

# A Descriptive Analysis of Domestic Homicides Committed in Turkey in 2023

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DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2025.907000173>

Received: 31 May 2025; Accepted: 07 June 2025; Published: 06 August 2025

## ABSTRACT

This study examines domestic homicide cases in Turkey that occurred in 2023. Researchers tracked and recorded these incidents from internet news sources throughout the year, identifying a total of 45 domestic homicide cases. These cases were analyzed using quantitative content analysis methods. According to the findings, a total of 114 individuals lost their lives in these incidents. In the majority of cases, the perpetrators were men, while the victims were predominantly women and children. A notable trend was the perpetrators' inclination towards committing suicide after the homicides. Firearms and sharp instruments were the most commonly used weapons. The research highlights the necessity of examining domestic homicides within the contexts of family dynamics, psychological states, and socio-economic conditions. In conclusion, it was determined that preventing domestic homicides requires efforts to combat domestic violence, provide psychological support, and improve socio-economic conditions.

**Keywords:** Domestic homicide, violence, femicide, Suicide following murder, Turkey.

## INTRODUCTION

Crime and homicide are as old as human history, and recent research indicates that crime rates are increasing in many countries (Moineddini et al., 2014). However, intentional homicide possesses distinct characteristics from other crimes. In society, intentional homicide not only creates public disgust but also generates social fear and insecurity, leading to economic, social, and emotional repercussions for the families of both the victim and the perpetrator. Domestic homicide, particularly spousal homicide, presents an even more complex scenario. In spousal homicide, a woman or a man kills their life partner, resulting in the most severe disintegration of the family (Ashuri and Mazami, 2002: 11). This situation affects not only the woman and the man but also results in the collapse of the family, victimizing children and other surrounding individuals, who face numerous challenges.

Determining the primary cause of domestic homicides is impossible, as numerous factors contribute to such incidents. A woman's dissatisfaction and the lack of an escape route from this situation are among the primary reasons, leading some women to decide to physically eliminate their husbands (Qazinijad and Abbasiyan, 2011: 111). Childhood experiences also play a role in these occurrences. Many women have faced abuse and humiliation during their childhood and encountered similar issues in their marriages, unable to secure their legal rights (Aqabakshi, 2009: 26). The combination of these factors and a lack of adherence to ethical principles leads to the emergence of such incidents. Sexual dissatisfaction at home, domestic violence, and the man's addiction are significant factors in the occurrence of this crime. Men's pride, jealousy, and concepts of honor contribute to male dominance, resulting in violent actions and behaviors within the family environment.

Domestic violence occurs among family members who share blood or legal ties and is generally perpetrated by men against women (Aghabeigloyi and Aghakhani, 2000: 87). Male addiction is one of the most evident features of human deviance and is directly associated with criminality. An addicted individual engages in the worst and most repugnant actions, destroying not only themselves but also their family (Kamalipur and Rawi, 2016: 128).

Domestic violence is a problem that can be encountered in all segments of society and can have serious

consequences. This type of violence negatively impacts the physical, emotional, and psychological health of individuals. Vulnerable groups such as women, children, and the elderly are among the primary victims of domestic violence. Victims of violence often experience long-term trauma and stress, significantly affecting their quality of life and overall health.

## Research Background

There is no direct study on domestic homicides in Turkey. Most of the studies have focused on areas such as "violence against women," "femicide," and "custom and honor killings." Custom and honor killings, which predominantly target women, are generally associated with Turkey's traditional culture and value system. However, the prevalence of these incidents across all regions of Turkey indicates that the issue is not solely related to the traditional value system. The relevant literature includes studies supporting both perspectives (see Bağlı and Özensel, 2011; Yirmibeşoğlu, 2007; Gezik, 2003; Tezcan, 2003; KAMER, 2004, 2006; Ünübol et al., 2007). Custom and honor killings can be evaluated within the context of femicide and domestic homicide because the perpetrator is typically a male family member, and the victims are usually women (spouses, mothers, sisters, daughters, etc.). However, in domestic homicides, victims are not limited to women, and perpetrators are not exclusively male family members. On the contrary, in many cases, although women are the primary victims, children and other family members (father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law, siblings, etc.) are also affected. Additionally, in modern Turkey, domestic homicides are more closely related to modernization processes (urbanization, nuclear family structure, family disintegration, infidelity, jealousy, incompatibility, etc.) rather than the country's traditional culture and value system.

In modern Turkey, femicides have become more significant than custom and honor killings. The perpetrators of femicides are not solely male family members; although male family members remain the primary offenders, perpetrators can also include ex-husbands, estranged partners, and boyfriends. This complexity makes it difficult to address femicides strictly within the context of domestic homicides. Nevertheless, a brief examination of recent femicides provides some insights into the nature of domestic homicides. Since 2008, the "We Will Stop Femicide Platform" has maintained regular statistics on femicides. The platform's 2023 Annual Data Report offers critical data on femicides. According to the report, from 2018 to 2023, with annual variations, an average of 300 women were murdered each year, and 200 women were found dead under suspicious circumstances. The report notes that in 2023, 315 women were killed, and 248 women were found dead under suspicious conditions. The data reveals that most women were murdered in their homes (65%) and were often killed using firearms (55%). The majority of perpetrators were married men (41%) and partners (14%). The report also indicates that nearly half of the murdered women were married (49%) and had children (51%). Moreover, a high proportion of these homicides occurred in major cities in Turkey's western regions (e.g., Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana, Kocaeli, Manisa) (source:<https://kadincinayetlerinidurduracagiz.net/veriler/3088/2023-yillik-veri-raporu>, 25.02.2023). These findings allow us to consider a significant portion of femicides within the scope of domestic violence and homicide.

A more specific study on domestic femicides was conducted by Yılmaz et al. (2015). Comparing domestic femicides in two cities located in Turkey's eastern and western regions (Tekirdağ and Diyarbakır), the authors analyzed court case data from 2007 to 2012. They found that in the western city (Tekirdağ), there were no murders classified as "honor killings," whereas in the eastern city (Diyarbakır), honor killings accounted for 37% of the cases. These findings indicate that domestic honor killings still persist in 21st-century Turkey.

Due to the lack of official data on domestic homicides in Turkey and the rejection of researchers' data requests, this study's data were obtained from media sources (internet news sites). Within this framework, 45 cases identified and occurring in 2023 were examined. Only cases classified as domestic homicides were selected, excluding those solely targeting women. This study deliberately distinguishes domestic homicides from femicides and custom and honor killings because domestic homicides often involve multiple deaths and, in many instances, a subsequent suicide by the perpetrator. In some cases, entire families are wiped out (e.g., a man killing his wife, children, and then himself). Therefore, it is essential to analyze domestic homicide cases within the contexts of family dynamics (domestic violence, discord, divorce processes, etc.), the psychological states of family members (mental illness, propensity for violence, jealousy, etc.), and socio-economic conditions (unemployment, the woman's employment, the man's profession, working environment/conditions, etc.). Since

conducting such an analysis based on news site reports is not feasible, this study will primarily focus on a descriptive analysis. Domestic homicide incidents in 2023 will be analyzed according to variables such as perpetrator, victim, location, murder weapon, age, and occupation.

## Theoretical Foundations

Homicide is one of the most severe crimes in human history, and despite the enactment of various laws to prevent it, almost all societies grapple with this issue. Financial issues, unusual sexual behaviors, violence, insults, and even feelings of love and belonging can lead to homicides reported in daily news.

The family is the most fundamental institution that provides its members with a sense of security and peace, and it is the most enduring and effective means of preserving cultural characteristics and transmitting them to future generations. However, the presence of violence within the family increases anxiety and insecurity, with one of its most significant consequences being domestic homicides. Domestic homicides undermine the family's functions of providing peace and security.

Violence within the family is indicative of the rise in violence throughout society. A glance at television, newspapers, and internet sites reveals traces of violence in families. Most healthy marriages experience some disagreements that are resolved respectfully. However, in dysfunctional or troubled relationships, these disagreements escalate into physical violence and abuse or insults and humiliation, sometimes becoming a permanent cycle of continuous fighting and reconciliation or repeated divorces.

Research indicates that the risk of severe and violent assaults from family members, friends, and close acquaintances is twice as high as from strangers (Stark & Flitcraft, 1985, pp. 159-160). Most violence occurs within the family. For instance, Americans are so frequently exposed to family violence that they have named the family as the most violent social institution after the police and military. Some argue that domestic violence is the most significant social issue facing Americans today (Sarvestani, 2007, pp. 144-145).

Domestic homicides have garnered attention from the public and judicial authorities. The increase in such homicides can be associated with the dissolution or weakening of the family institution. Psychologists and criminologists have continuously emphasized and warned about the loss of family values (Khalatbari, 2007, pp. 44-47). The primary classifications of domestic homicides are explained below:

1. **Domestic Homicides:** The term domestic homicide refers to incidents where a family member is involved as either a victim or a perpetrator. This broad term includes parricide (the killing of a parent by a child), filicide (the killing of a child by a parent), siblicide (the killing of a sibling), and intimate partner homicide. The existing literature on domestic homicides is limited, and there are few studies due to the low prevalence of this type of crime. Studies that do exist often highlight mistreatment as a common factor in many domestic homicides, such as parents being provoked to kill to protect their children or individuals who become perpetrators due to prolonged mistreatment. The following subsections provide a summary of the main research findings on types of domestic homicides, including intimate partner homicide, parent homicide, and sibling homicide.
2. **Intimate Partner Homicide (IPH):** Most studies examining domestic homicides focus on intimate partner homicides. These homicides are predominantly gender-based, with men typically being the perpetrators and women the victims (Websdale, 1999). Motivations differ based on the gender of the perpetrator. Research shows that women who commit IPH often do so out of fear for their safety (Kroetshnitz et al., 2002; Websdale, 1999). These women are typically victims of abuse by their intimate partners, feeling desperate and trapped, and resort to murder to end the violent relationship. On the other hand, male perpetrators of IPH are more likely to be motivated by sexual jealousy and a sense of male dominance (Daly & Wilson, 1988; Websdale, 1999; Wilson & Daly, 1993).
3. **Spousal Homicides:** Spousal homicides are the most prominent examples of domestic homicides. In these cases, women may kill their husbands for various reasons. The desire to end physical and sexual abuse is a strong motivation for women to eliminate their husbands. Similarly, husbands may also kill

their wives. According to existing records, violence committed by men against women during deadly conflicts is a significant issue and must be considered.

4. **Kin Homicides:** Close relationships and emotional bonds among relatives do not prevent them from killing each other. Homicides resulting from family disputes affect mothers, fathers, daughters, sons, and other family members. Cultural and traditional practices in some regions have led to women and girls being killed by their brothers or cousins.
5. **Child Homicide (Filicide):** Child homicide refers to the killing of a child by a parent (Palermo, 2002). This crime can be classified as infanticide and child homicide. Research examining these types of homicides focuses largely on their micro-level characteristics. Similar to IPH, studies show that economic hardships play a role in the occurrence of these crimes. Friedman et al. (2005), in their study of 39 cases of filicide and infanticide, found that women who commit these crimes are often economically disadvantaged. According to their research, women who commit infanticide are typically young, of low socioeconomic status, single, and living with their families. Similarly, women who commit filicide are often in their 20s and unemployed. Studies on the reasons for these homicides often focus on cases committed by women. Research on gender differences shows that men and women commit these crimes for different reasons. Studies indicate that men who commit these crimes often do so to demonstrate their power over their families, while women act out of fear of continued abuse, an inability to fulfill maternal duties, or due to psychiatric conditions (Harris et al., 2006; Schwartz & Isser, 2007). Oberman and Meyer (2008) found that women who kill their children have often been abused in their childhood or by significant others. Other explanations include postpartum depression and Munchausen syndrome (Wilczynski, 1997; Schwartz & Isser, 2007; Firstman & Talan, 1997).

#### 6. Parent Homicide (Parricide)

Parricide is the act of a child killing a parent, which can be classified as patricide (killing of the father or stepfather) and matricide (killing of the mother or stepmother). These homicides are usually examined on an individual level, and their impact on social structure is not well understood. Heide and Petee (2007) found that patricide constitutes a significant portion of these cases (Fox et al., 2005). Current research indicates that child abuse is a common cause of these homicides, followed by psychiatric illnesses and antisocial behaviors (Heide, 1992). Physical abuse is often perpetrated by fathers or stepfathers, explaining the higher incidence of patricide. Psychiatric illnesses also play a significant role in parricide. Case studies reveal that many perpetrators suffer from severe depression, paranoid schizophrenia, and other disorders. Additionally, some researchers have found associations with antisocial personalities. These perpetrators often have issues such as low self-esteem, frequent contact with the justice system, apparent lack of morality, or a lack of a sense of belonging in social activities (Ewing, 1997). Detailed analyses of parricide incidents show that motivations differ depending on the type of homicide. Ewing (1997) found that patricide is often committed in response to severe physical abuse, while matricide often involves prior psychological abuse and sometimes overt or covert sexual abuse (Heide, 1992). The motivation for the act also appears to be linked to the age of the perpetrator, with adult offenders (over 18) being more likely to suffer from psychiatric illnesses compared to adolescent offenders (Marlow et al., 2006).

#### 7. Sibling Homicide (Siblicide)

Siblicide refers to the killing of a sibling by another sibling and can be classified as sororicide (killing of a sister) and fratricide (killing of a brother). These homicides are the rarest type of domestic homicides. Underwood and Patch (1999) note that sibling homicides accounted for only about 1.12% of total homicides in the US between 1991 and 1995. Due to the low incidence, these homicides have not been thoroughly studied, and their macro-level relationships are yet to be determined. The limited studies available suggest that these homicides often result from sibling rivalry, stress, unresolved conflicts, psychiatric illnesses, and substance abuse (Ewing, 1997). Sibling rivalry is common in most relationships but tends to decrease as children grow and leave the parental home. Many cases of sibling homicide involve adult siblings still living together, where rivalry intensifies. This rivalry can be over parental

attention, status, or power. Stress factors, such as unemployment or substance abuse (addiction), are also risk factors for sibling homicide (Ewing, 1997).

Criminologists have identified the main reasons for these types of homicides as follows:

1. **Jealousy and Possessiveness:** The primary cause of marital homicides can be the man's sexual possessiveness and jealousy towards the woman. The man may physically eliminate his partner due to desires to leave, demands for divorce, illicit relationships with another person, or infidelity, as he does not want his partner to be involved with someone else.
2. **Obsessive Protection:** Men's possessive behavior and obsessive protection desires towards their spouses are among the first signs of deterioration in marital relationships. As the man restricts the woman's freedom, the conflict intensifies, eventually leading to severe violence and fights. If this process continues and there is no external intervention, the likelihood of one spouse being killed increases.
3. **Age Difference:** A significant age difference between the husband and wife can cause various issues within the family. This age difference can lead to one spouse killing the other if they engage in extramarital affairs. The type of marital relationship appears to be an important factor in the occurrence of domestic violence and homicides (Khalatbari, 2006, pp. 44-47).

Men generally place great importance on their masculinity and its defense, and conflicts with women often result in murder after a long period of violence and particularly sexual abuse. Men usually kill their partners due to perceived infidelity and betrayal; women, on the other hand, often kill to protect themselves and rarely do so due to infidelity. Therefore, male violence is mostly aggressive, while female violence is typically defensive (Sarvestani, 2007, pp. 144-145).

## Research Method

### Research Design

This study employs descriptive and quantitative research methods to comprehensively analyze domestic homicide cases that occurred in Turkey in 2023. The research design focuses on examining various variables, such as the spatial distribution of homicides, methods of homicide, motivations, and demographic characteristics of the perpetrators. The data for this study were obtained through internet news sites. Researchers tracked and recorded domestic homicide cases that occurred throughout the year 2023 via these sites.

### Research Universe and Sample

The research universe comprises all domestic homicide cases recorded in Turkey in 2023. The sample was selected to ensure a representative cross-section of domestic homicides across Turkey, thereby enhancing the generalizability of the findings. The sample size was maintained at a sufficient level to ensure the reliability of statistical analyses.

### Data Collection Tools and Process

The data for this research were obtained from internet news sites categorized under "news sites" and recognized as reliable news sources in Turkey (sources cited in the bibliography). Each domestic homicide case reported on one news site was cross-verified through other news sites. Suspicious cases and domestic homicides with known motives such as inheritance disputes were excluded from the study. The following information was sought from the collected data:

- **Spatial Distribution of Homicides:** The provinces and districts where the homicides occurred.
- **Methods of Homicide:** Firearms, sharp objects, strangulation, etc.
- **Motivations for Homicide:** Decisions related to life, family disputes, jealousy, etc.

- **Demographic Characteristics of Perpetrators:** Age, gender, relationship to the victim (spouse, ex-spouse, relative, acquaintance, etc.).
- **Characteristics of Victims:** Age groups, gender, degree of relationship, protection status (whether there was a protection order), economic and social status.

## Data Analysis

Addressing issues in social research requires knowledge and mastery of scientific methodologies and research paths. These paths are determined by quantitative and qualitative research based on two different paradigms. Different tools and methods are needed to conduct research in both quantitative and qualitative approaches, one of which is the content analysis method. Content analysis in qualitative approaches was developed in the mid-20th century. Qualitative content analysis can be considered a type of research methodology that serves the interpretation of the content of data (Iman and Noshadi, 2019).

Content analysis is a commonly used research method for analyzing textual data. Quantitative techniques have often been criticized for reducing text to numbers, leading to a loss of composite information and meaning. To answer the research questions, this study used a quantitative content analysis method with a summary or conventional approach. A study using qualitative content analysis with a summary approach begins by identifying and quantifying specific words or topics in the text, and understanding how these words or contents are used in the text.

The data of this research were analyzed in two interrelated sections. All the data about domestic homicides that occurred in Turkey in 2023 can be seen as quantitative data. Some of the data are based on news and details related to certain incidents of domestic homicides. This part of the data, analyzed using the quantitative content technique, consists of two sections.

## Reliability and Validity

The data used in this research were obtained from reliable sources. The high level of detail and accuracy in recording domestic homicides across Turkey ensures the reliability and validity of the study. Additionally, the methods and statistical analyses used in the data analysis process increase the accuracy and reliability of the findings. Throughout the data collection and analysis process, strict adherence to research ethics and scientific accuracy principles was maintained.

## Ethical Principles

All ethical principles were carefully observed during the research process. Respect for the privacy of victims and their families was maintained during the use of data on domestic homicides. Data were anonymized, and no personal information was disclosed. Furthermore, the research findings will be used to raise awareness about domestic homicides and to help prevent such violence.

## FINDINGS

Domestic homicides are one of the most significant and complex social issues in Turkey. The data presented on domestic homicides in 2023 illustrate that the issue can be examined from various dimensions. This analysis carefully examines the data based on existing theories to obtain a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon. Table 1 presents a detailed, segmented breakdown of domestic homicide cases in 2023.

No	Perpetrator	Perpetrator Age	Victims (Age)	Vehicles	Suicide following murder	City (Location)
1	Child (M)	16	Mother, sister, neighbor	Knife	-	Istanbul (Home)
2	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse, mother-in-law,	Knife	-	Istanbul

			father-in-law, brother-in-law			
3	Child (M)	N/A	Mother, brothers, sister-in-law	Gun	-	Bursa
4	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse and brother-in-law	Shotgun	-	Kars (Home)
5	Child (M)	N/A	Mother and father	Knife	-	Istanbul (Home)
6	Groom (M)	N/A	Father-in-law and mother-in-law	Knife	-	Sinop (Home)
7	Spouse (M)	53	Spouse and daughter	Knife	-	Nevsehir (Hotel pool)
8	Child (F)	31	Mother, grandmother	Axe	-	Zonguldak (Home)
9	Brother-in-law (M)	N/A	Brothers-in-law	Gun	-	Ankara (Vacant land)
10	Child (M)	50	Brother, sister-in-law, nephew	Hunting rifle	-	Mersin (Home)
11	Spouse (M)	N/A	Ex-spouse, mother, father, grandmother	Shotgun	-	Afyonkarahisar (Home)
12	Spouse (M)	N/A	Ex-spouse and daughter	Gun	-	Konya (Home)
13	Child (M)	N/A	Mother, father, siblings	Gun	*	Elazığ (home)
14	Spouse (M)	N/A	Children	Rope suspension	*	Adana
15	Child (M)	N/A	Mother	Gun	*	Istanbul (Home)
16	Spouse (M)	N/A	Ex-spouse	Gun	*	Ankara (Street)
17	Child (M)	N/A	Mother and father	Gun	*	Konya (Home)
18	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse	Shotgun	*	Izmir (Home)
19	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse in the process of divorce	Knife and gun	*	Antalya (Family Health Center)
20	Spouse (M)	N/A	Ex-spouse	Gun	*	Manisa (Street)
21	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse or ex-spouse	Gun	*	Gaziantep
22	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse	Gun	*	Ankara (Street)
23	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse	Shotgun	*	Istanbul (Home)
24	Spouse (M)	85	Spouse (86)	Hunting rifle	*	Giresun (Home)
25	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse	Knife	*	Istanbul (Home)
26	Spouse (M)	26	Spouse and son	Knife	*	Denizli (Home)
27	Spouse (M)	67	Spouse (64)	Gun	*	Nevsehir (Home)
28	Spouse (M)	33	Ex-spouse and ex-mother-in-law	Gun	*	Kahramanmaras (Home)
29	Father	43	Son (7)	Knife	*	Mersin (Home)

30	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse	Gun	*	Istanbul (Home)
31	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse	Gun	*	Mardin
32	Child (F)	25	Mother (52)	Knife	*	Ankara (Home)
33	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse (40), Daughter (7), 2 Son (9.4)	Gun	*	Istanbul (Home)
34	Child (M)	25	Mother (53)	Knife	*	Ankara (Home)
35	Spouse (M)	39	Spouse (42)	Gun	*	Mersin (Home)
36	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse, son, and daughter	Gun	*	Kocaeli (Home)
37	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse	Gun	*	Istanbul (Home)
38	Spouse (M)	34	Spouse and sons	Gun	*	Bursa (Home)
39	Spouse (M)	40	Spouse (38) and friend (35)	Shotgun	*	Denizli
40	Spouse (M)	43	Spouse (38)	Gun	*	Izmir
41	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse	Gun	*	Ankara (Home)
42	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse and brother-in-law	Gun	*	Mersin (Forest)
43	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse	Gun	*	Ankara (Home)
44	Father	80	Disabled daughter (52)	Gun	*	Trabzon (Home)
45	Spouse (M)	N/A	Spouse	Knife	*	Osmaniye (Home)

Table 1. Details of domestic murders in 2023

Table 1 illustrates the diverse and multifaceted nature of domestic homicide cases that occurred in Turkey in 2023. Although the ages of all perpetrators are not known, it is evident that offenders span across all age categories (children, adolescents, adults, and elderly individuals). The table shows perpetrators ranging from 16 to 85 years old, which is a relatively new finding. The presence of child and elderly perpetrators in domestic homicide cases is particularly striking. On the other hand, regardless of their age, the vast majority of perpetrators are male (43 out of 45 homicides were committed by men). This finding highlights that the issue cannot be considered apart from "male violence." Another significant finding is that a substantial portion of perpetrators either committed suicide or attempted suicide after the murder (31 out of 45 cases involved suicide, and 2 involved suicide attempts). According to the table, the largest number of victims in domestic homicide cases are women, with 42 out of 45 cases involving female victims. While there are also child victims in many cases, the number of female victims far exceeds the number of child victims (42 cases involved female victims compared to 9 cases involving child victims). Moreover, considering that some of the murdered children were girls, the number of female victims is further increased. The fact that many news sites report domestic homicide cases under the heading of "femicides" may be related to this. The occurrence of domestic homicide cases across Turkey's 7 regions indicates that the issue has become a national problem and requires attention. The fact that many of these cases occurred in metropolitan areas or their districts underscores the importance of the metropolitan phenomenon and its dynamics.

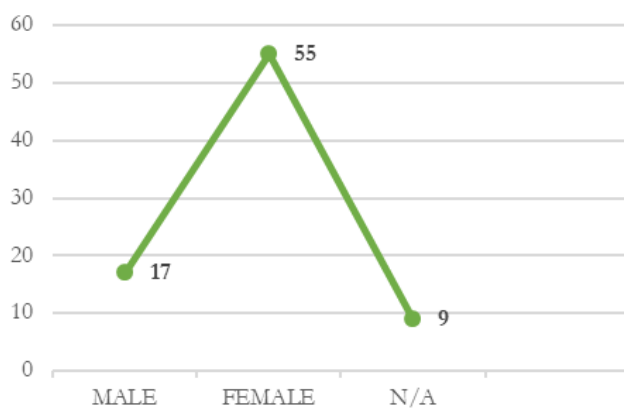
### Gender Distribution of Victims and Perpetrators

According to Graphic 1, the majority of domestic homicide victims are women, while the perpetrators are predominantly male. Based on recorded information, 2 perpetrators are female and 43 are male. Among the



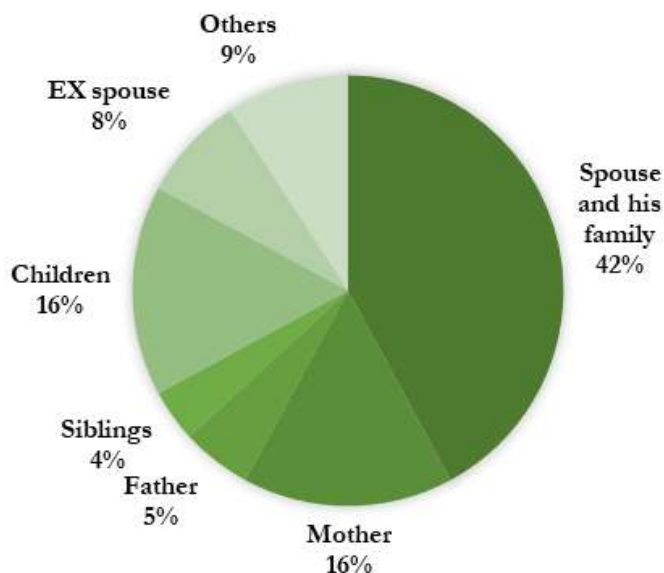
perpetrators, 5 killed their former spouses, and one killed a spouse who was in the process of divorce. This finding is consistent with patriarchal theory, which emphasizes gender roles imposed by society. In many patriarchal societies, women are oppressed as a group controlled by men. These heterogeneous power structures can lead to domestic violence. In patriarchal societies, men have greater control over women and use violence as a tool to maintain this control. Data show that many of these homicides were committed by men against their spouses or partners, indicating serious conflicts within marital relationships. These conflicts may stem from men's sense of ownership over women and can lead to violence when women disobey or attempt to assert independence. It should be noted that this section presents statistics only for victims killed by perpetrators. In the 45 cases mentioned, the total number of victims killed by perpetrators is 81. Including the perpetrators who committed suicide, the total number of deaths in these cases is 114.

**G 1.**  
**GENDER OF VICTIMS**



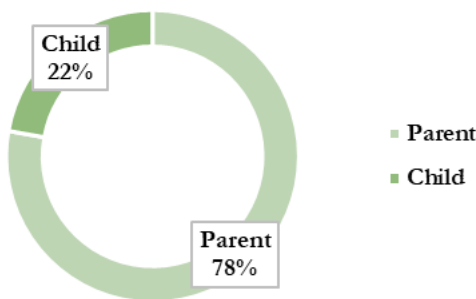
On the other hand, according to Graphic 2, spousal homicides (Intimate Partner Homicides, IPH) are the most prevalent among domestic homicides, with some family members of the spouse also being killed. This situation typically points to numerous marital problems stemming from neglect in resolving issues and, naturally, years of accumulated anger. Consequently, a dispute or conflict arises between the couple, leading to acts of violence and, ultimately, the death of one of the partners. Additionally, parent (Parricide) and child (Filicide) homicides are also commonly observed, which could be of significant importance for studies and research. Unfortunately, due to the limited details available about the murders, there is no complete information regarding the reasons for the killing of parents and children. Nevertheless, significant statistics related to these cases have been recorded.

**G 2.**  
**VICTIMS**



As depicted in Graphic 3, in 2023, a significant portion of domestic homicides in Turkey were committed by parents or spouses (primarily men) (%78). Children rank second (%22) among perpetrators. In both cases, the male figure is predominant. This highlights the necessity of focusing on the concept of masculinity in domestic violence and homicide cases in Turkey. It appears that in many instances, children (most of whom are under the age of 10) become victims of disputes and conflicts between spouses. Perpetrators who kill their partners and themselves might resort to these actions because they do not want their children to be left alone after their deaths.

**G 3.**  
**Perpetrator**

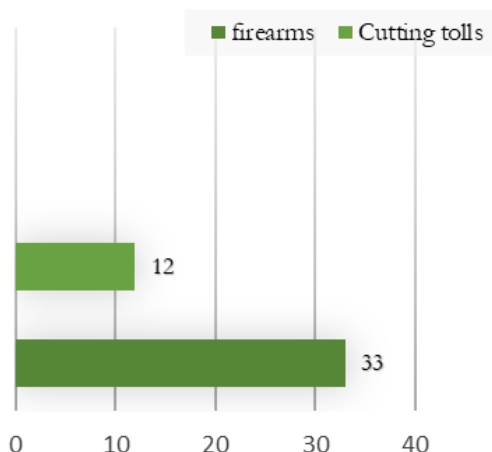


### Tools Used in Domestic Homicides

According to the data, the primary tools used in domestic homicides are firearms and knives. As shown in Graphic 4, 33 of the homicides were committed using firearms. The use of these tools indicates both the severity of the violence and the easy access to these weapons. Easy access to violent tools can contribute to an increase in homicides. In Turkey, it may be necessary to review the laws concerning firearm possession and use to reduce illegal access to such tools. Restricting access to firearms and sharp instruments could contribute to a decrease in homicide rates.

### Suicide following murder

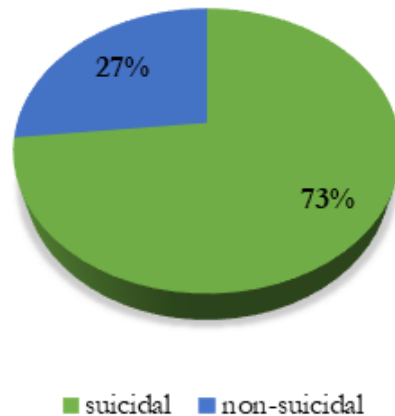
**G 4.**  
**VEHICLES**



According to Graphic 5, 33 perpetrators aged between 16 and 85 committed suicide after the murders. Of these, 31 died by suicide, while 2 survived. This situation reflects serious internal conflicts and feelings of despair. Individuals who commit murder may resort to suicide due to feelings of guilt, regret, or fear of legal and social consequences. Suicide following a homicide may reflect the individual's struggle to cope with the consequences

of their actions and deep feelings of hopelessness. It is noteworthy that among the perpetrators who committed suicide, 24 were spouses, and 9 were children.

#### G 5. POST-MURDER REACTIONS OF PERPETRATORS AGED BETWEEN 16-85



#### Geographic and Spatial Distribution of Homicides

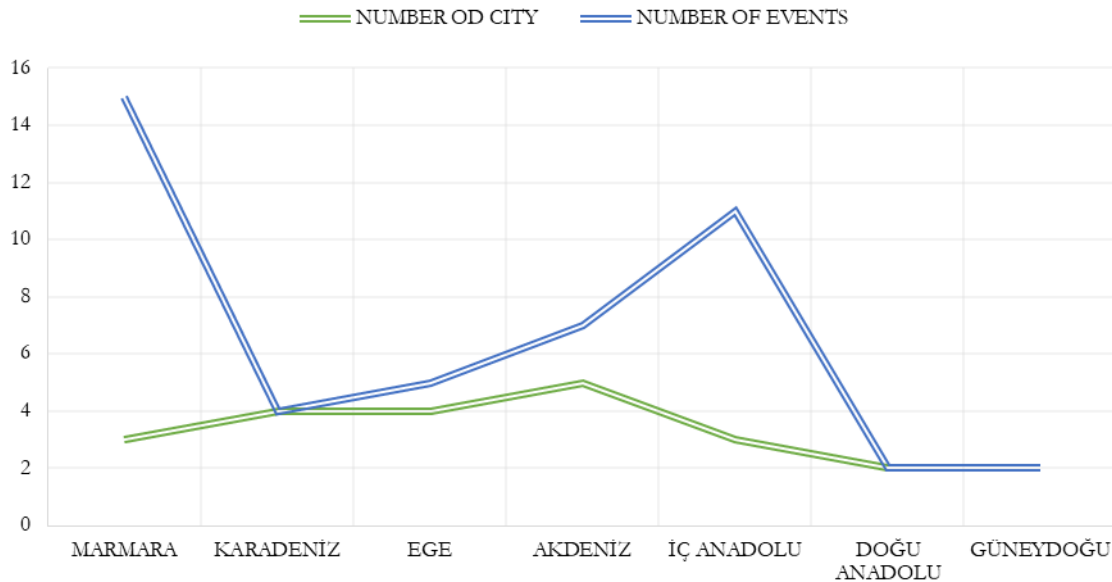
According to Table 2, the highest number of homicide cases occurred in large cities such as Istanbul and Ankara. The general statistics of the 114 individuals who lost their lives in domestic homicides across different cities in Turkey are separately recorded in Table 2. This issue can be associated with population density, urban pressures, and increasing social conflicts. In large cities, higher population density and social and economic pressures contribute to higher rates of domestic violence. Living in metropolitan areas is associated with challenges such as unemployment, financial strain, and lack of personal space, which can lead to increased tension and violence.

İstanbul	22	Konya	4	Kars	2
Ankara	12	Nevşehir	4	Zonguldak	2
Mersin	11	İzmir	4	Giresun	2
Bursa	8	Afyonkarahisar	4	Antalya	2
Elazığ	6	Kocaeli	3	Sinop	2
Denizli	6	Kahramanmaraş	3	Gaziantep	2
Adana	5	Trabzon	2	Osmaniye	1
Manisa	5	Mardin	2	<b>Total</b>	<b>114</b>

Table No. 2. Number of deaths by city

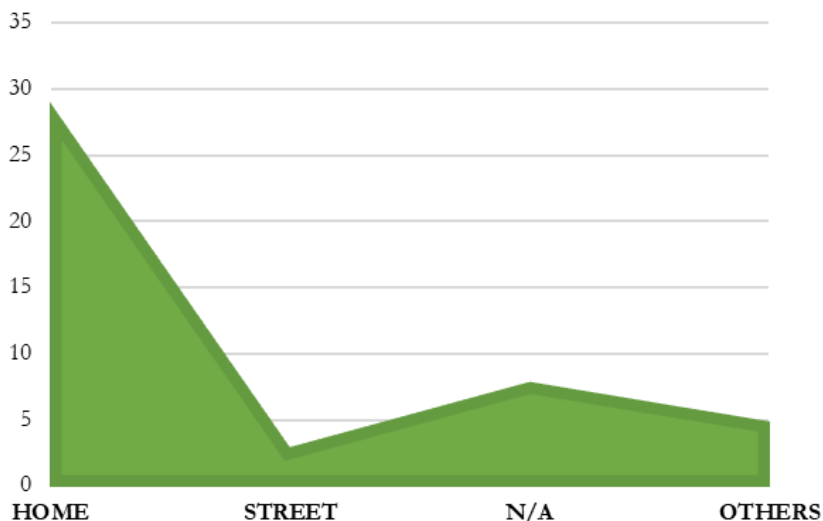
Based on the recorded data, a separate classification of homicide statistics across different geographic regions of Turkey has been conducted, as shown in Graphic 7. In terms of the number of cities, the Mediterranean region ranks first, while the Marmara region leads in the number of incidents. In the Mediterranean region, cities such as Adana, Mersin, and Antalya are prominent, whereas in the Marmara region, Istanbul and Bursa are the leading cities. The Central Anatolia region, which includes large cities like Ankara and Konya, is also one of the regions with a high incidence of domestic homicides. However, the occurrence of domestic homicide cases across all regions of Turkey complicates the analysis of these incidents with limited variables. This issue necessitates considering regional and local dynamics as well.

**G 7. NUMBER OF INCIDENTS BY GEOGRAPHIC REGION**



Moreover, 29 of the recorded homicides occurred in the home. The information in Graphic 8 indicates that the home environment may be unsafe for couples experiencing numerous issues in their marriages, as there is a possibility that one of them might engage in violence or violent behavior. The fact that many incidents occur in the evening highlights the prominence of the home factor. Additionally, parties often prefer to address disputes within the home environment. Unfortunately, many of these discussions result in violence and domestic homicides.

**G 8.  
THE LOCATION OF EVENTS**



Given the high rates of homicide and domestic violence in major cities such as Ankara and Istanbul, a separate analysis is warranted. Both the number of cases and the mortality rates are higher in these metropolitan areas compared to other cities. In Istanbul, Ankara, and Mersin, the number of deaths due to domestic homicides in a year exceeds 10 in each city, with a total of 45 deaths across these three cities.

The high rates of homicide and domestic violence in cities like Ankara and Istanbul are complex and multifaceted. One primary factor is related to economic problems such as unemployment and poverty. These issues can lead to increased stress and hopelessness among individuals, which can ultimately contribute to a rise in domestic violence and violent crimes. Additionally, economic and social inequalities can exacerbate feelings of dissatisfaction, further triggering violence.

Social and cultural factors also play a significant role. Traditional gender roles and cultures that view violence as an acceptable behavior can contribute to increased domestic violence. Cultures that regard violence as a method for resolving problems often exhibit higher rates of violence.

The lack of legal support and ineffective laws to protect victims of domestic violence is another factor. Even when protective laws are in place, inadequate enforcement by the police and judicial system can lead to an increase in violence.

Psychological factors are also important. Individuals with psychological issues such as depression, anxiety, or personality disorders may be more prone to violent behavior. Substance abuse and alcohol consumption can further impair one's ability to control behavior, leading to increased violence.

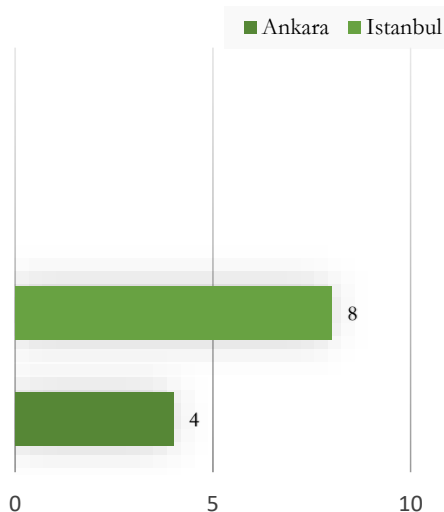
In major cities, such as Istanbul and Ankara, population density can lead to increased stress and negative interactions. Cultural diversity in these cities can also contribute to conflicts and heightened violence.

Individuals raised in violent families may also develop violent behaviors themselves. Additionally, a lack of conflict resolution and stress management skills within families can contribute to the increase in domestic violence.

The frequent portrayal of violence in the media can normalize and spread violent behaviors. Social media and the internet can also facilitate the spread of misinformation and encourage violence.

To reduce homicide and domestic violence rates, a multifaceted approach is needed, including improving economic conditions, strengthening protective laws, teaching social and psychological skills, and implementing cultural and social changes.

**G 9.**  
**NUMBER OF VICTIMS IN THE HOME**



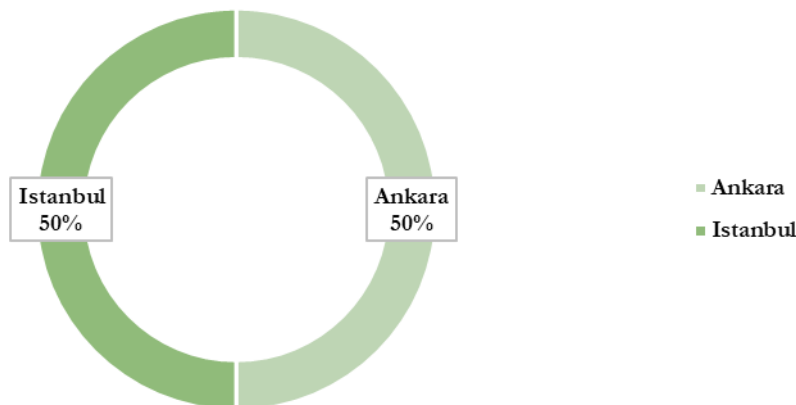
Graphic 9 indicates that the total number of domestic homicides in Istanbul, with 8 cases, is significantly higher compared to Ankara, which has 4 cases. This difference of 3 cases may be attributed to several factors:

- 1. Population and Urban Density:** As Turkey's largest and most populous city, Istanbul has a higher population density and an increasing number of households, which could lead to a greater incidence of domestic homicides. This demographic factor may bring about more social and economic pressures that influence domestic violence rates.
- 2. Social and Economic Factors:** The economic conditions in Istanbul, along with social inequalities and economic pressures, may exacerbate issues in family relationships, potentially increasing domestic

homicide rates. Factors such as unemployment, economic problems, and social inequalities in Istanbul warrant further investigation to better understand the reasons behind the rise in domestic homicides.

3. **Quality of Support Services:** A lack of or insufficient access to support and counseling services for victims of domestic violence may also contribute to the increase in homicide numbers. Improving the support and counseling systems for dealing with domestic violence in Istanbul might be necessary to address this issue.

G 10.  
QUANTITY OF USE OF FIREARMS



According to data from Graphic 10, the use of firearms in both Ankara and Istanbul is equal, with 5 cases each. This similarity in firearm use rates suggests that access to firearms may be comparable in both cities. However, the equal number of firearms used and the differences in the total number of homicides imply that firearms are just one factor among many in domestic homicides, and these differences cannot be solely attributed to the availability of firearms.

The analysis of domestic homicide data for Turkey in 2023 reveals a complex and multifaceted issue, suggesting the need for a comprehensive and coordinated approach to address it. The following points summarize the findings and recommendations:

## Key Findings

### 1. Firearms as a Factor:

- The data shows that while the use of firearms in domestic homicides is consistent in both Istanbul and Ankara, the total number of homicides is significantly higher in Istanbul. This suggests that firearms are only one factor among many contributing to domestic violence and homicides. Other factors such as family tensions, psychological issues, and social and legal control deficiencies may play a more significant role.

### 2. Cultural and Social Factors:

- **Role of Culture and Education:** Cultures that promote violence as a solution to family problems may increase the likelihood of domestic homicides. Social and cultural education that emphasizes respect for women's rights and peaceful conflict resolution can play a crucial role in reducing domestic violence. Educational programs in schools and community seminars can raise awareness about domestic violence and prevention methods.
- **Media Influence:** The media can help reduce domestic violence by providing appropriate information and raising awareness. Positive role models and healthy behavior promotion through

media can shift societal attitudes. However, excessive portrayal of violence in media, coupled with insufficient legal restrictions, can normalize and spread violent behavior.

### 3. Psychological Factors:

- **Mental Disorders:** Many perpetrators of domestic violence may suffer from psychological disorders. Providing psychological and counseling services to individuals involved in family conflicts can help reduce such violence. Monitoring families with members who have a history of violence or mental disorders is crucial for preventing potential violence and homicides.
- **Social Learning Theory:** This theory suggests that violence can be learned through observation, particularly in the family environment. Children who witness violence at home may perceive it as a normal behavior model and replicate it in adulthood. Social environments, including schools and peer groups, also influence behavioral learning. In modern cities, the decreasing influence of traditional family values and the tension between traditional and modern values may increase the likelihood of violent behavior.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### 1. Strengthening Protective Laws:

- Implement stricter laws and improve access to support services for victims of domestic violence. This includes creating safe shelters and providing legal and psychological support.

### 2. Education and Awareness:

- Conduct educational programs to reduce gender biases and promote a culture of equality. School-based education and public campaigns can encourage respect for women's and children's rights.

### 3. Counseling and Psychological Services:

- Provide counseling and psychological services to individuals involved in family conflicts to reduce tension and prevent violence. These services should include anger management and mental health improvement.

### 4. Regulating Firearm Access:

- Review and strengthen laws regarding firearm ownership and use to reduce illegal access. Implement stricter systems for issuing firearm permits and monitor illegal firearms markets.

### 5. Increasing Surveillance and Intervention:

- Enhance social and legal surveillance in private spaces and support victims of domestic violence through mechanisms such as emergency hotlines, crisis intervention programs, and increased collaboration between government and civil society organizations.

### 6. Promoting a Culture of Non-Violence:

- Encourage a culture of non-violence and respect for human rights through educational programs, media, and public campaigns. This includes positive and educational media content.

## CONCLUSION

The comprehensive analysis of domestic homicide data for Turkey in 2023 reveals that this issue is multifaceted and complex, requiring a comprehensive and coordinated approach for effective resolution. Considering various scientific theories and existing data, it can be concluded that reducing domestic violence necessitates special

attention to structural, cultural, economic, and psychological factors. However, the reduction of such violence and the creation of a safer and fairer society can only be achieved through the adoption of comprehensive and coordinated approaches, alongside fundamental changes in societal attitudes and structures.

The findings of the research indicate that male violence and related domestic and femicide cases remain prevalent in Turkey. Additionally, the scope of this violence extends beyond those directly responsible to include innocent bystanders, such as children with no involvement in the events. These factors necessitate a unified effort to combat domestic homicides. Both public institutions and civil organizations must assume responsibility and address the issue from a multidimensional perspective.

**Funding statement.** None.

**Competing interests.** None.

The data that support the findings of this study are available.

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