

FEMICIDE IN THE CONTEXT OF SEX WORKER OR PROSTITUTION. MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS

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ABSTRACT

The study analyzes how Romanian online media reports on cases of femicide involving female sex workers or prostitutes killed in Romania or within the Romanian diaspora in Europe. The research methodology involved a content analysis of 250 Romanian-language articles covering 12 cases of femicide against sex workers and prostitutes committed between 2020 and 2025.

The analysis of the results highlighted the episodic frame, the victim-blaming frame, and the pejorative framing of murdered sex workers. Half of the analyzed articles contained direct and indirect techniques for blaming female victims, with direct blaming techniques predominating.

The primary sources of information used by journalists were the institutions involved in handling the cases (the police and the prosecutor's office) and other media outlets (news agencies and national and international online newspapers). Unofficial sources (the families of the victim and the perpetrator, their close associates, experts, social media, etc.) were used to a lesser extent.

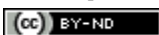
Keywords: femicide, sex worker or prostitution, media representation, victim blaming, Romania

INTRODUCTION

Although the risk of female sex workers being killed is higher than for other categories of women (Lowman and Fraser 1994; Potterat et al. 2004; Chan and Beauregard 2019), few scientific studies address the issue of femicides committed in the context of sex work or prostitution. Equally scarce are femicide prevention strategies that include measures appropriate for this type of lethal violence. The lack of significant interest in femicides committed in the context of sex work or prostitution stems, on the one hand, from the specific characteristics of these killings

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and, on the other, from the stigmatization and labeling of women involved in sex work or prostitution within societies – whether they have legalized, regulated, or prohibited the practice.

The media also play a significant role in disseminating information that reinforces stereotypes, stigma, or discriminatory attitudes toward sex workers or prostitutes, thereby hindering efforts to prevent the victimization of this group.

SPECIFICS OF FEMICIDES INVOLVING SEX WORKERS OR PROSTITUTES

Femicides involving female victims who provide paid sexual services have several distinctive characteristics. First, they are less visible than other types of femicide (e.g., those committed by intimate partners). This type of femicide receives little attention in works addressing the issue, and in the scientific literature, it is linked to and designated by various terms: “sex worker and occupational homicide” (Cunningham et al. 2018), “sex-work related homicide” (Nguyen et al. 2023), or “prostitute homicide” (Salfati et al. 2008; Chan and Beauregard 2019).

International studies have shown that femicides involving sex workers are murders in which the perpetrators often remain unknown (Salfati et al. 2008; Quinet 2011). Furthermore, an offender who kills a sex worker does not stop after the first murder but continues to kill other people (Quinet 2011). The number of serial femicides targeting sex workers remains high, even as the overall number of serial murders declines (Quinet 2011). Analysis of data on femicides involving sex workers indicates that victims are killed with excessive violence (“overkill”), their bodies are subjected to post-mortem mutilation, and the perpetrator has a criminal record (Zarra et al. 2022). Another distinctive aspect is the discrimination and stigma directed at women who provide sexual services by members of society (Mindedal et al. 2022).

Although some studies have shown that escorts face less stigma than street-based sex workers (Read 2013, 103), their situation remains equally vulnerable. Discrimination and stigma further heighten these women’s vulnerability vis-à-vis their exploiters or clients and hinder an appropriate institutional response aimed at preventing this type of lethal violence (Ryan et al. 2019; Toubiana and Ruebottom 2022; Mokhwelepa et al. 2024).

MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF PROSTITUTES AND SEX WORKERS AS VICTIMS

Media representations of sex workers oscillate between several types of discourse. On the one hand, there is the portrayal of the “sex worker as vermin” (Grekul 2008) or as a “vector of contagion (medical, criminal, and moral)” (Hallgrimsdottir et al. 2008, 129). From this perspective, the sex worker represents a social problem requiring intervention to ensure safe communities (McNaughton and Sanders 2007).

On the other hand, there are also discourses that draw attention to the vulnerability of sex workers. In an analysis of local media in a Canadian region, Dawthorne showed that sex workers are framed as “unhealthy victims” and that the health consequences of sex work for those who engage in it are discussed (2015, 69). The same author identifies six discourses regarding sex workers: sex work as harmful to participants in the sex trade, kinky/taboo, a public health risk, a public nuisance, a scandal, and multiple/varied perspectives (Dawthorne 2015, 65–66).

The situation appears to be similar for sex workers who are victims of violence. International studies analyzing how the media portrays prostitutes and sex workers who are victims of violent crimes and sexual violence (including homicide) have identified six types of discourses: victim blaming, labeling, media sensationalism, vulnerability, legitimization, and “any woman” (Mindedal et al. 2022, 5).

Some studies show that print media journalists report on missing and murdered sex workers using either a “vermin-victim discourse” or a “risky lifestyle discourse” (Strega et al. 2014). Other studies have highlighted a “pejorative framing of murdered sex workers” constructed through the repeated use of the word “prostitute” (Smith 2013; Wattis 2020), by citing the police as the official source identifying the murdered woman as a “prostitute”, or even by quoting the victim’s family members describing her as a “prostitute” (Wattis 2020).

THE ROMANIAN CONTEXT

In Romania, engaging in prostitution is illegal, and individuals offering sexual services for money may face administrative fines ranging from 500 to 1,500 lei (100–300 euros), in accordance with Articles 2 and 6 of Law 61/1991. Although practiced illegally (on the street, in truck parking areas, massage parlors, or illicit venues), prostitution is largely tolerated, which is why those involved are rarely sanctioned.

The number of individuals providing sexual services in Romania is unknown; however, official statistics from countries where prostitution has been legalized include data on Romanian women legally providing such services in those countries. In 2023, Germany’s Federal Statistical Office reported that 36% of sex workers registered in brothels were Romanian (Moise 2024).

In Italy and Spain, the number of Romanian female sex workers is significantly high. Whether involved in legal sex services (in clubs and brothels) or illegal ones (on the street or indoors in unregulated settings), these women are frequently victims of human trafficking (Eurojust 2026; Freer 2024). Conversely, individuals who support or compel others to engage in prostitution (including child prostitution) are penalized for pimping offenses with a prison sentence of 2 to 7 years (Art. 213¹, New Penal Code). According to statistics from the Prosecutor’s Office attached to the High Court of Cassation and Justice, 1,282 cases of pimping were investigated between 2020 and 2025 (2025, 87).

To date, only one study regarding media coverage of sex workers in Romania has been published. A 2015 study sought to highlight how two highly publicized cases involving sex workers were presented – specifically, the information included – and the factors that sustained public interest in them. These cases involved a young Romanian sex worker who was crucified by a client in Italy, and a young woman who had been trafficked and forced into prostitution in Germany, only to be beaten and dumped unconscious on the street (Balica 2017). The analysis highlighted how Romanian journalists managed to hold the public’s attention by including details that emphasized the vulnerability of the two young women. Both were vulnerable as migrant sex workers – a status that exposed them to violence from traffickers, pimps, and clients. Each had young children to support and lacked the necessary financial resources from their families – who were themselves living in poverty – which explains the empathy the public showed toward the victims (Balica 2017, 152–154).

The lack of interest from the academic community regarding the femicide of sex workers – and even the status of sex workers themselves – coincides with recent political initiatives attempting to legalize sex work and regulate sexual services as a legitimate occupation (Digi 24, 2026). Although the legislative proposal was submitted to the Romanian Parliament in early 2026, it garnered little interest and saw limited public debate. However, it did provoke a strong reaction from the Romanian Patriarchate, which opposes the regulation of this occupation (Basilica.ro, January 13, 2026).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study aimed to analyze how femicides occurring in the context of sex work or prostitution were portrayed in Romanian online media during the COVID-19 pandemic and the post-pandemic period. The operational definition of “femicide in the context of sex work or prostitution” was adopted from the Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability: “the killing of a woman who is involved in what is referred to as sex work or prostitution”. Thus, we included in the analyzed sample all the women killed who were known to have been involved in sex work or prostitution (whether legal or illegal, indoor or outdoor).

The research objectives included: 1) identifying sources of information regarding femicides committed in the context of sex work and prostitution; 2) analyzing how female victims of this type of femicide were portrayed; 3) identifying how the perpetrators, their modus operandi, and details regarding the act of violence were reported in the media; and 4) identifying victim-blaming techniques. To achieve these objectives, the analysis included all cases of femicide involving sex workers identified in Romanian online media between 2020 and 2025. These cases were identified using the Google Chrome search engine and the keywords “woman killed”.

After identifying all women killed in Romania during the analyzed period, the study isolated cases involving women described as sex workers – including escorts,

female companions, and prostitutes providing legal or illegal services, whether on the street or indoors. Cases involving women killed by clients or pimps were analyzed. Ultimately, twelve cases of women killed in the context of sex work and prostitution were identified for the period in question, based on reports in online media and Romanian-language publications from both Romania and the diaspora.

The analyzed sample included both femicides committed in Romania (six cases) and femicides committed abroad (three cases in Italy, one case in Spain, one case in Austria, and one case in Switzerland) (see Table 1).

Table 1

Femicide in the context of sex work or prostitution identified in online media

The year the femicide was committed	Number of femicide cases	Number of articles	The country where the femicide was committed
2020	1	5	Romania
2021	4	78	Romania, Spain, Italy, Austria
2022	–	–	
2023	1	1	Romania
2024	1	27	Romania
2025	5	139	Romania, Italy, Switzerland
Total	12	250	

The analyzed corpus included N = 250 online media articles. Approximately two-thirds of the articles were published in online newspapers (164/65.6%) and one-third on TV websites (69/27.6%). Very few articles were identified on news aggregator sites (12/4.8%), news agencies (2/0.8%), or radio websites (2/0.8%).

The articles were analyzed using an analysis grid structured around several dimensions: 1) information regarding the articles reporting on femicides (publication type, photo/video, publication date, number of views, etc.); 2) information sources used by journalists (official, unofficial); 3) information regarding the act of violence (motive, weapons, time, location); 4) information about victims and perpetrators; 5) victim-blaming techniques.

RESULTS

Journalists primarily relied on two types of sources when writing the articles: official sources – specifically the institutions handling the femicide cases (police, prosecutors' offices, and courts; 80.4%) – and other media outlets (news agencies, newspapers, TV stations, and radio; 75.6%). Individuals close to the victim or the perpetrator (family, colleagues, neighbors, and relatives) were contacted by journalists and cited as sources in approximately two-fifths of the articles (43.2%) (see Table 2).

Table 2
Sources used by journalists

	Frequency	%
Media (news agencies, newspapers, TV stations, radio)	189	75,6
Police	138	55,2
Another institution within the criminal justice system (prosecutor's office, court of first instance)	63	25,2
Victim's family	27	10,8
Victim	6	2,4
Social media Facebook/Instagram	27	10,8
Individuals: neighbor, relative, colleague, witness	60	24
Expert (university professor, physician, social worker)	37	14,8
Aggressor	15	6
Another public government institution	20	8

To make their articles as compelling as possible, some journalists included quotes from representatives of the institutions handling the femicide cases (police, prosecutors, courts, forensic experts – 107 articles), from experts (26 articles), or from people close to the victims and perpetrators (53 articles – family, friends, colleagues, neighbors, and witnesses to the femicide or other acts of violence).

Some journalists identified messages or posts by the victim, which they picked up and used to quote the victim directly (9 articles). Other journalists managed to contact the perpetrators and included excerpts from their statements (22 articles) (see Table 3).

Table 3
Sources from which quotes were taken

	Frequency	%
Representatives of the Police, the Prosecutor's Office, and the Court of First Instance	102	
Forensic pathologists	5	
Aggressor	22	
Victim	9	
A member of the victim's family	7	
A member of the aggressor's family	1	
A friend of the victim	4	
A friend of the aggressor	2	
A colleague of the victim	7	
A colleague of the aggressor	4	
Experts (lawyers, social workers, medical professionals)	26	
Another journalist (newspapers, news agency, etc.)	15	
Acquaintances, neighbors	23	
Politician	16	
NGOs	3	
Witness	5	

Furthermore, in approximately one-third of the articles (34.8%), journalists cited documents from institutions involved in handling femicide cases. A significant proportion of the articles (27.2%) cited reports or press releases from the police and prosecutors' offices investigating the respective cases. Reports from non-governmental organizations (2 articles), statistical reports (1 article), and media articles (4) were cited to a very limited extent.

VICTIMS AND AGGRESSORS

The victims of femicide included in our analysis were young women who provided sexual services to clients they found independently (e.g., call girls, escorts, and streetwalkers) and young women who provided sexual services to clients recruited by pimps (individuals known as pimps or the women's boyfriends who coerced them into engaging in paid sexual relations).

Articles reporting on the femicide of sex workers or prostitutes are centered on the victims. The vast majority of these articles state the victims' ages (ranging from 17 to 35). When the victim is a minor, journalists frequently use the term "teenager" and avoid applying the label "prostitute". However, this is the exception rather than the rule.

Table 4

Information regarding victims and perpetrators

	Victims		Perpetrators	
	frequency	%	frequency	%
Name	163	65.2	66	26.4
Occupation	189	75.6	75	30.0
Family status	69	27.6	44	17.6
Health status	1	0.4	–	–
Nationality	151	60.4	96	38.4
Age	239	95.6	144	57.6
Drug user/alcohol	–	–	4	1.6

When describing victims, journalists – more frequently than when dealing with perpetrators – include details regarding name, occupation, and nationality (see Table 4). These details are paired with images of the victims, which serve to capture the public's attention and sustain interest in the article's subject. Consequently, two-thirds of the articles feature photographs of the victims (182 – 72.8%), while one-fifth contain multiple photos of the victim (45 articles – 18%). The situation differs regarding perpetrators; only a small fraction of the articles include photographs of them (38 articles – 15.2%) (see Table 5).

Table 5

Photographs included in articles reporting on the femicide of sex workers or prostitutes

	Frequency	%
An actual photograph of the victim	88	35.2
An actual photograph of the victim and the aggressor.	6	2.4
Video of the victim	8	3.2
Video of the victim and aggressor	3	1.2
No video or photo	8	3.2
More photos of the victim	45	18
Photos of the victim in sexy poses/lingerie/swimwear	32	12.8
Photo of the aggressor	29	11.6
Photos from the scene (police cars, ambulances, etc.)	86	34.4
Photos of police cars/markings and other images taken from the internet	78	31.2

Information regarding the perpetrators is scarce; articles appear to focus primarily on presenting data about the victims. More than two-thirds of the articles do not specify the perpetrator's name, occupation, or family status. Approximately two-fifths of the articles mention the perpetrator's citizenship or nationality, particularly in cases occurring within the diaspora or where only the victim was Romanian. The perpetrator's age was mentioned in two-thirds of the cases.

VICTIM-BLAMING TECHNIQUES

The analysis revealed that only about one-fifth of the articles linked the reported information on femicide to other similar cases (44 articles, 17.7%). In other words, journalists employed an episodic frame, preferring to present a single case without placing it in the context of other acts of violence or femicides.

Approximately half of the articles reporting on the femicide of sex workers or prostitutes contained victim-blaming techniques (134; 53%). Two-fifths of the articles contained direct victim-blaming techniques (109; 43.6%), while approximately one-tenth contained indirect victim-blaming techniques (22; 8.8%). Very few articles contained both direct and indirect victim-blaming techniques (3 articles; 1.2%).

Direct victim-blaming techniques. The techniques used by Romanian journalists to blame female sex workers who are victims of femicide are the same classic methods identified in other studies regarding femicide against sex workers – and indeed, femicide in general. Pejorative framing of prostitutes (Smith 2013; Wattis 2020) was present in two-fifths (40%) of the articles that mentioned – either in the headline or the body text – that the victim was a prostitute or an escort.

Another direct victim-blaming technique employed by journalists was the negative portrayal of the victim and the shifting of responsibility for the femicide onto her; she was depicted as being at fault for blackmailing the perpetrator and demanding money to keep their relationship secret (14 articles – 5.6%), mocking him and refusing sexual acts (10 articles – 4%), having relationships with multiple men (2 articles), withdrawing a police complaint (1 article), or admitting the perpetrator into her home despite having a protection order (1 article).

To illustrate this, I have selected an article published in the Romanian online press that employs direct victim-blaming techniques, starting with the headline itself; this stated that the woman was a prostitute (citing the police as the source) and that she engaged in sexual acts with clients while her child was present. Furthermore, the murdered woman was described as a “slut who took her child along while turning tricks”, a woman “thrown out of her home by her own mother” who had been placed in a center by the police after being caught with a client; the article noted that she “was popular with drivers because negotiations before getting into their cars didn’t take long” and that “the prostitute used to ply her trade along the E85 European road”.

The 35-year-old woman was in the police database for alleged involvement in prostitution. “Preliminary checks revealed that the victim was engaged in prostitution in the Bucharest-Ilfov area”, stated the Prosecutor’s Office attached to the Ilfov Tribunal.

“Scumbag out pimping the kid”

Between 2012 and 2014, the woman worked along the E85 European route, between Buzău and Râmnicu Sărat, near the Mara rest stop in Oreavu. Staff at the rest stop and locals say she was a constant presence in the area, known for how quickly she would negotiate with drivers.

The prostitute, who would take her child by the hand when going out to solicit, could afford accommodation costing 60 lei a night and daily meals for two totaling 50 lei.

She used to ply her trade along European Road 85, near the Mara rest stop in Oreavu. Staff at the rest stop – located near Râmnicu Sărat – say she was popular with drivers because negotiations before getting into their vehicles didn’t take long. “She often worked this route; she would stop in front of our place and head toward Buzău every time. We called the police now and then; the officers would come and pick her up, but I don’t know if there’s a law that allows them to actually do anything about it. Before Christmas, she showed up with the child”, Vasile Jipeanu, the owner of the Mara rest stop, told **Adevărul**. (...)

The mother – a sex worker whom a truck driver had filmed and reported to the authorities – was caught in the act while having sexual relations with a 60-year-old driver, with her four-year-old child nearby.

Călin BOSTAN (15 ianuarie 2025), *Femeia ucisă la Bragadiru se prostitua la Buzău cu copilul de mână*, <https://opiniabuzau.ro/video-femeia-ucisa-la-bragadiru-se-prostitua-la-buzau-cu-copilul-de-mana/>

Another direct victim-blaming technique employed by journalists – used both to highlight the victim’s occupation and to capture public attention – involved publishing photos of the victim in provocative poses (wearing lingerie, swimwear, or revealing clothing). This technique of blaming victims through photographs – usually sourced from their social media accounts – was first described in Romania in a study analyzing media coverage of the case of Anastasia, a celebrity murdered by her husband (Balica, Marinescu, Balica, 2022). Interestingly, journalists also employ this technique in cases of femicide involving sex workers, albeit to a lesser extent than in the case of the young celebrity (32 articles – 12.8%) (see Table 5).

Indirect victim-blaming techniques were less frequent than direct ones. Indirect techniques included: describing the perpetrator as a respectable person (having a family, children, and a respectable job) (2.8%) or as a competent professional (1.6%); and noting that the perpetrator did not speak the language of the country they were in and was unable to call medical services or take the victim to the hospital (leaving the victim in front of the town hall, believing it to be the hospital) (10 articles – 4%). It was also reported that the victim drove the attacker to a state of frenzy (2 articles), and the crime was described as being motivated by jealousy (2 articles). It is interesting to note that indirect victim-blaming tactics appear either in cases of femicide committed abroad by foreign nationals against Romanian sex workers, or in cases where both the victim and the attacker were Romanian.

Two cases have been chosen to illustrate the use of indirect victim-blaming techniques. In the first case, the woman was killed by a Swiss client (the femicide took place in Switzerland). The journalist reporting on the perpetrator – who described him as a “good but fragile guy”, thereby downplaying his culpability by emphasizing his fragility – was Romanian. We learn that the perpetrator was an “educated, quiet, and hardworking person”, a “good guy”, “shy”, and “well-regarded by colleagues and superiors”.

Moreover, the community where the femicide took place positioned itself – through the journalist – as siding with the perpetrator’s family, a family marked by “this harrowing tragedy”. Thus, it was the perpetrator’s family that was portrayed as suffering the tragedy, rather than the victim’s family, which had lost a member – a young woman of 21 who had been killed. Negative details regarding the perpetrator were downplayed by casting doubt on the source – specifically, the claim that “some people in the world of prostitution maintain that he was a drug user prone to violent episodes”.

“A Portrait of the Suspect: ‘Good but Fragile Boy’”

21-year-old Romanian woman shot in Switzerland – Residents of Lodrino describe the suspect as an educated, quiet, and hardworking individual. He worked for a local construction machinery company and was well-regarded by colleagues and

superiors alike. However, conflicting accounts suggest a darker side to the young man: some individuals within the world of prostitution claim he used drugs and was prone to violent episodes.

“He was a good boy, but perhaps too shy and easily influenced. We can’t believe he would be capable of something like this”, says one of the villagers who knew him. The residents of Lodrino are in shock, and the community is expressing its support for the suspect’s family – especially his mother, who lost her husband a few years ago and is now facing this harrowing ordeal.

Andrei Cristian, (4.02.2025) **Româncă de 21 de ani împușcată în Elveția. Asasinul, cetățean elvețian, a încercat să-și ia zilele**, <https://ziarulromanesc.de/romanca-de-21-de-ani-impuscata-in-elvetia/>

The murdered woman’s family is not mentioned; instead, “people from the world of prostitution” speak about her. The victim is “associated” with that world, yet the people within it do not seem to know her. “The case has horrified us all. We wonder who the girl is, whether we knew her. The situation is becoming increasingly dangerous for us”, said a woman who works at a nearby nightclub.

The second case involves a Romanian man in Italy who murdered two female sex workers (escorts), both of whom were also Romanian. The case received significant media coverage in both Italy and Romania. Initially, the young woman was reported missing by her family, and the press picked up the story in an effort to locate her (as there was a suspicion she had been abducted). Three weeks later, her body was discovered discarded on the edge of a farm, while her head was found in a separate location. Once the killer was identified, details about him emerged; he was described as a “devoted family man” who “led an apparently normal life” and was a “decent guy, respectful towards his neighbors”. These descriptions appeared even in articles published after it was revealed that he had killed two sex workers and that there were suspicions of further victims.

“The case of Vasile Frumuzache shocked everyone. The Romanian man, who lived in Italy, was known as a devoted family man and a model employee. For this very reason, no one would have suspected for a moment that he would become the prime suspect in the murders of two women. Investigators now say it is possible that he is responsible for a series of killings.

Vasile Frumuzache led an apparently normal life. The 32-year-old man had a steady job and was a dedicated employee. He had also built a lovely family, had children, and frequently posted photos with them. Courteous toward his neighbors, no one would have suspected that behind the image of a decent, likable man lay a serial killer.”

Maria Ciontu (9.06.2025) *Vasile, bărbatul care le-a ucis pe Denisa și Ana Maria, ar fi omorât și alte femei! Românul stabilit în Italia, considerat un posibil criminal în serie. Detalii terifiante au ieșit acum la iveală: „Mai sunt”* <https://www.wowbiz.ro/vasile-barbatul-care-le-a-ucis-pe-denisa-si-ana-maria-ar-fi-omorat-si-alte-femei-romanul-stabilit-in-italia-considerat-un-posibil-criminal-in-serie-detalii-terifiante-au-iesit-acum-la-iveala-mai-sunt-20478185>

**DATA REGARDING FEMICIDES
(MODUS OPERANDI, WEAPONS, TIME, LOCATION)**

The majority of articles reporting on the femicide of sex workers contain information regarding the locality (89.2%), the specific location (87.2%), and the time (76%) of the incident. The method of killing was mentioned in two-thirds of the articles, and the weapons used in nearly half. Information regarding the location of the wounds appears in only about two-fifths of the articles, and the number of blows in one-third. The motive for the killing is also specified in one-third of the articles.

Table 6

Data on femicide on sex worker or prostitutes

	Frequency	%
Motivation	67	26.8
Modus operandi	152	60.8
Weapons	122	48.8
Location of the wounds on the victim's body	95	38
Number of strikes	70	28
The time of the murder	190	76
The scene of the murder	218	87.2
The locality where it occurred	223	89.2

CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of how online media reports on cases of femicide involving sex workers or prostitutes has confirmed the findings of other international studies. When reporting on these femicides, journalists employ a pejorative framing – highlighting the victim's occupational status as a “prostitute” – and rely on official sources (such as the police or the prosecutor's office) that identify the victims as known prostitutes in their statements.

Furthermore, we identified a “victim-blaming” frame in many of the articles. Approximately half of the articles employ direct and indirect victim-blaming techniques, with direct techniques appearing more frequently than indirect ones. We observe the use of victim-blaming tactics centered on photos that the victims themselves post on social media to promote their image and solicit clients; journalists utilize these self-posted images to illustrate the victim's occupation and to label or stigmatize them through photographs showing them in lingerie, swimwear, or revealing outfits.

The articles are centered on the victims; information regarding the victim (name, occupational status, age, nationality) is presented more extensively than information about the perpetrators, who are often mentioned only in passing. More details about the perpetrator (occupation, family, interpersonal behavior) appear only

in cases involving a serial killer (where at least two murders have been officially documented) or a foreign national who has killed a Romanian woman; even then, however, the volume of data concerning the perpetrator remains limited compared to the information regarding the *modus operandi* and the victims.

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