the Victim'</i> .....	45
<b>5. Conclusion</b> .....	<b>48</b>
<b>References</b> .....	<b>52</b>
<b>Appendix A</b> .....	<b>58</b>
<b>Appendix B</b> .....	<b>63</b>

# 1. Introduction

According to the WHO (2012), violence against women is a leading cause of injury, disability, and death. The way the media represents this violence, and its victims creates a certain picture of violence, which can lead to a misunderstanding of the problem (Meltzer, 2022). The term femicide evolved from the term homicide, meaning that women are killed because of their gender (Führer, 2021). Recent research has shown that the way victims of femicide are represented in the media, suggests a sudden burst of violence, and disguises the structural violence toward women (Meltzer, 2022). Regarding the reporting of these crimes in the news media, not all are presented the same way (Gruenewald et al., 2009). By cohesively representing victims of femicide, existing taboos about violence against women can be disintegrated (Meltzer, 2022). This is especially important since statistically every fourth woman in Germany becomes a victim of violence (Meltzer, 2022).

The definition of the term femicide varies and evolves in different contexts. This research will be based on the definition of femicide by the Vienna Declaration of the Academic Council on the United Nations System since this definition is also used by the European Institute of Gender Equality (Laurent et al., 2013). This definition is also applied in Germany, which is the country this analysis targets. Laurent et al., (2013), define femicide as the gender-based killings of girls and women. These killings can take 11 different forms (Laurent et al., 2013), which will be further elaborated in the sampling section of the methodology chapter.

This research aims to help understand, how these victims are represented by one specific German news outlet, based on the following research question:

‘How does the German audio-visual news magazine 'Hallo Deutschland' represent victims of femicide?’

To answer this research question, a thematic analysis of the German audiovisual news magazine ‘Hallo Deutschland’ will be conducted. This news broadcast was chosen because it is produced by the ‘ZDF’, one of Germany’s biggest broadcasters. The material for this research was selected by choosing cases that fall into the definition of femicide of the Vienna Declaration. By following the steps of thematic analysis, codes and themes were established. The analysis of the material first sought to identify recurring themes that can be connected to news values in order to determine which victims are represented. Secondly, how the victims that are deemed newsworthy are represented was analyzed, by applying representation

theories. Both theories are further discussed in the theoretical framework. During the analysis, the material was coded, by selecting aspects that might be relevant to answer the research question. This was done with reduced focus on the theory, to keep an open mind for new results. After coding and creating themes, the results were interpreted and discussed using the theoretical framework to determine which victims are represented and how they are represented in this case.

## 1.1 Societal Relevance

Prieler (2020) describes the responsibility the mass media has regarding representation. The repetition of stereotypes can lead to a naturalization of certain representations, which might result in the audience adapting these representations and mistaking them for reality (Prieler, 2020). To fight these stereotypical representations, more diverse and counter-stereotypical representations need to be introduced by the media (Prieler, 2020).

The representation of specific groups in a certain way can have a great impact on society, especially when the people represented in the news report are not in proximity to the audience (Prieler, 2020). Stereotypical representations, in this of case victims of femicide, can have societal consequences, such as prejudice and discrimination (Prieler, 2020).

According to Carll (2003), the media not only reinforces stereotypes about women who are victims of femicide but also has a great influence on public opinion, public policy, and the judicial system. Furthermore, to counteract the cultural tolerance of femicides, news reports about these cases need to be accurate and cannot show bias based on the gender of the victim (Carll, 2003). Change in the representation of victims of femicide is necessary to raise awareness regarding this topic, erase taboos and increase the search for political solutions (Meltzer, 2022).

In Germany, femicides are often called ‘Familientragödien’ (family tragedies) or ‘Eifersuchts-/ Liebesdrama’ (jealousy-/love drama) by the media, which might influence the way society thinks about these crimes. The use of these terms represents femicides as being singular events or only happening in private spheres (Goldenberg, 2020). By representing femicide as an exception, they are not recognized as a societal problem (Goldenberg, 2020). According to Steinl in an interview with Holstein (2019), German society is not aware of the extent and consequences of domestic violence.

This is why this research aims to analyze the representation of femicide victims in the case of the German news magazine *Hallo Deutschland*, to point out which victims are deemed newsworthy and uncover possible problems of representation. Since the media is ascribed to

be one of the most important sources of information for the public (Meltzer, 2022), this research intends to provide input on how victims of femicide are represented by the media and invite television broadcasters to reflect on their practices.

## **1.2 Academic Relevance**

According to Prieler (2020), it is important for scholars to analyze the representations depicted in the media, in order to better understand the representation of certain groups and people. Recent studies were found to be mainly focused on the representation of femicide victims based on newsworthiness in newspaper articles (Bouchard et al., 2020). According to Sutherland et al., (2019), most research regarding this topic is conducted by analyzing newspapers, since this material is the most accessible. To broaden the research to different kinds of media, this research will focus on televised news.

Additionally, most studies were focused on non-European countries, like Australia (Sutherland et al., 2019; Hart & Gilbertson, 2018) and the USA (Richards et al., 2011; Gillespie et al., 2013). The qualitative research conducted by Sutherland et al. (2019) analyzed the extent and nature of the media reporting of violence against women. The data collected originated from newspaper articles (Sutherland et al., 2019). Hart and Gilbertson (2018) conducted qualitative research, looking at the representation of female victims, their perpetrators, and violence as a whole in newspaper articles. Three femicide cases were selected for this research (Hart & Gilbertson, 2018). Furthermore, they used the framing theory for their analysis, describing the way that information is selected and organized by news outlets to direct the audience's perception (Hart & Gilbertson, 2018).

Gillespie et al. (2013) used a combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis to compare the representation of cases where the component of domestic violence is directly mentioned and cases where this is not the case. Framing theory was also used as a theoretical framework (Gillespie et al., 2013). Richards et al. (2011) analyzed newspaper articles by conducting a qualitative analysis to analyze the news media's use of victim-blaming language, sources, and the contextualization of femicide as an individual problem or social issue. To broaden the scope of studying the representation of femicide victims, this research looks through the lens of news value theory and representation theory.

Germany was chosen as the country to be analyzed in this research, since it is one of four countries in the European Union, ranking third, where the numbers of femicides have risen during the COVID-19 pandemic (Kotecky, 2023).

Looking at the research that was previously conducted in Germany regarding this topic, the research by Meltzer (2021) and by Teichgräber and Mußlick (2021) stand out. The research conducted by Meltzer (2021) focused on the way facts about violence against women are represented in German newspapers, by conducting a quantitative content analysis to find patterns in news coverage. Additionally, Meltzer (2021) compared her results with official crime statistics.

The research by Teichgräber and Mußlick (2021) followed a quantitative approach by conducting an online survey to analyze the effect of media frames in the media coverage of violence against women and answer the question of how violence against women is perceived by the audience. This was done by questioning participants regarding four different versions of a newspaper article (Teichgräber & Mußlick, 2021).

To fill the gap of qualitative research conducted in this field in Germany, the present research will follow a qualitative approach by conducting a thematic analysis of the German news program 'Hallo Deutschland'. A combination of representation theory and news value theory will be used as a theoretical framework to identify which victims are represented in the news and to get a clear picture of how victims of femicide are represented. The connection between the representation of femicide victims and newsworthiness aims to highlight explicit problems in the media's representation of victims of femicide.



## **2. Theoretical Framework**

### **2.1 Introduction to Theoretical Framework**

The theories chosen for this research are the news-value theory and the theory of representation. Looking at the research question of ‘How does the German audio-visual news magazine ‘Hallo Deutschland’ represent victims of femicide?’, the news-value theory was chosen to analyze which aspects of cases of femicide are seen as newsworthy. Using the news value theory will help to give structure to the research and to provide a clear differentiation between aspects of representation. It also helps to showcase which material is published. It is important to mention that this theory will be used as part of the framework of the research but will be critically discussed if the results differ from the theory.

The theory of representation will be used to look at the portrayal of femicide victims by audio-visual news and how meaning is attached to certain events by representing them in a certain way.

In this research, both theories are connected, with the news-value theory acting as the basis of analysis for determining newsworthiness. By deciding which news is newsworthy, it also dictates which cases are represented. The second step is analyzing how the victims of femicide, who were chosen to be newsworthy, are represented by the media.

### **2.2 News-Value Theory**

According to Eilders (2006), news value research is the most important tool for the analysis of news selection processes. Eilders (2006) describes certain news factors which are characteristics of an event that make it newsworthy and give it value. These news values can be defined as a set of criteria that make it possible to analyze the likelihood of information being reported as news (Caple & Bednarek, 2016). Some of these news value sets will be discussed later in the theoretical framework. In general, news values determine what is seen as newsworthy (Bednarek & Caple, 2014).

When applying news value theory, the analysis can be approached from different directions (Bednarek & Caple, 2012). Firstly, the event itself can be looked at through the lens of news value theory (Bednarek & Caple, 2012). Additionally, studies on the prediction of news values can be conducted (Kepplinger, 2008). Secondly, the application of news values by journalists can be analyzed (Bednarek & Caple, 2012). Thirdly, input and output material can be analyzed, which means that either sources of news reports or the actual news reports themselves will be analyzed for news values (Bednarek & Caple, 2012). Finally, news

value theory can be applied when looking at audiences (Eilders, 2006). There is no fixed set of news values since it is constantly updated and expanded (Engesser et al., 2010), which might lead to varying results when applying different news values in research.

This research will focus on news value research regarding output material since existing audio-visual news reports of femicides will be analyzed.

### ***2.2.1 The Foundation of News Value Research***

According to Eilders (2006), the beginning of news value research can be traced to the findings of Walter Lippman in 1922. Lippman (1922) presented five news values, which are sensationalism, proximity, relevance, unambiguity, and facticity.

The 1965 findings of Östgaard (1965) and Galtung and Ruge (1965) further developed news value research, serving as the base of future news value research. Östgaard (1965) states that there are factors that influence the news flow and make news newsworthy. The news values he describes are simplification, identification, sensationalism, the news barrier, and general observations (Östgaard, 1965).

The twelve news values defined by Galtung and Ruge (1965) are frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness (including cultural proximity and relevance), consonance (including predictability and demand), unexpectedness (including unpredictability and scarcity), continuity, composition, elite nations, elite people, reference to persons, and negativity.

Different theories of the application of news values can be found. On the one hand, researchers try to apply the news value theory from the perspective of journalists, such as in the research by Schulz (1976, as cited in Eilders, 2006), which was a milestone in German news value research. This research design was later copied by other researchers, building on the findings of Schulz, and developing and adapting the news value catalogs, suitable to the contemporary media landscape (Eilders, 2006). News values that were developed and proved helpful for the analysis of news are relevance, damage, prominence, continuity, proximity, and elite nation, whereas visualization can be added when analyzing televised news media (Maier, 2003 as cited in Eilders, 2006).

Other researchers regard news values as not only journalistic criteria but a principle that is also applied by the audience, focusing on the psychology of perception (Eilders, 2006).

Eilders (2006) suggests that the news values applied differ when looking at the work of journalists and audiences. For journalists, relevance, reach, damage, controversy, aggression, conflict, prominence, continuity, proximity, and elite nations play an important role, whereas

for audiences, relevance, reach, conflict, controversy, prominence, continuity, and unexpectedness are leading factors of newsworthiness (Eilders, 2006). She underlines that the news value theory cannot only be the basis for news selection by journalists but that news values also guide the selection process of news by the audience (Eilders, 2006). This is relevant because a selection by the audience takes place that determines which news will be consumed by them.

Another approach is the material-based approach which focuses on the aspects of the material that make them newsworthy and being published as news (Caple & Bednarek, 2016). In this approach, news values allow the researcher to explicitly describe the characteristics of the news that make them newsworthy (Greguš & Mináriková, 2016).

The material-based approach applies to this research since already published material by the news magazine *Hallo Deutschland* is analyzed. This approach aims to help describe which characteristics of the analyzed femicide reports are deemed newsworthy and led them to be published as news.

### **2.2.2 Contemporary News Value Research**

In 2016, Caple and Bednarek defined a new set of news values including the ten news values of negativity, timeliness, proximity, superlativeness, eliteness, impact, novelty, personalization, consonance, and aesthetic appeal. The news values established by Caple and Bednarek (2016) are closely related to the news values described by Galtung and Ruge (1965). The news value of 'Frequency' defined by Galtung and Ruge (1965), which describes the time in which an event becomes important to an audience can be linked to Caple and Bednarek's (2016) 'Timeliness', which is described as the relevance of an event measured by time. The second news value of 'Superlativeness', described as the scale of an event (Caple and Bednarek, 2016), is related to 'Threshold', described as the extent of an event to become newsworthy (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). 'Meaningfulness' is defined as the importance an event has to the audience (Galtung & Ruge, 1965) and can be linked to the news value of 'Proximity', described as the geographical and cultural vicinity of the news to the recipients (Caple and Bednarek, 2016). 'Unexpectedness', which describes the notion that the more unexpected the news is, the more interesting they are to audiences (Galtung & Ruge, 1965), correlates with the news value of 'Novelty', defined as unexpected aspects of an event (Caple and Bednarek, 2016). The news values 'Consonance', described as stereotypical aspects of the news; 'Eliteness', describing high-status persons and nations; 'Personalization', the humane aspect of the news; and 'Negativity', the negative aspects of an event, are alike in

both sets of news values by Galtung and Ruge (1965), and Caple and Bednarek (2016). In addition to the set of news values mentioned above, Galtung and Ruge (1965) name three more news values, which were not taken over by Caple and Bednarek in their set of news values from 2016. The first news value is 'Unambiguity', describing that the intensity of an event makes it more newsworthy (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). If news only has one possible interpretation, the more newsworthy they become (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). The second news value is 'Continuity', which states that news that was already published, continues to be relevant (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). The last news value in the set of Galtung and Ruge (1965) that does not appear in the news value set by Caple and Bednarek (2016) is 'Composition'. This news value refers to the balance in a news report (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). Newsworthy news can lose its newsworthiness to presenting a balanced report in the news (Galtung & Ruge, 1965).

Caple and Bednarek (2016) also present two news values that were added to the news value sets by Galtung and Ruge (1965). The news values are 'Impact', described as the effects and consequences an event has, and 'Aesthetic appeal', which is of great importance when looking at newspapers and televised news since they concern visual aspects of news (Caple and Bednarek, 2016).

In 2017, Harcup and O'Neill updated the news values defined by Galtung and Ruge from 1965. The updated, more contemporary news values are exclusivity, bad news, conflict, surprise, audio-visuals, shareability, entertainment, drama, follow-up, the power elite, relevance, magnitude, celebrity, good news, and news organization's agenda (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). The news value of 'Exclusivity' describes news that is only available to the news organization due to research conducted by this news organization or provided by the audience through letters or interviews (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). 'Bad news' describes particularly negative aspects of stories, and 'Conflict' describes stories about disputes, and controversies, whereas 'Good news' is defined as news stories with primarily positive aspects (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). The news value 'Surprise' describes news stories with unexpected outcomes or contrasting aspects, whereas 'Audio-visuals' describe striking visual material and/or materials that are supported by infographics (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). 'Shareability' is defined as news stories that are likely to be shared on social media (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). The news value 'Entertainment' describes news stories that cover celebrities and other factors that are regarded to be enjoyable to the audience (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). 'Drama' is described as stories that are concerned with unfolding drama, which is closely related to 'Follow ups' which is concerned with news that was already published, but where new

developments can be reported (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). 'The power elite' is defined as news about well-known people from different official sectors and institutions, followed by 'Relevance', which describes news about influential and familiar groups or nations (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). Closely related is the news value 'Celebrity', which describes news about famous people that are known by the audience (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). 'Magnitude' is defined as news stories that have a high significance to a large group of people and may have a significant impact on them (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). Finally, the news value 'News organization's agenda' describes news that fits into the news agency's ideological or commercial agenda (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017).

These news values are also closely related to the news values of Galtung & Ruge from 1965, but news values like 'Shareability' and 'Audio-visuals' were added to fit the contemporary media landscape.

### **2.3 Representation**

Hall (2020) defines representation as the process of creating a mental image by combining 'things', concepts, and signs. Representation is defined as the connection between meaning and language to culture (Hall, 2020). Hall (2020) states that there are two systems of representation. Concepts are the first system of representation, and describe the correlation of objects, subjects, and events with the mental concepts that are in everyone's head (Hall, 2020). This leads to the creation of meaning (Hall, 2020). The second system of representation is language, which helps to express these concepts and put the meaning into signs (Hall, 2020). This means that by formulating sentences, meaning can be expressed and shared with others through communication. In this research, the term representation is used to describe how 'Hallo Deutschland' not only presents images but how they engage in re-presenting these images with multiple meanings (Hall, 1980, as cited in Campbell, 2017).

Representation in the media can be looked at from different angles because the media is a broad spectrum. Looking at representation focuses on the type of media, but also on the person that is represented. When looking at representation in the news media, Prieler (2020) states that media is always partly a construction of reality, rather than reality itself, since journalists can never depict every aspect of reality and need to make decisions on how aspects of stories are portrayed. Due to limited space for reporting, journalists need to decide which aspects will be included and which will not, and therefore which aspects will be represented and which will not (Prieler, 2020).

### ***2.3.1 Representation of Women in the Media***

Looking at the general representation of women in the media, Hill (2020) argues that the media traditionally represents women in a sidelined and sexualized way, putting them into roles that are mainly concerned with domesticity, adornment, and interpersonal relationships. Furthermore, stereotypes such as the portrayal of women as faithful and obedient can be found when looking at the depiction of women in the media (Belknap, 2007, as cited in Richards et al., 2011). Additionally, women are often depicted as passive and dependent on men (Alkan, 2016). Regarding the representation of women in movies and television, typical characters occur, such as the housewife, dumb blonde, femme fatale, witch, tough girl, and warrior woman (Hill, 2020.) This argument is important to consider since through this type of media, gendered stereotypes evolve (Hill, 2020). Prieler (2020) states that women are predominantly depicted in combination with household and children's chores, whereas men are mostly shown at work. Additionally, women are shown to be dependent and sexually objectified (Prieler, 2020).

When analyzing the representation of women, Hill (2020) argues that it is not only important to look at gender, but also race, class, sexuality, and age. According to Hill (2020), women are predominantly represented when they are white, young, and heterosexual. An absence of women of color, mature women, homosexual women, and women with diverse body types can be identified (Hill, 2020).

According to Gill (2007), the sexualization of women and girls has changed from women being represented as passive objects of a male gaze, to being sexual, active, desiring subjects, whom they decide to be perceived in an objectifying manner, because of their liberated interests. On the other hand, according to Cann (2020), feminist media studies are still concerned with the normalization of gender differences and hierarchy in the media, even though women are a large part of the media's audience.

### ***2.3.2 Representation of Victims of Femicide in the Media***

Looking at previous research conducted on the representation of victims of femicide, certain ways of representation stand out. The first way of representation is the creation of an ideal victim. According to Gillespie et al. (2013), news tends to highlight only certain crimes whilst ignoring other perpetrators and victims, which leads to the deemphasizing of cases that are not reported. This leads to a classification of victims (Gillespie et al., 2013). Only representing certain victims sends a message of who matters most in society (Richards et al., 2014). Carll (2003) describes for example that rape and other forms of violence against

women are seen as less significant by the media than other crimes. On the other hand, research by Gilchrist (2010) shows an overrepresentation of white victims in his analysis of newspaper articles. These victims are often portrayed as innocent (Greer, 2007, as cited in Slakoff, 2019), wealthy (Stillman, 2007), and coming from safe neighborhoods (Slakoff & Brennan, 2017). Also, the media rarely seems to blame these victims for their own victimization (Slakoff & Brennan, 2017). By reporting this way, stereotypes are reinforced that concern the depiction of 'ideal victims' (Easteal et al., 2015). Victims that do not overlap with the 'ideal victim' are characterized as not credible (Easteal et al., 2015).

The second prevalent topic regarding the representation of victims of femicide that was found is victim blaming through blaming language, utilizing sources that inaccurately represent the victim, and the limited use of domestic violence language in context (Richards et al., 2011). Looking at the sources used that inaccurately describe the victim, Taylor (2009), mentions statements by the police and other officials as the most used source of information regarding the crime. These sources can be especially victim blaming when mentioning that no previous reports of intimate partner violence were found (Taylor, 2009). Another source regularly used in the news about femicide is statements made by neighbors, that describe the victim's relationship as being peaceful and happy (Taylor, 2009). This might lead to the individualization of the case because it is represented as being unexpected and singular (Meltzer, 2021).

Women, who do not embody the gender roles prescribed by society, tend to be blamed for their own abuse (Belknap, 2007, as cited in Richards et al., 2011). Victim blaming can lead to the tolerance and legitimization of femicide since the blame is partly attributed to the victim and the violence is justified (Gracia, 2014). The research conducted by Richards et al. (2011) shows that blaming the victim of femicide by the media mostly consists of the women having failed to protect themselves and escape the abusive situation and not having pressed charges for previous abuse. Taylor (2009) defines direct and indirect approaches to victim blaming. Looking at the direct approaches of victim blaming, the first finding is the language used to describe the victim (Taylor, 2009), which corresponds with the previously described findings by Richards et al. (2011). This is done by using adjectives or by attributing certain behaviors to the victim that do not contribute to the explanation of why the victim was murdered (Taylor, 2009). Richards et al. (2014) explain that language can either represent violence against women as a social problem or represent it as singular and isolated events.

The second direct approach is blaming the victim for her own murder because she did not report and/or prosecute previous violence in her relationship (Taylor, 2009). This also

corresponds with the findings by Richards et al. (2011). A third direct approach of victim blaming is highlighting the victim's actions with other men, like extramarital affairs, spending time with other men, or being the lover of the perpetrator (Taylor, 2009). Especially the last two tactics of direct victim blaming only apply to femicides resulting from intimate partner violence. The first two indirect tactics described by Taylor (2009) concern the representation of the perpetrator, namely positively describing him or highlighting his problems. These do not focus on the representation of the victim and are not relevant to this research. The next indirect tactic of victim blaming is the description of the partners' financial problems (Taylor, 2009), which distributes the blame on both the victim and the perpetrator and not the perpetrator only. The fourth indirect tactic is focusing attention on the victim's psychological or physical health problems (Taylor, 2009), which might excuse the crime. The last tactic is the inaccurate description of previous intimate partner violence, by equally blaming both parties (Taylor, 2009). Here, especially the last three tactics mostly concern indirect tactics of victim blaming resulting from intimate partner violence. In research conducted by Richards et al. (2011), the same indirect and direct tactics of victim blaming were chosen. Looking at the direct tactics, the use of negative language to describe the victim was excluded, just as the use of positive language in the indirect tactics (Richards et al., 2011). Additionally, the financial problems of the couple and the inaccurate description of intimate partner violence were excluded (Richards et al., 2011). Moreover, the indirect tactic of victim blaming by mentioning the drug or alcohol use of both parties was added (Richards et al., 2011).

The third manner of representing victims and their cases is through individualization. By using terms like 'drama' or 'tragedy', it is suggested that these cases are unexpected and individual and the structural violence against women is obscured (Meltzer, 2021). Another way of individualizing violence against women is connecting the cause of the crime to the personality traits of the perpetrator and providing superficial information regarding the background of the victim and her relationship with her partner (Geiger, 2008).

The last aspect of representation of victims of femicide is the importance of the description of the victims. By representing women as vulnerable victims, the idea of women not being able to protect themselves might be reinforced (Custers & Van den Bulck, 2013). However, Taylor (2009) also reports positive descriptions of victims by using positive adjectives such as the victim helping others, being hard-working, reliable, or kind. On the one hand, the media can function as a provider of facts and knowledge, which can help to prevent femicide, by emphasizing the problem (Geiger, 2008). It can be used to shape the public's opinion (Richards et al., 2014). On the other hand, voyeurism and the reproduction of stereotypical



elements can be found in the representation of victims of femicide in the news media (Geiger, 2008). Reporting in an insensitive way and supporting myths and stereotypes can lead to secondary victimization, where additional harm is brought to the victim (Geiger, 2008). Providing distorted images of intimate partner violence and the role of the victim supports myths and blames the victim for her own victimization (Richards et al., 2014). A superficial portrayal of the situation leads to the audience having problems detecting cases of violence against women in their own personal environment (Geiger, 2008). When describing the victim, most media outlets superficially describe the victim's clothing and looks (Geiger, 2008). Providing relevant information on the victim can lead to feelings of empathy towards the victim since the victim is made more approachable to the audience and they might feel like they know the victim better (Meltzer, 2021). Not providing this information can lead to victim blaming, since the audience cannot connect with the victim (Meltzer, 2021). The protection of the victim and the interest of the public needs to be evaluated anew in every case (Heimann, 2009). Showing pictures of the victim and/or giving their full name is not admissible in Germany unless the victim's family gives their permission (Heimann, 2009). This complicates the positive representation of victims of femicide because these details may serve to humanize them in the eyes of the audience (Meltzer, 2021).

## **3. Methodology**

### **3.1 Research Design**

This research aims to look at how victims of femicide are represented in the German news magazine ‘Hallo Deutschland’ using a qualitative approach. Qualitative research enables the researcher to study the chosen material in a natural setting, meaning that a phenomenon is studied by looking at how people make sense of or ascribe meaning to it (Guest et al., 2014). A qualitative approach was chosen instead of a quantitative approach since a qualitative approach leaves room for the interpretation of meaning in the selected material, whereas a quantitative approach focuses on numeric data, leaving less room for interpretation and meaning-making (Guest et al., 2014).

To conduct thorough research and to answer the research question appropriately, the method of analysis in this master’s thesis is thematic analysis. Thematic analysis was used to provide insights into patterns of meaning focusing on a data set (Braun & Clarke 2012). This means that collective and shared meanings can be identified and results regarding a common meaning or pattern throughout the data set rather than a unique meaning or pattern can be identified (Braun & Clarke 2012). Finding themes in the chosen material and interpreting the outcome with the help of previous research provided in the theoretical framework, helps to understand how victims of femicide are represented in the news magazine ‘Hallo Deutschland’. ‘Hallo Deutschland’ is a news magazine of the German television broadcaster ZDF (ZDF Werbefernsehen, 2023). The selected media outlet belongs to the most popular outlets in Germany. Beginning in 1997, this show covers current stories of people from Germany in an emotional but reliable way (ZDF Werbefernsehen, 2023). In the first quarter of 2023, Hallo Deutschland had a market share of 18,7% (ZDF Werbefernsehen, 2023). According to DWDL (2022), the average age of the ZDF audience is 65 years old.

### **3.2 Sampling**

In this research, the sampling strategy of criterion sampling was used. This enabled the research to focus on material that fits into a frame of predetermined criteria (Suri, 2011). Only material that meets the criteria and suits the research was studied (Suri, 2011).

In the news magazine ‘Hallo Deutschland’, every news report covers different topics. For this research, only the parts reporting on femicide will be selected, whilst all other parts will be excluded.

To suit the methodological guidelines, 48 videos ranging from two to 14 minutes were collected. The material was found by scanning the news reports by 'Hallo Deutschland', from 25.04.2022 to 25.04.2023. The first criterion was that the news report needed to cover the murder of a woman, not a man, to be selected. Even though the videos have different lengths, they are relevant to the research because they all report on cases of femicide and are part of the representation of victims of femicide. The length of the videos and the time period in which the videos were published were selected because of the limited access to German news archives. The publication of the news in archives is often limited to news from the past year or two years and will be deleted after this time period. Additionally, the news magazine 'Hallo Deutschland' was chosen because of limited access to archived news. Four cases were excluded since they were broadcasted twice. Almost no content was changed in the broadcasts, therefore a double analysis was deemed irrelevant and only one was analyzed.

Other criteria that framed the material in this research are the 11 forms of femicide, defined by the Vienna Declaration of the Academic Council on the United Nations System (Laurent et al., 2013). These forms are the murder of a woman due to domestic and intimate violence, the torture and misogynistic slaying of women, "honor killings", dowry killings, killings in armed conflicts, the killing of women and girls because of their sexual orientation and gender identity, the killing of aboriginal women and girls, female infanticide and sex-selection foeticide, the femicide related to genital mutilation, death through the accusation of witchcraft and femicide connected to organized crime, for example when women are murdered by rival gangs to set an example (Laurent et al., 2013). Using these criteria, the material was collected in a way that suits the research. The material needs to be limited to either solved cases, where the motive of the perpetrator or the judgment of the court indicate clear signs of femicide, or cold cases that clearly show signs of femicide, for example, sexual abuse as a sign of a gender-related killing of women. Reports on cases that, for example, covered the murder of a woman due to a burglary were excluded since this murder happened out of greed and not the gender-based killing of a woman (Laurent et al., 2013).

### **3.3 Operationalization**

To analyze how victims of femicide are represented by the German news magazine 'Hallo Deutschland', a thematic analysis following the steps of Braun and Clarke (2012) will be conducted, which will be further described in the following chapter.

To answer the research question of 'How does the German audio-visual news magazine 'Hallo Deutschland' represent victims of femicide?', two theories need to be operationalized.

The first step is to determine which victims are represented and deemed newsworthy, by using the news value theory. This is done by creating a set of news values tailored to this research, by combining the news values, from Caple and Bednarek (2016), and Harcup and O'Neill (2017). These two approaches are recent and are therefore suited to analyze the current news media.

The first chosen news value is 'Negativity' (Caple & Bednarek, 2016)/ 'Bad News' (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017), which describes the negative aspects of an event (Caple & Bednarek, 2016) and negative stories in general, like stories about death (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). The second chosen news value is 'Timeliness', which describes the relevance of an event according to time (Caple & Bednarek, 2016). The third news value is 'Proximity', describing the geographic and/or cultural proximity of an event to the audience (Caple & Bednarek, 2016). This news value is followed by 'Novelty/Surprise', describing new and/or unexpected aspects of an event and news stories that are unusual, a contrast, or have an element of surprise (Caple & Bednarek, 2016; Harcup & O'Neill 2017). The last news value chosen from the set of news values by Caple and Bednarek (2016) is 'Personalization', which describes the personal and relatable aspects of an event. Another news value added from the set of news values by Harcup and O'Neill (2017) is 'Audio-visuals', which describe news stories that are newsworthy because of certain acoustic or visual material.

The chosen news values are relevant in the research on the representation of femicide victims by the audiovisual news media since they aim to help explain which victims are represented by the news. Some news values from the original sets of Caple and Bednarek (2016) and Harcup and O'Neill (2017) were not added to this set of news values, since they are not relevant in researching the representation of femicide victims and will not help to understand which cases of femicide and which victims are deemed newsworthy by the news magazine 'Hallo Deutschland'.

News values like 'Shareability' (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017) are not relevant for public channels like the ZDF, since their average audience is 65 years old (DWDL, 2022). This makes the news value of shareability irrelevant for this case because the use of social media is expected to be low. Additionally, the news value of the 'News organization's agenda' does not fit the research since this research aims to analyze the product, which is the news reports, rather than the production itself, like the intentions of journalists (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). The news value 'Exclusivity' was excluded for the same reason because it describes the exclusivity of news to the news organization. This cannot be analyzed when looking at the material only. The news value 'Entertainment' was not added because it is described as

lenient news by Harcup and O'Neill (2017), which does not apply to news about femicide. The news values 'Drama' and 'Follow-up' were excluded from the set of news values since they describe unfolding stories and stories that were already covered by the news (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). These are not relevant because they are not concerned with the representation of victims of femicide, especially with determining who is represented.

Furthermore, the news value 'Eliteness' by Caple and Bednarek (2016) was not added to the set of news values, since it is concerned with individuals of high status, which does mostly not apply to victims of femicide. The news values 'The power elite', 'Celebrity', and 'Relevance' by Harcup and O'Neill (2017) were excluded for this same reason. The news value 'Magnitude' was not included in the set of news values for this research, because it describes the perception of the audience (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). This is irrelevant for this research because here the material is analyzed, not the audience. The news value 'Impact' and 'Superlativeness' were excluded for the same reason (Caple & Bednarek, 2016). 'Good news' was excluded from this set of news values, since it focuses on news stories with positive aspects, which does not apply to femicide (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). The news value 'Conflict' (Caple & Bednarek, 2016) was excluded because it describes similar aspects as the news value 'Negativity/Bad news' (Caple & Bednarek, 2016; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). Additionally, the news value 'Consonance' (Caple & Bednarek, 2016) was not added to the tailored set of news values since stereotypical aspects of the news will be identified through the news value 'Personalization' (Caple & Bednarek, 2016). Lastly, 'Aesthetic appeal' (Caple & Bednarek, 2016) was excluded because it would be a repetition of the chosen news value 'Audio-visuals' (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017).

The created set of news values is used because it helps to describe the characteristics which determine the selection of femicide victims to be newsworthy, and by this, which victims are represented by the news media (Greguš & Mináriková, 2016). To find these news values in the analyzed material, the concept is operationalized in Table 1. The first cell of this table shows the news values that were chosen to be used in this research and the second cell provides a short definition of each news value. The third cell describes the linguistic devices that are relevant characteristics of the analyzed news to identify news values, whereas the fourth cell describes visual devices.

**Table 1:***The selected set of news values and their relevant characteristics*

<b>News Value</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Linguistic Devices</b>	<b>Visual Devices</b>
Negativity/bad news (Caple & Bednarek, 2016; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017)	The negative aspects of an event or issue (Caple & Bednarek, 2016)  Stories with negative overtones (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017)	Evaluative language;  References to emotion (Caple & Bednarek, 2012)	Showing negative events and their effects (Caple & Bednarek, 2016)
Timeliness (Caple & Bednarek, 2016)	The relevance of an event in terms of time (Caple & Bednarek, 2016)		Showing relevant time in the image (Caple & Bednarek, 2016)
Novelty/ surprise (Caple & Bednarek, 2016; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017)	The new and/or unexpected aspects of an event (Caple & Bednarek, 2016)  Stories with an element of surprise, contrast and/or something unusual (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017)	Evaluative language;  References to emotion;  Comparison (Caple & Bednarek, 2012)	Showing people being shocked/surprised; Showing unusual happenings that would be considered outside an established societal norm or expectation (Caple & Bednarek, 2016)
Audio-visuals (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017)	Stories that have arresting photographs,		

<b>News Value</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Linguistic Devices</b>	<b>Visual Devices</b>
	video, or audio (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017)		
Proximity (Caple & Bednarek, 2016)	The geographical or cultural nearness of an event (Caple & Bednarek, 2016)		Showing well-known or iconic landmarks or cultural symbols (Caple & Bednarek, 2016)
Personalization (Caple & Bednarek, 2016)	The personal or 'human' face of an event or issue (Caple & Bednarek, 2016)	References to emotion (Caple & Bednarek, 2012)	Showing 'ordinary' individuals; Showing an emotional response (Caple & Bednarek, 2016)  Showing the victim

The second step of the analysis is used to identify how the victims of femicide, who are deemed newsworthy, are represented. This is done by using the concepts of the representation of women and the representation of victims of femicide, which were previously described in the theoretical framework. Concepts that will be looked for in the material are the classification of victims, victim blaming, individualization, and the description of the victims.

To find these concepts of representation in the analyzed material, they were operationalized in Table 2 by defining each concept and showing how they will be found in the material. The first cell of the table used to operationalize the concepts of the theoretical framework names each concept. The second cell provides a short definition of each concept, and the third cell describes devices that will be used to identify these concepts in the analyzed material.

**Table 2:***Operationalization Representation: Concept, definition, and devices to find concepts in the material.*

<b>Concepts</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Devices</b>
Classification and ideal victim	A classification of the victim which leads to the representation of a certain group of victims (Gillespie et al., 2013)	<p>Use of stereotypes (Easteal et al., 2015)</p> <p>Highlighting certain crimes (Gillespie et al., 2013)</p> <p>Innocence (Greer, 2007, as cited in Slakoff, 2019)</p> <p>Wealth (Stillman, 2007)</p> <p>Descending from safe neighborhoods (Slakoff &amp; Brennan, 2017)</p> <p>Stereotypes of women:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Faithfulness (Belknap, 2007, as cited in Richards et al., 2011)</li> <li>- Obedience (Belknap, 2007, as cited in Richards et al., 2011)</li> <li>- Passive (Alkan, 2016)</li> <li>- Dependent on men (Alkan, 2016)</li> <li>- Domesticity (Hill, 2020)</li> <li>- Adornment (Hill, 2020)</li> <li>- Interpersonal relationships (Hill, 2020)</li> <li>- Sexual objectification (Prieler, 2020)</li> </ul>
Victim Blaming	The blame is partly attributed to the victim and the violence is justified (Gracia, 2014)	<p>Blaming language (Richards et al., 2011)</p> <p>Use of sources inaccurately</p>



Concepts	Definition	Devices
		<p>representing the victim (Richards et al., 2011), e.g., by police officers and neighbors (Taylor, 2009)</p>
		<p>Limited use of domestic violence language (Richards et al., 2011)</p>
		<p>Supporting myths and stereotypes (Geiger, 2008)</p>
		<p>Victim failed to protect herself (Richards et al., 2011)</p>
		<p>Direct tactics of victim blaming:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Ascribing adjectives or behaviors to the victim that do not explain why the victim was murdered (Taylor, 2009)</li> <li>- Victim did not report/prosecute previous violence (Taylor, 2009)</li> <li>- Victims actions with other men (Taylor, 2009)</li> </ul>
		<p>Indirect tactics of victim blaming:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Partners' financial problems</li> <li>- Victim's psychological or physical health problems (Taylor, 2009)</li> </ul>
		<p>Equally blaming both parties for intimate partner violence (Taylor, 2009)</p>

Concepts	Definition	Devices
		Alcohol/Drug abuse of both partners (Richards et al., 2011)
Individualization	Certain ways of representation that suggest the cases are unexpected and individual (Meltzer, 2021)	Use of the words ‘drama’ or ‘tragedy’ (Meltzer, 2021) Superficial description of the victim’s relationship with her partner (Geiger, 2008)
Description of the victim	A superficial representation of the victim can lead to second victimization (Geiger, 2008)	<p>Superficial description of victim’s appearance (Geiger, 2008)</p> <p>Superficial description of the victim’s relationship with her partner (Geiger, 2008)</p> <p>Representing victims as vulnerable (Custers &amp; Van den Bulck, 2013)</p> <p>Positive adjectives (Taylor, 2009)</p> <p>The role of the victim in intimate partner violence (Richards et al., 2014)</p> <p>Providing relevant information (Meltzer, 2021)</p> <p>Victim protection (Heimann, 2009)</p>

### **3.4 Data Analysis**

To analyze the sampled data, the approach of thematic analysis was chosen. According to Guest et al. (2014), the thematic analysis aims at not only counting words but identifying and interpreting the data by creating themes. This can be done by comparing code frequencies, identifying repetitive codes, and/or finding relationships between these codes to create themes (Guest et al., 2014). The creation of themes helps to describe certain contexts and phenomena and answer the research question (Dumitrica & Pridmore, 2019). While coding the transcripts, an inductive, exploratory approach is used (Guest et al., 2014). This means that no predetermined codes are used in the coding process and that the codes were derived from the data (Guest et al., 2014). This aims to stay open to possible new findings and not only confirm or deny the theory. The codes are then analyzed regarding the concepts.

#### ***3.4.1 Thematic Analysis after Kuckartz (2014)***

Kuckartz (2014), proposes a seven-phase approach to thematic analysis. The first phase of his approach to thematic analysis describes the initial work with the text, where aspects of the text that seem important to the researcher are highlighted and memos are created (Kuckartz, 2014). These memos are used to capture important thoughts regarding the highlighted phrases (Kuckartz, 2014).

The second phase is the development of the main thematic categories (Kuckartz, 2014). Here the content of the text serves as topics and sub-topics, which can be developed by looking at the research question, looking through the text, and creating memos as described in phase one (Kuckartz, 2014). Both an inductive and deductive approach is possible, where the topics and sub-topics are either created by looking at the data or by looking at the theory (Kuckartz, 2014). This is decided after getting an overview of the data (Kuckartz, 2014). When following an indicative approach, the first phase can be skipped (Kuckartz, 2014).

The third phase is the first coding process, where text passages from the whole data set are assigned to categories (Kuckartz, 2014). Irrelevant phrases are not coded, and other phrases can be coded with more than one category (Kuckartz, 2014).

The next phase groups the coded categories under main categories, followed by phase five, where these main categories are inductively divided into sub-categories (Kuckartz, 2014).

The sixth phase is the second coding process, where all the data is coded again by assigning the coded passages to the developed sub-categories (Kuckartz, 2014).

Phase seven describes the analysis of the categories and the presentation of the results (Kuckartz, 2014). This phase consists of the analysis of the initial results of the main

categories, which is followed by the creation of relationships between the sub-categories within the main categories (Kuckartz, 2014). The next step of analysis is looking at the relationships between the main categories (Kuckartz, 2014).

### ***3.4.2 Thematic Analysis after Braun and Clarke (2012)***

Another approach to thematic analysis is the six-step approach by Braun and Clarke (2012). The first step of the analysis consists of reading and re-reading the textual data in order to get a full overview of the material (Braun & Clarke, 2012). This step aims at getting familiar with the data and getting a feeling of the relevance of different aspects of the material (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

The second step of the analysis leads to generating initial codes. This helps to label certain aspects of the data that could be relevant to answering the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

The next step of the process is searching for themes. After the initial coding, the developed codes can be ascribed to certain themes, by identifying similarities in the codes and grouping them (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Another part of this step is starting to think about relationships that occur between different themes and exploring how these themes will work together in order to answer the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

The fourth step is the reviewing of potential themes. This part functions as a quality check of the developed themes and their relationship to the coded data (Braun & Clarke, 2012). It aims to find out if the themes work in relation to the data and exclude codes or assign them to other themes if they do not fit the theme they were previously assigned to (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Next, the data is reviewed regarding the capture of the entire data set. This provides an overview of the created themes that meaningfully representing the entire data set (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

The fifth step is used to define and name the previously created themes. This step helps to clearly state the uniqueness of each theme and creates clear boundaries between the different themes (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Additionally, different extracts of the data are collected and assigned to each theme, in order to support the interpretation of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

The last step is producing the report. This aims at providing a cohesive presentation of the findings by presenting the themes that were created in the previous steps in an organized way (Braun & Clarke, 2012). The themes will be logically connected to each other to provide a coherent interpretation of the topic (Braun & Clarke, 2012). It is important to mention that the

writing of the report does not only happen in the last step of the analysis but is a process that is followed during all steps of the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

### ***3.4.3 Comparison of the Two Approaches***

Comparing the approaches to a thematic analysis by Kuckartz (2014) and Braun and Clarke (2012), the first approach proposes to create memos and comments during the initial work with the text, whereas the second approach proposes only to get familiar with the data. By already writing comments in the initial phase of the process, certain aspects could be deemed relevant and thereby important other aspects could be overlooked during the initial coding process.

Furthermore, Kuckartz (2014) uses a two-step coding process, where the data is coded again by using the created categories, and Braun and Clarke (2012) code the data in one step and review the data by considering if the created themes represent the data.

Additionally, Kuckartz (2014) proposes to develop main thematic categories in the second phase, whereas Braun and Clarke (2012) propose to code the data by deciding if the aspects of the data might be relevant to answer the research question. This might leave more room for codes that are not deemed as relevant as they turn out to be.

One last difference is that Braun and Clarke (2012) emphasize defining and naming the created themes and finding examples in the data that support these themes. This step could not be found in Kuckartz' (2014) approach.

In this research, a thematic analysis will be conducted by following the six-phase approach of thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2012). The approach by Braun & Clarke (2012) was chosen because it enables the researcher to identify themes and patterns in the analyzed material, by following rigorous steps that lead to exhaustive results. This approach is more suitable because the material is coded more carefully and enables the researcher to also code aspects that might not seem relevant to answer the research question during initial coding. Additionally, the chance of overlooking relevant aspects is smaller than in the approach by Kuckartz (2014), since no comments regarding the data are created during the initial text work. Furthermore, relationships between the created themes are established early on, which enables the researcher to focus on relevant aspects of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2012). The method also seems suitable since the themes are carefully named and defined and examples that support the themes are gathered (Braun & Clarke, 2012). This helps to illustrate how victims of femicide are represented by the German news magazine 'Hallo Deutschland'.

For this analysis, an inductive approach was chosen, which means that the codes are developed from the data, not the theory (Dumitrica & Pridmore, 2019).

Before being able to conduct the analysis the material needed to be transcribed and translated from German to English. This was done with the help of the transcription platform Speechmatics. The data was transcribed with Speechmatics and later post-processed by the researcher, by comparing the transcripts with the original videos. To better organize and visualize the codes and themes, the thematic analysis was conducted with the help of ATLAS.ti, which is a qualitative data analysis tool.

### **3.5 Credibility and Ethical Considerations**

Ethical considerations that need to be kept in mind while conducting this research are that the topic of this research is very sensitive since the reports about the cases that were analyzed are about real-life victims and their families. In order to protect the victims and their families, only their first name and the initial of their last name will be used, even if their full name is used in the analyzed material.

To ensure the credibility of this research, the four markers of credibility, established by Tracy (2010), will be followed. The first marker of credible qualitative research is a thick description, showing results, rather than telling (Tracy, 2010). This is ensured by providing enough detail about the data and results so that the reader can come to their own conclusion (Tracy, 2010).

The second marker of credibility is crystallization and triangulation, with crystallization meaning that a more complex understanding of the analyzed issue is created if multiple types of data or theoretical frameworks are gathered (Tracy, 2010). Triangulation is described as the increase of credibility of the conclusion, if two or more sources of data, theoretical frameworks, types of data, or researchers come to the same conclusion (Denzin 1978 as cited in Tracy, 2010). Crystallization is ensured in this research by describing and discussing multiple types of theoretical frameworks. For both, news value theory and representation theory, multiple approaches are described and discussed by the researcher. Triangulation is ensured in this research by contextualizing the results of this research with the help of the theoretical framework. Since a gap in the research on the representation of victims of femicide in televised news was found and most previous research was conducted on the representation of femicide in newspaper articles, the results of this research are more credible, by comparing them to the findings of these researchers, who analyzed different types of material.

The third marker of credibility is multivocality, which is described by Tracy (2010) as the creation of an empathetic understanding and providing differing opinions from multiple participants. This marker will not be included in this research, since it targets qualitative research methods where participants are involved. This is also the case regarding the fourth marker, member reflections, which targets the correspondence of findings and the participant's opinion (Tracy, 2010).

## 4. Results

Before conducting the analysis, the material had to be prepared. This was done by transcribing the audio of the videos and translating it from German into English. The written text was then uploaded into ATLAS.ti for coding. After reading and re-reading the data, the researcher got a full overview of the selected data and got a feeling for the relevance of certain topics (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Additionally, the videos were rewatched, to get a feeling for the visual data.

The second step of thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2012) is the phase of initial coding to label aspects that could be relevant to answering the research question. In this step, the transcribed audio material and the visual material were coded separately from each other. First, the audio material was coded, by creating codes for aspects that might be relevant for answering the research question. Here, as many codes as possible were created in order to not overlook any aspect that might be relevant. This resulted in the creation of 64 codes from the transcribed audio material.

After coding the transcribed audio material, the visual material was coded. Since an overview of the data was established while coding the transcripts and no unbiased view on the visual part was possible, it was directly looked for aspects that align with the codes created during the textual coding. This was also done because the visual parts are closely related to the textual parts, which means that no aspects could be overlooked. This led to the creation of 19 codes, by looking for aspects that are relevant to answer the research question and that might support codes created in the analysis of the transcribed audio material.

After initial coding, the codes were re-evaluated. From the total of 83 codes, eleven codes were excluded, because they are not relevant to answer the research question.

The third step of thematic analysis after Braun and Clarke (2012) is the creation of themes by establishing relationships between the codes, and to find connections and differences between these themes. During this process, the 72 remaining codes were ascribed to eleven sub-themes, which were then ascribed to three themes. Some of the codes were ascribed to several sub-themes and some sub-themes were ascribed to more than one theme. The themes ‘Who is represented?’, ‘Objective representation of the victim’, and ‘Subjective representation of the victim’ will be analyzed in the following chapters and put into context by using the theoretical framework.



#### 4.1 Theme 1: ‘Who is represented?’

The first theme that was developed is ‘Who is represented?’. This theme holds six sub-themes, of which three were found to be especially relevant. The first relevant sub-theme that will be discussed is ‘Negativity/Bad news’ (Caple & Bednarek, 2016; Harcup & O’Neill, 2017), and focuses on negative aspects of the stories and brutal descriptions. The second sub-theme is ‘Personalization’, which focuses on the humane side of the victims (Caple & Bednarek, 2016). The last sub-theme is ‘Audio-visuals’, describing stories with newsworthy photo and/ or video material (Harcup & O’Neill, 2017). The prevalence of these news values in the analyzed material shows that stories, and therefore also the victims, that contain these aspects are deemed newsworthy and are represented in the news. The three sub-themes of ‘Timeliness’ (Caple & Bednarek, 2016), ‘Novelty/Surprise’ (Caple & Bednarek, 2016; Harcup & O’Neill, 2017), and ‘Proximity’ (Caple & Bednarek, 2016), were found to be less relevant and will only be shortly described.

In regards to the sub-theme ‘Negativity/Bad News’ it can be seen that a significant number of cases present with negative factors such as brutality, gory pictures, drama, and tragedy are deemed newsworthy and are more likely to be broadcasted on ‘Hallo Deutschland’. Victims are represented that died in a particularly brutal way, where in some cases blurred pictures of their dead bodies or the murder weapon are shown. Crimes were found where the woman was raped and strangled (Hallo Deutschland, 01.06.2022, 00:12:46), or where the autopsy by the forensic scientists came to the result that a woman was still alive while the perpetrator brutally raped her (Hallo Deutschland, 17.05.2022, 00:11:49).

Other aspects of negativity were found regarding the representation of especially helpless victims, and/or where circumstances of the case were dramatic or tragic, like the death of a woman who was nine months pregnant (Hallo Deutschland, 03.01.2023, 00:27:11). This can be seen as a reference to emotion (Caple & Bednarek, 2012), because not only was the woman killed in the act, but also her unborn baby.

Furthermore, the words chosen to describe the case are relevant here. The analyzed brutality of the crimes can also be seen in the use of language. In the description of the acts, the word ‘brutal’ or ‘brutality’ is used to describe what happened to the women. This puts emphasis on the cruelty of the crime and is a reference to emotion because the suffering of the victim is underlined (Caple & Bednarek, 2012).

By using evaluative language, the negative aspects of the case are highlighted (Caple & Bednarek, 2012). Here it is for example described how two women became the victims of a ‘cold-blooded murderer’ (Hallo Deutschland, 03.02.2023, 00:30:04), or that the crime

committed was cruel (Hallo Deutschland, 16.06.2022, 00:22:42). The use of the words ‘cold-blooded murderer’ and ‘cruel crimes’ are linguistic devices to represent the case in a particularly negative way.

Additionally, only two forms of femicide were found in the analyzed material. These are on the one hand the murder of women resulting from intimate partner violence (Laurent et al., 2013), and on the other hand the torture and misogynist slaying of women (Laurent et al., 2013), here, the sexually motivated murder of women. Only women who fell victim to one of the two crimes are represented, which indicates that these two forms of femicide are deemed newsworthy. Especially the sexually motivated murder of a woman presents negative aspects of the story because these women are mostly random victims, where the perpetrator unexpectedly ended their lives by committing a brutal crime.

Furthermore, the theme of ‘Personalization’ is an important aspect regarding the newsworthiness of victims that are represented in the news magazine ‘Hallo Deutschland’. Many aspects were found that describe ways in which the victim is made more approachable to the audience, by verbally and visually representing the victim as an individual. In the case of ‘Hallo Deutschland’, personalization takes place by calling the victims by their first name or nickname, by showing pictures of them, their homes, and their personal belongings, and by describing their past, their relationships that are relevant to the case and the future they dreamed of. The women are described as being happy with their lives and happy in their relationships (Hallo Deutschland, 18.04.2023, 00:29:26), or as positively looking at their future, because they are looking forward to having their child (Hallo Deutschland, 03.01.2023, 00:32:11). These are aspects of the cases that make the victims more approachable and give them a human connotation (Caple & Bednarek, 2016). Furthermore, looking at these aspects of personalizing the victim, a connection to the first theme of ‘negativity’ can be made since the women are described as having a happy life, which is then ended by the crime committed. This is a negative aspect because by giving more information regarding the victim, the tragedy of the case is highlighted by first describing something positive, before reaching a negative ending.

Another important aspect of personalization to look at is the age of the victims represented in the material. When looking at the age of the victims, it is important to mention that some cases were broadcast several times, like the case of Alexandra R. (Hallo Deutschland, 19.12.2022; Hallo Deutschland, 20.12.2022). These victims were not counted multiple times, meaning that the victims and not the broadcasts of the cases were evaluated. For three victims, no information regarding their age was given. Out of 46 total victims that were

represented in the analyzed material, 14 victims were between the ages of 10-19 years old, 15 victims were between the ages of 20-29 years old, and ten victims were between the ages of 30-39 years old. The smallest age groups of victims was one victim between the ages of 0-9 years old, five victims between the ages of 40-49, and one victim above the age of 50 years old. The most prevalent group is the age group of 10–30-year-old victims, which accounted for 29 of the 46 total victims. This means that almost 2/3 of the victims represented in the analyzed material are between the age of 10-30 years old. This last number can be connected to the term ‘the young woman’ that was used several times in the news reports as a word to refer to the victim. This finding correlates with the finding of Hill (2020), who conducted research on the representation of women in movies and television. According to her findings, women are predominantly represented when they are white, young, and heterosexual (Hill, 2020). There can be no evaluation made on the ethnicity and sexuality of the victims analyzed in this research since this information is not thoroughly provided in the material. But the young age of the victims and the use of the words ‘the young woman’ clearly stand out and support the findings of Hill (2020). Mostly representing young women can add to the picture of the ideal victim and the creation or reinforcement of stereotypes (Esteal et al., 2015). This can lead to victims, who are not part of this age group, being characterized as not credible (Esteal et al., 2015).

The last relevant sub-theme of the theme ‘Who is represented?’ is ‘Audio-visuals’. Several forms of audio-visuals were found. First, the news reports made use of blurred and unblurred pictures of the victims, which can be connected to the sub-theme ‘Personalization’. Showing portraits of the victim makes them more approachable because a more complete picture of the victim is created, supporting the humane side of the victim (Caple & Bednarek, 2016). Additionally, pictures of the locations where the dead body of the victim was found were shown (e.g., Hallo Deutschland, 03.06.2022, 00:18:37; Hallo Deutschland, 03.02.2023, 00:35:58). These arresting photographs (Harcup & O’Neill, 2017) support the story and create a clearer picture of what happened to the victim, which can be interpreted as this material making them more newsworthy. As already mentioned, when discussing the sub-theme ‘Negativity’, blurred pictures of the dead body of the victim (e.g., Hallo Deutschland, 10.08.2022, 00:05:55; Hallo Deutschland, 27.03.2022, 00:24:35), or pictures where the dead body of the victim is covered (e.g., Hallo Deutschland, 24.08.2022, 00:16:28; Hallo Deutschland, 29.06.2022, 00:07:42) are shown. The availability of these voyeuristic and striking photographs supports the newsworthiness of these victims (Harcup & O’Neill, 2017).

On the other hand, there are less prevalent news values, which are ‘Timeliness’ (Caple & Bednarek, 2016), ‘Novelty/Surprise’ (Caple & Bednarek, 2016; Harcup & O’Neill, 2017), and ‘Proximity’ (Caple & Bednarek, 2016). The sub-theme ‘Timeliness’ could be connected to aspects of the material that represented cases that were cold cases and/or hard to solve. These can be seen as newsworthy, since they either stretched for a long period of time and might be known by the audience already, or they are still ongoing (Caple & Bednarek, 2016). These cases did not appear often in the material and are therefore not as relevant as the sub-themes that were previously described.

Furthermore, a few cases and victims are represented that fall under the sub-theme ‘Novelty/Surprise’ (Caple & Bednarek, 2016; Harcup & O’Neill, 2017). Some cases were solved with the use of then-new technology, like the use of a polaroid camera (Hallo Deutschland, 08.09.2022, 00:27:57) Additionally, cases were found that feature bizarre or special aspects that might make them more newsworthy. Lastly, victims were represented whose cases take a sudden twist and have an unexpected conclusion.

The last sub-theme is ‘Proximity’ where the audience was invited to be part of a public investigation or a part of solving a case. Furthermore, the hometown of the victims was mentioned, which can create a geographical nearness of the case (Caple & Bednarek, 2016).

The stories of victims represented in the material show especially negative overtones (Harcup & O’Neill, 2017).

The victims represented by the news magazine ‘Hallo Deutschland’ tend to be between 10-30 years old, they either fell victim to the deadly consequences of intimate partner violence or sexually motivated murders and died in a particularly brutal and/or shocking way. Additionally, the stories contain aspects that humanize the victims, which makes them more approachable, since they are shown from a humane angle (Caple & Bednarek, 2016). Lastly, these stories contain striking audio-visuals that add value to the reported stories (Eilders, 2006). Stories of victims that show innovative elements or surprising aspects are less relevant since they did not appear frequently in the analyzed material. Also, victims of unsolved cases or aspects of cultural or geographic proximity were not found to be as newsworthy as the victims described before.

## **4.2 Theme 2: ‘Objective Representation of the Victim’**

The second theme is concerned with how the victims are represented. ‘Objective representation of the victim’ hosts two sub-themes, which generally describe the victim

without any added interpretation from others. These sub-themes are the 'general description of the victim' and 'victim protection'.

The 'general description of the victim' is concerned with facts like the victim's age, name, home, and job. Providing objective and factual information regarding the victim can result in the emergence of feelings of empathy toward the victim (Meltzer, 2021). An example of a general description of the victim is "Rebecca W. is 24 years old. She has a little son and lives with her fiancée in Aschaffenburg. Rebecca is nine months pregnant when he reports her missing." (Hallo Deutschland, 03.01.2023, 00:27:05) and "Silvia L. was 23 years old. She lived with her parents here in Mainz Bretzenheim. She studied English and sports at the university, which was not far from her parents' home. In addition, she earned some extra money as an instructor at the university." (Hallo Deutschland, 16.06.2022, 00:17:22). Here the victims are described by mentioning details about their personal lives that are factual and not interpreted by others. The victims are described by stating their name, age, and where they live. Furthermore, information regarding their living situation, the people in their lives, and their occupations is given. According to Meltzer (2021), the representation of victims of femicide by giving relevant information can create feelings of empathy toward the victims and make them more approachable. This reduces the chances of secondary victimization (Meltzer, 2021).

Furthermore, facts about the course of action and information gathered during the criminal investigation by the police were added. Information on the victim's relationship with her partner before the crime was committed was given. For instance, it is explained that one of the victims had fled from her ex-husband together with her son (Hallo Deutschland, 01.11.2022, 00:05:28). Providing the information that the victim tried to escape the abusive relationship, is a positive description because the victim is not blamed for her own victimization (Richards et al., 2011).

In the material, a case was found where the violence in the relationship that went on for years was described and information regarding her injuries and the manipulation by the partner was given (Hallo Deutschland, 10.06.2022, 00:07:44). This is an objective representation of the life the victim has led before she was murdered resulting from intimate partner violence. Giving factual information regarding the abusive relationship of the victim before the crime is crucial because by doing so the crime is not represented as being unexpected or individual (Geiger, 2008).

Furthermore, another aspect of factual information provided in the reports is information on what the victim was doing shortly before the crime was committed. This is also part of the

reconstruction of the event by relying on evidence, which only provides objective information, without any assumptions being made. For example, where the victim was on which day, at what time, and what she was doing, are described. In the material, the victims are described as for example spending time with friends (Hallo Deutschland, 25.04.2022, 00:12:30), or going for a run (Hallo Deutschland, 17.05.2022, 00:07:05). Representing the victims by providing this kind of information might also make the victim more approachable and prevent secondary victimization (Meltzer, 2021).

Additionally, a visual aspect of the general description of the victim is found, in the inclusion of a missing person's report. Since these reports are designed by the police and are aimed at finding the victim, only factual information is presented. These reports show one or more pictures of the victim and provide information on when the victim was last seen, what the victim was wearing, and general information like age and appearance. Several of these reports were shown throughout the material, like in the report about Iryna U. (Hallo Deutschland, 27.05.2022, 00:24:46) or the report about Zakia M. (Hallo Deutschland, 27.03.2023, 00:28:04). These pictures of missing person's reports are not blaming the victim since these are sources that accurately represent her (Richards et al., 2011). No assumptions about the victim are made because she is objectively described.

The second sub-theme is 'Victim protection', describing aspects in the analyzed material that were used to protect the identity of the victim and the victim's family. A common way the victims are represented to protect their identity is the use of pictures where the face of the victim was blurred and the use of the first name and the initial of the last name of the victim. Using the first name and the initial of the victim's last name is a second approach to protect the victim's identity. Most of the victims, whose full name was mentioned in the reports, are victims of unsolved cases. This may be an attempt to facilitate solving these cases with the help of the public.

A tension between these two sub-themes was detected. On the one hand, the 'General description of the victim' helps to reduce secondary victimization through victim blaming, because by giving this information, the victims are more approachable (Meltzer, 2021). On the other hand, it must be evaluated which information is given to protect the victim (Heimann, 2009). This complicates the positive representation of victims of femicide because these details may serve to humanize the victims in the eyes of the audience (Meltzer, 2021).

The objective representation of the victim can be seen as a positive form of representation. This form of representation of the victims provides relevant and factual information without blaming the victim since no blaming language or sources that inaccurately represent the

victim are used (Richards et al., 2011). By providing relevant information that leaves no room for interpretation, the victim is made more approachable, and feelings of empathy might be created toward the victim (Meltzer, 2021). Furthermore, providing factual, objective information regarding the relationship the victim had with her partner prevents the individualization of the cases and what happened to the victim (Geiger, 2008). By representing the victims in this manner, no direct or indirect tactics of victim blaming were found (Taylor, 2009).

### **4.3 Theme 3: ‘Subjective Representation of the Victim’**

The third theme is the ‘Subjective representation of the victim’. It is closely connected to the second theme ‘objective representation of the victim’ insofar as it focuses on how the victims are represented. Contrary to the second theme, in the third theme, the victims are subjectively represented through others, instead of an objective description of the victim. Additionally, most of the aspects are interpretations and opinions about the victim from people other than the victim. These are either family members, the investigators of the case, the perpetrator, or witnesses. This theme hosts four sub-themes, which are ‘Outside interpretation’, ‘Emotionalization’, and ‘Personalization’.

#### ***4.3.1 Sub-theme 1: ‘Outside Interpretation’***

The sub-theme ‘Outside interpretation’ describes the representation of the victim as influenced by the opinion of others. This type of representation can be linked to consequences like victim blaming and the individualization of the femicide cases and their victims. Additionally, negative representations of the victim could be found, by inaccurately describing the victim.

The first aspect that was found regarding the sub-theme ‘Outside interpretation’ is the description of the victim by interviewed investigators. In one report, the personality of the victim was described as a very clean girl who is shy and not interested in sexual contact. (Hallo Deutschland, 01.06.2022, 00:20:38). On the one hand, this way of reporting can lead to stereotypes being reinforced that support the idea of an ideal victim (Estévez et al., 2015), because the victim is represented as innocent (Greer, 2007, as cited in Slakoff, 2019). This classification might lead to only certain groups of people being represented (Gillespie et al., 2013). On the other hand, these are positive adjectives used to describe the victim and not blame her for her own victimization (Taylor, 2009).

Another way of describing the victim that was found in the material is the different terms used to verbally represent the victim. As already described in Chapter 4.1, almost 2/3 of the victims represented in the analyzed material are between the ages of 10-30 years old. Next to calling the victims 'the young woman', it was also found that the victims were often referred to by their age, for example "the 20-year-old" (Hallo Deutschland, 08.02.2023, 00:26:17), "A 23-year-old student" (Hallo Deutschland, 16.06.2022, 00:24:29), or "the 17-year-old" (Hallo Deutschland, 24.03.2023, 00:19:39). By repeatedly mentioning the victim's age, a picture of an 'ideal victim' might be created and stereotypes are reinforced (Easteal et al., 2015), because the murders of these young women are highlighted (Gillespie et al., 2013).

Another aspect where the victim is represented through the eyes of another person is where assumptions about the victim were made. A report was found where it was assumed that the victim probably voluntarily left with the perpetrator (Hallo Deutschland, 03.01.2023, 00:36:02), which makes assumptions about the victim's behavior. These assumptions could not be proven. This statement suggests that the victim put herself into a fatal situation because she failed to protect herself (Richards et al., 2011). This can be interpreted as direct victim blaming because behaviors are ascribed to the victim that do not contribute to explaining why the victim was murdered (Taylor, 2009). Another assumption about a victim that was found in the material is the case of a girl that was a judoka who took part in competitions, and it could not be expected that something could happen to her (Hallo Deutschland, 31.03.2023, 00:03:00). Here it is assumed that she should have been able to defend herself, but failed to do so, which is a form of victim blaming (Richards et al., 2011). Representing the victim as vulnerable, the stereotype of women not being able to defend themselves might be reinforced (Custers & Van den Bulck, 2013). In both cases, the blame is partly attributed to the victim, which may justify the crime to some degree (Gracia, 2014).

Other cases where assumptions about the victim were made concern murders resulting from intimate partner violence, where the marriage or relationship of the victim was described to the police by others. Here, the marriage of the victim is for example described as being happy by others (Hallo Deutschland, 13.05.2022, 00:18:31) or as impeccable to many outsiders (Hallo Deutschland, 14.03.2023, 00:07:29). Here, superficial information regarding the background of the victim's relationship is given (Geiger, 2008). It also suggests that these cases are individual and unexpected, and cover up the structural violence against women (Meltzer, 2021). The last quote is then followed by the statement: "The apparent picture book marriage gets first cracks, as the service technician compensates professional stress with alcohol and women. But the wife, too, was unfaithful." (Hallo Deutschland, 14.03.2023,



00:07:51). In this statement, several problematic representations of the victim can be found. When looking at the marriage of the victim and her partner it is assumed that the marriage was perfect and then suddenly changed. This individualizes the case because it is represented as being unexpected and singular (Meltzer, 2021). Additionally, a direct tactic of victim blaming was identified. The description that the victim had an affair with someone else is a direct tactic of victim blaming (Taylor, 2009). Mentioning this fact about the relationship between the victim and her partner, partially attributes the blame for the murder to the victim which can be interpreted as a justification for the violence that followed (Gracia, 2014). The description of the failing relationship and the partial responsibility of the victim can lead to excusing the perpetrator for the committed crime since it might be considered to be understandable or deserved (Gracia, 2014).

What these cases of victim blaming have in common is the use of sources that inaccurately describe the victim (Richards et al., 2011). In the first two examples, the assumptions about the victims are made by the police, who did not know the victim personally. In the other examples, the victims were inaccurately described by neighbors and friends, who might have known the victim but had no insights into her relationship with her partner.

Closely related to the assumptions about the victim made by the police, neighbors or friends is the representation of the victim through the perpetrator, which is a source that inaccurately describes the victim (Richards et al., 2011). This is done by either repeating statements about the crime made by the perpetrator or describing the perpetrator's motive for the crime. The first statement that stands out is the repetition of a statement made by the perpetrator in one report.

“She wanted to have sex. It had been very hot back then. She was pregnant and he supposedly then felt that she has a certain power over him again and there was a rage approaching in him. And finally, as he described it, both came to fall. And in the context of this fall, he would have finally reached to her neck and pressed. And then later he would have completed the act with a cable tie.” (Hallo Deutschland, 03.01.2023, 00:36:20)

The repetition of what the perpetrator said regarding the crime is a way of justifying the murder because the blame is partly attributed to the victim (Gracia, 2014). The perpetrator is a source that inaccurately represents the victim because he is trying to defend himself, by blaming the victim (Richards et al., 2011). In another report, it is described how the victim and the perpetrator started fighting and the victim pushed and insulted him (Hallo Deutschland, 23.09.2022, 00:14:34). Here part of the blame is also attributed to the victim caused by the perpetrator trying to defend himself (Gracia, 2014). This inaccurate description

of intimate partner violence by blaming both parties is an indirect tactic of victim blaming (Taylor, 2009).

Victim blaming can also be found when looking at statements about the perpetrator's motive for the crime. In one case it is described that the perpetrator killed his ex-girlfriend because she did not love him anymore and he still did (Hallo Deutschland, 03.04.2023, 00:07:34). This partly blames the victim for her own murder because she did not share the same feelings as the perpetrator and separated from him (Gracia, 2014). Another example is the statement "Because she wanted to part with him, she had to die" (Hallo Deutschland, 06.07.2022, 00:05:54). This suggests that since the victim broke up with the perpetrator, it is partly her fault that she had to die. This way of representing the victim suggests an excuse for the perpetrator to commit a crime and might be interpreted as a justification for the violence, by partly blaming the victim (Gracia, 2014). Additionally, the victim is blamed through blaming language by stating that she had to die (Richards et al., 2011). This suggests that there was no other way to solve the problem than killing the victim.

Statements such as "To friends, he also said things like 'If I can't have her, then no one can have her'" (Hallo Deutschland, 08.02.2023, 00:31:13), suggest an objectification of the victim and a gender hierarchy (Cann, 2020), where the male partner can make decisions about the female victim.

The last relevant aspect of the sub-theme 'Outside interpretation' is the reaction of the public regarding the crime. Here, either interviews with neighbors and witnesses or comments by the tv-hosts regarding the reaction of the public towards the crime are reported. Looking at the interviews with neighbors and victims, they state that they are shocked by the crime and that it happened in their neighborhood (Hallo Deutschland, 01.11.2022, 00:05:15).

Additionally, one witness describes their neighborhood as quiet and states that they could have never imagined that something like this would happen there (Hallo Deutschland, 06.07.2022, 00:06:41). Despite the fact that these witness reports do not appear frequently in the analyzed reports, they remain relevant. These statements present the violence against the victims as unexpected and individual (Meltzer, 2021). By stating the surprise about femicide occurring in this neighborhood, stereotypes about crimes only happening in 'bad' neighborhoods may be reinforced (Slakoff & Brennan, 2017).

However, there was also a positive aspect regarding the reporting of public reactions, where a protest against violence against women was described. This protest arose due to a femicide case (Hallo Deutschland, 05.10.2022, 00:20:45). This aspect represents the victim not only as a singular victim but as a part of a societal problem (Meltzer, 2021).

### **4.3.2 Sub-theme 2: ‘Emotionalization’**

The next sub-theme is ‘Emotionalization’, describing the emotionalized representation of victims of femicide. This sub-theme can be split into positive emotionalization and negative emotionalization. The positive emotionalization can be found in pictures that show a place created to remember the victim, but also in the emotions of people close to the victim. In some of the reports, pictures of the victim’s grave (Hallo Deutschland, 27.03.2023, 00:34:16) or markings of the place where the victim was murdered are shown (Hallo Deutschland, 06.09.2022, 00:01:46; Hallo Deutschland, 03.06.2022, 00:28:39). These are positive representations of the victim since they are emotional pictures that highlight that the victim is missed.

Furthermore, in some reports emotions like hope and sympathy are conveyed. These represent the victim in a positive way since it is shown that her murder affects her environment and the investigators. Reports involving the emotion of hope are for example the case of Maria B., where her twin sister describes how she was affected by her disappearance (Hallo Deutschland, 25.08.2022). Also, in the report on the case of Claudia R., it is described how her family and the investigators still hope that the case will be solved one day (Hallo Deutschland, 21.04.2023). This represents the victim as being relevant and feelings of empathy towards the victim and her family can be created (Meltzer, 2021).

Reports that might create sympathetic reactions towards the victim are the murder of Seckin C., where her brother describes how her death affected him and ended his childhood. He also thanks the investigators for closing the investigation. (Hallo Deutschland, 22.03.2023, 00:10:13). Another example is the case of Zakia M., where the investigators describe that they will not give up until they have found the murderer of the woman who died while searching for happiness (Hallo Deutschland, 27.03.2023, 00:36:12). It is shown that to this day the investigators are trying to solve her case and that they care about her, which highlights the relevance of her as an individual. Additionally, the victim is represented in an emotionalized and humane manner, making her more approachable (Meltzer, 2021).

The negative emotionalization of the victim can be found in the special wording used to describe the crime in the material, such as the use of the words ‘Beziehungstat’ (relationship act) and ‘Ehestreit’ (marital conflict), but also in words like ‘tragic’ or ‘dramatic’.

The use of the terms mentioned above was not found regularly. But the few cases where these descriptions were found are relevant. These terms were found in a report describing the crime as “[...] the dramatic end of a violent marital conflict [Ehestreit].” (Hallo Deutschland, 08.02.2023, 00:06:04), and the description of Ayleen's ‘tragic’ death (Hallo Deutschland,

06.09.2022, 00:02:05). According to Meltzer (2021), the use of the terms 'drama' and 'tragedy' suggests that the represented cases are unexpected and singular, which results in obscuring the structural violence against women. Also, the use of the word 'Ehestreit' [marital conflict] presents a distorted picture of femicide (Geiger, 2008) since conflicts between partners normally do not result in the death of the woman.

Another way of emotionalizing the victim is by showing voyeuristic pictures, like the blurred corpse of the victim (e.g., Hallo Deutschland, 10.08.2022, 00:05:55; Hallo Deutschland, 27.03.2022, 00:24:35) or the covered corpse of the victim (e.g., Hallo Deutschland, 24.08.2022, 00:16:28; Hallo Deutschland, 29.06.2022, 00:07:42). These pictures do not contribute to representing the victim or to sufficiently describing the case because they do not add relevant information about the crime.

#### ***4.3.3 Sub-theme 3: 'Personalization'***

The third sub-theme 'Personalization' was already mentioned as a sub-theme of the theme 'Who is represented?'. Here, 'Personalization' is concerned with how the victim is represented, whereas the other sub-theme is concerned with who is represented. Positive and negative effects in the representation of victims of femicide regarding personalization were found.

Positive aspects are mentioning the victim's past and future and the description of the victim's relationships. By describing the relationships the victim had, especially with her partner, the victim might appear to be more approachable (Meltzer, 2021). Here statements like "The living conditions of the victim were certainly not easy and were marked by the husband's religion, the defendant, which were tightly knit, Islamic conditions." (Hallo Deutschland, 06.07.2022, 00:07:33) and "Also in the relationship with Susann S. the 24-year-old became violent. The on-off relationship was an ordeal from which the young woman could hardly escape." (Hallo Deutschland, 10.06.2022, 00:07:22) show the complex relationship the victim had with her partner. By providing this information, the chances of victim blaming are reduced, because the perpetrator is directly blamed without leaving much room for interpretation. The description of the victim's intimate relationships is relevant, especially in intimate partner violence cases, since distorted and superficial descriptions of the relationship tend to blame the victim for her own victimization, and stereotypes about intimate partner violence might be supported (Richards et al., 2014). A detailed description of the victim, especially of her intimate relationship can lead to the audience being more able to detect violence against women in their own environment (Geiger, 2008). Additionally, the

victim is described in a personalized way by talking about her past and the future she planned for herself. By sensitively reporting on the victim's past and future a complete picture of the victim can be created, preventing additional harm of the victim through victim blaming (Richards et al., 2014).

Another aspect of personalizing the victim is the use of the victim's name. Especially the use of the victim's first name or the use of the victim's nickname, which can lead to the personalization of the victim and make them more approachable (Meltzer, 2021). In the reports, the use of the first name of the victim stood out. This represents the victim as someone close and well-known.

However, negative aspects of personalization were also found. Examples in the reports, where pictures of the victim's home or her personal belongings are shown, were found. These pictures do not contribute to the positive representation of the victim, unless the case is unsolved, and the pictures of the victim's personal belongings are shown as a part of a public investigation. Especially showing pictures of the victim's home does not make the victim more approachable but can be seen as a violation of the victim's privacy (Hallo Deutschland, 24.03.2023, 00:23:45). They might even be a threat to the protection of the victim's identity and of her family's because they do not contribute to the accurate description of the case and to her representation. Finding these voyeuristic pictures coincides with the findings of Geiger (2008), who also describes the representation of victims of femicide through voyeuristic pictures.

Another aspect that was found when looking at the personalization of the victim is the subjective description of the victim's appearance. The appearance of the victim was only rarely described. Here, one victim was described as blonde (Hallo Deutschland, 13.06.2022, 00:19:39), one as beautiful (Hallo Deutschland, 15.03.2023, 00:19:01), and one as very pregnant (Hallo Deutschland, 19.12.2022, 00:00:07). According to Geiger (2008) most media outlets only mention the victim's clothes and appearance. This does not apply to the material analyzed in this research. Not mentioning the victim's looks prevents the victim from being described in a stereotypical way and no image of an ideal victim is supported (Easteal et al., 2015).

#### ***4.3.4 Discussion 'Subjective Representation of the Victim'***

Looking at the theme of 'Subjective representation', various negative ways of representing the victims of femicide were found. In the sub-theme of 'Outside interpretation', the victims were blamed for their own murder through the direct victim-blaming tactics of attributing

behaviors to the victim (Taylor, 2009), through assumptions made about them. Furthermore, the victim's actions with other men were described, which partially puts the blame on her (Taylor, 2009). Additionally, the indirect tactic of partially blaming the victim for her victimization by blaming both parties for previous intimate partner violence was found (Taylor, 2009). Another aspect that was found was the tendency to highlight the age of the victims and by doing so support myths and stereotypes of what the ideal victim should be like (Easteal et al., 2015). The murder of victims was represented as individual and singular occurrences by using inaccurate sources to describe the relationship between the victim and her partner (Meltzer, 2021). The representation of the victims through others was found to blame the victim for her own murder, create the picture of an ideal victim and individualize the cases of intimate partner violence. This was done by using sources that inaccurately represent the victim (Richards et al., 2011). Moreover, the picture of an ideal victim might be supported because of describing the neighborhood the victim lived in (Slakoff & Brennan, 2017), which may also lead to the individualization of her case (Meltzer, 2021).

Negative representations of the victims that were found in the sub-theme 'Emotionalization' were the individualization of the cases by using terms that inaccurately describe the crime (Meltzer, 2021). The negative aspects of personalization that were found during the analysis are the use of voyeuristic pictures in the reports. Showing these pictures can be seen as violence against the victim's privacy and are not relevant to the representation of the victim or her case. This was also found when representing the victim in a personalized manner through pictures showing their personal belongings or their home. Additionally, the victims were represented in an individualized manner using terms that inaccurately describe the case (Meltzer, 2021). Furthermore, negative aspects in the personalization of the victim were found when superficially describing the victim's appearance (Geiger, 2008), which might lead to the representation of an ideal victim (Gillespie et al., 2013).

On the contrary, when looking at the sub-themes of 'Emotionalization' and 'Personalization', positive forms of representation were found. Here, the victims are represented as human beings that are missed by their relatives and are important to the investigators, especially if their cases remain unsolved. Furthermore, representing the victims in a personalized manner, by providing relevant information regarding the victim, might make them more approachable (Meltzer, 2021). This is also done by calling the victim by her first name, or by describing their past and planned future. Another positive finding is the limited use of adjectives to describe the victim's appearance, which does not enhance the picture of an ideal victim (Easteal et al., 2015).

What was scarcely found in the material was the description of victims through blaming adjectives (Taylor, 2009). Furthermore, general stereotypes of women were rarely found. The victims were not represented as being faithful (Belknap, 2007 as cited in Richards et al., 2011), obedient (Belknap, 2007 as cited in Richards et al., 2011), or passive (Alkan, 2016). Also, no references to women being dependent on men (Alkan, 2016), or domesticity and adornment (Hill, 2020) were found. Furthermore, the victims were not sexually objectified (Prieler, 2020). Looking at the tactics of victim blaming, the victims were not indirectly blamed for their own victimization because of their financial problems, their physical or psychological health problems (Taylor, 2009), or their alcohol and/or drug abuse (Richards et al., 2011).

## 5. Conclusion

The aim of this research was to analyze how the German news magazine ‘Hallo Deutschland’ represents victims of femicide. The way victims of femicide are represented by the media creates a certain picture, which can lead to the audience misunderstanding the problem (Meltzer, 2022). A cohesive representation of these victims is a relevant factor for disintegrating taboos about violence against women (Meltzer, 2022). Representing victims by repeating stereotypes might have consequences such as prejudice and discrimination (Prieler, 2020). In order to research the representation of victims of femicide, the research question of ‘How does the German audio-visual news magazine ‘Hallo Deutschland’ represent victims of femicide’ was formulated.

To answer this question, first, it was determined which victims are represented by ‘Hallo Deutschland’ by looking at their newsworthiness. It was found that the victims represented in the analyzed material are predominantly young and are victims of either a murder resulting from intimate partner violence or were killed by a sexually motivated perpetrator. Additionally, these victims mostly died in an especially brutal or shocking way, and value might be added by showing striking audio-visual material (Eilders, 2006). Last but not least, the stories of these victims contain aspects that make them approachable, because they can be shown from a humane and emotionalized angle (Caple & Bednarek, 2016). The news values ascribed to these findings are ‘Negativity/Bad news’ (Caple & Bednarek, 2016; Harcup & O’Neill, 2017), ‘Personalization’ (Caple & Bednarek, 2016), and ‘Audio-visuals’ (Harcup & O’Neill, 2017). The news values that were not deemed as relevant are ‘Timeliness’ (Caple & Bednarek, 2016), ‘Novelty/Surprise’ (Caple & Bednarek, 2016; Harcup & O’Neill, 2017), and ‘Proximity’ (Caple & Bednarek, 2016).

The victims deemed newsworthy are represented through two different approaches, namely objective representation and subjective representation. Firstly, the victims are represented by providing factual information without the use of blaming language or sources that inaccurately describe the victim (Richards et al., 2011). Moreover, relevant information regarding the victim’s intimate relationship is given. This prevents their cases from being represented as individual and singular (Geiger, 2008). Furthermore, by providing objective and relevant information regarding the victim, the victim is not blamed for her own victimization through the interpretation of others and is made more approachable (Meltzer, 2021). Additionally, the identity of the victims is protected by predominantly using the victim's first name and the initial of their last name, and by blurring their face in shown



pictures (Heimann, 2009). The objective representation of victims of femicide by 'Hallo Deutschland' was found to be a positive manner of representing them.

Another approach through which the victims were represented by 'Hallo Deutschland' is subjective representation. Here, victims were represented through the eyes of others, where instances of the creation of an ideal victim, victim blaming, and the individualization of their cases was found. The creation of an ideal victim was found in the description of the neighborhood the victim lived in (Slakoff & Brennan, 2017) and highlighting the age of the victim, which might support myths and stereotypes (Easteal et al., 2015). Furthermore, some victims' appearance was superficially described (Geiger, 2008), which might also support the picture of an ideal victim (Gillespie et al., 2013).

Victim blaming was especially found by representing the victim through the interpretation of others. Here, assumptions about the victims were made and behaviors were attributed to them (Taylor, 2009). The victim was also blamed by describing her actions with other men and by partially blaming her for previous intimate partner violence (Taylor, 2009). The individualization of the victim and her case were found by using sources, that inaccurately describe the victim's relationship with her partner and terms that inaccurately describe her case (Meltzer, 2021). It was also found that the victims are represented by voyeuristic pictures which do not contribute to accurately describing the victim (Geiger, 2008). This can also be interpreted as attacking the privacy of the victim (Heimann, 2009). It was found to be problematic when the victims are represented by sources that inaccurately describe them, which aligns with the research of Richards et al. (2011) and Taylor (2009).

Nevertheless, subjectively representing the victims was also found to have positive aspects. The victims are represented in a humane manner by personalizing them and providing relevant information, which might make them more approachable (Meltzer, 2021). This was done by describing the victim's past and the future she envisioned for herself. Additionally, the victims were represented in an emotionalized manner by showing how much they are missed by their families and that they are important to the investigators. This also aligns with the findings of Meltzer et al. (2021).

The German audio-visual news magazine 'Hallo Deutschland' represents victims of femicide on the one hand positively through objective representation and partly also through subjective representation. On the other hand, some aspects of subjectively describing victims of femicide are deemed problematic.

There were two theories used in this research. Firstly, news value theory was used to find out which victims are represented by analyzing which news values can be found in the

material it can be interpreted which victims are deemed newsworthy by the news magazine 'Hallo Deutschland'. For this research an individual set of news values was created, to suit this research and to help answer the research question. This was done by combining the two contemporary approaches of Caple and Bednarek (2016) and Harcup and O'Neill (2017). The second theory used was the theory of representation to look at how the victims are represented in the analyzed material. Here the focus was on the representation of women in the media in general and the representation of victims of femicide in the media. These theories proved to be suitable for this research because by looking at the analyzed material through the lens of these theories, the research question could be answered.

The method used to analyze the representation of femicide victims was thematic analysis. The use of this method was appropriate to answer the research question because it is a bottom-up approach that enables the researcher to provide insights into patterns and meaning in the analyzed data (Braun & Clarke 2012). This method enabled the researcher to code the data inductively, by generally coding aspects of the analyzed material that might be relevant to answer the research question. By grouping these codes into sub-themes and themes, patterns throughout the data and repetitive themes could be found. The sub-themes and themes could be then interpreted with the use of the theoretical framework. The inductive thematic analysis enabled the researcher to verify already existing theories about the representation of victims of femicide, but also to stay open to new findings.

A limitation can be found in the focus on a single German news station. By analyzing how the German news magazine 'Hallo Deutschland' represents victims of femicide, the results can only be related to this news magazine and not the representation of victims of femicide in other German audio-visual media. The decision to conduct a case study in this research mostly results from the limited access to news in German news archives. Most German news stations do not publish their news broadcasts in publicly accessible archives. 'Hallo Deutschland' only publishes its news reports for one year, which limits the sample for this research to this time span.

Since this research also only focuses on one type of media, namely an audio-visual news magazine, focusing on multiple types of media, like newspapers, radio broadcasts, or podcasts, might have provided a more nuanced overview of the representation of victims of femicide throughout the German media landscape.

Since this research only focused on the news magazine 'Hallo Deutschland', future research is desirable regarding other German televised news outlets. Additionally, it might be important to look at other types of media in Germany since this research only focused on

televised news, and previous research focused on newspaper articles (Meltzer, 2021; Teichgräber & Mußlick, 2021). Here, the representation of femicide victims in audio-based media such as radio broadcasts or podcasts might be relevant to analyze.

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## Appendix A

**Table A1:**

*References analyzed videos 'Hallo Deutschland' by ZDF; Including publication date, time code of report, and link.*

<b>Date</b>	<b>Time Code of Report</b>	<b>Link</b>
25.04.2022	00:11:16-00:20:02	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-25-april-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-25-april-2022-100.html</a>
26.04.2022	00:05:16-00:07:45	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-26-april-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-26-april-2022-100.html</a>
28.04.2022	00:09:56-00:19:32	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-28-april-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-28-april-2022-100.html</a>
29.04.2022	00:08:13-00:09:55	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-29-april-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-29-april-2022-100.html</a>
13.05.2022	00:17:09-00:26:33	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-13-mai-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-13-mai-2022-100.html</a>
17.05.2022	00:06:03-00:14:15	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-17-mai-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-17-mai-2022-100.html</a>
27.05.2022	00:20:11-00:33:03	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-27-mai-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-27-mai-2022-100.html</a>
01.06.2022	00:12:03-00:22:15	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-1-juni-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-1-juni-2022-100.html</a>
03.06.2022	00:16:27-00:28:50	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-3-juni-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-3-juni-2022-100.html</a>
08.06.2022	00:16:01-00:24:45	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-8-juni-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-8-juni-2022-100.html</a>
10.06.2022	00:05:30-00:08:14	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-10-juni-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-10-juni-2022-100.html</a>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Time Code of Report</b>	<b>Link</b>
16.06.2022	00:16:02-00:24:36	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-16-juni-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-16-juni-2022-100.html</a>
29.06.2022	00:06:21-00:09:16	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-29-juni-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-29-juni-2022-100.html</a>
06.07.2022	00:05:54-00:08:10	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-6-juli-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-6-juli-2022-100.html</a>
12.07.2022	00:08:12-00:09:26	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-12-juli-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-12-juli-2022-100.html</a>
13.07.2022	00:16:38-00:24:01	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-13-juli-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-13-juli-2022-100.html</a>
29.07.2022	00:00:06-00:02:37	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-29-juli-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-29-juli-2022-100.html</a>
01.08.2022	00:00:32-00:03:22	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-1-august-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-1-august-2022-100.html</a>
10.08.2022	00:05:20-00:16:06	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-10-august-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-10-august-2022-100.html</a>
24.08.2022	00:14:47-00:26:08	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-24-august-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-24-august-2022-100.html</a>
25.08.2022	00:27:39-00:34:52	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-25-august-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-25-august-2022-100.html</a>
06.09.2022	00:00:05-00:02:12	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-6-september-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-6-september-2022-100.html</a>
08.09.2022	00:25:06-00:32:54	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-8-september-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-8-september-2022-100.html</a>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Time Code of Report</b>	<b>Link</b>
23.09.2022	00:03:49-00:15:21	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-23-september-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-23-september-2022-100.html</a>
05.10.2022	00:17:17-00:25:47	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-5-oktober-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-5-oktober-2022-100.html</a>
07.10.2022	00:24:54-00:32:36	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-7-oktober-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-7-oktober-2022-100.html</a>
12.10.2022	00:23:59-00:32:28	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-12-oktober-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-12-oktober-2022-100.html</a>
01.11.2022	00:04:04-00:06:09	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-1-november-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-1-november-2022-100.html</a>
09.11.2022	00:23:48-00:32:42	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-9-november-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-9-november-2022-100.html</a>
19.12.2022 a	00:00:06-00:02:01	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-19-dezember-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-19-dezember-2022-100.html</a>
19.12.2022 b	00:22:29-00:33:27	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-19-dezember-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-19-dezember-2022-100.html</a>
20.12.2022 a	00:02:07-00:03:52	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-20-dezember-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-20-dezember-2022-100.html</a>
20.12.2022 b	00:06:38-00:09:32	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-20-dezember-2022-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-20-dezember-2022-100.html</a>
03.01.2023	00:27:05-00:37:18	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-3-januar-2023-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-3-januar-2023-100.html</a>
12.01.2023	00:05:06-00:07:58	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-12-januar-2023-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-12-januar-2023-100.html</a>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Time Code of Report</b>	<b>Link</b>
03.02.2023	00:29:36-00:38:54	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-3-februar-2023-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-3-februar-2023-100.html</a>
08.02.2023 a	00:05:55-00:08:47	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-8-februar-2023-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-8-februar-2023-100.html</a>
08.02.2023 b	00:26:08-00:34:35	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-8-februar-2023-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-8-februar-2023-100.html</a>
02.03.2023	00:01:49-00:05:50	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-2-maerz-2023-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-2-maerz-2023-100.html</a>
14.03.2023	00:07:09-00:10:00	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-14-maerz-2023-102.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-14-maerz-2023-102.html</a>
15.03.2023	00:18:47-00:32:32	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-15-maerz-2023-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-15-maerz-2023-100.html</a>
21.04.2023	00:02:44-00:06:53	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-21-april-2023-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-21-april-2023-100.html</a>
22.03.2023	00:07:04-00:11:32	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-22-maerz-2023-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-22-maerz-2023-100.html</a>
24.03.2023	00:19:20-00:31:25	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-24-maerz-2023-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-24-maerz-2023-100.html</a>
27.03.2023	00:23:40-00:36:22	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-27-maerz-2023-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-27-maerz-2023-100.html</a>
31.03.2023	00:02:20-00:05:40	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-31-maerz-2023-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-31-maerz-2023-100.html</a>
03.04.2023	00:04:50-00:07:46	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-3-april-2023-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-3-april-2023-100.html</a>

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<b>Date</b>	<b>Time Code of Report</b>	<b>Link</b>
18.04.2023	00:27:06-00:36:31	<a href="https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-18-april-2023-100.html">https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/hallo-deutschland/hallo-deutschland-vom-18-april-2023-100.html</a>

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## Appendix B

Abbreviations:

WIR- Who is Represented?

OR – Objective Representation of the victim

SR – Subjective Representation of the victim

### ATLAS.ti Report

#### Codes grouped by Code groups

Report created by Judith Laudert on 1. Jun 2023

#### ◊ Audio-visuals (WIR)

19 Codes:

- Blurred Picture Corpse Victim
- Blurred Picture Victim
- blurred picture victim with partner
- Location Corpse Found
- Lurid depiction of victim
- Missing Person Report Victim
- Murder weapon
- picture covered corpse victim
- Picture painted victim
- Picture victim bones
- Picture Victim Home
- Picture Victim not blurred
- Picture Victim Personal Belongings
- picture victim with partner not blurred
- Place to remember victim
- Reenactment
- Screenshot Post by victim
- Victim Clothing
- Video Victim

#### ◊ Emotionalization (SR)

11 Codes:

- Beziehungstat
- Blurred Picture Corpse Victim
- Dramatic
- Ehestreit
- Hope
- picture covered corpse victim
- picture victim with partner not blurred
- Place to remember victim
- Reenactment
- Sympathy
- Tragic

#### ◆ General Description Victim (OR)

8 Codes:

- Missing Person Report Victim
- Victim Age
- Victim Clothing
- Victim first and last name
- Victim Home
- Victim Job
- Victim Past
- Victim Time Spent

#### ◆ Individualization

5 Codes:

- Comment on Crime
- Motive for the Crime
- Public Reaction
- The young woman/women
- Victim Look

#### ◆ Negative representation victim

10 Codes:

- Assumptions about victim



- Comment on Crime
- Degrading comment about victim
- Lurid depiction of victim
- picture covered corpse victim
- Picture Victim not blurred
- picture victim with partner not blurred
- Public Reaction
- Reenactment
- Victim Behavior

#### ◆ **Negativity/Bad News (WIR)**

9 Codes:

- Blurred Picture Corpse Victim
- Brutality
- Disaster
- Dramatic
- Helplessness
- Murder weapon
- Overkill
- Picture victim bones
- Tragic

#### ◆ **Not relevant for representation of victim**

11 Codes:

- Aktenzeichen XY
- Comment on Sentence
- Date of crime
- Description Investigation Process
- Description investigator
- Description Perpetrator
- Description Suspect
- Directly addressing the perpetrator
- Forensics
- Location Corpse Found
- Sentence Perpetrator

### ◊ **Novelty/Surprise (WIR)**

4 Codes:

- Bizarre
- Modern Technology
- Special/rare
- Unexpected

### ◊ **Outside Interpretation (SR)**

14 Codes:

- Assumptions about victim
- Comment on Crime
- Degrading comment about victim
- Intimate partner violence
- Lurid depiction of victim
- Motive for the Crime
- Perpetrator's view
- Public Reaction
- Quote
- Reenactment
- Sexual related murder
- The young woman/women
- Victim Personality
- Words used for victim

### ◊ **Personalization (WIR; SR)**

13 Codes:

- Picture Victim Home
- Picture Victim not blurred
- Picture Victim Personal Belongings
- Place to remember victim
- Screenshot Post by victim
- Victim First Name
- Victim Future
- Victim Look

- Victim Nickname
- Victim Past
- Victim Personal Belongings
- Victim Relationships
- Video Victim

#### ◇ Positive representation victim

4 Codes:

- Missing Person Report Victim
- Mrs. Initial last name
- Victim First Name + Initial Last Name
- Victim Initial last name

#### ◇ Proximity (WIR)

3 Codes:

- Directly addressing audience
- Public investigation
- Victim Home

#### ◇ Timeliness (WIR)

2 Codes:

- Hard to solve/ Cold Case
- Unsolved

#### ◇ Type of Femicide

2 Codes:

- Intimate partner violence
- Sexual related murder

#### ◇ Victim Blaming

4 Codes:

- Assumptions about victim
- Motive for the Crime
- Perpetrator's view
- Victim Behavior

### ◊ **Victim Protection (OR)**

5 Codes:

- Blurred Picture Victim
- blurred picture victim with partner
- Mrs. Initial last name
- Victim First Name + Initial Last Name
- Victim Initial last name

### ◊ **Wording**

6 Codes:

- Beziehungstat
- Ehestreit
- Quote
- The young woman/women
- Use of word Femicide
- Words used for victim