

Patriarchal journalistic vices in the media framing of femicides

Vícios jornalísticos patriarcais no enquadramento dos femicídios

Los vicios periodísticos de corte patriarcal en los encuadres noticiosos sobre femicidios

Paola Ingrassia, CONICET/Universidad Nacional de San Juan, San Juan, Argentina
(paoingrassia@unsj-cuim.edu.ar)

ABSTRACT | Journalistic news offers a particular view of the world based on discursive strategies aimed at shaping specific meanings in relation to the goals they pursue. Far from objectivist positions, this paper emphasizes the role of journalists as political actors (Borrat, 1999) who interpret, excise and highlight certain aspects of a perceived reality when sharing it to their audiences (Entman, 2003). In this sense, the objectives are to present a matrix for the analysis of media frames on femicide based on a theoretical-methodological triangulation that is considered innovative and to analyze the specific journalistic practices that reinforce patriarchal notions in the news about femicide. In addition to developing and justifying the methodological choices, the tool is tested in the analysis of the 66 news pieces about femicide that were published by two traditional online media in Argentina, *Clarín* and *Diario de Cuyo*, in 2019. Among the results, it is highlighted that the media framing of femicide shows journalistic decisions that contribute to perpetuate the structural phenomenon of gender violence and reinforce the patriarchal order, instead of questioning the audiences and promoting disruptive actions. Moreover, the views offered on violence against women are found to be superficial and the proposed solutions are therefore completely devoid of meaning.

KEYWORDS: Framing; media framing; gender; feminisms; femicides

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RESUMEN | *Las noticias periodísticas ofrecen una visión particular del mundo a partir de estrategias discursivas que buscan plasmar sentidos específicos afines a los objetivos que persiguen. Así, lejos de las posiciones objetivistas, en este trabajo se subraya el rol de los/as periodistas como actores políticos (Borrat, 1999) que interpretan, recortan y enfatizan ciertos aspectos de una realidad percibida al momento de darla a conocer a sus audiencias (Entman, 2003). En esa línea, el objetivo es presentar una matriz para el análisis de los encuadres noticiosos sobre femicidios a partir de una triangulación teórico-metodológica que se considera innovadora para analizar las prácticas periodísticas específicas que refuerzan las visiones patriarcales en las noticias sobre esa problemática social. Además del desarrollo y de la fundamentación de las decisiones metodológicas, el instrumento se pone a prueba en el análisis de las 66 noticias sobre femicidios publicadas por dos medios de comunicación tradicionales en línea de Argentina, Clarín y Diario de Cuyo, durante 2019. Entre los resultados se destaca que los encuadres noticiosos sobre femicidios dan cuenta de las decisiones periodísticas que contribuyen a perpetuar el fenómeno estructural de las violencias de género y a reforzar el orden patriarcal, en lugar de interpelar a las audiencias y favorecer la acción disruptiva. Se advierte asimismo que las miradas que se ofrecen sobre las violencias contra las mujeres son superficiales y, por ende, las propuestas de solución resultan eminentemente vacías de sentido.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Framing, encuadres noticiosos, género, feminismos, femicidios*

RESUMO | *As notícias oferecem uma visão particular do mundo com base em estratégias discursivas que visam capturar significados específicos de acordo com os objetivos que perseguem. Assim, longe de posições objetivistas, este trabalho enfatiza o papel dos jornalistas enquanto atores políticos (Borrat, 1999) que interpretam, recortam e enfatizam determinados aspectos de uma realidade percebida ao dá-la a conhecer às suas audiências (Entman, 2003). Nesta linha, os objetivos são apresentar uma matriz de análise dos enquadramentos midiáticos dos femicídios com base numa triangulação teórico-metodológica que se considera inovadora e analisar as práticas jornalísticas específicas que reforçam as visões patriarcais nas estas notícias. Além do desenvolvimento e da fundamentação das decisões metodológicas, o instrumento é testado na análise de 66 notícias sobre femicídios publicadas por dois mídias online tradicionais da Argentina, Clarín e Diário de Cuyo, durante 2019. Entre os resultados, destaca-se que o enquadramento mediático dos femicídios revela decisões jornalísticas que contribuem para perpetuar o fenómeno estrutural da violência de gênero e para reforçar a ordem patriarcal, em vez de questionar as audiências e favorecer uma ação disruptiva. Além disso, observa-se que as visões oferecidas sobre a violência contra as mulheres são superficiais e, portanto, as soluções propostas são eminentemente sem sentido.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Framing; enquadramento noticioso; gênero; feminismos; femicídios*

INTRODUCTION

Gender-based violence is a long-standing social problem that is widespread worldwide and rooted in the patriarchal order, understood as a political, symbolic and social system that establishes the structures that justify and maintain women's inferiority to men (Ingrassia, 2020; Curiel, 2014). In this context, the most extreme expression of gender-based violence is femicide (Chaher, 2012), which refers to hate and power crimes committed against women simply because they are women. In Argentina, between June 3, 2015 and May 28, 2023, there were 2,282 registered femicides¹ and femicides related² to women and girls, 58 trans/"travesticides"³, and 214 related femicides against adult men and children, according to the Adriana Marisel Zambrano Femicide Observatory, run by the civic association La casa del Encuentro (<https://www.lacasadelencuentro.org/>). This means that, on average, a femicide has been committed every 31 hours over the last eight years, as reported by the observatory *Ahora que sí nos ven* (2023). The highest number in this period was recorded in 2019 with 327 femicides. It was noted that "(...) it was the year with the highest number of direct and related femicides" (*Ahora que sí nos ven*, 2020), and moreover, it was the period in which San Juan, the province where this study is conducted, became one of the regions where the rates exceeded the national average.

Considering that daily life is a reality that is captured and objectified through language (Berger & Luckmann, 2003), and that there are arenas for the production and circulation of social representations (Lorenc Valcarce, 2005) that contest the meaning of such objectification, the study of news framing about femicides is particularly relevant since the media is one of the arenas of public discourse

1. In Argentina, the concept of femicide, rather than feminicide, is the most widely used and adheres to the terminology proposed by La Casa del Encuentro. Although there is currently no consensus on whether the more appropriate term is femicide or feminicide, the former has prevailed in national research (Fernández, 2012). The term gained prominence in 2008 when La Casa del Encuentro published the first report on femicides in Argentina due to the lack of official statistics and put this social problem on the public agenda under the term femicide. This term is used in a political sense to denounce the social normalization of sexist violence and the number of women who are murdered by men who consider them their property.

2. Related femicides: this term was created by La Casa del Encuentro and refers to those people with a family or affective connection who have been killed by femicide in order to cause greater harm to the victim, whom they consider their property. This category also includes people killed in crossfire.

3. These are hate crimes and acts of gender-based violence characterized by discrimination and rejection towards the identities and expressions of trans femininities.

(Hilgartner & Bosk, 1988) involved in the struggle for symbolic power related to social issues. From this perspective, the concepts of patriarchy outlined, as well as gender as an analytical category that can account for the social and historical frameworks for organizing social relations (Scott, 1993), are fundamental to understanding the impact of the public reality constructed by the media in our societies.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

D'Angelo (2012) argues that framing is the dynamic and interactive process of creating and transmitting meanings that permeates all instances of communication, and that frames are the product of this process. In the communicative process, frames –or framing⁴, as the term is most commonly translated into Spanish– are therefore located at the site of information production, in message texts, among the recipients of these messages and within the culture, where there is a shared repertoire of cognitive, perceptual, and interpretive patterns that provide the link between the production and reception of messages (Entman, 1993). Ultimately, these frames give meaning to events by framing them in a specific way (Gamson, 1992).

In line with the above, the notion of framing as a communicative process helps us to understand that there are no ontological realities, only social and collective definitions of meaning. These definitions emerge from a dispute between different discursive arenas (Ingrassia, 2020) within a community and at a given time (Ingrassia et al., 2023b). Thus, when a problem, an event or a political actor is defined, a specific view is presented that initiates the structuring of that particular meaning, which is completed by the other framing functions: causes are identified, responsibilities are assigned, moral evaluations are promoted in relation to the framed issue, and solutions or predictions are proposed regarding the defined problem (Entman, 2003). In this sense, Tankard (2001) compares the framing of messages to the framing of a building window, as it is the main element for subsequent building planning. Thus, news represents viewpoints offered on the same topic (Matthes, 2012), and framing is a moment in a chain of meaning in which sources drive the definition of certain social issues, while journalists create definitions that align with their own interests to shape social reality (Reese, 2001). Indeed, news frames or meaning-making frames aim to

4. Despite the traditional research interest in linking the concept of framing with sociology and that of framing with the field of communication, the fusion of both perspectives and the transfer of concepts between the disciplines is obviously possible (Sádaba, 2008; Ingrassia, 2020). Therefore, both terms are used interchangeably in this paper to refer to the framing process.

promote a particular interpretation of issues and are characterized by a primarily subliminal function; they operate through metaphors, key concepts, symbols or visual images (Entman, 2007).

Moving away from objectivist positions, this text emphasizes the role of journalists as political actors (Borrat, 1999) who interpret, curate and highlight certain aspects of a perceived reality when presenting it to their audience (Entman, 2003). The focus is on considering the struggles for symbolic power that media engage in as discursive arenas (Pride, 1995; Hilgartner & Bosk, 1988) that aim to consolidate meanings that suit their own interests. Moreover, news reporting provides a perspective on the world (Martini, 2002) to “gain access to distant and specific topics that are thus outside the recipients’ realm of experience” (Baquerin de Riccitelli, 2008, p. 11). Consequently, its value lies in the establishment of an authoritarian discourse that imposes a particular point of view, and it is precisely this perspective on the social problem of femicide that is of interest, as it represents the most extreme form of violence rooted in gender inequality (Sabaté, 2008) and symbolizes the “sexual politics of male domination” (Cabrera Ullivarri, 2011, p. 84).

Without diverting from the previous points, it is beyond the scope of this paper to reflect on all the political, economic and cultural practices that perpetuate and perpetuate gender-based violence in society. Therefore, the focus is on one such practice: that of the media. It is important to highlight the importance that Gil (2013) attaches to examining those journalistic constructions that tend to legitimize and perpetuate old patriarchal legacies. These are certain vices, inheritors of patriarchy and capitalist views, through which news is valued as a commodity (Verón, 2004). They are obstacles that hinder the construction of worldviews capable of overcoming this social problem (Cabrera Ullivarri, 2011).

Based on the above concepts, six dimensions are proposed to analyze the coverage of femicides, hereafter referred to as journalistic biases of a patriarchal nature. The first dimension refers to the definition of femicide through terms such as crime, murder, homicide, or death, making invisible that the death of women, simply because they are women, is the result of a structural problem rooted in patriarchal power (Ingrassia, 2020). Radford and Russell (1992) emphasize the importance of using the term femicide to remove the veiling veil that cloaks women’s deaths in supposedly neutral terms such as homicide or murder.

The second vice is related to the previous one and consists in presenting femicides as isolated incidents or as problems limited to the private sphere. Gender-based violence is a public problem related to the social distribution of rights and responsibilities (Sagot, 2008). However, if the incidents are presented as individual problems that belong to the private or family sphere, the social risk of this issue

for the reader is diminished, as are the necessary reflections and social demands in relation to gender issues.

The third vice is the use of sensationalist language. This practice refers to the trend of highlighting femicides with morbid fascination. “News stories are trivialized through the use of adjectives that exaggerate the situations: tragedy, deep shock, family catastrophe, tragic end, troglodyte, caveman, beast, etc. Violence seeps into these terms, making it trivial and specific” (Cabrera Ullivarri, 2011, p. 80). As Segato (2018) warns, this type of media representation teaches the public not to empathize with the victims. Furthermore, these individuals are re-victimized through trivialization and sensationalism in discourses that normalize atrocities.

The fourth point is the use of police or judicial sources. The use of information sources is one of the critical stages in the process of news production (Koziner, 2022), as it represents a strategic decision by journalists to promote certain definitions. Therefore, it is important to distinguish femicides in particular and violence against women in general from all police-related events or incidents (Roth & Valencia Villa, 2014) and to give space to gender specialists who can provide relevant data and insights on the subject.

The fifth point is the victim’s culpability in their own death. In this way, the danger of the patriarchal exercise of power becomes invisible (Ingrassia, 2020). This also includes other practices that carry the same risk, such as trivializing the harm done to victims and linking violence to certain social groups, which not only perpetuates stereotypes but also ignores the root causes of violence against women (Rodigou et al., 2007).

The ultimate vice is to pathologize femicide, i.e. to justify it in order to excuse the perpetrator. Such practices promote empathy for femicide rather than the necessary social reflection on gender issues. When he is portrayed as someone facing an illness or a problem, it directly implies that he needs help (Cabrera Ullivarri, 2011).

OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

The work fits into the framework of studies in Argentina that deal with the relationship between framing and gender (Álvarez-Monsiváis, 2019; Ingrassia, 2020; Rosenberg, 2021; Torres, 2021; Ingrassia & Retegui, 2022; Retegui & Ingrassia, 2022; Ingrassia et al., 2023a; Ingrassia & Weidmann, 2023).

Based on the previous concepts, the objectives are as follows

1. To present a matrix for analyzing news framing in the context of femicides using an innovative theoretical-methodological triangulation that combines framing terms with six dimensions referred to as patriarchal journalistic vices: (a) defining femicide as something that is not as it is, (b) framing gender violence as an individual or private problem, (c) using sensationalist language or trivial expressions, (d) prioritizing police or judicial sources, (e) blaming the victim for her own death, and (f) pathologizing the perpetrator.
2. Analysis of news articles about femicides published by *Clarín* and *Diario de Cuyo* in the months of June and December 2019. The matrix specially designed for this study includes four general variables — authorship, main image, section and length — and eight critical variables — definition of femicide, assigned character in terms of scope, use of expressions that distort the problematic situation, main source, causal interpretation, evaluation of the topic, inclusion of key information and proposed solution.

The instrument was tested for reliability by three coders specializing in the first 50 notes of the protocol. The data was cross-checked and analyzed. The result was a proven and reliable analysis tool that achieved 99% reliability.

Analysis units

The units of analysis for this study are all news articles published by *Clarín* and *Diario de Cuyo* on their online platforms about femicide cases in July and December 2019. These months are defined, following Igarza (2008), as the two most prominent traditional online media (i.e., the digital, interactive and online versions of their original publications) in Argentina and San Juan, respectively, during the study period. The first medium – *Clarín* – had the most readers among the traditional online versions (Aguirre, 2020), placing it ahead of *La Nación* and behind *Infobae* (a digital native medium). The second medium – *Diario de Cuyo* – was the most read traditional edition in the province of San Juan (Similar Web, n.d.) and had an average of 1,200 readers per month during the study period. The selection of this period for analysis is justified as it covers two of the most significant months in terms of gender-based violence statistics: in July 2019, there were 26 femicides in Argentina and in December, 30 women were killed by men who were their partners or ex-partners (Ahora que sí nos ven, 2020). This decision is also related to the context of the study, as explained in the first section. Finally, there are notable differences and similarities between the selected media that justify this choice. From a symbolic dimension within the Argentine media system, both can influence the thematic menu of other media. Moreover, in the national media ecosystem for *Clarín* and in the provincial one for *Diario de Cuyo*, they serve as clear examples of the ownership concentration that characterizes Argentina (Becerra, 2014). In addition, *Clarín* employs a gender specialist, while *Diario de Cuyo* does not. The research design is presented in the proposed analysis matrix (tables 1, 2 and 3).

Characteristics of the news

1. Authorship	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Woman 2. Man 3. Not specified
2. Main image accompanying the news article	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Woman 2. Femicide 3. Woman and femicide 4. Police or judicial personnel 5. Without image 6. Others
3. Section of the news article	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Political/society sector 2. National/local sector 3. Police sector 4. Others
4. Length of the article	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. One paragraph 2. Two paragraphs 3. Three paragraphs 4. Four or more paragraphs

Table 1. Codebook for the study of media framing on femicides. General variables

Source: Own elaboration.

Specific frameworks on femicide

5. Definition of femicide	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1=Femicide-gender-based violence 2=Crime- murder-homicide-death 3=Passion crime- jealousy crime- sentimental motive 4=Others
6. Nature granted according to the scope	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1=Gender-based violence as a public sphere problem 2=Gender-based violence as a private sphere problem
7. Expressions that distort the situation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1= Without expressions 2=From 1 to 4 3=From 5 to 8 4= 0 or more
8. Main source	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1=Specialized gender-based sources 2=Family members or known people related to the victims/attorney 3=Police or judicial sources 4=Femicide/attorney 5=Does not specify a source 6=Others

Table 2. Codebook for the study of news framing on femicides. Critical variables

Source: Own elaboration.

Specific frames of femicides

9. Causal Interpretation of femicides	1. Holds the femicide perpetrator responsible 2. Holds the State responsible 3. Holds the woman responsible for her own death 4. Inquires into the circumstances or causes 5. Absence of responsibility
10. Evaluation of the issue	1=Comprehensive evaluation of the State's deficiencies regarding gender 2=Evaluation of the patriarchal control exerted by the femicide perpetrator 3=Relativisation of the harm suffered by the victim—justification of the femicide perpetrator 4=Association of violence with certain social groups 5=Indefinite—presentation of femicide as a fictional or police narrative 6=Others
11. Inclusion of crucial information	1= Includes key information for victims of gender-based violence 2= Does not include key information for victims of gender-based violence
12. Proposed solutions	1=Resolve the State's outstanding debts regarding gender rights 2=Demand public attention to modify the current situation of violence 3=Condemn the femicide perpetrator—detail background, convictions, or statements 4=Does not present a proposed solution 5=Others

Table 3. Codebook for the study of news framing on femicides. Critical variables

Source: Own elaboration.

RESULTS

Before presenting the results, it is important to clarify that these data are not intended to be exhaustive or exhaustive. Rather, they serve as indicators that should be used as a first step towards understanding the media representation of femicide. When analyzing the formal characteristics of the news, it was found that *Clarín* published 38 articles on femicide. Of these, only four were written by women, six by men, and in 28 the authorship was not indicated. In the same period, *Diario de Cuyo* published 28 articles in which authorship was not indicated. Regarding the primary images that accompanied the news (based on size and placement), it is noticeable that in most of the articles published by both media, women's faces were the most important photos: 21 out of 38 for *Clarín* and 13 out of 28 for *Diario de Cuyo*. The sections most frequently chosen by *Clarín* were Politics/Society (20 of the 38 articles covered) and Crime (17 of 38) –another section had 1 of 38– with an average length of four paragraph graphics in 36 of the 38 articles and three in two of the 38. In contrast, *Diario de Cuyo* published all articles on femicides in the crime section, most of which included graphs with three paragraphs (10 of 28

articles covered) and two paragraphs (9 of 28). At this first level of analysis, it was found that the media attached great importance to patriarchal crimes. However, the sections selected by *Clarín* indicate the paper's intention to position violence against women as a political social issue. In contrast, *Diario de Cuyo*'s selection made the murders of women invisible simply because they were women, comparing them to other isolated crimes or conflicts ranging from theft to neighborhood disputes.

When analyzing the specific frames for femicide, it was found that this term was defined as such in the majority of articles published by *Clarín* (32 out of 38). This can be seen in the headline “Femicide in Córdoba. She reported her ex and was given a panic button, but she didn’t manage to press it: He shot her three times” (Hartmann, 2019), for example. In the *Diario de Cuyo*, on the other hand, most of the definitions revolved around terms such as crime, murder, homicide and death (14 out of 28 mentions). The San Juan newspaper also used the term passion crime. “In this conversation, he confessed the crime to his partner, the teenager’s mother” (“Te voy a dar...”, 2019, para. 1); “The discovery took place in a house in Laborde 1800, in this town on the east coast of the province of Santa Cruz, where 63-year-old Zulma Malvar Díaz lived” (“Un hombre...”, 2019, para. 2); “Everything so far indicates that it was a tragic end to an emotional relationship and that the judiciary will tend to maintain the suspicion of murder against Schiaroli, as long as he survives, of course” (“No soportó...”, 2019, para. 8).

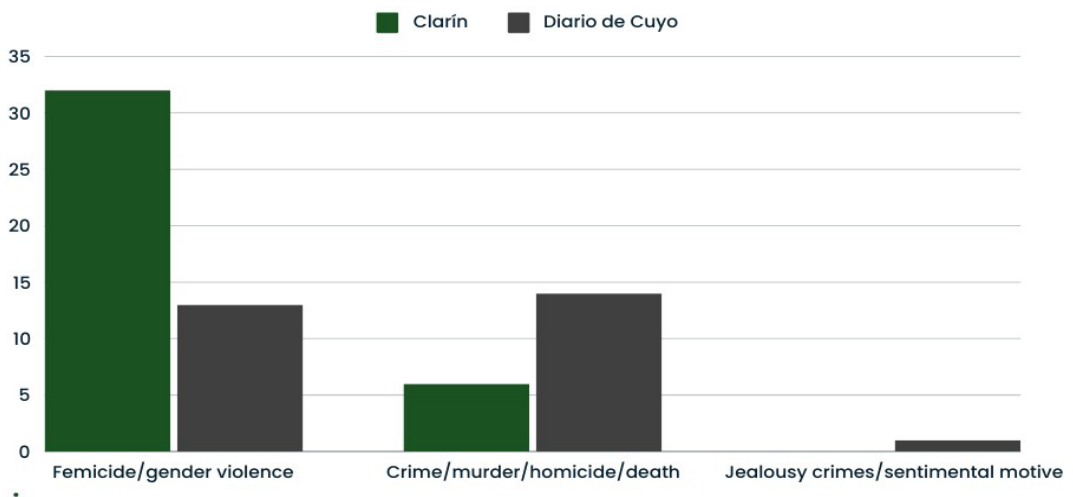


Figure 1. Definition of femicide according to Clarín and Diario de Cuyo

Source: Own elaboration.

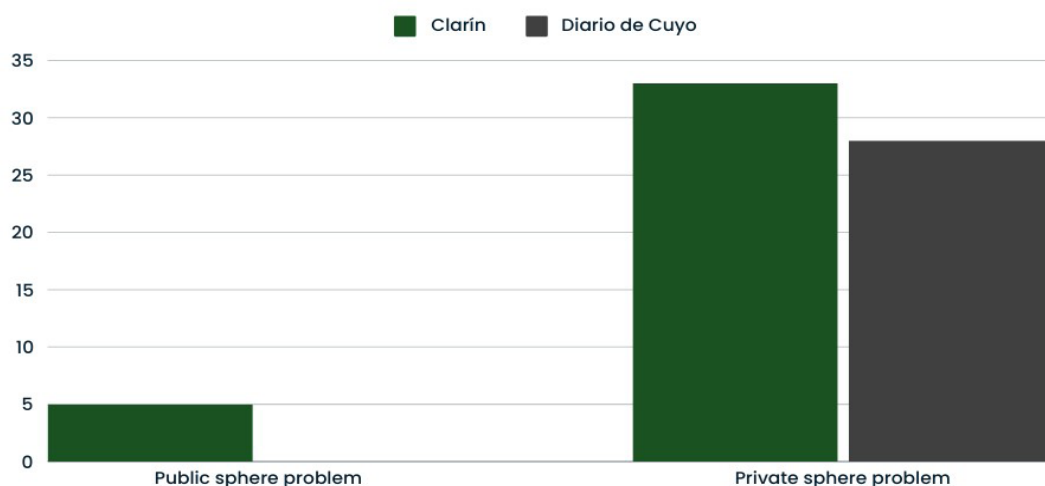


Figure 2. Nature granted according to the scope

Source: Own elaboration.

The results regarding the character attributed to femicides were similar: both media reported in the majority of publications that they were individual problems taking place in the private sphere, with only five exceptions in the case of *Clarín*. The following representative excerpts were selected from these exceptions: “Other hard data add individuality to an episode that could be confused in the overwhelming mass of cases of gender violence registered in Argentina” (Hartmann, 2019, par. 1); “Her name is added to the grim list of femicides, which, according to official data, says that a woman is killed every 30 hours” (“Otro feroz...”, 2019, para. 1).

When analyzing the use of adjectives or expressions that distort or trivialize the social problem of femicide as the ultimate expression of gender-based violence, notable differences were found. *Clarín* used such constructions in 22 out of 38 cases. However, this occurred less frequently, with one or two expressions per article. *Diario de Cuyo*, on the other hand, used them in most of its news items (20 out of 28), with nine or more expressions per case. To illustrate the previous statement, the following examples were selected:

He could not bear the separation and made the worst decision: she shot her and then tried to take her own life (...) According to sources, the first shot was heard by the victim’s girlfriend while she was cleaning the fridge, and at that moment she saw the man walking towards the bedroom, where she immediately heard another shot.

(“No soportó...”, 2019, para. 5).

It has been confirmed that the former council candidate was murdered with a hammer. While the conclusions regarding the causes and mechanisms of death will not be known until the results of the autopsy, experts have determined that she was killed by blunt force trauma. In the kitchen sink, police found the suspected murder weapon: a blood-stained carpenter's hammer that may have contained the victim's hair.

("Confirmaron que...", 2019, para. 2).

HEARTBREAKING. He witnessed his mother: 'He struck her with a knife and now she is asleep'. The child saw the harrowing scene as he peered through a window.

("Fue testigo...", 2019, para. 1).

When analyzing the sources used, similarities were found in the journalistic treatment of both media, as most of the publications selected sources from the police and the judiciary. However, *Clarín* gave much space to gender-specific sources in three of the articles analyzed. *Diario de Cuyo*, on the other hand, did not include them at all.

Regarding the causal interpretation of the femicide, most of the articles in both media blamed the perpetrator. Nevertheless, in seven cases *Diario de Cuyo* questioned the causes of the women's deaths and in three cases blamed the victim directly for her death. In this context, the following examples were selected: "Now the police are investigating what caused the incident" ("Un hombre mató"..., 2019, para. 5); "She was burnt and lost her life" ("Se quemó...", 2019, para. 1).

Regarding the definition of femicide, it was found that in 19 out of 38 articles by *Clarín* and in 20 out of 28 publications by *Diario de Cuyo*, it was presented in an unspecified way and as a fictional/police narrative. For example: "The murder of the gynecologist from Puerto San Julián was carried out in a gruesome manner: The killer strangled her, but he did it with a special grip, wrapping his forearm around her neck" ("Guajardo...", 2019, para. 1).

The bloodied body of the woman was found by her daughter. She had stab wounds to her back, armpit, and abdomen. When interviewed by the authorities, the witness stated that her mother had begun proceedings to admit her father to a care home in the area. That same day, they were expecting a psychiatrist to visit to assess the level of violence, according to police sources ("Encontraron muerta...", 2019, para. 3).

Furthermore, in four of the 38 publications by *Clarín* and three of the 28 by *Diario de Cuyo*, the femicide was justified by the fact that the perpetrator had acted in an altered state or under exceptional circumstances. “We found folders with papers and documents that were obviously examined in connection with the separation issue. They must have argued about something, and that triggered the argument that ended in the woman’s murder”, a judicial source told Télam (“Laura Sirera...”, 2019, para. 7).

“The family members only say that he was very sad about their decision to separate and did not accept it”, a judicial investigator told Télam. The case is being handled by prosecutor Carolina Carballido, who has already confirmed that there were no previous reports of gender-based violence in her specialized prosecutor’s office and that there was no record of abuse, according to initial testimony from acquaintances of the couple (“Confirmaron que...”, 2019, para. 15).

In this sense, 25 of 38 articles from *Clarín* and all 28 articles from *Diario de Cuyo* were missing important information on gender-based violence (for example, numbers and support centers for victims of gender-based violence, ways to report the attacker, women’s rights and information on victims of violence who have successfully rebuilt their lives).

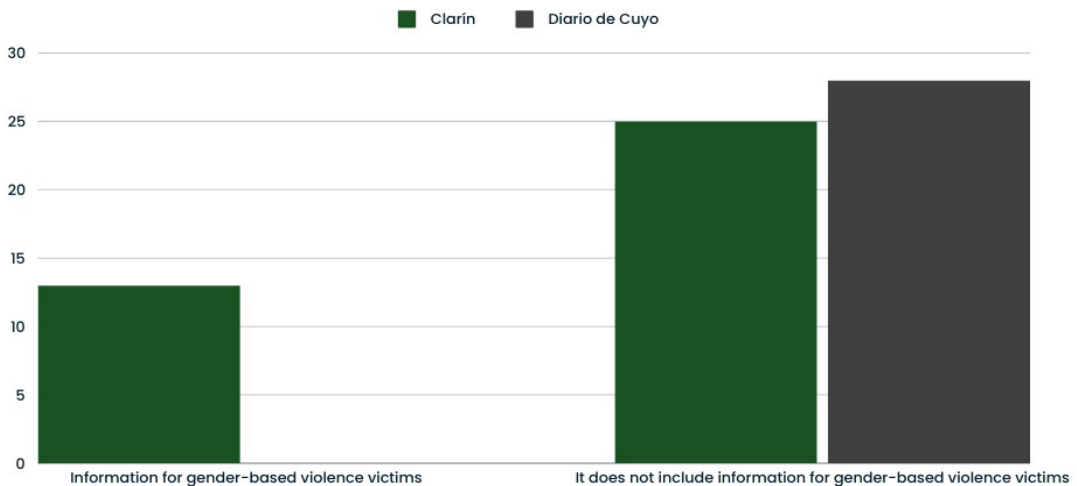


Figure 3: Inclusion of information for gender-based violence victims

Source: Own elaboration.

With regard to the proposed solutions, it was noted that the focus was mainly on the details of the femicides and the reconstruction of the events based on reports from the police, experts or judges. Although this cannot be denied, only three of the 38 news articles published by *Clarín* emphasized the State's outstanding commitments in terms of public gender policies. The following excerpt was chosen to illustrate this point:

“Who will bring my daughter back to me now? How many times did I have to come forward before it came to this?” Diego complained in deep despair. “I want justice, nothing more; I want justice for my daughter's death”, he affirmed. He concluded: “I don't want another Giuliana. Enough of killing women” (“Femicidio en Córdoba”..., 2019, para. 5).

CONCLUSIONS

Gender-based violence continues to be a social problem, which underlines the relevance of research on this topic, as it persists as a structural problem at both national and global levels. The findings contribute to the reflection on the meanings of violence against women disseminated by the media, drawing on the proposed dialog between feminist and gender perspectives and framing theory. The latter is crucial not only for its theoretical and methodological contributions, but also for analyzing the relationship between cultural context and media, political and public agendas. From this point of view, the concept of meaning construction is important in the different phases of the framing process of social problems.

The application of the methodological tool to analyze patriarchal journalistic bias allows the visualization of specific practices in the field of communication that reinforce ideas and concepts contrary to women's rights. Among the findings, the presence of a female gender editor in *Clarín's* newsroom is highlighted as key to the production of journalistic news with a gender perspective. In contrast, the articles published by *Diario de Cuyo* during the study period did not include frames aimed at re-signifying existing patriarchal structures. The results on the formal characteristics of the news reveal some differences that, although insufficient, are worth noting: *Clarín* chose the political and social sections to report on femicides, and – although only in four of the total cases analyzed – some articles were signed by women. In contrast, *Diario de Cuyo* published all reports on femicides in the Crime section without indicating authorship, which made the murders of women invisible as hate and power crimes and put them on the same level as other criminal or conflict-related incidents. Therefore, instead of addressing the situation of inequality and violence against women, the San Juan newspaper tended to amplify it.

Since the content analysis understands each post as a discrete variable, it is important to clarify that the differences in the way the framing features were grouped in the news texts presented by each media outlet were not significant. The definitions reflected in the news highlight the journalistic choices that contribute to the perpetuation of the structural phenomenon that confirms and supports the exercise of patriarchal power. The character assigned to femicides in terms of their scope tended to reinforce the patriarchal order by presenting the subject under investigation as an isolated and private matter, rather than promoting the necessary social reflection. Furthermore, when analyzing the sources, it was found that both media gave space to voices from the police and justice sectors. In this respect, violence against women was treated similarly to any other crime. At this point, it is important to emphasize that the lack of specialized sources on the topic of gender rights ultimately reinforces the vulnerability of women and prevents the necessary social confrontation with the prevailing patriarchal violence.

Moreover, in the evaluations proposed in the news articles analyzed, constructions were observed that tend to normalize women's deaths and create a numbing effect that induces apathy and passivity in the audience rather than encouraging disruptive action. Furthermore, the findings show that the perspectives offered on the issue of violence against women are superficial and that, as a result, the solutions proposed lack meaningful content. All of this contributes to reinforcing the conditions of coercion and violence to which women are subjected. In fact, most of the units analyzed were found to lack important information on gender-based violence, thereby overlooking an essential public resource that could help other victims of patriarchal violence. Finally, in the analysis of the proposed solutions, discursive strategies were observed that present women's deaths as expected events, clearly legitimizing patriarchal dominance.

It is also important to emphasize here the dynamic, interactive and changing nature of frames of meaning, and thus to stress framing as a holistic perspective that does not disregard the cultural, social, economic and political context. In this regard, the influence of feminist movements on the political agenda in Argentina after the Ni Una Menos mobilization in 2015 was remarkable. Following this event, a series of public measures were taken, among which the creation of the National Institute for Women (INAM, by its Spanish acronym) in 2017, which is responsible for gender equality in Argentina, stands out. Other notable measures include the launch of the National Action Plan for the Prevention, Support and Eradication of Violence against Women (2017-2019), the approval of the Micaela Law (27.499) in 2018, which provides for mandatory gender training for all persons in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the country, and the Brisa Law (27.452), which provides for economic compensation for children and victims

of gender-based violence if their parent or guardian has been prosecuted or convicted as a perpetrator, accomplice, instigator or accomplice in the killing of their mother. Finally, it is worth mentioning the establishment of the Ministry of Women, Gender, and Diversity in 2019, whose mission is to design, implement and evaluate national public policies to prevent, eliminate and remedy gender-based violence and provide comprehensive assistance to victims. This set of public policies has promoted changes in the media and narrowed the gap, or at least created bridges of connection, between feminist frames of meaning and news framing on the serious issue of violence against women.

Indeed, in a few cases, gender editors have been added to newsrooms, and it is worth mentioning them. In addition, efforts were made to incorporate a gender perspective into reporting to varying degrees, as mentioned earlier. As a result, the findings presented here serve to analyze the intersection between feminist movements and national and provincial media at a crucial moment, and they also raise key questions that focus on the current context, which necessitates paying attention to the upcoming news framing in relation to gender-based violence in particular and women's rights and diversity in general. This is important because, as has already been emphasized, the media is only one of the discursive arenas that are in constant tension with two other central arenas: social movements and political leaders. In relation to the latter, it is important to mention the divergent position of the current Argentine government under Javier Milei, who, as one of his first actions, downgraded the Ministry of Women, Gender and Diversity to an Undersecretariat for the Protection against Gender Violence and banned the use of inclusive language and gender perspectives in the Argentine public administration. This scenario thus puts new pressure on journalistic practices and represents a starting point to examine the cultural dimension of the framing and definitions they provide in relation to gender issues.

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SOBRE LA AUTORA

PAOLA INGRASSIA, Ph.D. candidate in Social Sciences at the Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, master in Research Methodology in Social Sciences from the Universidad Nacional de San Juan, and holds a degree in Social Communication from the same institution. She is a doctoral fellow at CONICET and a professor of undergraduate and graduate levels. Her research focuses on the relationship between political, media, and public agendas based on the theories of public problems, agenda setting, framing, and gender studies.

 [Orcid/0000-0002-2810-4632](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2810-4632)