Approaches Towards Femicides on Social Media in Turkey: A Sociological Analysis

Yaşar Erjem[a]

Abstract

The subject of this study is femicide in Turkey. Femicide has gradually increased in Turkey in the last 25 years and has become an important social problem on the country's agenda. Femicide is also an important study topic in social sciences. It is observed that a descriptive analysis of limited information about the murder is made, mostly based on newspaper and internet news in related studies. It is seen that the opinions and approaches of the society about this important problem are not systematically examined. This study aims to learn the causes, effects, solution, views and approaches of the society towards the perpetrators and victims of femicides. The study aims to explain and understand these dimensions expressed about the murders. The research was designed on the basis of the qualitative research paradigm. The data of the research consists of 1100 comments on 20 femicides on the popular social media platform Facebook. The data obtained from Facebook were categorized and interpreted by content analysis. In conclusion, it has been revealed that society mostly described femicides with a female-oriented and legal approach, and also considers factors related to family, education, politics, religion and culture as important. While society generally considers the victim (woman) as pure, clean and innocent in femicides, it depicts the perpetrator (man) as bad and dangerous. The reaction to femicides has religious, emotional, pessimistic and rational dimensions. In the solution of femicides, the general tendency is based on law and punishment.

Keywords: femicide, gender, gender inequality, patriarchy, social media.

JEL Codes: K14, K15, K42, I24, J12

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Türkiye'de Sosyal Medyada Kadın Cinayetlerine Yönelik Yaklaşımlar: Sosyolojik Bir Analiz

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Öz

Bu araştırmanın konusu Türkiye'deki kadın cinayetleridir. Kadın cinayetleri Türkiye'de son 25 yılda giderek artarak, ülke gündemine yerleşmiş ve önemli bir sosyal problem haline gelmiştir. Kadın cinayetleri sosyal bilimlerin de önemli bir araştırma konusudur. Konuyla ilgili araştırmalarda daha çok gazete ve internet haberlerine dayalı olarak, cinayetle ilgili sınırlı bilginin betimsel analizinin yapıldığı gözlenmektedir. Bu önemli sorun hakkında toplumun görüş ve yaklaşımlarının ise sistematik olarak incelenmediği görülmektedir. Bu araştırma, toplumun kadın cinayetlerinin nedenleri, etkileri, çözümü, failleri ve mağdurlarına yönelik görüş ve yaklaşımlarını öğrenmeyi amaçlar. Araştırma, cinayetlerle ilgili ifade edilen bu boyutlar açıklamayı ve anlamayı hedefler. Nitel araştırma paradigması temelinde planlanan araştırmanın verileri popüler sosyal medya platformu Facebook'da yer alan 20 kadın cinayetine yönelik yapılan 1100 yorumdan oluşmaktadır. Facebook'tan elde edilen veriler içerik analiziyle sınıflandırılıp yorumlanmıştır. Araştırma sonucunda, toplumun kadın cinayetlerini daha çok kadın odaklı ve hukuksal yaklaşımla açıkladığı, aynı zamanda aile, eğitim, siyaset, din ve kültürle ilgili faktörleri de önemli gördüğü ortaya çıkmıştır. Toplum, kadın cinayetlerinde mağduru(kadın) genellikle saf, temiz ve masum olarak görürken, faili(erkek), kötü ve tehlikeli olarak betimlemektedir. Kadın cinayetlerine yönelik tepki dinsel, duygusal, kötümser ve rasyonel öğeler taşımaktadır. Kadın cinayetlerinin çözümünde ise genel eğilim hukuk ve ceza temellidir. Araştırma sonucunda, Türkiye'de kadın cinayetlerini azaltmak için kadına yönelik ekonomik, sosyal, siyasal ve kültürel politikalar uygulanmasının gereği ve önemi belirtilmiştir. İfade edilen politikalar kadının toplumdaki statüsünü yükseltecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: kadın cinayeti, toplumsal cinsiyet, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği, ataerkillik, sosyal medya.

JEL Kodlar: K14, K15, K42, I24, J12

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Introduction

Femicide is one of Turkey's leading social problems. It has been observed that these murders have been increasing, especially in the last 25 years. For example, 932 femicides registered with the police and gendarme were committed in the period covering 2016-2018 (Taştan & Küçüker Yıldız, 2019). It is seen that a total of 418 femicides were committed in 2021 (Elhan, 2022). According to the data of the "Türkiye'de Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu" (We Will Stop Femicides Platform of Turkey), which carries out vital work against femicides, 334 femicides and 245 suspected femicides took place in Turkey in 2022. Retrieved November 5, 2023, from https://kadincinayetlerinidurduracağız.net

Based on the above-mentioned data, it is evident that femicides in Turkey have gradually increased to a tragic and considerably level. The common view on suspicious female deaths is that some of these deaths are covered-up femicides. More precise information will be obtained in the following years about these suspicious female deaths, which have not yet been clarified and the judicial process is ongoing.

In Turkey, femicides are intensively on the agenda of the media, politics and civil society. It is seen that especially women's organizations and feminist movements discuss the problem in the context of "women's issues" and actively strive for its resolution.

Femicide in Turkey is one of the important study topics of social sciences. Important studies have been conducted on the causes, characteristics, perpetrators, victims of femicides, the form of the murders, the places where the murders were committed, the sociocultural and legal dimensions of the murder and how can they be solved.

The examination of the literature on the femicides indicates that femicides are not based on a single cause, but on many factors. For instance, findings from a study conducted by Çetin (2014) revealed the following factors as reasons for the femicides: Separation/divorce request, jealousy, failure to fulfill the man's desire, unknown, honor killing, personal crisis and unemployment, rejection, theft-money-substance addiction, desire to make a decision about own life by women, hate crime, sexual assault and forced suicide. Among these stated causes of femicides, especially "leaving/divorce request, desire to make a decision about own life by women, and jealousy" have predominant percentages in the distribution.

Another key factor in femicide is the "sense of ownership over woman". According to a study conducted by Kolburan (2017), the hegemonic masculinity shaped by patriarchal codes in Turkey leads to the perception of women as objects to be possessed. Such a perception leads to the belief that one has the right to use women as they wish and, if necessary, to eliminate or kill them.

One of the important findings obtained from the study on femicides in Turkey is about the perpetrators (murderers) of these murders. The vast majority of those who commit these types of murders are men. According to the study findings, women are usually killed by their spouses, ex-spouses, boyfriends, ex-boyfriends and relatives. A woman's rate of being killed by someone she does not know is low (Aslan & Kırışkan, 2022:95). This finding expressed is a universal pattern regarding femicides. A similar pattern is seen in many countries around the world (Yazıcı, 2021).

It is also an important finding that before femicide, women are often exposed to various forms of violence. Physical violence, whose frequency and degree increases over time, can create a basis for femicide (Yılmaz & Ören, 2021:47).

Female murders in Turkey usually occur in cities and especially in metropolitan cities. Murders are mostly carried out using firearms and cutting tools. In such femicides, it has been observed that the victims are killed by suffocation, burning, or being driven to suicide (Aslan & Kırışkan, 2022).

Another finding obtained from study on femicides in Turkey is the explanation of femicides. A significant portion of the studies (Çetin, 2014; Elhan, 2017; Kolburan, 2017) explain femicides in the context of the concepts of gender and gender inequality, focusing on the status of women in Turkish society. Accordingly, the fact that women are powerless socioeconomically, politically and culturally than men determines femicides. In this context, violence against women and its form of femicide are built within the social structure (Elhan, 2017).

Another important study on the problem was conducted by Çetin (2014). Çetin explains femicides in Turkey in the context of the conflict between tradition and modernity. According to Çetin, women in Turkey have achieved a "new status" with the impact of urbanization, participation in the workforce, strengthening of civil society and legal regulations in the field of women's rights. This new status directs women to push out of traditional codes, to struggle for their own survival and to become individuals. Men who socialize within traditional cultural codes are uncomfortable with this change in women. Çetin argues that in femicides, especially the woman's request for leaving/divorce and desire to make a decision about own life by women have an effect on the femicides, so it is wrong to call the recent femicides in Turkey as honor killings. Çetin refers to such femicides with the term "revolt killing ".

When the literature on femicides in Turkey is evaluated in general, it is seen that the causes of the problem are focused, statistical information about the problem is given and sociological, sociopsychological and feminist approaches are used in the studies. It can be asserted that the studies mentioned are significant. However, in these study endeavors, questions related to how society approaches this issue and how it interprets and evaluates the problem from particular perspectives often remain unanswered.

Insufficient statistics on femicides in Turkey have led to the fact that a significant part of the study data set consists of femicide news published in newspapers or online news sites. In the analysis of these news, content analysis was performed by "focusing on phenomenon" (Çetin, 2014, Avcı & Küpeli, 2019, Güneş & Yıldırım, 2019, Satıl, 2021). In the analyzes based on newspapers and online news, data such as perpetrator-victim, cause of murder, crime scene, murder weapon are included. Socio-demographic information about the perpetrator and the victim is usually limited to age and marital status. In such researches, the reactions, thoughts, comments and approaches of the society towards femicides were not analyzed.

In this context, in recent years, it has been observed that there has been significant reporting on violence against women and femicide on social media platforms in Turkey. Social media has also become an area of struggle against femicide. *We Will Stop Femicides Platform of Turkey* provides an important example in this regard. This Platform uses social media effectively. Thanks to the new media, those who cannot make their voices heard in the dominant media, such as women, minorities, and environmentalists, have the opportunity to make their voices heard to large audiences (Özkan, 2018: 62).

A similar evaluation about the function of social media on violence against women and femicide is also made by Talimciler (2021). Scholars point out that, with the increase in social media opportunities in recent years, murders against women and the legal consequences of these murders are being talked about more in the public. Now, all the femicides brought to the agenda

by the media reach large audiences on social media platforms, especially Twitter. In fact, as a result of reactions that arise from time to time, judicial authorities are forced to take action.

News and comments on social media are considered an important data source in understanding femicide. Social media has a formative role in terms of acceptance and perception of women. With the data obtained from social media, it is possible to see femicide in a broader context from a sociological perspective. Reactions, thoughts, comments and approaches towards femicide can be determined and analyzed scientifically.

As stated above, the approaches, attitudes, thoughts, comments and suggestions of the society/community members towards femicides were generally ignored. However, it is extremely important to obtain comprehensive information about femicides and to determine the attitudes and approaches of the society. In this context, it is seen that social media platforms are a rich source of data. The studies on femicides can be conducted in the form of questionnaires and interviews, as well as analyzes based on these data on social media platforms.

This study aims to eliminate this deficiency/gap in the literature and to sociologically analyze the femicides in Turkey from a broad perspective. The problem of the study can be defined as: What is the approach of society/community members to femicides on social media in Turkey? What are the society's attitudes, thoughts and suggestions about the perpetrators/murderers, victims/victims of femicides, their causes, effects and solutions? The data of the study consist of comments on the femicide news on *Facebook*, a popular social media platform. It is considered that the study will contribute to the literature and that the study findings will be evaluated in policies and projects aimed at preventing femicide.

Theoretical Model and Conceptual Framework

Understanding and explaining social behavior is the most basic goal of sociology. Sociology explains human social behavior in a social context. The social context consists of small groups, organizations, culture, and institutions. In social life, people tend to engage in behaviors by interacting within these sociocultural structures. Structural conditions and interaction are evaluated as determining factors.

Sociological perspective or approach is a term that refers to the establishment, functioning, change of social life and seeing human actions as a whole within a broad framework. The sociological perspective accepts that individuals look at events using the social and cultural codes of the society they live in and are influenced by the people they have close relationships with (Dietz et al., 1996).

The leading theoretical sociological perspectives in sociology are structural functionalism, conflict theory, symbolic interactionism, feminist theory, and postmodernism. Structural functionalism, conflict perspective and feminist theory explain human behavior according to structural conditions and factors. Although symbolic interactionism takes into account structural conditions, it focuses on human interaction. Postmodernism, on the other hand, rejects causality by adopting a pluralistic and relative attitude by basing itself on "criticism of modernity" (Erjem, 2016).

This study, called *Approaches Towards Femicides on Social Media in Turkey: A Sociological Analysis* adopts a pluralist approach that aims to use structural functionalism, conflict perspective and feminist theory in analysis, one of the theoretical approaches mentioned above, instead of a monist approach. In this context, structural functionalism focuses on the functions of social institutions; conflict theory focuses especially on inequalities and

conflicts in society; and the feminist approach focuses on the analysis by comparing the position and relations of women in society with men (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2013).

Basic Concepts

The leading concepts used in the study on femicide in the sociological literature are usually: Femicide, gender, gender inequality, patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity. The definitions will be made and information will be given about the concepts expressed in this sub-section of the study.

Social Media

Social media is defined as a communication tool that allows two-way communication. Social media are computer and internet-based communication tools that allow users to share and consume content through text, images and video. According to Kaplan & Haenlein (2011), there are six different types of social media. These are: collaborative projects (e.g. Wikipedia), blogs and microblogs (e.g. Twitter), content communities (e.g. YouTube), social networking sites (e.g. Facebook), virtual game worlds (e.g. Warcraft) and virtual social worlds, e.g. Second Life (Çetin, 2021:242).

Social media, as an alternative form and field of communication, is now considered a new public space (Özkan, 2018:1). Many social problems, including femicide, are discussed on social media and thus public opinion is formed.

Social media is a powerful news source. According to George Gerbner's "cultivation theory", the effect of social media is small and indirect, but accumulates and becomes meaningful over time (Yılmaz & Ören, 2021:1).

Femicide

The concept of femicide was first used by *Diana Russell*. Russell initially defined this term as "the killing of women by misogynistic men" as a form of sexual violence (Russel & Radford, 1992). However, Russell revised this concept in 2001 and started to use the concept to name the homicides directed by the roles attributed to women and the meanings attributed to femininity by societies. According to Russell's definition, the sense of right or superiority towards women should be evaluated within the concept of femicide, which is any form of sexist killing done with the desire for pleasure and sadism towards women or the sense of having women (Erdoğan, 2023, https://www.academia.edu.tr, retrieved 07.11.2023). Those who work on the subject consider this definition of Russell to be highly important. This is because this definition distinguishes the concept of femicide from homicide, as clarified by Russell. Homicide refers to one person killing another. As implied by the definition, when the term homicide is used, the gender of the victim is not specified. However, the concept of femicide was developed with the aim of changing the social order that tolerates or accepts female deaths or revealing the facts behind femicides (Erdoğan, 2023, https://www.academia.edu.tr, Access Date: 07.11.2023). As can be understood from the definitions, femicide is a distinct concept. In this context, the emphasis on gender and gender roles is important in the conceptualization phase. Because femicide refers to the killing of women for reasons related to gender roles (Gazioğlu, 2011).

Gender

As it is known, a person is born with a female or male sex. All of the characteristics that determine whether individuals are female or male are called sex. Sex is not an element that emphasizes any inequality between men and women; it only indicates the difference between

the two sexes. In addition to the biological gender characteristics brought by birth, there are roles dressed on the sex of women and men with the effect of the society, time and geography in which the individual was raised. These roles are called gender. *Gender is how society sees women and men, what kind of behaviors it expects from women and men, and the roles it deems appropriate for these two genders*. The individual socializes first within the family and then in society and internalizes his/her own values and roles according to the perspective of the family and society on women and men (Gültekin, 2016:120). As stated by Giddens & Sutton (2014), gender refers to the psychological, social and cultural differences between men and women.

Gender Inequality

Gender inequality is an important concept that expresses the disadvantaged status of women in society. The problem of inequality lies at the root of the problems experienced by women in business life, education, politics, and family. Gender inequality means "any discrimination, deprivation or restriction based on gender that prevents or eliminates the recognition, exercise and enjoyment of women's human rights and fundamental freedoms in political, economic, social, cultural and civil fields" (Demirgöz Bal, 2014:16; Aslan & Kırışkan, 2022,88).

Patriarchy

The term patriarchy, which can be expressed as "paternal dominance" in its literal sense, was initially employed to describe societal systems structured around the authority of male heads of households. Today, it is generally used in a sense that reflects male domination. Patriarchy is defined as a form of understanding that has material foundations, hierarchically making men interconnected but autonomous, thus enabling them to exert pressure on women. While many theorists, such as Hartman, define patriarchy, they emphasize its material foundations. Walby, on the other hand, defines patriarchy as a system in which women are exploited by men through interconnected social structures (Can, 2018:36). The concept of patriarchy, by emphasizing the secondary status of the woman, directly attributes this status of the woman to the "biological weakness" of the woman and confines the woman only to the domestic space. Men is described as individuals belonging to the public sphere (Marshall, 1999:47).

Hegemonic Masculinity (Dominant Masculinity)

Hegemonic masculinity, in short, "refers to the image of masculinity possessed by men holding power" (Sancar, 2009: 30). The concept of "hegemonic masculinity" developed by Connell provides an important framework for the establishment and maintenance of masculinity by including cultural elements along with the patriarchal social structure. With the concept of hegemonic masculinity, it emphasizes class relations and cultural dynamics, along with the gender order that derives its source from the patriarchal structure. In addition to the hierarchy established on women, it also reveals the hierarchy established among men. The aim here is to ensure that the patriarchal ideal can be maintained by creating a masculinity that will enable women to be kept under pressure (Kolburan, 2017).

Method

This study was designed methodologically according to qualitative study methods and techniques (Neuman, 2007). Qualitative study can be defined as a study in which qualitative data collection methods such as observation, interview and document analysis are used and a qualitative process is followed to reveal facts and events in a realistic and holistic way in the

natural environment (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2000: 19). In qualitative study, the comments or evaluations of the actor or subject are very important.

Document analysis technique, which is one of the qualitative data collection techniques, was used in the study. Document analysis can also be considered as a form of observation. The document may be written, verbal, video. For example, letter, newspaper, magazine, poster, etc. is a document. As it is known, researchers can reach important findings by analyzing and interpreting such documents with certain techniques (Erjem, 2018:177).

Data Set

The data of the research consists of ready-made data that are not produced by the researcher. In this context, the data of the study were obtained from the internet. 20 femicides news and 1100 comments on this news in "facebook", which is an important social media platform on the internet, constitute the main data source of the study.

Data Analysis

The femicide on Facebook and the comments on these murders were analyzed by content analysis technique. Content analysis is a technique based on the systematic coding and objective recording of data on the basis of a certain logic (Schaefer, 2013: 37). Descriptive and systematic analysis technique was used in the analysis; themes were obtained by coding the data and classifying the categories.

In the study, the data were coded according to words and sentences. As it is known, coding is marking or labeling in small pieces by determining various aspects of the data (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Creswell, 2013). After this process, the codes are categorized. Categories are information units that contain many codes consisting of common ideas (Çelik, et al., 2020). As stated above, the categories are predetermined. In the literature, this process is called "deductive categorization". These categories are: The cause of femicide, the consequences of femicides, the description of the perpetrator of the murder, the description of the victim of the murder, how the femicides can be solved, and the reaction and approach to the femicides.

In the study, the society's approach to femicides; the causes, consequences (effects) of the murders, the description of the perpetrators and victims, suggestions and thoughts for the solution of femicides and the nature of the reactions to the murders were tried to be learned. These stated purposes are included in the analysis as existing categories related to femicides. As stated above, the coding in the analysis was made according to these categories. The society's approach to femicide was evaluated on the themes obtained from these categories and interpreted according to sociological approaches.

Assumptions

The basic assumptions of this study are:

1. Comments on femicide news on Facebook are original and valuable.

2. The opinions of the actors who comment on the news of femicides also express the point of view of the society to a certain extent.

Results

In this part of the study, 1100 comments on 20 femicide news shared on social media (Facebook) in Turkey were analyzed. The study data consists of 1100 comments expressed. Comments on murder news were classified and interpreted by content analysis method. *In the*

tables, the data were presented hierarchically according to the order of importance of codes, categories and themes.

Views and Approaches to the Causes of Femicide

In the research titled *Approaches Towards Femicides on Social Media in Turkey*: *A Sociological Analysis* society's views and approaches towards the causes of femicide on social media" are resented in Table 1. When Table 1 is evaluated in general, it is understood that femicides are evaluated in relation to multiple factors. A total of 10 factors have an impact on femicides.

According to data analysis, femicides are often explained by socioeconomic, cultural and political factors. These factors are: Women's powerlessness in society, women's wrong/erroneous behaviors, women's rights, legal/juridical factors, familial factors, economic factors, political factors, inadequate reaction, religious factors, lifestyle and cultural factors.

As the study data show, structural factors are decisive in explaining femicides. The reasons such as insensitivity, indifference, indifference, insensitivity of the society, insensitivity of the state, which are under the category of "not reacting enough", are also related to the society.

Table 1

Opinions and Approaches on the Causes of Femicide

Codes	Categories	Themes
Women being powerless; women being uneducated; women being underestimated; women demanding freedom; women being seen as a commodity; women's fate determined by men; definition of honor through women	1. Women's powerless in society	WOMAN FOCUSED APPROACH
The woman's wrong, flawed, misbehaving, not listening to words, being aroused	2. Wrong/erroneous behaviors of the woman	
To prioritize women's rights, to take women's declaration as a basis	3. Women's Rights	
Injustice, the law is inadequate, penalties are not deterrent, laws are not effective, legal loophole, laws are paving the way for murders.	4. Legal/Judicial factors	LAW FOCUSED APPROACH
Wrong choice of spouse, family problems, unmarried union, problems during the divorce process	5. Familial factors	FAMILY BASED APPROACH
Poverty, unemployment, poorness	6. Economic factors	ECONOMIC APPROACH
The policies of the government, femicide are political, right-wing governments, Istanbul Convention, ineffectiveness of the state	7. Political factors	POLITICAL APPROACH
Insensitivity, indifference, indifference, insensitivity of society, insensitivity of the state	8. Inability to react adequately	RESPONSE BASED APPROACH
Lack of faith, inability to live Islam	9. Religious factors	RELIGIOUS APPROACH

Codes	Categories	Themes
European lifestyle, mentality, medieval mindset, morality, the absence of honor and chastity, the absence of women's names in Muslim countries, and the influence of clergy/religious zealots.	10. Lifestyle and Cultural Factors	CULTURAL APPROACH

Note. Created by the author.

As a result of the classification made based on the codes expressing the causes of femicides, 10 categories and 8 themes were obtained. The themes show the society's approach to femicides. These themes are in order of importance: Woman focused approach, law focused approach, family focused approach, economic approach, political approach, and reaction focused approach, religious approach and cultural approach.

According to the research findings, the woman focused/centered and law focused approach on femicides is at the forefront compared to other approaches. Codes such as being powerless, uneducated, underestimated, demanding freedom, being seen as a commodity, determining the fate of men, and defining honor through women express "women's powerlessness". The opinions that the law is not effective in Turkey, that there is a gap in the laws and that the penalties are not deterrent show the legal perspective.

Family, economy, politics, religion and culture are other important approaches used to explain femicides. These expressed approaches have a structural character and are related to social institutions. These approaches show social problems and also mean that social institutions are not functional. For example, poverty, unemployment, family problems are important social problems. The insensitivity and ineffectiveness of the political institution is another important factor that is thought to be effective on femicides. In this context, although "women's rights and problems" are on the priority agenda of the political institution in Turkey, it can be said that the government has not been successful in this regard. For example, it is noteworthy that the government abolished the *Istanbul Convention*, which aims to improve women's rights and solve women's problems.

Variables related to belief, religion and lifestyle are also important factors showing the society's approach to femicides. The strength of the religious institution in Turkey and the weight of conservative thought in society have an impact on women's problems. It is noteworthy that there is also a critical approach in this regard. Ignorant clergy and a faith-based mindset are at the center of these criticisms.

Views and Approaches on the Impacts/Consequences of Femicides

Table 2

Opinions and Approaches on the Effects/Consequences of Femicides

Codes	Categories	Themes
Children will become motherless; what will the remaining children do; what will their families do; if these murders increase, society will go into chaos.	Effects on family and children Impacts on society	FAMILY AND SOCIETY BASED APPROACH

Note. Created by the author.

According to the study findings, society's widespread view and approach to the consequences/effects of femicides is family and community-oriented. Family members, especially children, are adversely affected by such murders. The general view is that with the increase of these murders, the family institution will weaken and society will be pushed into chaos.

Views and Approaches on Victims of Femicide

Table 3

Opinions and Approaches on Victims of Femicide

Codes	Categories	Themes
Innocent; her life is over; very unfortunate; what a pity; dear sister; death did not suit you; such a young woman; may her family find patience.	Victim is innocent/not guilty Victim is pitied	INNOCENCE
God knows what you have done; maybe she had done something bad; if you are going to work, work with your honor; I do not feel sorry for some women; who he does not beat his daughter beats his knees	Victim is at fault	CRITICAL APPROACH
May Allah have mercy on her; may Allah guide her; may her place be paradise; may she rest in light.	Religious wishes	RELIGIOUS APPROACH

Note. Created by the author.

Another finding obtained from the study is related to the victims of femicides. As a result of the classification of the study data, 4 categories and 3 themes were obtained.

The society generally sees the victim (woman) as innocent and innocent, treats her with pity and blesses her with faith-oriented wishes and prayers. For example: Wishes such as "may Allah have mercy", "may Allah guide her", "may her place be paradise", and "may she rest in light are" expressed very often. Expressions such as "her life is over ", "very unfortunate", "what a pity", "dear sister", "death did not suit you", "such a young woman" and "may her family find patience" serve as indicators suggesting that the victim is perceived as innocent and blameless.

According to the study findings, the existence of a critical and accusatory approach to the victim also draws attention. At the heart of this approach is the idea that the victim is at fault and behaves incorrectly. For example, the victim has not acted honestly or has a role in this murder.

Views and Approaches on the Perpetrators of Femicide

Perpetrators of femicides are as important as women. "How perpetrators/men are seen by society" is a fundamental question.

Table 4

Views and Approaches on the Perpetrators of Femicide

Codes	Categories	Themes
Killer; woman murderer; villain; psychopath; monster; mentally ill; scum; alcoholic; human wretch; ruthless; devoid of fear of God.	Bad person Mental health impaired Non-believer	DANGEROUS/BAD PERSON
God damn you; God curse you,	Religious denigration	RELIGIOUS HATRED
The man is right; what fault does he have; men do not commit crimes for no raison; it is always wrong to see the crime in the man	Man/male is right	CRITICAL APPROACH

Note. Created by the author.

According to the study data, the perpetrator or murderer in femicides is generally seen as a dangerous and bad person who is hated. The perpetrator/murderer is seen as a bad person, a person with poor mental health and an unbeliever. For example; Descriptions such as murderer, woman murderer, murderer, psychopath, creature, psychopath, scumbag, alcoholic, human manuscript, raving, not afraid of God are the most frequently used concepts and expressions.

"Religious hatred" expressions are also used against the murderer. The most commonly used phrases are: God damn you; God curse you.

There is also an approach that we express as "critical approach" towards the perpetrators of femicides. The basic idea in this approach is that "men have or may have justified reasons for committing this crime". For example, "men do not commit crimes for no reason."

As a result, when the victims and perpetrators of femicides are compared, there is a widespread opinion that the victim in general is innocent, not guilty and not guilty. On the other hand, the perpetrator is a bad, unbelieving and dangerous individual. However, it is seen that there is also a critical approach for both the victim and the perpetrator, although it is not common.

Views and Approaches on the Resolution of Femicides

The society's suggestions for solutions to femicides or its thoughts and approaches about the solution are also important. In this context, remarkable findings were obtained from the study.

As a result of the analysis of the study data, 14 categories and 7 themes/basic approaches were obtained about how femicide can be solved. Structural suggestions and approaches to solving the problem of femicides dominate humanitarian/humanistic approaches.

Table 5

Opinions and Approaches on Resolving Femicides

Codes	Categories	Themes
Death penalty; death penalty should be brought back; severe punishment; penalties should be deterrent; imprisonment; prison; there should be effective laws; laws should be changed; no reduction in penalties should be applied; there should be a penalty for spouses cheating on each other; restraining order is not enough; life for life;	Heavy penalties should be given Penalties should be deterrent New laws should be made Religious law should be applied	LAW AND PUNISHMENT BASED APPROACH
Education; education is essential; family education; marriage course(education); men should be educated;	Education should be provided Family education Education for men	EDUCATIONAL APPROACH
Treating men; rehabilitating men; educating men	Education for men Treatment/rehabilitation of men	MEN 'S EDUCATION AND MENTAL HEALTH APPROACH
Women should be individuals; women should be protected; the state should protect women	Empowering women	WOMEN FOCUSED APPROACH
Islamic morality; living like a Muslim; staying away from haram(forbidden by religion)	Making religion and morality effective	FAITH AND MORALITY BASED APPROACH
Political solution; let the problem be dealt with in the parliament; let the Istanbul Convention be abolished; let the Istanbul Convention be implemented.	Political solution	POLITICAL APPROACH
We need to rethink our humanity	Humanitarian solution	HUMANITARIAN APPROACH

Note. Created by the author.

According to the study findings, the "law and punishment based approach" to how femicides can be solved has an important place in the ranking compared to other approaches. Suggestions such as heavy penalties, penalties should be deterrent, new laws should be enacted and religious laws should be applied are included in the law and punishment-oriented approach.

Other approaches to solving femicides are: Educational approach, men's education and mental health approach, women-oriented approach, belief and morality-oriented approach, political approach and humanitarian approach.

The education of family and men are the basic ideas in the educational approach. It is a common idea that individuals with low or insufficient education are especially effective in

femicides. In this context, it is noteworthy that the education of men is presented as a proposal. Similarly, it is recommended that men receive mental health education and be rehabilitated.

Empowering women is at the center of the women-oriented approach. In this context, the fact that women are individuals, the protection of women by the state and the protection of women are important suggestions. It is significant that women's employment is not proposed as a solution for women's empowerment.

The inclusion of women's issues in the parliament and the implementation of the Istanbul Convention are included in the political approach. It is also meaningful to request the abolition of the Istanbul Convention as a proposal. This proposal, which is defended by conservative and right-wing political circles, was carried out by the AKP government (Justice and Development Party's government) in 2023. Discussions on this issue still continue on the agenda of the country (Turkey).

Another approach to solving femicides is faith and morality-oriented. Faithful life, living like a Muslim and staying away from haram (forbidden by religion) are important codes in this approach. In Turkey, the segments of society that adopt a religious approach in solving not only women's problems but also other socio-cultural and political problems have always existed from past to present. Especially in the last quarter century, it is observed that this understanding has gradually come to the fore.

General Response and Approach to Femicide

Table 6

Response and Approach to Femicide

Codes	Categories	Themes
May God help us; God have mercy; may God punish us; may God not cause such pain to anyone.	Prayers and wishes	RELIGIOUS APPROACH
Damn this; sorry for the one who is gone; such a pity; this is very sad; my dear sister you upset us; pity for such a young girl; let the hands moving against woman be broken; how murderous; disgust against men	Pity for the victim/woman Anger towards the murderer	EMOTIONAL APPROACH
These murders will not end; we can do nothing but express our condolences; the murderer gets a six-month sentence and gets out of prison; this is Turkey; the murderer wears a tie and gets to leave the court; politics are watching	Despair-pessimism Lack of trust in justice	HOPELESSNESS AND DISTRUST OF THE LAW
Femicides should be stopped; action should be taken across the country; fathers love your daughters; there is no owner of women in Turkey; we are at a point where words fail, the country has turned into a madhouse, our	Taking action Standing by women	RATIONAL AND EVALUATIVE APPROACH

people deserved this; it is not just a women's issue but a human issue.		

Note. Created by the author.

Table 6 shows general reaction and approach to femicides. According to the study findings, there are 7 categories and 3 approaches related to the general reaction and approach to femicides. The categories are: Faithful prayers and wishes, pity for the victim (woman), anger against the murderer (man), helplessness-pessimism, distrust of justice, taking action and taking care of the woman. These expressed categories were classified under the themes of religious approach, emotional approach, hopelessness and distrust of the law, and rational and evaluative approach.

As can be seen from the table, the most common reaction and approach to femicides is religious. The most common reactions and evaluations against femicides are based on religion and religious concepts. The reactions of large segments of the society to the negative events occurring in Turkey are predominantly religious. For example, in disasters such as earthquakes, fires, traffic accidents, wishes are made for those who die, are injured or injured primarily with religious expressions such as "May Allah have mercy, may Allah protect, may Allah heal". It is seen that a similar assessment applies to femicides.

According to the findings of the study, the emotional approach to femicides ranks second. The content of the emotional approach consists of the feelings of "pity towards the victim and anger towards the murderer". It can be said that emotions are a strong factor in Turkish society, and in most cases, reason and common sense prevail. In particular, there is a great anger towards crimes such as femicide and child murder.

An important finding obtained from the study is the existence of the idea of hopelessness-pessimism in society in the face of femicides. This hopelessness and pessimism stems from the ineffectiveness of the laws in solving femicides, errors in the proceedings, the inadequate reaction of the society, and distrust of the political institution. Society generally sees law and politics/government as unsuccessful in solving femicides.

The rational and evaluative approach to femicides is in the last place in Table 6. In the table where the religious and emotional approach is predominant, rational suggestions for the solution of the problem are relatively less. This approach includes doing something about femicides, taking action, and stopping femicides. The importance of fathers caring for their daughters and empowering them by taking care of women is emphasized. However, within this approach, there are also metaphorical criticisms directed towards Turkish society and its current situation. For example, expressions like "the country has turned into a madhouse, we deserved this as a nation, and we are at a point where words fail" convey this sentiment.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this study, which analyzes the society's approach to femicides in Turkey with the qualitative study method based on the comments made on the social media platform Facebook, significant findings were obtained.

Based on the comments of the actors, it is understood that the society is sensitive to femicides. Increasing femicides in Turkey in the last 25 years have turned into a tragic problem that disturbs the society. The response of the society to this problem is also reflected in social media.

Society has a pluralistic perspective on the causes of femicides. However, the predominant reasons are related to the position of women in society, their problems, the

patriarchal approach towards women and the law. Apart from these factors, structural variables such as family, education, politics and religion are also used to explain and understand the problem. This result also coincides with the literature. For example, in numerous studies (Sarıtaş, 2018; Yanıklar, 2018), it has been emphasized that the status of women in society is low in Turkey, and gender inequality has an impact on this situation. The desire to determine her own destiny and be free by raising the status of women in Turkey has increased gradually in recent years. However, the patriarchal mindset prevents women from making decisions about themselves in most cases. Findings on this subject were obtained in the study. This finding is in line with the findings of a study conducted by Çetin (2014).

A law- and punishment-based approach is important in explaining femicides. Law- and punishment-based approaches can be seen in the explanation of many problems in Turkey. In this context, there is a widespread understanding that law is ineffective and penalties are not deterrent. Legal problems are also effective in the field of femicide. For example, Sallan Gül (2012:233) states that a large number of women are killed by their husbands every day due to the inadequacies of the protection measures in the regulations on the implementation of the *Family Protection Law No. 4320*. The study data support this determination.

When evaluating perspectives on explaining femicides, it can be asserted that structural approaches, which extend beyond the individual and point to the societal institutions surrounding them, predominantly prevail. These approaches encompass the realms of family, economy, politics, religion, and culture.

Another important finding obtained from the study is the effects of femicides on society. According to the findings, the dominant approach is family and society-oriented. It is an important shared idea that the increase in femicides will lead to dissolution in the family institution and lead the society to chaos. This finding is consistent with the fact that Turkey has a conservative structure and a family society.

The society's approach to the perpetrator and the victim exhibits a contrasting approach according to the study findings. Generally, the victim is described as pure, clean and innocent, while the perpetrator is considered dangerous and evil. However, as a result of the analysis, it was observed that there was a critical attitude towards both the victim and the man.

According to the study findings, there are 7 different approaches to how femicide can be solved. This finding is in line with approaches to the causes of femicides. The common approach to this issue is the law and punishment-oriented and educational approach. Making the law effective, deterrence of penalties, family education, training of men and rehabilitation of men are some of the solutions proposed.

Based on the study data, it can be stated that the societal response to femicides is predominantly religious and emotional. Rational and evaluative reactions appear to be weak.

Consequently, it can be asserted that, in Turkey, the society generally approaches femicides by emphasizing structural aspects. While these approaches highlight the dysfunctionality of institutions (such as law and politics) and emphasize functional, social issues, and inequalities, they possess a conflict and feminist character. Particularly, an approach that forefronts women's issues and focuses on women in addressing the causes and solutions of femicides exhibits a feminist character. In addition to a religious approach in responding to femicides, a noteworthy emphasis on emotional reactions is also observed.

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