

CONSTRUCTING THE PERFECT TERRORIST ATTACK: CRITICAL EVALUATION OF NEWS VALUES AND MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS

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Abstract

This work is a piece of systematic desk-based research that explores theories of newsworthiness and their application to terrorism in 2015. Through both quantitative and qualitative content analysis, the work explores the extent to which news values derived from Chibnall (1977) and Jewkes (2004; 2011; 2015) apply to two specific terrorist attacks carried out by IS and Boko Haram. Using quantitative content analysis, a cross section of online newspaper articles were analysed for the presence of news values. Through qualitative content analysis, the presence of these values were then analysed in order to explore the reasons as to why the British media prioritise particular news values over others. The work also includes discussion of other theories such as Orientalism (Said, 1978), othering, labelling, media imperialism and Islamophobia to explain why non-domestic terrorism is reported in the way that it is. The researcher utilises a mixed method approach to compare how two Islamic extremist groups are represented in the British media and ultimately derives a definitive list of news values that apply to media reporting of terrorism that are a combination of values drawn from Chibnall (1977), Jewkes (2004; 2011; 2015) and this research.

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Contents

Acknowledgements.....	1
The Newsworthiness of Terrorism: An Introduction.....	3
Exploring the Relationship between Terrorism and the Media: A Review of the Literature	5
Separating Fact from Infotainment: Contextualising the Case Studies	10
Investigating the Complex Relationship: Methodology	12
‘If it bleeds, it leads’: Findings and Discussion.....	18
Quantitative analysis and discussion.....	19
Qualitative analysis and discussion.....	20
‘Whoever controls the media, controls the mind’: Conclusion	33
Bibliography	35
Appendices.....	41
Appendix A (Ethical approval letter)	42
Appendix B (Quantitative results table).....	43
Appendix C (Baga content analysis results table).....	44
Appendix D (Tunisia content analysis results table).....	47
Appendix E (List of ‘BBC News’ articles)	50
Appendix F (List of ‘The Telegraph’ articles).....	52
Appendix G (List of ‘The Daily Mail’ articles)	55
Appendix H (List of ‘The Mirror’ articles).....	58

The Newsworthiness of Terrorism: An Introduction

When reporting terrorist attacks, the media have the power to tell the reader who is good and who is bad; define who the hero is and who the enemy is; and brandish wider societal groups as either guilty or innocent. The process in which they do this is through application of news values. Greer (2007: 26) defines news values as “those criteria that influence, often implicitly, the selection, production and prioritization of events as news.” There is little known about what news values apply when the media reports on terrorist attacks, and this dissertation is interested in filling this gap. Not only will this dissertation define what news values apply to the media reporting of terrorism, through quantitative content analysis, but it will also explore the reasons behind why these values apply through methods of qualitative content analysis.

The researcher will utilise the news values defined by Chibnall (1977) and Jewkes (2004; 2011; 2015) as they provide solid foundations for an exploration into what factors increase the likelihood of a crime being reported in the media. These factors will also influence how long the story then stays in media circulation. However, this dissertation aims to explore what news values apply specifically to terrorism. The main limitation of Chibnall’s (1977) work is that it has become outdated due to the change in environment that they were created in. For example, online news media did not exist during the creation of Chibnall’s (1977) theory of newsworthiness. Similarly, Jewkes (2004; 2011; 2015) created a set of news values that were generalised to ‘all crime’ rather than terrorism specifically. Therefore, there researcher may dismiss some news values and explore the scope for new, additional values that are specifically designed for the application of terrorism.

The researcher is interested in the contrast between how two Islamic extremist groups are represented in the media and what elements of the attacks journalists tend to focus on. The quantitative elements of this dissertation will allow for comparisons to be drawn. However, this dissertation also wants to explore the reasons behind why certain news values are emphasised by the media more than others. Therefore, once the news values that apply to terrorism have been determined, there will be qualitative analysis and discussion of the news values.

Overall, this dissertation aims to be explore the factors that may increase the likelihood of a non-domestic terrorist attack being reported in the British media. Using a mixed-methods approach to this research will allow for the researcher to explore what news values apply to

terrorism and the reasons why these news values apply. The ethical approval letter for this dissertation can be found in Appendix A (p. 42).

Exploring the Relationship between Terrorism and the Media: A Review of the Literature

The purpose of this literature review is to explore research into the relationship between terrorism and the media, highlighting the dearth of current and up-to-date research. This review draws attention to the fact that there is a lack of research available that explores how terrorist events are constructed against theories of newsworthiness derived from Chibnall (1977) and Jewkes (2004; 2011; 2015). Similarly, academic discussion of the relationship between the media and terrorism tends to discuss broad theories rather than analysing specific attacks or terrorist groups and evaluating them for the presence of news values. The small number of studies that explore media representations of terrorism tend to be analysing the American and New Zealand media rather than that of the British press (Patrick, 2012; Zhang, Shoemaker & Wang, 2013; Kabir & Hamid, 2015). However, it is important to point out that these studies highlight a number of international similarities in the reporting of terrorism, of which can aid in building foundations for research on the British media. Alongside investigations into how terrorism is represented, the literature review will also cover how Muslims are represented in the media, with particular reference to an exemplary study by Sian, Law and Sayyid (2012). Furthermore, the review will evaluate the current literature surrounding media representations of Islam and its association with terrorism in order to guide the qualitative analysis of the research. The literature review aims to provide guidance for the methodology that will be chosen for research in this dissertation.

Due to the focus on media depictions of terrorism, it is first important to understand broader theories of newsworthiness and news values. The theory of newsworthiness was originally formulated by Gatlung and Ruge (1965), of whom constructed 11 factors that determine if an event will receive a significant amount of media attention or not. These factors are known as 'news values'. This theory was adapted by Chibnall (1977), who highlighted the need for additional news values and rejected others, basing this theory more on law and order rather than news in general. Jewkes' (2004; 2011; 2015) contemporary assessment of the theory devised a further set of news values that directly related to the relationship between media and crime in the 21st century. Although it carries significant importance in laying the foundations for the theory, the work of Gatlung and Ruge (1965) has been heavily criticised. Harcup and O'Neil (2001) argue that news values adapt over time to fit with culture, and that the original news values are too subjective. For example, Harcup and O'Neil (2001: 271) point out that

‘elite people’ in 1965 are significantly different to those who are considered politically powerful in today’s world. Similarly, at the time of devising their news values, Gatlung and Ruge assessed printed newspapers and Harcup and O’Neil argue that contemporary examinations need to incorporate the internet as a source of news. For these reasons, this research project will not make strong reference to the news values set out by Gatlung and Ruge (1965) as these are now considered out-dated within the literature.

For this dissertation, a combination of news values set out by Chibnall (1977) and Jewkes (2004) will be considered. Both authors agree on the importance of several news values as they are not determined by culture at the time. These include simplification (unambiguity); celebrities (notable/famous individuals), individualism (personification), graphic imagery, sex, conventionalism (predictability) and conservative ideology/political diversion (deterrence). However, Chibnall (1977) and Jewkes (2015) come to different conclusions on other news values. Jewkes (2004; 2011; 2015) draws attention to importance/threshold; violence, children, proximity and risk as key factors in determining an increased likelihood of a story being reported in the news. Chibnall (1977) emphasises unexpectedness; dramatization, immediacy, structured access, titillation and visible/spectacle acts as important news values. The complete list of the news values that will be used for this dissertation are listed in the following chapter (p. 10). This list excludes children, sex and titillation as news values in the reporting of terrorism. Whilst reviewing the literature, the researcher found that children do not tend to be singled out as victims of terrorism, rather, the innocence of victims as a whole group is emphasised. Christie’s (1986) theory of the ideal victim states that stories become more newsworthy when the victims are perceived to be “...vulnerable, defenceless, innocent and worthy of compassion and sympathy.” (cited in Greer, 2007: 22). For this reason, this dissertation will adapt the news value of ‘children’ to ‘innocence of victims’. Similarly, sex and titillation are not prominent factors in the reporting of terrorism, as the crime is not usually sexually motivated nor have any sexual elements. It is important to remember that news values are applied generally to crime, rather than a specific crime, and therefore it is understandable that they will need to be adapted. As justified by Jewkes (2015: 48), “a story does not have to conform to all the criteria in order to make the news”.

Academics have drawn attention to other factors that affect the reporting of terrorism in the media that are not covered by Jewkes (2004; 2011; 2015) or Chibnall (1977). Both Patrick (2014) and Kabir & Hamid (2015) make reference towards Said’s (1978) theory of orientalism,

and argue that this is a factor that leads to an increase in reporting of terrorism committed by Muslims. They argue that an attack on a Western nation is more prominent in the media than that of one on an Eastern nation. This theory supports Jewkes (2015) news value of proximity, in both a geographical and cultural sense. Furthermore, Drakos and Gofas (2006) argue that underreporting of terrorist events is related to the political regime of the country that the event happens in. The academics state that the more likely a country is to have a democracy, the more freedom the press have to report an attack. This means that in countries where corruption in government is a significant problem, the press will be restricted in what they report. This will then in turn have an effect on how the global media react to the event, and could provide an explanation as to why certain events are under-reported in the British media more generally. Whilst this dissertation will not be exploring these theories in depth, they may aid in later discussion and exploration into the qualitative analysis exploring why the terrorist attacks are reported in the way that they are.

Another important factor to consider that will influence how a story is reported is the agenda of the newspaper. Kabir & Hamid (2015) and Harcup & O'Neil (2001) highlight how the agenda of the newspaper impacts on the news values that are emphasised in the media's reporting of terrorism. For example, Harcup & O'Neil (2001: 270) point out that "...*The Daily Mail* particularly favours an unambiguous approach" and is therefore less likely to report on complex stories when the context of the situation is unclear. Similarly, Gekoski, Gray and Adler (2012: 1226) found that a personal interest in the story from the reporter and/or editor of the newspaper affects if the story is reported and how much coverage it receives. The agenda of the newspaper will be a factor that will be considered in this dissertation that could become an additional news value with regards to terrorism.

The media representation of Islam is likely to determine how Islamic extremist terrorism is reported. A noteworthy study demonstrating this is Sian, Law and Sayyid (2012), who used content analysis to investigate how Muslims are represented in the media and how they are associated with certain crimes. This study used two types of newspaper sources to "...get a representative and comparative sample" (2012: 233). This dissertation will further this framework, drawing from a variety of newspaper sources (quality, mid-market and popular), in order to provide a wider and more representative sample. This will also allow for a comparison of reporting style for different audiences. Sian, Law and Sayyid reported that Muslims are portrayed in the media as "the enemy" (2012: 236), and that the media reinforces Islamophobia through presenting Muslims as a threat to British patriotism (2012: 239). This

study provides a justification for making the ‘the religion of the perpetrator’ an additional news value with regards to the reporting of terrorism.

Yusha’u (2012) has explored the representations of Boko Haram in the British press, and concluded that the framing of Islam is “influenced by the ideological stand of the Western media” (2012: 105) that is based on ignorance and misconstrued stereotypes. This study is of significant importance as it explores specifically how a Nigerian Islamic extremist group is represented in the press, and draws that these stories merely provide support in the media’s anti-Islamic propaganda. However, this study can also be criticised as it only incorporated how Boko Haram was represented in two broadsheet papers, rather than a cross-comparison of all types of papers to gain a clearer depiction of wider representations of the group. The study also failed to explore the specific factors that determined whether Boko Haram’s coverage was different to that of another Islamic extremist group. This dissertation will develop these areas further in order to explore the varied representations of Islamic extremist groups, comparing their newsworthiness and analysing why they receive the coverage they do.

Patrick (2014) conducted a cross comparison of the media portrayal of two terrorist attacks, Patrick drew attention to how the geographical location of an attack is a key factor in determining how it will be reported in the media. Patrick argued that “...an attack on a Western nation compared to one on an Eastern nation contributes to Islamophobia and exacerbates an ‘us-them mentality.’” (2014: 379). The research emphasised Jewkes’ (2004; 2011; 2015) news value of proximity as a key factor in determining the amount of media attention a terrorist attack is likely to receive. This research is the closest of its kind to the research that will be carried out in this dissertation. However, although generalisations can be made, this study was based upon the reaction by the American press, and Zhang, Shoemaker and Wang (2012) and Gerhards & Schäfer (2014) have pointed out that different countries contrast in how they report terrorism and emphasise different factors. The theory of newsworthiness is not universal. Therefore, there is a need for this issue to be investigated with regards to the British press, a gap this dissertation intends to fill.

It could be suggested that research into the media representations of Islamic State and Boko Haram are not as readily available due to the modernity of the organisations and the sudden prominence they have globally. This is particularly relevant with regards to Boko Haram, as there is very little known about the group in the Western world, despite their strong presence in Africa. Similarly, as the definition of terrorism broadens, and the ever-changing nature of

the crime increases in fluidity, academia struggles to keep up, often choosing to report on events that happened long ago that will have no sudden developments during writing. This could explain why literature published in the last two years is only now discussing the events of the Mumbai bombings in 2008 (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2014; Patrick, 2014; Iqbal, 2015). There is a significant lack of literature that examines the media's relationship with terrorism based upon recent developments in the field, such as the rise of the Islamic State and the re-emergence of Boko Haram. This dissertation attempts to bridge this gap by offering analysis and discussion of very recent events.

Overall, although the recent literature on this topic provides strong foundations for investigation. However, it is also apparent that there is a lack of research that directly applies the theory of newsworthiness to terrorism. Furthermore, it is difficult to draw upon recent literature as it tends to assess attacks from 2008, and the media environment in which they were discussed will have changed significantly between 2008 and 2015. Some research has highlighted there are other important factors in addition to the established news values that affect the newsworthiness of a story, such as the religion of the perpetrator and the innocence of the victims. Therefore, this dissertation will investigate these ideas, drawing from the original concepts of newsworthiness, whilst also assessing if there is scope for additional news values that can be usefully applied to the media representations of terrorism.

Separating Fact from Infotainment: Contextualising the Case Studies

It is important that the reader is provided with factual information regarding what happened in Baga and Tunisia during the time of the terrorist attacks in order to understand the analysis that follows in the upcoming chapters.

Baga

Due to its remote location and lack of technology, it has been notoriously difficult to define exactly what happened in Baga during the time of the terrorist attack. Reports from eyewitnesses concluded that militants operating under Boko Haram stormed the town of Baga and opened fire on civilians on 3rd January 2015 (Fessy, 2015). Estimates of the number of deaths have ranged from 150 to 2,000 (Segun, 2015). Boko Haram have destroyed mobile phone masts, making it difficult for local communication across the area (Comolli, 2015).

Tunisia

On the 26th June 2015, a gunman opened fire on tourists staying at a popular beach resort in Tunisia which led to the death of 39 people, with a further 36 severely injured ('Tunisia attack on Sousse beach 'kills 39'', 2015). Media reports have stated that the gunman purposely targeted tourists whilst shooting (Wheatstone, Halkon and Webb, 2015). It was later reported that 30 of the 39 people who died were British (Woodcock, 2015). The attacker was killed within an hour of the mass-shooting, and IS later claimed responsibility for the attack via a statement on social media (Amara, 2015).

At the time of writing this dissertation, these two events could be regarded as the most extreme and largest terrorist attacks that the two terrorist groups had committed. This was the main justification for the researcher picking these two case studies. However, during the time of writing, a major terrorist attack happened in Paris in November 2015, that saw the loss of 130 lives at the hands of terrorists associated with the Islamic State. Unfortunately, this event was outside of the parameters of the research design due to research already having begun, and therefore it will not form one of the case studies for this research. This could be an event in

which future research is able to analyse by utilising the methodology in this project as a framework.

Investigating the Complex Relationship: Methodology

This dissertation explores the extent to which the news values derived from Chibnall (1977) and Jewkes (2004) apply to news media representations of terrorism. To do this, the researcher selected content analysis, as this research method provides strong foundations for media based research (Bernard, 2013). The research took a deductive approach in order to explore the application of the theory of newsworthiness to the matter of terrorism, and analysed a series of news articles for the presence of news media values. The key research question is: “*Which news values, defined by Chibnall (1977) and Jewkes (2004), apply to terrorism in 2015?*” The question allowed exploration of all existing generic news values whilst allowing for any additional news values to be identified that maybe specific to terrorism.

Content analysis was the most appropriate method for exploring the relationship between the media and terrorism, as it enabled the researcher to explore the media representations of a crime through news that is written with the intention of building a certain image of the story to the audience. This research includes elements of both a quantitative and qualitative nature. The choice of newspaper sources for this dissertation was guided by the results from the most recent National Readership Survey (2016) that analysed readership during January 2015 to December 2015. The survey categorised papers by type, using the headings ‘Quality’, ‘Mid-market’ and ‘Popular’ and further separated readership based on online readers and print readers. Online news reports were chosen as they are the most accessible form of news media and are able to reach the widest audience, meaning that the findings pulled from this form of news media will be more representative of wider public perceptions of these events.

This researcher accessed articles from the most widely read online newspaper sources from each category of ‘Quality’, ‘Mid-market’ and ‘Popular’ paper, namely *The Telegraph*, *The Daily Mail* and *The Mirror*. Selecting articles from a cross section of newspapers strengthened the research in that it added validity to the results. It meant that the agenda of the newspaper could be taken into account as a factor that may have influenced the use of particular news values. In addition to this, articles were derived from the BBC, as this is seen as an objective source. As argued by Jewkes (2015: 46), the BBC “are subject to a range of restrictions which are framed by notions of impartiality”, and the articles from this source are less likely to be swayed by the newspapers agenda.

Bernard (2013: 538-539) discusses the importance of a systematic approach to content analysis and places emphasis on using tables to manage data. Due to the sheer volume of articles available across each site, this dissertation condensed the analysis to five news stories, making a total of 20 articles to be analysed for each terrorist attack. Bernard (2013) suggests to code texts numerically for ease of reference. An example of what the researcher decided to do this can be seen below in Table 1.

BBC					The Telegraph					The Daily Mail					Mirror				
B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8	B9	B10	B11	B12	B13	B14	B15	B16	B17	B18	B19	B20

Table 1

Linking to this, the articles were chosen from each site in the order of which they appeared after the search term has been entered. This method was chosen as the sites appeared to present the information randomly and this was the most practical approach to take. It is important to point out here that articles that were written by “APF” (Agence France-Presse) were not included in this data collection because they were not written by the news media sources that are being analysed in this study. The search terms used across all four websites was “Tunisia beach ‘attack OR massacre’” and “Baga ‘attack OR massacre’”, as the two terrorist events were defined as both attacks and massacres across all four sources.

As stated in the review of the current literature, due to their lack of relevance the news values of children, sex and titillation will not be assessed in this dissertation. It is important to stress that Chibnall (1977) and Jewkes (2004) derived their theories of newsworthiness based upon the general relationship between media and crime, rather than specific crimes, and therefore it is inevitable that there will be certain values that do not apply when exploring the relationship between the media and terrorism. Similarly, there may be scope for additional news media values when exploring how terrorist events are represented in the media. Therefore, this researcher explored the news values of; simplification (unambiguity), celebrities (notable/famous individuals), individualism (personification), graphic imagery (visible/spectacle acts), conventionalism (predictability), conservative ideology/political diversion, importance/threshold, violence, innocence of victims (to replace the news value ‘children’), proximity, risk, unexpectedness, dramatization, immediacy, structured access and the religion of the perpetrator.

In order to address the key research question provided on page 11, each of the 20 articles were measured for the prominence of each of the 16 news values. Hseih & Shannon (2005: 1283)

state content analysis should work to go beyond counting words and look into how these words can be interpreted by the audience. They discuss that content analysis should look beyond how the text is presented and go on to explore how the author intended for the text to be interpreted. Furthermore, Bryman (2012) discusses the importance of coding the data by themes in order to analyse not only “manifest content” but “latent content” as well (p. 297). Typically, content analysis records the frequency of a word or theme being present in the data. However, this dissertation is looking into what news values were used and the meaning behind the presence of these news values; rather than measuring the number of times the news values were used. Based on these suggestions, this dissertation will be coded by themes that are drawn from the news values outlined above.

Utilising a method of qualitative content analysis, the researcher was able to identify common themes throughout the reporting of specific terrorist events and then draw conclusions on how the media represented these terrorist groups. Mayring (2000: 14) outlines this method as the “deductive category application”, and goes on to emphasise the importance of clearly defining each category that will be analysed. Qualitative content analysis was chosen as a research method as it allows the researcher to analyse the meanings behind text whilst still maintaining a level of objectivity; a strict and rigid set of rules means that that the subjective nature of the interpretation of data is limited and the replicability of the research is still upheld.

Due to the excessive amount of data produced, the researcher followed a coding system whereby articles were analysed for the presence of one particular news value and then once there was evidence of this value being present it was recorded in a table. It is important that the definitions of the news values are clearly defined in order for the analysis to be concurrent and succinct throughout in order to avoid pitfalls such as overlap between categories and ambiguity about what data belongs in which category (Bryman, 2012: 303). Consequently, the researcher designed a table to aid in the assessment of the presence of these values. Table 2 outlines a criterion that must be met in order to determine the presence of a news value, with the descriptions of each value based upon in-depth reading of the works of both Jewkes (2004; 2011; 2015) and Chibnall (1977).

News value	Description
Simplification/unambiguity	Brevity, reduced to minimum number of parts/themes, does not require reader to think much, clarity

Celebrities (notable individuals)	Individuals such as: group leaders, important political figures, celebrities commenting on attacks, political leaders of country commenting on attack
Individualism (personification)	Human interest appeal, name to perpetrator, name to victims
Graphic imagery (visible/spectacle acts)	Embedded videos, graphic and/or distressing images, multiple images to accompany article
Conventionalism (predictability)	Any references made to previous attacks of a similar nature, attacks that have happened recently linking to this attack
Conservative ideology/political diversion	Evidence of political motivations, reference to religious motivations, negative associations with religion, rebellion
Importance/threshold	A story that is of importance that may affect us, seen by paper to be of importance
Violence	Violent factors emphasised, ie. Number of deaths/casualties, 'massacre', anger, hate, bloodshed
Innocence of victims	Images of victims, names of victims, reference randomness of attack
Proximity	Geographical proximity to Britain, reference to how it will effect Britain, factors that audience can sympathise with
Risk	Factors that may indicate if audience are at risk of being victims, a real threat
Unexpectedness	Attack was random, unpredictable, no logical reasoning, rare event
Dramatization	Dramatic, entertainment factor, attention drawn away from the 'why' to the 'what'
Immediacy	Articles published as events unfold
Structured access	Expert opinions
Religion of Perpetrator	If religion is specified (e.g. Muslim, Islamic extremists)

Table 2

Bryman (2012: 228-229) discusses the importance of having a clear coding schedule and coding manual in order to increase the data's replicability. For this dissertation, once it was determined that there was evidence of a news value in an article, it was recorded with an "X" in the coding table. A sample of the table that was used to record the data can be seen below (Table 3), and the detailed table that was used can be found in Appendix C (p. 44) and Appendix D (p. 47).

News value	Description	BBC					The Telegraph				
		B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8	B9	B10
Simplification/ unambiguity	Brevity, reduced to minimum number of parts/themes, does not require reader to think much, clarity										
Celebrities (notable individuals)	Individuals such as: group leaders, important political figures, celebrities commenting on attacks, political leaders of country commenting on attack										

Table 3

This dissertation comprises a mixed method approach to analyse and evaluate how different newspapers utilise the different news values and explore how each event is reported. The quantitative elements of the research complement the qualitative data collected, as the objective nature of the quantitative elements served to guide the subjective interpretation of the qualitative findings. Below is a sample from the table that shows how the articles were quantitatively assessed (Table 4), with the full table being located in Appendix B (p. 43). The table goes on to include all 20 news articles for the Tunisian attack (T1-T20) and an identical table will be produced to code the articles for the Baga attack (B1-B20).

Quantitative factor	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
Number of words per article					
Number of pictures accompanying article					
Number of videos accompanying article					

Table 4

Table 4 shows the quantifiable measures were chosen to gain a clearer picture of how much quantitative attention was paid to the attack. Regarding the recording of the number of words per article, this shows how much information is available to the newspaper’s audience and how interested the editor/newspaper is in gaining details on the attack and its aftermath. The number of words of these articles also included the title, as the titles of the articles were included in the qualitative assessment for the presence of news values. Furthermore, many academics (Lipschultz and Hilt, 2002; Van Dijk, 2006; Greer, 2007; Marsh and Melville, 2014; Jewkes, 2015) draw attention to how important the visualisation of crimes are, particularly as the emergence of technology and instant access to news media is ever-prominent. These academics emphasise the need for a visual element to the reporting of a crime in order to satisfy the

audiences need for personifying the event. For this reason, the number of pictures and videos that accompany the article were recorded.

Ethically, the researcher did not predict any possible problems or obstacles through this method of research and data collection as this was a desk-based research, which did not require any participants. As previously stated, the news information used is freely accessible to the general public in most areas of the world and the research does not cause any direct or indirect harm to those effected by terrorism, involved in terrorism or who report on terrorism. This dissertation was limited by the relatively small number of articles that the researcher was able to analyse in the given time frame. The researcher sees this as an opportunity for future research to build upon.

This dissertation provides a framework for analysis of the findings for both the quantitative and qualitative elements of the research in order to address the key research question “*Which news values, defined by Chibnall (1977) and Jewkes (2004), apply to terrorism in 2015?*”. Table 2 (p. 14) details how each terrorist event was broken down by thematic headlines derived from a combination of news values from Chibnall (1977), Jewkes (2004; 2011; 2015) and the researcher in order to assess the newsworthiness of terrorist attack. The data collected aids in the assessment of determining which news values apply to terrorism, and allowed for exploration into the scope for additional news values that were previously suggested in the review of the current literature. Similarly, the method of data collection helped the researcher to draw comparisons and identify differences between how each Islamic extremist group was represented in the media.

‘If it bleeds, it leads’: Findings and Discussion

Before discussing the quantitative and qualitative findings of this research, it is important to address the difficulties that the researcher faced whilst recording and analysing data. It quickly became apparent that the attack in Baga was significantly under-reported. When the search term was entered on www.mirror.co.uk, only two articles appeared. One of these articles were later dismissed as it had only one sentence referring to the Baga attack (Adams, 2015). The other article was the only article on www.mirror.co.uk that wrote about the Baga attack. Although this left a gap in the data, the researcher made the executive decision to not change the research framework that was designed for this dissertation, as there were strong and credible justifications for using *The Mirror* as a source. Rather, the researcher perceives this as a significant finding in itself.

In the previous chapter whereby the current literature was reviewed (p. 4), discussed Drakos and Gofas’ (2006) concept of how the political regime of the country that the terrorist attack happens in has an impact on if it is reported in the media or not. If the country the attack happened in has a strong democracy, the press are not limited in their freedom to report what happened. However, in countries where corruption in government is a significant problem, such as Nigeria, the press are more likely to be restricted in what they report. This will then have an effect on how the global media react to the event, and could provide a general explanation as to why the Baga attack was under-reported in the British media. Furthermore, the literature review chapter (p. 4) referred to Kabir & Hamid (2015) and Harcup & O’Neil (2001), who discussed that the agenda of a newspaper is likely to have a significant effect on what news values the author of the article will choose to utilise. Tabloid newspapers, such as *The Mirror*, are driven by readership and present stories in emotive language, “with large headlines and an extensive use of photographs” (Rooney, 2000: 91). As Boko Haram destroyed mobile phone masts in the area, it is difficult to find out details of the story that could be presented in an emotive way or access images of the attack. These are factors, alongside other news values, that may explain the lack of reporting of the story in *The Mirror*. This dissertation will explore how the terrorist incident met other news values in an attempt to further explain the underreporting of the Baga attack.

Quantitative analysis and discussion

Detailed results from the quantitative analysis can be found in Appendix B (p. 43). This part of the research recorded the number of words per article, the number of images in each article and the number of videos that accompanied the articles. Following this, the researcher calculated the mean for each of these factors. A summary this can be found in Table 5 (below). It is important to note here that the mean data for the Baga articles was calculated from 16 articles and the mean data for the Tunisia articles was calculated from 20 articles in order to make the results fair and accurate.

	Baga	Tunisia
Mean number of words per article	889.9375	1269.5
Mean number of pictures accompanying article	5.625	12.6
Mean number of videos accompanying article	1.0625	1.5

Table 5

All of the quantitative factors that were measured show that the Tunisian attack received more media attention than the attack in Baga. The mean number of words per article is of significance, as it can be inferred that the articles on the Tunisian attack are more detailed and therefore seen to be of more significance and importance by the online news media sources. Jewkes (2015: 52), also further discussed by Malo, Ouellete & Vucetic (2014) and Philo (2001), state that media reporting on terrorism omits contextual or historical factors that surround the attack or provide the reader with an opportunity to question why the attack happened. This omission is detrimental to wider understandings of these developing countries, as access to information from countries such as Nigeria is already limited, and restricts readers from being told why the terrorist attack may be happening. Furthermore, it is important to address the significant statistical difference between the mean number of pictures and videos that accompany these articles. The ‘visualisation of crime’, a term coined by Greer (2007: 30), is a key part of media reporting due to the development of information technology and the increased importance for immediate accessibility to data. Due to the lack of mobile communications to the area, alongside the general lack of up-to-date technology within the country, the Baga attack will inevitably receive less media attention as it is not possible for news media sources to provide imagery that may grab the reader’s attention. The Western influence on the tourist resort in Tunisia, however, meant that images of the scene of the crime

were instantly accessible. The impact of the lack of ability to visualise the Baga attack may be an explanation as to why it received less media coverage than the Tunisia attack.

Further analysis of the coding data shows that there is a significant contrast between news media sources regarding certain news values that writers choose to utilise. For example, when reporting on the Tunisian attack, the researcher found very little evidence of *BBC News* utilising the ‘dramatization’ news value, whereas this news value was used. Similarly, the researcher found that *BBC News* only utilised graphic imagery in one of their sources, whereas graphic imagery was included in all five of the news articles written by *The Daily Mail*. This contrast shows the impact that the newspaper agenda has on the reporting of terrorism, and that it is an important factor to note when researching into the newsworthiness of terrorism. However, other than these significant differences, the results show that there is a general agreement across all of the sources regarding which news values they utilised (the full dataset can be found in Appendix C (p. 44) and Appendix D (p. 47)).

Qualitative analysis and discussion

For this part of the chapter, the researcher has summarised the results from the data set that can be found in Appendix C (p. 44) and Appendix D (p.47). The researcher counted the number of articles the value was present in and converted this figure into a percentage in order to make the data comparable, as the researcher is aware of that comparing the raw figures would be unfair due to the lack of 4 articles from *The Mirror* regarding the Baga attack. Each news value has been independently assessed, with analysis and discussion of the results being found under each subheading.

Simplification/unambiguity

	Baga	Tunisia
Number of articles news value was present	10	18
Percentage	62.5%	90%

This news value is particularly important with regards to the reporting of terrorist attacks. Malo, Ouellette & Vucetic (2014) found in their research into the Canadian media that international terrorist events must be able to be simplified to basic parts in order to make the news and not require much thinking by the reader. This was successful with regards to Tunisia, as the majority of the articles utilised maps, graphs and timelines in order to aid in the description of

the event. However, the process of simplification was not as easily to applied to Baga; perhaps due to major ambiguity regarding the death count, which ranged from 150 to 2,000 (Segun, 2015).

McGarry (2014) discusses how the media’s simplistic framing of terrorist attacks is crucial, as the public then remember the ‘facts’ of the attack and these unambiguous details help fuel the justifications for war and extreme foreign policy. In relation to the two case studies, this is a particularly prevalent issue for Tunisia and the ‘war on terror’, particularly against IS who are seen to be a very real threat as they are now targeting the West. Jewkes (2015: 52) further discusses this, stating that simplification “takes the form of an unquestioning patriotism”. However, as Boko Haram’s terrorist activity is happening in Nigeria, to Nigerians, and in protest to the Nigerian government; the British media have little interest in working towards simplifying the events of terrorist attacks by these groups as their activities are not directly targeting or effecting Britain.

Celebrities (notable individuals)

	Baga	Tunisia
Number of articles news value was present	10	15
Percentage	62.5%	75%

Following the Baga attack, the president of Nigeria failed to comment on what had happened or acknowledge that the attack had taken place at all. Often, the notable individual that was commenting on the attack was the Nigerian defence ministry who was adamant that no more than 150 people died (Blair, 2015c). Drawing from the work of Brewer, Aday and Gross (2003: 238) on framing of terrorism in America, the authors state that the President of a country is seen to be at the centre of politics and their reactions to a terrorist attack builds trust in the government of that country; which in turn increases confidence in the military’s ability to respond to the threat. The British reaction to the Tunisian attack contrasted greatly; The Queen and the Prime minister led a national minute’s silence for the victims (Spillet, 2015). Chibnall (1977) discussed how important the State’s commentary on an attack is in influencing and shaping the views of members of society. It can be argued here that the Nigerian president’s power and influence could have brought more international media attention to the attack, and his silence over what had happened impacted on the newsworthiness of the Baga incident.

Individualism (personification)

	Baga	Tunisia
Number of articles news value was present	8	20
Percentage	50%	100%

As the data in the table above demonstrates, this was a news value that contrasted significantly across the two case studies. Authors of the articles reporting on the Tunisian attack were able to quickly access and relay information on the victims, such as their name, where they were from and what they looked like. Similarly, the perpetrator was also quickly identified and a distinctive image of the attacker walking along the beach with his gun moments before the attack was attached to the majority of the news articles. Bhatia (2005) discusses the power of naming terrorists, stating that naming is a powerful tool that allows the media to lay blame and direct their anger towards a specific individual. However, the unambiguity surrounding the details of the Baga attack and the fact that the attack was done by a large group rather than a specific individual means that it was difficult to personify the attacker and direct blame towards a certain individual.

Greer (2007: 31) highlighted the importance of being able to personify the victims of a crime. He states that victim photographs “present an idealized personification of innocence and loss.” Whilst this news value was utilised in every article on the Tunisian attack, the Baga attack did not tend to focus on the victims of the crime. When they were referenced, this was a brief statement that downplayed the attack and the number of victims involved (Spillet, 2015). The ambiguity surrounding the number of victims explains why there is difficulty in applying this value to the Baga attack.

Overall, the researcher feels as though individualism (personification) is an important news value in the reporting of terrorism, and perceives it to be a factor that increases the likelihood of an event being reported and staying in circulation for an extended period of time.

Graphic imagery (visible/spectacle acts)

	Baga	Tunisia
Number of articles news value was present	9	6
Percentage	56.25%	30%

It was expected here by the researcher that graphic imagery would be particularly present throughout all articles. However, this was not as strong of a news value as once thought. Whilst the image of the Tunisian gunman was prevalent in a few news articles, it was mainly images of the victim that were the symbol of the event. Greer (2007: 31) states that “photographs humanize crime victims, adding a sense of the ‘real’ to that which may otherwise remain abstract and difficult to latch on to or invest in emotionally.” This was not possible with the Baga attack. The graphic images that accompanied the articles on the Baga attack tended to be of Boko Haram with a large supply of ammunition and weapons, or the aftermath of their previous attacks, rather than images specifically of the Baga attack. It is thought that the authors chose these pictures in order to help build an image of the terrorist group.

An interesting finding regarding graphic imagery and its relationship to terrorism is how the corpses of victims and terrorists are treated. In the article by Henderson & Ensor (2015), the very graphic image of the corpse of the perpetrator was shown, with the face/head area censored, yet still clearly showing the bloody hands of the attacker. In contrast, the images of the victims’ bodies were fully covered and censored. Matusitz (2015) discusses how the media’s broadcasting of the corpse of a terrorist is has powerful implications. In one sense, removing dignity from the perpetrator displays clear signs of anger and hatred towards the terrorist. However, Matusitz (2015: 197) goes on to discuss how this publicising can have the opposite effect and the attacker is seen as a martyr by Islamic extremists. Particularly through the prevalence and dominance of online news media, these images and ideas are able to spread quickly throughout the world. This could provide an alternative explanation as to why authors chose to focus predominantly on the victims rather than the perpetrator in the case of Tunisia. Overall, the researcher perceives this to be an area of importance with terrorism, but not as important as initially perceived, as it heavily depends on the angle in which the author decides to report on the case (victim-centred or attack-centred).

Conventionalism (predictability)

	Baga	Tunisia
Number of articles news value was present	15	6
Percentage	93.75%	30%

Norris, Kern and Just (2003) point out that conventional news frames on stories of terrorism tend to reflect society’s perceptions of terrorism in that country. Boko Haram have had a strong

presence in Nigeria since 2009 and have been laid claim to multiple terrorist attacks in the country (Smith, 2015). This provides an explanation as to why the Baga attack was perceived to be highly conventional – the country is associated with corruption and political unrest so a terrorist attack relating to these issues is not unpredictable. On the other hand, journalists chose to frame the Tunisian attack as random and unexpected. The attack also did not fit with our conventional interpretations of the country, as it was perceived by the public to be a safe area to travel to for relaxation purposes. There was reference made to a previous attack that was similar in nature, but this wasn't often referred to as it did not fit in with the other news values that had been selected in the portrayal of the terrorist attack. Chibnall (1977) discusses conventionalism as a news value that represents our understanding of social structures and contexts of the crime, which has a significant influence on the audience's perceptions of the certain terrorist groups. Overall, the researcher feels that the way in which these two terrorist attacks were reported contributed towards wider societal views of the groups, and is therefore seen to be a news value of high importance to the media representation of terrorism.

Conservative ideology/political diversion

	Baga	Tunisia
Number of articles news value was present	16	13
Percentage	100%	65%

The researcher feels as though this is a news value that is rigid and will generally always be referred to in the reporting of terrorism, due to the nature of the crime. Guelke (2006) argues that the 'War on Terror' is in itself a response to the East not adapting to Westernised society, and that conservative ideology/political diversion is used as an excuse to go to war with these countries in an attempt to force them to conform. Although this opinion may be controversial, it can be backed up with solid arguments. Following on from this, Jewkes (2015: 68) states that the British media will always write articles in support of law and order and against anyone who goes opposes it. With regards to terrorism, this is a news value that was found to be present in both case studies.

Guelke (2006) states that Western media will always struggle with representing the reasons behind terrorism and prefers to report on the 'what' rather than 'the why'. Boko Haram's actions are confounded by the geographical boundaries of Nigeria which makes it easier for journalists to summarise their political diversion from the Nigerian government. IS, however,

are against ‘the West’ in general, and have committed terrorist attacks in multiple countries, therefore making it difficult to summarise their political aims and who they are diverting from. This could be an explanation as to why the articles on the Tunisian attack did not refer to political diversion as much as the articles on the Baga attack.

Importance/threshold

	Baga	Tunisia
Number of articles news value was present	5	14
Percentage	31.25%	70%

This news value was difficult to measure, as the researcher found it very subjective. In order to tackle this, the researcher referred back to quantitative measures such as the mean number of words per article, as this can be interpreted as an indicator of how important the author perceived the story to be. The researcher also looked at the amount of time that had passed between the attack happening and the article being published in order to aid in the interpretation of how important the authors of the articles perceived the stories to be. Analysing the data gathered from an academic standpoint, Fejes’ (1981) discussion of media imperialism can offer an explanation as to why there is such a significant difference between the two case studies. Media imperialism is a term that he defines as “the processes by which modern communication media have operated to create, maintain and expand systems of domination and dependence on a world scale” (p. 281). Fejes (1981) makes particular reference to the domination of Western media over media outlets in Third-World countries, and states that this is a major obstacle to their development. Media imperialism can be applied to these two case studies in the sense that the Tunisian attack against individuals will inevitably be perceived as more important by journalists because the involvement of Western victims means that this story is seen as important by the Western media, and therefore is seen to be of more precedence than an attack in a developing country.

Violence

	Baga	Tunisia
Number of articles news value was present	15	14
Percentage	93.75%	70%

Jewkes (2015) states that violence is not a news value that is entirely independent in determining how much media coverage a crime will receive, and that violent factors may make

a story newsworthy but may not be enough to keep the story in the news cycle once the shock value has worn off. Similarly, O’Dea (2015) states that it is not the extent of the violence itself, but the context in which the violence occurred that is important. Therefore, in order for this news value to be measurable, the researcher looked into the language that was used to frame the attack. The Baga attack was often framed as a ‘massacre’ (Hanna, 2015; Newton 2015) and a number of articles revolved around images that showed the damage to the environment that the attack had caused, referring to the attack as Boko Haram’s ‘most destructive’ attack yet (Blair, 2015c). Similarly, the Tunisian attack was described as a ‘bloodbath’ (Warburton, 2015). Violence as a form of entertainment is prevalent in television, films, books and music; and Carnagey, Anderson & Bushman (2006) argue that this exposure to fictional violence desensitizes individuals when they are exposed to images of real-life violence. Furthermore, Bloch-Elkon & Nacos (2014) argue that violence is becoming a tool that the media use to help add dramatization to a story and support changes to counterterrorism legislation. An element of violence is usually always present in the reporting of terrorism due to the nature of the crime, however, it was interesting to see that this news value was not always referred to when articles took a victim-centred approach to reporting. Therefore, whilst the researcher does see this as an important element, it is very dependent on the overall framing of the attack and the way it is reported.

Innocence of victims

	Baga	Tunisia
Number of articles news value was present	6	14
Percentage	37.5%	70%

This news value was adapted by the researcher from Jewkes’ (2004) value of ‘children’, and was particularly present in news articles surrounding the Tunisian attack. Accompanying these articles were multiple images of the victims, comments from their families and loved ones, and details about their lives and personalities. One particular news article included a total of 59 of images that documented the one minute silence that was dedicated to the victims across the country (Spillet, 2015), with two other articles including an individual image of every British victim of the attack (Henderson & Ensor, 2015; Medick, 2015). The victims of the Baga attack, however, were referred to more generally in discussions of a refugee crisis due to the thousands of people who were now displaced, rather than victims of a terrorist attack.

Perceived innocence of victims is determined by authors of texts who already have ingrained prejudices about certain members of society. Correia, Vala & Aguiar (2007: 33) found in their empirical research that participants tended to blame victims for their fate when the victims were perceived as having unfavourable traits that are often associated with prejudice. This research can be related to the two case studies, as the victims of the Baga attack are perceived as unrelatable and not as important as those living in the Western world. In an analytical work by Nevalsky (2015: 473), the researcher found that Nigerian acts of terror are often associated with military and government failings, therefore inferring that the attacks could have been avoided. This makes the audience sympathise less with these victims and therefore decreases their perceived innocence. This starkly contrasts with the victims of the Tunisian attack, as they were framed as victims of a random attack that could have happened to anyone on holiday. It can be argued that the innocence of victims is an appropriate addition to the news values for reporting terrorism, as the more likely an individual is perceived as being innocent then the more coverage it will receive.

Proximity

	Baga	Tunisia
Number of articles news value was present	1	15
Percentage	6.25%	75%

This news value shows a significant difference in the extent to which it was used across the two case studies. Culturally, the British media and its audience hold little in common with the victims of the Baga attack. In a study that compared Aboriginal victims and White victims, Gilchrist (2010: 376) found that the “race and social-status” of victims, alongside the relatability of the victim to the reader, heavily impacted on the amount of media coverage they would receive. The victims of the Tunisian attack are relatable to the audience, whereas the victims of the Baga attack are unidentifiable and culturally unrelatable. This could provide an explanation as to why these two attacks received a significantly different amount of media attention.

As discussed in the review of the literature (p. 5), Patrick (2014) and Kabir & Hamid (2015) made reference to Said’s (1978) theory of Orientalism whereby an attack on a Western nation is more prominent in the media than that of one on an Eastern nation. This theory can be adapted to apply to the case studies. It has been reported that the Tunisian terrorist was

specifically targeting holidaymakers and avoiding Tunisians during his shooting spree (Wheatstone, Halkon and Webb, 2015). By directly targeting people from the West in an attack, regardless of geographical location, this can be justifiably seen as an attack on a ‘Western nation’. The theory of Orientalism is not restricted by geographical boundaries, but national, patriotic ties. Jewkes (2015) discussed that the proximity value can be interpreted in both a geographical and cultural sense, however the researcher feels as though geographical boundaries are overlooked the news reporting of terrorism and the articles are written in a sense that pickets the West against the East (Patrick, 2014: 397). The researcher feels as though proximity is a particularly important news value in the reporting of terrorism, however, it should be emphasised that geographical proximity tends to be overlooked and the proximity relates more to nationality and cultural relatability.

Risk

	Baga	Tunisia
Number of articles news value was present	1	11
Percentage	6.25%	55%

Evidently, risk was not a news value commonly utilised by reporters when discussing the Baga attack. This links back to the discussion of proximity. The audience are not perceived to be at risk from Boko Haram, as the groups’ attacks have tended to remain within the geographical boundaries of North-Eastern Nigeria (Smith, 2015). In the reporting of Tunisia, however, the researcher noticed that the country was negatively framed as a holiday destination that must be avoided, even stating that “it is feared that Tunisian authorities cannot adequately protect tourists from another attack.” (Turner, 2015). Lerner et al. (2003) found that emotion impacts on the perceptions an individual will have regarding how to politically respond to a terrorist attack. When angered about an attack, the public will call for punitive responses; however when individuals feel scared or threatened by their perceived risk to becoming a victim, they will favour precautionary measures (Lerner et al., 2003: 150). It seems that the public response to Tunisia was fear and avoidance of the country, and it can be argued here that the data above does not place heavy emphasis on risk being an important news value as individuals are able to withdraw themselves easily from the situation (i.e. no longer travel to Tunisia). However, the article written by Turner (2015a) entitled “Tunisia attack: gunman's links to Britain” provides a strong example for the utilisation of risk as a news value in the reporting of terrorism. This moves the geographical risk to the capital of the UK, enhancing fear of becoming a victim

and bringing awareness to how the audience are unable to escape the risk of becoming a victim as people who have similar ideology to the original perpetrator are living in England. The extent to which journalists utilise this news value is extremely important in determining how their audience will feel about their perceived risk of becoming a victim of terrorism and their political preference towards responses to these events.

Unexpectedness

	Baga	Tunisia
Number of articles news value was present	1	18
Percentage	6.25%	90%

Chibnall (1977) stated that a crime is more likely to be reported about in the media if it is seem to be random, rare and unprovoked. The unexpected, unpredictable nature of terrorism makes stories about terrorist attacks attractive to the media – but only if reporters are able to frame the event in a way that makes the attack look completely random. When an attack can be portrayed in the media as unexpected and against such unworthy victims, the author is able to infer that the attacker lacked logical reasoning and morality. This then enables the author to distance the audience and the attacker on the basis of logical reasoning and morality; which in turn reinforces the ‘them vs. us’ mentality discussed in the literature review (p. 4). Boko Haram have been active as an independent group since 2009, with conflict in Nigeria dating back to the 1960’s (Smith, 2015), meaning that conflict is not unheard of or unexpected from this country. However, the attack on tourists on holiday in Tunisia fulfils this shock value that is required for the news value of unexpectedness. Despite the fact that IS are a well-known international terrorist organisation, whose threat has been increasing, their attacks are still presented as though they are completely random. It could be argued here that they are presented in this manner in order to enhance the dramatic elements of an attack and reinstall a sense of fear within the audience. Linking back to the news value of simplification, articles tend to be presented with little to no contextual or historical information, meaning that reporters are able to add a shock value to their stories. Overall, this is perceived to be an important news value in increasing the likelihood of an attack being reported.

Dramatization

	Baga	Tunisia

Number of articles news value was present	13	16
Percentage	81.25%	80%

Jewkes (2015) recognises that infotainment is becoming a prominent factor in reporting crime news, and states that fictional crime media has put pressure on non-fictional crime reporting to have an added value of entertainment. The researcher concluded that acts of terrorism need to be reported in a way that is entertaining for the reader and has particular characteristics that make the attack memorable. For example, Baga’s particularly high estimated death toll enabled reporters to reference it as a “massacre” (Hanna, 2015) and referenced the victims as “survivors of the slaughter” (Newton, 2015). Inarticle that was analysed on the Tunisian attack dramatized images of a Muslim man walking around despite being on disability benefits. The article, entitled ‘Is hate preacher on £50,000 benefits REALLY too disabled to work? Jihadi who inspired Tunisia beach massacre caught lifting heavy items, pushing a wheelchair and driving’ (Bentley, 2015) was speculated to having involvement in the attack, but the article brandished him as a fraud and responsible for the death of 30 Britons. The dramatization news value adds to the shock factor of an article, which is more likely to be shared by readers and increase readership. The researcher believes that this is an important news value, however the definition of the value should be adapted slightly. Chibnall (1977) focused on the spectacle of a crime and sensationalising what happened, however, the researcher feels as though emotive language should also be considered to be an important factor under this news value. Regardless, the dramatization of terrorism was a news value that was often utilised by the authors of the articles that were analysed.

Immediacy

	Baga	Tunisia
Number of articles news value was present	2	16
Percentage	12.5%	80%

This news value was rarely found when analysing the articles that reported the Baga attack. This was because of the ambiguity surrounding the facts of the situation. This lead to the details of what happened not being reported for up to a month after the attack (Fessy, 2015). This news value links with Jewkes’ (2015) reference to infotainment, and the 24/7 accessibility of news media. This value was not apparent for the Baga articles, as Boko Haram destroyed mobile phone masts in the area making local communication extremely different and not satisfying the

immediacy news value at all. At the time of writing, Chibnall (1977: 23) discussed how newspapers were constrained by the timetable of news production and when articles needed to be ready to go to print. However, the role of the internet has significantly changed the face of journalism. One of the articles that was selected for analysis in the Tunisia attack entitled ‘Tunisia attack: as it happened’ was a live article that enabled journalists to add to it every few minutes when new information came to light (Henderson & Ensor, 2015). The researcher feels as though the news value of ‘immediacy’ in reporting of terrorism is crucial, especially in 2015.

Structured access

	Baga	Tunisia
Number of articles news value was present	7	4
Percentage	43.75%	20%

The researcher was surprised to see that this news value was not utilised often by news media sources, particularly with regards to the Tunisian attack, where more news information was available. However, it is important to recognise that the Tunisian articles tended to take a victim-centred style to reporting the attack. Chibnall (1977) recognises that this is not a news value that is often found in the immediate reporting of an attack, and therefore his could explain why expert opinions accompanied the Baga articles, due to the dates that they were reported on, there had been a long amount of time for journalists to develop a story and gain access to expert opinions. The researcher feels that although this news value does apply to the media reporting of terrorism, it is seen to be a factor that would keep a story in circulation rather than a news value that would determine initial reporting of an attack. As stated, the pressure for immediate access to information is ever-prominent, and Miller and Mills (2009: 414) found that terrorism experts “need to study and theorise the media in a wider context by focusing on the relations between media content and production processes and wider formations of power.”

Religion of Perpetrator

	Baga	Tunisia
Number of articles news value was present	15	16
Percentage	93.75%	80%

This news value was derived from the researcher reviewing the literature and determining that this was likely to be an important factor that would impact on the newsworthiness of a terrorist attack. The research above indicates that the addition of this news value when the theory is

applied to terrorism is of particular importance. The majority of articles made reference to the religion of the perpetrator, and Islam was often framed in a negative way (e.g. “crazed jihadist” in Bletchley, 2015). Malo, Ouellette & Vucetic (2014: 63) argue that terrorism is often simplified by news media outlets to an act “inspired by extremist, anti-Western ideology of Al-Qaeda”. Academics have thoroughly discussed how the media perpetuates Islamophobia (Siraj, 2011; Kumar, 2012 Ogan et al., 2014; to name but a few) and the researcher feels as though terrorist attacks that are carried out by Islamic extremists are particularly newsworthy in comparison to similar attacks carried out by other religions as they help build the propaganda campaign that justifies military response and the ‘War on Terror’.

Linking to discussion of research by Sian, Law and Sayyid (2012) in the review of the literature and how media framing of Islamic extremism leads to negative associations being made towards Muslims are portrayed as ‘the enemy’, Bhatia (2005) furthers this argument by stating that the process of othering individuals and labelling them as a terrorist has wider implications for members of society who have similar characteristics to the perpetrator are then associated with this label. The negative framing of religion in the articles analysed leads to increased Islamophobia in the Western world and the association of all Muslims with Islamic extremism. The researcher recognises this as an important news value in the reporting of terrorism.

‘Whoever controls the media, controls the mind’: Conclusion

Overall, the research in this dissertation indicates that the combination of news values defined in the Methodology chapter (p. 12) that are derived from Jewkes (2004; 2011; 2015), Chibnall (1977) and the researcher do apply to media reporting of terrorism in 2015. Some values, such as simplification/unambiguity, celebrities (notable individuals), individualism (personification), conventionalism (predictability), conservative ideology/political diversion, violence, innocence of victims, proximity, risk, unexpectedness, dramatization and the religion of the perpetrator are of significant importance and can generally be applied to most media reports on terrorism. Without the presence of these values a news story is unlikely to receive a significant amount of media attention, or will fail to remain in circulation for an extended period of time.

The values that were more unpredictable were graphic imagery/visible acts, structured access and importance/threshold. These news values tended to be utilised less as they were dependant on other external influences, such as the access and availability of imagery and expert opinions. Similarly, the perceived importance of a story was a determined by the author of the text and editor of the online news media source. Although there was evidence that these news values do apply to terrorism, it can be argued that they are not as prominent or important as the other values listed previously. On the other hand, whilst it can be argued that certain news values are more important than others, the application of theory of newsworthiness is difficult to apply to terrorism as a generalised crime, due to the broad spectrum of actions and events that can be deemed as ‘terrorism’.

The case studies chosen highlight the difficulty with evaluating terrorist attacks as the theory of newsworthiness cannot be entirely separate from the event itself. The researcher did find evidence that other external factors, such as the agenda of a news media source, will influence what news values will be utilised. In this dissertation, this was not a variable that significantly impacted on the data. However, there is scope for future research to look into this area more. Similarly, other ways in which the work of this dissertation could be built upon include analysing a larger number of articles, drawing articles from a wider pool of online news media sources, or replicating this study again through longitudinal research in order to show how these representations are effected over time or following other serious terrorist attacks.

Overall, the researcher was successfully able to answer the research question indicated on page 4 of the dissertation, that asked “*Which news values, defined by Chibnall (1977) and Jewkes (2004), apply to terrorism in 2015?*”. The researcher explored the quantitative differences between the two case studies and how often the news values were applied. Similarly, qualitative analysis of news values and newsworthiness enabled the researcher to explore the reasons behind why certain news values appeal more than others in the media reporting of terrorism. In order to explore this, the dissertation looked beyond the media’s relationship with terrorism and explored other concepts such as Orientalism (Said, 1978), othering, labelling, media imperialism and Islamophobia. The research in this dissertation identified a reformed, updated version of the list of news values originally derived from Chibnall (1977) and Jewkes (2004; 2011; 2015) that are applicable to the way in which the media report terrorism.

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Appendices

Appendix A (Ethical approval letter).....	42
Appendix B (Quantitative results table)	43
Appendix C (Baga content analysis results table)	44
Appendix D (Tunisia content analysis results table)	47
Appendix E (List of ‘BBC News’ articles).....	50
Appendix F (List of ‘The Telegraph’ articles).....	52
Appendix G (List of ‘The Daily Mail’ articles).....	55
Appendix H (List of ‘The Mirror’ articles).....	58

Appendix A (Ethical approval letter)



27 November 2015

Eleanor Ralph

Dear Eleanor,

I am pleased to inform you that the Criminal Justice Ethics Panel has considered your application for your dissertation project and I am happy to confirm that it has been approved.

You should retain this notice and submit it in the appendix of your dissertation.

The Ethics Panel approval is given on the understanding that:

- (i) any adverse reactions/events which take place during the course of the project will be reported to the Panel immediately;
- (ii) any unforeseen ethical issues arising during the course of the project will be reported to the Panel immediately;
- (iii) any change in the protocol will be reported to the Panel immediately.

Please note that ethical approval is given for the academic year 2015-2016 and therefore the expiry date for this project will be 31st August 2016. An application for extension of approval must be submitted if the project continues after this date.

Yours sincerely,

Lol Burke

Senior Lecturer in Criminal Justice

L.Burke@ljmu.ac.uk

CC: Supervisor

Appendix B (Quantitative results table)

Baga

Quantitative factor	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8	B9	B10	B11	B12	B13	B14	B15	B16	B17	B18	B19	B20
Number of words per article	531	999	486	811	1398	348	1474	1477	323	877	905	744	1426	713	1212	515	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Number of pictures accompanying article	1	6	1	8	7	1	5	5	2	3	11	5	13	6	10	6	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Number of videos accompanying article	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Mean number of words per article	1269.5																			

Tunsia

Quantitative factor	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8	T9	T10	T11	T12	T13	T14	T15	T16	T17	T18	T19	T20
Number of words per article	512	551	385	1235	688	396	5926	695	745	402	644	833	2411	1234	855	1689	2571	1989	716	913
Number of pictures accompanying article	1	3	2	8	4	4	30	30	2	4	7	1	59	16	3	12	16	10	35	5
Number of videos accompanying article	3	0	0	2	3	0	6	0	1	1	1	0	3	2	1	2	0	1	2	2
Mean number of words per article	837.5882353																			

Appendix C (Baga content analysis results table)

News value	Description	BBC					The Telegraph					The Daily Mail					Mirror				
		B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8	B9	B10	B11	B12	B13	B14	B15	B16	B17	B18	B19	B20
Simplification/ unambiguity	Brevity, reduced to minimum number of parts/themes, does not require reader to think much, clarity	-	X	-	X	X	X	-	-	X	-	-	X	X	X	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Celebrities (notable individuals)	Individuals such as: group leaders, important political figures, celebrities commenting on attacks, political leaders of country commenting on attack	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	X	X	X	-	-	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Individualism (personification)	Human interest appeal, name to perpetrator, name to victims	-	-	X	-	X	X	X	-	-	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Graphic imagery (visible/spectacle acts)	Embedded videos, graphic and/or distressing images, multiple images to accompany article	-	X	-	X	-	-	-	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	-	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Conventionalism (predictability)	Any references made to previous attacks of a similar nature, attacks that have happened recently linking to this attack	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Conservative ideology/political diversion	Evidence of political motivations, reference to religious motivations, negative associations with religion, rebellion, radicalisation	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Importance/threshold	A story that is of importance that may affect us, seen by paper to be of importance	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Violence	Violent factors emphasised, e.g. Number of deaths/casualties, 'massacre', anger, hate	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Innocence of victims	Images of victims, names of victims, reference to how random attack was, factors that make victims appear vulnerable	-	-	-	-	X	-	X	-	-	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	-	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Proximity	Geographical proximity to Britain, reference to how it will effect Britain, factors that culturally relate to	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Risk	Factors that may indicate if audience are at risk of being victims, a real threat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Unexpectedness	Attack was random, unpredictable, no logical reasoning, rare event	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Dramatization	Dramatic, entertainment factor, attention drawn away from the 'why' to the 'what'	-	-	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Immediacy	Articles published as events unfold	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	X	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Structured access	Expert opinions	X	-	X	X	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Religion of Perpetrator	If religion is specified (e.g. Muslim, Islamic extremists)	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix D (Tunisia content analysis results table)

		BBC					The Telegraph					Daily Mail					The Mirror				
News value	Description	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8	T9	T10	T11	T12	T13	T14	T15	T16	T17	T18	T19	T20
Simplification/ unambiguity	Brevity, reduced to minimum number of parts/themes, does not require reader to think much, clarity	X	-	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Celebrities (notable individuals)	Individuals such as: group leaders, important political figures, celebrities commenting on attacks, political leaders of country commenting on attack	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	X	X	X	-
Individualism (personification)	Human interest appeal, name to perpetrator, name to victims	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Graphic imagery (visible/spectacle acts)	Embedded videos, graphic and/or distressing images, multiple images to accompany article	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-	X	X	-	X	-	-	-	X
Conventionalism (predictability)	Any references made to previous attacks of a similar nature, attacks that have happened recently linking to this attack	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	X	-

Conservative ideology/political diversion	Evidence of political motivations, reference to religious motivations, negative associations with religion, rebellion, radicalisation	X	-	X	-	-	-	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	X
Importance/threshold	A story that is of importance that may affect us, seen by paper to be of importance	X	X	-	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	-	-	X	X	X	-
Violence	Violent factors emphasised, ie. Number of deaths/casualties, 'massacre', anger, hate, bloodshed	-	X	-	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	-	X	X	X	-	X
Innocence of victims	Images of victims, names of victims, reference to how random attack was, factors that make victims appear vulnerable	-	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	X	X	X	-	-	X	X	X	X	X
Proximity	Geographical proximity to Britain, reference to how it will effect Britain, factors that audience can sympathise with	X	X	-	X	-	X	X	-	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-
Risk	Factors that may indicate if audience are at risk of being victims, a real threat	-	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-	X	-
Unexpectedness	Attack was random, unpredictable, no logical reasoning, rare event	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	X	X	X	X	X
Dramatization	Dramatic, entertainment factor, attention drawn away from the 'why' to the 'what'	-	-	-	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Immediacy	Articles published as events unfold	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	-	-	X	X	X	-
Structured access	Expert opinions	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Religion of Perpetrator	If religion is specified (e.g. Muslim, Islamic extremists)	X	X	X	-	-	-	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Appendix E (List of ‘BBC News’ articles)

Articles in this Appendix: B1 – B5, T1 – T5

Baga

B1

‘Boko Haram crisis: Nigeria army 'warned about Baga attack’ (2015) *BBC News*. 28th January 2015. (Online). Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-31026557> [Accessed 14/01/2016]

B2

Ross, W. (2015) ‘Boko Haram crisis: Why it is hard to know the truth in Nigeria’. 13th January 2015. (Online). Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-30794829> [Accessed 14/01/2016]

B3

‘Nigerian general jailed over Boko Haram attack on Baga’ (2015) *BBC News*. 16th October 2015. (Online). Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-34550050> [Accessed 14/01/2016].

B4

‘Nigeria's Boko Haram: Baga destruction 'shown in images’ (2015) *BBC News*. 15th January 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-30826582> [Accessed 14/01/2016].

B5

Fessy, T. (2015) ‘Boko Haram attack: What happened in Baga?’ *BBC News*. 2nd February 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-30987043> [Accessed 14/01/2016].

Tunisia

T1

‘Tunisia attack Arrests over Sousse massacre’ (2015) *BBC News*. 29th June 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-33313749> [Accessed 14/01/2016].

T2

‘Tunisia beach massacre 'linked' to museum killings’ (2015) *BBC News*. 5th August 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-33791293> [Accessed 14/01/2016].

T3

Muir, J. (2015) ‘Relatives of Tunisia gunman 'horrified' by beach massacre’ *BBC News*. 27th June 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-33298705> [Accessed 14/01/2016].

T4

‘Tunisia attack: Three family members killed in massacre’ (2015) *BBC News*. 28th June 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-33303204> [Accessed 14/01/2016].

T5

‘Tunisia beach attack 'Gunman's bullet grazed my head'’ (2015) *BBC News*. 29th June 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-south-east-wales-33308939> [Accessed 14/01/2016].

Appendix F (List of 'The Telegraph' articles)

Articles in this Appendix: B6 – B10, T6 – T10

Baga

B6

Blair, D. (2015) 'Boastful Boko Haram leader throws down gauntlet to 'kings of Africa', saying 'come and get me'' *The Telegraph*. 21st January 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/nigeria/11359824/Boastful-l-Boko-Haram-leader-throws-down-gauntlet-to-kings-of-Africa-saying-come-and-get-me.html> [Accessed 13/01/2016].

B7

Blair, D. (2015a) 'Escape from Boko Haram what the survivors witnessed' *The Telegraph*. 12th February 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/chad/11406772/Escape-from-Boko-Haram-what-the-survivors-saw.html> [Accessed 13/01/2015]

B8

Blair, D. (2015b) 'Boko Haram is now a mini-Islamic State, with its own territory' *The Telegraph*. 10th January 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/nigeria/11337722/Boko-Haram-is-now-a-mini-Islamic-State-with-its-own-territory.html> [Accessed 13/01/2015].

B9

Blair, D. (2015c) 'Boko Haram raze Nigerian towns in 'most destructive' attack yet, says Amnesty' *The Telegraph*. 15th January 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/nigeria/11345905/Boko-Haram-raze-Nigerian-towns-in-most-destructive-attack-yet-says-Amnesty.html> [Accessed 13/01/2016].

B10

Freeman, C. (2015) 'Nigeria schoolgirl tells House of Lords of brutal Boko Haram attack' *The Telegraph*. 13th October 2015. (Online) Available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/nigeria/11927617/Nigeria-schoolgirl-tells-House-of-Lords-of-brutal-Boko-Haram-attack.html> [Accessed 13/01/2016].

Tunisia

T6

Turner, C. (2015) 'Hundreds of Brits still in Tunisia despite fresh terrorist attack 'highly likely'' *The Telegraph*. 12th July 2015. (Online). Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/tunisia/11735085/Hundreds-of-Brits-still-in-Tunisia-despite-fresh-terrorist-attack-highly-likely.html> [Accessed 13/01/2016].

T7

Henderson, B & Ensor, J. (2015) 'Tunisia attack: as it happened' *The Telegraph*. 27th June 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/tunisia/11702957/Tunisia-attack-deadly-shooting-in-front-of-tourist-beach-hotel.html> [Accessed 13/01/2016].

T8

Medick, R. (2015) 'Tunisia terror victims call in lawyers over resort security' *The Telegraph*. 18th July 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/islamic-state/11748917/Tunisia-terror-victims-call-in-lawyers-over-resort-security.html> [Accessed 13/01/2016].

T9

Dominiczak, P., Rayner, G. & Farmer, B. (2015) 'Tunisia attack: David Cameron calls on UK Muslims to act if they suspect someone of being an extremist' *The Telegraph*. 29th June 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/tunisia/11707126/Tunisia-attack-David-Cameron-calls-on-UK-Muslims-to-act-if-they-suspect-someone-of-being-an-extremist.html> [Accessed 13/01/2016].

T10

Turner, C. (2015a) 'Tunisia attack gunman's links to Britain' *The Telegraph*. 30th June 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11707325/Tunisia-beach-massacre-gunmans-links-to-Britain.html> [Accessed 13/01/2016].

Appendix G (List of 'The Daily Mail' articles)

Articles in this Appendix: B11 – B15, T11 – T15

B11

Newton, J. (2015) 'Survivors of the slaughter: Nigerian president makes surprise visit to Boko Haram's heartland to meet the 5,000 left homeless by massacre' *The Daily Mail*. 16th January 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2912687/Nigerian-president-Goodluck-Jonathan-makes-surprise-visit-heartland-Boko-Haram-movement-meeting-survivors-massacre-left-thousands-dead.html> [Accessed 20/12/2015].

B12

Newton, J. (2015a) 'Boko Haram leader threatens war with Niger, Cameroon, Chad AND Nigeria' *The Daily Mail*. 22nd January 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2921905/Boko-Haram-leader-threatens-war-Niger-Cameroon-Chad-Nigeria-threatens-massacres-response-leaders-response-Charlie-Hebdo-massacre.html> [Accessed 20/12/2015].

B13

Hanna, L. & Newton, J. (2015) 'Boko Haram fanatics abducted 500 women and children' after massacring 2,500 in one town' *The Daily Mail*. 19th January 2015. (Online). Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2913338/Boko-Haram-fanatics-abducted-500-women-children-brutal-town-attack-says-eyewitness.html> [Accessed 20/12/2015].

B14

Akbar, J. (2015) 'Boko Haram suicide bomber' kills at least six in Nigerian market' *The Daily Mail*. 17th January 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2914173/Suspected-Boko-Haram-suicide-bomber-kills-six-busy-Nigerian-market-week-satellite-images-reveal-aftermath-groups-deadliest-attack-country.html> [Accessed 20/12/2015].

B15

Hanna, L. (2015) 'The horrific aftermath of Boko Haram massacre on Nigerian villages: Before and after satellite images lay bare destruction caused by militants in attack that killed 2,500 people' *The Daily Mail*. 15th January 2015. (Online). Available at:

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2910580/The-horrific-aftermath-Boko-Haram-attack-Nigerian-villages-satellite-images-reveal-destruction-caused-militants-attack-killed-2-500-people.html#ixzz45nwUIOVH> [Accessed 20/12/2015].

T11

Burrows, T. (2015) 'Tunisia beach massacre was linked to museum terror attack, says Scotland Yard' *The Daily Mail*. 5th August 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3186195/Tunisia-beach-massacre-killed-30-Britons-linked-March-terror-attack-museum-says-Scotland-Yard.html> [Accessed 20/03/2015].

T12

Akbar, J. (2015a) 'Tunisia declares state of emergency as final five victims of beach massacre are due to return to UK' *The Daily Mail*. 4th July 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3149422/Tunisia-declares-state-emergency-final-five-victims-beach-massacre-return-UK.html#ixzz45o7xKEaN> [Accessed 20/03/2015].

T13

Spillet, R. (2015) 'The Queen and David Cameron lead Tunisian massacre minute's silence for British victims' *The Daily Mail*. 3rd July 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3148296/The-Queen-David-Cameron-lead-Tunisian-massacre-minute-s-silence-British-victims.html> [Accessed 20/03/2015].

T14

Hull, L. & Brown, L. (2016) 'ISIS militant who plotted Tunisia beach massacre in which 30 Britons died is 'killed' in US air strike on Libyan training camp' *The Daily Mail*. 19th February 2016. (Online) Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3454429/U-S-air-strikes-kill-40-people-Libya-targeting-house-suspected-ISIS-fighters-gathered.html#ixzz45o8rPnKe> [Accessed 20/03/2015].

T15

Bentley, P. (2015) 'Is hate preacher on £50,000 benefits REALLY too disabled to work? Jihadi who inspired Tunisia beach massacre caught lifting heavy items, pushing a wheelchair and driving' *The Daily Mail*. 10th July 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3156871/Is-hate-preacher-50-000-benefits->

[REALLY-disabled-work-Jihadi-inspired-Tunisia-beach-massacre-caught-lifting-heavy-items-pushing-wheelchair-driving.html](#) [Accessed 20/03/2015].

Appendix H (List of 'The Mirror' articles)

Articles in this Appendix: B16, T16 – T20

B16

Shammas, J. (2015) 'Boko Haram: 2,000 feared dead in Islamic extremist group's 'deadliest attack'' *The Mirror*. 10th January 2015. (Online). Available at: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/boko-haram-2000-feared-dead-4952350>
[Accessed 13/04/2016].

T16

Bletchley, R. (2015) 'Tunisia beach massacre survivor told her rescuer 'tell my family I love them - now I'm going to die'' *The Mirror*. 9th September 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/tunisia-beach-massacre-survivor-told-6414569>
[Accessed 13/04/2016].

T17

Wheatstone, Halkon and Webb, (2015) 'Tunisia attacks: What we know about British victims of beach massacre'. *The Mirror*. 29th June 2015. (Online). Available at: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/tunisia-attacks-what-know-british-5967532>
[Accessed 04/04/2016].

T18

Warburton, D. (2015) 'Tunisia terror attack: More families told their loved ones killed in the beach bloodbath' *The Mirror*. 30th June 2015. (Online). Available at: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/tunisia-terror-attack-more-families-5977559>
[Accessed 04/04/2016].

T19

Armstrong, J. (2015) 'Tunisia attack: At noon we will remember the dead - and stand in defiance against evil' *The Mirror*. 3rd July 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/tunisia-attack-noon-remember-dead-5991691>
[Accessed 04/04/2016].

T20

‘Tunisia attack hero shot THREE times while protecting his wife - fulfils promise to take family on holiday’ (2015) *The Mirror*. 1st September 2015. (Online) Available at: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/tunisia-attack-hero-shot-three-6357863> [Accessed 04/04/2016].