

The mediation of “massacre”

the coverage of terrorism in VG and Aftenposten

Kristina Rep



Master's thesis in Media Studies
Department of Media and Communication

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

June 15th, 2020

The mediation of “massacre”: the coverage of terrorism in VG and Aftenposten.

© Kristina Rep

2020

The mediation of “massacre”: the coverage of terrorism in VG and Aftenposten.

Kristina Rep

<http://www.duo.uio.no/>

Trykk: Representeren, Universitetet i Oslo

Abstract

On Friday, 15th March 2019, a series of terror attacks occurred in the City of Christchurch. Targeted places were mosques, during Friday prayer, and attacks were carried out by one perpetrator, who later identified himself as a *white supremacist*. He was live-streaming the first 17 minutes of the attacks on Facebook Live. He was charged with 51 murders, 40 attempted murders, as well as engaging in a terrorist act.

Almost one and a half months later, on Easter Sunday, 21st April 2019, new terror attacks took place in Sri Lanka. Targets were three churches, four hotels, and one housing complex. According to various sources, the number of perpetrators was between 8–9 attackers, who presented themselves as radicalized individuals, and suicide bombers. In these attacks, 259 people lost their lives, and more than 500 were injured.

This thesis will analyze and compare the coverage of the mentioned attacks in *Aftenposten* and *VG*. Finally, this research will discuss how the framing of this news as “terror attacks” questioned journalistic norms and subjectified the approach to reporting.

Keywords: terror attacks, mediatization, framing, Christchurch attacks, Easter attacks

Acknowledgements

I want to express my gratitude to my supervisor, prof. Timotheus Vermeulen, for his patience, understanding, and support, not only as a professor but as a friend.

I am especially grateful to my family and husband for giving me constant support and encouragement throughout this period.

I hope this thesis will pass on a reader my passion and motivation to strive for the betterment of society. Especially now, as 2020 is changing the world as we know it.

Oslo, 15th of June, 2020

Kristina Rep

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	7
1.1. Background of the Story	8
1.2. Mediatization of the Attacks	9
2. Symbiosis of Mass Media and Terrorism	11
2.1. Framing Terrorism	13
2.1.1. Four Conceptual Metaphors of Terrorism	16
2.2. Global Standardization of Coverage	17
2.2.1. Negative Evaluation of Attacks and Perpetrators	19
2.2.2. Innocence of Victims	20
2.3. The Impact on Society	21
2.4. Dealing with Frames	24
3. Norwegian Newspapers	26
3.1. VG and Aftenposten	27
3.2. Terrorism in Norwegian Newspapers	27
4. Methodology	30
4.1. Research Question	30
4.2. Data Gathering	32
4.3. Research Methods	33
4.3.1. Content Analysis	33
4.3.2. Multimodal Analysis.....	38
5. Content Analysis: New Zealand Shootings	40
5.1. Aftenposten	40
5.2. VG.....	51
6. Content Analysis: Sri Lankan bombings	62
6.1. Aftenposten	62

6.2.	VG.....	73
7.	Multimodal Analysis: New Zealand	83
7.1.	Front Pages.....	83
7.2.	Aftenposten	85
7.3.	VG.....	89
8.	Multimodal Analysis: Sri Lankan Bombings.....	94
8.1.	Front Pages.....	94
8.2.	Aftenposten	97
8.3.	VG.....	102
9.	Interpretation of Results	107
10.	Conclusion	114
11.	References	116
	Appendix.....	122

1. Introduction

During the attacks of New Zealand and Sri Lanka in 2019, old concerns arose once again for the media's way of reporting. For several days in March and April 2019, minorities were stigmatized, the victim's privacy was interrupted, and the perpetrators were stereotypically labeled. While many media systems found these attacks professionally challenging, there were only a few media outlets with established guidelines that were implemented at the moment and will be implemented in the future. For instance, they were not publishing the perpetrator's manifesto because it served as the perpetrator's manipulation tool.

This thesis studies how two most-read Norwegian newspapers cover these two ideologically disparate terror attacks. The main aim of this thesis is to provide an answer to the research question: *How does the coverage of Aftenposten and VG, in both attacks, compare?* The necessity for this analysis can be found in the fact that terror attacks tend to be presented and framed in specific ways. Moreover, their impact has not been recently studied within the Norwegian context.

Before answering the question, the theoretical part of this thesis will set up a few fundamental key points. Firstly, this thesis will show what the general media's approach to the coverage of both mentioned attacks was, along with the journalists' opinions on the exposed issues. Secondly, a reader will be able to see how the generally established framing rules of terrorism coverage increased the symbiosis of mass media and terrorism, including the most common *global standardization of coverage*, which is followed by many different media systems. Thirdly, the thesis will give the underlying patterns of VG's and Aftenposten's reporting, found in a few scientific articles.

In the methodological and research part, the reader will be able to get an overview of the detailed information on how the main research guidelines were established, along with an explanation of two different methodological approaches: content analysis and multimodal analysis. The content analysis will give valuable insight into textual patterns, such as terminology and approaches used by Aftenposten and VG, to explain the attacks. Following observed patterns from this content analysis, a few articles will be separated, and each will be analyzed in-depth while using the multimodal analysis approach. The multimodal analysis approach will give a detailed insight into a journalist's narrative approach by using photographs, font sizes, colors, and other different layers of communication as a whole. That

will lead to a conclusion and comparison of how VG and Aftenposten covered the New Zealand and Sri Lankan attacks.

The value of this thesis is both academic and social. Currently, as a recently undiscovered topic of Nordic media, this thesis will provide an overview of how the Norwegian media covers the topic of terror attacks and can serve as a basis for future research. Additionally, another significant value will be the increasing awareness of the possible media influence on cultural bigotry and stigmatization, particularly in Norwegian society.

1.1. Background of the Story

On Friday, 15th March 2019, a terror attack occurred in New Zealand in the City of Christchurch (BBC, 2019). During Friday prayer, an unknown man entered Al Noor Mosque in the Suburb of Riccarton and started massacring with a shotgun all those who were present. Six minutes later, he went to his car to change his weapon and came back to the mosque to kill more people. Later, he left for Linwood Islamic Center. From the beginning of the first attack, the killer live-streamed the first 17 minutes on Facebook Live (NZ Herald, 2019). Australian media and UK's tabloid-news websites later published parts of the video (Meade, 2019). The total number of deaths was 51, while 49 people were left injured. Before attacks, he sent his manifesto, "The Great Replacement", to more than 30 email addresses, including the prime minister's office and several media outlets (ABC/Reuters, 2019). According to this manifesto, a base for these savage attacks was an infatuation for white supremacy and white genocide conspiracy theory. He was inspired by anti-immigrant sentiments and described himself as an *ethnic-nationalist*, *eco-fascist*, and *kebab removalist*. Later, this manifesto was one of the most important sources of information for journalists, as media described this person as a *white supremacist*.

Almost one and a half months after these attacks, on Easter Sunday, 21st April 2019, new terror attacks occurred in Sri Lanka (BBC, 2019). The first three attacks targeted three different churches. Four attacks took place in four different hotels and one in a housing complex. Eight or nine radicalized individuals executed these horrifying attacks. Following the information provided by the Sri Lankan government, the media described them as suicide bombers (Adaderana, 2019). In the aftermath, more than 259 died, and more than 500 people were injured. Victims were different nationalities and religions. For the public, these ISIL inspired

attacks were indeed unexpected and shocking. The same applied to journalists who were distributing information based on assumptions and unverified sources (Walters, 2019). Different numbers of targeted places, attackers, unproven assumptions about perpetrators, and reasons for attacks increased tensions within society. After a few days from the attacks, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant claimed responsibility, which later was unsworn as there were no actual links of that organization with the attacks (Al Jazeera, 2019). Another similar information that leaked after several days was the warning about the planned attack that the Sri Lankan's prime minister and the cabinet received (BBC, 2019). Later on, State Minister of Defense, Ruwan Wijewardene, claimed that that attack was a revenge for New Zealand's attacks (Laxman, Kesslen, 2019). New Zealand's government investigated this statement and found no connections (NZ Herald, 2019). However, the media had already spread the message, and it reached the rest of the world.

The following part will present the mediatization of these attacks. Although it was not possible to find various relevant scientific articles, the following information is collected from different sources and serves the purpose of giving a general idea about the mediatization of the attacks.

1.2. Mediatization of the Attacks

Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern described Christchurch attacks as one of New Zealand's darkest days (The Guardian, 2019). Likewise, social media was going through dark days as well, as it got caught unprepared in the grey zone of the Internet. Facebook's delayed reaction of taking down the video was slow enough to leave plenty of time for numerous accounts to download it and spread uncensored minutes of terror, even on different platforms (Wakefield, 2019). Facebook stated that the original video had been seen less than 200 times before they were notified about the content (BBC, 2019). Also, the video had been viewed 4,000 times before removed entirely (BBC, 2019). Despite this and some other efforts made by Facebook to prevent the spreading of this content, the video already reached other sites (BBC, 2019). Websites, such as Facebook and Reddit, banned and blocked any content connected to this attack in a few days after. However, it was too late, as the video had started spreading on *mainstream media platforms*.

Manifesto and mass shooting spread on the Internet gave sufficient distraction for journalists to lead the narrative in the course that the perpetrator had aimed and wished, instead of finding

the real explanations and reporting the facts. Gavin Ellis and Denis Muller (2019) conducted the only available scientific research on covering New Zealand's attacks. The research showed the difference in New Zealand's media and Australian media coverage. New Zealand's media focused on the victims. In contrast, the Australian media focused more on the gunman. This research has identified established *proximity filter* while reporting, in which New Zealand coverage was driven more by empathy and Australian more about the private life of the gunman. However, some media outlets, such as UK's tabloid The Daily Mirror (Young, 2019), delivered information about the attacker in one of the most controversial ways. The Daily Mirror received a considerable number of negative feedback, especially on social media, as they represented the attacker in such light that a reader could wonder if he is even to blame. "When white individuals commit horrendous acts, it seems news outlets portray them as people deserving of humanity. They are portrayed with complicated personalities: the little "angel" who went astray even after being revealed as a vicious and violent racist." (Lazreg, 2019). To stop spreading such superficial and light reporting, New Zealand's organizations vowed to keep the white supremacy ideology out of their coverage in the future, especially during the upcoming trial time (Stuff, 2019).

When it comes to Sri Lanka's media coverage, some journalists noticed a high level of assumptions in the coverage and reminded one another that "the basic requirement is verification. Do not publish anything you cannot independently verify." (Walters, 2019). Also, journalists highlighted the friendly and approachable nature of Sri Lankans, which gave readers across the world an exclusive view into the lives of these people and their genuine grief. "Whether because of Sri Lankans' welcoming nature, a different expectation of privacy or journalists' sheer persistence, the media was granted extraordinary access to the families of victims as they navigated the worst days of their lives" (Safi, 2019). For journalists, finding discomfort within such comfort was quite exclusive and challenging at the same time. As for perpetrators, they had already had a fitting label, which was described best by the following author. "In response to similar attacks that have occurred in the Western world, a readymade script has long been prepared for this purpose. The main protagonists of this script, of course, are radical Islamists, terrorists with ruthless disregard for human life, people who have no history except the history of their radicalization, and who will stop at nothing to destroy the peace. It is a script that is easy to use, one that allows complex histories to be simply written and simply processed, and it is this script that the international media have almost universally resorted to in covering the recent events in Sri Lanka. (...) The narrative is useful, since it

allows the West to view itself too as the blameless victim of an intrinsically evil ideology, as though its own complicity can now be disregarded when considering the jihadist attacks that have taken place on its own soil" (Arudpragasam, 2019).

2. Symbiosis of Mass Media and Terrorism

Both the media and terrorism started to gradually develop nearly at the same time, between the 16th and 18th century. As the first medium, newspapers mostly served for political purposes, and terrorism was born out of political pressures on society, specifically during the French Revolution (Infelise, 2002; Merriam Webster, 2019). Although the media and terrorism might be something old, the narrative that has been built around the idea of terrorism and given to the public is something *new*.

Today, there are hundreds of definitions for terrorism, and one of the recent ones claims that *terrorism is the unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims* (Oxford Dictionary, 2019). A professor and author of many books on this topic, Susan L. Carruthers (2011), defined terrorism as *a weapon of the weak* with which aggrieved groups try to up-end and maintain status quo, what they cannot possibly achieve by waging conventional war. Nevertheless, as history speaks for itself, "terrorizing violence with a political goal has been carried out by the state," as well as the fact that "state-terror and non-state terrorism actually stimulate and sustain each other" (English, 2010, pp. 8–9). Further, English pointed out the fact that "terrorism often overlaps with guerrilla violence ('an irregular war carried on by small bodies of man acting independently') or with campaigns which might be termed insurgent ('rising in active revolt')" (The Shorter Oxford Dictionary in English, 2010, pp. 12). Therefore, it is discussable if terrorism is, indeed, *a weapon of the weak* or *a weapon of politics*. A simple classification of terrorism as a *weapon of the weak* is provoking of misunderstanding. Similar to the media, terrorism is, technically, a market with its own supply and demand side (Krueger, 2007).

The media serves the needs of society and sometimes creates new ones as well. It focuses on and adds meaning to the chaotic world where we live. The media primarily plays a vital role in this process of globalization by bringing distant parts of the world in one's home. Connected by the process of communication, the media and terrorists assist each other in spreading political messages and influencing society. As an "essential to terrorists' tactics", the media can

encourage and endorse terrorism by romanticizing or glamourizing it (Archetti, 2015, pp. 135-137). On another side, terrorists cannot resist the publicity that the media offers for free and without specific demands. According to Carruthers, the media gives dramatic and sensational coverage of attacks— "terrorism makes media coverage a fundamental requirement" (2011, pp. 177). By providing extensive and exclusive coverage, the media gives an "aura of legitimacy" to terrorists (Alexander, 1978, pp. 105 in Archetti, 2015, pp. 137). Along with that, it propagandizes political views and justifies violence (Rubin, 2008, pp. 405 in Gareeva et al., 2016, pp. 22).

Various research attempted to research this topic, and the conclusions were mostly similar but addressed in separate terminology. For example, Kevin Barnhurst identified the role of the media in this context. He described the media either as *culpable instrumental to terrorism* or *vulnerable victims* (Barnhurst, 1991, pp. 115–116 in Archetti, 2015, pp. 136). David Paletz and John Boiney defined the role of the media within this symbiosis as *pro-terrorist* or *anti-terrorist* (Paletz, Boiney, 1992, pp. 10–13 in Archetti, 2015, pp. 136). Unlike Barnhurst's approach, who sees the media's role as passive, Paletz, and Boiney offer a distinction between good and adverse reporting. In the *pro-terrorist* perspective, the media didn't manage to fulfill its fundamental role in society. In this context, the media is following the famous adage *if it bleeds, it leads*. It supports violence, as it provides fear and uncertainty, which will make the audience come back for more. The audience will wait for *news* in prime time, while actively refreshing their feeds on social media or even starting a discussion. The negative and sensational covering is typical mostly for newspapers such as tabloids. However, due to the nature of the terror attack, it seems that all rules are decomposing, and any media would provide space and time for such stories. As Brigitte Nacos said, the media have a role to "magnify and minimize, include and exclude" (Nacos, 2003, pp. 11 in Archetti, 2015, pp. 135). This kind of reporting is as giving a perpetrator a big and loud megaphone to send off their message of horror. Media can freeze the moment of horror, reveal it from different perspectives, and repeat it numerous times.

The *pro-terrorist* approach is comparable to John Galtung's (1998) definition of *war journalism*. In such type of reporting, journalists are violence-oriented by distinguishing *them* and *us*. The coverage is focused only on the visible effects of violence (material damage, killing) and *our* suffering while exposing *their* truth. The result of such coverage is preaching and reaching a peace only through victory, while focusing on treaty, institutions and the controlled society, leaving some space for another possible war. Similar to

this theoretical explanation, Matusitz (2013) explained this as *one-sided coverage*, where usually the state controls the mass media and gives them, and the public cognitive and evaluative functions. "Cognitive functions relate together disparate facts (...). Evaluative functions label perpetrators, identify victims, and assign blame" (Matusitz, 2013, pp. 118).

On the other hand, *anti-terrorist* media can help society in understanding the nature of a specific attack, providing solutions, while avoiding the lens of sensationalism. This type of reporting is close to John Galtung's (2000) *peace journalism*, who defined the media's role as the fourth pillar of a modern society in which transparency should not be taken negatively, as manipulating with information and conclusion. To be more precise, Galtung (1998) presented *peace journalism* as conflict-oriented journalism that gives voices to all parties, and, as such, has a proactive role in prevention before any violence or war occurs. It focuses on the invisible effects of violence (trauma, damage of culture) by giving voice to the voiceless and names to all evil-doers. As a result, this way of reporting reaches peace by focusing on resolutions and reconciliations. Similar to this, Matusitz's approach, which he named *two-sided coverage*, is based on fairness doctrine, in which journalists cleverly balance "contrasting viewpoints" (Matusitz, 2013, pp. 118).

Finally, a passive victim or an active participator in spreading panic and feeling of uncertainty, the media needs money to persevere. It offers stories that lead to numerous clicks and subscriptions. However, considering the media as one of the pillars for maintaining transparent democracy, it should obtain the proper way of storytelling. Communication can be essential tactics, not only for terrorists but for media as well, to inform the public without triggering stigmatizations. To understand the issue better, instead of just theoretically categorizing, the following part will present more detailed researches about the framing of terrorism in mass media according to conventional metaphors. Finally, that will lead us to the *global standardization coverage* adopted by several different media systems, which will be a base for comparison with findings from this thesis research.

2.1. Framing Terrorism

The media started framing terrorism in the 19th century actively (Matusitz, 2013, pp. 117). The idea of a chaotic narrative that caught the attention of almost everyone, who did not necessarily need to know how to write or read, gave terrorism a *standardized* face. Newspapers started by publishing caricatures of terrorists as crazy-looking, bearded bombers, which, later on,

established the framing idea of terrorism as “extreme violence was both illegitimate and crazy” and done by “lone disturbed individuals” (Matusitz, 2013, pp. 117). Finally, after 9/11, the frame of terrorism as we have today has been undeniably set in stone, and it brought new questions of “how far news coverage can live up to journalistic principles of balance, truth, and objectivity” (Matusitz, 2013, pp. 118). Before we go further into details, let us first take a brief look at framing theory as it is the main theoretical base for this thesis.

Framing theory was mentioned for the first time in 1974 by Ervin Goffman, who defined the concept of framing in his book *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Goffman (1974) distinguished two different and primer frameworks: *natural* and *social*. *Natural* “identify events as physical occurrences taking natural quote literally and not attributing any social forces to the causation of events”, while *social* frameworks come as an addition to the natural frame, and “view events as socially driven occurrences, due to the whims, goals, and manipulations on the part of other social players (people).” (MassComm Theory, 2020).

The idea of framing is based on adding contextual cues and giving a meaning that is often either an established perspective of the media or a reflection of a journalist’s subjective opinion. “Framing involves selecting particular aspects and angles of reality and privileging them in the description, the definition, the interpretation and the moral evaluation of the subject being covered” (UNESCO, 2017, pp. 34). The journalist’s conscious choice and guidelines on how a specific media organization aspires us to see a particular topic forms the storytelling. The use of specific frames and selective interpretation affects the way the audience, as recipients of information, understand and think of the topic. These specific frames will be mentioned later in the text. In the end, this shapes the vision of any object of information, “in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993, pp. 52).

Robert M. Entman (1993, pp. 53) explained that “frames highlight some bits of information about an item that is the subject of communication, thereby elevating them in salience”, which would mean that highlights make the message more noticeable, meaningful and memorable. Defined by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), there are a few language forms used for building memorable framing:

1. By using **metaphors**, we are framing a conceptual idea through comparison with something else. There are three main categories of metaphors: discourse-based

(Cameron et al. 2010; based on who is talking what), practice-based (Reisfield and Wilson 2004; for example, healthcare language) and cognitive (explaining something abstract by using concrete=*time is money*). This thesis will have a focus on cognitive metaphors presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as conceptual metaphors, which also became conventional frames. I will discuss more this later.

2. Through telling myths and legends, journalists are creating news using **stories** to vividly narrate and make it more memorable. For example, having a heroic person who saved someone by putting their own life at risk.
3. **Rituals** and **ceremonies** are traditional frames that are being used to translate chaos into everyday life. “Formal rites, ceremonies, ceremonial behaviors, and a host of ritualistic practices perpetuate these structures and cement their meanings into ordinary, everyday ways of life as reality—something we can depend on, something reliable, and ordinary, something we do not have to think about” (Cui and Rothenbuhler, 2018, pp. 156–157)
4. By using **slogans** or **catchphrases**, a journalist can make something more relatable, and, as such, memorable as well. Similar to **rituals** and **ceremonies**, its repeating makes something more familiar. For example, the New York Metropolitan Transportation Authority is famous for its slogan “If you see something, say something”, used for predictable disasters. “It is effectively an effort to normalize terrorism, and thus take some of the terror out of it” (Cui and Rothenbuhler, 2018, pp. 160). Similar might be for the word *Islamophobia* which became quite popular and widespread.
5. **Artifacts** tell visual or cultural meanings that, sometimes, text cannot. One such example might be caricatures, which are portrayed these days as harmless freedom of speech, yet they set the image of terrorism that has been passing on for the past two centuries and is still quite controversial.
6. **Contrasts** are used to present something from the opposite of what it is—for example, The DailyMail’s article that was criticized by many for presenting New Zealand’s perpetrator private life from the attacks he committed.
7. **Spins** are triggering a reaction and a judgment, either positive or negative. One such example could be a statement by the Sri Lankan government about revenge for New

Zealand attacks, which was taken by many media outlets, only to be sworn a few days later.

The following part will present the four most used conceptual metaphors of terrorism in media, along with characteristics of global standardization of coverage.

2.1.1. Four Conceptual Metaphors of Terrorism

Some frames, specific metaphors, became conventional ones that have become “majority in media” (Matusitz, 2013, pp. 117). Different media systems have already established a standard set of rules, and one of them was presented by Spencer (2012) as four conceptual metaphors of terrorism. These four metaphors were found in a research study conducted on how the British tabloid *The Sun* reported on terrorism between 2001 and 2005.

1. **Terrorism as a war** “is not considered a normal state of affairs; it is an unusual period of time where unusual measures have to be implemented to stop the enemy from winning”, such as securing the borders (Spencer, 2012, pp. 401). In that sense, enemies are usually from another country. Therefore, those from that country/region are automatically suspected of supporting the opponent, and “criticism of the war becomes unpatriotic, cowardly and treacherous” (Spencer, 2012, pp. 402). Similar to this was the case of how the Sri Lankan government responded to terrorism, applying curfew, shutting down social media, giving more rights to police, prohibiting female Muslims from wearing the *burqa* or *niqab* in Sri Lanka, and arresting anyone suspicious (BBC, 2020).
2. **Terrorism as a crime** “calls for a judicial rather than a military response”, or in other words, proponents favor legal solutions (Spencer, 2012, pp. 404). Similarly, this was the situation in New Zealand’s attack, after which the government decided to immediately change gun laws by banning most semiautomatic weapons (New York Times, 2019). Besides that, Ardern and the French President Emmanuel Macron co-hosted the Christchurch Call Summit in Paris on May 15th. They called major technology companies to help in efforts to fight back violent extremism. Many political leaders decided to join, along with companies such as Amazon, Facebook, Google, Twitter, among others.

3. **Terrorism as an uncivilized evil** is “indicated through metaphorical expressions that constitute terrorists as ‘possessed’, ‘vile’ (...), who perform ‘monstrous’ and ‘barbaric’ acts (...) considered to be ‘savage’ ‘barbarism’ and terrorist is described as an ‘inhuman’ ‘monster’” (Spencer, 2012, pp. 405). Still, “they are judged as ‘inferior’ (...) a ‘lower standard of human being’ (Kappeler and Kappeler, 2004, pp. 182, in Spencer, 2012, pp. 406). By using specific nouns, metaphors, or epithets, the media condemns terrorism. This style of representation is standard for newspapers such as tabloids, who are trying to be straightforward and trigger reactions.
4. Similar to the representation of terrorism as an uncivilized evil, **terrorism as a disease** “constructs terrorism as a ‘sick’ (...) perpetrated by ‘insane’ ‘psychopaths’ (...) and terrorists are considered ‘maniacs’ or ‘crazed fanatics’” (Spencer, 2012, pp. 408). This kind of description can be a case on the front pages of tabloids.

In the following section, we will have a closer look at the global standardization of coverage, following the research by Jürgen Gerhards and Mike S. Schäfer (2013), which will be supported and elaborated in detail by different experts’ opinions. We will find out how terrorism fits in the agenda of different media systems, and, finally, how it influences society and its norms.

2.2. Global Standardization of Coverage

Recently, several scholars (Norris et al., 2003; Townshend, 2002; Tuman, 2003) have noticed the existence of a few established patterns running around the media, regardless of media systems. This pattern of reporting fell into the traps of superficial cliché that is influencing the public sphere by spreading stereotypes and stigmatization of specific groups within society. A few authors (Norris et al., 2003; Meyer, 2005) defined that as a *global script*. As they explained, media coverage is a “one-sided” story where the attacks and their perpetrators are condemned, and compassion is shown for the victims (Norris et al., 2003, pp. 12 in Gerhards, Schäfer, 2013, pp. 7).

Although there are no scientific articles available on these particular attacks, reading various newspapers showed that, despite the variety of media systems, many journalists followed this pattern of reporting. In the Sri Lankan's case, as mentioned at the very beginning, even journalists were competing with one another in the usage of a surprisingly high level of unverified assumptions (Walters, 2019). Moreover, even journalists did not hide the strange

feeling of being too disturbingly close to the victims' families and enabling the entire world to have a peek into their genuine grief (Safi, 2019). They were not held on by anyone, not even their own ethics. The perpetrators were the main protagonists of this "script" and fit into the frames of radical Islamic suicide bombers, although the verification of mentioned assumptions could not be checked (Walters, 2019; Arudpragasam, 2019).

Similar to the idea of a *global script*, Jürgen Gerhards and Mike S. Schäfer (2013) defined it as a *global standardization of coverage*. Gerhards and Schäfer believe that terror attacks are to be rejected by political elites almost everywhere unless elites are secretly supportive of terrorism (Townshend, 2002, pp. 12; Tuman, 2003, pp. 6 in Gerhards, Schäfer, 2013, pp. 7). In the case of international conflicts, the position of political elites plays an important role. Therefore, "a consensus among elites about the importance and the evaluation of a subject would strongly be reflected in the media" (Gerhards, Schäfer, 2013, pp. 7). If political elites are divided, it will lead to a pluralization of media positions (Gerhards, Schäfer, 2013, pp. 7).

The research conducted by Gerhards and Schäfer (2013) compared the way of reporting about four terror attacks in the Western (BBC, ARD, CNN) and Arab (Al Jazeera) media, where the influence of different media systems and the interest or participation of countries in a specific conflict was visible. Gerhards and Schäfer based this research on *Bennett's Indexing Theory*, where, once again, indexing refers to the news organization norms to select sources and frames of presenting a story. It became widely shared that finally, media systems act as an institution that shows familiar ways of storytelling (Bennett, 1990). The following data from this research are considered valuable for this thesis, as they provide information on how different media systems covered four different terror attacks. Moreover, it will be possible to isolate prevalent frames used for terror attacks coverage, which will be applied later as the main comparison between these media systems and the Nordic media system.

The research showed several differences in coverage according to media systems, such as frequency, the definition of the terrorist incidents, and the moral evaluation of an attack (Gerhards, Schäfer, 2013, pp. 13). “CNN and Al Jazeera interpret the events as a “war on terror”, while the BBC and ARD interpret them as “crimes

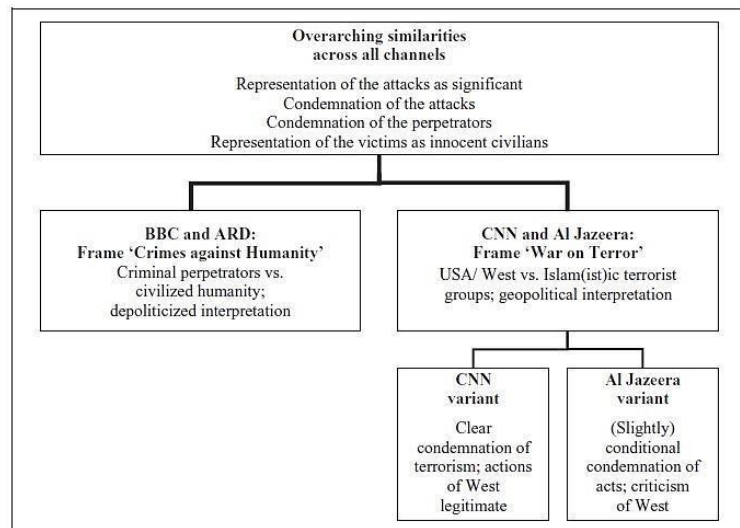


Photo 1. - Gerhards and Schäfer (2013): Reporting of terrorism in Western and Arab media

against humanity.’” (Gerhards, Schäfer, 2013, pp. 18). The influence of a different political landscape and the positions of political elites are the basis for most of these differences. To be precise, the political differences between the USA/”West” and “Islamic terrorist groups”, through legitimization or criticism of the West. As for similarities, let us take a more detailed look into this standardization of coverage by including different existing theoretical approaches.

2.2.1. Negative Evaluation of Attacks and Perpetrators

This research showed that the first similarity in reporting on terror attacks in different media systems was a negative evaluation of the perpetrators (Gerhards, Schäfer, 2013, pp. 12). When communicating about attacks and attackers, researched media outlets were quite clear, as they did “emphasize the illegitimacy of terrorism”. At the same time, the attacks and attackers were described as “brutal” (BBC, 8 July 2005), “barbaric” (Al Jazeera, 8 July 2005),⁷ “hateful” or “criminal” (ARD, 7 July 2005, 10 July 2005), “insane” (CNN, 12 November 2005), and “atrocious” and “shocking” (BBC, 10 November 2005).” (Gerhards, Schäfer, 2013, pp. 12).

Specifically, this is one of the most common ways of terrorist representation presented and supported by many different authors. By popular descriptions, terrorists are *non-humans* or *monsters* (Spencer, 2012, pp. 405). The influence of the media had created an image of a terrorist in society as a desperately poor, uneducated individual with no reason to live (Krueger, 2007, pp. 3). However, various research studies have shown another dimension as to

becoming a terrorist. For instance, an individual can be lured into terrorism because of a heightened sense of identity and belonging (DeAngelis, 2009), and “it is certainly not true that religious zeal is necessary to terrorism” (English, 2010, pp. 35–36). From an economical and educational perspective, it is explained that “the best-educated members of society and those in higher-paying occupations are often more radicalized and supportive of terrorism (...), the illiterate, underemployed population is often unwilling to express an opinion about policy issues”, as “terrorists are not motivated by their own material gain” (Krueger, 2007, pp. 4–6).

Therefore, as Hoffman told, “the decision to call someone or label some organization ‘terrorist’ becomes almost unavoidably subjective, depending largely on whether one sympathizes with or opposes the person/group/causes concerned” (Hoffman, 2006, pp. 23 in Butko, 2009). While defining and evaluating perpetrators, we should make sure that we are not looking at this problem through “materialistic Western eyes” in which political world leaders use this incorrect connection between poverty, education, and terrorism for their interests and ideologies (Krueger, 2007, pp. 50).

2.2.2. Innocence of Victims

Besides the negative representation of perpetrators, another typical pattern within different media systems was the presentation of victims as innocent. Journalists presented victims as politically, militarily, and economically uninvolved individuals that deserve sympathy (Gerhards, Schäfer, 2013, pp. 12). “The BBC highlights the “simple Londoners” (7 July 2005) that were attacked, and that in Amman, “innocent life” (BBC, 10 November 2005) and “innocent civilians” (Kofi Annan, ARD, 11 November 2005) were hurt or killed. Al Jazeera declares that the “attacks [in Amman] made no distinction between people with different political positions or between men, women, and children” (11 November 2005)” (Gerhards, Schäfer, 2013, pp. 12).

Another similarity was presenting the carefree everyday life of victims before the attack in order to underline a negative evaluation of attacks (Gerhards, Schäfer, 2013, pp. 12). CNN commenced its “Evening News” broadcast on the day of the attack in this way: “We begin tonight with a strong and simple lesson in terror. Terror has a wedding celebration transformed into a blood bath” (9 November 2005). The other stations also used this technique: “Five minutes after the start of the celebration all that was white is red” (Al Jazeera, 11 November

2005); “The party was going well. [...] This is Ashraf El Haled and his bride with their fathers – two proud men who were about to die” (BBC, 10 November 2005); or “They were just celebrating as the first explosive device went off” (ARD, 10 November 2005)” (Gerhards, Schäfer, 2013, pp. 12).

When we talk about the representation of victims, many different scientific articles supported the conclusion from this specific research. Different authors would agree that the media participates in giving voice to grief, fear, or solidarity. “Journalists act as masters of a mourning ceremony when they broadcast live and continuously” (Jørndrup, 2016, pp. 95). When Westminster’s terror attack happened in 2017, aside from distributing incorrect information about the perpetrator on Channel 4, Reuters published on Twitter numerous uncensored photographs of injured victims (News Associates, 2017). The images showed the core of the terror that could be seen on the victims’ faces displaying shock and hurt. These photographs “breach the clauses of the Independent Press Standards Organization’s editor’s code on privacy and intrusion into grief/shock, not to mention possibly the moral code of decency” (News Associates, 2017). With the reputation that Reuters have, many editors and journalists decided to publish uncensored images. Tristan Anne Borer (2012) believes that media coverage could desensitize public to suffering or overwhelm the audience with the magnitude of violence, which, in both ways, might leave them with feelings of helplessness or provoke cry for revenge (Borer, 2012, pp. 4). Either way, she is questioning the need to mediate suffering.

Finally, this research had real value as it was one of the very few studies showing how different media systems cover the same terror. Differences in the coverage depend on the political culture and its influence on the country. On the other hand, the shared similarities between different media systems are a condemnation of the attacks, negative evaluation of the attacker, and innocent representation of the victims. After familiarizing with similarities and differences, in the following part, we will take a closer look at the impact of terrorism on society, according to the available literature.

2.3. The Impact on Society

According to Krueger (2007), the impact of terrorism is visible on three different levels: economic, psychological, and political. From an economic view, terrorism has an influence that is not greater than natural disasters but still has its relevance on, for instance, tourism. “The

tourism industry suffers from terrorist attacks since it affects the perceptions of the destination's safety" (Sönmez, 1998 in Seabra et al., 2014, pp. 878). During the first few months after the Sri Lanka's attacks, the tourist arrivals dropped by 70%, while data from December showed that it went down by 20% (BBC, 2019; DW, 2019). Terrorism has a significant impact on the image of a country or city, and it takes months, sometimes even years, to rebuild the image and replace fear with trust.

Another impact, the psychological impact is, in fact, a base of terrorism. Spreading fear and uncertainty can paralyze the movement and activity of any population. According to Krueger, this "is often due to a lack of understanding of the actual risk that terrorism poses or to people's inability to put that risk into context" (Krueger, 2007, pp. 129). For example, according to available data from research done on US population, there is a higher chance of a lightning strike and commercial aircraft accident, than terror attack, which is on this scale next to the chance of having a plague (Ropeik and Gray, 2002 in Krueger, 2007, pp. 139).

Under the psychological level, we can freely add fear as a sub-influence of terrorism. In this case, not fear of terrorism itself, rather fear of *Muslims*. Anti-Muslim discourse in the media has been recognized as a "rhetoric that encourages Islamophobia and the identification of Muslims as 'the enemy' to resentment and radicalization" (Archetti, 2015, pp. 138). When we talk about New Zealand's attacks, the research conducted by scientists on New Zealand, after the mentioned attacks, "has consistently shown that the association drawn between Islam and terrorism, whether by the media or other figures, implies that Muslims continue to be perceived as a threat" (Hawi et al., 2019, pp. 87). Authors say that this minority can experience discrimination personally and institutionally. However, they can find hope in their forgiveness, despite provocations, along with the collaboration between the media and government in not highlighting differences or focusing on white supremacist ideas. Muslim-related content receives more significant interest in the press. Research on the University of Alabama had analyzed media coverage of all terrorist attacks in the US between 2006 and 2015, according to the Global Terrorism Database. The observation showed that "attacks by Muslims receive an average of 105 headlines, others just 15" (Kearns et al., 2017). "The disparity in media coverage is particularly out of sync with the reality given that white and right-wing terrorists carried out nearly as many terrorist attacks as Muslim extremists between 2008 and 2016" (Kearns et al., 2017). Another study by the Muslim Council of Britain in the UK analyzed more than 10,000 news articles/broadcasts and identified the issue "that 59 percent of the articles

analyzed associated Muslims with negative behavior, while more than a third ‘misrepresented or made generalizations’ about the community.” (Hanif, 2018, pp. 11).

Moreover, “current experiments reveal that anti-Muslim prejudice plays an important role in the current choice of vocabulary; the same behaviors are more likely to be called terrorism and judged more negatively when perpetrated by Muslims rather than White non-Muslims” (West and Llyod, 2017, pp. 220). Another recent example could be found in the Norwegian media when in the 2019 mosque shooting in Bærum, journalists fully protected the identity of the perpetrator. To be exact, some media, including VG, blurred the photographs of the attacker and did not mention his name (VG, 2019; Nettavisen, 2019). In 2019, a letter was sent to the Guardian by Muslim leaders, saying that “Muslims have been constantly cast as suspect communities, foreigners with barbaric views who are a threat to our society. We are now reaping the awful outcome of systemic and institutionalized Islamophobia woven into many sections of our societies”. In the rest of the letter, the writer asked for protection from the state—“The government has to go back and recognize that there is a need right now – and there’s overwhelming evidence that there’s clearly a need – and therefore how quickly is it going to respond to that” (The Guardian, 2019).

Finally, terrorism has a significant influence on decision making. “Framing mechanisms also thereby act to prime the ways in which future events will be perceived and have an influence on both norms and politics” (Jørndrup, 2016, pp. 89). Terrorism has its sources in politics and, as such, has a political impact on political goals and decisions. For example, after New Zealand’s terror attacks, the government immediately restricted and amended gun laws. Additionally, after the Sri Lankan’s attacks, social media were blocked, and the president issued emergency regulations that gave ultimate power to security forces and the army. As Papacharissi and Oliveira (2008, pp. 53) explained, the framing of news attains a new level of geopolitical significance, especially at times of political instability and allows us to acknowledge cultural differences in news practices and the internalization of terrorist events within society.

The following part is presenting possible ethical and professional solutions on how to report and deal with frames by journalists to journalists.

2.4. Dealing with Frames

Lack of information, ethical issues, and time pressure push journalists to use the most common frames and deliver information to the public. These actions have consequences on news coverage. "The choice made by the media is not always a conscious one and can reflect news frames developed by others: the authorities, but also public figures, study centers, journalistic routines such as that of giving priority to proximity or emotion, or an ideological bias" (UNESCO, 2017, pp. 34). In the following part, the ideas brought by various editors on how to cover terror attacks will be briefly presented, specifically with a focus on New Zealand's and Sri Lanka's attacks.

The New York Times published an article on how and why they dealt with the coverage of New Zealand's shootings. "We sat down with some of our top editors who make the difficult calls about how to cover the news without inadvertently glorifying a killer or becoming a pawn in his game" (Ingber, 2019). They have proposed a few questions that led them to the answers:

1. They decided not to publish the gunman's video or link it by raising a question: "Are you going to help publicize this terrorist video that the killer has made himself, obviously with the intent of it being seen as widely as possible?"
2. They decided not to use the manifesto as a source of information, because the manifesto itself "was written in a way to trick and make fun of the public and the press."
3. They decided to publish the attacker's identity. However, not in headlines, because he should not be the focus of the news, rather a factual part that the public needs to know about. The same approach is applied to his photograph.

Editors based their decisions on a gathered knowledge from the past, and they believed that extremists do not want only to communicate but manipulate both the press and the public. Therefore, reporting on attacks is essential. However, the information should not be handled gratuitously.

On the other hand, five leading New Zealand's news organizations (RNZ, Stuff, Mediaworks, TVNZ and NZME) released the coverage plan for trial in 2020 (Public media alliance, 2019):

1. We shall, to the extent that is compatible with the principles of open justice, limit any coverage of statements that actively champion white supremacists or terrorist ideology.

2. For the avoidance of doubt, the commitment set out at (a) shall include the accused's manifesto document.
3. We will not broadcast or report on any message, imagery, symbols or signals (including hand signals) made by the accused or his associates promoting or supporting the white supremacist ideology.
4. Where the inclusion of such signals in any images is unavoidable, the relevant parts of the image shall be pixelated.
5. To the greatest extent possible, the journalists selected by each of the outlets to cover the trial will be experienced personnel.
6. These guidelines may be varied at any time, subject to a variation signed by all parties.

Perhaps having an educated staff covering this trial, along with excluding any type of fascinating reporting about white supremacist messages, symbols or signals, is a professional decision that should be reflected onto other media as well.

There are also two more general rules on covering terrorism that exist from before and could be found in previous scientific articles. One of them addresses the fact that journalists "must be the eyes and ears of the public" by providing information that should be as complete and accurate as possible (Meyer, 2006, pp. 582). Reporting as such should be accurate, according to existing official information, avoiding speculations in order to keep contradictory information from the public. Understandably, communication with institutions or government is not always the most accessible source of information to reach, hence in that case, "when in doubt, leave it out" (Lund, Olsson, 2016, pp. 367). Journalists should not go against keeping the rational behavior of citizens for the sake of profit and sensation.

The second rule is related to *words*. "Sadly, nouns and adjectives are also weapons in the wars: journalists are urged by their critics to describe acts and the people who commit them, as "terrorist acts" perpetrated by 'terrorists'" (Dvorkin, 2003, pp. 812). To escape this game of words, many news organizations, along with the news agency *Reuters* "refused to describe any perpetrator of a terrorist act as a 'terrorist'" (Dvorkin, 2003, pp. 811–812). The same author believes that this is not the role of responsible journalism, instead of describing events with accuracy and fairness that the public will "judge" according to their understanding and choice. Similarly, the BBC (2020) delivered a guidebook for journalists on how to report on terrorism

when it comes to language and choosing words. They highlighted that journalists should avoid the use of the term "terrorist" because the word "can be a barrier rather than an aid to understanding" (BBC, 2020). According to their policy, words that should be used are those that accurately describe the perpetrator, such as "bomber", "attacker", "gunman" and should not adopt other people's language as their own.

3. Norwegian Newspapers

According to Hallin and Macini (2004), the Nordic media model represents the Democratic Corporatist System, which is characterized by a high level of journalistic professionalism, liberal press freedom, and the media, in general, is seen as a social instrument, rather than a private enterprise. By the end of the 20th century, Norwegian journalists recognized, defined, and turned to journalistic interests, as opposed to appeasing politicians. They became aware of the existence of ethics, their rights, and the need for the credibility of the press (Raaum, 1999, pp. 56; Sørnum, 2006 in Hovden, 2012, pp. 61).

Jan Fredrik Hovden (2016) researched how journalists in Norway take their roles and professional ethics seriously. The most significant percentage of considering a specific role extremely or very important belonged to roles such as reporting things objectively, to educate the audience and let people express their views. Journalists demonstrated a strong commitment to professional ethics. However, a low percentage also considers that it is acceptable to set aside moral standards if extraordinary circumstances require this. As for the public, "Nordic people are above average in terms of interest in informational and cultural content, and that the media have been perceived less as a vehicle for entertainment than in many other countries" (Syvertsen et al., 2014).

As we are coming closer to the research of this thesis, this chapter will give a basic overview of Norwegian newspaper development, with a focus on VG and Aftenposten. Finally, this chapter will be concluded with the findings from a few different academic articles on coverage of terrorism in Norwegian newspapers. It was not easy to obtain the information that will be included, as this topic has not been critically analyzed yet.

3.1. VG and Aftenposten

VG (*Verdens Gang*= The course of the world) is a Norwegian tabloid newspaper founded in 1945. At the end of the dynamic 19th century, VG defined themselves as “not an agency for anyone, except its own convictions of what best serves national and democratic progress” (Hovden, 2012, pp. 59). From its very beginning and throughout several years, VG was on the throne of the largest newspaper in Norway. VG reached the peak of circulation in 2002, with 390,000 printed newspapers. However, the process of globalization and digitalization left its trace. VG and Dagbladet invested heavily to become major online news providers but have been considered as the big losers in the market (Slaatta, 2014, pp. 128). In order to adapt to the process, VG and Dagbladet developed chargeable “plus-version” (VG+ and Dagbladet+). They gave access to all news updates, including critiques, comments, analyses available on personal computers, and all mobile platforms (Slaatta, 2014, pp. 130). The owner of VG is the famous media conglomerate Schibsted.

Aftenposten (The Evening Post) was founded in 1860 and, today is in the hands of the same owner as the VG. Only 0.01% of the ownership goes to Stiftelsen Tinius. Aftenposten are the largest Norwegian printed newspaper by circulation, with an estimated 1.2 million readers. Aftenposten had several controversies in the past, mostly in the first half of the 20th century, when it was under the censorship of the German occupying forces. Despite the recent process of digitalization, “Aftenposten and DN are both increasing their print sales” by 7%. At the same time, “its profits from digital advertising had overtaken revenues from print advertising” (Slaatta, 2014, pp. 128–129). However, Aftenposten also adapted to embraced digitalization by Norwegian society by “pushing its e-paper and the plus version on all platforms and also developing new print magazine formats to attract subscribers and potential new readers” (Slaatta, 2014, pp. 130).

3.2. Terrorism in Norwegian Newspapers

The following part will show how “the framing by the media of an event to a large extent decides the framing of the public debate” (Tuchmann, 1978, Parenti, 1993 in Ottosen, 2004, pp. 3). This part will chronologically present the data collected from different research studies

in order to understand the direction of development in reporting on war/terrorism topics in Norwegian newspapers.

Rune Ottosen (2004) conducted a research and found out how Norwegian newspapers, including VG and Aftenposten, presented the image of the war in Afghanistan. The results showed that VG had more editorials, while Aftenposten elaborated this topic majorly in the commentaries section. In both cases, politicians were the primary sources. Ottosen noticed that besides politicians, VG used more of “expert” sources and believed that this indicated “a somewhat more elite-orientated coverage” rather than Aftenposten (Ottosen, 2004, pp. 7). Also, VG had less of *neutral framing* and more *Norwegian version framing*, while Aftenposten had less of *Norwegian version framing*, and more *neutral framing* (Ottosen, 2004, pp. 9). Ottosen did not specifically define what he meant by *the Norwegian version*. However, it could be assumed that he was referring to Norwegian sources and Norwegian common perspectives on the events.

The following sums up the results:

THE NORWEGIAN MEDIA IMAGE OF THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN

VG	Aftenposten
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More editorials • 48.8% of the sources were politicians • Used more “expert” sources than Aftenposten • More US & Norwegian sources than Aftenposten • Less “neutral framing”, more “Norwegian version framing” and “US friendly framing” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More commentaries • 50.8% of the sources were politicians • Used more “man on the street” sources than VG • More substantially more Arab sources than VG • Less “Norwegian version framing”, more “neutral framing” and “USA-hatred”/”USA critical” framing”

Six years later, after Ottosen's research, Norway was hit by one of its terror attacks. This attack did not only leave a trace on the media's reporting, but it also left a change in politics and society. A research study conducted by Figenschou and Beyer (2014) showed that reporting on terrorism in the Norwegian media increased rapidly from 6 percent to 34 percent after the Oslo terror attack on 22 July 2011, when Anders Behring Breivik assassinated 69 people. "The attacks also sparked a more fundamental debate concerning Norwegian identity, national culture and core societal values", rising these debates from 6 to 13 percent after the attack (Figenschou, Beyer, 2014, pp. 439).

Authors pointed out that before the attack, news reports were related to immigration with crime, welfare, religion, and cultural practices. After the attack, Norwegian mass media adopted a discourse for responsibility (Figenschou, Beyer, 2014, pp. 445). However, in this case, a considerable omission was done by Norwegian politicians and the media as they encouraged the spreading of false information on the day of the terror attack. "Before the prime minister and the minister for justice officially revealed that the terrorist was a white Christian Norwegian (at a press conference at 22:00 on 22 July), a terrorism researcher had suggested that Islamic terrorists were behind the attack, and reports of Muslims being harassed in the streets of Oslo were spreading through the Internet" (Andersson, 2012, pp. 418). On the top of this stigmatization, authors of this research concluded that "ethnic minorities in Norway were not included/participating in the fundamental debates in the aftermath of the terror", and those who participated "represented a homogeneous group of non-immigrant background" (Figenschou, Beyer, 2014, pp. 439).

From a different and more professional perspective, Lund and Olsson (2016) conducted valuable research that gives an insight into what was happening inside of the newsroom when a terror attack occurred in Oslo. They interviewed Aftenposten's journalists that were on duty at the moment of the Oslo terror attack. After the first shock, journalists tried to re-establish routines and practices despite technological and communication challenges (Lund, Olsson, 2016, pp. 365). Reliable sources were silent, so journalists had to improvise in order to obtain information, such as "many social media users knew somebody who had been affected by the terror attacks" (Lund, Olsson, 2016, pp. 366). Due to a lack of relevant and official information, there have been many speculations from many media, including foreign journalists, which Aftenposten wanted to avoid by following the maxim "When in doubt, leave it out" (Lund, Olsson, 2016, pp. 367). Subsequently, the last phase was after a few hours of the first attack. Journalists were provided with crisis therapists, as many of them were left with a vivid emotional burden (Lund, Olsson, 2016, pp. 368).

To sum up, from the theoretical overview of the mediatization of terror attacks, an established pattern of reporting on the global level can be found. Many journalists have followed it despite the different media systems. When it comes to the Nordic media system, it is still holding its position quite high as the level of journalistic freedom and the flow of information is not being disrupted by political or similar influences. The next part will get us closer to the analysis and present a methodological overview, along with the main research question.

4. Methodology

There are two primary purposes of the research in this thesis. After the 2011 Norway attacks, the Norwegians' interest in topics of terror attacks increased not only in society but in the media as well (Figenschou, Beyer, 2014, pp. 439). However, there are not many research studies on these attacks in frames of the Nordic media yet. Consequently, the first purpose of this thesis has educational value, as the answers within this research can support in building knowledge of this media system regarding terror attacks.

From a social perspective, New Zealand's attack shared many similar aspects with the 2011 Oslo attacks. This similarity triggered many memories for Norwegian society. Considering that a conservative party currently leads Norway through sharing nationalistic values, it will be valuable to see if the media was independent of political influence within this Nordic system in these particular cases. A narrative presented in the media is not only a plotline that carries a set of facts but also a "social product produced by people within the context of specific social, historical and cultural locations" (Lawler, 2002, pp. 242 in Archetti, 2015, pp. 146).

Back in 2011, after the Oslo attacks, before the attacker was confirmed, false information started spreading around as "a terrorism researcher had suggested that Islamic terrorists were behind the attack, and reports of Muslims being harassed in the streets of Oslo were spreading through the Internet" (Andersson, 2012, pp. 418). Hence, this research highlights a social value by increasing awareness of significant issues, such as cultural bigotry and stigmatization in Norwegian society.

Generally, the media's power and influence have been recognized and proven continuously for decades. Same as it can disassemble society, it also has the potential to be part of educating the public and de-radicalizing individuals from extreme viewpoints due to political or ideological currents.

This chapter will present the main research question and elaborate further selected methodology set up of this thesis.

4.1. Research Question

Brandal et al. (2013) explained that the Nordic model is based on a high level of transparency, legitimacy, and political trust. To put this explanation into a practical perspective, I decided to

set New Zealand's and Sri Lanka's attacks as the primary focus of this thesis. Both attacks brought on the surface two different sides of extremism led by hate and extreme ideologies that are shaping the world. Therefore, this research aimed to show if there was something different about respected Nordic media system when it comes to reporting on mentioned attacks, or if they fell into the trap of global standardization of coverage. Following curiosity and recency, these undiscovered segments of the academic world might give valuable knowledge and serve as a direction for future studies.

The main research question of this thesis is, *how does the coverage of Aftenposten and VG in both attacks compare?* For a more detailed understanding, this research question is followed by a few sub-questions.

1. Does VG's and Aftenposten's reporting on this topic fit into the context of global standardization of coverage?

By answering this question, it will be possible to see the distinction between the Nordic media system and other systems that had been covered in the research conducted by Gerhards and Schäfer (2013). It will allow us to get an insight into how the attack was, along with attackers and victims, evaluated.

2. Is the way of VG's and Aftenposten's reporting pro-terrorist or anti-terrorist?

The research will show if the coverage was inclined more to the side of reporting where the media was in positive connection to terrorists, or negative. The answer will show us if VG or Aftenposten provided objective reporting, similar to Galtung's *peace journalism*, or it focused more on emphasizing violence and differences on any basis, as in *war journalism*.

3. How were the perpetrator and victims portrayed in VG and Aftenposten?

Similar to the first sub-question, this question will give a detailed insight into the representation of perpetrators and victims, without comparing it to *the global standardization of coverage*. The purpose of this question is to show independently how VG and Aftenposten used specific information to present these two sides.

4. Is the amount of dishonest and inadequate reporting different in VG compared to Aftenposten?

This question will provide us with a short answer on possible ethical and professional challenges, with the focus on the central issues that the journalists faced, along with possible

solutions on how they could have solved them. On the other hand, in case there will be none of such reporting, it will also show us how the journalists handled this reporting and what was positive about it.

4.2. Data Gathering

The data gathering process started in September 2019, and the collection of articles was completed in November 2019. Data gathering refers to collecting printed versions in digital archives. As the recency effect plays a significant role when it comes to the media's interest, articles were gathered by the condition of a time limit from the date of the attack until the end of that month.

I did not use subscription to either of these newspapers. The articles from both newspapers and for both cases were found and collected from Retriever (<https://www.retriever-info.com/>). The media archive Atekst, also known as Retriever, is the Nordic region's largest digital news archive for print and digital media but also radio and TV. Combining specific keywords and selecting needed newspapers and dates, numerous articles were listed very quickly. However, it was not very easy to search for data on the mentioned archive site, specifically for VG and Aftenposten, as it took a considerable amount of time to review the list and collect correct samples.

For Aftenposten and VG, I used the same keywords in Norwegian such as "terrorangrep", "terrorangrepene", "terror" combined with country names: "New Zealand" and "Sri Lanka". After writing these keywords, I selected one newspaper per search along with the month when the attack occurred. To minimize the margin of error and to quickly review the found content, I searched the data a few times, combining 'terror' keywords, x country keyword, and x newspaper. During an inspection of listed articles, several of them were irrelevant or repeated (for example, travel guide or, in another article, a comment about the state of the country, which was not relevant to the topic). Otherwise, the search engine was entirely accurate. All articles were arranged in chronological order by the date when the attack occurred.

4.3. Research Methods

From a theoretical perspective, in order to see the mainframe used by the journalists in VG and Aftenposten, I will rely on the understanding and definitions of the frame theory analysis by Entman. "To be able to identify a coherent frame and distinguish it from other frames, Entman defines a frame as constituted by: (1) problem definition, (2) causal interpretation, (3) moral evaluation, and (4) solution or treatment recommendation for the problem. These four dimensions together form a framework, a specific gaze on the world, which constitutes the context for how news media present and interpret events" (Entman 1993:52 in Jørndrup, 2016, pp. 89). Entman's approach was used mainly while creating a research sheet with questions (see Appendix). This research will show how was a specific attack presented, who was to blame and why. Along with that, it will reveal if there were any moral evaluation or proposed solutions.

As the main idea was to find out how does Nordic media rules and practices reflect on the framing terror attacks, two research approaches will be used. Firstly, articles will be analyzed by content analysis, which will later lead to a more detailed approach of multimodal analysis. Content analysis will show us the main patterns of reporting, and selected articles for Multimodal analysis will give an in-depth version of the information.

4.3.1. Content Analysis

Since this research delivers an answer on *how journalists* write, content analysis will lead to the finding of possible reporting patterns. Content analysis has "an interpretive and naturalistic approach. It is both observational and narrative in nature and relies less on the experimental elements normally associated with scientific research (reliability, validity and generalizability)", (from Ethnography, Observational Research, and Narrative Inquiry, 1994–2012). By reading a text as an ordinary reader, while using a specially designed set of questions, I will be able to find the main directions of explaining and delivering information, along with finding what the most common and frequent way of elaborating information was.

Content analysis of relatable articles will give valuable insight into recognizing the textual patterns used by Aftenposten and VG while reporting on these terror attacks. It will give a general overview of how information was set up and provided within the newspaper's agenda. Textual examples from the articles will follow these results. Since this phase is not the main

focus of this thesis, rather a base, I have tried to make the content analysis as clear as possible by focusing only on those key points that were covered earlier in this thesis. The main aim of this content analysis is to challenge the elaborated theoretical part, with an assumption that VG and Aftenposten, as part of the Nordic media system, will deliver this information precisely and correctly without putting a question mark on the victims' privacy or sensational representation of the event. I have divided content in few categories made of a set of questions.

First category: date, page, section, genre, title authors, photographs and sources

In the first category, I will make a general approach to an article by setting up the primary identification of articles, such as page, section, genre, and date it was published. This category will also identify who the author was and what was the type of article's title. The identification of authors had two possible answers: a native Norwegian author and a Norwegian author of foreign origin. I found this necessary to distinguish in order to get a more detailed approach to what type of articles specific authors write and if their cultural background has any influence on choosing specific topics. Authors with prominent traditional Norwegian full names were classified as native Norwegian authors. On the other hand, those with non-traditional Norwegian full names were classified as foreign Norwegians. They adapted to this culture, speak the language fluently but have a different cultural or religious background.

The following are the main questions regarding sources:

What are the sources of information in the article?

1. *First-hand information from relevant sources (as police, politicians, official persons) Personal impressions from citizens that were near the attack*
2. *Personal impressions from citizens that were physically far away from the attack*
3. *Social media*
4. *Foreign media*
5. *Politicians*

What kind of information did those sources provide?

1. *Information about the attack*
2. *Guide on how to behave*
3. *Subjective information/impressions about the attack*
4. *Other*

When it comes to titles, they were classified according to the definitions proposed by Croatian scholar Josip Silic (2006, pp. 89–90) who divided titles on:

1. *Nominative titles made of nouns and adjectives*
2. *Informative titles based on verbs and actions that are later described in the text*
3. *Commercial/sensationalistic titles recognized by suggestive short words drawing the attention of a reader*

By the end of this first category, I will also take a look into what kind of information the author provided in the article. Was it:

1. *Information about the attack*
2. *History-oriented – analysis and comparison of the attack with other attacks*
3. *Future-oriented – what will happen after this?*
4. *Subjective information/impressions about the attack*

Second category: representation of the attacker

The focus of the second category is the representation of an attacker. I have decided to cover just a few fundamental aspects of this point, as this topic will be covered in detail later on in the multimodal analysis. With a starting point from the written theoretical part and based on the mentioned findings along with definitions, this category will show how the attacker/s was/were described and presented to the readers. The question will be as follows:

How was the attacker described and presented in the article?

1. *Psychologically unstable individual*
2. *By individual's nationality/ethnicity*
3. *By individual's religion and ideology*
4. *By an individual's political views*
5. *By education level*
6. *By profession*
7. *With stories from the attacker's past*
8. *Other*

Also, it will cover the way an author presented this attacker, so that, in the conclusion of the gathered data from this phase of research, it will be possible to see what the standard way of presenting the attacker was.

What was the general approach of an author towards the attacker?

- a. *Positive – justifying actions while connecting the attacker's past, using mostly positive words to describe him*

- b. Negative – writing against actions using mostly negative words to describe the attacker*
- c. Neutral – stating facts from the place of the attack*
- d. Other*

Considering the controversy of blurred photographs, I will look into ways of publishing photographs of perpetrators in these two newspapers. A more detailed approach to analyzing photographs will be covered in the multimodal analysis part.

Third category: representation of the victims

Moving on to the third category, this set of questions will be similar to the previous category but only with a focus on victims. In UNESCO's handbook, it is explained that a journalist should know how to balance information with humanity, which means asking the victim for consent, understanding the impact of the photos, and respecting their privacy along with emotions while avoiding questions such as *how do you feel?* (UNESCO, 2017, pp. 51). Based on the mentioned theoretical perspectives, we will look at the way victims were both described and represented.

How were the victims described in the article?

- 1. Through grief*
- 2. Through fear*
- 3. Through solidarity*

Following sensationalism, victims can be presented in a very emotional way by having journalists crossing the border of respecting the victim's identity and/or privacy.

Which victim's information was presented?

- 1. Victim's full identity*
- 2. Victim's partial identity (age, religion, nationality, education or profession)*
- 3. Victim's past or private life supported by the quote from a source close to them*
- 4. Photograph only*
- 5. Just the number of victims*

What was the general approach of an author towards victims?

- 1. Positive – mostly positive words to describe the victim*
- 2. Negative – writing against actions using mostly negative words and emotions such as grief or nostalgic*
- 3. Neutral – stating facts from the place of the attack*
- 4. Other*

Same as in the previous category, the final question will be connected to the visual representation of victims, by using the following question

Does the published photo show the victims?

1. *YES, clearly visible*
2. *NO, the victims are blurred*

In the multimodal analysis part, I will focus on the details of visual representation.

Fourth category: representation of terrorism

Finally, the last category focuses mainly on the general representation of terrorism. In this category, the leading role is seen in the author, since they are carriers of the information. They deliver information in a specific manner using specific words to describe the event. As it was mentioned in the theoretical part, only a handful of news agencies have set journalist's standards when reporting on attacks of any nature, along with specific elaborations on how to call the perpetrator, in order to escape stigmatizations and assumptions. Precisely that would be the primary purpose of this category; to find out what the way of reporting on such event at specific timelines and within deadlines is.

Following the theoretical definitions, an example of two important questions from this category are:

What was the general approach of an author towards a terror attack?

- a. *Pro terrorist – glorifying fear and grief*
- b. *Anti-terrorist – providing solutions and objective information*
- c. *Neutral – objective/independent*
- d. *Other*

In which way did the author describe the attack?

- a. *As a war – we have to stop the enemy*
- b. *As a crime – call for a judicial rather than a military response*
- c. *As uncivilized evil – as a monstrous and barbaric act*
- d. *As a disease – terrorists are sick and insane*

The final questions regarding this part of the research will be connected to assumptions and solutions that were/were not offered by the author or sources. In UNESCO's handbook for journalists, it is written that "one of the duties of journalism is to include complexity, refusing

the denial of reality in the affirmation that "there is nothing to understand" on the pretext that terrorists are "barbarians, full stop" (UNESCO, 2017, pp. 34).

All answers from these categories will provide general insight on possible patterns of reporting. Following this finding, I selected several articles for the second part of the research, which is multimodal analysis. As a researcher, the approach to these questions and answers will be as objective as possible. At the same time, in the conclusion part, all these categories will be interpreted, and answers to sub-questions, along with the main research question, will be offered.

4.3.2. Multimodal Analysis

Following discovered patterns from content analysis, a few articles will be selected and analyzed using the multimodal analysis approach. It will give an in-depth insight into the journalist's narrative approach and way of storytelling by using photographs, font sizes, colors, and other different layers of communication as a whole. This approach will point to a conclusion and comparison of how VG and Aftenposten narrated New Zealand's and Sri Lankan's attacks.

As Fairclough (2000b) explained, texts and interactions carry their own values, which should be analyzed to show how some of the effects that they identify are brought off, such as a representation of desires as facts or representations of imaginaries of interested policies. Therefore, the central part of this research will be a multimodal analysis of selected articles. After content analysis, a few articles from both newspapers will be selected and interpreted in-depth by taking into consideration not only what was written, but how it was written and presented.

In the academic world, multimodality is quite a new research tool. It was "launched in the 1990s" and took an interest from many academic researchers (Gibbons, pp. 285). Similar to multimediality, when "two or more media are overtly present in a given semiotic entity at least in one instance", multimodality is having a focus on "any text whose meanings are realized through more than one semiotic mode" (Wolf, 2005, pp. 254; Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 183 in Gibbons, pp. 287). The plurality of semiotic modes also applies to newspapers. "The different modes of expression are located on the page not in an autonomous or separate fashion, but in such a way that, while these modes have distinct means of communicating, they

constantly interact in the production of textual meaning.” (Gibbons, pp. 287). Furthermore, Gibbons elaborated that in this context, one mode is not privileged, “but rather narrative content, type-face, type-setting, graphic design, white-space, and images”.

No matter how familiar, the topic of this thesis is controversial as well. Journalists can easily stumble while reporting on this, which ends with a specific way of storytelling, even by those words that were not written. Multimodal analysis fits perfectly in this part because it focuses on how the process of making the meaning comes from the author/s of the article. As much as many journalists strive for objective reporting, it is almost inevitable not to be led by subjectivity at some point, primarily while covering events that are not happening daily with such an impact as terror attacks have. As some would say, “the idea of “objective journalism”, the theoretical ability to stay completely neutral in recounting current events, is nice and comforting to think about. It is also a complete illusion, an utterly ahistorical approach to understanding how journalism affects society” (Singh, 2019). In that context, multimodal analysis of selected articles will bring a new dose of valuable information and will help to understand the direction of the Nordic media, specifically VG and Aftenposten, during such events as an attack. It will show whether the reporting fits in standardized coverage as in other media systems or if there is something different about it.

Some of the critical points of articles that will be questioned are metaphors, passive/active verbs; the size of the photographs; colors of titles, headlines, keywords, additional information, and photographs; what information is contained in the image; which emotion can be found in the image; relation of the font size; any other textual or imagistic way of drawing attention.

Therefore, the main goal of this second and most crucial part of the research is to divide what is delivered by journalists in selected layers, such as text, photographs, messages, organization, and representation of the content. It might give a clearer understanding of what the approach of an author was, but also what the representation of the content was in textual layout and page design.

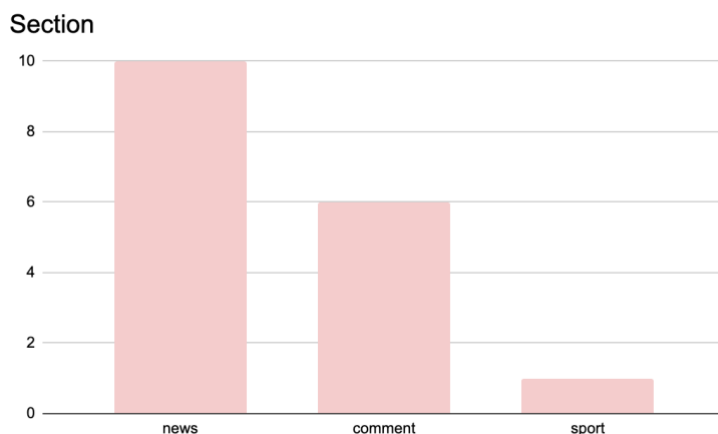
5. Content Analysis: New Zealand Shootings

This chapter represents collected and analyzed data from Norwegian daily newspapers, VG and Aftenposten, in the period between 15th March 2019 until 30th March 2019, from the day New Zealand attacks happened through to the end of the same month. The reason for this time limit is because I wanted to focus on immediate writing about the attacks and see how journalists of these two newspapers were delivering such amount of sensitive information in such a short time. On the other hand, this research is not limited only on the first day of the attack because it was essential to know how journalists will develop the direction of this topic and how far they might go in reporting on this topic in general.

In this part, I took into consideration all types and genres of articles. Hence, I did not analyze news only but also commentaries and various features, which were, to some extent, relevant for storytelling. This part does not include front pages since, as those will be covered in Multimodal analysis.

5.1. Aftenposten

The first article was published the day after the attack, on 16th March 2019. The highest number of covered articles about these shootings were published a few days after; on the 19th, 20th and 22nd. The total number of articles that Aftenposten published about the attacks that were relevant for this research was 17. Throughout this period, Aftenposten did not publish any information related to this topic on the front pages.

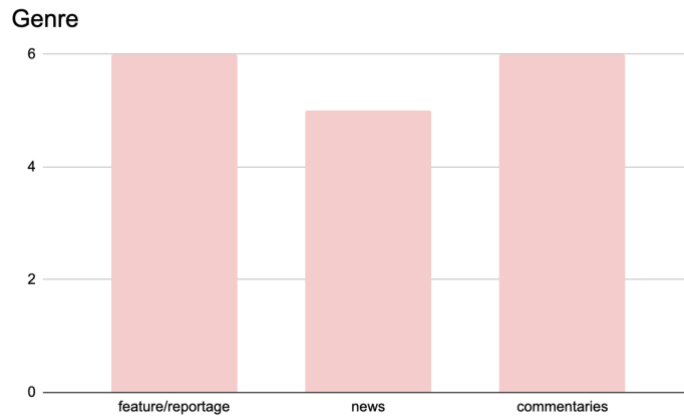


Articles about these shootings were in the vast majority placed at the beginning of the newspaper. Four articles were published on the 10th and 11th page, which was part of the news section. Obviously and expectedly, this topic was quite high on Aftenposten's agenda,

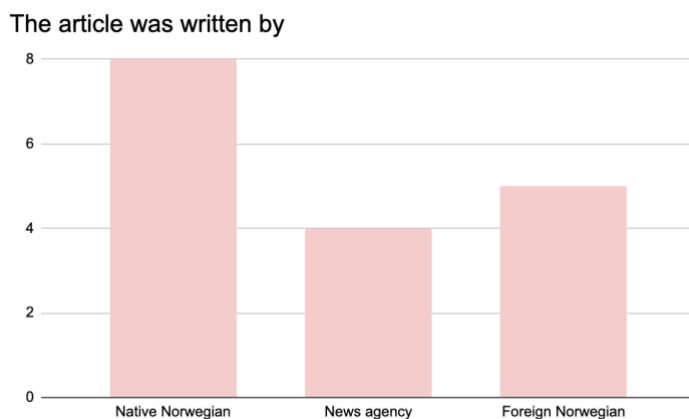
and delivering information on first pages in a news section might have had significant

importance on first *impressions* and *knowledge* about these shootings. Aftenposten included six commentaries, which is quite a high number considering that the total number of articles was 17. Only one article relevant to this research could be found in the *Sports* section of Aftenposten.

Although the majority of articles were published in the first pages of the newspaper, six of them were features/reportages that provided a reader with a more in-depth understanding of the situation. Sometimes, even unnecessary features as confessions of the attacker's grandmother or white

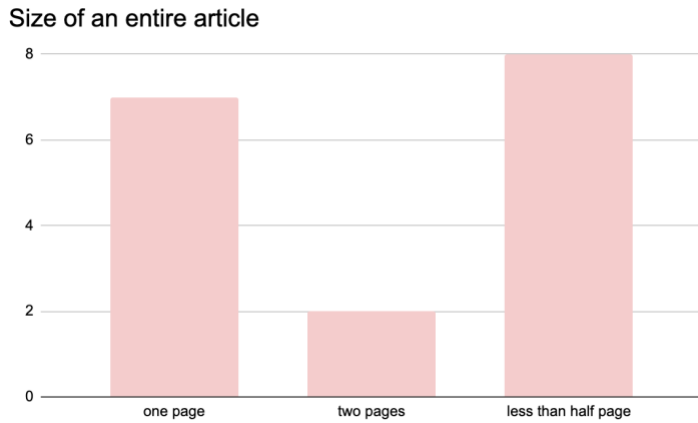


supremacists' symbol. Another six published articles were labeled as commentaries - subjective, opinion-based articles without relevant information. Furthermore, in the news section could be found features and reportages. At the same time, only five articles were identified as actual news genres, in which journalists provided new information that was relevant to the attacks. Interviews were not part of Aftenposten's coverage of these attacks.



The articles were written and signed by native Norwegians in eight cases, while five were written by foreign Norwegians, which would mean Norwegian citizenship with a foreign cultural background. There were no unidentified authors in any of the articles. However, there was one article written by a

native Norwegian that put the spotlight on the New York Times commentator, who was explaining how the video on social media was spreading too fast and that, by supporting that, the terror effect was increasing. This article was published on 17th March, on page 8, and it provided a short description of reporting that The New York Times editors proposed. As a reminder, they decided to publish the gunman's identity, but leave the manifesto and video out of reporting as they consider it a manipulative tactic (Ingber, 2019).

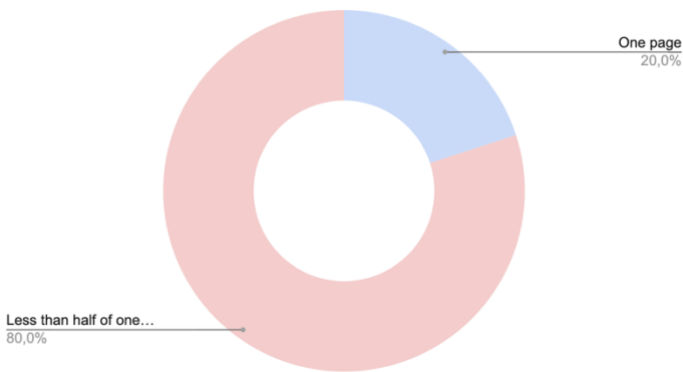


The majority of analyzed articles were covered within less than one page. Seven articles were narrated within one page, while only two articles could be read on two pages. One of these two-page articles was published on 16th March and questioned the fear of Norwegian Muslims. Precisely,

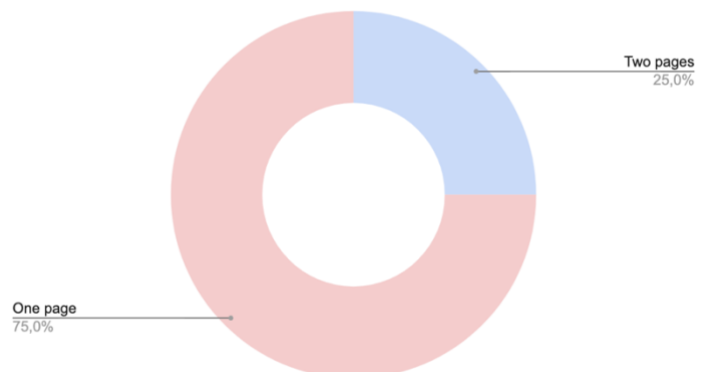
how yet another negative context could influence their status in Norwegian society. At the same time, another two-page article was published on 22nd March and was about the diplomatic crisis that took place after Erdogan used the video of a terror attack as a spin to serve his political campaign for presidential elections.

Articles written by native Norwegians were between one page or two pages long. On the other hand, articles written by foreign Norwegians delivered information, mostly opinion-based, within less than half a page. Something that should be highlighted is a finding that only foreign Norwegians wrote commentaries, while native Norwegian authors focused on writing news and reportages/features.

Foreign Norwegian



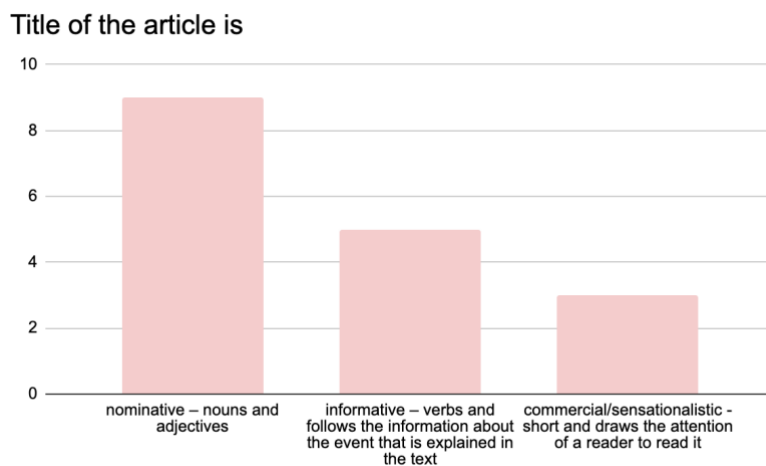
Native Norwegian



As explained earlier, the term *foreign Norwegian* stands for a socially adapted individual with an international background, which could be detected from their names. Specifically, commentaries were written by individuals connected in some way with Islam, either by practice or by family roots. These articles talked about an individual's emotions, advice for others, or impressions about attacks from their perspective. These commentaries could be placed in

frames of telling a story (Fairhurst and Sarr, 1996), where an author's subjective approach is quite noticeable, memorable, and vivid.

One of the examples is a title published on 19th March: *Angrepet viser at Norge trenger flere muslimske stemmer. Her er min* (The attack shows that Norway needs more Muslim voices. Here's mine.). The base of these articles was usually about fear of the stigmatization that any terror attack brings. The authors expressed their uncertainty and concern.



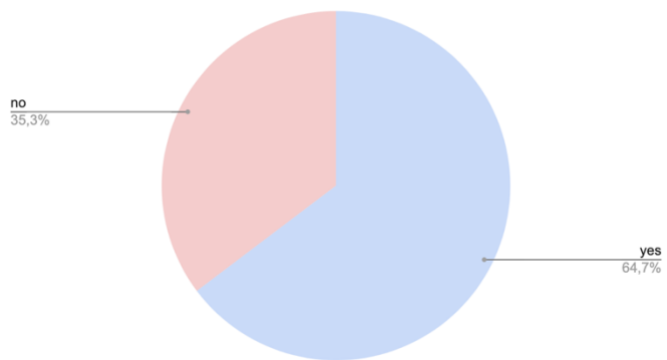
Nine of collected and analyzed articles had a nominative title, which means that the authors mainly used nouns and adjectives to address the representation of a topic (Silic, 2006). For example: *Terroristen hevder han var inspirert av 22. juli* (The

terrorist claims he was inspired by July 22) or *Diplomatiske kriser på rekke og rad* (Diplomatic crises again).

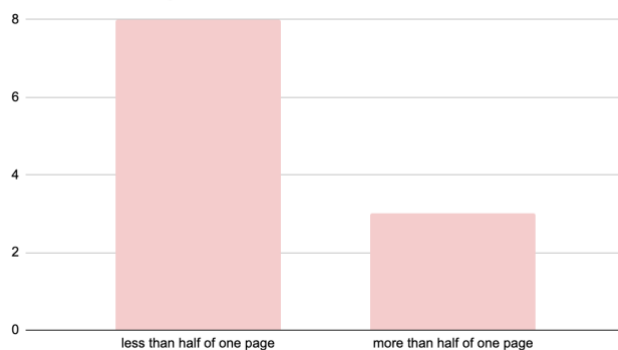
Five articles had informative titles in which authors used verbs and followed actual information to explain what is happening (Silic, 2006). For example: *Vil stoppe terroristenes videoer* (Will stop the terrorist videos) or *Bruker terrorvideo i valgkampen* (Used terror video in the election campaign). Furthermore, only three of the articles carried commercial/sensationalistic titles (Silic, 2006), which were drawing the reader's attention and interest. For instance: *Sprer du terrorvideoer, er du en nyttig idiot* (If you spread terror videos, you are a useful idiot) or *Jeg er sint. Det bør du også være.* (I am angry. You should be too.). One more interesting finding is that foreign Norwegians wrote two out of three articles with commercial/sensationalistic titles—these were mainly titles for commentaries, which were about the innocence of victims and fear of Norwegian Muslims.

When it comes to a visual representation of information, out of 17 analyzed Aftenposten's articles, 11 articles had a belonging photograph, while six of them did not. These photographs were showing mostly places of the shootings or different individuals for whom it was hard to tell whether they were victims, relatives of victims, or random passengers who decided to support victims during grieving.

Does the article have a belonging photograph?



Size of the photograph is



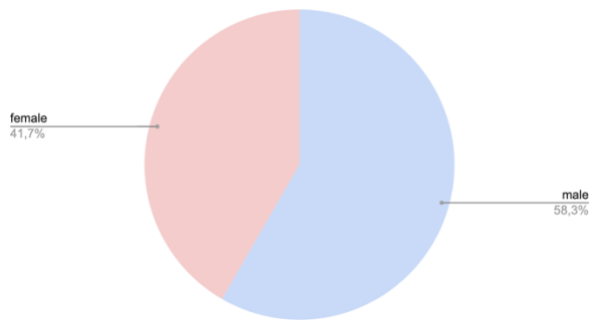
The size of the photograph was entirely consistent throughout this period of reporting. In most cases, eight articles, the visual representation of news took up less than half a page, while the size of photographs in three pieces was more than half a page. Photographs were used mostly during the first day of reporting,

on 16th March and on the third day, 19th March. Both days had two shots. On the first day, the photograph showed a victim that was on the ambulance bearing, driven by two workers. Another photo was a portrait of a Muslim Norwegian who is the general manager of Rabita Mosque in Oslo. On 19th March, the first published photograph showed a man from a profile, barely visible face, looking at the candles, while the other picture was of Jacinda Ardern, hugging probably a victim's family member whose face was not visible.

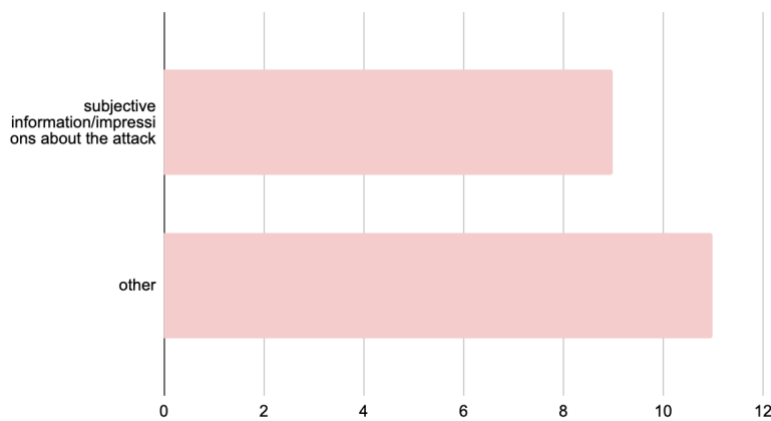
In most cases, in five out of 17 articles, the authors used first-hand information that was mostly stated by politicians or another relevant source. Besides this, in five pieces, the authors presented or used personal impressions from citizens that were not close to the events of the attack. Next to this, the most used source of information was, expectedly, social media, and foreign media, while, in two cases, the authors used or entirely published news from the Norwegian news agency. In majority, Aftenposten's journalists included one source of information per article. In contrast, one article had even seven sources of information, and interestingly, not even one article included victims/citizens that were near the shootings as a source.

All the mentioned sources were predominantly males. In seven articles, males were the ones who delivered the news, information or expressed opinions. On the other hand, in five out of 17 articles, sources were females. It means that males were a predominant source in half of the articles. Male sources mostly brought first-hand information as a relevant source. In contrast, female references were included from foreign media, news agencies, or social media as opinions.

Sources in the article are predominantly:



What kind of information those sources provided?

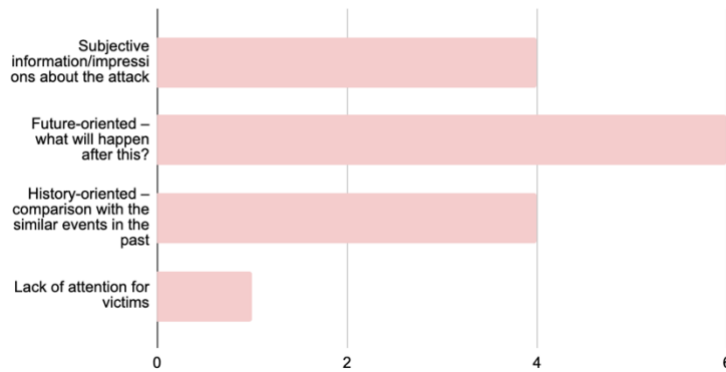


The data from this research showed that none of the sources provided information about the attack. On the other hand, in even nine of them, which was the majority, the references provided subjective information/impressions about the attack. It shows an

interesting overview of the mentioned *proximity filter* (Ellis, Muller, 2019). While New Zealand's media had a focus on empathy with victims, the Australian media had a focus on the perpetrator, and Norwegian Aftenposten had a focus on their Norwegian perspective, a term that Ottosen (2005) mentioned in his research as, *the Norwegian version of framing*. The authors and sources were showing this news from Norwegian political and cultural challenges. Such topics were: Norwegian Muslims, a diplomatic crisis that the Turkish president caused by using the video as a spin for his presidential campaign, the first victim's funeral, analysis of a gesture given by the perpetrator connecting him with Breivik. Interestingly enough, only female sources gave a solution on how to behave, and that was New Zealand's Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern. Throughout her quotes in a few articles, a reader can sense the degree of seriousness not only of the attacks but needed changes for society and one of such articles was published on 19th March, page 10. - *Vi har fattet en beslutning som vi står samlet bak, sier statsminister Jacinda Ardern i en pressekonferanse i går. (...) - innen ti dager etter dette forferdelige terroristangrepet, vil vi ha kunngjort endringer i våpenloven som vil gjøre vårt*

samfunn tryggere, sier Ardern. (We have made a decision that we stand together behind, says Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern in a press conference yesterday. (...) - within ten days of this terrible terrorist attack, we will have announced changes in the gun laws that will make our society safer, says Ardern.)

What kind of information journalist/author provided with the text?



The focus of the articles in the authors' case was in five pieces, aiming to provide information about what was happening. Six articles tried to provide future-oriented information, such as what might happen after the attack and how it can influence society.

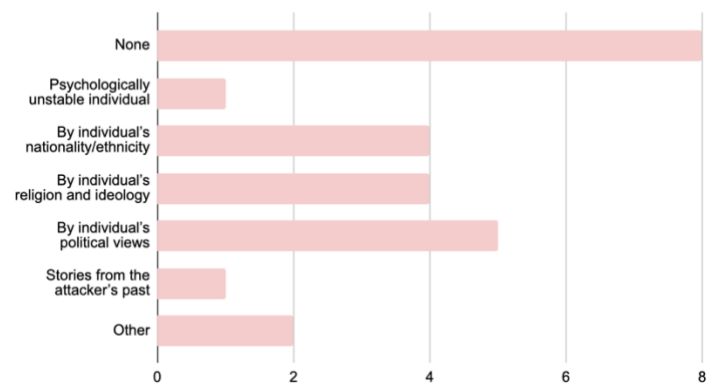
On the other hand, four articles were history-oriented, where the author tried to provide a connection to something that had happened before. Due to similar ideologies and reasons for the attack, stories were connected to Breivik's attacks in 2011. Another four written articles represented subjective impressions of journalists about the attack or attacker. Interestingly, one article, which was a commentary, mentioned a lack of attention and coverage about the victims.

Representation of the attacker

The attacker's identity was declared in the first article on 16th March 2019. However, his image was not published.

From 17 analyzed articles, the authors and sources used many ways of describing the attacker. However, the most common approach was none. In eight articles, the attacker was not presented at all, as the author/sources were talking about the attack itself. On the other hand,

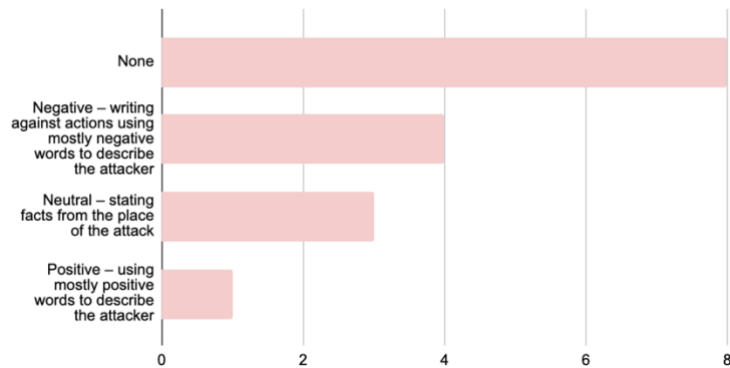
How was the attacker described and presented in the article?



in five articles, the attacker was described by his political views. In the rest of the articles, the

attacker was usually described by nationality or a specific ideology. In one article, the attacker was described as psychologically unstable or by some story from his past.

What was the general approach of an author towards the attacker?



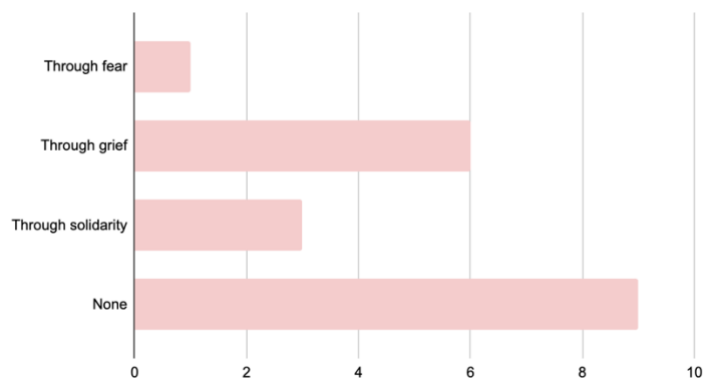
Although Aftenposten's journalists did not want to give a *clear* identity to the attacker and the mainframe of this attacker did not even exist, in four articles, the general approach of an author towards the attacker was negative, condemning their action. Only one article had a positive attitude to the attacker,

where his actions were justified, either intentionally or unintentionally. The title of the article was *Terroristens tegn var ikke tilfeldig valgt* (The terrorist's sign was not chosen at random) and it was published on 26th March. Interestingly, this was the only article that had one photograph of the perpetrator published. The photograph did not show the attacker's face, but it did show his hand making the gesture of *white power*. This article was framed by just one gesture, explaining the meaning and inviting readers to try to make the gesture.

Representation of victims

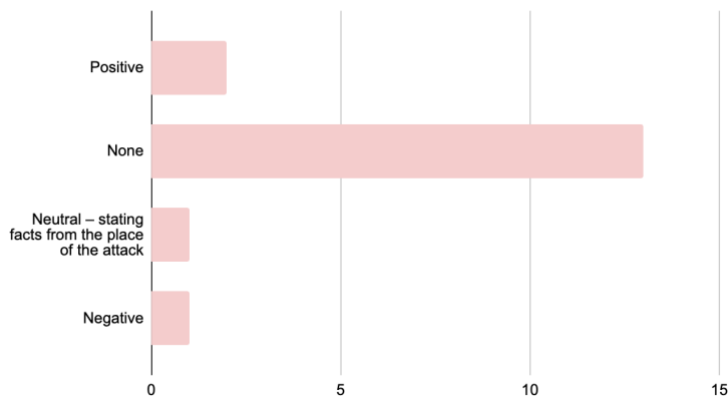
When it comes to the representation of victims, Aftenposten left them faceless. Out of 17 articles in total, ten articles had no way of representing or describing victims. In 7 other articles, the victims were described through grief or feelings of solidarity. However, when it comes to defining who the victims were and how they were affected by the attacks, it was quite challenging to find information.

How were the victims described in the article?



Nine articles mostly and only included information about the number of victims. The other six articles had none information about victims. Only one article included the victim's full identity. Also, none of the published articles had a photograph, and only one case was quite transparent about the victim's identity—the youngest victim of the attack was three years old.

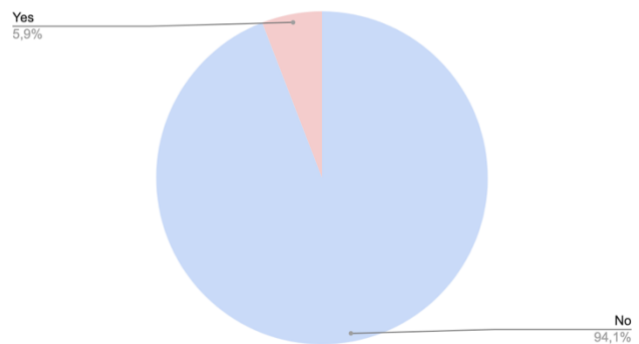
What was the general approach of an author towards victims?



Only two articles had a supportive approach to the victims through solidarity. In contrast, the others were in fewer amount negative or neutral, due to the use of negative words in the text or mentioning facts about the attacks without explaining anything specifically about the victims.

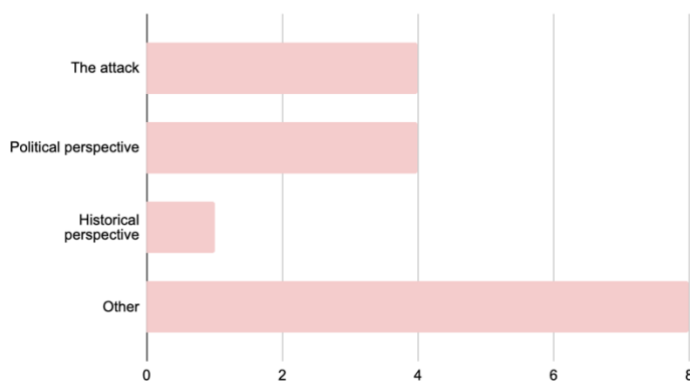
Moreover, only one article had the victim's photograph.

Does the published photo show the victims?



Representation of terrorism

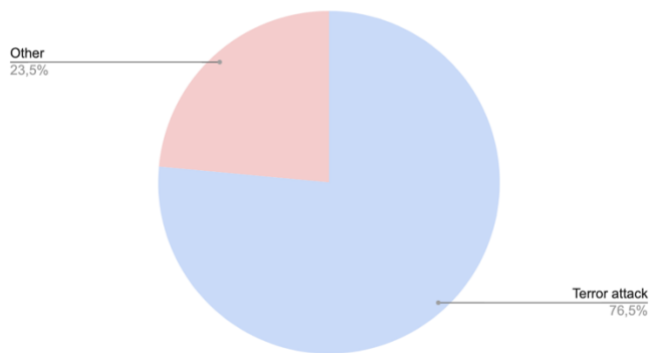
What was the written article about?



The focus of each article was different and quite specific. In the majority, four articles were simply about the attack, and four others were about political connections to attack. Eight articles were a mixture of various topics, such as historical connections mostly to reviving Breivik's attacks,

the influence of social media, lack of coverage about the victims, outcomes for Norwegian citizens or Norwegian Muslims, legal consequences after the attack, criticism of Erna Solberg's action of deleting a Facebook post about grieving victims.

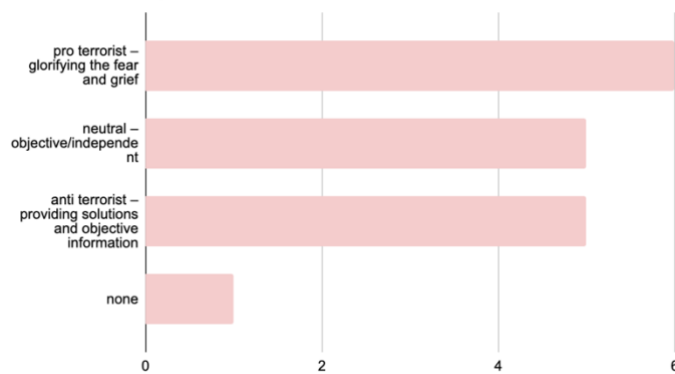
How did the author call the attack?



In 13 articles, the author used the term "*terror attack*" either in its full form or only as a *terror* or *attack*. In the other four articles, the authors didn't mention it. The positive front, in this case, is that besides the term "*terror attack*" the authors also used words that supported the action of the attacker.

In many cases, the most applied term for the attack was *a massacre*, and for the attacker, *a mass killing man*.

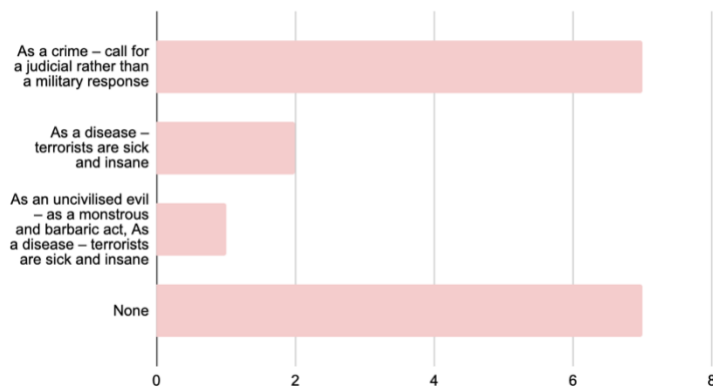
What was the general approach of the author towards attacks?



The general approach of the author towards the attacks was somewhere in between. In six cases, *Aftenposten's* journalists were glorifying fear and uncertainty, which, as mentioned in the theoretical part, supportive of terrorists (Paletz, Boiney, 1992). The authors did not write about

information from both sides as they were focusing only on specific topics that are, to some extent, more relevant for Norwegian society. On the other hand, in another five articles, they wrote content that was anti-terrorist, as they were objective, independent, or specifically asked Norwegian society to do something (not spreading videos of mass shooting). Expectedly, these were commentaries written by foreign Norwegian citizens. Four articles mentioned the reasons for the attacks, and to provide that information, they relied mostly on the published manifesto.

In which way was the attack described?



Following the four conceptual metaphors of terrorism (Spencer, 2012), the attack was described as a crime that requires judicial or legal help in seven articles. These results were reflections of a decision by New Zealand's government about new gun laws, along with opinions from foreign

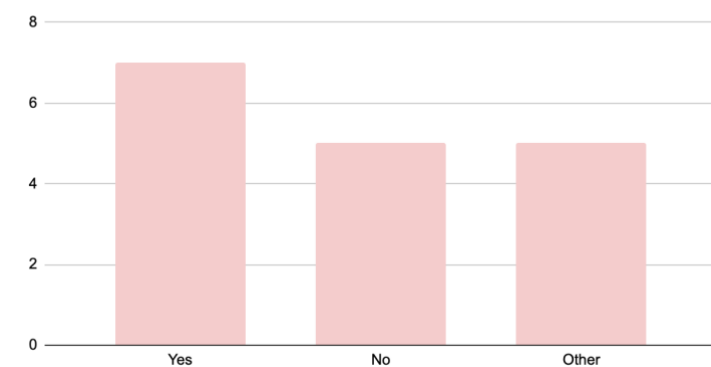
Norwegians about required solutions within Norwegian society itself.

Narrowly connected to this, a reader could find possible solutions and recommendations for the potential problems in seven articles. Some pieces of advice were written quite directly to the reader, such as the one published by Aftenposten's leader/author on 23rd March, page 2:

...er det nyttig å huske at terroristers mål vanligvis er å nå så mange som mulig. Med andre ord: Sprer du terrorvideoer, er du en nyttig idiot for terroristene. (It is useful to remember that terrorists usually aim to reach as many as possible. In other words: If you spread terror videos, you are a useful one idiot for the terrorists.)

One of the authors wrote a *wake-up call* for Norwegians, as there was a noticeable lack of attention for victims and on consequences. She framed this article by using a frame of contrast in which he had compared the impact of *extreme right-wing populists* to the narrative that the media represents. This article was published on 22nd March, page 47.

Was a solution or treatment recommendation for the problem mentioned?



Motsatt er det slik at ekstreme høyrepopulister ses på som unntaket til majoriteten. De blir sett på som enkeltindivider som har tatt gale valg i livet. Å tro at denne feilaktige mediedekningen ikke fører til alvorlige konsekvenser er både naivt og ekstremt farlig. (Conversely, extreme right-wing populists are seen as the exception to the majority. They are seen as individuals who

have made the wrong choices in life. To believe that this one incorrect media coverage not leading to serious consequences is both naive and extremely dangerous.)

Solutions were provided mostly in commentaries, not in a legal way but only by inviting members of society to understand that the problem is helping terrorists by spreading fear. For example, the article published 20th March, page 33.

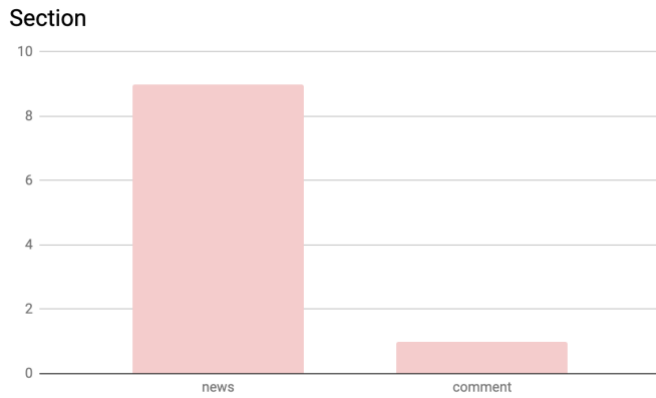
Disse handlingene har som mål å skille oss fra hverandre, isolere utsatte grupper og skape frykt. Å hedre de tapte livene gjøres ved å jobbe aktivt for en bedre verden. En verden der solidaritet, kjærlighet og rettferdighet seirer. (These actions aim to set us apart, isolate vulnerable groups and create fear. Honoring the lost lives is done by working actively for a better world. A world where solidarity, love and justice prevail.)

One of the authors suggested a controversial solution, which was the death penalty. Five other articles that were categorized as "Other" are opinions and critics such as to Solberg's politics or assumptions about possible causes for the attacks.

5.2. VG

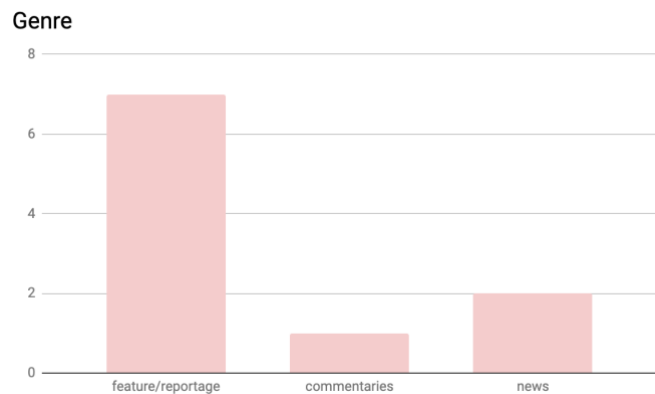
VG published the first article the day after the attack, on 16th March 2019. Although it was just the first day after the shootings, VG wrote six articles altogether within one issue that covered the attacks from various perspectives. After the 16th, VG published numerous articles on this topic. However, these articles had different approaches, which were irrelevant to this research. Later, the number of articles on this topic drastically decreased. The total number of the analyzed articles was 10.

Throughout this period, VG presented this topic on two front pages. The first front page was published already on 16th March and had a focus on similarities between these shootings and Breivik's attacks. The full identity of the attacker had been published in the first article, along with his photograph.

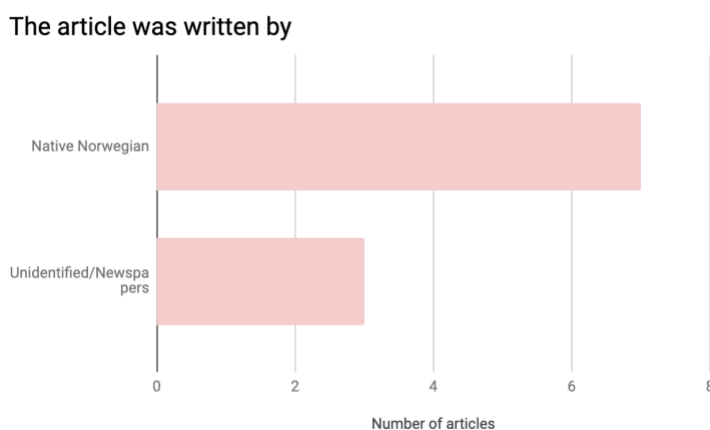


There was not a specific pattern of publishing this attack on particular pages, but there was a tendency of publishing articles somewhere within the first ten pages. Therefore, VG's articles belonged to the *news* category, while only one belonged to the *commentary* section.

Within these sections, seven articles were written as a feature or additional reportage on a specific segment of the attack. Another two articles were published as news, and one article was a commentary. That commentary was written by a native Norwegian journalist and was mostly history-oriented with a



focus on the perpetrator's ideology and political views. It also included the published manifesto, which gave an advantage to the perpetrator in manipulating the media and the flow of information as he wanted to be presented.

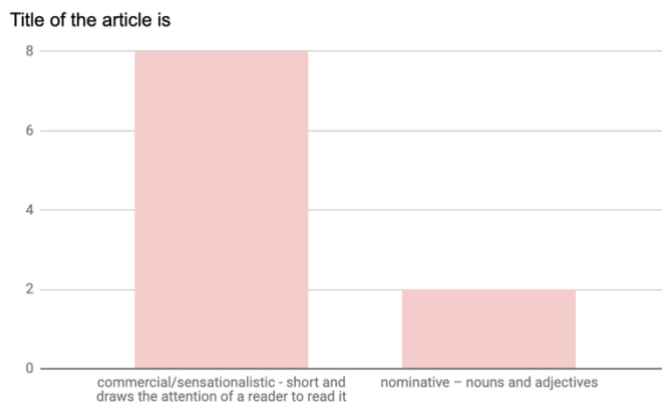
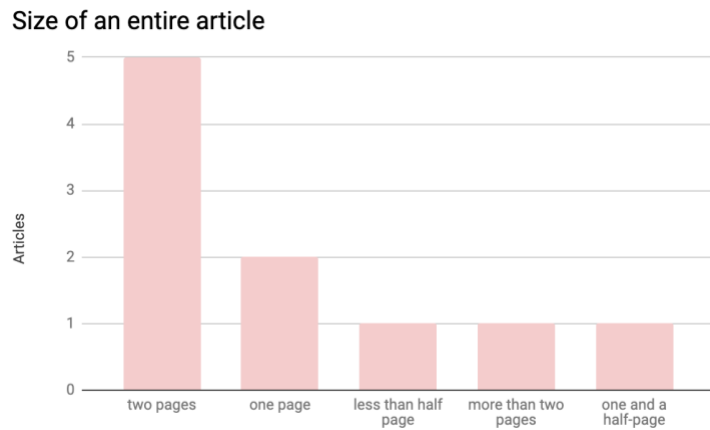


VG's articles were written mostly by native Norwegians. Exactly seven articles were written by native Norwegians, while three articles were unidentified. On the other hand, on the first day after the attack, when VG had the highest number of related articles within one issue, 16 journalists

worked on this coverage. However, while analyzing articles from this first day, it was hard to understand whether 16 different journalists wrote all the pieces published on that day as one unit, or if the signature of reporters belonged only to the first article. The reason for this uncertainty is the fact that the first article included the names of all journalists, while other

articles were left unsigned. Therefore, three articles were categorized as “unidentified/newspapers” author.

This research showed that, on average, the length of a published article was two pages. To be exact, half of the articles, five of them, were written on two pages, while the two other articles were written on only one page. Only one article was written on less than half a page. VG gave space to all perspectives, especially on the first day after the attack, when they brought various information to their readers.



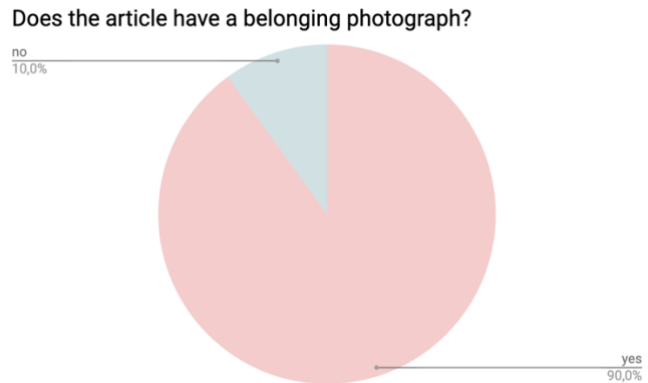
Because VG is a tabloid, the titles of the articles were in the vast majority as expected, eight out of ten were commercial/sensationalistic (Silic, 2006). Titles were short and quickly drew the reader’s attention. Few of such articles were: *Ideer som dreper* (Ideas that kill), *HER ENDER*

FLUKTEN (Here ends the escape), *Bestefaren (71) hylles som en helt* (Grandpa (71) is hailed as a hero). Not even one title was informative, while only two were nominative. Although these two titles do fit into the nominative title category, they were still on the border with commercialistic ones, because of expressive words and random information. Some examples of these articles are *FAMILIEN ER LAMSLÅTT* (THE FAMILY IS AFFECTED) and *MASSAKREN* (Massacre).

Due to its tabloid nature, VG used photographs, rather than text, to create a narrative. These photographs showed everything from the screenshots of the video that the perpetrator was streaming on social media to the police, finally chasing and arresting him, to victims’ dead

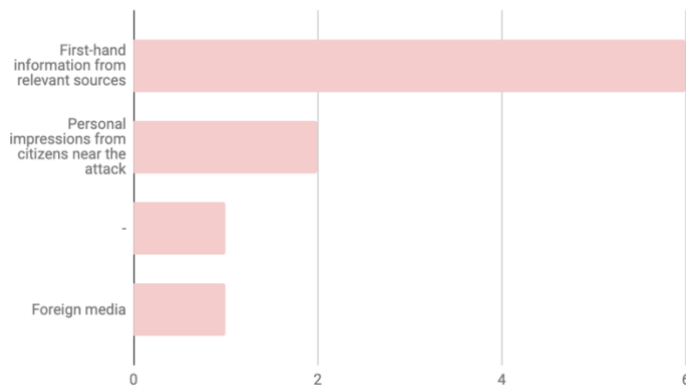
bodies, the ambulance taking care of hurt ones, and even testimonials of the perpetrator's grandmother and seller of weapons.

Almost all published articles in this period had a photograph attached to them. Only one article did not have one, and that was at the beginning of the newspaper on page 2, written as a sum-up of facts from a so-called *sick attack* — *Et kvalmende angrep*. Furthermore, there was not a specific pattern for the number



of published photographs, but it could reach five or six photographs per article. Moreover, the size of these published photographs was in seven cases bigger than the size of half a page.

Source of information

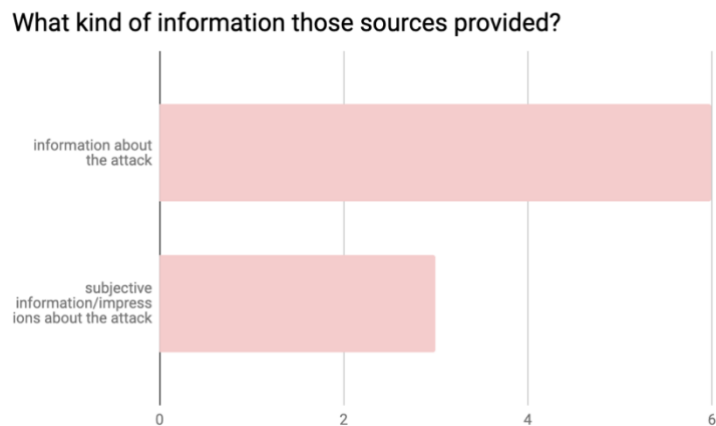


Half of the analyzed articles had first-hand information, while two articles showed a personal impression from citizens near the attack. In the articles, journalists tried to reach the seller of weapons, wrote about Tarrant's manifesto and reportage from the victims' funeral. Besides personal

impressions and first-hand information, VG journalists also included information published in foreign media. Only one article lacked source.

VG included both female and male sources, almost equally. The sources used for information were predominantly males, but the difference between male and female sources was practically unobservable.

Most of these sources provided information about the attack. To be exact, in six articles, the reader would familiarize themselves with the attacks. The information given in the other three articles was based on subjective opinions and impressions about the attack, including information about the victims' funeral or a person that sold weapons to the attacker.



On the other hand, journalists/authors provided information about the attack in eight articles. In three articles, the authors provided a historical connection to this attack, through comparison and analysis mostly with Breivik's attack. Other articles covered details about Tarrant's manifesto, information about New Zealand immigration, victims' life after the attack, and Tarrant's family.

Representation of the attacker

The identity of the attacker was never protected. On 16th March, in the right bottom corner of the front page, a reader could see an image of Tarrant's serious face. The published photograph was taken from the video, which he was streaming on social media. The message on the front page was quite straightforward, using all keywords to describe the event and even its assumptions that were not proven: *New Zealand-terroren: INSPIRERT AV BREIVIK* (New Zealand terror: Inspired by Breivik).

In the majority of articles, the authors framed the attacker based on his political views. In four articles, they described him by his nationality or ethnicity. Another most common detail about this attacker was his psychological instability, ideology, or stories from his past. While explaining this, one journalist mentioned information about the attacker's obsession over history and past, but this conclusion came from a source. This article was published on 16th March, page 8-9.

Det virker som om terroristen har funnet sine helter i Serbias kamp mot Tyrkia og Europas kamp mot ottomanerne, det vil si muslimene, forklarer professoren. ("It seems like the terrorist

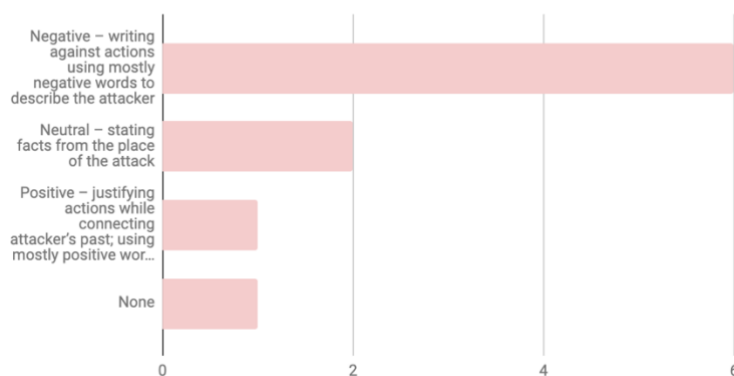
found his heroes in the battle of Serbia against Turkey and Europe's fight against the Ottomans, that is, the Muslims,” explains the professor).

In one case, an author also included in the article (16th March, page 6) information about the attacker's educational level and income, which was found in the manifesto, which the latter left behind.

I manifestet beskriver han seg selv som en «vanlig hvit mann» fra en lavinntektsfamilie. (In the manifesto he describes himself as an "ordinary white man" from a low-income family).

While writing about the attacker, journalists used words with positive connotations such as *inspired* or *heroes*. They also relied heavily on information from the manifesto, and, by providing more information from relevant sources, the relevancy was getting even more significant value.

What was the general approach of an author towards the attacker?



In six articles, which is the majority, the authors had a negative approach in the representation of the attacker.

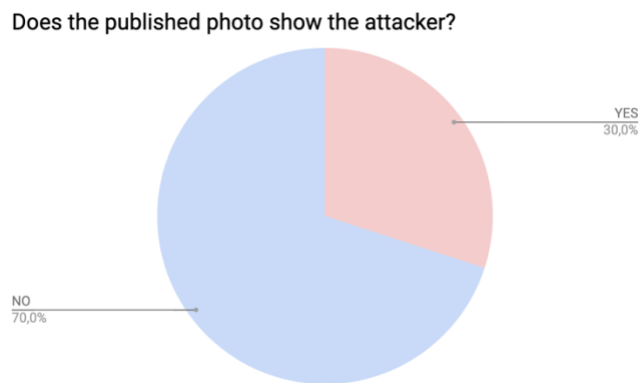
Only one article had a positive approach, where an author provided a media space for a source, Tarrant's grandmother, to elaborate more and answer the

journalist's questions about her grandson's life. This article was published on 18th March and included the content that was created by Australian TV Channel 9. In this interview, Tarrant's grandmother was showing the shock by the attack that her grandson did and she was answering the journalist who extracted from her a lot of information that could put a reader into a perspective where they can understand why this person had done that act. The article was published on 18th March, page 6-7.

Det skal ha vært et svært hardt slag for Tarrant da faren døde av kreft i 2010, da sønnen var 18 år. Det var etter det at han fikk stor utfartstrang. Hun mener at barnebarnet må ha forandret seg etter at han reiste ut i verden for få år siden. (It must have been very hard for Tarrant when his father died of cancer in 2010, when he was 18 years old. It was after that that he looked for

an escape. She believes that her grandson must have changed after he travelled the world few years ago.)

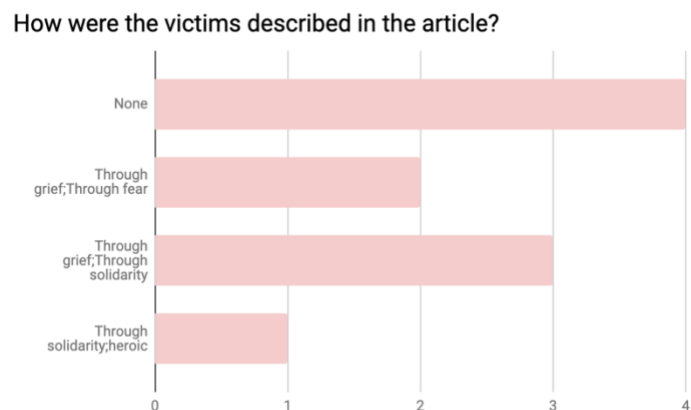
As already mentioned, VG posted at least one photograph with the majority of articles. The attacker's picture was visible in three articles, and these articles were published mostly on the very first day after the attack.



Representation of victims

On 17th March, VG published on the front page a close-up photograph of two individuals that were in the mosque at the time of the attack. *New Zealand-massakren: HELTENE SOM STANSET TERRORISTEN. Gikk til motangrep – Tok våpen – Løp etter* (New Zealand massacre: THE HEROES THAT STOPPED THE TERRORIST. Did a counter-attack – Took weapons – Ran after). Both individuals' identities were published on the front page. Front pages will be discussed in more detail later in the multimodal analysis part.

Victims were represented as innocent and hurt. The most common way of describing victims in VG's articles was through grief or solidarity. The authors showed the pain of families and society in New Zealand. On the other hand, they also showed solidarity to victims by writing about changes mostly in specific laws



(about weapons), which were announced and will take effect by relevant sources. Unlike in the case of the attacker, victims were not connected to the *Norwegian version of framing* (Ottosen, 2005). However, journalists used such definite nouns and words that some readers might find shocking.

By following such words, few authors described victims through the feeling of 'fear'

(16th March, page 10-11):

Overlevende: «Det var skyting, skyting, skyting» (Survivors: "It was shooting, shooting, shooting").

Blod overalt, skriking, løping og vill panikk. (Blood everywhere, screaming, running and wild panic.)

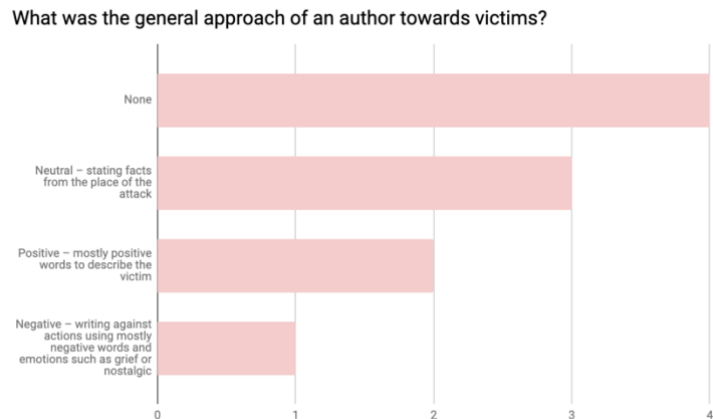
– Lot som jeg var død: En annen som befant seg inne i moskeen var Mustafa Boztaş. Han satt med hodet bøyd da noen rundt ham skrek av frykt. Han kom seg opp og løp mot et hjørne, men falt sammen da han ble skutt i leggen. (Pretended to be dead: another one that was found inside the mosque was Mustafa Boztaş. He sat with his head bowed then someone beside him screamed in fear. He got up and ran to a corner but fell when he was shot in the leg.)

On the other hand, one article brought a story about two heroes who saved the lives of dozens. Journalists used a frame of storytelling as myths/legend (Fairhurst, Sarr, 1996) in such a vivid and memorable way while representing heroic acts.

(17th March, page 6-8) *Historien om hvordan de to mennene kan ha reddet livet til flere titalls uskyldige mennesker inne i Linwood-moskeen går nå verden rundt.* (The story of how the two men that have saved the lives of dozens of innocent people inside Linwood Mosque is now spreading across the world.)

While writing about the attacks and victims, VG's journalists used the number of victims frequently, to be exact in six of them. However, the victims' identities were not kept safe in the journalists' hands. In four articles, the victims' full identities were presented, while, in two other articles, the authors partially revealed who the victims were, uncovering some information such as age or religion. In other articles, the authors published information from the victims' lives, stories from their pasts, their last moments, or information about their physical condition after the attack.

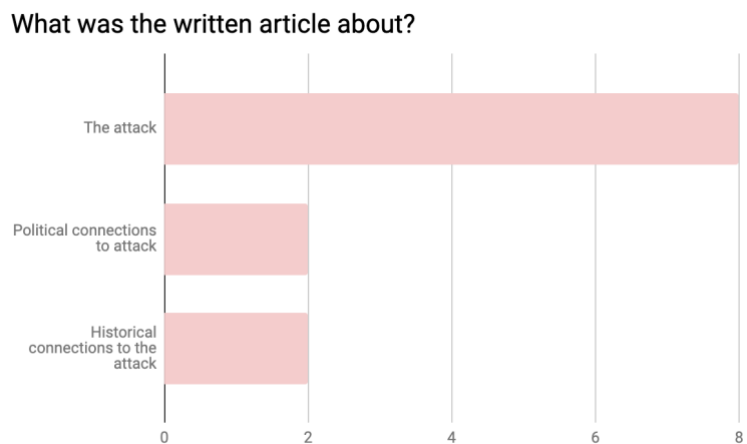
To sum up, the general approach of authors towards victims was lacking attitude. In three articles, the victims were presented neutrally, as the author was using only facts from the place of the attack to describe them, such as the number of victims. Two articles were categorized as having a positive approach because they used positive words when representing the victims. Only one article was labeled as a negative one because the journalist highlighted negative words and emotions using the victims' grief.



Unlike the attacker, the victims were presented visually in four articles, while, in others, they were not visible. Analysis of photographs will be mentioned later in the multimodal analysis part.

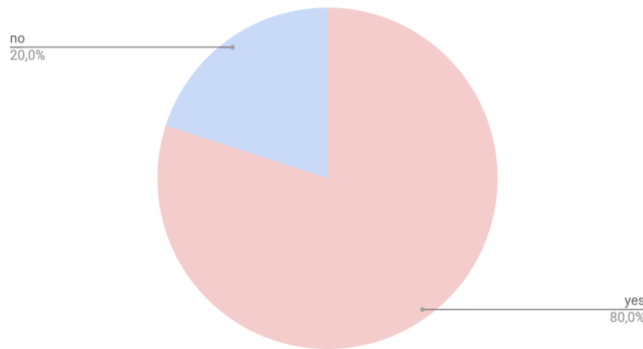
Representation of terrorism

By writing their articles, authors were focused mainly on delivering information about the attack. In eight articles, the journalists brought some valuable information about the attack, while the rest of the content in some of the articles was about historical or political connections to the attack, such as connection with mentioned



Breivik's attack. Other information that the reader could find while reading VG's articles was about the manifesto, aftermath of the attack, and even the articles that were leading toward different directions, as focusing on presenting how democracy works in New Zealand or what type of weapons the perpetrator used.

Did the author use the term "terror attack" in the article?



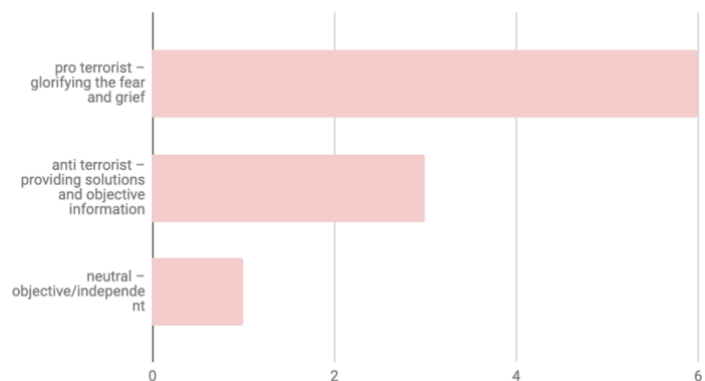
VG's journalists used the term *terror attack* in eight articles, while that term was left out in two articles. The action of the perpetrator was described plainly as 'terror attack', while in five articles, the authors described the act by the action that Tarrant had done, including terms such as *mass murder* or *mosque shooting*.

As mentioned earlier, following the information from the manifesto and publishing photographs from the streamed video gave an advantage to the perpetrator to glorify not only fear but detailed identification with *white supremacist* ideology. He used negative words while writing about immigrants (such as *invaders*), whereas he praised *white land* and *white children*. The journalists used their words while glorifying fear and explaining actions to the readers. Following that logic, seven articles belonged to the category of 'pro-terrorists'. On the other hand, only three articles had a general approach that would fit into the category of 'anti-terrorist', as the authors were providing at least some solutions to the current crisis.

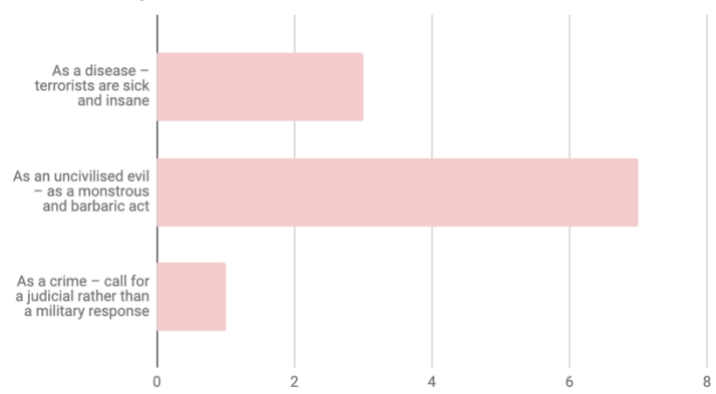
(16th March, page 48)

Grunnleggende er ideologien hans basert på de såkalte 14 ordene, «we must secure the existence of our people, and a future for white children» («vi må sikre vårt folks overlevelse, og en fremtid for hvite barn»). Fienden i manifestet er innvandrere som «invaderer» hvitt land, men også forræderne i blant oss: Myndighetene, media og de store selskapene. (The basics of ideology he based on the so-called 14 words, «we must secure the existence of our people, and a future for white children». The enemy in the manifesto is immigrants who "invade" the white land, but also the traitors among us: the authorities, the media and the big companies.)

What was the general approach of the author towards attacks?



In which way was the attack described?



In the majority of analyzed articles, the attack was described as uncivilized evil, in which Tarrant did a *mass killing*, a *monstrous act*. As Spencer (2012) described his theoretical approach, the attackers are presented as possessed. In this case, Tarrant was presented as an

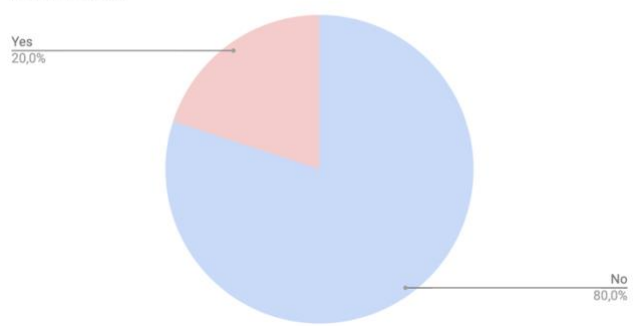
ordinary white boy who, due to personal issues in his life, became somehow possessed and did these horrific actions. That was a case for seven articles, while others portrayed the attacker as mentally sick individuals and their actions are hurtful for society.

The reasons for the attack could be found in half of the articles. The authors used mostly facts or available information provided by relevant sources, while at the same time, they did not make assumptions on their own. Even when writing a piece of information that may appear to be an assumption, they would properly cite it. Following that logic, this is the example of how VG presented information:

Tarrant skriver i manifestet at han ønsket å utøve vold mot muslimer. En av dem som har inspirert ham er Anders Behring Breivik, skriver Tarrant. (Tarrant wrote in the manifesto that he wanted to commit violence against Muslims. One of those who inspired him is Anders Behring Breivik, writes Tarrant.)

However, as mentioned earlier in the theoretical part, journalists should not go against rational behavior and “when in doubt, leave it out” (Lund, Olsson, 2016). While analyzing VG’s articles, finding a reason would be an easier task when compared to finding a solution. Many articles were historically-politically oriented, which automatically set limitations on journalists to be more objective, write less about fear, and spreading panic. From all analyzed articles, only two of them included solutions. One solution was presented in the article on 17th March (page 6-8). It was coming

Was a solution or treatment recommendation for the problem mentioned?



from a source that was a victim. This person saved lives while the attack was happening, and, in the article, a journalist wrote his words where he was saying how humans should help one another when they are in need. Another solution was published on 19th March (page 14-15), where the prime minister of New Zealand announced a change in a specific law that deals with the possession of weapons.

6. Content Analysis: Sri Lankan bombings

This chapter represents collected and analyzed data from Norwegian daily newspapers, VG and Aftenposten, in the period between 22nd April 2019 until 30th April 2019, from the day Sri Lankan's attacks happened through to the end of the same month. As in the first case, the reason for this time limit is because I wanted to focus on immediate writing about the attacks and see how journalists of these two newspapers were delivering such amount of sensitive information in such a short time.

Within this timeline, I analyzed articles that were directly connected to the attack. Other articles that were related to the attack only by a title, but were not entirely relevant for the representation of the victims, the perpetrator or the attack were excluded.

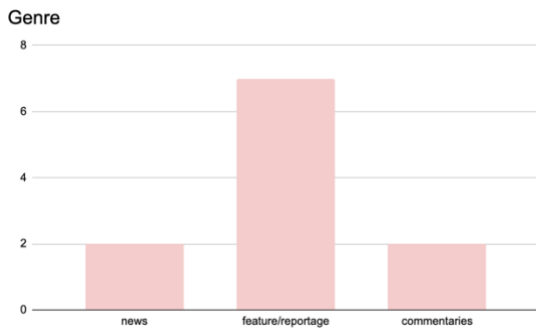
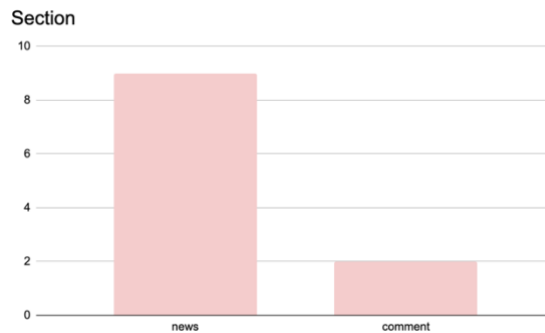
In this part, I took into consideration all types and genres of articles. Hence, I did not analyze news only but also commentaries and various features, which were, to some extent, relevant for storytelling. This part does not include front pages since, as those will be covered in Multimodal analysis.

6.1. Aftenposten

In the case of Sri Lankan bombings, Aftenposten published these attacks on the front pages twice - on the first day after the attacks and three days after. Although the number of articles that had some connection with these attacks was higher, due to irrelevant content, it was excluded from the analysis. In total, this analysis within the given time frame covered 11 articles. One of these articles was published on 23rd April and was about the private and financial life of a Danish family who lost three children in the attacks. The first issue that was

published the day after the attack covered three articles, while the day with the highest number of articles was 24th April when Aftenposten published four articles.

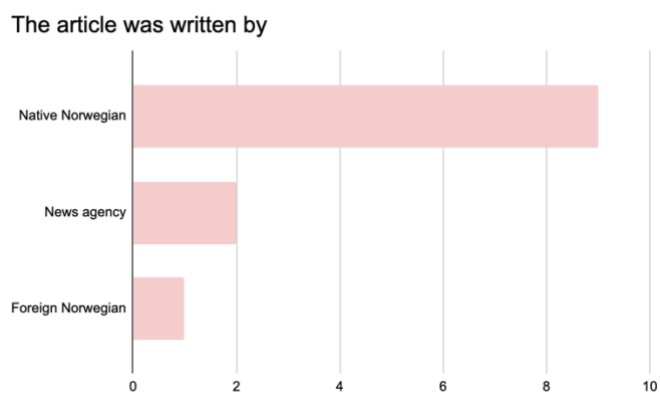
There was no specific pattern in which articles were published on a particular page. However, most of them could have been found within the first 13 pages of the newspaper. Out of 11 articles, nine were published within the *news* section and two of them in the *commentary* section.



Within these sections, seven articles were written as a feature/reportage. These articles provided more information about the victims and the religious situation in Sri Lanka. Two of them belonged to the commentary's genre, and the last two were categorized as news. Out of all 11 articles, none of them was categorized as an

interview.

The content was written mainly by native Norwegians. Precisely, nine articles were written by native authors, while news agencies delivered two of them. Articles from news agencies offered only informative content, and they were much shorter in length. Both articles from news agencies published on 24th April (page 12) and 16th April were an additional part of longer articles written by Aftenposten's journalists. The first one was an assumption that ISIS was behind the attack, which was the right way of presenting unknown information since news agencies are usually seen as carriers of verified information. In this article, the news agency wrote about allegations and also questioned the lack of evidence.



IS tar rutinemessig på seg skylden for terroraksjoner verden over, men eksperter stiller til tider spørsmål ved om kunngjøringene stemmer. Det er ikke kjent at IS tidligere har vært aktiv på

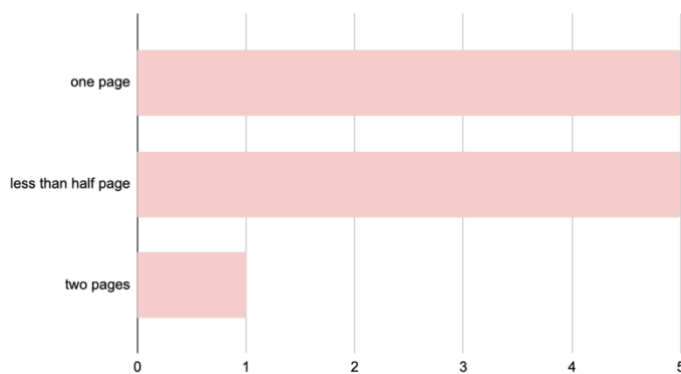
Sri Lanka, eller at lokale islamistgrupper i landet har bånd til gruppen. (IS routinely takes on the blame for terrorist actions around the world, but experts sometimes question whether the announcements are true. It is unknown that IS has been previously active in Sri Lanka or that local Islamist groups in the country have ties to the group; 24th April, pp. 12).

Another article by the news agency was published two days later, on 26th April and brought to the readers of Aftenposten information about the radicalization of individuals in the group that allegedly organized and took out the attacks. This information was still unverified and questionable, which can be seen in the words used, such as the words bolded below:

Gjennomføringen av terrorangrepet 1. påskedag tyder på at gruppens medlemmer har vært meget radikalisererte. (The implementation of the terrorist attack on Easter Sunday **suggests** that the group's members have been quite radicalized; 26th April, pp. 14)

Myndighetene mener selvmordsbomberne tilhørte de to små islamistgruppene National Thowheeth Jama'ath (NTJ) og Jammiyathul Millatu Ibrahim, begge lokale. (Authorities **believe** the suicide bombers belonged to two small Islamist groups National Thowheeth Jama'ath (NTJ) and Jammiyathul Millatu Ibrahim, both local; 26th April, pp. 14)

Size of an article



In general, Aftenposten's articles were shorter, which means that five out of 11 published pieces were written on one page and five of them on less than half a page. Whereas, just one article was written on two pages, which was published on 25th April on pages 24 and 25. Although the title of the article was about identifying eight attackers,

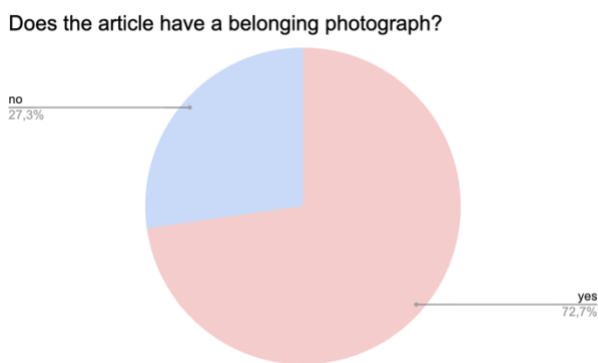
the content was about an overview of the attack, victims, and their families.

Out of 11 articles, only three were presented using an informative title (Silic, 2006). *Terroren kan gjøre krigsforbryteranklaget til president* (Terror can make a war criminal a president) was the title of the article that published on 24th April, on page 12. It was about a declared war criminal in Sri Lanka



who used the situation to increase his chances of winning presidential elections. *Åtte av selvmordsbomberneer identifisert* (Eight of the suicide bombers identified) was published on 25th April, on page 24. The other eight articles were divided equally between nominative and commercial categories. Four of them used verbs and followed the information about the event that is explained in the text, while the remaining four were quite short and possibly drawing a reader's attention.

All four articles with commercial titles were published on 22nd and 24th April. These days had the highest number of articles about this topic. For example, *Utslettet i kirke* (Outbreak in church) or *Familier er utslettet* (Families are wiped out).



The articles had photographs in eight cases, while three of them did not have any visual storytelling. On average, in seven articles, only one photograph was attached, and one article had two photographs. The size of these pictures was either half or less than half a page in six cases. In only two cases, the

photographs were bigger, which means they took up more than half a page.

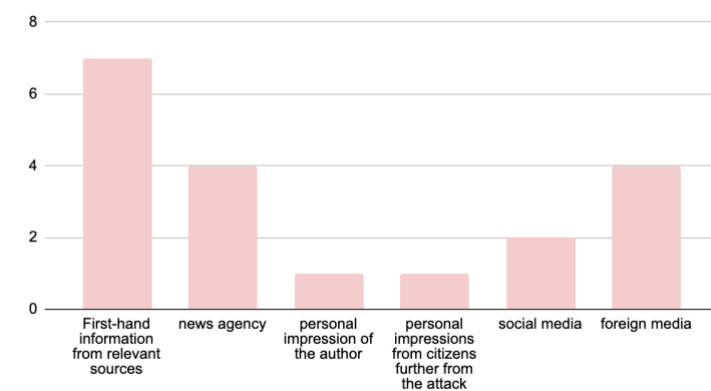
The information shared in these articles was mainly first-hand information from relevant sources, such as Sri Lanka's politicians, which was the case in seven articles. The other sources

of information, in two articles, were foreign media (four articles), news agencies (four articles), or social media.

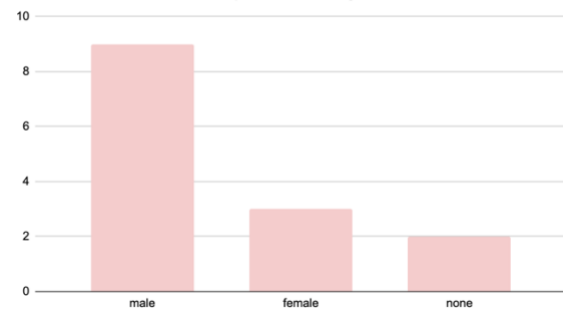
Aftenposten's journalists usually relied on Erna Solberg's social media, and some of the foreign media sources such as *The New*

York Times, *The Guardian*, and Sri Lanka's online newspaper *Colombo Gazette*. Only one article included information from citizens that were far from the attacks.

What are the sources of information in the article?



Sources in the article are predominantly:



Out of 11 articles, female and male sources were equal only in three of them. However, looking at the results independently, sources were predominantly from males, while the female voice was not used for delivering information. In eight articles, the male sources provided mainly information about the attacks.

Female opinions were usually forwarded from foreign media or taken from social media, such as Erna Solberg. One such article also included a guide on how to behave in a general perspective. It was published as a comment by a foreign Norwegian. This article was published on 24th April on page 24.

Det er trist at frykt mobiliserer solidaritet, men det er en lærdom for oss alle: Ikke vent til det grusomme skjer! Hver dag må vi kjempe for samhørighet. For i samhold finnes styrke, og med kjærlighet finner vi fred. (It is sad how fear mobilizes solidarity, but it is a lesson for us all: Do not wait for something cruel to happen! Every day, we have to fight for cohesion. For in unity there is strength, and, with love, we find peace)

Besides that, six articles had subjective information/impressions about the attacks from the mentioned sources.

Information provided by an author

Similar to these sources, journalists were also writing their articles mostly in an informative matter. For instance, one article was history-oriented, from a religious perspective, as Sri Lanka had had many wars before, followed by tensions between four different religions. This article was published on 22nd April, on page 5.

Øystaten var i 37 år preget av en brutal borgerkrig mellom regjeringen og den tamilske LTTE-geriljaen (Tamiltigreene) som ble avsluttet i 2009. Rutnam tror ikke terrorangrepet har sammenheng med denne konflikten, da Tamiltigreene ikke har angrepet kirker tidligere. – Tradisjonelt er det ekstreme buddhister som er motstanderne av kristne på Sri Lanka. De har tidligere kastet steiner og angrepet kristne kirker eller muslimske moskeer. Men det har aldri vært på dette nivået tidligere, sa han. (For 37 years, the island state was marked by a brutal civil war between the government and the Tamil LTTE guerrillas (the Tamil tigers) which ended in 2009. Rutnam does not believe the terrorist attack is linked to this conflict, as the Tamil tigers have not attacked churches in the past. Traditionally, there are extreme Buddhists who are opponents of Christians in Sri Lanka. They have previously thrown stones and attacked Christian churches or Muslim mosques. But it has never been at this level before, he said.)

Also, one of the articles was future-oriented, mostly from a political perspective. This article was published on 25th April on pages 24-25.

Ekspertene mener tidligere forsvarsminister Gotabaya Rajapakse, som er anklaget for krigsforbrytelser, kan utnytte raseriet og forvirringen etter terrorangrepene søndag til å bli landets nye president ved valget i desember. (Experts believe former Defense Minister Gotabaya Rajapakse, who is accused of war crimes, could take advantage of the rage and confusion after the Sunday terrorist attacks to become the country's new president at the elections in December.)

Representation of attackers

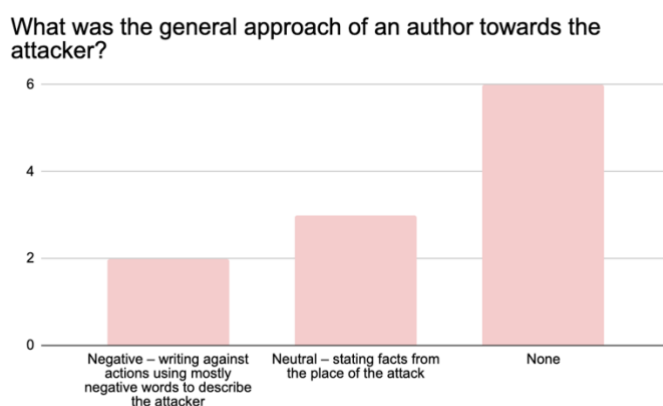
Although the attackers were unknown and the journalists used only assumptions to create understandings, after some facts had been established, they were described by their religion and ideology in seven articles. That was the most common way of presenting them. In two of these articles, the journalists also brought up information about their political views, educational level, profession, and stories from the attacker's past. This article was published on 26th April on page 14.

Han hadde tydeligvis ambisjoner om å bli imam, men var så radikal at han ble kastet ut fra koranskolen han gikk på. Det skriver en mann som sier han kjente ham godt, i en artikkel i den malaysiske nettavisen The Leaders Online. Mye karisma Hashim lot seg ikke stanse av at han ikke fikk avsluttet utdanningen og dannet sine egne religiøse grupper på Sri Lanka. Han deltok i offentlige debatter og fikk bygget en moské. (He obviously had aspirations to become an imam, though he was too radical and was thrown out of the school he attended. A man who knows him wrote that in an article in the Malaysian online newspaper *The Leaders Online*. Charismatic Hashim did not stop himself from finishing education and formed his own religious group in Sri Lanka. He also participated in public debates and built a mosque.)

Another article about the perpetrator's past was published on 25th April on page 25.

De fleste av selvmordsbomberne var velutdannede og kom fra middelklasse- eller øvre middelklassefamilier. Noen av dem hadde studert i utlandet, sa viseforsvarsministeren i går. De var økonomisk ganske uavhengig, og familiene hadde stabil økonomi, fortsatte han, ifølge The Guardian. (Most of the suicide bombers were well educated and came from middle or upper-middle class families. Some of them had studied abroad, the Deputy Defense Minister said yesterday. They were financially quite independent, and the families had stable finances, he continued, according to *The Guardian*.)

In total, four published articles had no information about the attackers. Since the attackers were unknown, in six articles, the authors did not have a specific approach to the attackers. Within the set time frame for this research, the articles started publishing more details about the



perpetrators in the last few days. Aftenposten managed to stay entirely objective, as only two articles had a negative approach towards the attackers, in which the authors wrote about them using negative words. The other three articles were neutral, as the authors were only writing about objective facts from the place of the

attack. None of the published articles had a positive approach towards the attackers.

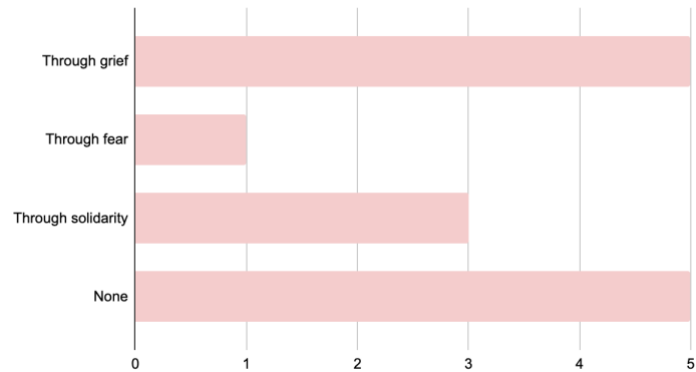
When it comes to the visual representation of the attackers, ten articles did not publish photographs, and only one of them did. The article with the photograph was published on 26th

April on page 14. The photograph showed the leader of the attack, while the others' faces were covered and impossible to identify.

Representation of victims

In the articles, the victims were described through grief in five cases or were left undescribed. Three of 11 published articles presented victims through solidarity, while in only one example, the reader could feel fear from the place of the attack.

How were the victims described in the article?



Folk har dratt hjem. Gatene er så godt som folketomme. Folk er redde for flere angrep, og vet ikke hvem som står bak, sa redaktøren. (People went home. The streets are as good as deserted. People are afraid of more attacks, and don't know who's behind it, said the editor; 22nd April, pp. 5).

In most cases, Aftenposten hid the victims' identities and presented only the approved number of victims. That was the case for three articles. The readers could not read about the victims' past or private lives, and in only two articles, the journalists provided the victims' full identity. This first article was published on 24th April, page 13, where besides the other victims' names, the author started the article with this sentence:

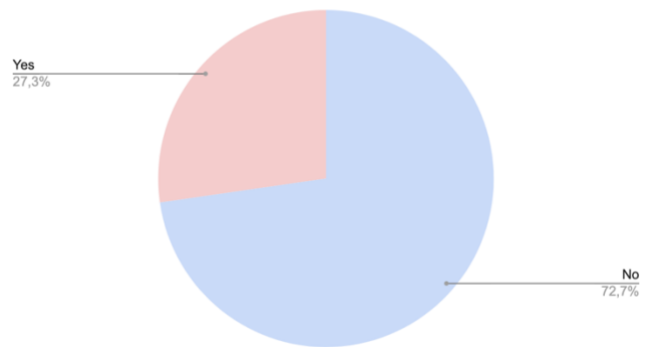
Berlington Joseph Gomez (33) og kona Chandrika Arumugam (31) hadde, som alltid, tatt med alle tre barna, Bevon (9), Clavon (6) og Avon (11mnd) til kirken St. Anthonys i Colombo søndag morgen. (Berlington Joseph Gomez (33) and wife Chandrika Arumugam (31) took, as always, their three children, Bevon (9), Clavon (6) and Avon (11months) with them to St. Anthony's Church in Colombo on a Sunday morning.)

The mentioned articles were talking about victims and their lives. However, it was unclear from where this information came.

Furthermore, the same logic applies to the general approach of an author towards victims. Nothing was outstanding to be found. Only two articles were positive, as the author mostly used positive words to describe the victims, introducing them to the readers in a positive manner.

When it comes to a visual representation of the attacks, only three out of 11 published articles had a visible photograph of a victim. In eight of them, the victims were blurred or not visible. These photographs were distributed from news agencies or foreign media.

Does the published photo show the victims?



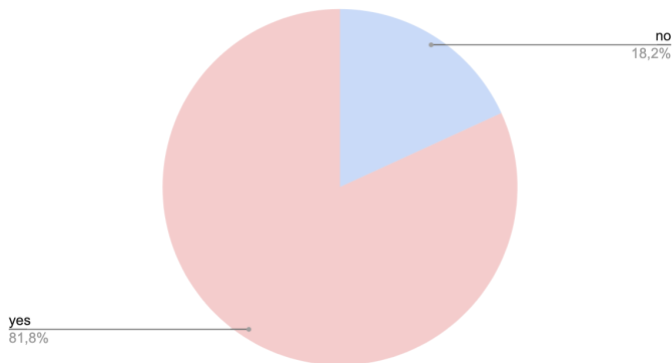
Representation of terrorism

All analyzed articles were strictly connected to the attacks but from different perspectives. Seven of them wrote about political connections, while in other articles, a reader could find information about the religious aspect on the island, the aftermath, and victims' stories. One article also included information about the leader of the attack, which was mentioned earlier. Aftenposten delivered quite valuable information to its readers when it came to the religious context on the island, as the situation itself has been complex for many years. This article was published on 25th April on page 25.

Befolkningen er på 21,4 millioner. Av disse utgjør singaleserne rundt 75 prosent og tamilene 15 prosent. 70 prosent av befolkningen er buddhister, 12 prosent hinduer, 10 prosent muslimer og 6 prosent katolikker. Landet ble selvstendig fra Storbritannia i 1948. Tamilene fremmet i 1972 krav om sin egen stat nord på øya. Konflikten utviklet seg til full borgerkrig. (The population is 21.4 million. Out of that, around 75 percent make the Sinhalese and the Tamils 15 percent. 70 percent of the population are Buddhists, 12 percent Hindus, 10 percent Muslims and 6 percent Catholics. The country became independent from the United Kingdom in 1948.

The Tamils got their own state north on the island in 1972. The conflict developed into a full civil war.)

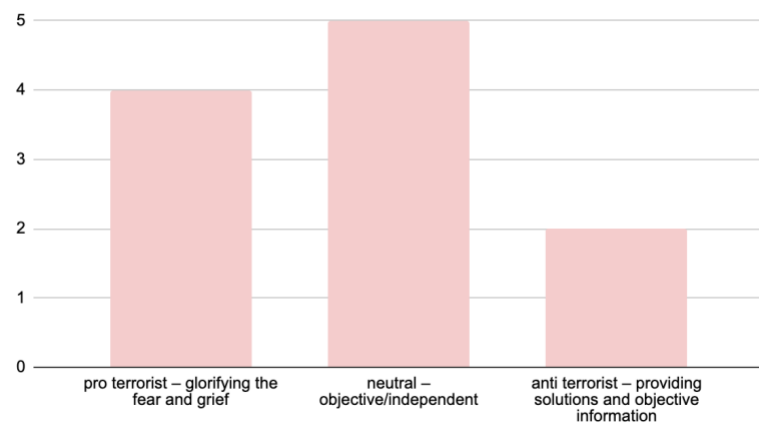
Did the author use the term "terror attack" in the article?



While referring to the attacks, the authors used the term "terror attack" in the articles. Only two out of 11 articles did not use any word for description. In nine of them, the authors named the attack by the action the perpetrators did (four articles) or only as a terror attack.

The general approach of authors towards the attacks was considerably neutral and objective in five articles. Besides these five, four other articles were pro-terrorist. They fell into this category because the journalists were glorifying fear and uncertainty by providing assumptions.

What was the general approach of the author towards attacks?



One of these articles was published on 23rd April on page 12. The whole article was quite pro-terrorist as it brought numerous assumptions and beliefs from relevant sources, which were based on no proven evidence.

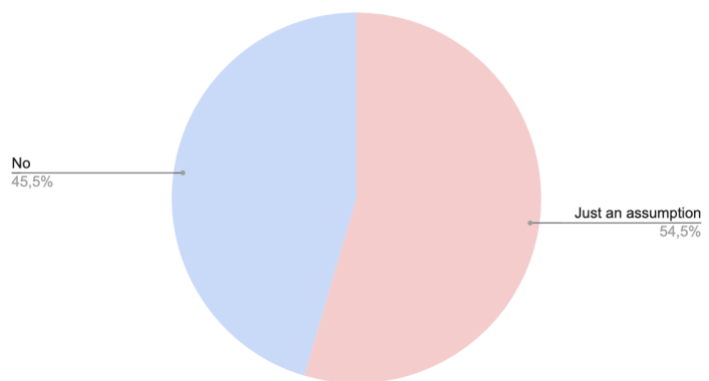
Også ekstremismeforsker Amarnath Amarasingam ved Institute for Strategic Dialogue mener NTJ har fått hjelp utenfra. - Både målene og angrepstype gjør meg svært skeptisk til at dette var utført av en lokal gruppe alene. Det er ingen grunn til at lokale ekstremister skal angripe kirker og turister, sier han til The New York Times. (Also, extremist researcher Amarnath Amarasingam at the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, NTJ believes that outside help has been provided. Both the goals and type of attack make me very skeptical that this was committed by a local group alone. There is no reason for local extremists to attack churches or tourists, he tells The New York Times.)

Two of them were anti-terrorist, as the reader could find solutions to this situation. One of these articles was published on 24th April on page 2, and it was a comment from the leader of Aftenposten.

For myndighetene på Sri Lanka er det nå viktig å oppklare saken på en rask og troverdig måte, uten at mer vold utløses. Dette er viktig også fordi det har kommet rapporter om at forhåndsvarsler om terroren ikke ble tatt alvorlig nok. Mye tillit må gjenvinnes. (For the authorities in Sri Lanka, it is now important to resolve this matter in a fast and credible manner without more violence triggered. This is important also because reports showed that advance warnings about the terror were not taken seriously enough. Much confidence must be regained.)

As already mentioned, in the first few days after the attack, there was plenty of speculations. Assumptions could be found in six articles, while in five, the reason for the attacks was not mentioned at all.

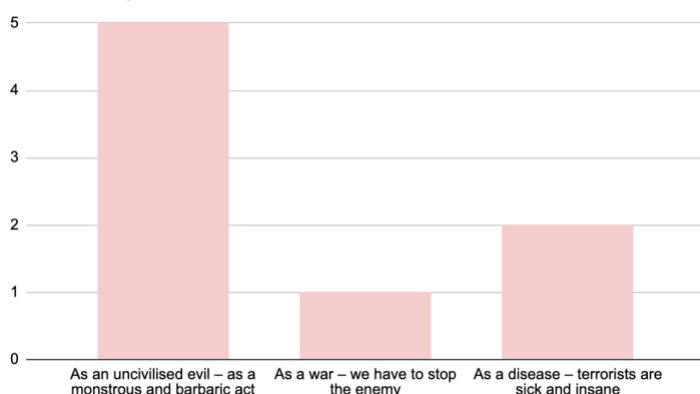
Can a reason for the attack be found in the article?



Only in one article, an assumption came from an Aftenposten's journalist. In the other five articles, it came from witnesses or some relevant sources. One of these sources presented an assumption that the attacks were planned and organized as an intentional hit on the Sri Lankan's growing economy. This article was published on 22nd April on page 6. That source was a Norwegian woman who keeps on coming back to this island very often and has also founded her business there.

Det har bygget seg opp en enorm turisme her. Og det er denne økonomien jeg tror er målet for angrepene, sier Wolther. (It has built up huge tourism here. And I think that it's this economy is the target of the attacks, says Wolther.)

In which way was the attack described?



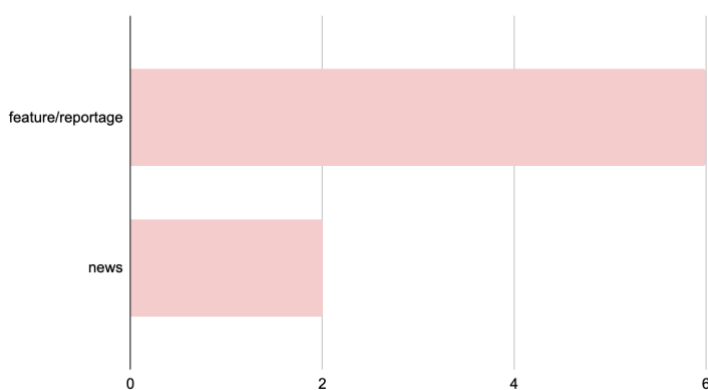
In the majority, the attacks were described as uncivilized evil, a monstrous act. That kind of description could be found in five analyzed articles. In two others, the attacks were labeled as a disease. Only in one article, these attacks were portrayed as a war in which *we* have to stop the enemy.

None of the published articles offered neither solutions nor recommendations.

6.2. VG

From the day of the attack until the end of the month, VG published a total of eight articles that were relevant for this analysis. One day after the attack, on 22nd April, VG published the first two articles about this attack, while the highest number of related articles published on 23rd April was three. VG dedicated to these attacks a front page twice, on 22nd April and 24th April.

Genre



The majority of articles were published within the first 13 pages. All of them belonged to the news section. None article was found in the commentaries or any other part. By genre, six articles were features/reportages, while two other articles belonged to the *news* section.

Native Norwegians wrote all of the articles, including the leader of the newspapers. Although the articles were not numerous within the set timeline for this research, many of them had

lengthy and elaborated topics written on more than one page. Specifically, four articles were written on two pages, while another two articles took up more than two pages.

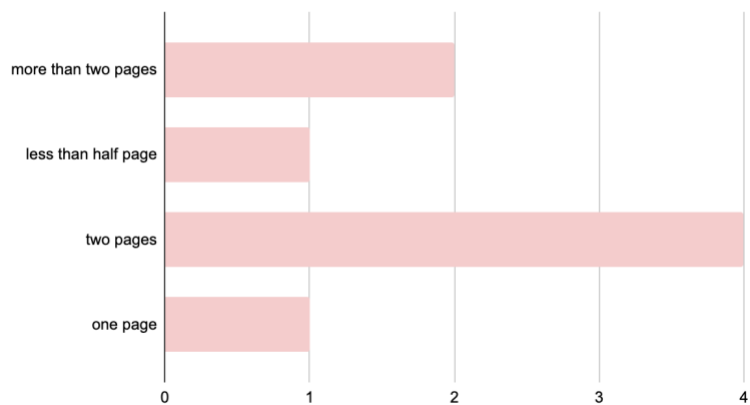
One such article was published on 24th April, three days after the attack. It was, in fact, one unit that

had two victims' testimonies. The article had a title: «*Hvorfor skjedde dette med oss?*» (Why did it happen to us?) and «*Selvmordsbomberen gikk forbi meg. Da bomben hans eksploderte, husker jeg at jeg falt i bakken.*» (The suicide bomber passed by me. Then his bomb exploded, I remember falling on the ground). Understandably, the article is about victims, and it is going into depths about uncertainty and fear that terror left. This article was originally written by two VGs journalists right from the spot of the event. There was a one-page article about the perpetrators right after these three pages. Both mentioned articles had photographs of victims from the hospital. One of these showed the victims surrounded by people praying, insinuating that they are Christians.

On the other hand, one article was written on one page and another on less than half a page. This shorter article was VG's leader overview of what happened in Sri Lanka, and it was published on 22nd April on page 2. The whole piece was sliding on the limits between reporting objectively and, to some extent, hate speech. The leader/author was writing about the attack while mentioning the persecution of Christians in the region. The entire overview was based on personal opinion, stereotypes, and assumptions presented as facts:

Religiøs fundamentalisme blandet med fattigdom, analfabetisme og politisk ensretting er en livsfarlig bombe i seg selv. Enøyde fanatikere hjernevasket for motforestillinger vil være i stand til å begå de groveste overgrep mot medmennesker. (Religious fundamentalism mixed with poverty, illiteracy and political alignment is a life-threatening one bomb in itself. One-eyed fanatics brainwashed too countermeasures will be able to commit the grossest abuse of fellow human beings.)

Size of an entire article



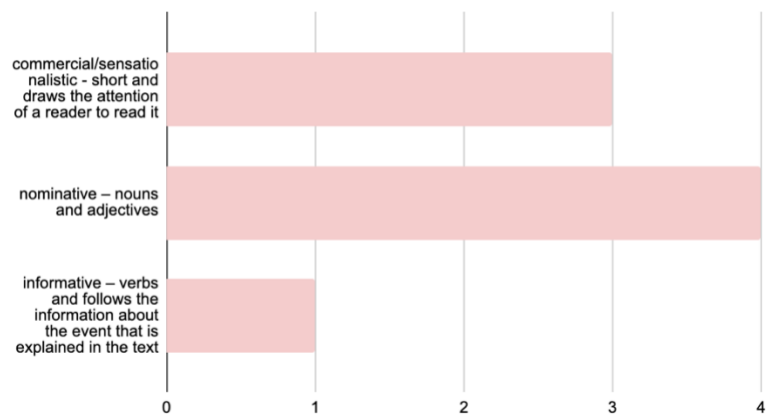
Articles published in VG mostly had nominative titles, such as *Avskyelig angrep* (Abominable attack; 22nd April, pp. 2). Many titles were hard to categorize, as they were full sentences carrying the value of content that was finally elaborated and presented in the article. Some of these titles were:

«*Det var han som forsørget familien helt alene. Det var han som fikk penger til mat og skolegang for vår datter. Jeg er knust.*» ("He provided for the family alone. He provided money for food and schooling to our daughter. I am heartbroken."; 23rd April, pp. 10-11)

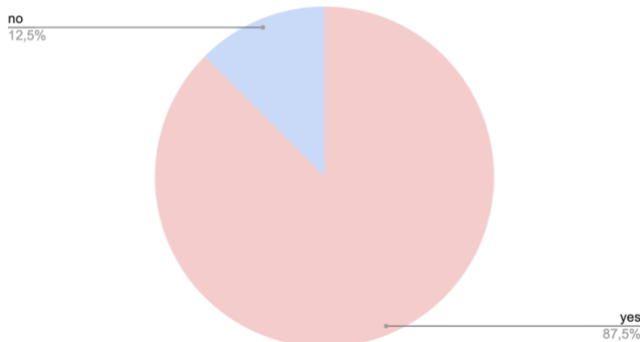
- *VI ANER IKKE NÅR VI ER FERDIG* (We don't know when we are done; 25th April, pp. 10-11)

Both of these titles were informative, nominative, and commercialists. Still, since they were quite long and provided practical information that will be elaborated further in text, these titles were categorized as nominative ones. Unlike in the research about the New Zealand attacks, the number of commercial/sensationalistic articles was quite lower. For example: *PÅSKEMASSAKREN* (Easter massacre; 22nd April, pp. 6-9) or *Hjerteskjærende hjerteløshet* (Heartbreaking heartlessness; 23rd April; pp. 2-3). Three out of eight analyzed articles had titles of this type. Only one title was informative.

Title of the article is



Does the article have a belonging photograph?



VG stayed consistent with their visual representation of news, and as such, seven articles had a photograph, while only one article did not. Most published photographs were showing victims in hospitals or praying. On average, two photographs were published per article. The size of all published photographs

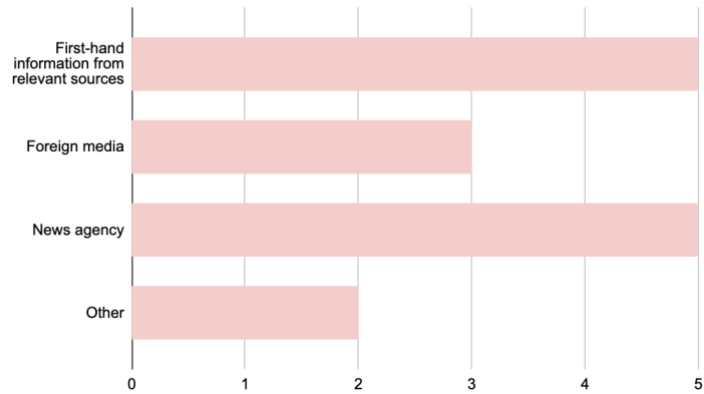
was more than a half a page. More about the visual representation of attacks will be covered in the second part of the research.

When it comes to sources in the articles, five of them presented first-hand information from relevant sources. They also included information written by news agencies, while three articles brought information from foreign media. None of the articles presented information from

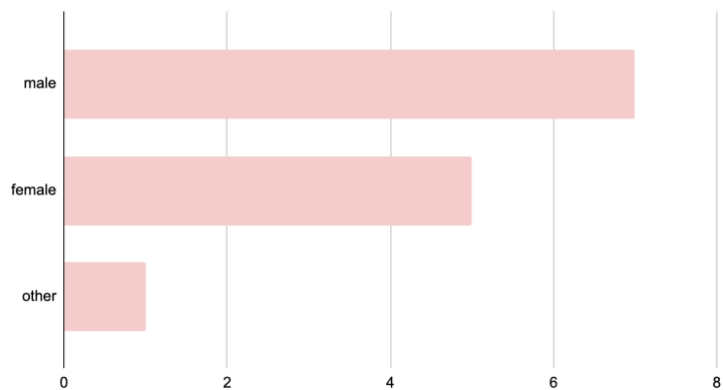
citizens either near or far from the place of the attack. The number of sources per article was various, but, on average, an article had three different sources. One article had one source, while another article had up to six sources covering the topic about victims and the aftermath. Sources such as quotes/opinions from a professor at the University of Chicago belonged to the category "Other".

Male sources were in the majority and predominantly the primary sources of information in articles. In six articles, these sources provided information about the attack and were objective, while, in three articles, the references provided the same information, but from a subjective perspective. Other data was mostly connected to the aftermath, specifically victims, about the religion and persecution of Christians. Male sources brought to the reader information about the attacks, and on the other hand, female sources provided personal information and impressions about

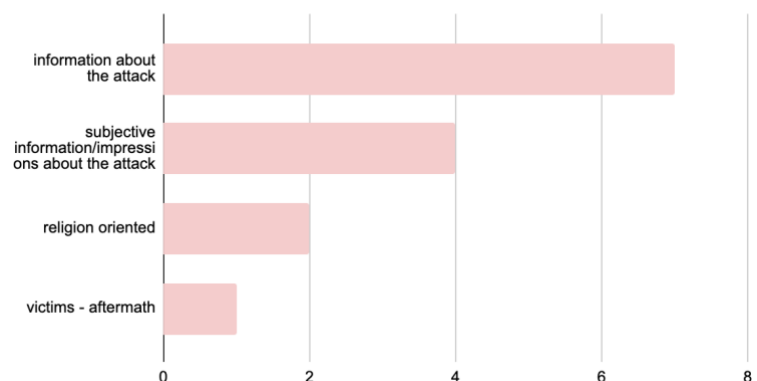
What are the sources of information in the article?



Sources in the article are predominantly:



What kind of information journalist/author provided with the text?



the attack. The category "Other" belonged to a source that was an organization that provided information, and it was impossible to conclude if the information came from a male or female source.

From the author's point of view, articles presented information about the attack in seven cases. In these cases, the articles were religion-oriented, focused on the persecution of Christians, followed by statistics, numbers, and assumptions about *Khilafat* and so-called *ihadists*. On a side note, at that time, there were only assumptions on who was behind these attacks.

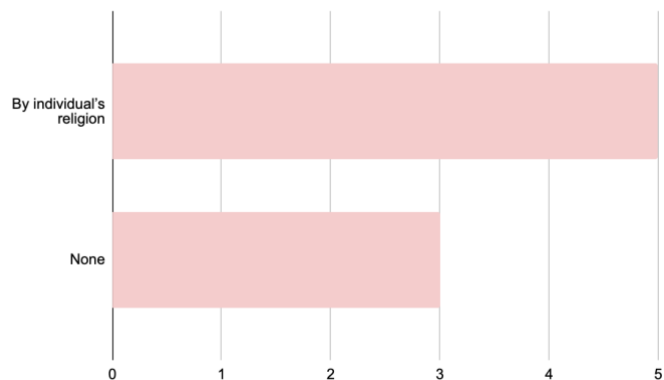
Jihadister må sies å være siste sort. Folk med forvirrede drømmer om et kalifat og hensynsløse selvmordsangrep. De varsler ikke før de angriper. De går etter sivile, annerledes troende, barn. Og på grunn av denne forrykte, ekstreme ideologien (Jihadists must be said to be the last variety. People with confused dreams of a caliphate and reckless suicide attack. They do not notify until they attack. They go after civilians, other believers, and children. And because of this crazy, extreme ideology; 23rd April, pp. 2-3).

None of the articles was oriented in terms of time, like history or future-oriented. One article was about the victims and aftermath of the attacks.

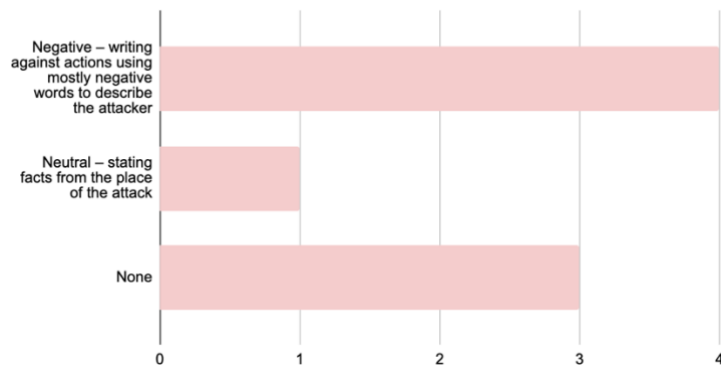
Representation of attackers

The attackers were described and presented in most cases, five articles, by their religion and ideology. Even at the very beginning, while it was still unknown who was the perpetrator, assumptions were going towards Islam, and the term *suicide bombers* was used very often.

How was the attacker described and presented in the article?



What was the general approach of an author towards the attacker?

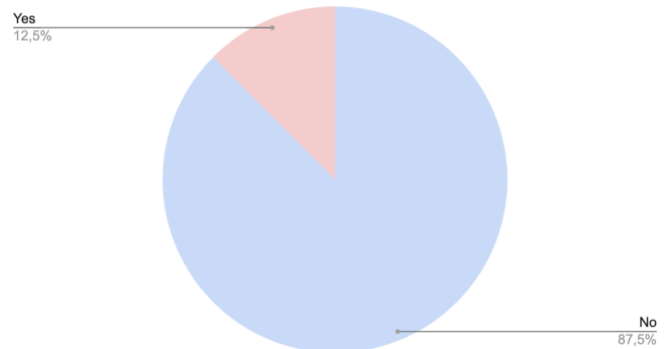


In general, the author’s approach towards the attackers was negative. In four articles, the journalists were writing against actions using mostly negative words and phrases to describe the event and perpetrators. None of the articles had elements that would fit into a positive representation of the attacker. In

contrast, only one article was neutral, merely stating facts from the place of the attack.

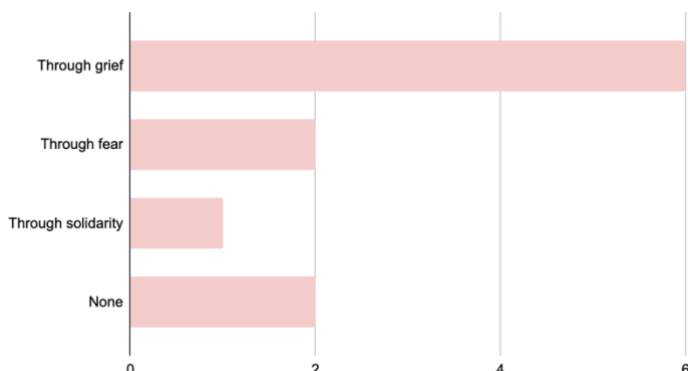
Surprisingly, although VG usually gives an advantage to visual storytelling, in the case of these eight analyzed articles, only one of them had a photograph of the perpetrators where they were visible. The remaining seven articles had neither clear nor blurred photographs.

Does the published photo show the attacker?



Representation of victims

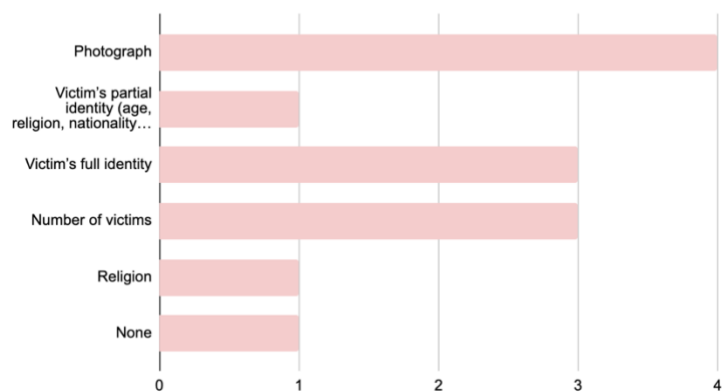
How were the victims described in the article?



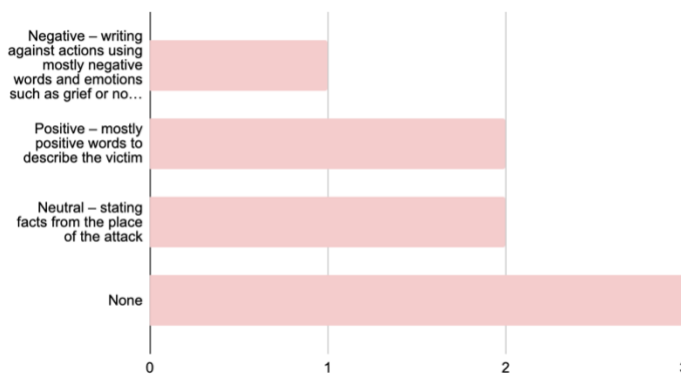
While covering this attack, VG presented the victims mostly through grief. Besides that, the authors indirectly presented them by describing the events through fear, worry, and solidarity.

The authors published victims' photographs in four cases. Besides this, a reader could find out about the victims' full or partial identities in three articles. One article provided information about their past and private life, while only one article covered the topic of religion, specifically Christianity. This article has already been mentioned earlier. It is an article written by VG's leader, who elaborated on the background of the Christian minority in Sri Lanka.

Which victim's information was presented?



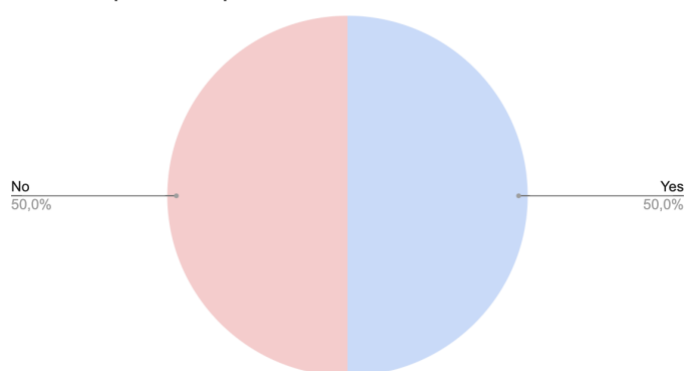
What was the general approach of an author towards victims?



The general approach of an author towards victims could not be identified in three articles, as it was quite neutral or did not have any elements as to describing the victims. On the other hand, two articles were positive, in which the author used mainly emphatic words to describe the victims.

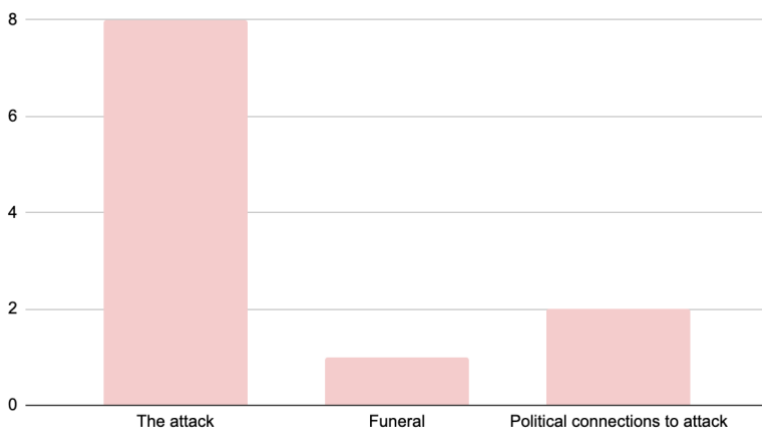
In terms of visual representation, half of the articles had a victim's photograph, and half of them did not. Types of photographs were various, from grieving victims on the street to a victim's dead body at a funeral (article published 23 April, pp.10-11).

Does the published photo show the victims?



Representation of terrorism

What was the written article about?

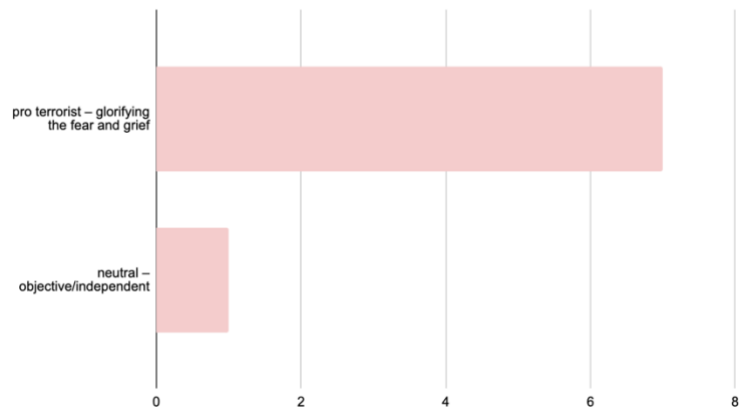


The majority of articles were explicitly about the attacks. Readers could find more about these attacks in all eight articles. However, few of these articles gave some additional information as well, such as religious bigotry or the aftermath. A couple of articles were about political connections to the attacks.

The term *terror attack* has been used clearly in six articles. Besides this term, the authors also used other words and phrases to describe the attacks. For instance, in seven articles, they named the attacks by the action the perpetrators did, such as *bomb attacks*. Only two articles did not use the mentioned term.

The general approach of the author towards the attacks in most articles, seven of them, was pro-terrorist. They were glorifying fear and gave a sense of no solution or possible escape. No one in society or politics could protect them, because *terrorists* have no mercy over nationality or religion, specifically Christianity. None of the written articles

What was the general approach of the author towards attacks?

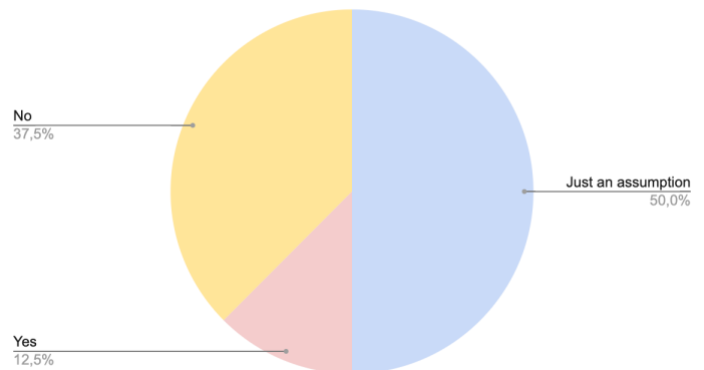


that were published within the analyzed time frame was anti-terrorist. Also, none of the authors provided a real solution. Instead, they were continuously glorifying uncertainty as faith in the political system was easily shaken.

Både presidenten og statsministeren i Sri Lanka hevder de aldri fikk etterretningsrapporten som skal ha advart om angrep på kirker. (...) Flere utenlandske medier har tidligere skrevet at islamistgruppen varslet om angrep 4. april i år. (Both the president and the prime minister of Sri Lanka claim that they never received the intelligence report that should have warned about the attacks on churches. (...) Several foreign media have previously written that the Islamist group announced attacks on 4th April this year.; 24th April, pp. 9)

Out of eight published articles, only one article provided a reason for the attacks, while the remaining seven gave logical assumptions.

Can a reason for the attack be found in the article?



Det er foreløpig uklart hva terroristene på Sri Lanka ønsker å oppnå, annet enn å destabilisere ved å spre død og frykt. (It is not yet clear what the terrorists in Sri Lanka

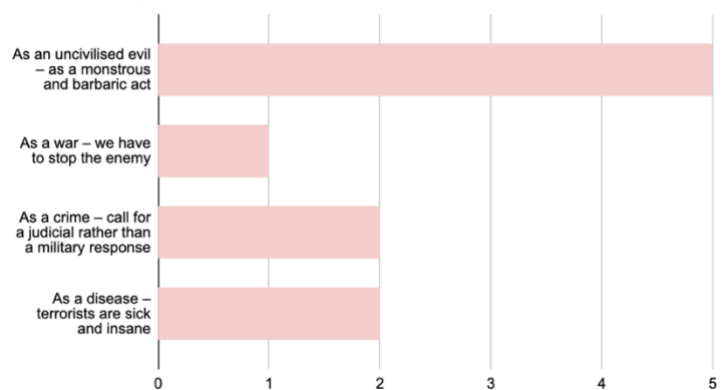
want to achieve, other than to destabilize by spreading death and fear.; 22th April, pp. 2)

Following the information provided by the Sri Lankan government and published in several leading media houses, the authors offered an assumption that these attacks were made as revenge for New Zealand's attacks. Foreign media were following the information that the attackers left behind, although there was no firm evidence. Even the victims were asking themselves who did that.

- Vi katolikker gjør ikke noe vondt mot andre mennesker. Hvorfor skjedde dette med oss? (We Catholics do not do anything to hurt other people. Why did this happen to us?)

To sum up, by way of reporting, picking specific words and phrases, five of these articles described attacks as *uncivilized evil* along with the description of attackers as *monsters* who were doing monstrous acts.

In which way was the attack described?



Til New York Times fortalte et vitne, som driver en butikk i nærheten, hva

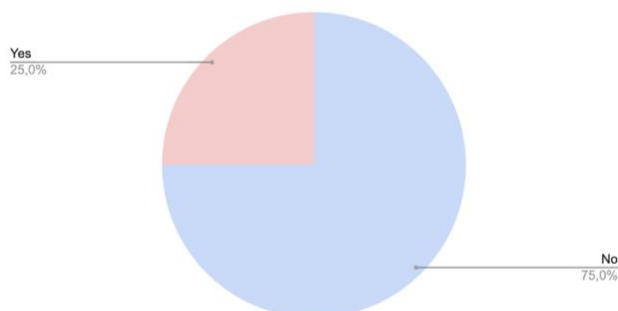
han så da han løp inn i kirken for å hjelpe: – Det var en elv av blod, sier han til avisen: – Aske

falt som snø. (Witness said to the New York Times how he was going to a nearby store and what he saw as he entered the church to help: It was a river of blood, he says to the newspaper: Ashes fell like snow.; 22nd April, pp. 6)

I posene i Colombo, to dager senere, ligger bevisene. For å gjøre dem mer dødelige, ble metallbiter brukt i bombene. Det er kombinasjonen av slike metallbiter og trykket fra bombene som drepte så mange. (In the bags in Colombo, two days later, lies the evidence. To make sure they were dead, metal pieces were used in the bombs. It is the combination of such metal pieces and the pressure of the bombs that killed so many.; 25th April, pp. 10-11)

In less frequency, two articles presented the attacks as a crime that requires judicial help. Only one article was fitting into the category of describing the attacks as a war, in which *we* have to stop the enemy. The attacks were described mostly by the authors, in six cases. Four articles also included descriptions provided by witnesses that found themselves in one of the places of the attack.

Was a solution or treatment recommendation for the problem mentioned?



Six of the analyzed articles did not offer any form of solution or treatment recommendations for the problem. However, in only two articles, the authors provided a solution that was also on the edge of judgments.

Den avskyelige kirkemassakren påskedag vil gå inn i historien som et av de alvorligste overgrep mot mennesker i moderne tid, og må straffeforfølges deretter. (The abominable church massacre on Easter day will go into history as one of the most serious abuses against people in modern times, and must be prosecuted.; 22nd April, pp. 2).

Myndighetene bør få internasjonal hjelp til å oppklare terroren. Muslimene på øya må fortsette å ta skarp avstand fra terroren. Religiøse ledere og forgrunnsfigurer i sivilsamfunnet må stoppe krefter som forsøker å eskalere splittelsen. (The authorities should seek international help to resolve terror. Muslims on the island must continue to take a sharp distance from terror. Religious leaders and prominent figures in civil society must stop forces trying to escalate the split; 23rd April, pp. 3).

7. Multimodal Analysis: New Zealand

This chapter of the thesis will present the findings from the multimodal analysis of selected articles from New Zealand's attacks. Firstly, I will go through all published front pages that included these attacks, and, after that, I will take a look into few articles from each newspaper and analyze how was the same information presented.

This part of the research didn't include commentaries or articles that were published by news agencies. Only informative articles that were published within the first few pages were taken into consideration. The reason for that is because, if an article is so high on agenda and published in the *news* section, newspapers recognized it as something important that a reader should find out about as soon as they open their newspaper.

All the following articles have two pieces of information in focus: the description of the attacker/s and the description of the attacks. None of the following articles has focused only on the victims, because narrative about victims was not continuous and repetitive as reporting on the attacks and attackers.

7.1. Front Pages

As mentioned earlier in the research part, Aftenposten did not publish any information about the attacks in New Zealand on their front pages of any published issue in the selected time for analysis.

VG published the first front page on **16th March**. The photograph was not in the center, but at the right bottom of the page, where a reader will turn the page. Compared to other photographs on the front page, this one was easily distinguished by its contrast of black and white. The written title was quite easy to notice as VG published the information in black letters on the white highlighted background. The attention was on the



attacker's selfie from the streaming video along with the famous name "Breivik". This title on the front page was the first encounter of a reader with the information. Considering that, the statement "INSPIRED BY BREIVIK" was written in caps letters focusing on the message instead of the action itself. Let us not forget that this statement was at that time, still an assumption. The action, or the actual valuable information, was written above that in small letters as "New Zealand's terror". Also, instead of using a specific word to describe the shootings, VG decided to go with a general and nonspecific term such as "terror".



The day after, on **17th March**, VG published another front-page, which this time included more information. The focus of this page was on victims, and the title defined the attack using the word *massacre*. Still, this is not a specific word that could describe the factual actions that had happened. Another part of the title portrayed victims as *heroes* that stopped the attacker, who was, on the other hand, represented as a *terrorist*. Additional information was mentioned on the bottom of the front page, describing in keywords how a victim went to counter the attack, took the weapon, and ran away.

As for the photographs, VG published visible photographs of serious victims' faces, including their full names. Their identities were evident to all readers, those who would buy or would not buy this issue. There was something odd between photographs and text of this front page, which to some extent, breaks the continuity of understanding the information and creates oppose sides. As the title of this front page was mentioning, in this narrative, we had *heroes* and a *terrorist*. These two photographs, oppose close-up of victims' faces, could also be *on the first glance* and without any background information interpreted as two people facing each other, as one of them is an attacker and the other one is the hero.

7.2. Aftenposten

I. Article 1

On 16th March, Aftenposten dedicated several pages (9-12) to New Zealand's attacks. The first pieces of information could be found on page 9, which was a commentary by a native Norwegian who wrote that New Zealand got its own 22nd July. The author compared both countries due to their similarities and also mentioned an opinion by Hege Storhaug, a Norwegian journalist, who raised a question about bigotry in New Zealand. In the article, Storhaug's perspective was that after the attacks, whatever happens, and by whomever, it will always be Muslims' fault. This article was followed by the central piece on two pages on which we will focus. On pages 10 and 11, the authors wrote about the attacks. The title carries an assumption in itself: *Terroristen hevder han var inspirert av 22. juli* (The terrorist claims he was inspired by 22nd July) which was later in the text explained as something that is not certain. The introduction to the article announced as *det mest alvorlige som har vært rettet direkte mot muslimer i et vestlig land* (the most serious that has been directed at Muslims in Western countries).

10 Nyheter | Terrorangrepet

Aftenposten
Lørdag 16. mars 2019

Terrorangrepet | Nyheter | 11



Det gir dessverre assosiasjoner til en situasjon i Norge som er noe av det verste i vår tid. Det viser at det internasjonale arbeidet mot ekstremisme er ekstremt viktig.

Et angrep på fredelige mennesker samlet til bønn er sjokkerende i sin grusomhet og kynisme

49 mennesker er drept og 20 er alvorlig skadet etter angrepet mot moskeer i Christchurch er det mest alvorlige som har vært rettet direkte mot muslimer i et vestlig land.

Hanne Christensen Ingeborg Moe

49 mennesker er drept og 20 er alvorlig skadet etter angrepet mot moskeer i Christchurch er det mest alvorlige som har vært rettet direkte mot muslimer i et vestlig land.

Angrep mot moskeer i Christchurch er det mest alvorlige som har vært rettet direkte mot muslimer i et vestlig land.

Terroristen hevder han var inspirert av 22. juli

49 mennesker er drept og 20 er alvorlig skadet etter angrepet mot moskeer i Christchurch er det mest alvorlige som har vært rettet direkte mot muslimer i et vestlig land.

Hanne Christensen Ingeborg Moe

49 mennesker er drept og 20 er alvorlig skadet etter angrepet mot moskeer i Christchurch er det mest alvorlige som har vært rettet direkte mot muslimer i et vestlig land.

Angrep mot moskeer i Christchurch er det mest alvorlige som har vært rettet direkte mot muslimer i et vestlig land.

45 8. april 2017: To selvmordsbombere knuser niere 49 mennesker i koptiske kirker i et angrepet i byene Sana'a og Al-Mansura i Sør i det nye Irak.

26 5. november 2017: Amerikanske Devin Kelley skyter og dreper 29 mennesker og skader 20 andre i en baptistisk kirke i Southland i den amerikanske delstaten Texas.

311 30. november 2017: Væprede menn dreper 311 mennesker i et moskeangrep i egypciske Nord Sinaï.

23 31. januar 2018: To selvmordsbombere dreper minst 23 andre mennesker i en katolsk kirke på nye jule tårn på Filipinene. Tre drapere senere blir drept i et angrepet mot en moske i nærheten.

49 15. mars 2019: Minst 49 mennesker blir drept i angrepet mot to moskeer i Christchurch på New Zealand.

At the very beginning of the article, the authors provided a space for the description of a perpetrator. Leading information came from the perpetrator's manifesto, where he described himself. Journalists used the passive voice while writing and uncovered his identity, claiming that the police did not yet confirm if this individual is the one who committed this crime. *Tarrant er blitt identifisert som en australsk statsborger, og han hevder han er 28 år* (Tarrant has been identified as an Australian citizen, claiming he is 28 years old). Aftenposten wrote about him: *Der beskriver gjerningspersonen seg som en vanlig mann oppvokst i en helt vanlig familie. Mesteparten av teksten handler om at han mener Europa er truet av innvandring.* (The perpetrator describes himself as an ordinary man raised in a very ordinary family. Most of the text is about the fact that he thinks Europe is threatened by immigration).

In the rest of the article, Aftenposten included various sources who explained that the identification Tarrant claims for himself are incoherent and confusing since he classifies himself in several ideologies. Moreover, one of the sources opened up a topic of assimilation between *Islamic extremists* and *Western extremists*. *Det som er et paradoks, er at dette fremstår som et speilbilde av den islamistiske ideologien. For muslimske ekstremister er det Vesten som truer dem. Men her argumenteres det med at europeiske sivilisasjoner er truet av muslimske invasjonstyrker som kommer med en demografisk invasjon og terror.* (What is a paradox is that this appears as a mirror image of the Islamist ideology. For Muslim extremists, it is the West that threatens them. But here it is argued that European civilizations are threatened by Muslim invasion forces that come with a demographic invasion and terror.). In other words, *a fight* between one religion on one side and one culture on another side.

Further, in the text, the authors mentioned the murder of a Swedish girl that specifically affected the perpetrator: *Ranstorp sier teksten vitner om at gjerningspersonen ble provosert av det han så da han reiste i Europa. Særlig drapet på 11-årige Ebba Åkerlund under terrorangrepet i Stockholm i 2017 later til å ha trigget ham.* (Ranstorp says the text testifies that the perpetrator was provoked by what he saw when traveling in Europe. Especially the killing of 11-year-old Ebba Åkerlund during the terror attack in Stockholm in 2017, which seems to have triggered him.)

Although the text was explaining extremist ideology as an ongoing phenomenon across the world, the authors concluded by writing *Poohl sier at det er vanskelig å tallsifre hvor mange som sympatiserer med den norske, høyreekstreme terroristen Anders Behring Breivik. – Det*

finnes sympatisører. Det er et eksisterende subkulturelt fenomen. (Poohl says it is hard to figure out how many people sympathize with Norwegian right-wing terrorist Anders Behring Breivik. There are sympathizers. It is an existing subcultural phenomenon.)

In the middle of this leading text, the authors wrote information about the percentage of the citizens in New Zealand who are followers of Islamic religion and stated that many of them are converters from different faiths with a European background. On the bottom of both pages, the authors included data about recent attacks on religious places such as churches and mosques. Out of 10 examples, the perpetrators were identified by the full name only in one case, while other samples were pointing on ISIS, Al-Qaida, or unknown perpetrator.

On the right side of the second page, the authors included few lines of opinions from political leaders, including Norwegian Prime Minister Erna Solberg. Solberg commented that this is an association of a hard situation in Norway and that extremism is looking for international collaboration. Solberg did not say anything specific about the attack or the particular issue. She also didn't propose a solution. On the other hand, Russian President Putin commented that the act was shocking, cruel, and cynical. At the same time, Turkish President Erdogan said that this is something that should be acted upon immediately.

The photograph that was published with this article showed a man being carried by personnel from an ambulance. The man looked safe and healthy without any blood or signs of fear. Moreover, he was holding his finger as if he was telling something to the person who was carrying him, which could mean that he was conscious and, to some extent, even calm.

II. Article 2

Bladet
Fredag 26. mars 2019

Nyheter 11



Den arnante gjerningsmannen i hæringsgruppi i Christchurch, New Zealand, sendte en uskyldig ideologisk håndbevegelse under hæringsmannet. Foto: MARK MCELWAIN, REUTERS / NTB scapex

Terroristens tegn var ikke tilfeldig valgt

Kristoffer Rønneberg og Helene Skjæggestad

Hvite nasjonalister bruker en uskyldig håndbevegelse for å sende meldinger til likesinnede.

«Hva er det som er i din hånd?», spør politiet. «Det er ingenting», svarer den tre år gamle gutten. Han holder en hånd opp og viser et tegn. Det er et tegn som er kjent for mange, men som er ukjent for politiet. Det er et tegn som er kjent for mange, men som er ukjent for politiet. Det er et tegn som er kjent for mange, men som er ukjent for politiet.

«Hva er det som er i din hånd?», spør politiet. «Det er ingenting», svarer den tre år gamle gutten. Han holder en hånd opp og viser et tegn. Det er et tegn som er kjent for mange, men som er ukjent for politiet. Det er et tegn som er kjent for mange, men som er ukjent for politiet.

FAKTA

Andre symboler

Tallene 14 og 88. Hørvor til «14-88» ordene, som er en vending som handler om bevegelsen av den hvite nasjonalistiske gruppen. Tallene 14 og 88 er også tallene for bokstaven H er den amerikanske bokstaven i alfabetet.

Pape frøskan. Tegnspråk er et symbol som skulle være et symbol på amerikanske skoleer, er blitt laget av hæringsmannen for å fremvise rasistiske utsagn. I 2018 ble den stemplet som et hæringsymbol av Anti-Defamation League, en antisemittisk organisasjon.

«Ekkho» («the echo»). Samme organisasjonen stempler også bokstaven W fra persontegn på hæringsmannen som et antisemittisk symbol. Brevet er navn indikere persontegn i hæringsmannen og er et tegn som personen er på.

Enner til Roger Stone, Mike Yammeropoulos og Mike Carmovich.

Det kan til tider være vanskelig å påpeke den amerikanske profetoren. Dette er en gruppe som elsker å provosere. De vil at man på sosiale medier skal se et rasistisk symbol dersom de prøver med å gjøre det tydelig, og derfor gjør de det de kan for å fremvise en reaksjon. De ser en humor i det, sier hun.

«Uttrykket grønt» handler om å se personer i disse miljøene bruker symboler bevisst, og at de er flinke til å uttrykke tvetydigheten i alle symboler.

«Symboler fungerer veldig godt for dem fordi de følger de forutsette med noe uskyldig. Det blir en slags led for andre mennesker. De kan prøve på bilder mens de viser håndbevegelsen, og hvis noen kommenterer dem med symboler, kan de bare si at de ikke mener noe annet enn «OK».

De uttrykker grønt som ligger i hvordan man bruker symboler. Enkelte grupper vil jo alle liket i det betyr, sier Mike Carmovich.

Denne går tilbake fra Kord Kordas, lektor ved Høgskolen i Kristiansund, forteller om hvordan hæringsmannen fremvise tegn.

«Hæringsmannen er veldig opptatt av det som er det ideologiske uttrykket og opprettholde et hæringsmanns miljø, med symboler som disse de prøver å forstå. De uttrykker det at symbolene kan tolkes på ulike måter, sier hun.

Skilte symboler

Debutanten om skilte symboler går i flere land. I Frankrike har debatten rundt bevegelsen ofte vært vanskelig. Mestertegn oppgis. Debutanten har bevegelsen de går vekk fra og debatterer mens du stiller den hånd den tar på den andre skulderen og holder den andre armens utstakt, med håndflaten mot bakken.

Bevegelsen er nært knyttet til den svært kontroversielle franske konserten. Debutanten Mike M'Pala og gruppen som er antisemittisk handling.

the perpetrator did, or as the authors explained it in the first sentence: *en uskyldig håndbevegelse* (an innocent gesture).

The language of this article was very leisurely as a conversation between acquaintances. Something that is not a part of informative articles was a call to action by the authors. At the very beginning of this article, the authors are directly entertainingly inviting the reader to try that gesture with their own hands: *Løft opp den ene hånden din. Sett pekefingeren og tommelen sammen mens de tre andre fingrene strekker seg fritt. Hva slags symbol har du laget nå?* (Raise one hand. Insert your index finger and thumb together while extending the other three fingers. What kind of symbol have you made now?) Moreover, the authors went on with their explanation: *Men det kan også tolkes på en helt annen måte. Dersom man ønsker det, kan man skimte to andre bokstaver. Nemlig «W» og «P» White Power. Hvit Makt.* (If you wish, you can make two other letters. In fact, "W" and "P". White Power).

The identity of the perpetrator was hidden in the photograph. The authors didn't include his name. Moreover, in the text, the authors mentioned how the perpetrator came to a detention meeting, and he was posing with "OK" sign: *poserte han ved å lage «OK»-tegnet* (he posed while creating the "OK" sign).

The whole article was filled with positive words and patience while explaining the ideology of white supremacy. The sign itself was described as: *En siste, ideologisk hilsen. En slags maktdemonstrasjon fordi han er klar over symbolets kraft, sier Cynthia Miller-Idriss* (A final, ideological greeting. A type of power demonstration because he is aware of the symbol force, says Cynthia Miller-Idriss). Later in the text, the authors explained how posing with such a gesture is a way of communicating and maintaining a secret brotherhood. At the same time, the same gesture is seen as provocative humor since it can be interpreted in many different ways, such as the mentioned OK sign.

The end of the article had a substantial sentence in which the authors described the unidentified perpetrator for a second time as an *alleged* one who sent the final ideological greeting. *Den antatte gjerningsmannen i terrorangrepet i Christchurch, New Zealand, sendte en siste ideologisk hilsen under fengslingsmøtet* (The alleged perpetrator of the terrorist attack in Christchurch, New Zealand, sent a recent ideology greeting during the prison meeting). This article was published ten days after the actual attack when both the identity and the crime were confirmed.

7.3. VG

I. Article I

In VG's case, both analyzed articles were published on 16th March. The first article we will focus on was about the attacks and was published in the *news* section on pages 10-11. The article had a commercial/sensationalistic title *DE SKREKKELIGE MINUTTENE* (THE HORRIBLE MINUTES). The article starts with a direct approach, describing the attacks in a very vivid manner. *Blod overalt, skriking, løping og vill panikk* (Blood everywhere, screaming, running and wild panic). Later on, they used a similar approach again: *Han kom tilbake til moskeen i hvite sokker flekket av blod* (He returned to the mosque in white socks stained with blood). The authors used numerous adjectives in the article while describing what was happening, such as *fatal*, *horrible*, *violent*, *cruel*, and vivid verbs such as: *thundered*,

mourned. They also included various phrases in the text to describe what was happening, such as *in vain* or *bleed to death*. Besides that, the sources used onomatopoeia such as *Skuddene lød «pop, pop, pop»* (The shots sounded "pop, pop, pop"). The article delivered firsthand information from the place of the attack, and the victims' testimonies mostly led the narrative of the article. The sources that were providing information were obviously under great shock and fear, lost in what is happening.

10 NYHETER LONDAG 16. MARS 2019 12:52 NZX1 LONDAG 16. MARS 2019 11

NEW ZEALAND-TERROREN

DE SKREKKELIGE MINUTTENE



STILLHETEN ETTER Utenfor moskeene Al Noor etter flere av de overlevende på bakken, uten skje. En av de dreptte, er blitt dekket til med et teppe. Også han er uten skje. Det er tradisjon og ta en seg skoen under fredningsarbeidet, derfor til det flere enklige sko og sokker utenfor moskeene fredag ettermiddag. Foto: EPA/REUTERS

Overlevende: «Det var skyting, skyting, skyting»

Blod overalt, skrik, løping og vill panikk. Slik beskriver vitnene innsi i Al Noor-moskeene.

Det tok litt tid, men da alvorlig gikk opp for de rundt 400 mennesker som var til stede i Al Noor moskeens fredag ettermiddag, var det allerede for sent.

Sikkskiveknusende de vaggger og tak. Flere personer fungerte å flykte fra mønstret i de millimetergrove klærne som skjedt mot dem.

– Så folk ble i hjel
Få sekunder satte Noor Tavita med tennene sine i lønen. Følelsen kjemp

te han ikke hva den vilde rasen angrep var, men da oppgav de angrerter.

– Vi la oss på bakken, så folk alle panikk. Det var skyting, skyting og skyting. Folk løp og så på måten at de plutselig falt.

I de første sekundene ble det blod og hvesing ut. Takk for det etter det. Han kom seg ut på gaten og løp mot nærmeste hus, dundret på døren og fikk slippe inn. Litt senere forsvant han i et søk etter til moskeens for å hjelpe andre.

– Vi var ikke borte igjen, det var grusomt.

Første gang i moskeene
Et år gamle Israa Alsharhan var i moskeene for første gang sammen med onkelen sin, den nye ledelsen. Prefektene skulle akkurat til å starte, da 14 årginger barde det haa tredde de var i byggingen.

– Plutselig ble det gull og eng raskt (et kassett av et minutt) og de skrikende minuttene.

– Skuddene ledde meg, jeg prøvde å løpe, jeg hadde over meg forfalte han til NZ Herald.

Jeg løp ut i raskt. Jeg kom ut, over gjerdet, litt inn i Hagley park. Jeg stoppet ikke, jeg kjempet for fremtiden, sier gutten.

– Lot som jeg var død
Et år gammel Israa Alsharhan var i moskeene for første gang sammen med onkelen sin, den nye ledelsen. Prefektene skulle akkurat til å starte, da 14 årginger barde det haa tredde de var i byggingen.

– Plutselig ble det gull og eng raskt (et kassett av et minutt) og de skrikende minuttene.

– Skuddene ledde meg, jeg prøvde å løpe, jeg hadde over meg forfalte han til NZ Herald.

Jeg løp ut i raskt. Jeg kom ut, over gjerdet, litt inn i Hagley park. Jeg stoppet ikke, jeg kjempet for fremtiden, sier gutten.

– Lot som jeg var død
Et år gammel Israa Alsharhan var i moskeene for første gang sammen med onkelen sin, den nye ledelsen. Prefektene skulle akkurat til å starte, da 14 årginger barde det haa tredde de var i byggingen.

– Plutselig ble det gull og eng raskt (et kassett av et minutt) og de skrikende minuttene.

– Skuddene ledde meg, jeg prøvde å løpe, jeg hadde over meg forfalte han til NZ Herald.

Jeg løp ut i raskt. Jeg kom ut, over gjerdet, litt inn i Hagley park. Jeg stoppet ikke, jeg kjempet for fremtiden, sier gutten.

PSST!
Overlevende som er berørt av dette materialet kan kontakte oss på telefonnummer 0800 555 555.



Yama Mubli og Israa Omset oppgitt til en annen person, etter å ha blitt mønstret som en av de som var involvert i drapet. Her viser han et bilde av Israa på sin telefon. Foto: Reuters

lyskåret, blant dem et fire år gammel barn.

I timene etter angrepet ble det flere av de overlevende tilkalt til moskeene for å vite etter saken kjempet. De fleste gikk tilbake til arbeid, og de fleste moskeene var stengt.

Moskeene ble stengt i løpet av dagen, men noen ble igjen i moskeene for å hjelpe andre som var blitt skutt i hodet.

Såvnedde fra 14 land
Et i løpet av to dager ble det registrert 14 land som hadde sendt ut politier til New Zealand for å hjelpe med etterforskningen.

På den tiden ble det registrert 14 land som hadde sendt ut politier til New Zealand for å hjelpe med etterforskningen.

Ikke kjent fra før
Satt i går ble det registrert 14 land som hadde sendt ut politier til New Zealand for å hjelpe med etterforskningen.

På den tiden ble det registrert 14 land som hadde sendt ut politier til New Zealand for å hjelpe med etterforskningen.

Bestefaren (71) hylles som en helt

Bestefaren (71) hylles som en helt
Bestefaren (71) hylles som en helt. Bestefaren (71) hylles som en helt. Bestefaren (71) hylles som en helt.

Bestefaren (71) hylles som en helt. Bestefaren (71) hylles som en helt. Bestefaren (71) hylles som en helt.



David Hebl er bestefaren til den drepte Israa Alsharhan. Det er bestefaren som er kjent for drapet.

The journalists included various information about the victims, such as who was the youngest victim and which nationalities the victims were. Although the entire article was mostly about victims, the journalists did not use the term *Muslim* or *Islamic*, not even once. They used the word *troende* (believer) only once. While writing, the journalists mainly used the full name of a source. On the other hand, while mentioning the perpetrator, they did not mention his identity in this article, but they wrote about a few people who were being suspected. The authors also added information *Den person som er kjent for politiet fra før, og det var ikke kjent at personen siktet for drap sympatiserte med høyreekstreme holdninger.* (None of the persons has been known to the police before, and it was not known that the person charged with murder

sympathized with right-wing beliefs.). The additional feature to this article was a story about a grandfather who got murdered while saving a person next to him. This part of the article had a photograph showing the victim's son in a visible state of grief while posing to reporters with a private picture of a father and his son.

The other photographs that were published along with this text were almost self-explanatory. The first photograph was showing the apparent fear and grief of three men sitting in front of the mosque. In another photograph, there was also a grieving man, without a shirt on, who was being consoled by policemen. Below these photographs, VG decided to publish a dead female body whose head was covered with some cloth. No one was around that body. It looked like it was abandoned. Next to that photograph, there was something that looked like medical gauze used in emergency and soaked in blood.

II. Article II

The second article was also published on the same day, a few pages before the previous one. On pages 6 and 7, the readers could find out more about the perpetrator and also see screenshots from his video that he streamed live on Facebook. The authors published the full name of the attacker. Also, they used terms written in the attacker's manifesto, as he described himself as an *ordinary white man* several times in the article.

Following the information from his manifesto, the authors were creating the narrative and explaining the attacks using the attacker's words: *Tarrant skriver i manifestet at han ønsket å utøve vold mot muslimer. En av dem som har inspirert ham er Anders Behring Breivik, skriver Tarrant. (...) Tarrant skriver at han har «mottatt en velsignelse» fra Breivik for sine planer.* (Tarrant writes in the manifesto that he wanted to commit violence against Muslims. One of those who inspired him is Anders Behring Breivik, Tarrant wrote. (...) Tarrant writes that he "received a blessing" from Breivik for his plans.)

As a part of the article, the authors included a statement of Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern. She was the first source that directly denied the attacker's representation of himself as 'one ordinary white man'. *Tarrant beskriver seg selv som en vanlig, australsk borger, men statsministeren sier at han ikke er en av dem: - Mange av dem som er rammet av denne skytingen, kan ha innvandrerbakgrunn eller til og med være flyktninger. De har valgt å gjøre New Zealand til sitt hjem og New Zealand er deres hjem. De er oss. Personen bak denne volden, er ikke oss. Denne personen har ingen plass i New Zealand.* (Tarrant describes himself as an ordinary

Australian citizen, but the prime minister says he is not one of them: - Many of those affected by this shooting may have immigrant backgrounds or even be refugees. They have chosen to make New Zealand their home, and New Zealand is their home. They are us. The person behind this violence is not us. This person has no place in New Zealand). In this article, the authors mentioned two more people that were arrested, but in days to come, these two individuals were not mentioned again.

6 NYHETER LØRDAG 16. MARS 2019 15:00 15:00 LØRDAG 16. MARS 2019 7

NEW ZEALAND-TERROREN

-VELSIGNET AV BREIVIK

● Terror-siktet skrev manifest ● Norsk fengsel bestrider at de kan ha hatt kontakt

TRE PERSONER ER PÅGREPET I JAKTEN PÅ NØRRENE BAK GLERDAGENS TERRORANGREPENE. BLANT DEM ER EN AUSTRALIER SOM BEKREFTER SEG SELV SOM EN «VANLIG HVIT MANN».

De siktede til at angrepene ble utført live på nett, og at det ble publisert et såkalt manifest på Facebook som ble angrepet.

Manifestet, som er 73 sider langt, skal være skrevet av australieren Breivik Tarrant (28). Det er et sammensatt dokument som inneholder tekster fra Breivik og selv i en del skisser fra Al Noor-moskeen.

«Velkommet av Breivik»

Politiene i New Zealand har bekræftet at en mann på 28 år, med australisk pass, er blant de pågrepne. De opplytter også at Breivik Tarrant er sikket for drap, og må være i ferd med å flykte.

Lite samnytt

Fengsler i Oslo fengsel, Ole Kristian Bergh, sier til VG at det er svært lite sannsynlig at de har hatt kontakt. Han forteller at samarbeidspartneren hans har kontakt med prolegenerle skoler, som fengselsbetjente, fengselsgjeter, kasser og advokater skal.

Fengselsbetjente sier det er lite sannsynlig at de har hatt kontakt med Breivik. Han har hatt kontakt med noen som er knyttet til terrorangrepet på New Zealand. Bergh forteller at et brev som Breivik ville kommet gjennom.

«Vanlig mann»

- De kan møtte hver, men de blir jo neppe kontaktet og blir angrepet, om det er snakk om det som er skrevet i disse skissene.

I manifestet bekrefter han seg selv som en vanlig hvit mann. En av de viktigste delene i manifestet er en såkalt «hvite manifest». Denne delen er skrevet av Breivik Tarrant som er en vanlig hvit mann. Han har hatt kontakt med noen som er knyttet til terrorangrepet på New Zealand. Bergh forteller at et brev som Breivik ville kommet gjennom.

Forandret på reise

Tarrant bekrefter seg selv som en vanlig hvit mann, og sier at han ikke er en av dem som Breivik skal ha prøvd å rekruttere.

Adelsgrensens svermerisk lignelse

Han skriver videre at faren døde av en alvorlig sykdom i 2018, og at det skal ha vært Breivik som har prøvd å hjelpe ham. Han skriver at han har prøvd å hjelpe ham, og at han har prøvd å hjelpe ham. Han skriver at han har prøvd å hjelpe ham, og at han har prøvd å hjelpe ham.

Kryptovest

I manifestet skriver Tarrant at han har prøvd å hjelpe ham, og at han har prøvd å hjelpe ham. Han skriver at han har prøvd å hjelpe ham, og at han har prøvd å hjelpe ham.

To ukjente

I går ble det rapportert at de to ukjente personer som ble pågrepet i New Zealand, er de samme som ble pågrepet i New Zealand.

Proffene ERLIND FERNANDEZ STEEDING, CAMILLA FREDSTAD, KARE SPETS, ANDREA ROONSTAD, LONE LØNNE, JANLE GRIM BREINA, SINNE EGGUM, EIVIND HANNA HANSEN, GOSDOR ENGERSEN, BRALIE FROSTAD, MERTIN FRANK EITZING, RYDVID BLUSTE, SIVERT HUGGAN, CATHERINE SCHWOLZ, SHANAM, OLA HARAM og HÅLVOR BJØRNTVEIT

Aside from the main text, this article was presented by the title *VELSIGNET AV BREIVIK* (Blessed by Breivik) that was factually unworn right one line below and one more time later in the text by Breivik's lawyer. The majority of these two pages were photographs that journalists took from the video that he streamed live on Facebook. Social media tried to take that video off, and later the public has been asked not to reproduce this video. Still, VG journalists decided to act pro-terrorist and share the screenshots of one of their articles published about these attacks. The photographs had terrible quality, and they showed Tarrant's face, his backpack had various visible names and symbols such as Black Sun, which was a symbol shared by neo-Nazis and some occult subcultures, as Satanism. All of his weapons, various shotguns, were shown in photographs. One of his rifles was shown as he was holding

it and approaching the mosque. This image resembled a screenshot from shooting video games. Journalists did not write the reason why these screenshots were shared and published in one of the most read newspapers in Norway, even though social media was trying to take the video down, and various organizations were requesting people not to share the video.

8. Multimodal Analysis: Sri Lankan Bombings

This chapter of the thesis will present the findings from the multimodal analysis of selected articles from Sri Lankan's attacks. Firstly, I will go through all published front pages that included these attacks, and, after that, I will take a look into few articles from each newspaper and analyze how was the same information presented.

As in the previous part, I didn't include commentaries or articles that were published by news agencies. Only informative articles that were published within the first few pages were taken into consideration.

All the following articles have two pieces of information in focus: the description of the attacker/s and the description of the attacks. None of the following articles has focused only on the victims, because narrative about victims was not continuous and repetitive as reporting on the attacks and attackers.

8.1. Front Pages

Concerning Sri Lankan's attacks, Aftenposten had already informed their readers on the front page about the attacks on **22nd April 2019**. More than half of the front page had been dedicated to the victims' pain and grief. As the title suggests, "Grief and pain on Sri Lanka", the entire action was defined using the word *terror* in red and bold font. Short sum-up of available and checked information followed up the word *terror*, by stating the exact number of deaths and number of attacks. Another information that had been included was about three victims from Denmark, which, to some extent, made this attack more personal for any Scandinavian reader.

God helg med **A-magasinet**

United-kollaps
Sjakkens million å spille i mesterligaen, de nye fjernere etter at Manchester United tapte med fire mål mot Everton.
SPORT • Side 18-19

Oslo: Teaterstykkene du må se
KULTUR • side 16-17

Kronikk
Skolen bruker lesehefter med meningsløst innhold
”
MENNIGER • side 14-15

Aftenposten
Grunnlagt 1869 av Christian Schibye

Mandag 22. april 2019
Uke 17 - Nr. 111
160. årgang
Lansklubb kr. 40
Levert hjem fra kr 16
Bestill på ap.no/abo

Sorg og smerte på Sri Lanka
TERROR. Minst 218 er drept og nær 500 er skadet etter åtte eksplosjoner på Sri Lanka. Det skal være 35 utlendinger blant de døde, tre av dem er danske. NYHETER • side 4-6

The photograph that was included explicitly showed what the title was defining: grief and pain. Additionally, this photograph is also showing emotions of fear and incredulity, as the group of presented people probably lost someone in the attacks. They were probably somewhere near one of the places where the bombing occurred, as in the background policemen are standing in front of some building. The woman was barely standing on her feet, and two men had to carry her. Her cry and screams made another person in the background turn around and look. Another woman who was ahead was wearing a red T-shirt, which could be connected to giving additional meaning to this massacre, as red is often associated with blood and danger. This front-page definitively carries a strong message not only visually but textually as well. The conclusion that can be interpreted from all these offered data is that whatever happened in Sri Lanka is indeed pure terror that left people with grief, sadness, and death.



KOLLEKTIV VINNER. Folk velger bort bilen i de store byene, og spesielt i Oslo går bilbruken ned. Men det nasjonale målet om sykkelbruk synes å være i det blå – reisende velger kollektivtransport.

Selvmoordsbombere på Sri Lanka var velutdannede
NYHETER - side 24-25

Har lært seg å gi blaffen
For verdensmester Karsten Warholm er det ikke gull og rekorder som gjelder.
SPORT - side 48-50



Kjemien, humoren og den snertne dialogen er på plass
Aftenpostens anmelder om Avingers Endgame
KULTUR - side 44

On 25th April 2019, Aftenposten included information about these attacks on the front page again. The news was about the attackers and their educational background. Aftenposten's redaction decided to explain this using specific words. The perpetrators were described as *suicide bombers* who were *well educated*. This message could refer to young generations and assumptions that not all suicide bombers are poor and uneducated, as it is a common belief that was elaborated in the theoretical part.

Moreover, the central photograph on the front page was connected to some other news, but it showed young individuals carrying backpacks as if they are on their way to school. Considering the message about the perpetrators being well educated, this could give a sense as if they could be

anywhere around us acting just like ordinary people, attending school, university, or at the workplace. At the same time, *we* perhaps would not even notice.

On **22nd April 2019**, readers could also find out about the attacks in Sri Lanka just by looking at the VG's front page. The attack was described as *terror in Sri Lanka*. The title included information about the Danish family who has been affected by the attacks. VG's front page was expressing the bombings in a very simplified and dull manner; "blasted selves in churches and hotels". They didn't include any information about the perpetrators. This kind of expression is making the narrative more vivid and memorable.

The photograph that has been published on this front page was quite straightforward as it showed a dead body in a white bag that

has been carried by two individuals. These two individuals were wearing white gloves and rubber boots while they were removing bodies from a restricted area where probably one of the attacks happened. The way they were handling the bodies and the way they were dressed could be interpreted as if this was indeed, a bloody massacre. Their faces also showed how overwhelmed that was for them. Not only because they saw all these dead bodies but also had to collect with them. In the background of the photograph, a reader could see another two individuals dressed all in white. They were probably doctors who had to confirm the number of casualties. The faces of these two individuals were showing, to some extent, the emotions of disbelief and even disgust.





On 24th April 2019, VG added another piece of information about Sri Lankan's attacks on the front page. This time, the news they were bringing was exclusively VG's as their journalists went to Sri Lanka to get the first-hand experience and impressions.

This first-hand information was collected from the victims and presented as *horrific stories*. This vivid and memorable description was followed by a photograph of a victim who was probably lying in the hospital's bed. His facial expression looked peaceful and worried at the same time. He had bandages over his stomach and hand. His body looked healthy, considering the severity of the attacks. However, the way

this photograph was cropped would tell a different story. At first glance, it looked like a victim lost his right leg in the attacks. His left leg was visible in the photograph, but the right leg was cropped from the knee, and a pillow supported his thigh. In this photograph, the journalists presented the victim in much worse physical condition than he was.

8.2. Aftenposten

I. Article 1

The first article about the terror attacks in Sri Lanka that Aftenposten published was on 22nd April 2019, on pages 4 and 5, in the *news* section. They acknowledged that attacks were *terror* and that they happened in Sri Lanka. The attacks occurred in various places, and the number of victims was also different. Still, in this article, the journalists decided to focus on the bombing that happened in church. Probably due to Easter time. The title of the article was *Utslettet i kirke* (Wiped out in church).

sprengte seg selv da politiet kom. (Shortly after, another bomb went off in the Suburb of Orugodawatta north of the capital. Three police officers were killed after a suicide bomber detonated himself when the police arrived.). The language that the authors used in the entire text was considerably sharp and informative, without using too many adjectives or phrases. While writing about facts, the journalists were explaining the timeline of the attacks *translated* into Norwegian local time, making it more personal.

The authors also wrote some information about a Danish family who lost three family members and that a military aircraft is in its way to fetch them. They also wrote about many different nationalities who got killed or hurt by one of these attacks. One of the statements that was included in this article was given by Norwegian Prime Minister Erna Solberg who said: «*Jeg fordømmer på det sterkeste de avskyelige angrepene mot kirker og hoteller på Sri Lanka denne påskemorgen. Mine tanker går til de som er rammet og deres pårørende*», skrev statsminister Erna Solberg på Twitter. ("I strongly condemn the heinous attacks on churches and hotels in Sri Lanka this Easter morning. My thoughts go to those affected and their relatives," Prime Minister Erna Solberg posted on Twitter.). Along with Solberg's statement, a description of the attacks from Ine Eriksen Søreide, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was also included: *Utenriksminister Ine Eriksen Søreide (H) omtaler angrepene på Sri Lanka som grusomme og feige.* (Foreign Minister Ine Eriksen Søreide (H) describes the attacks on Sri Lanka as cruel and cowardly. Both politicians belong to Conservative Political Party. Along with the mentioned source, this article included a quote from the Pope: *Jeg ønsker å gi uttrykk for min hengivne nærhet til det kristne samfunnet, som ble angrepet idet det var i bønn, og til alle ofrene for slik grusom vold, sa han.* ("I want to express my devoted closeness to the Christian community, which was attacked while in prayer, and to all the victims of such cruel violence," he said).

Further on, the journalists explained the situation in the country, as the schools and shops were closed. They also added information that was firstly published by AFP. It was about the warning that was issued by the country's chief of police ten days earlier about the risk of a possible suicide attack. The information was received from NTJ, a radical Muslim group in Sri Lanka. However, there was no specific evidence about that.

Finally, just by glancing at the photograph, title, and subtitles, it is hard to deny the impression that the mentioned attacks happened all in one place, specifically in one church.

The article that was following after this one was a feature about a Norwegian woman who decided to move from Norway to Sri Lanka and live there. She believed that the attacks happened to shake the economic power that Sri Lanka is getting from tourism. There were also facts related to Sri Lanka, which can be read in the middle of the main text, along with information that 70% of citizens are Buddhists, 12% Hindus, 10% Muslims and 6% Catholics.

II. Article 2

The second article that we will focus on was published on 26th April 2019, on page 14, in the news section. This article was published after the journalist received confirmation about who was actually behind the attacks. The title of this article was supporting the stereotypical view of terrorists: *Fattiggutten som ble YouTube-predikant og terrorleder* (The poor boy who became a YouTube preacher and terrorist leader).

The author's descriptions of the leader of these attacks were based on information from an unknown source that was published in an article in the Malaysian online newspaper *The Leaders Online*. As the author wrote: *basert på informasjon som har kommet fra myndighetene og fra mediene, begynner det å danne seg et bilde av terrorgruppen og dens leder*. (Based on the information that has come from the authorities and the media, a picture of the terrorist group and its leader begins to form).

The journalist used the active voice while writing these pieces of information. *Zahran Hashim var så radikal at han ble kastet ut av imamskolen* (Zahran Hashim was so radical that he was expelled from the Imam school). The article went into tiny and specific details about this

Fattiggutten som ble YouTube-predikant og terrorleder

Istanbul
Tor Arne
Andriassen,
Aftenpostens
korrespondent

Zahran Hashim var så radikal at han ble kastet ut av imamskolen.

Zahran Hashim (42) står midt i en gruppe med maskerte menn. Han selv er den eneste som viser ansiktet på videoen. Over skuldrene har han et gevær. Hensikten er å svære troskap til terrorgruppen Den islamske statens (IS). Videoen av mennene ble offentliggjort av IS' propagandakanal, i løpet av to dager etter terrorangrepet som krevde minst 250 menneskeliv og skadet 5000 andre på Sri Lanka.

Gruppens tilknytning til IS er ikke fastslått. Men basert på informasjon som har kommet fra myndighetene og fra mediene, begynner det å danne seg et bilde av terrorgruppen og dens leder.

Realistiske kår
Mens flere av selvmordsbombene skal ha vært fra middelklassen, og to av dem var sønner av en aristokrat, krylderskytning, skal lederen Zahran Hashim ha kommet fra beskjede kår på nordkysten av Sri Lanka.

Han hadde tydeligvis ambisjoner om å bli imam, men var så radikal at han ble kastet ut fra kullenskolene han gikk på. Det skjedde en måned før han ble drept i et attentat i en moske i Colombo, som ble utført av en annen medlem av IS.

Mye katekese
Hashim lot seg ikke stanne av at han ikke fikk avslutte utdanningen og dermed sine egne religiøse studier på Sri Lanka. Han deltok i offentlige debatter og gikk på kurs i The Leaders Online.

Mye katekese
Hashim lot seg ikke stanne av at han ikke fikk avslutte utdanningen og dermed sine egne religiøse studier på Sri Lanka. Han deltok i offentlige debatter og gikk på kurs i The Leaders Online.



Terrorgruppen som gjennomførte angrepet i Sri Lanka, sværte troskap til IS. Mennene uten maske er Zahran Hashim, mistenkt innsettning og YouTube-predikant. Foto: REUTERS/NTB scanpix

FAKTA Angrepene på Sri Lanka

Gjennomføringen av terrorangrepet 1. påskedag tyder på at gruppen medlemmer har vært meget radikaliserte.

Åtte av dem sprengte seg selv i tilknytning til angrepene på flere kirker og hoteller.

I går ble tallet på drepte redjustert etter en regnefeil, til rundt 250-300. 40 av disse er barn. Rundt 500 er såret.

I alt ni selvmordsbombere var involvert, åtte er identifisert. Minst 50 personer er pågrepet så langt, alle fra Sri Lanka.

Myndighetene mener selvmordsbombene tilhørte de to små islamgruppene National Thowheeth Jama'ath (NTJ) og Jammeethul Millatu Ibrahim, begge lokale.

Statsminister Ranil Wickremesinghe advaker om at flere mistenkte er på frihet og at det kan komme flere selvmordsangrep.

Ikke, men de mistenkte, sier K.M.Ahram, en av innbyggerne til Asia Times.

På ledernes radar
Hashim satset på internett og sendte ut videoer om IS' aktiviteter i Syria og andre steder på nettstedet Youtube. Han sendte også ut videoer med talene sine på Youtube.

Han ser ut til å ha hatt kontakt med andre engasjerte miljøer og reist til andre land, sier Neser.

Zahran Hashim navn dukker opp i et terrorangrep i en indisk gruppe, som i 2015 sendte 21 unge menn og kvinner til en IS-gruppe som er aktiv i Afghanistan.

Da indierne raidet cellen, fant de CD'er med Hashims videoer. Telefontalene avslørte telefonsamtaler mellom Hashim og IS-medlemmer i Afghanistan og Bangladesh, ifølge Asia Times.

Hodde opplysninger
Inderne etterforsket Hashim og miljøet rundt ham i flere måneder. 4. og 11. april delte de etterrettingsopplysningene om Hashim og gruppen National Thowheeth Jama'ath med Sri Lanka.

Inderne overleverte opplysninger om gruppen medlemmer og telefonnumre, 100 kilo sprengstoff ble funnet under en razzia i Sri Lanka i januar i år, og mistanken ble rettet mot IS.

Men opplysningene ble ikke delt med ledere og sikkerhetsorganer på Sri Lanka, og sporing ble gjort for å sikre kirkene som var mål for terroren.

Søker tilflukt i moskeer
I går søkte hundrevis av muslimer på aya tilflukt i moskeer og på en politistasjon etter at de er blitt trakassert som følge av terrorangrepet i påsken.



Den ene selvmordsbombere ble fanget opp av et overvåkingskamera i Negombo. Han løper på en tung ryggsekk, men ingen stopper ham. Han sprengte seg selv inne i kirkensrommet, som var fullt av mennesker.

I byen Negombo, der bomben mot St. Sebastian's kirke tok over 100 liv, har muslimske flyktninger fra Pakistan, Afghanistan, Jemen og Iran blitt kastet ut fra boligene sine. Ifølge menneskerettigheter har opplyst dokumentasjon for foreleggelse i sine hjemland ifra de tilhører trosretningene ahmadiyya, som mer fundamentalistiske muslimmer regner som vantro.

Fleire skal onsdag ha satt seg på busser for å dra til hovedstaden Colombo, men de ombestemte seg da de fikk råd om å bli værende på grunn av sikkerhetssituasjonen. Muslimiske ledere har uttrykt tvil omstendighetene fra angrepet, og de vil heller ikke begrave gjerningspersonene, melder NTB.

individual's and other attacker's life, so a reader could find out that one of them was the son of a so-called *king of spices*. A lot of information in this article came from Petter Nesser, who is a researcher in the Norwegian Defense Research Establishment. Nesser stated that the attacker helped in building a mosque and was an entrepreneur who, due to many crises in life, fell under the process of radicalization. *Han ser ut til å ha vært karismatisk og imponerte folk ved å snakke flytende arabisk.* (He seems to have been charismatic and impressed people by speaking Arabic fluently). Information about this individual was so broad that all nations knew who he was and what he was doing. However, the fact that his attack was announced, and no one knew or reacted was impressive.

Such confusion of various information flow, including this media, was compromising the understanding of what was happening and why. Bigotry was increasing, as this article mentioned in the end. *Søker tilflukt i moskeer - I går søkte hundrevis av muslimer på øya tilflukt i moskeer og på en politistasjon etter at de er blitt trakassert som følge av terrorangrepene i påsken.* (Seeking refuge in mosques — Yesterday, hundreds of Muslims on the island sought refuge in mosques and at a police station after being harassed as a result of the Easter attacks).

On the right side of the article, the author published a photograph (source unknown; probably Reuters or NTB), of one alleged suicide bomber who was carrying a backpack. *Den ene selvmordsbomberen ble fanget opp av et overvåkingskamera i Negombo. Han bærer på en tung ryggsekk, men ingen stopper ham. Han sprengte seg selv inne i kirkerommet, som var fullt av mennesker.* (One suicide bomber was captured by a Negombo surveillance camera. He carries on a heavy backpack, but no one stops him. He blasted himself



inside the church room, which was full of people.). This photograph and this statement seem legit at first glance. However, there were many questions after analyzing it. Firstly, the photograph of the perpetrator's face was additionally blurred. Of course, as a photograph from video surveillance, it is heavily pixelated, but compared to other faces, there was something slightly different. Hiding the identity of the other perpetrators was not just the media's issue in general, but the question for sources that were providing many details, but not essential information, such as identities.

Moreover, it is quite evident that some things were additionally removed and edited on the photograph as there are many blurred areas in the bottom right corner. On the other hand, the mentioned sentence is also questionable: Why would anyone stop him if he appears to be an ordinary person? Was any part of his body found, and why was not his identity revealed? Besides that, it wasn't clear if the person from this photograph was also in that group photograph. Finally, this was not just a question of photo manipulation but the manipulation of information as well.

This article could easily give a sense of fear, especially while looking at the photograph of the assumed group and confirmed perpetrator. The primary colors of the article were black and white, even the photograph of the author, which, to some extent, insinuates subconsciously even more racial diversity as two different opposite colors, cultures or religions.

8.3. VG

I. Article 1

VG published an article on 22nd April 2019, on pages 6-9. From the title of the article it was clear that what happened in Sri Lanka on Easter was a terrorist massacre as the attackers chose an important day for Christians. The published photograph showed additional religious connotations. Many people gathered around covered dead bodies that were lying on the ruins of roof tiles. They were standing on some carpets, probably to walk around more easily and identify bodies. Besides the army or police officers, there was also a priest who was looking at covered dead bodies in disbelief. He was holding another man's hand, probably in shock, and needed comfort. Other few people around them were recording and taking photos of what was happening at the moment. This scenario from this particular place was one of the most common places that the media used while publishing photographs along with information. In the article, red bolded subtitles were mostly negative connotations: *attacks, tragedies*.

On the third page of this article, the photograph was showing the same woman that appeared on Aftenposten's front page. The picture was showing visible grief, sadness, and despair. The woman was held by two others, a man and a woman. She was wearing a red T-shirt which, to some extent, could intensify the meaning of death, blood, and danger. This message was supported by additional photographs below.

TERROR PÅ SRI LANKA



UTROSTELIG: En støtning til et offer for eksplosjonen i kirken St. Anthony's Shrine i Colombo, Sri Lanka. Foto: Reuters



SPECIAL: STYRKERE: Undersøker et hus etter at en person har sprunget seg selv og tre politibliktuttatte i Koochchilade, Colombo, Sri Lanka. Foto: DANA



TRAGEDIEN: Døds angrep ble kåret til av St. Anthony's Church-offiser. Her av flere bombekjøperinger i Sri Lanka går. Foto: DANA

Sri Lanka ble det kasserte stien og kinnputter på kirkeveien som ville gjennomføres en godkjenning i Anuradhapura.

Advarer mot angrep
Landets øverste politifører advarte for bare to dager siden om å være klar over muligheten for angrep, spesielt i kirker og andre religiøse ansettelser i Colombo. Ifølge sikkerhetsrådgiveren som er leder for AFP i Sri Lanka, er det en stor trussel mot kirker og andre religiøse ansettelser i Colombo, spesielt i Colombo, og det er viktig å være oppmerksom.

Det er per nå ingen tydelig angreiser og ikke noe tydelig bevis, men det er klart at det er angreiser som er i ferd med å bli utført, sier han.

En annen av landets fremste Sri Lanka kjenner professor i politikk og sosial vitenskap i Colombo, ifølge sikkerhetsrådgiveren som er leder for AFP i Sri Lanka, er det en stor trussel mot kirker og andre religiøse ansettelser i Colombo, spesielt i Colombo, og det er viktig å være oppmerksom.

Erna Solberg skremt
Chieftensminister i Den britiske Commonwealthen er til VG at hun opplever at frykten igjen skal bli rådd på Sri Lanka. Hun sier på Twitter at hun er glad for at det er ingen direkte trusler mot de til familien i Commonwealthen på Sri Lanka for å forberede seg om et eller var å skilte.

Jeg er som for oss. Det er så trist. Det var skremt etter Sri Lanka ikke trenger, sier hun.

Erna Solberg er medlem av den britiske regjeringen og er leder for den britiske regjeringen. Hun har tidligere vært medlem av den britiske regjeringen. Hun har tidligere vært medlem av den britiske regjeringen. Hun har tidligere vært medlem av den britiske regjeringen.



ANGREPER: Like før klokken 06.00 ble det meldt om en bombe-eksplosjon i kirken St. Anthony's i Batticaloa i Colombo sørvest på Sri Lanka.

Like før klokken 06.30 ble det meldt om en tredje eksplosjon i nærheten av luksushotellene Kingsbury, Shangri-la og Dharmapala i Hotell i Colombo.

Etter angrepet ble Cinnamon Grand hotell i Colombo også rammet av eksplosjonen. Hotellet skifter navn på sin Twitter-konto at eksplosjonen gikk av i en restaurant i hotellets første etasje.

Kort tid etter ble det meldt om en tredje eksplosjon i kirken St. Sebastian i byen Negombo. Det har også vært en eksplosjon i en kirke i byen Batticaloa.

Hjelp utvalgte medlemmer utvalgte eksplosjonsramme i kirken under påbegynnelse.

© 2009 TONY FRANKLIN

DU FANT
GULLLÅTTEN
IVG
Color Line quillbode 2008

SEND FØLGENDE SMS TIL 2424: GULL 2008
Tjenesten koster 1 kr

colorline.no | 22 94 42 00

Hurtig og komfortabel til Danmark

VG
Color Line SuperSpeed

Another perspective that was given by sources was about the nationalities of the victims who were either killed or survived the attacks: *Amerikanere, briter, tyskere og portugisere skal være blant dem, inkludert tre dansker.* (Americans, British, Germans and Portuguese should be among them, including three Danes). Information about other nationalities such as Pakistani, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and Polish was not mentioned. One of the sources (Professor Indra de Soysa) acknowledged for VG the fact that no one knew for sure who was behind the attacks, and that everything could have been just an assumption. *Hadde det vært muslimske militante grupper, hadde de tatt på seg ansvaret for lenge siden. Jeg tror ikke man skal legge for mye i at det er kristne som rammes. Jeg tror de er valgt, fordi de er relativt lette mål og som kan gi mange drepte, sier han.* (If that were Muslim's militant groups, they would have taken on the responsibility a long time ago. I don't think that emphasis should be too much on the fact that Christians are affected. I think they are chosen because they are relatively easy targets that can end up with many killed individuals, he says.). On the other hand, on the second page in the right corner, the authors mentioned information from Sri Lanka's defense minister. *Sri Lankas forsvarsminister Ruwan Wijewardene kaller dagens angrep i landet for «terrorisme», og mener det er religiøse ekstremister som står bak.* (Sri Lanka's Defense Minister Ruwan Wijewardene

calls today's attack in the country "terrorism" and believes that religious extremists are behind it.). Source did not mention which religious extremists, as if there was a stereotypical association with specifically Islamic religion.

A unique paragraph was about Erna Solberg's reaction, including opinion - *Det gir jo det som er skjedd en ekstra dimensjon. Tankene går først og fremst til familier og myndigheter, til alle som er berørt. For Sri Lanka, et land som har opplevd så mange år med borgerkrig, og som i 10 år nå forsiktig har gjenoppbygget en fred og levelig sikkerhetssituasjon, er dette et vanskelig tilbakeslag, sier Solberg.* (It gives an extra dimension to what has happened. The thoughts go first and foremost to families and authorities, to all concerned. For Sri Lanka, a country that has experienced so many years of civil war, and which for ten years has now gently rebuilt a peace and level security situation, this is a severe setback, says Solberg.)

Most information in the article was presenting the attack on specifically one church, while there were no sources about attacks on different locations, such as hotels. There was only one short information from a Norwegian man who was two kilometers away from the luxurious hotels. *Norske Marius Danielsen (33) befant seg midt i kaoset på Sri Lanka, kun to kilometer fra et av luksushotellene som ble rammet av eksplosjonene. - Det føles uvirkelig, sier han til VG. - Vi hører sirener og helikopter som flyr over oss. Det virker kaotisk, og alt føles uvirkelig.* (Norwegian Marius Danielsen, 33, was in the midst of the chaos in Sri Lanka, just two kilometers from one of the luxurious hotels that were hit by the explosions. It feels unreal, he tells to VG. We hear sirens and helicopters flying over us. It seems chaotic, and everything feels unreal.).

II. Article 2

The second article I will focus on was published on 24th April 2019, on page 9, about the perpetrators. The authors highlighted again that the news was about the apparent terror that happened in Sri Lanka. However, most information in this article were assumptions. First, the information mentioned in the title: *IS HEVDER Å STÅ BAK* (IS CLAIMS TO BE BACK), was later in the text explained differently: *IS ga ingen bevis - Senere på dagen kom IS med en offisiell erklæring der de tar på seg skylden for angrepene. Terrorgruppen har imidlertid ikke lagt frem bevis for at de faktisk står bak ugjerningene.* (IS gave no evidence - Later on the same

day, IS made an official statement taking responsibility for the attacks. However, the terrorist group has not presented any evidence that they support the crimes).

VG wrote that the attackers were *alleged* ones. They wrote that not only in the text but also under the biggest image of the article where eight persons are posing: *Deler propagandabilde av påståtte angripere* (Shares propaganda image of alleged attackers). VG also wrote: *I midten står en mann uten maske, angivelig er dette hatpredikanten Zahran Hashim. Ifølge SITE hevder IS at de åtte på bildet står bak angrepene.* (In the middle stands a man without a mask;

apparently, this is the hate preacher Zahran Hashim. According to SITE, IS claims that the eight in the picture are behind the attacks.). On the other hand, the authors also posted information that Reuters was the one who received information about the planned attacks ten days earlier. However, some media were mentioning AFP: *Nyhetsbyrået Reuters har tidligere omtalt en etterretningsrapport som skal ha advart om angrep på kirker i Sri Lanka* (The Reuters news agency has previously cited an intelligence report warning of attacks on churches in Sri Lanka). This was also rejected and not confirmed by the Sri Lankan's president and prime minister. However, the Sri Lankan's defence minister stated that this attack was revenge for attacks that had happened in New Zealand. *Sri Lankas forsvarsminister sier at den foreløpige etterforskningen viser at terrorangrepet var hevn for angrepet på to moskeer i Christchurch på New Zealand.* (Sri Lanka's defence minister says a preliminary investigation shows the terrorist attack was revenge for the attack on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand.). The authors did not investigate what *preliminary investigation* means, and the minister did not elaborate on what he meant by that. Therefore, this article was full of speculations and

9

TERROREN PÅ SRI LANKA

IS HEVDER Å STÅ BAK



TERRORENE I Sri Lanka ble utført av åtte personer som skal ha stått bak angrepene på kirker i Sri Lanka. I midten står angivelig hatpredikanten Zahran Hashim. De andre er påståtte angripere. (Foto: AFP)

TERRORENE I Sri Lanka ble utført av åtte personer som skal ha stått bak angrepene på kirker i Sri Lanka. I midten står angivelig hatpredikanten Zahran Hashim. De andre er påståtte angripere. (Foto: AFP)

Deler propagandabilde av påståtte angripere

Av: MIVOLD BILSETH, HANNA HANIS ROSELT, SIBIR EGGEN og AMUND RANKE FOSS

Både presidenten og statsministeren i Sri Lanka hevder de aldri fikk etterretningsrapporten som skal ha advart om angrep på kirker.

Myndighetene mener at det er islamistgruppen National Thowheed Jamath som står bak de brutale angrepene første påskedag, hvor minst 321 ble drept. Flere utenlandske medier har tidligere skrevet at islamistgruppen varnet om angrep 4. april år.

I går sarges samlet over tusen sørgende seg i St. Sebastian-kirken i Colombo, nord for hovedstaden

Colombo. Det var her én av de fire første selvmedlingsangrepene som rammet landet medens samtlige gikk av under påskedagen som ble den 8. 4. søndag morgentid lokal tid. Bare her døde over 100 mennesker, og i alle ble det hørt massebebreivelser.

IS ga ingen bevis

Senere på dagen kom IS med en offisiell erklæring der de tar på seg skylden for angrepene. Terrorgruppen har imidlertid ikke lagt frem bevis for at de faktisk står bak angrepene.

I erklæringen nevner IS syv personer som de hevder står bak angrepene og de skriver at «omkring 2000 ble drept og skadet, ifølge SITE, som overvåker IS og andre ytre-religiøse, islamistiske grupperinger».

Kort tid etterpå publiserte IS propagandabilde åtte personer som

og et bilde som viser syv maskerte menns statuer. En av IS flagg. I midten står en mann uten maske, angivelig er dette hatpredikanten Zahran Hashim. Ifølge SITE hevder IS at de åtte på bildet står bak angrepene.

Zahran Hashim skal ha blitt utpekt av en britisk etterretning som hjernen bak de brutale angrepene.

Ifølge den britiske avisen The Telegraph, skal han i løpet av de siste årene ha fått tusenvis av følgere på sosiale medier, hvor han har holdt flammende innlegg og oppfordret til vold.

- Advart om terror

Nyhetsbyrået Reuters har tidligere omtalt en etterretningsrapport som skal ha advart om angrep på kirker i Sri Lanka. Nå sier president Maithripala Sirisena at han aldri fikk rapporten.

Statsminister Reuters at statism

ister Ravi Wickremesinghe ikke hadde fått informasjon om angrepene, på grunn av en feilaktig melding om angrep fra statsminister Sirisena.

I går ettermiddag sa presidenten at heller ikke han visste om etterretningsrapporten, og at han så forventer å høre ut forsvaret delene i løpet av det neste døgnet, ifølge nyhetsbyrået.

- Hevnet Christchurch

Statsministeren sa under et pressemøte i går at han mener angrepene kunne ha vært avverget.

- Vi kunne ha unngått disse angrepene - eller i det minste redusert antallet angrep, sa Wickremesinghe.

Sri Lankas forsvarsminister sier at den foreløpige etterforskningen viser at terrorangrepet var hevn for angrep på to moskeer i Christchurch på New Zealand.

- Den foreløpige etterforskningen viser at det som skjedde på Sri Lanka sannsynligvis var hevn for angrepet mot muslimer i Christchurch, sa Ravi Wickremesinghe til nasjonalforsamlingen i Colombo.

The Guardian skriver at bakgrunnen blant annet er et etterretningsrapport som har sikret i regjeringen i løpet av angrepet. Der står det angivelig at en av de mistenkte selvmedlingsangreper skal ha startet å legge ut «ekstremistisk innhold» på sosiale medier i etterkant av massedrapene på New Zealand, hvor 50 personer ble drept for fem uker siden.

Søndag påpeker den britiske avisen at flere terrorforskere mener forberedelse til Sri Lanka-terroristen må ha latt flere måneder.

hanna.hanis.roselt@vg.no
mivold.bilseth@vg.no
amund.ranke.foss@vg.no

allegations that were not based on available evidence. Moreover, Aftenposten was forwarding this information without verification.

On the other hand, VG posted three photographs that were strengthening this religious bigotry. The main focus was on a photograph of eight alleged attackers where four of them were holding knives. Above that, there were two smaller photographs, but with slightly highlighted symbols: a cross and a church. The cross was part of a coffin and, in the background, was a grieving family. The second photograph is one from the same church, while people are investigating the damage and covering dead bodies. Just by watching these photographs, it was possible to feel the opposing sides, although journalists offered only assumptions.

9. Interpretation of Results

This part of the thesis will interpret the results while combining both newspapers' coverage of both attacks in regards to the theoretical perspective. Also, it will answer the established set of sub-questions as a sum-up of both cases.

Firstly, the fact that there was a difference in publishing both attacks on front-pages shows different priorities in both newspaper's agenda. Aftenposten's front-page covered New Zealand's attack under the radar and almost only out of necessity. On the other hand, VG, as a tabloid, found both topics irresistible, setting them high on the agenda. In both cases, newspapers were shaping, more or less, a reader's understanding of massacres.

On average, both VG and Aftenposten published articles regarding the two terror attacks in the first pages of the *news* section. Both newspapers frequently used features/reportages while writing about the attacks, but, in terms of New Zealand's attacks, Aftenposten had a more significant number of commentaries. Features/reportages in both cases gave a more intimate and in-depth approach to attacks. Native Norwegian authors wrote most of the articles; only while reporting on New Zealand's attacks, Aftenposten had a few foreign Norwegian citizens writing commentaries. These commentaries were mostly about the fear and uncertainty of Norwegian Muslims in society, rather than in New Zealand. A base of these commentaries was mainly awakened fear and memories from the 2011 Oslo attacks. These commentaries were mostly half-page or one-page length, while, in the case of native Norwegian authors, they were the size of one or two pages. VG followed a similar pattern, with two pages on average, for both attacks. As for titles, Aftenposten had in majority nominative titles while covering New

Zealand's attacks. However, in the case of Sri Lankan's attacks, Aftenposten used more commercial/sensationalistic titles followed by a few of nominative ones. VG included more commercial/sensationalistic titles in New Zealand's coverage, but, in Sri Lankan's, VG adopted a more serious approach and wrote nominative titles, along with few commercialistic ones. Both newspapers in both cases included photographs. However, in Aftenposten's coverage of both attacks, the size of photographs was in the majority less than half a page. Regarding VG, the photographs were larger as they were published in the majority on half or more than half a page.

While covering both attacks, Aftenposten and VG included many sources within the text. They both relied mostly on information from first-hand sources. Nevertheless, the articles about New Zealand's attacks in Aftenposten included more personal impressions. Impressions were primarily from people who live there, rather than those who were directly affected by the attacks. The sources were predominantly males, and they provided mainly information about attacks or opinion-based information. Yet, in the coverage of New Zealand's attacks, VG included both genders equally as sources. In both newspapers and coverage, female sources were providing solutions or steps that society could do to improve. They were more empathic.

Aftenposten's journalists were future-oriented while writing about New Zealand's attacks, while VG's wrote more about the attacks and anything that could have been connected to them. They were trying to represent every moment and aspect of massacres, while very few articles were history-oriented and connected the attacks to Breivik's. However, regarding Sri Lankan's attacks, both Aftenposten and VG were writing articles that were in the vast majority explicitly linked to the attacks.

How were the perpetrator and victims portrayed in VG and Aftenposten?

Eliss and Muller (2019) noticed a difference between New Zealand's and Australian media coverage in which the *proximity filter* had an essential role in framing these attacks. The same would apply in the case of Aftenposten and VG for both attacks. Concerning New Zealand's attacks, Aftenposten was not highly interested in either the perpetrator or victims. Aftenposten left the perpetrator faceless, as they did not include any identification besides his full name and political views, which were based on his manifesto. The journalists also did not have a specific approach in representing the attacker. However, some articles showed that the general approach of the author was negative. Aftenposten published only one photograph of the attacker with his hand showing a gesture of the *white supremacist ideology*. Therefore, their focus was mostly

based on a fascination with *white supremacist ideology*. They were distasteful and invited a reader to try that symbol too, as if it was a fun game.

Moreover, in this specific article, the authors even described the perpetrator as *an alleged* one. Another focus of Aftenposten was on *self-identified victims* in Norway. They were afraid of how this would impact their status in society, as it had awakened their emotions from 2011 when they were stigmatized by society (Andersson, 2012). This fear could also be connected to the finding which Figenschou and Beyer's research revealed that ethnic minorities were not included in debates in the aftermath of 2011's terror, which was evaluated as quite negative (Figenschou, Beyer, 2014, pp. 439). Perhaps, that was the reason why Aftenposten provided so much space for commentaries written by a foreign Norwegian journalists. However, it would be interesting to see if the frame or meaning of the commentaries would have a different value if native Norwegian journalists had written them.

Regarding Sri Lanka, Aftenposten identified the perpetrators by their religion, and also ideology. Still, the general approach of the author was neutral, probably as there was not enough information at that time. Aftenposten published only one photograph of the perpetrators, a few days after the attacks. Expectedly, due to lack of information about the perpetrators, Aftenposten focused on the representation of victims and providing shocking instead of empathic representation, as it could be seen in the multimodal part in this thesis.

On the other hand, VG's reporting was somehow similar to the Australian media (Eliss, Muller, 2019). They were fascinated by the attacker and identified him, on the very first day, using all possible information, from his full name to manifesto and photographs from the streaming video. As they followed the Australian media, they published the mentioned interview with his grandmother. Influenced by his manifesto and the Australian representation of his life, it could be said that VG let the perpetrator build his image precisely as he wanted. At the same time, indirectly justifying his actions, as the interview with his grandmother gave an emotional, even empathic approach. In this interview, journalists did not go as far as the Daily Mail. However, they did use the memorable framing technique of contrast in which they compared Tarrant's action with the death of his father and the life he led before traveling to Eastern countries. It was interesting to see that his mass shootings were indirectly connected to his travels in Eastern countries as if the East radicalized him just by going there. When it comes to the victims, VG's journalists included a frame of a long heroic story as well as a cover page about two victims who were able to *stop the attacker*. This kind of representation could also be understood as if

they were heroes and should be honored for their independency that did not need additional help from society. However, in the Sri Lankan's case, VG's journalists were building a narrative around photographs. The focus was mostly on empathy with the victims—fear, uncertainty, and shock to the smallest details. The victims needed solidarity, and their grief needed to be visible. VG followed Aftenposten's tendency to describe the attackers by their religion, while the general approach was negative.

In general, the descriptions of victims were connected mostly to grief in all cases. However, publishing photographs of the victims was something else. Both newspapers were glorifying fear and highlighting pain by publishing particular photographs. In the case of New Zealand's attacks, Aftenposten published only one photograph of victims. On the other hand, VG published four images of horror, such as a dead body lying on the floor, people's grief, etc.

Regarding the Sri Lankan's attacks, Aftenposten published three photographs of the victims, whereas VG published four. As mentioned in the multimodal part, photographs of Sri Lankan victims were packed with emotions and despair. As Safi (2019) explained, the media was indeed granted access to the intimacy of the worst days of their lives. Both newspapers felt comfortable enough to publish and distribute these photographs.

Is VG's and Aftenposten's reporting *pro-terrorist* or *anti-terrorist*?

This research could be an excellent example of the symbiosis between the mass media and terrorism, especially in terms of New Zealand's attacks. To Tarrant, the media was indeed an essential tactic, a fundamental requirement (Carruthers, 2011, pp. 177). He did not only use social media, but in an old school approach, he also wrote a manifesto that was the focus of many mainstream media, including Aftenposten and VG. In Sri Lankan's attacks, both newspapers were encouraging and endorsing terrorism by romanticizing and glamourizing it over and over again (Archetti, 2015, pp. 135–137). However, both newspapers did not provide that much space to terrorism, but they showed another symbiosis of terrorism and politics (English, 2010, pp. 8-9). Both VG and Aftenposten let the Sri Lankan government's assumptions lead the narrative, which was later shown as a bad idea since many assumptions were unsworn or unverified.

To sum up, in the majority, Aftenposten and VG showed a pro-terrorist approach in their coverage. Only in Sri Lanka's attacks, Aftenposten was closer to a neutral attitude. However, the focus of these articles varied. VG's articles were very focused on the attacks. They were in the moment of reporting, and as they wanted to get closer to the attacks, they even sent

journalists to cover the topic directly from the field. They were repeatedly showing the same information and photographs, making sure that their readers noticed and memorized every single detail, as they published quite graphic photographs.

On the other hand, besides the primary information about New Zealand's attacks, Aftenposten had in vast majority more articles focusing on different topics, such as analyzing the *white supremacy* ideology. In Sri Lanka's attacks, Aftenposten included more articles with a focus on political connections to the attack, which was based on various assumptions provided by the Sri Lankan government. According to these findings, the newspapers were not successful in delivering their fundamental role, and connected to Galtung's *war journalism*s; *journalists* were violence-oriented by using distinguishing pronouns such as *them* and *us*. Regarding Sri Lanka's attacks, both newspapers included a piece about a Danish family who lost their children in the attacks. By doing so, they made this quite personal for any Nordic citizen, even though the attack was as far as possible from the Nordic region.

Moreover, the journalists were focusing on the visible effects of violence, and both newspapers' articles focused on attacks in the church. Such focus had a significant religious frame, as Muslims performed the attacks against Christians. If we take into consideration that VG sent their journalists to the field, they could have reported from a few different places of the attacks, including hotels. Generally speaking, this place of attack was the focus of most media.

In all cases, the general description of attacks was as *uncivilized evil*. This frame was used in both attacks, as the perpetrators were presented as monstrous and second-class human beings who were somehow rejected by society (Kappeler, 2004, pp. 182). Both attacks were evaluated negatively, as a result of following extreme ideologies. On the other hand, in New Zealand's attacks, Aftenposten provided either no general description or description of the attacks as a crime (Spencer, 2012). This kind of narrative was mostly a result of Ardern's quotes about changes in gun laws, along with various commentaries from foreign Norwegian authors. They were asking for solidarity and understanding of their positions in Norwegian society.

Is the amount of dishonest and inadequate reporting different in VG compared to Aftenposten?

When it comes to dishonest and inadequate reporting, it is crucial to highlight a few issues that came along while analyzing these articles. Firstly, while reporting on New Zealand's attacks, both newspapers used the manifesto to describe the perpetrator. Very few media outlets, including The New York Times (Ingber, 2019), did not want to use the manifesto or video as

the former was written in a way to trick and manipulate both the press and public. The glorification of a terrorist and his ideas has not been done only by VG publishing graphics parts of the video and text from the manifesto, but also Aftenposten's representation of the *white supremacist ideology* in which they actively included a reader to participate. As mentioned, New Zealand's media asked their outlets to exclude such reporting in the future.

Secondly, while reporting on Sri Lankan's attacks, the amount of assumptions has been considerably high and, as such inadequate. Many information could not be verified, and even though both newspapers used words that could determine something is an assumption, including such information in the text, can be quite influential on readers. Unlike journalists, readers cannot distinguish an *assumption* from *far-away actuality*. Written information will be taken for granted as news is being consumed and replaced quickly. The explanation of the events was not based on the context, but purely on assumptions.

Moreover, these assumptions came from the Sri Lankan government, which reflected their geopolitical landscape, and the majority of media outlets followed these assumptions, including them in subtitles and keywords, for example, as an act of *revenge*. Thirdly, both newspapers used terms such as *terror attack* and *terrorist* in most articles, compared to words that were more specific in describing the action of the perpetrators (BBC, 2019). However, in other cases, both newspapers used terms such as *mass killing*, or a *monstrous act* when reporting on New Zealand's attacks. When reporting about Sri Lankan's attacks, both were using words such as *radicalized* to describe the perpetrators. The focus of a narrative was on their financial and educational status.

The reason why both newspapers inclined to inadequate and dishonest reporting starts in significant usage of assumptions and terms without caution, especially while impressions were still new. As Dvorkin (2003) explained, events should be described with accuracy and fairness that the public will judge according to their understanding and choice.

Another dishonest approach was followed while reporting about Sri Lankan victims, both by Aftenposten and VG, as they indeed acted as masters of "mourning ceremony" (Jørndrup, 2016, pp. 95). Following the Independent Press Standards Organization code, which was mentioned earlier, both newspapers weren't successful as they were intruding into grief/shock and had a questionable moral of decency (News Associates, 2017). The presented photographs were showing the lowest points of the emotional state of the victims' families and their weakness tapped into by the journalists of Aftenposten and VG. Finally, including pieces such as

interviews with members of a perpetrator's family can cause only unexpected empathy and misunderstanding of the consequences that a person left behind, without getting proper information narrowly connected to the attacks.

Does VG's and Aftenposten's reporting on this topic fit into the context of global standardization of coverage?

Following the *global script*, Aftenposten and VG had a negative evaluation of the attacks and the perpetrator. However, as mentioned, there have been some dishonest and inadequate reporting, which could influence the public's overall assessment of New Zealand's attacker. As for the victims, their innocence was presented the same way as in Gerhards and Schafer's (2013) research. However, when reading more detailed articles, representation had its slight varieties compared to the mentioned research. There were no offered solutions, except those mentioned in the commentaries written by foreign Norwegians. However, generally speaking, Aftenposten and VG did not show any significant differences from mentioned global standardization coverage.

As for solutions, only Aftenposten included in great majority solutions to society regarding New Zealand's attacks. These solutions were provided mostly by foreign Norwegians, who were actually in fear of society. On the other hand, another primary source of solutions was New Zealand's Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern, who based her solutions on changes in gun laws.

10. Conclusion

Theoretically, the Nordic media model represents a media system deliberated of political or profit influences with a high level of journalistic professionalism. However, currencies in the world are influencing their position. After Breivik's attacks in 2011, the perspective of terrorism in the Nordic media has changed. It left a visible trace on society, especially for minorities, which also reflected on this research.

Regarding the main research question as to *how the coverage of Aftenposten and VG in both attacks compares*, this thesis has shown that there were differences in the reporting on New Zealand's and Sri Lankan's terror attacks.

Aftenposten held its objective approach while reporting on New Zealand's attacks. They gave voice to minorities in commentaries, and they were quite careful in the representation of the perpetrator. However, there were several traps in which Aftenposten befell. Mainly, those were: writing an entire article on *white supremacy*, not including New Zealand attacks on the front pages, and covering attacks in a neutral and slightly negative way. Moreover, the seriousness of the whole situation was not recognized by the Norwegian government; rather, only Norwegian minorities.

VG, on the other hand, introduced all aspects of the attack straightforwardly combining text and photographs. Like any other tabloid, VG mostly built narrative around photographs. VG's journalists gave a face to this terror according to the perpetrator's videos and manifesto. They brought parts of the streaming video and showed the weapons and a few other details that were not necessarily important for the reader's knowledge and evaluation of this attack. They stirred the memories of the public using frames of telling the victim's heroic stories. These kinds of cover pages and articles were having an inevitable psychological impact on readers, at least as waking up memories from 2011.

Aftenposten's coverage of the Sri Lankan's attacks was quite different compared to New Zealand's. For instance, they pushed this story high on the agenda. Aftenposten published information on two front pages in the tabloid-style. They followed assumptions given by the Sri Lankan government, taking geopolitical context for granted without verifying information. Moreover, the severity of these attacks was highlighted by the Norwegian prime minister, who was more expressive in her vocabulary and impressions. She was included in the articles and condemned attacks. Similar to that, VG bared the victims' suffering and grief, following the

same pattern of reporting as Aftenposten's. Both newspapers intruded into victims' lives, taking for granted their welcoming culture and current vulnerability.

Although there was no unique improvement in either newspaper compared to the *global standardization of coverage* and there was a visible difference in setting both attacks on different levels of the newspaper's agenda, both VG and Aftenposten showed few strengths. Both were slightly more careful with the words used while describing the attackers. An advantage could be seen in including minorities in commentaries and providing them space for their voices to be heard.

Aftenposten showed enviable objectivity, while VG sent their journalists to the place of the attacks to get first-hand information. However, similar to any other media system, VG and Aftenposten seem to struggle with covering such events as attacks. There is a notable opportunity for improvement and reviving the Nordic media system values even in such circumstances as terror attacks.

The purpose of this research was to give an overview of how one smaller segment of the Nordic media system is handling coverage of terrorism. Led by curiosity and recency, these undiscovered parts of the academic world might give valuable knowledge and serve to someone as a direction for future and more detailed studies. On a more social level, the purpose of this thesis was to provide an understanding to a reader about existing stigmatizations and concerns within Norwegian society that have been present since the Oslo attacks in 2011. Certain minorities suffer from such ignorance because the media's way of storytelling is often disturbed and influenced by political currencies in the country. As an essential pillar of democracy, the media should not prioritize profit and politics at the expense of acceptance and coexistence, and as several media houses showed - that is possible.

11. References

ABC News. (2019, March 17). PM's office received shooter's manifesto minutes before attack. Retrieved June 8, 2020, from <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-03-17/jacinda-ardern-christchurch-shooter-manifesto-email/10909874>

Adaderana. (2019, April 22). Attacks carried out by suicide bombers, Govt. Analyst confirms. Retrieved June 8, 2020, from <http://www.adaderana.lk/news/54531/attacks-carried-out-by-suicide-bombers-govt-analyst-confirms>

Alexander Spencer (2012) 'The Social Construction of Terrorism: Media, Metaphor and Policy Implications', *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Vol. 15, No. 3, pp. 393-419

Al Jazeera. (2019, July 24). Sri Lankan investigator: No ISIL link to Easter bombings. Retrieved June 8, 2020, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/07/sri-lankan-investigator-isil-link-easter-bombings-190724134531830.html>

Andersson, M. (2012). The debate about multicultural Norway before and after 22 July 2011. *Identities: Relaunch Issue: Mapping Identities*, 19(4), 418-427.

Archetti, C. (2015) "Terrorism, Communication and the Media," in C. Kennedy-Pipe, G. Clubb and S. Mabon (eds) *Terrorism and Political Violence* (London: Sage), pp. 134-152.

Archetti, C. (2015) "Terrorism, Communication and the Media," in C. Kennedy-Pipe, G. Clubb and S. Mabon (eds) *Terrorism and Political Violence* (London: Sage), pp. 134-152.

Arudpragasam Anuk (22 May 2019). A State of Disorientation: Dispatch from Sri Lanka after the Easter Bombings. Retrieved May 7 2020 from <https://time.com/5593101/dispatch-sri-lanka-easter-bombings/>

BBC (n.d.). Terrorism: Language when Reporting Terrorism - Guidance in Full - Editorial Guidelines. Retrieved January 24, 2019, from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/editorialguidelines/guidance/terrorism-language/guidance-full>

BBC. BSection 11: War, Terror and Emergencies - Guidelines - Editorial Guidelines. (n.d.). Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://www.bbc.com/editorialguidelines/guidelines/war-terror-emergencies/guidelines#useoflanguage>

BBC. (2019, April 23). Sri Lanka attacks: Authorities face scrutiny over advance warnings. Retrieved June 8, 2020, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-48016994>

BBC. (2019, April 28). Sri Lanka attacks: What we know about the Easter bombings. Retrieved June 8, 2020, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-48010697>

BBC. (2019, April 26). US woman wrongly identified as Sri Lanka attack suspect. Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-48061811>

- BBC. (2019, March 15). Christchurch shootings: 49 dead in New Zealand mosque attacks. Retrieved June 8, 2020, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-47578798>
- BBC. (2019, March 21). Christchurch shootings: 'Bad actors' helped attack videos spread online. Retrieved June 8, 2020, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-47652308>
- BBC. (2019, March 19). Facebook: New Zealand attack video viewed 4,000 times. Retrieved June 8, 2020, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-47620519>
- Borer, T. A. (2012). *Media, mobilization, and human rights: Mediating suffering*. London: Zed Books.
- Brenna, J. G., Fraser, S., & Ording, O. (2019, August 11). Dette vet vi om gjerningsmannen. Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/70ybR9/dette-vet-vi-om-gjerningsmannen>
- Butko, T. J. (2009, April 03). Four Perspectives on Terrorism: Where They Stand Depends on Where You Sit. Retrieved February 11, 2019, from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1478-9299.2009.00178.x>
- Carruthers, S. L. (2011). *The media at war* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means (2000). *The TRANSCEND Method* by Professor Johan Galtung. UN publication
- Cui, X., & Rothenbuhler, E. (2018). Communicating Terror: Mediatization and Ritualization. *Television & New Media*, 19(2), 155-162.
- DeAngelis, T. (2009, November). Understanding terrorism. Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://www.apa.org/monitor/2009/11/terrorism>
- Deutsche Welle. (2019, December 11). Sri Lanka sees a slow revival of tourism after Easter Sunday attacks: DW: 11.12.2019. Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://www.dw.com/en/sri-lanka-sees-a-slow-revival-of-tourism-after-easter-sunday-attacks/a-51624931>
- Dvorkin A. Jeffrey. (2003). Reporting on Terrorism: Choosing Our Words Carefully, 37 U. Rich. L. Rev. 811-817
- English, R. (2010). *Terrorism: How to respond*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Entman, R. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.
- Erin Kearns, Allison Betus, and Anthony Lemieux, "Why Do Some Terrorist Attacks Receive More Media Attention Than Others?" SSRN.com (2017).
- Ethirajan, A. (2019, May 11). Sri Lanka attacks: The family networks behind the bombings. Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-48218907>
- Fairclough, N. (2000) *New Labour, New Language*. London: Routledge.

- Fairhurst, G. & Sarr, R. 1996. *The art of Framing*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Figenschou, Tine Ustad & Audun Beyer (2014) The Limits of the Debate: How the Oslo Terror Shook the Norwegian Immigration Debate, *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 19(4): 430–452.
- Framing Theory. (2014, February 18). Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://masscommtheory.com/theory-overviews/framing-theory/>
- Galtung, J. (1998) „Peace Journalism: What, Why, Who, How, When, Where“, paper presented at the workshop „What are Journalists For? TRANSCEND, Taplow Court, 3–6 September.
- Gareeva, K.A. & Bolshakov, A.G. & Ivanov, A.V. & Teryoshina, E.A.. (2016). Threatening symbiosis of mass media and terrorism. 20. 19-24.
- Gavin Ellis & Denis Muller (2020) The proximity filter: the effect of distance on media coverage of the Christchurch mosque attacks, *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*, 15:2, 332-348,
- Gerhards, J., & Schäfer, M. S. (2013). International terrorism, domestic coverage? How terrorist attacks are presented in the news of CNN, Al Jazeera, the BBC, and ARD. *International Communication Gazette*, 76(1), 3–26.
- Gibbons, A. (2010) ‘Narrative worlds and multimodal figures in *House of Leaves*: “-find your own words; I have no more” ’, in Grishakova, M. and Ryan, M-L. (eds) *Intermediality and Storytelling*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp.285-311.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Harvard University Press.
- Grierson, J., & Dodd, V. (2019, March 18). 'Systemic Islamophobia' fuels terror attacks, say Muslim leaders. Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/mar/18/uk-muslim-leaders-see-funding-for-mosque-security>
- Hanif, F. (2019). *State of Media Reporting on Islam and Muslims: Quarterly Report: Oct - Dec 2018*. Centre of Media Monitoring
- Hawi, Diala & Osborne, Danny & Bulbulia, Joseph & Sibley, Chris. (2019). Terrorism Anxiety and Attitudes towards Muslims. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*. 48. 80-89.
- Hovden, Jan Fredrik. (2012). "A journalistic cosmology: a sketch of some social and mental structures of the Norwegian journalistic field." *NORDICOM Review: Nordic Research on Media and Communication*, vol. 33, no. 2, 57-76
- <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-shooting/112352367/christchurch-terror-attack-how-new-zealand-media-will-report-the-trial>

Ighoubah, F. (2019, August 11). Dette vet vi om den drapssiktede Bærums-mannen. Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://www.nettavisen.no/nyheter/dette-vet-vi-om-den-drapssiktede-baerums-mannen/3423826875.html>

Infelise, Mario. "Roman Avvisi: Information and Politics in the Seventeenth Century." *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. 212,214,216–217

Ingber, H. (2019, March 19). The New Zealand Attack Posed New Challenges for Journalists. Here Are the Decisions The Times Made. Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/19/reader-center/new-zealand-media-coverage.html>

Jørndrup, Hanne (2016). News Framing in a Time of Terror. A Study of the Media Coverage of the Copenhagen Shootings. *Nordicom Review*, 37(special issue): 85-99.

Josh Meyer (2006) Media Responsibility during a Terrorist Attack, 38 *Case W. Res. J. Int'l L.* 581 -587.

Krueger, A. B. (2007). *What makes a terrorist: Economics and the roots of terrorism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lance Bennett, W. (1990). Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States. *Journal of Communication*, Volume 40, Issue 2, 103–127.

Laxman, S., & Kesslen, B. (2019, April 23). Sri Lanka bombings were retaliation for Christchurch shooting, defense minister says. Retrieved June 8, 2020, from <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/sri-lanka-bombing-was-retaliation-christchurch-shooting-defense-minister-says-n997391>

Lazreg, Housseem Ben (25 March 2019). The hypocritical media coverage of the New Zealand terror attacks. Retrieved May 7 2020 from <https://theconversation.com/the-hypocritical-media-coverage-of-the-new-zealand-terror-attacks-113713>

Maria Konow Lund & Eva-Karin Olsson (2016) When Routines are Not Enough, *Journalism Practice*, 10:3, 358-372

Matusitz, J. (2013). *Terrorism and communication: A critical introduction*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Meade, A. (2019, March 15). Australian media broadcast footage from Christchurch shootings despite police pleas. Retrieved June 8, 2020, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/15/australian-media-broadcast-footage-from-christchurch-shootings-despite-police-pleas>

Merriam Webster (n.d). The History of the Word 'Terrorism'. Retrieved May 22, 2019, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/history-of-the-word-terrorism>

Milla, M. N. (2020, February 12). Two Sri Lankan bombers are from a rich family. Research explains what motivates them. Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://theconversation.com/two-sri-lankan-bombers-are-from-a-rich-family-research-explains-what-motivates-them-117508>

NZ Herald. (2019, March 17). Christchurch mosque shootings: Gunman livestreamed 17 minutes of shooting terror. Retrieved June 8, 2020, from https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12213076

NZ Herald. (2019, April 22). Security expert says claims Sri Lanka attacks revenge for Christchurch massacre unlikely. Retrieved June 8, 2020, from https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12224355

O'Grady, S. (2019, April 24). Analysis | The Sri Lankan attackers were 'well-educated.' Suicide bombers tend to be, experts say. Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/04/24/sri-lankan-attackers-were-well-educated-suicide-bombers-tend-be-experts-say/>

Ottosen, Rune. (2004). The Norwegian Media Image of the War in Afghanistan. *Conflict & communication online*, Vol. 3, No. 1/2. 1-14

OWEN, H. L. (2019, June 14). As the Christchurch massacre trial begins, New Zealand news orgs vow to keep white supremacist ideology out of their coverage. Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://www.niemanlab.org/2019/06/as-the-christchurch-massacre-trial-begins-new-zealand-news-orgs-vow-to-keep-white-supremacist-ideology-out-of-their-coverage/>

Oxford Dictionary. (n.d.). Terrorism. Retrieved February 8, 2019, from <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/terrorism>

Papacharissi, Z., & de Fatima Oliveira, M. (2008). News Frames Terrorism: A Comparative Analysis of Frames Employed in Terrorism Coverage in U.S. and U.K. Newspapers. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 13(1), 52–74.

Perrigo, B. (2019, April 23). ISIS Claims Responsibility for Sri Lanka Terrorist Attack. Retrieved June 8, 2020, from <https://time.com/5576053/isis-sri-lanka-easter-attack-responsibility/>

Public media alliance. (2019, May 2). Collaboration for responsible coverage in NZ. Retrieved June 8, 2020, from <https://www.publicmediaalliance.org/collaboration-for-responsible-coverage/>

Reuters. New Zealand PM says no intelligence linking Sri Lanka attacks to Christchurch. (2019, April 24). Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-sri-lanka-blasts-newzealand/new-zealand-pm-says-no-intelligence-linking-sri-lanka-attacks-to-christchurch-idUSKCN1RZ2K4>

Safi Michael (25 May 2019). Covering the Sri Lanka attacks: 'It's about giving voices to the victims'. Retrieved May 7 2020 from

<https://www.theguardian.com/membership/2019/may/25/sri-lanka-attacks-voices-victims-coverage>

Seabra, C., Abrantes, J., & Kastenholz, E. (2014). The influence of terrorism risk perception on purchase involvement and safety concern of international travellers. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 30(9-10), 874-903.

Singh, A. V. (2019, October 22). Objective Journalism Doesn't Exist: Opinion: The Harvard Crimson. Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://www.thecrimson.com/column/little-nuances/article/2019/10/22/singh-objective-journalism/>

Slaatta, Tore. (2014). Print versus digital in Norwegian newspapers. *Media, Culture & Society*. 37. 124-133

Stuff. (1 May 2019). Christchurch terror attack: How New Zealand media will report the trial. Retrieved May 7 2020 from

Syvertsen, Trine, Gunn Enli, Ole J. Mjøs and Hallvard Moe (2014), *The Media Welfare State: Nordic Media in the Digital Era*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

The ethics behind the coverage of Westminster's terrorist attack. (2017, March 23). Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://newsassociates.co.uk/ethics-behind-coverage-westminsters-terrorist-attack/>

The New York Times. (2019, April 24). Sri Lanka Attacks: What We Know and Don't Know. Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/24/world/asia/sri-lanka-easter-bombing-attacks.html>

UNESCO. (2017). *Terrorism and the Media: A Handbook for Journalists*. Retrieved January 24, 2019, from <https://en.unesco.org/news/terrorism-and-media-handbook-journalists>

Wakefield, J. (2019, March 16). Christchurch shootings: Social media races to stop attack footage. Retrieved June 8, 2020, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-47583393>

Walters, Laura (25 April 2019). International media drops the ball on Sri Lanka terror coverage. Retrieved May 7 2020 from <https://www.newsroom.co.nz/2019/04/25/552377/international-media-drops-the-ball-on-sri-lanka-terror-coverage>

West, Keon and Lloyd, Joda. 2017. The role of labelling bias in the portrayals of acts of 'terrorism': representations of Muslims versus non-Muslims. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 37(2), pp. 211-222.

Young, M. (2019, March 15). Boy who grew into evil far-right mass killer as 49 murdered at prayers. Retrieved June 1, 2020, from <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/new-zealand-shooting-brenton-tarrant-14142703>

Zraick, K. (2019, December 20). New Zealand Ban on Most Semiautomatic Weapons Takes Effect. Retrieved May 18, 2020, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/20/world/australia/new-zealand-gun-ban.html>

Appendix

Questions for content analysis

- 1. Newspapers**
 - a. VG
 - b. Aftenposten
- 2. Date of article**
- 3. Page**
- 4. Section**
 - a. News
 - b. Comment
 - c. other_____
- 5. Genre**
 - a. News
 - b. feature/reportage
 - c. commentaries
 - d. interview
 - e. other_____
- 6. The article was written by:**
 - a. Native Norwegian Citizen
 - b. Foreign Norwegian Citizen
- 7. Size of an entire article**
 - a. less than half page
 - b. one page
 - c. one and a half page
 - d. two pages
 - e. more than two pages
- 8. Title of the article is (Silic, 2006)**
 - a. nominative – nouns and adjectives
 - b. informative – verbs and follows the information about the event that is explained in the text
 - c. commercial/sensationalistic - short and draws the attention of a reader to read it

9. Does the article have a belonging photograph?

- a. Yes
- b. No

10. How many of them: ____

11. Size of the photograph is

- a. less than half of one page
- b. more than half of one page
- c. other

12. What are the sources of information in the article?

- a. First-hand information from relevant sources (as police, politicians, official persons etc)
- b. personal impressions from citizens that were near the attack
- c. personal impressions from citizens that were physically far away from the attack
- d. social media
- e. foreign media
- f. politicians

13. Number of sources in the article: _____

14. Sources:

- a. Male
- b. female

15. What kind of information those sources provided?

- a. information about the attack
- b. guide on how to behave
- c. subjective information/impressions about the attack
- d. other:

16. What kind of information journalist/author provided with the text?

- a. information about the attack
- b. history-oriented – analysis and comparison of the attack with other attacks
- c. future-oriented – what will happen after this?
- d. subjective information/impressions about the attack
- e. other:

ATTACKER

1. How was the attacker described and presented in the article?

- a. Psychologically unstable individual
- b. By individual's nationality/ethnicity
- c. By individual's religion and ideology
- d. By individual's political views
- e. By education level
- f. By profession
- g. With stories from the attacker's past
- h. Other:

2. What was the general approach of an author towards the attacker?

- a. Positive – justifying actions while connecting the attacker's past; using mostly positive words to describe the attacker
- b. Negative – writing against actions using mostly negative words to describe the attacker
- c. Neutral – stating facts from the place of the attack
- d. Other__

3. Does the published photo show the attacker?

- a. YES, clearly visible
- b. NO, the attacker is blurred

VICTIMS

1. How were the victims described in the article?

- a. Through grief
- b. Through fear
- c. Through solidarity

2. Which victim's information was presented?

- a. Victim's full identity
- b. Victim's partial identity (age, religion, nationality, education or profession)
- c. Victim's past or private life supported by the quote from a source close to the victim
- d. Only photograph

- e. Just a number of victims
- 3. What was the general approach of an author towards victims?**
- a. Positive – mostly positive words to describe the victim
 - b. Negative – writing against actions using mostly negative words and emotions such as grief or nostalgic
 - c. Neutral – stating facts from the place of the attack
 - d. Other__
- 4. Does the published photo show the victims?**
- a. YES, clearly visible
 - b. NO, the victims are blurred

REPRESENTATION OF TERRORISM

- 1. What was the article about?**
- a. Attack
 - b. Other:
- 2. Did the author use the term “terror attack” in the article?**
- a. Yes
 - b. No
- 3. How did the author call the attack?**
- a. Plain as a terror attack
 - b. By the action perpetrator did
- 4. What was the general approach of an author towards terror attack?**
- a. pro terrorist – glorifying the fear and grief
 - b. anti terrorist – providing solutions and objective information
 - c. neutral – objective/independent
 - d. other
- 5. Can a reason for the attack be found in the article?**
- a. An assumption
 - b. Yes
 - c. No
- 6. By whom was the reason described?**
- a. Source
 - b. Author
- 7. Other**

8. In which way the author described the attack?

- a. As a war – we have to stop the enemy
- b. As a crime – call for a judicial rather than a military response
- c. As an uncivilised evil – as a monstrous and barbaric act
- d. As a disease – terrorists are sick and insane

9. By whom was the attack described?

- a. Author
- b. Witness
- c. Source
- d. Other

10. Did the author propose a solution or treatment recommendation for the problem?

- a. YES
- b. NO

11. Who provided the solution or treatment recommendation?

- a. Author
- b. Source
- c. Other