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Framing of Online News Reporting on Terrorist Attacks in the United Kingdom (2015-17)

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Abstract

This paper examined framing of online news reporting on terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom. The sample consisted of the articles published on three British news websites about six major terrorist attacks that took place in Europe between 2015 and 2017. The research aimed to identify and compare dominant news frames on the websites and discuss to what degree online reporting on terrorism contributes to the promotion of terror and violence. The study employed an inductive approach based on computer-assisted qualitative content analysis, which was complemented by quantitative content analysis of the article's main textual elements such as headlines, leads, and concluding paragraphs. The analysis identified 20 dominant news frames: seven in MailOnline, six in The Independent and seven in The Telegraph. The study concluded that framing of news reporting on terrorist attacks does not significantly differ among the websites. Most frames contain similar framing packages and lexical choices, and can be grouped into broader sets that appear across the websites. Quantitative content analysis of the articles' textual elements also showed very similar trends. Furthermore, the study found that online reporting on terrorist attacks significantly contributes to the promotion of terror and violence. This was clearly manifested in at least five identified news frames as well as by the results of quantitative content analysis.

1. Introduction

Mass media is often considered one of the pillars of a free and democratic society. In contrast, terrorism is usually seen as one of its greatest threats. Yet, paradoxically, both are closely intertwined. As former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, famously stated, the mass media provides terrorists with “oxygen of publicity” (Wilkinson 1997: 53). Some observers go as far as to accuse the media of being the terrorists’ “accomplices” (Schmid 1989: 540) or “best friends” (Hoffman 2006: 183). A renowned expert on terrorism, Walter Laquer (1976: 104), pointed out that if terrorism is understood as propaganda by deed, the success of a terrorist campaign depends decisively on the amount of publicity it receives. The terrorist act by itself is nothing; publicity is all. Similarly, his contemporary Brian Jenkins (1974: 4) described terrorism as a theatre that is aimed at the people watching, not at the actual victims.

These examples demonstrate that the mass media plays a crucial role in terrorism. In fact, some scholars link the emergence of modern non-state terrorism to the invention of the rotary printed press in the second half of 19th century (Schmid 1989: 541; Hoffman 2006: 178; Law 2018: 70). Terrorists use the mass media to convey their messages, spread propaganda, gain wider support for their cause, frustrate and disrupt the response of governments and security forces, and mobilize, incite and boost their supporters (Kingston 1995: 207-13; Wilkinson 1997: 56-7). On the other hand, terrorism provides for exciting and violent stories which help the mass media to sell their news products (Spencer 2012: 6). The media must compete for their audiences and are under pressure to be the first to break the news. Since terrorist acts are dramatically bad news, the media are bound to cover them (Wilkinson 1997: 54-5). The relationship between terrorism and the mass media is therefore often described as “inherently symbiotic” (Schmid 1989: 540; Wilkinson 1997: 54, Hoffman 2006: 183) and some compare their interactions to being akin to host (media) and parasite (terrorism) (Farnen 1990: 102). The importance of this topic in contemporary research on terrorism can be demonstrated not only by a significant number of journal articles¹, but also by a growing number of monographs and edited volumes on this subject (e.g. Schmid & De Graaf 1982; Schmid & Paletz eds. 1992; Weimann & Winn 1994; Nacos 1996; Greenberg ed. 2002; Norris, Kern & Just eds. 2003; Moeller 2007; Nacos 2007; Barnett & Reynolds 2009; Spencer 2010; Awan, Hoskins & O’Loughlin 2011; Freedman & Thussu eds. 2012; Archetti 2013).

The mass media plays an important role in contemporary societies and the way they report on terrorism can have a profound impact on its effectiveness as a violent communication strategy. In the early 1980s, Schmid and De Graaf (1982: 98) noted in one of the first works on this subject that: *“Through the way media present terrorist news, through selection of some facts out of the multitude of potentially relevant facts, through the associations they lay between the terrorist act and the social context, the media can have a profound influence that can create public hysteria, witch-hunts, fatalism, and all sorts of other reactions that serve certain*

¹ An exhaustive overview of bibliography offers Tinnes (2013). For more recent articles, see the examples in review of literature below.

political interests—and not only those of the terrorists”. In this context, it is also worth quoting Farnen (1990: 100) who writes: “*What we know as terrorism is actually a media creation; mass media define, delimit, delegitimize, and discredit events that we have not actually seen, but that we all instantly recognize as terrorist acts*”. Brinson and Stohl (2012: 273) point out that three decades of extensive research has consistently shown that “media framing” influences the public perception of news content. In the context of terrorism, conventional news frames play an important role because they furnish consistent, predictable, simple, and powerful narratives that are embedded in the social construction of reality, thus influencing reactions of the public as well as the authorities (Norris, Kern & Just 2003: 5; Marthoz 2017: 34). Indeed, a number of experimental studies have demonstrated that media coverage of terrorism can impact individuals’ emotions such as anxiety, anger, fear or disgust (Slone 2000; Dumont et al. 2003; Lerner et al. 2003; Slone & Shoshani 2008; Brinson & Stohl 2012; Nellis & Savage 2012; Grizzard et al. 2017; von Sikorski et al. 2017; Williamson et al. 2019), perception of the danger (Woods 2011), attitudes toward ethnic and social groups (Brinson & Stohl 2012; Tamborini et al. 2017; Walter et al. 2016; Walter et al. 2017) or policy preferences (Gadarian 2010; Brinson & Stohl 2012; Walter et al. 2017).

Nowadays, a growing number of people consume news on the Internet. For example, according to a 2018 report on news consumption in the United Kingdom, 64% of adults and 82% of 16-24s consume news online (OFCOM 2019: 8). Similarly, the Reuters Institute for Study of Journalism (2019: 69) found that in 2013-19, 74-75% of British citizens accessed news online. Digitalization has accelerated news production and increased pressure on timeliness, forcing journalists to deliver news almost instantly.² This poses challenges for the quality of journalism (see e.g. Wilding et al. 2018: 73-97). As noted by Hoffman (2006: 183), news reporting is driven primarily by the imperative of speed, which is unwittingly tailor-made for terrorist manipulation and contrivance. Although he made this observation in relation to the impact of satellite television broadcast on terrorism, it is even more true in the age of the Internet and social media. Understanding how the mass media reports on terrorism online is therefore essential.

This paper examines media coverage of terrorist attacks in online news articles in the United Kingdom (UK). Computer-assisted content analysis was conducted on a sample of articles published by three different news websites (MailOnline, The Independent, and The Telegraph) about six major terrorist attacks in Europe between 2015 and 2017: Charlie Hebdo shooting on 7 January 2015, Paris attacks on 13 November 2015, Brussels bombings on 22 March 2016, Nice truck attack on 14 July 2016, Manchester Arena bombing on 22 May 2017, and London Bridge attack on 3 June 2017. The paper attempts to answer the following three research questions:

1. What are the dominant news frames employed by the analysed websites in their reporting on terrorist attacks?
2. To what degree does framing of online reporting on terrorist attacks differ among the analysed websites?

² Klinenberg (2005: 54) aptly described this impact as transformation of news cycle into news “cyclone”.

3. To what degree can online reporting on terrorist attacks be considered contributing to the promotion of terror and violence?

The paper consists of six chapters. Following the review of the literature below, the second chapter outlines the theoretical framework for this study and clarifies key conceptual issues related to framing and identification of news frames. The third chapter provides methodological background, specifying selection of a sample, research methods employed and research design. The next chapter presents results of the content analysis and dominant frames that have been identified in each of the three analysed news websites. This is followed by discussion of key findings of the study against the research questions as well as relevant academic literature. The final chapter summarises main conclusions and discusses the study's limitations as well as possible areas for future research.

1.1 Review of Literature

The majority of empirical research related to media coverage of terrorism analyses reporting in newspapers, exploring various aspects such as trends in terrorism coverage (Kelly & Mitchell 1981; Crelisten 1989; Steuter 1990; Nelson & Scott 1992; Chermak & Gruenewald 2006; Campana 2007; Zhang, Shoemaker & Wang 2013; Kearns, Betus & Lemieux 2019), dominant news frames and discourses (Nossek & Berkowitz 2006; Altheide 2006; Ruigrok & Atteveldt 2007; Papacharissi & Oliveira 2008; Reese & Lewis 2009; Brinson & Stohl 2009; Powell 2011; Glazier & Boydston 2012; Patrick 2014; Mathews 2015), the use of resources (Matthews 2013) or effects of media on terrorism (Scott 2001; Nacos 2009; Hoffman et al. 2010; Pfeiffer 2012). Terrorism coverage in TV news reporting has been also examined albeit to a much lesser extent than in printed press (Carpini & Williams 1984; Altheide 1987; Gerhards & Schäfer 2014; Dixon & Williams 2015; Iqbal 2015; Sui et al. 2017; Ahmad 2018).

However, the vast majority of these studies are based on examination of the U.S. media. The UK media is included in some of the studies exploring international media coverage of terrorism (Rusciano 2003; Campana 2007; Patrick 2014; Gerhards & Schäfer 2014) but with only one media outlet representing each country, generalization of their findings is rather limited. For the purpose of this research, comparative studies in framing of terrorism news that include several UK media outlets in their sample are more relevant. There are three studies in particular that need to be mentioned.

The first one is by Ruigrok and Atteveldt (2007), who analysed the extent to which the media coverage of four major terrorist attacks in American, British³ and Dutch newspapers is globalized or domesticated. The authors found that the classic news value of geographical proximity is still dominant, i.e. the news coverage increases most clearly when the event occurs on a local level. However, when looking at the framing of the news, all the newspapers followed a pattern of initial globalized reporting that was then replaced by more localized

³ The Guardian and The Sun.

reporting in which events and their consequences were analysed from a domestic perspective. Furthermore, Muslims were strongly associated with terrorism in all investigated newspapers. In the United Kingdom, the association of Muslims with terror further increased after the 2005 London bombings.

The second is a comparative framing analysis of terrorism coverage in four prominent U.S. and UK newspapers⁴ by Papacharissi and Oliveira (2008). The authors found that the U.S. papers engaged in more episodic event-oriented coverage and mainly presented mainly news associated with the military approach, while the UK papers focused on thematic context-oriented coverage, devoting much more space to diplomatic evaluations of terrorist events. The study concluded that the frames adopted by the papers aligned with corresponding policy in the two nations, pointing to the symbiotic relationship between the policy agenda and the press.

Last but not least, Brinson and Stohl (2009) compared coverage of the 2005 London terrorist attacks in major U.S. and UK newspapers. They identified two prevailing frames that differentiated the two countries' media framing. The UK press applied a "domestic frame", which suggested that the attacks were isolated and random incidents, diagnosing the problem as homegrown. In contrast, the U.S. press applied an "international frame", which interpreted the problem as being connected to international terrorism, in particular al-Qaeda and "war on terror". Similar to Papacharissi and Oliveira (2008), the authors found that media frames aligned with the language introduced by government spokespersons and counterterrorism agendas. The newspapers in both countries can be thus considered as supportive of their respective governments' policies at that time.

Empirical research that exclusively focuses on terrorism coverage in the UK media is quite limited. One of the rare exceptions is Richards (2007: 156-162), who conducted a short pilot study of references to terrorism and terrorists in the British national press over two sampling periods in February and November 2003. He identified three predominant models in the media's portrayals of terrorism: the "absolute model", which sees terrorism as an absolute force that does not need to be analysed but met with an equally absolute determination and force to defeat it; the "retaliation model", which interprets terrorism as retaliatory response to perceived attacks on Islamic world; and the "inevitability model", which sees terrorism as an unstoppable force until terrorism is eradicated or its causes removed. There are also several less frequent "part-models", for example one that links terrorism to migration and asylum.

Another relevant study is by Matthews (2015), who explored dominant frames in UK press coverage of foiled Islamist terrorist plots between 2001 and 2011. He identified two prominent frames: an inevitability and preparedness frame, which interpreted the plots as evidence of a constant threat posed by contemporary terrorism and emphasised the need for intervention by the police and security services; and a belonging and responsibility frame, which portrayed the

⁴ The Guardian and London Financial Times.

plots as belonging to the predominantly Muslim communities in which counterterrorism operations took place.

Iqbal (2015) analysed how three major British TV news channels⁵ covered the 2008 Mumbai terrorist attacks. He found that the channels played an important role in mediating terrorist messages and focused primarily on images of terror and violence. Although there were important differences between public and commercial broadcasters in terms of style and presentation, they all concentrated on televising death, injury and the propagation of chaos and confusion in the affected city.

Finally, Ahmad (2018) conducted a detailed qualitative study of the depiction of al-Qaeda in the BBC's flagship "News at Ten" bulletin. Drawing on Michel Foucault's concept of discourse, the author analyses visual and verbal content in the BBC's coverage of four major episodes from the group's recent history over the period of 10 years (2001-11). He concludes that representation of al-Qaeda in BBC news reporting shifts over time. He identifies three main modes: "Islamic mode" that reinforces age-old, Orientalist-inspired stereotypes, and sees the terrorist threat as a largely external danger located in foreign countries; "personalised mode" that portrays al-Qaeda as a hierarchical, centrally administered entity that is directly controlled, trained and financed by a single, all-powerful mastermind; and "elusive mode" which provides an outlet for fears regarding the identity of al-Qaeda's operatives as well as broader concerns about the size and shape of the terror threat, and views the group as an internal threat that is located within the nation state. In addition, Ahmad also discusses in his book the political and social/cultural dimensions of the BBC's reporting.

The review above indicates a gap in the academic literature, due to a lack of longitudinal studies examining media coverage of terrorism exclusively in the UK on a larger sample of data. The UK media is either analysed as a part of broader international comparative studies or the existing research is very narrow, focusing on a particular attack, group or a specific type of events. Furthermore, all the studies analysed coverage in either printed press or TV broadcasting. This paper aims to fill this gap by exploring online news media coverage of six major terrorist attacks over the period of three years (2015-17). The findings of this study hope to shed more light on how the UK media frames news reporting on terrorism online, and thus contribute to a better understanding of their role in portraying and publicizing terrorism.

⁵ BBC News, ITV News and Channel 4 News.

2. Theory

This chapter provides the theoretical framework for the paper. In the first part, it discusses definitions of framing and clarifies some of the theoretical issues revolving around this concept. The second part then presents the theoretical and methodological debate about identification and operationalization of frames.

The concept of framing has become ubiquitous in political communication research and is currently one of the most popular approaches for investigating both content and effects of the news media (Vreese & Lecheler 2012: 292). At the same time, the term has been used repeatedly to label similar but distinctly different approaches (Scheufele 1999: 103) and as noted by some authors, framing is more a research program than a unified paradigm (Matthes 2009: 349).

According to Tankard (2001: 96-7), framing is important because it offers an alternative to the old “objectivity and bias” concept and has three distinct advantages: it is a more sophisticated concept that adds possibilities of additional dimensions (e.g. emotional or cognitive); it recognizes the ability of a text to define situations and issues and set the terms of a debate; and it reflects the richness of media discourse and the subtle differences in presenting specific topics. Framing has been applied across various disciplines, including terrorism studies (e.g. Norris, Kern & Just eds. 2003; Ruigrok & Atteveldt 2007; Papacharissi & Oliveira 2008; Reese & Lewis 2009; Brinson & Stohl 2009; Powell 2011; Woods 2011; Brinson & Stohl 2012; Patrick 2014; Matthews 2015; Walter et al. 2016; Walter et al. 2017).

2.1 Framing: definitions and conceptual considerations

One of the most commonly used definitions of framing is that of Entman (1993: 52): *“to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described”*. He understands salience as *“making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful or memorable to audiences”*, which can be achieved through placement, repetition or association with culturally familiar symbols (Ibid: 53). According to Entman, frames can have at least four locations in the communication process: the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture. In the case of texts, which also include written news items that are the subject of this research, frames are *“manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts and judgements”* (Ibid: 52).

It is clear that this definition understands framing in a broader perspective, which goes beyond the media. In fact, the founder of framing theory, Erving Goffman (1974, 1986: 21), famously referred to frames as “schemata of interpretation”. Scheufele (1999: 106) points out that frames

need to be considered schemes for both presenting and comprehending news, and, therefore, we should differentiate between two main concepts of framing: individual (or audience) frames and media frames. Since this paper concerns the latter, it is necessary to also mention definitions that understand framing in this “narrower” media-oriented sense. In this context, a frequently cited definition by Gamson and Modigliani (1987: 143) understands a media frame as *“a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events. The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue”*. A similar definition is offered by Tankard (2001: 101): *“a frame is a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration”*. As these two definitions demonstrate, it is important to recognize that frames are defined not only by what they include but also by what they omit.

In addition to differentiation between individual/audience and media frames, framing research can be classified into several other categories. One of the most important categories is the distinction between equivalence and emphasis frames because it has empirical and methodological consequences for research. Equivalence frames are rooted in psychological tradition, based on the assumption that interpretation of information depends on how that information is contextualized. The information being presented is understood to be identical and informationally “equivalent” across different frames (Scheufele & Iyengar 2017: 621). In other words, equivalence framing refers to logically alike content, which is presented or phrased differently (Vreese & Lecheler 2012: 295). On the other hand, emphasis frames are rooted in sociological research and approach framing as a macro-/meso-level rather than an individual level phenomenon. They understand framing as information that conveys differing perspectives on events or issues and the observed framing effects represent differences in opinion that cannot be attributed exclusively to differences in presentation (Scheufele & Iyengar 2017: 622).

The vast majority of framing studies more or less explicitly apply the emphasis definition of frames (Vreese & Lecheler 2012: 295). As noted by Scheufele and Iyengar (2017: 622), some scholars criticize widespread adoption of this approach in framing research, arguing that it makes observing framing effects per se much more difficult and threatens to make the broader framing concept redundant as a theory of media effects. On the other hand, Vreese and Lecheler (2012: 295) point out that most political and social issues cannot be meaningfully reduced to two identical scenarios, which makes the use of emphasis frames more appropriate in empirical research. Likewise, this paper applies understanding of framing as emphasis framing.⁶

⁶ This consideration is important also in the context of other two salience-based concepts of media effects, namely agenda setting and priming. Since the early 1990s, there have been two main schools of thought in this regard. The first school sees all three concepts as fundamentally related to the concept of agenda setting. According to these researchers, mass media influence audience perceptions by highlighting the importance of issues (first-level agenda setting) or issue attributes (second-level agenda setting, which is seen as equivalent to framing). The second school argues for a return to more specific equivalency-based definition of framing, which is understood as encompassing only media effects that are due to variations in the mode of presentation for a given piece of information. Media effects that are an outcome of messages presenting different facts, aspects of an issue, or arguments do not fall under framing (Scheufele & Iyengar 2017: 624).

Framing research can be also classified with respect to frames being examined as dependent or independent variables (Scheufele 1999: 107). There are also other typologies of frames such as issue-specific vs. generic frames. Issue-specific frames relate only to a specific topic or an event while generic frames transcend thematic limitations and can be identified across various topic, some even over time and in different cultural contexts (Matthes 2009: 350; Vreese & Lecheler 2012: 295). For instance, Entman identified five popular generic frames frequently used in news stories: conflict, human interest/personalization, consequences, morality, and responsibility (Lilleker 2006: 82-5). Another example of generic frames is the concept of episodic and thematic framing developed by Iyengar (Scheufele 1999: 117). This paper examines issue-specific frames.

The process of framing consists of several distinct stages.⁷ These include frame-building, frame-setting and individual and societal consequences of framing (Vreese & Lecheler 2012: 293). For the purposes of this paper, it is not necessary to describe each stage in detail. It is important to stress, however, that the theory of framing postulates that media frames affect audience's understanding of variety of political issues. As noted by Tankard (2001: 97), much of the power of framing comes from its ability to define the terms of debate without the audience realizing it is taking place. Entman (1993: 54) points out that the frame determines whether most people notice and how they understand and remember a problem, as well as how they evaluate and choose to act upon it. While he recognizes that these effects are unlikely to be universal⁸, the theory implies that the frame has a common effect on large portions of the receiving audience, which has important implications for political communication.

In the context of terrorism studies, this is a key consideration, as political communication is an essential part of terrorism. For example, one of the leading experts on terrorism, Bruce Hoffman (2006: 173), notes that despite many differences, all terrorist groups have one trait in common: each wants maximum publicity. The publicity or communication aspect is one of the key elements in most existing definitions of terrorism (see e.g. Schmid & Jongman 1988: 5-6; Canter 2009: 3). Furthermore, as mentioned in the introduction, numerous studies have demonstrated that media coverage of terrorism impacts people's emotions, attitudes and policy preferences. This is why news framing is a particularly relevant theoretical framework for researching this area. The next part of this chapter presents theoretical and methodological discussions about identification and operationalization of news frames.

⁷ For example, Scheufele (1999: 114-17) developed a theoretical process model of framing.

⁸ Variables that have the potential to enhance, limit or even obliterate a framing effect include individual-level moderators such as knowledge and values as well as contextual moderators such as interpersonal communication, other competitive framing, etc. (Vreese & Lecheler 2012: 297).

2.2 Identifying and operationalizing frames

According to Vreese and Lecheler (2012: 294), there are two main approaches to identifying frames: inductive and deductive. The inductive approach refrains from analyzing news stories with a priori defined news frames in mind. The frames emerge from the studied material during the course of analysis. In contrast, the deductive approach investigates frames that are defined and operationalized prior to the investigation. Regardless of the approach, however, Vreese and Lecheler (Ibid) note that most scholars agree on the importance of applying concise, a priori defined operationalizations of frames when conducting analysis. Due to the lack of longitude empirical studies that identify dominant frames in terrorism coverage in the UK media, this study applied an inductive approach.

Generally speaking, news frames can be identified at three levels: (1) horizontal level, which can include journalists or the media system, recipients or society and political/economical/cultural/etc. actors; (2) cognitive or textual level; and (3) vertical level, where frames can be identified as a cognitive complex of related schemata, in public or inter-media discourse, and as a textual structure of discourse products such as press releases or newspaper articles (Scheufele 2004: 402). As noted by Matthes (2009: 349), the diversity of theoretical perspectives results in a variety of operational understandings of frames. In general, scholars of the empirical approach to measuring frames agree that frames are specific textual and visual elements or “framing devices” that are essentially different from the remaining news story, which may be considered core news facts. Frames should meet at least four criteria: they must have identifiable conceptual and linguistic characteristics; they should be commonly observed in journalistic practice; it must be possible to reliably distinguish one frame from another; and a frame must have representational validity and not be merely be a figment of researcher’s imagination (Vreese & Lecheler 2012: 294-5).

Academic literature offers several methodological approaches to operationalizing frames or framing devices. Matthes and Kohring (2008) divided them into five general categories: (1) a hermeneutic approach that identifies frames by providing an interpretative account of media texts linking up frames with broader cultural elements; (2) a linguistic approach that identifies frames based on analyzing the selection, placement, and structures of specific words and sentences in a text; (3) a manual holistic approach, in which frames are first generated by a qualitative analysis of some news texts and then are coded as holistic variables in a manual content analysis; (4) a computer-assisted approach, which relies on a software to examine specific vocabularies in texts; (5) a deductive approach that theoretically derives frames from the literature and then codes them in a standard content analysis.

Examples of the methods applying an inductive approach to identifying frames include the concept of “media packages” (Gamson & Lasch 1983; Gamson & Modigliani 1989), examination of “frame traits” (Entman 1991), compilation of “list of frames” (Tankard 2001), the concept of “frame mapping” (Miller & Riechert 2001), or the use of computer-assisted cluster analysis (Matthes & Kohring 2008). However, as noted by Touri and Koteyko (2015:

604), a key question permeating all these standard inductive approaches is the tendency to reduce frames to either subjective interpretations of texts, or clusters of words, attributes and story topics but without explaining how they interact with each other. They argue that frame analysis needs to be a more dynamic process that requires bridging qualitative and quantitative approaches as well as empirical and interpretative ones. Specifically, they promote computer-assisted qualitative data analysis as the approach to achieving a more systematic extraction of frames, using software-generated content as a guide for the analyst's interpretation.

Their method is based on two corpus linguistic techniques developed for processing large volumes of data: keywords and concordances. Keywords offer a systematic identification of the central meanings contained in a text. Although keywords will not reveal frames, they direct the analyst to important concepts which may help identify and categorize central ideas around which frames are constructed. Concordance constitutes a window of text surrounding a search term (in this case keywords) and allows the analyst to shift backward and forward between instances of a word use in its immediate textual surrounding, guiding the analyst to text extracts where a frame is likely to be hidden. With the use of software, these central ideas will be extracted empirically rather than personally or experientially, and the dataset consisting of relevant text extracts can be compiled much faster than would be possible manually. These text extracts then comprise the units of analysis and constitute the locus of framing and reasoning devices.

The analysis itself is done qualitatively by the researcher who codes the extracts for framing and reasoning devices through open-coding process. This is followed by an axial coding to identify causal patterns and relationships between and within the categories identified during open coding. The process results in a fewer and more significant codes that represent bigger archetypal ideas – frames. Frames are then used to design “framing packages” which consist of five elements: (1) general definition of the problem/issue, (2) cause (the reason why this is a problem or else an explanation of the issue in question), (3) consequences of the issue in question, (4) solution or action associated with the issue in question, and (5) the moral evaluation of the issue in question.⁹ This is complemented by examples of lexical choices (Touri & Koteyko 2015: 608).

Given that this research is inductive in its approach to identifying news frames, the method proposed by Touri and Koteyko (2015) was found as the most suitable for the purpose of this paper. It is an empirically-driven method for identifying potential locations where frames should be located but, at the same time, allows the researcher flexibility in categorizing and interpreting the frames. Given that the meaning of words is always highly dependent on their context, this method seems to be more adequate than relying only on quantitative categorizing of certain textual elements that cannot capture meaning itself.

⁹ Touri and Koteyko adopted the concept of “framing packages” from Van Gorp and Vercruysse (2012).

3. Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodological framework for the research. It discusses the selection of a sample for analysis, the research methods employed and research design. Data were collected during February 2020 and the analysis itself was conducted over the period of two months in March and April 2020.

3.1 Sample

Given the space and time constraints stemming from formal requirements for this type of academic work, it was necessary to limit the number of UK media outlets and the number of terrorist attacks to be included in the study. Nevertheless, the size of the sample was selected with the aim to be as representative as possible, while ensuring that the analysis could be still realistically conducted within the given timeframe.

Three news websites were selected for this research: MailOnline¹⁰, The Independent¹¹, and The Telegraph¹². This choice was motivated by three main reasons. First, they belong to some of the most popular news websites in the UK (see e.g. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism 2019: 69; Mediatique 2018: 49). Second, unlike other popular UK news media such as the BBC, Financial Times, The Guardian or The Sun, they were not included in the previous studies mentioned in the literature review in the first chapter. Finally, all three have different journalistic and political orientations. MailOnline, the online version of The Daily Mail, can be broadly considered a tabloid that is strongly right-wing; The Independent, published exclusively online since 2016, is usually described as liberal/centrist; and The Telegraph, the online version of The Daily Telegraph, is generally considered a traditional conservative media source, leaning right on the political spectrum (Smith 2017).

The following six major terrorist attacks that took place in Europe between 2015 and 2017 were included in this study: (1) Charlie Hebdo shooting on 7 January 2015,¹³ (2) Paris attacks on 13 November 2015, (3) Brussels bombings on 22 March 2016, (4) Nice truck attack on 14 July 2016, (5) Manchester Arena bombing on 22 May 2017, and (6) London Bridge attack on 3 June 2017. All these events represent some of the worst incidents of terrorist violence on the continent in recent years and received extensive media coverage in most European countries, including the UK. Furthermore, all were confirmed as acts of terrorism within a short period of time after taking place, leaving little doubt about the nature of these incidents.

¹⁰ <https://www.dailymail.co.uk>

¹¹ <https://www.independent.co.uk>

¹² <https://www.telegraph.co.uk>

¹³ In order not to have one case overrepresented in the sample, it was decided not to include other related attacks that followed Charlie Hebdo shooting, namely Dammartin-en-Goële hostage crisis and a siege of a kosher supermarket on 9 January 2015.

The sample includes all the news articles about the attacks published by the three studied websites on the day of their occurrence and one day after.¹⁴ Commentaries, opinion pieces and editorials were excluded from the analysis. The articles were retrieved manually from the digital archives of each website within the category “news” and copied to separate document files. This process generated 642 articles in total.¹⁵ The table below disaggregates the number of articles included in the sample by a news website and a terrorist attack. The summary of all articles included in the sample can be found in the Appendix 2.

News website/Terrorist event	MailOnline	The Independent	The Telegraph	Total
Charlie Hebdo shooting	31	26	31	88
Paris attacks	59	45	18	122
Brussels bombings	42	49	16	107
Nice truck attack	46	34	16	96
Manchester Arena bombing	20	54	34	108
London Bridge attack	39	45	28	112
Total	237	253	143	633

Table 1: Sample size disaggregated by the news websites and the terrorist attacks included in analysis.

3.2 Research Methods

This study employed computer-assisted content analysis as the main research method. Content analysis is a standard research technique for analysing the content of a text (Neuman 2014: 259-69) and as demonstrated by Matthes (2009) in his meta-study of 131 framing studies, it is a dominant method within framing research. The software used for assisting with the research was MAXQDA Plus 2020 (version 20.0.8). MAXQDA is a software package for qualitative and mixed-methods analysis of various types of data such as texts, images, audio/video files, websites, tweets, focus group discussions, survey responses etc.¹⁶

In order to identify dominant frames in media coverage of the selected terrorist attacks, this research applied an inductive approach based on qualitative content analysis inspired by the study of Touri and Koteyko (2015). According to this method, frames are identified from extracts of the analysed text that consist of sentences containing the most frequently used relevant keywords. These extracts constitute a unit of analysis. In the first round, the extracts

¹⁴ In the case of Paris attacks, The Telegraph digital archive did not contain any news items published on 13 November 2015. Therefore, the articles published on 14 and 15 November 2015 were included in the sample.

¹⁵ It should be noted that some of these articles, especially in the case of MailOnline, were short wires from large news agencies such as Reuters, the Associated Press or AFP. Nevertheless, they were still included in the sample as selection of which story from news agencies to re-publish also indicates the way how the website frames a certain issue.

¹⁶ Student license for one semester was purchased for the purposes of this research. For more information about MAXQDA, visit <https://www.maxqda.com/>.

are coded for framing and reasoning devices through an open-coding process. This is followed by the second round, in which axial coding is used to identify causal patterns and relationships between and within the coding categories identified in the first stage. This results in broader and fewer categories that constitute frames. The frames are then used to construct a “framing package”. The exact procedure is described in greater details below. It needs to be underlined that qualitative content analysis was conducted for each of the three studied news websites separately.

The qualitative content analysis was supplemented by quantitative content analysis to categorize the main textual elements within the news articles and provide broader picture about media coverage of terrorist attacks. The selection of textual elements was broadly inspired by framing mechanisms defined by Tankard (2001). In this study, the textual elements that represented units of analysis for quantitative content analysis were: (1) headlines, (2) leads (beginning of the article), and (3) conclusions (concluding paragraphs of the article). Based on a short pilot study of a small part of the sample, the following coding categories were defined:

- *Attack details/eyewitness accounts* – description of how the attack unfolded or direct eyewitness accounts about the attack;
- *Attribution* – assigning responsibility for the attack to a particular terrorist group;
- *Condemnation* – references to condemnation of the attack by politicians, public figures, etc.;
- *Crisis management/state response* – references to measures taken by state authorities, including emergency services, in responding to an attack (both during the attack and afterwards);
- *Defiance* – references to acts of heroism or defiance by public or members of emergency services, including examples of help/assistance provided by public to victims or those affected by the attack;
- *Non-state reactions* – other reactions than condemnation or solidarity by non-state actors (mainly public figures, media, etc.);
- *Perpetrators’ details* – references to the attack’s perpetrators such as their personal history, ethnic/religious background, etc.;
- *Previous attacks* – references to similar terrorist attacks in the past;
- *Solidarity/tribute* – expressions of solidarity with victims or anyone affected by the attack;
- *Threat of future attacks* – references to a possibility of another terrorist attack in the future;
- *Victims/casualties* – references to the number of casualties or details about victims of the attack;
- *Other* – any other reference that does not fit any of the categories described above.

3.3 Research Design

The research was carried out in two main phases. First, qualitative content analysis was conducted separately for all three studied websites. For each, six document files containing manually copied articles about the selected terrorist attacks from the website's digital archive were created. The files (in the format .docx of Microsoft Office Word) were then imported into MAXQDA for computer analysis that was run on all six files simultaneously in several steps. As noted above, the procedure described below is largely based on the approach by Touri and Koteyko (2015) although the software used for this research was different.

The computer-assisted analysis began with developing a list of most frequently used keywords. This was produced through MAXQDA's function "word frequencies". To ensure that the identified keywords were relevant for framing of terrorism, some of the most common words were entered into a "stop list", a MAXQDA feature that ensures that these words are not included in the analysis by the search engine. These included definite and indefinite articles (a, the), time references (e.g. November, June, Monday), numerical figures, prepositions (e.g. on, in, by, at), conjunctions (e.g. and, so, although), pronouns (he, she, they, his, her), nouns and adjectives related to geographical locations (e.g. France, Paris, Brussels, French, British), names of concrete persons (e.g. Hollande, May, Cameron), neutral verbs (e.g. come, be, speak, tell, give, hear), neutral descriptive adjectives (e.g. public, new, old, young, etc.), neutral nouns (e.g. everyone, day, night, men, report, etc.), and nouns related to factual information about the attacks and therefore unlikely to contain framing devices (e.g. car, restaurant, bridge, van, street, area). It was decided to limit the number of keywords to be included in the analysis to 20, as these were considered most likely to contain dominant framing and reasoning devices due to the frequency of their appearance. At the same time, it needs to be admitted that this was a somewhat arbitrary decision, mainly influenced by limited time available for this research.

Secondly, the MAXQDA function "lexical search"¹⁷ was used to locate parts of the analysed documents¹⁸ that contain at least one of the 20 identified keywords and to compile a datasheet for analysis. All the search results were exported into a single separate document file. This automated export¹⁹ was not only set to contain a sentence with the defined keyword(s), but also the preceding and following sentences, to provide context and thus help with coding in the next stage. The document file compiled by MAXQDA with all the text extracts constituted a datasheet. Three such datasheets, one for each of the three news websites, were created.

¹⁷ Since this function allows for various types of searching, it should be noted that in this case, the search was conducted for whole words only.

¹⁸ In MAXQDA, these are referred to as "strings".

¹⁹ The extracts containing more than one of the searched keywords appeared multiple times in the exported file. Such duplications were removed before conducting analysis.

In the next step, separate qualitative content analysis was conducted in MAXQDA on each of the three datasheets to identify dominant frames. The extracts were coded for framing and reasoning devices through an open-coding process. It should be noted that not necessarily every extract was coded as some extracts only contained factual background, therefore no obvious framing or reasoning devices could be identified. Open coding was followed by an axial coding to identify causal patterns and relationships between and within the identified categories. This resulted in fewer and broader codes, representing dominant frames. It should be emphasised that throughout this process, the coding was done manually and MAXQDA was used only as a tool for assigning codes to the text extracts in a more systematic, structured, and efficient way. Finally, the identified frames were used to design “frame packages” consisting of the elements described in the previous chapter.

The qualitative content analysis was followed by quantitative content analysis to categorize the three main textual elements contained in the news articles. Each news article from the sample was accessed directly on the website and the coding was done manually for each element based on the coding categories described above. Results were recorded in an Excel sheet and the data was then transformed into charts.

4. Analysis

This chapter presents the results of the qualitative and quantitative content analysis. Results for each website include a list of 20 most frequently used keywords, framing packages of dominant news frames identified through qualitative content analysis with two brief concrete examples for illustration, and categorization of main textual elements based on their quantitative content analysis.

4.1 Framing of terrorist attacks in MailOnline

MailOnline published 237 news articles in total on the first two days following the six terrorist attacks included in the sample. The analysis of word frequencies run by MAXQDA identified the following 20 dominant keywords:

Word	Frequency	%	Rank	Word	Frequency	%	Rank
attack	1222	1,26	1	minister	251	0,26	11
police	1201	1,24	2	president	251	0,26	11
killed	535	0,55	3	Islamic	246	0,25	13
security	515	0,53	4	suicide	239	0,25	14
terror	456	0,47	5	armed	236	0,24	15
dead	359	0,37	6	officers	231	0,24	16
injured	358	0,37	7	terrorism	223	0,23	17
terrorist	350	0,36	8	bomb	218	0,22	18
state	330	0,34	9	incident	212	0,22	19
victims	288	0,30	10	attackers	196	0,20	20

Table 2: 20 most frequently used keywords in MailOnline

During the first stage of qualitative content analysis of the text extracts containing these keywords, open-coding process resulted in 41 different categories. In the second stage, axial coding led to identification of 7 broader categories within these codes, representing dominant news frames. Framing packages together with two concrete examples are presented below.²⁰

1) BRUTALITY FRAME	
Definition	Terrorist attacks are brutal and bloody
Cause	Terrorists have no constraints in committing violence and want to kill as many people as possible
Consequence	Shocking level of brutality and destruction

²⁰ The order of frames does not indicate their importance or frequency of appearance.

Solution/action	Strong condemnation; expressing shock and disgust; providing expressive details about attacks through eyewitness accounts
Moral evaluation	Terrorists are evil, inhuman and merciless
Lexical choices	slaughtered, bloodshed, massacre, brutality, horrific, terrifying, appalling, carnage, cruelty, atrocity, barbaric

- *“With blood spilt on sketch papers and stained in footprints on the floor, this is the awful aftermath of the Charlie Hebdo massacre. The first photograph of the office shows the utter devastation caused when Islamic fanatics stormed the magazine’s offices [...]”* (Bentley et al. 2015)
- *“Terrified eyewitnesses who survived the Manchester Arena terror attack have described the horrifying scene last night - with one teenager saying: 'People's skin and blood were everywhere'. [...] Homeless people outside the venue were 'pulling nails out of children's faces' and 'cradled victims in their arms' [...].”* (Burrows et al. 2017a)

2) VICTIMS FRAME

Definition	Terrorism destroys human lives
Cause	Terrorist violence is indiscriminate and targets a lot of people
Consequence	Many tragic personal stories of victims and their families/friends
Solution/action	Providing details about victims and their personal lives; showing impact on victims’ families and friends; paying tribute to victims; solidarity with all those affected by terrorism
Moral evaluation	Victims of terrorism are innocent people; terrorist attacks are cowardly
Lexical choices	desperate, heart-broken, devastating, tragic, distressing, innocent, cowardly attacks, loss

- *“The headteacher of the school of the youngest victim named so far [...] said she was 'simply a beautiful little girl in every aspect of the word'. [...] Another friend tweeted: 'A beautiful girl with the kindest heart & soul, I'll miss you forever, may you rest in a better place than here. [...].’”* (Burrows et al. 2017b)
- *“The desperate family of a 16-year-old are spreading her image around social media after she failed to come home after last night's terror attack. [...], who lives near London Bridge, was due home at around 9pm [...].”* (Karasin et al. 2017)

3) JIHADISTS FRAME

Definition	Terrorist attacks are committed by jihadists/Islamic radicals
Cause	Terrorists follow radical version of Islam which hates freedom and Western society
Consequence	Jihadists/Islamic radicals wage a war against democracy and Western countries
Solution/action	Actively targeting jihadist groups both at home and abroad
Moral evaluation	Jihadists/Islamic radicals are fanatics who hate freedom
Lexical choices	jihadists, jihadist groups, radical Islam, radicals, fanatics, extremists, fundamentalists

- *“A jihadi bomb suspect calmly walked out of Brussels Airport yesterday moments before his two accomplices massacred 14 people in a double suicide bombing, officials believe.”* (Robinson & Glanfield 2016)
- *“Police are today seeking the identities of three Jihadi terrorists who were shot dead by armed police after killing seven people and injuring dozens of others in a horrific van and knife rampage through central London last night.”* (Karasin et al. 2017)

4) MUSLIMS FRAME

Definition	Perpetrators of terrorism come from Muslim/Arabic communities in Europe
Cause	Many young men from the second-generation of European Muslims become radicalised and join terrorist groups such as ISIS in Syria/Iraq
Consequence	Young radicalised European Muslims are likely to commit terrorist attacks, especially those who fought in Syria/Iraq where they received training and gained combat experience
Solution/action	Limiting/restricting immigration from Muslim/Arabic countries to Europe; preventing return of foreign fighters from Syria/Iraq; close monitoring and surveillance of suspects
Moral evaluation	The growing number of Muslims in Europe endangers security

Lexical choices	immigrant communities, Muslim men, Islamic, Islam, Arab, foreign fighters
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- *“The suicide bomber was heard chanting Islamic prayers in Arabic just weeks before the attack, a neighbour has revealed. [...], 21, told MailOnline: “They were a Libyan family. A couple of months ago he [Salman] was chanting the first kalma [Islamic prayer] really loudly in the street. He was chanting in Arabic. [...].” (Burrows et al. 2017b)*
- *“Reverses for Islamic State in Syria and Iraq have raised fears it might strike again in Europe, possibly again using alienated young men from the continent's Arab immigrant communities whom it has inspired to take up arms against their native countries.” (Sassard & Bernouin 2016)*

5) WAR FRAME

Definition	Terrorism is an act of war
Cause	Terrorists are well-trained and use sophisticated weaponry and tactics
Consequence	Terrorist violence is deadly and destructive, requiring determined response
Solution/action	Military operations against terrorist groups; involvement of military during emergency response to support police
Moral evaluation	Terrorists are enemies that need to be defeated
Lexical choices	militants, commando, soldiers, fight, assault, battle, strike, gunmen, operation, campaign, foes, enemies

- *“Security was being stepped up at major transport hubs around the continent, with British police forces boosting numbers at “key locations” including ports, airports and the rail network. [...] French prime minister [...] said: “We are at war. In Europe we have been subjected to acts of war for several months.”” (MailOnline 2016)*
- *“The Premier said there was ‘far too much tolerance’ of extreme views and vowed to stand up for ‘pluralistic British values’ that were ‘superior’ to the fanatics’ ideology. She vowed: ‘We will take on and defeat our enemies.’” (Karasin et al. 2017)*

6) INTERNATIONAL FRAME

Definition	Terrorism is an international phenomenon
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Cause	Terrorist attacks occur across the world and can affect any country
Consequence	Terrorism poses a threat for the world's security and stability; terrorism endangers safety and security of people all around the world
Solution/action	Coordinated international efforts in combating terrorism; international unity and solidarity
Moral evaluation	Terrorism in any forms or manifestations can never be justified, it is a crime against humanity
Lexical choices	unity, solidarity, international community, cooperation, coalition, common threat, global security

- *“Mourners across the globe reacted to the attacks in Paris with tears, shows of solidarity and condemnations of those who carried out the assaults [...]. [...] Among world leaders, there were loud calls for the world to ratchet up the fight against terrorism.” (Mail Today Bureau 2015)*
- *“Global leaders have united to condemn this morning's deadly bomb attacks in Brussels, with David Cameron calling on the world to 'stand together' to defeat terrorism. [...] The US President said the 'world must unite... regardless of nationality or race or faith in fighting against the scourge of terrorism’.” (Dathan 2016)*

7) HEROISM FRAME	
Definition	Public defies terrorism
Cause	Terrorists fail to scare people and break their spirit
Consequence	Members of public responds to terrorism with acts of bravery, compassion and solidarity
Solution/action	Publicizing stories of personal heroism and brave acts in the face of danger; commending those who provided immediate help to victims of terrorism; expressing determination to defy terrorism and fear
Moral evaluation	Members of public who tried to stop a terrorist attack or provided immediate help to victims are heroes
Lexical choices	brave, bravery, courageous, courage, heroic, defiant, fearless

- *“A hero threw bottles and chairs at three terrorists as they stabbed innocents around London Bridge and a fearless woman barricaded a restaurant door using her own body weight to stop the extremists getting in.”* (Moore & Paterson 2017)
- *“This is the horrifying moment a lorry mows down a crowd of terrified pedestrians watching fireworks after a heroic motorcyclist flings himself onto the vehicle to try and stop the terrorist attack in Nice.”* (Scott 2016)

Results of the quantitative content analysis of main textual elements are summarised in the charts below. The data show that headlines as well as leads of the articles heavily focus on the attacks themselves as references to victims/casualties together with attack details/eyewitness accounts amount to over 40%. Mentions of crisis management/state response, references to expressions of solidarity, and attribution to a terrorist group also appear in the top five categories. The concluding paragraphs are dominated by mentions of attack details/eyewitness accounts that amount to more than fifth of all cases, followed by information about crisis management/state response or expressions of solidarity. Mentions of victims/casualties and reminders about similar attacks in the past appear often as well.

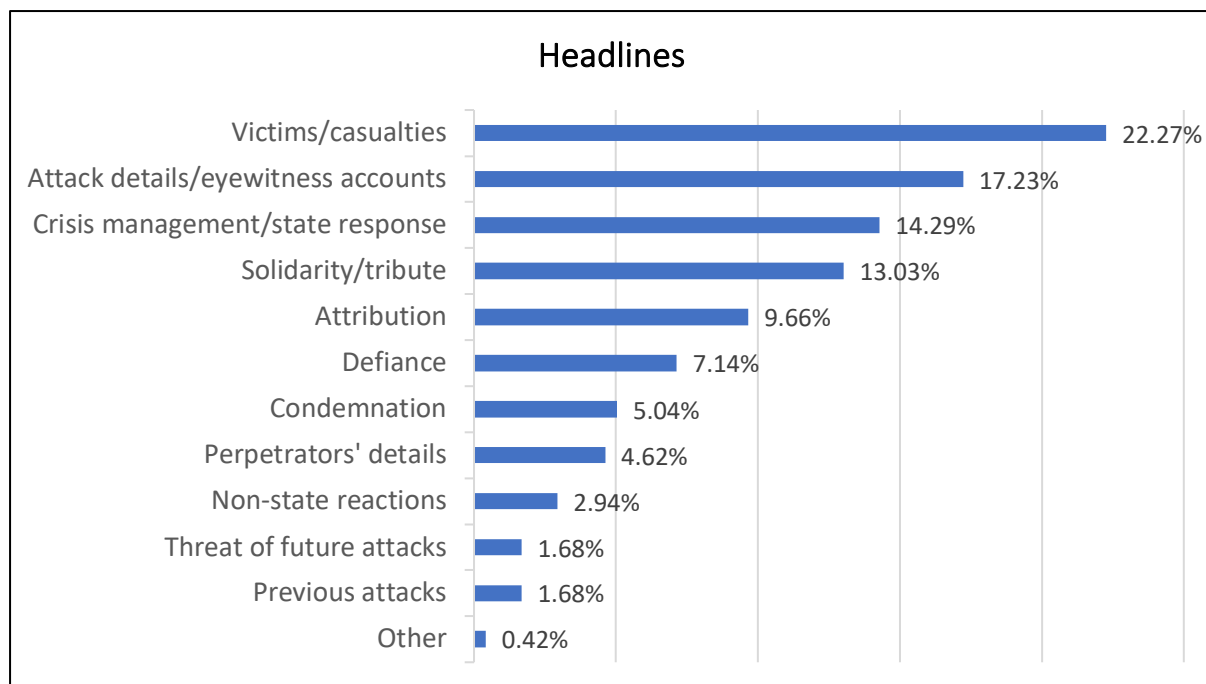


Chart 1: Headlines of the news articles in MailOnline by category (N=237)

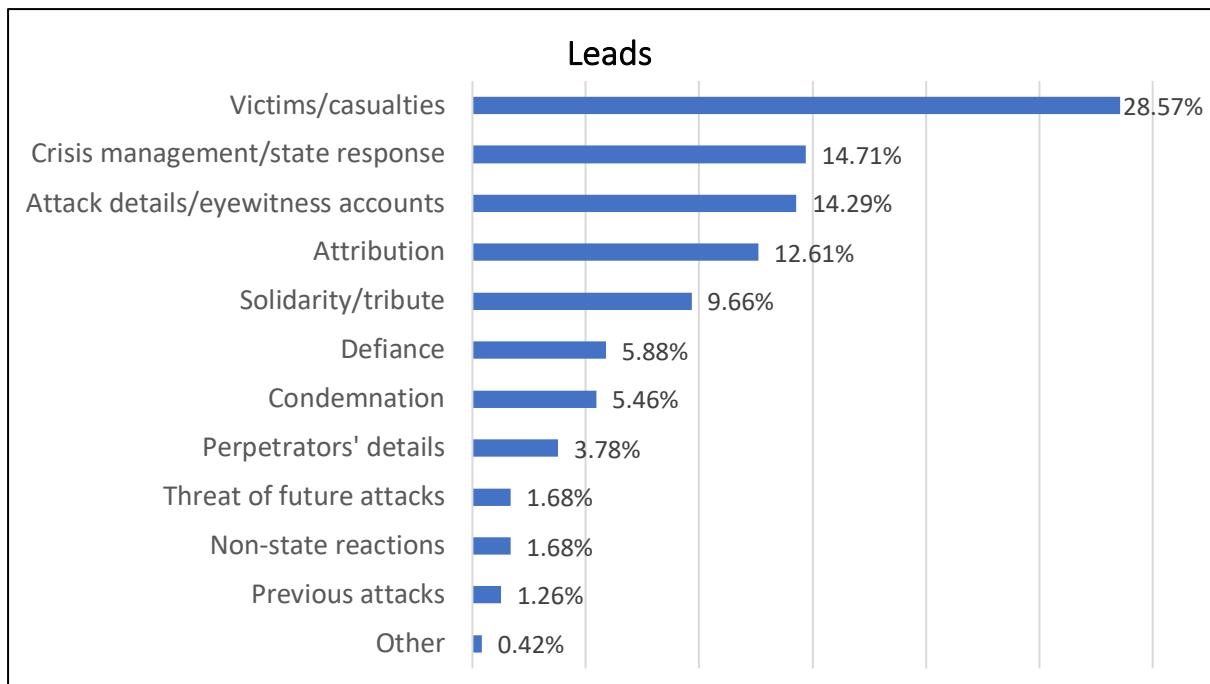


Chart 2: Leads of the news articles in MailOnline by category (N=237)

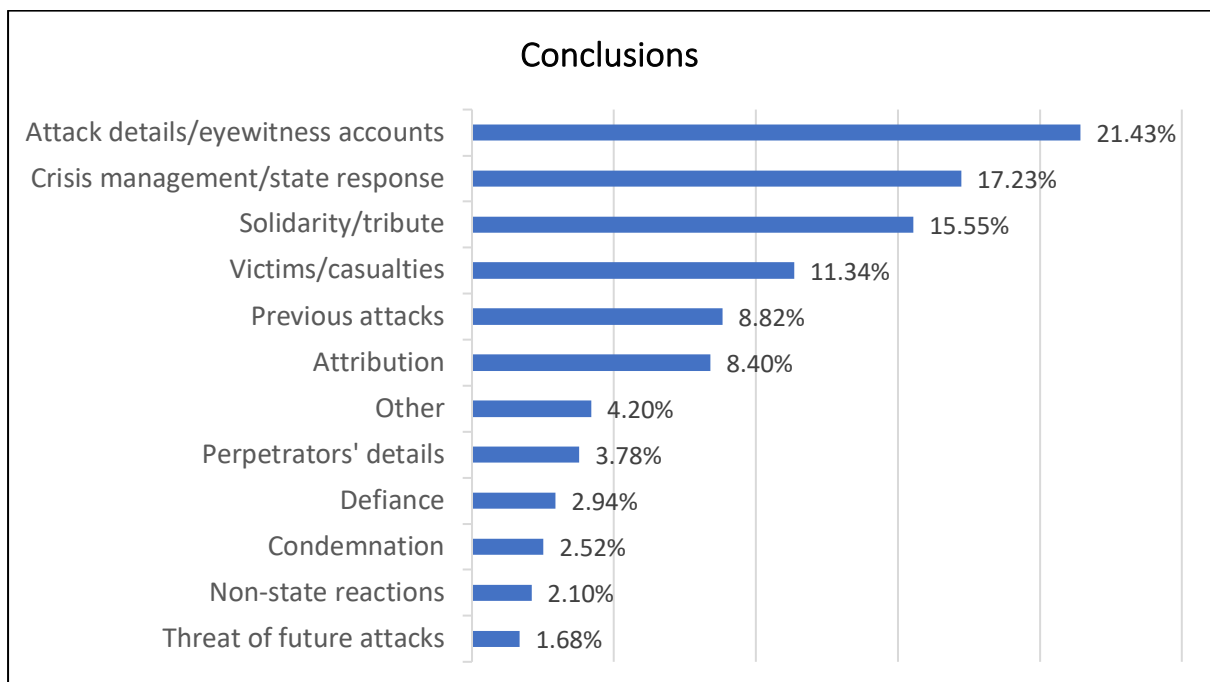


Chart 3: Conclusions of the news articles in MailOnline by category (N=237)

4.2 Framing of terrorist attacks in The Independent

The Independent published in total 253 news articles on the first two days following the six terrorist attacks included in the sample. The analysis of word frequencies run by MAXQDA identified the following 20 dominant keywords:

Word	Frequency	%	Rank	Word	Frequency	%	Rank
attack	809	1,74	1	suicide	154	0,33	11
police	754	1,62	2	minister	150	0,32	12
killed	358	0,77	3	ISIS	146	0,31	13
terror	270	0,58	4	shot	140	0,30	14
injured	255	0,55	5	emergency	139	0,30	15
terrorist	199	0,43	6	attackers	138	0,30	16
victims	198	0,43	7	incident	129	0,28	17
dead	191	0,41	8	news	129	0,28	17
security	185	0,40	9	died	123	0,26	19
explosion	170	0,37	10	armed	120	0,26	20

Table 3: 20 most frequently used keywords in The Independent

During the first stage of qualitative content analysis of the text extracts containing these keywords, open-coding process resulted in 34 different categories. In the second stage, axial coding led to identification of 6 broader categories within these codes, representing dominant news frames. Framing packages together with two concrete examples are presented below.

1) DESTRUCTION FRAME	
Definition	Terrorist attacks are destructive
Cause	Terrorists need to commit more shocking acts to attract attention and terrorise the public
Consequence	Terrorist attacks cause unprecedented levels of destruction; they spread chaos, panic and fear
Solution/action	Expressions of shock and horror; providing eyewitness accounts to demonstrate destructiveness and brutality of terrorists
Moral evaluation	Terrorist acts are barbaric
Lexical choices	massacre, atrocity, blood, rampage, chaos, panic, confusion, brutal, horrific, terrifying, shocking; deadly

- *“On the streets outside the Bataclan concert hall, the signs of the massacre which took place inside were still evident when Parisians arrived to pay their respects [...]. Pools of dried blood and discarded surgical gloves could be seen by the roadsides [...].”* (Green 2015)
- *“Survivors of the attack in Nice have described bodies being sent “flying like bowling pins”, leaving the road strewn with “streaks of blood”. ”* (Bulman 2016)

2) CONDEMNATION FRAME	
Definition	Terrorism represents a threat to all people, regardless of their nationality or religion
Cause	Terrorist violence is indiscriminate
Consequence	Many innocent people become victims of terrorism
Solution/action	Strong condemnation of all forms of terrorism; expressions of unity and solidarity with all those affected by terrorism
Moral evaluation	Indiscriminate violence against innocent people cannot be justified and is senseless
Lexical choices	appalling, cowardice, sickening, disgusting, callous, twisted, wicked

- *“Leaders throughout the world have condemned the killings in Paris, many calling the terrorist outrage an attack on all humanity.”* (Cusick & Albert 2015)
- *“Two explosions occurred at Brussels [...] airport while another hit Maalbeek metro station, [...]. Politicians and world leaders from around the world were quick to speak out in condemnation and solidarity.”* (Stone 2016)

3) EXTREMISM FRAME	
Definition	Islamist extremism drives terrorism
Cause	Too much tolerance for extremism; ambivalent attitude of authorities towards extremism; socio-economic exclusion
Consequence	More people get radicalised and commit terrorism
Solution/action	More determined action against extremism; more efforts in preventing spread of extremism and radicalisation; uniting divided communities

Moral evaluation Islamist extremism is an evil ideology

Lexical choices radical, radicalisation, extremist, extremism, jihadist, Islamist, fundamentalists, militant

- *“High unemployment and a lack of identity are being blamed for this rise in extremism. Molenbeek will now face further scrutiny following the suicide bombing at Maelbeek metro station, [...]” (Ramgobin 2016)*
- *“The attack on London Bridge shows there is “far too much tolerance” of Islamist extremism in Britain today, [...]. The PM warned there was “a new trend in the threat we face” and that while the three recent terror attacks in the UK were not linked by “common networks”, they were “bound together by the single evil ideology of Islamic extremism”” (Stone 2017)*

4) DEFIANCE FRAME

Definition Security/emergency services and public defy terrorism

Cause Professionalism, dedication and sacrifice of security/emergency services; courage, vigilance and solidarity of public

Consequence Members of security/emergency services and public respond to terrorism with acts of bravery; public provides help and assistance to those affected by terrorism

Solution/action Commending security/emergency services and members of the public who acted courageously; providing assistance to anyone affected by terrorism; expressing solidarity with those affected by terrorism

Moral evaluation Terrorism is futile

Lexical choices courage, defiance, vigilance, bravery, help, solidarity, kindness, strong, spirit, hero, heroic

- *“An off-duty police officer rugby tackled one of the London Bridge attackers as several police heroically tried to halt the attack before the arrival of armed colleagues.” (Worley 2017)*
- *“When confronted with the fear and confusion caused by the suicide bomb attack at Manchester Arena, ordinary people have reacted with kindness and bravery [...]. Local residents offered stranded concertgoers places to stay, taxi drivers gave free lifts across*

the city, and a homeless man rushed to help the wounded [...] as Mancunians pulled together in a display of resilience against terror.” (Forster 2017)

5) EUROPEAN FRAME

Definition	Terrorism is a common threat facing all European countries
Cause	Different European countries have been targeted by terrorism; terrorism is against European values
Consequence	European citizens become victims of terrorism
Solution/action	More European unity and solidarity; strengthening cooperation on counterterrorism within European Union
Moral evaluation	European values are superior to terrorists’ values; European countries are stronger and safer when they are united
Lexical choices	assistance, help, support, determination, cooperation, unity, union, values

- *“The latest attack has sparked governmental and diplomatic meetings across Europe as the continent continue attempts to increase counter-terrorism co-operation. A joint statement from heads of EU states called the bombing an “attack on our open democratic society”.” (Dearden 2016)*
- *“Donald Tusk, [...] said: “The European Union stands side by side with France after this terrible act. It is a brutal attack against our fundamental values, against freedom of expression which is a pillar of our democracy.”” (Morris 2015)*

6) RELIGIOUS FRAME

Definition	Islamist terrorism does not represent Islam as a religion
Cause	Terrorists do not respect Muslim faith; perpetrators of terrorism were not religious persons
Consequence	Muslims are victims of terrorism as well; Muslim community cooperates with the police and intelligence services
Solution/action	Terrorism is a criminal act and should not be connected to Islam
Moral evaluation	Terrorist violence is against Islam and represents evil

Lexical choices

prejudice, criminal, immoral, evil, twisted ideology

- “Muslim taxi drivers have been praised for helping victims and concert-goers following a bombing at an Ariana Grande concert in Manchester [...]. [...], social media users were quick to defend the city's Muslim community.” (Revesz 2017)
- “Muslims are coming forward to offer help for people affected by the deadly terror attack at London Bridge and Borough Market. [...] YouTuber Luke Cutforth insisted that blame for the terror attack, [...], did not lie with Muslims.” (Zatat 2017)

Results of the quantitative content analysis of main textual elements are summarised in the charts below. Similarly to MailOnline, the data show that headlines are dominated by the attacks themselves as mentions of victims/casualties and attack details/eyewitness accounts occupy the first two positions, amounting together to about 37%. More than 14% of headlines refer to examples of defiance, followed by information about perpetrators and crisis management/state response. With regard to leads, almost one fourth of them focuses on victims/casualties. Mentions of defiance and crisis management/state response both account for approximately 14%. Information about attack details/eyewitness accounts or mentions of perpetrators also appear in the top five categories. The concluding paragraphs are clearly dominated by references to crisis management/state responses, accounting for one fifth of all cases. This is followed by attack details/eyewitness accounts, mentions of defiance, expressions of solidarity and references to similar attacks in the past.

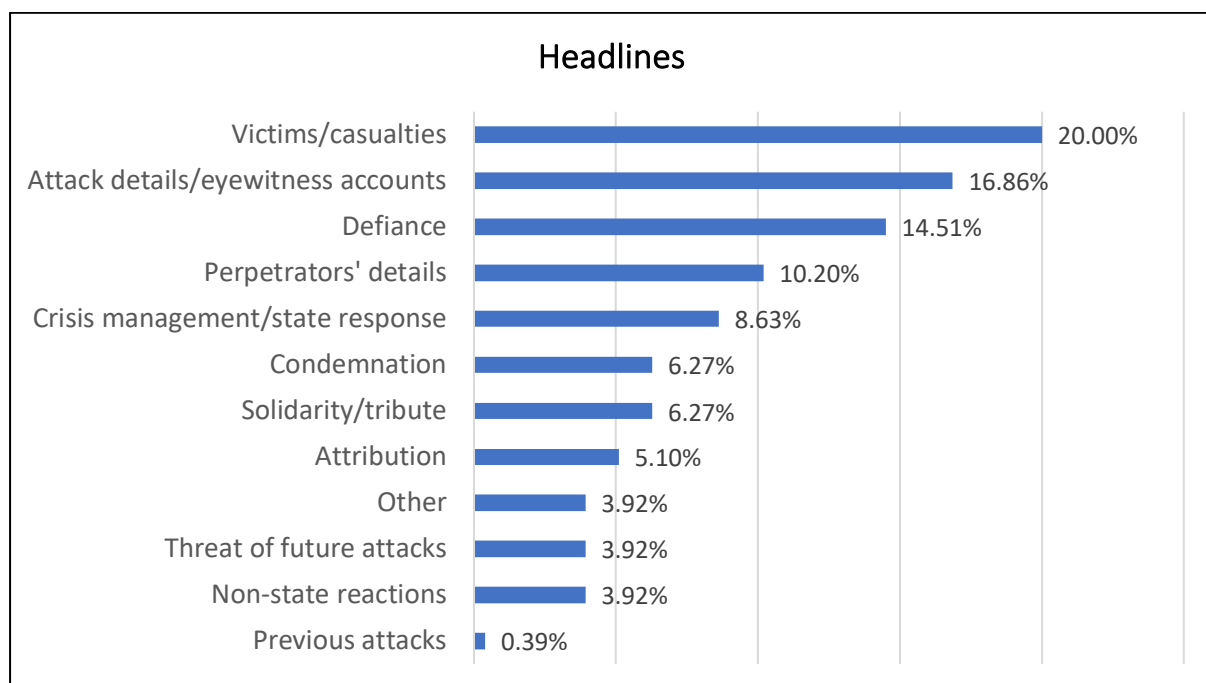


Chart 4: Headlines of the news articles in The Independent by category (N=253)

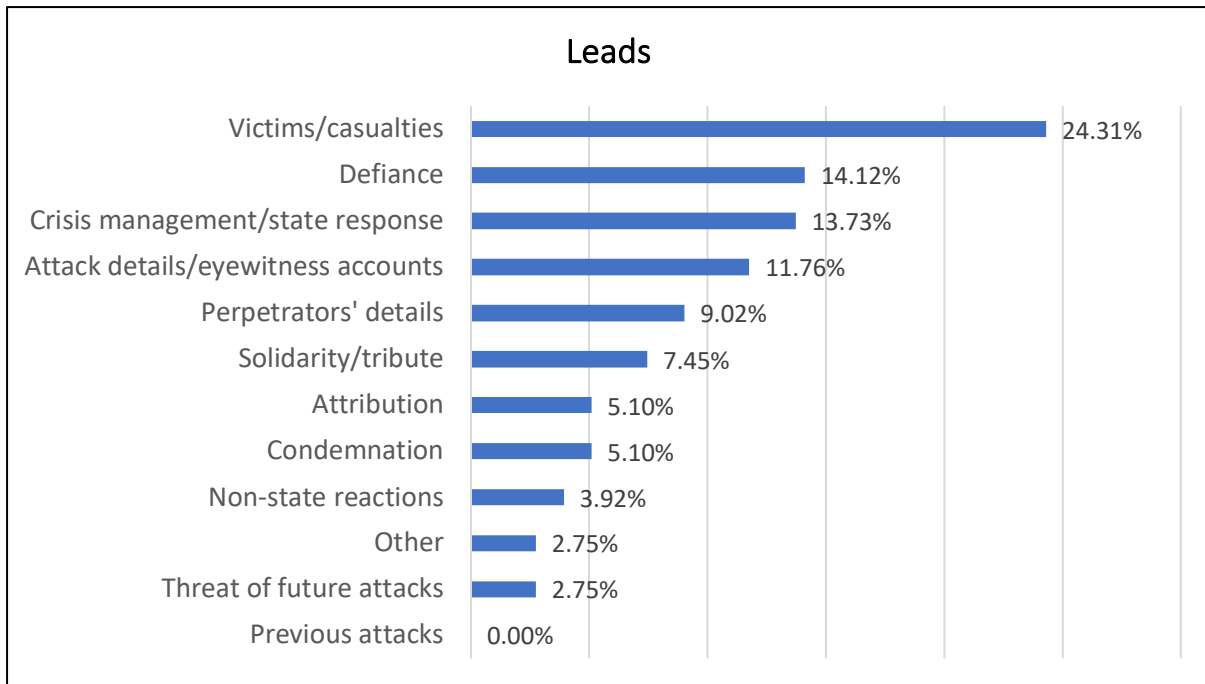


Chart 5: Leads of the news articles in The Independent by category (N=253)

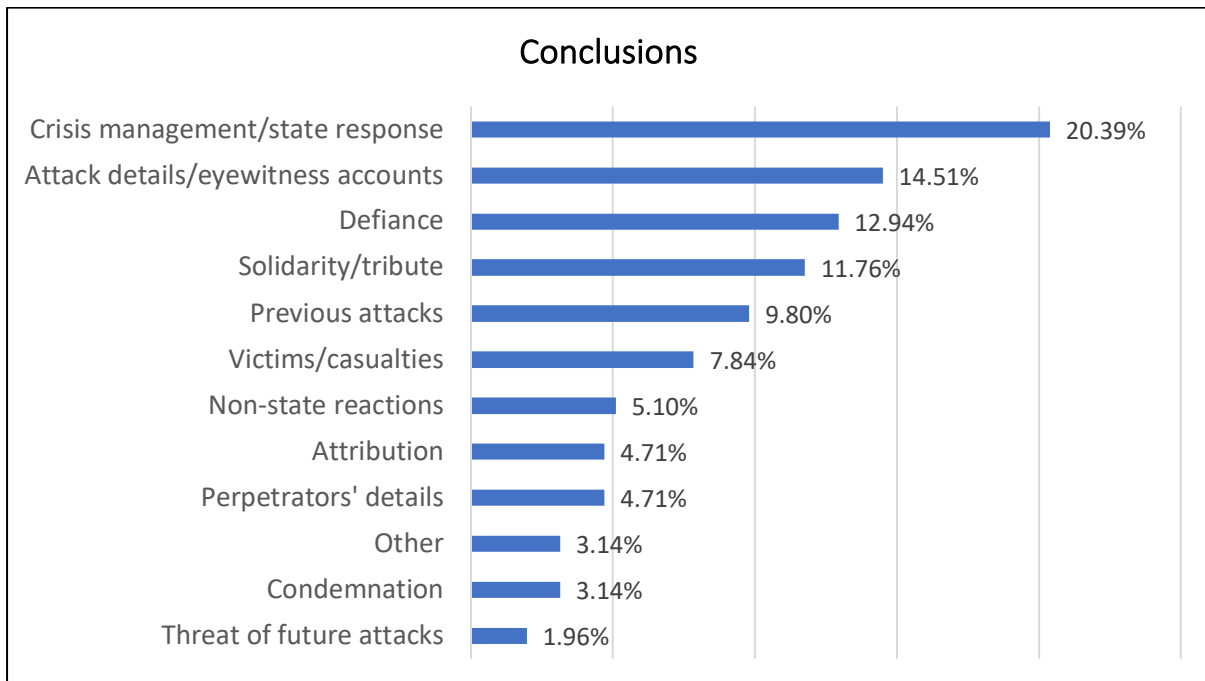


Chart 6: Conclusions of the news articles in The Independent by category (N=253)

4.3 Framing of terrorist attacks in The Telegraph

The Telegraph published in total 143 news articles following the first two days of the six terrorist attacks included in the sample. The analysis of word frequencies run by MAXQDA identified the following 20 dominant keywords:

Word	Frequency	%	Rank	Word	Frequency	%	Rank
attack	709	1,42	1	minister	145	0,29	11
police	549	1,10	2	thoughts	135	0,27	12
terrorist	244	0,49	3	president	118	0,24	13
terror	225	0,45	4	families	114	0,23	14
injured	196	0,39	5	news	110	0,22	15
killed	196	0,39	5	state	110	0,22	15
security	178	0,36	7	suicide	109	0,22	17
victims	167	0,33	8	emergency	107	0,21	18
dead	157	0,31	9	incident	102	0,20	19
terrorism	148	0,30	10	help	97	0,19	20

Table 4: 20 most frequently used keywords in The Telegraph

During the first stage of qualitative content analysis of the text extracts containing these keywords, open coding process resulted in 39 different categories. In the second stage, axial coding led to identification of 7 broader categories within these codes, representing dominant news frames. Framing packages together with two concrete examples are presented below.

1) ATROCITY FRAME	
Definition	Terrorist attacks cause horror, shock and disbelief
Cause	Terrorist attacks are brutal, indiscriminate and vicious
Consequence	Innocent people become victims of terrorist violence
Solution/action	Condemnation; grief; acts of solidarity; help and assistance to victims; vigils and rallies
Moral evaluation	Terrorist acts are callous, appalling and barbaric
Lexical choices	horrific, horrifying, shock, carnage, atrocity, rampage, massacre, murdered, bloodbath, killers, appalling

- *“A photograph of the aftermath of the Bataclan concert hall massacre shows how survivors had to pick their way through dozens of bodies as they tried to drag badly wounded friends to safety.” (Rayner 2015)*

- *“Some of [...] friends ran down a flight of steps to the beach below the promenade as the driver weaved along the road [...], running over people indiscriminately. Still in deep shock after witnessing the deaths, he described the carnage the truck left in its wake: “A woman dropped to her knees, someone in her family had been killed, just lying there. [...] It was horrific.””* (Lawler, Turner, Millward & Sabur 2016)

2) ISLAMIST MILITANTS FRAME

Definition	Islamist militants pose a security threat for the UK as well as other European countries
Cause	Islamist terror networks exist across Europe; Islamist militants are well-trained and dangerous; they have unprecedented levels of planning and coordination
Consequence	Islamist militants manage to carry out highly effective and mass casualty attacks against the UK and other European countries
Solution/action	Using all necessary resources and means to combat terrorism; strengthening state capacities for counterterrorism (police, intelligence, military); expanding powers of security services
Moral evaluation	Islamist radicals are enemies of the state and the West
Lexical choices	Islamist, jihadists, extremists, fanatics, militants, radicals, assault, alert, attackers, gunmen, armed, dangerous, manhunt, officers

- *“The attackers who killed 12 people in and around the office of Charlie Hebdo magazine in Paris acted with a skill and calmness that bears all the hallmarks of advanced military training. [...] Amateur footage shows them using classic infantry tactics.”* (Blair & Watt 2015)
- *“When David Cameron said that events in Paris showed Isil's appetite for “mass casualty attacks” and a “new degree of planning and coordination”, he was making the point in mild terms. There is simply no precedent in the modern history of terrorism for the rapid succession of havoc that Isil appears to have wrought.”* (Blair 2015)

3) IMMIGRATION FRAME

Definition	Terrorists have immigration (Muslim) background
Cause	Europe's open borders enable terrorists to move freely; Muslim communities in many European countries are not well integrated; some terrorists pretend to be asylum seekers

Consequence	Europeans with immigration Muslim background get radicalised and join terrorist groups; some leave to Syria/Iraq to become foreign fighters
Solution/action	Limiting/Restricting immigration from Muslim countries; strengthening border controls; cancelling/restricting free movement within Schengen zone; monitoring and surveillance of European Muslims who travel to Syria/Iraq
Moral evaluation	Uncontrolled immigration is dangerous
Lexical choices	deprived, excluded, second-generation, radicalised, radicalisation, foreign fighters, immigrant, borders

- *“The bombers in the transport attacks are expected to be another arm of a 90-strong Isil group whose tentacles have stretched across Europe, [...]. Many have EU passports and, as a result, have been free to move around Europe at will [...].”* (Whitehead & Freeman 2016)
- *“Mrs Merkel is under massive domestic pressure to tackle the migrant crisis [...] and was attacked yesterday by [...] Markus Soeder. “The days of uncontrolled immigration and illegal entry can't continue just like that,” he said. “Paris changes everything.” Even Jean-Claude Juncker, [...], was forced to admit that Europe's border system was failing [...].”* (Foster, Holehouse & Samuel 2015)

4) DEMOCRACY/CIVILIZATION FRAME	
Definition	Terrorism is attack on democracy, civilization and humanity
Cause	Terrorists hate freedom, tolerance and other democratic values; they seek to impose anarchy on humanity
Consequence	Terrorism represents a threat to Western democracy and civilization as we know it
Solution/action	Fighting terrorism by upholding democratic values and the rule of law; strengthening international cooperation; international unity and solidarity
Moral evaluation	Freedom will always prevail over terror; terrorists are a common enemy of humanity

Lexical choices	attack on democracy, act of barbarity, inhuman, international community, international cooperation, unity
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- *“Mr Cameron said: “We must be very clear about one thing, which is we should never give up the values that we believe in and defend as part of our democracy and civilisation [...].””* (Rayner, Samuel & Evans 2015)
- *“[...] had read Charlie Hebdo growing up in Belgium. “It is an attack on our democracy, and on freedom of speech, and everything we fought for. It’s an attack on our fundamental rights,” he said.”* (Holehouse 2015)

5) BRAVERY FRAME

Definition	Public responds to terrorism with acts of bravery, defiance and solidarity
Cause	Many people do not get scared by terrorists and respond to danger with courage, compassion and determination
Consequence	Acts of courage, kindness, assistance and solidarity during/after a terrorist event
Solution/action	
Moral evaluation	People who help others in a dangerous situation are heroes
Lexical choices	courage, courageous, heroic, hero, bravery, brave, spirit, solidarity, defiant

- *“France was swept up in a wave of defiant demonstrations in defence of freedom of expression [...], with a series of rallies spring up almost spontaneously across the country. [...] And the square was indeed jammed with people, who spelt out, in a giant illuminated sign written in English: “We are not afraid”. ”* (Alexander, Samuel & Chazan 2015)
- *“A taxi driver has spoken of the heroic bravery exhibited by one of his passengers during the London terror attack. [...] told [...] of how a woman, who was part of a couple in his cab, used her own body to barricade a door of the [...] restaurant in order to stop a terrorist entering. [...] Another taxi driver has described how he tried to knock down three suspected terrorists [...].”* (Horton 2017)

6) INEVITABILITY FRAME

Definition	Terrorism is a complex threat
Cause	Terrorists need to succeed only once, and it is not possible to prevent all attacks

Consequence	There will always be a risk of terrorist attacks in the future
Solution/action	Building resilience; improving contingency emergency planning; vigilance of citizens
Moral evaluation	Combating terrorism is a long-term effort; security services have successfully foiled terrorist plots in the past but future attacks are inevitable
Lexical choices	threat level, security measures, increased security, threat, risk, security services, emergency, plot, suspects

- *“Police chiefs in Britain also ordered a review of security at all major events in Britain in the next week after the attack in which [...] drove a 19-ton lorry into crowds. [...] One security source told The Telegraph that similar lone-wolf attacks from determined individuals were “almost impossible to stop”. ” (Farmer 2016)*
- *“Similarly, in Britain, MI5 officers have in recent weeks initiated a number of raids aimed at disrupting Islamist terror networks [...]. [...] Certainly, no matter how hard the intelligence and security services try to prevent such atrocities, there is always the possibility that one group will slip through the net and carry out its barbarous agenda.” (Coughlin 2015)*

7) RELIGIOUS FRAME	
Definition	Islamist radicals committing terrorism do not represent Muslims
Cause	Islamist radicals who committed terrorist attacks were not religious and had criminal backgrounds
Consequence	Terrorist attacks are cowardly acts that have nothing to do with Islam as a religion
Solution/action	Condemnation; expressions of solidarity with victims; help of Muslim community to victims
Moral evaluation	Terrorist violence is against principles of Muslim faith, terrorist attacks are evil and immoral
Lexical choices	criminal attack, cowardly act, harming Islam, immoral, evil

- “Muslims have taken to Twitter to show support for Parisians affected in the attacks, and to show that the terrorists are not a part of Islam [...]. [...] Muslims have used social media to demonstrate that they want no part in the extremism and violence that terrorists commit in the name of Islam.” (Horton 2015)
- “Middle East states and leading Muslim clerics united on Friday in condemning the attack, calling for a joint struggle against extremism. [...] Sunni Islam's leading centre of learning, Al-Azhar, said the "vile terrorist attack" contradicted Islam and urged the world to unite efforts "to defeat terrorism and rid the world of its evil".” (Henderson 2016)

Results of the quantitative content analysis of main textual elements are summarised in the charts below. The data show that headlines are dominated by references to crisis management/state response although mentions of victims/casualties appear in only slightly lower number of cases. References to defiance, attack details/eyewitness accounts, and expressions of solidarity also appear in the top five categories, all around 11%. On the contrary, leads are clearly dominated by mentions of victims/casualties that account for almost one fourth of all cases. The second largest category are leads referring to crisis management/state response (16%), followed by those mentioning attribution, solidarity and defiance, all at similar levels between 9-11% of cases. The concluding paragraphs are dominated by mentions of victims/casualties, solidarity, and crisis management/state response, all at similar levels ranging between 16-18 %. References to attack details/eyewitness accounts and similar attacks in the past also appear in the top five categories.

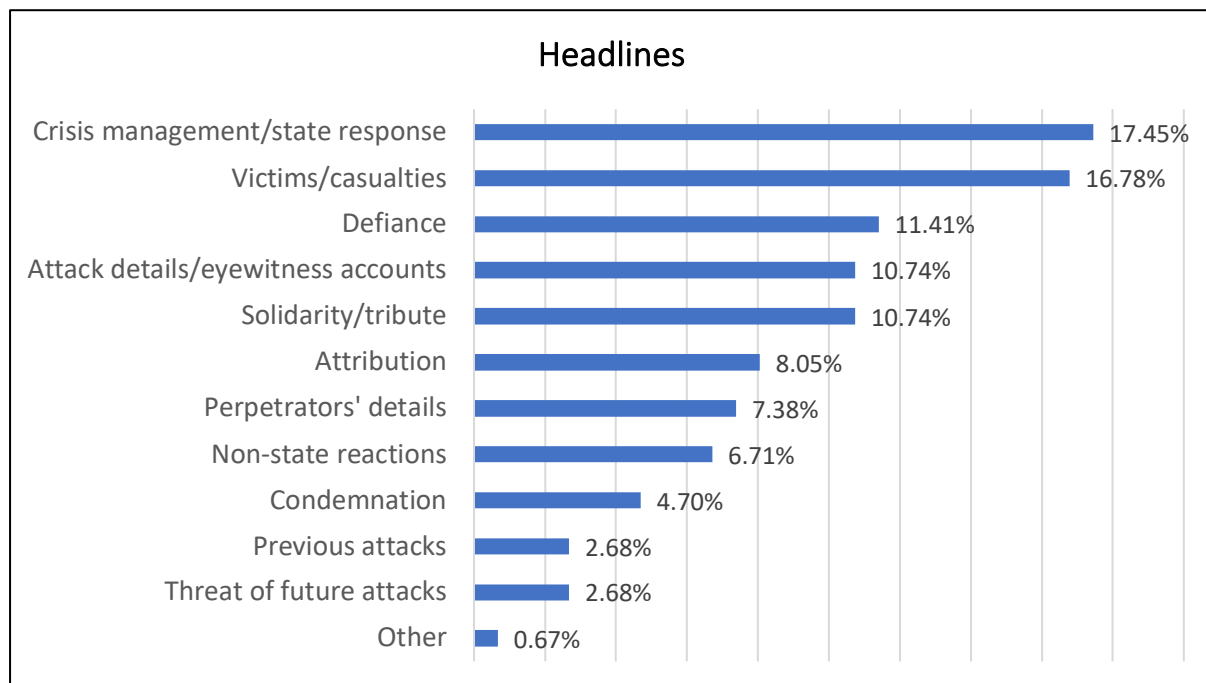


Chart 7: Headlines of the news articles in The Telegraph by category (N=143)

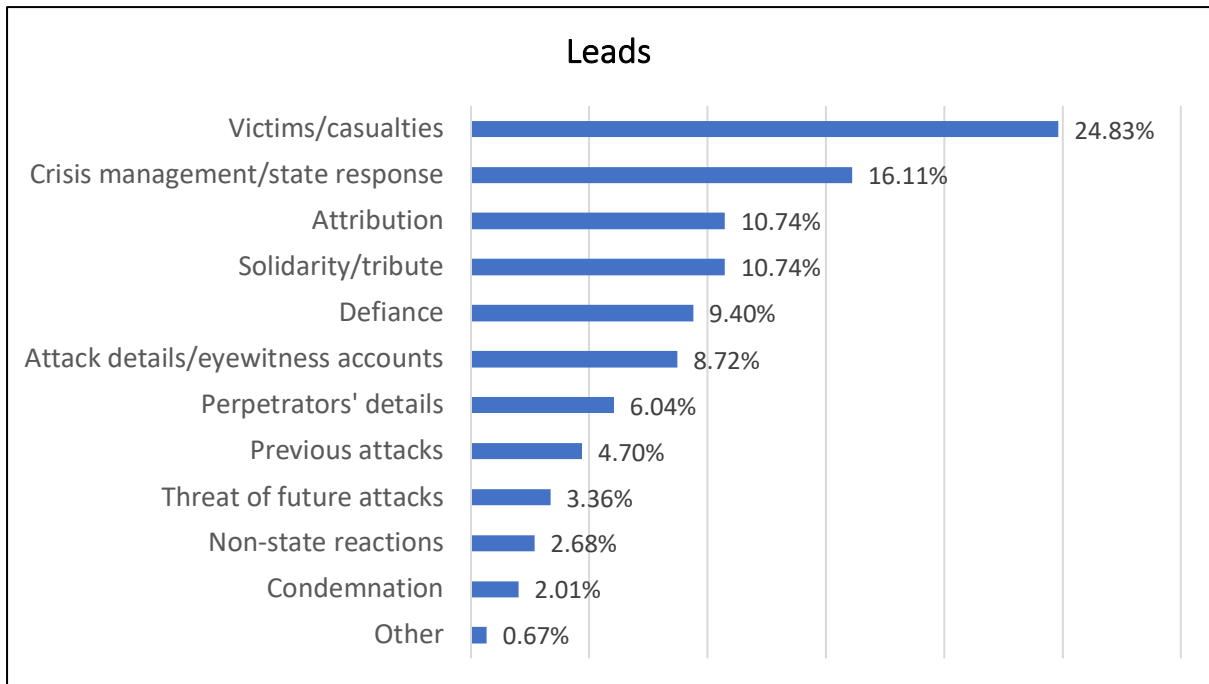


Chart 8: Leads of the news articles in The Telegraph by category (N=143)

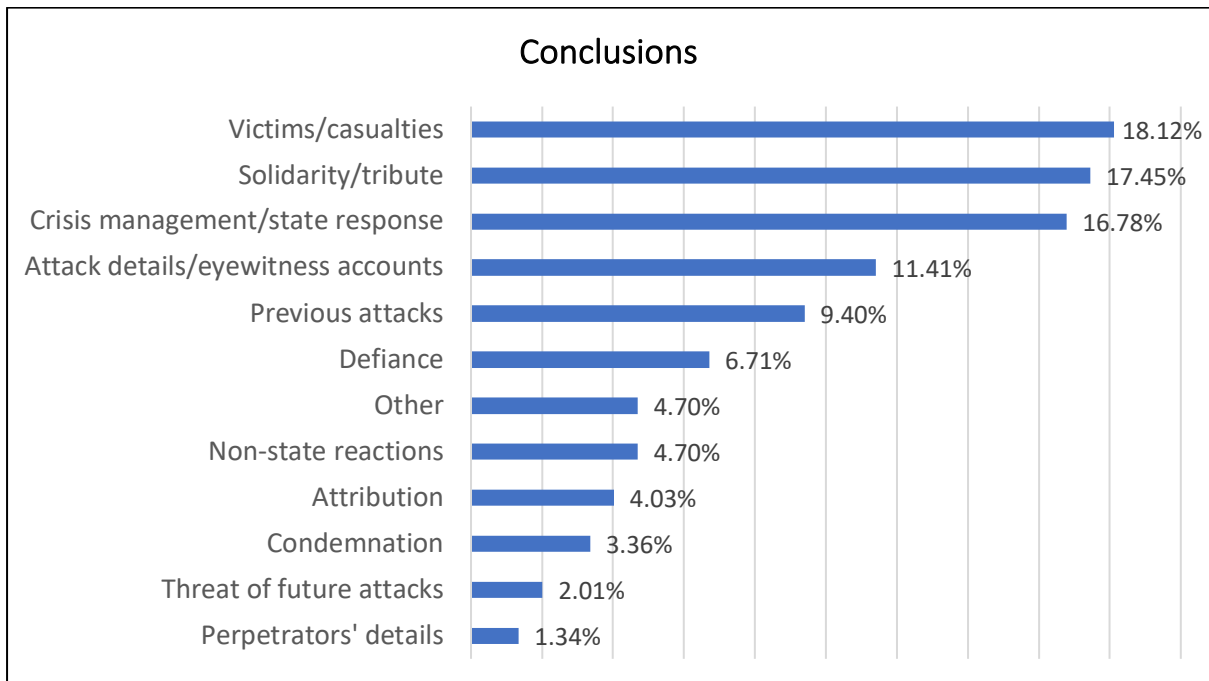


Chart 9: Conclusions of the news articles in The Telegraph by category (N=143)

5. Discussion

Following the results of the analysis, this chapter answers the research questions posed in the introduction and discusses the study's findings in the context of relevant academic literature. The paper set out to explore three questions: (1) what are the dominant news frames employed by the analysed websites in their reporting on terrorist attacks?; (2) to what degree does framing of online news reporting on terrorist attacks differ among the analysed websites?; (3) to what degree can online reporting on terrorist attacks be considered contributing to the promotion of terror and violence?

The analysis has identified seven dominant news frames in MailOnline ("brutality frame", "victims frame", "jihadists frame", "Muslims frame", "war frame", "international frame", and "heroism frame"), six in The Independent ("destruction frame", "condemnation frame", "extremism frame", "defiance frame", "European frame", and "religious frame") and seven in The Telegraph ("atrocities frame", "Islamist militants frame", "immigration frame", "democracy/civilization frame", "bravery frame", "inevitability frame", and "religious frame"). Since the qualitative analysis was limited to the text extracts containing at least one of the twenty most frequently used keywords, this list is not exhaustive and there may be additional frames or sub-frames. However, considering frequency of appearance, the news frames identified above can be regarded dominant. It should also be underlined that one news article can include multiple frames that overlap or sometimes even contradict each other.

When comparing these frames, it can be argued that most of them are very similar, with only minor nuances in terms of what particular aspects or angles are emphasised. At least four broad sets of the frames that are very much alike appear across the articles from all three websites.

Firstly, there are the frames that underline the immediate negative impact of the terrorist attacks ("brutality frame", "destruction frame", "atrocities frame"). Although MailOnline can be seen to mainly emphasise the brutal and barbaric nature of the attacks, while The Independent and The Telegraph stress their destructiveness, the framing packages as well as the lexical choices of these frames are almost identical.

Secondly, all three websites employ the frames that showcase courageous and defiant responses to terrorism by members of the public or security and emergency services ("heroism frame", "defiance frame", "bravery frame"). Likewise, the framing of terrorism as an act of Islamist extremists, militants or jihadists is present on all three websites ("jihadists frame", "Islamist militants frame", "extremism frame"). While the frames in MailOnline and The Telegraph link terrorism to radical Islam perhaps a bit more explicitly than The Independent, which also mentions radicalisation and socio-economic exclusion, their overall diagnosis of the issue does not differ significantly.

Last but not least, there are the frames that emphasise international aspects of terrorism and the need for unity and cooperation among countries in combating it ("international frame",

“European frame”, “democracy/civilization frame”). Here again, the differences are very subtle: The Independent emphasises the European angle while MailOnline and The Telegraph apply more global and cultural perspective, respectively.

At the same time, the analysis shows a few minor differences that are worth pointing out. Coverage in both MailOnline and The Telegraph contains the frames that link terrorism explicitly to immigration and Muslim communities in Europe, while The Independent does not emphasise this aspect as much. On the other hand, The Independent and The Telegraph contain basically identical “religious frames”, underlining that terrorism does not represent Muslim faith and that perpetrators of the attacks were not religious and often had criminal background. Although brief mentions of these facts can be also found in some articles by MailOnline, they were not salient enough to form a distinct frame. Furthermore, MailOnline and The Independent contain two similar frames – “victims frame” and “condemnation frame” – that emphasise the indiscriminate nature of attacks and innocence of victims. This aspect is much less salient in coverage by The Telegraph. Finally, there are two frames that appear only in one of the three websites, namely “war frame”²¹ in MailOnline and “inevitability frame” in The Telegraph. However, even these examples demonstrate that most remaining frames can be grouped into broader sets appearing in at least two websites, suggesting parallels and overlaps in framing terrorism.

Similar approaches to framing terrorist attacks is also evident from the results of the quantitative content analysis. The most frequently used keywords in the articles of all three websites are basically identical with only minor differences in the ranking of particular words. Categorization of the main textual elements also shows very similar trends, as the headlines, leads and conclusions of all three websites are dominated by more or less the same categories. More than 20% of all headlines in MailOnline and The Independent refer to victims/casualties, while mentions of attack details/eyewitness accounts are second most frequent, with about 17% for both websites. In the case of The Telegraph, headlines predominantly focus on crisis management/state response (17.45%) but references to victims/casualties are close second with 16.78%, and mentions of attack details/eyewitness accounts appear in more than 10%. The leads in all three websites are heavily dominated by references to victims/casualties that appear in more than 24% of cases in both The Independent and The Telegraph and in over 28% of cases in MailOnline. Mentions of crisis management/state response are the second most frequent leads in both MailOnline and The Telegraph, and third most frequent in The Independent. Concluding paragraphs offer a bit more diverse picture, but there are still more similarities than differences. Mentions of crisis management/state response and attack details/eyewitness accounts occupy the first two positions in both MailOnline and The Independent, while occupying third and fourth place respectively in The Telegraph. Furthermore, the fifth most frequent category of conclusions on all three websites are those referring to similar terrorist attacks in the past.

²¹ However, some aspects of this frame are similar to “Islamist militants frame” in The Telegraph.

Like qualitative analysis, quantitative analysis shows only very subtle differences among the analysed websites. One difference is the more prominent position of references to defiance in the textual elements of The Independent and The Telegraph than in MailOnline. On the other hand, the textual elements in MailOnline mention attribution of the attacks to a terrorist group more frequently than in The Independent or The Telegraph. Finally, the textual elements in The Independent contain less references to examples of solidarity but more mentions of details about perpetrators than the textual elements in MailOnline or The Telegraph.

To sum up, framing of online news reporting on terrorist attacks does not significantly differ among the analysed websites. The vast majority of the identified news frames consist of very similar framing packages and lexical choices. There are only subtle nuances between them that emphasise certain aspects or elements more than others. Categorisation of the main textual elements on all three websites also shows very similar trends.

Turning to the third research question, it can be argued that online reporting on terrorist attacks significantly contributes to the promotion of terror, violence, death, and destruction. This is manifested in at least three ways. Firstly, the lists of most frequently used keywords from all three websites contain a significant number of words referring to the negative impact of the attacks. In MailOnline, there are five such keywords (killed, injured, terror, dead, victims) that account for 2.06% of all words in the website's sample; in The Independent there are seven such words (killed, terror, injured, victims, dead, shot, died) that account for 3.30% of all words in the website's sample; and in The Telegraph, there are five such words (terror, injured, killed, victim, dead) that account for 1.87% of all words in the website's sample.

Secondly, five out of twenty identified news frames emphasise the immediate negative impacts of the attacks or their indiscriminate nature and innocence of victims. These include the "brutality frame" and "victims frame" in MailOnline, "destruction frame" and "condemnation frame" in The Independent, and "atrocities frame" in The Telegraph. The lexical choices of these frames are very expressive and include words such as slaughtered, bloodshed, massacre, brutality, horror, horrific, terrifying, carnage, mayhem, cruelty, atrocity, barbaric, etc.

Finally, quantitative content analysis of textual elements also clearly indicates that the majority of articles published by all three websites concentrate on the promotion of the attacks' outcomes. References to victims/casualties or attack details/eyewitness accounts appear in almost 40% of headlines, almost 43% of leads and almost 33% of conclusions in MailOnline. In The Independent, it is almost 37% of headlines, over 36% of leads and 14.5% of conclusions. In The Telegraph, these references appear in over 27% of headlines, almost 25% of leads and almost 30% of conclusions.

Although it is beyond the scope of this research to assess whether this actually increases terrorism or its impact on public, it can be argued that the way how the three analysed websites have framed the selected terrorist attacks is likely to increase at least the effectiveness of terrorism as a violent communication strategy.

How do the findings of this paper fit within the relevant academic literature mentioned in the introduction? Although existing empirical research of media coverage of terrorism in the UK is rather limited in its scope, there are a few studies whose outcomes can be compared with the results presented here.

Firstly, if we look at the works that focus exclusively on terrorism coverage in the UK media, the findings of this research seem to corroborate many of them. For instance, Richards (2007) identified three dominant models of how terrorism is portrayed in the UK media: “absolute model”, “retaliation model”, and “inevitability model”. The “war frame” in MailOnline and partially also the “Islamist militants frame” in The Telegraph can be seen as manifestations of the “absolute model”, while the “inevitability frame” in The Telegraph as a manifestation of the “inevitability model”. Richards also mentions the existence of smaller “partial” models such as one linking terrorism to migration. This model is represented by the “immigration frame” in The Telegraph and “Muslims frame” in MailOnline.

The frames identified in this study also support the findings of Matthews (2015). His research into framing of failed Islamist terrorist plots in the UK media uncovered two dominant frames: the inevitability/preparedness frame, which overlaps with the “inevitability frame” in The Telegraph, and the belonging/responsibility frame, which overlaps with the “Muslims frame” in MailOnline and “immigration frame” in The Telegraph, respectively.

Another work that came to similar conclusions as this paper is by Iqbal (2015) who explored TV coverage of the 2008 Mumbai terrorist attacks by British news channels. He found that the channels played an important role in mediating terrorist messages and focused primarily on images of terror and violence. As discussed above, online news reporting on terrorist attacks is also heavily dominated by the promotion of terror, violence, death, and destruction.

Finally, some of the news frames found in online reporting on terrorist attacks also seem to partially fit some of the “modes” that Ahmad (2018) identified in his analysis of the BBC’s coverage of al-Qaeda. The “war frame” and “jihadist frame” in MailOnline and “Islamist militants frame” in The Telegraph partially fit his description of “Islamic mode”, while the “Muslims frame” in MailOnline and “immigration frame” in The Telegraph contain similar elements as “elusive mode”.

Turning to international comparative framing studies that included the UK media, it is more complicated to compare given variance in scope and focus. For instance, Ruigrok and Atteveldt (2007) analysed American, British, and Dutch newspapers to find that media coverage increases when an event occurs on the local level and initial globalized reporting is followed by more localized reporting. The data in this research do not show a similar trend in online reporting, as Manchester Arena bombing or London Bridge attack did not attract significantly more coverage than the attacks in France or Belgium. This may be due to the fact that websites do not face “physical limitations” like the printed press. It can be also argued that

the focus of this study on reporting only during the first two days following an attack is not sufficient to draw conclusions about how coverage changes over time. The authors' other finding that Muslims are associated with terrorism is supported by this study as some of the news frames identified during the analysis do link terrorism to (radical) Islam and Muslim immigrant communities in Europe.

Likewise, the findings of this research can be only partially compared to the two studies that examined terrorism coverage in the UK and the U.S. press. Papacharissi and Oliveira (2008) found that the UK papers mainly focus on thematic context-oriented coverage of terrorism, in contrast to episodic event-oriented coverage in the U.S. However, reporting on the UK websites analysed in this study was mostly episodic and event-oriented. At the same time, this is again most likely due to the fact that only the articles published during first two days of the attacks' occurrence were included in the sample. Brinson and Stohl (2009) found that the UK press usually applies the "domestic frame", which portrays terrorism as primarily homegrown problem, while the U.S. press applies the "international frame". The results of this study provide a mixed picture in this regard. On the one hand, the "immigration frame", the "Muslims frame", and to a certain degree also the "extremism frame" do portray terrorism as originating in domestic immigrant communities. On the other hand, all three websites also apply frames that emphasise international aspects of terrorism ("international frame", "European frame" and "democracy/civilization frame"). Furthermore, both studies mentioned above concluded that media frames aligned with language of their respective national governments. Although this paper did not examine the official sources and their use in online reporting on terrorist attacks, it is noticeable that the most frequently used keywords from the articles on all three websites included the words "minister" and "president", and that references to crisis management/state response appeared relatively often in the articles' headlines, leads and conclusions. This suggests that space provided to positions and views of official governmental representatives is indeed considerable.

6. Conclusion

This paper examined framing of news reporting on terrorist attacks in the UK online media. The analysis was conducted on coverage of six major terrorist attacks that took place in Europe between 2015 and 2017 (Charlie Hebdo shooting, Paris attacks, Brussels bombings, Nice truck attack, Manchester Arena bombing, and London Bridge attack) by three news websites (MailOnline, The Independent and The Telegraph).

The research aimed to answer three questions: what are the dominant news frames employed by the analysed websites in their reporting on terrorist attacks?; to what degree does framing of online news reporting on terrorist attacks differ among the analysed websites?; and to what degree can online reporting on terrorist attacks be considered contributing to promotion of terror and violence? The study employed an inductive approach to identifying news frames through computer-assisted qualitative content analysis of text extracts containing most frequently used keywords. This was complemented by quantitative content analysis of the main textual elements of the articles (headlines, leads, and conclusions).

The analysis resulted in identification of 20 dominant news frames: seven in MailOnline (“brutality frame”, “victims frame”, “jihadists frame”, “Muslims frame”, “war frame”, “international frame”, and “heroism frame”), six in The Independent (“destruction frame”, “condemnation frame”, “extremism frame”, “defiance frame”, “European frame”, and “religious frame”) and seven in The Telegraph (“atrocities frame”, “Islamist militants frame”, “immigration frame”, “democracy /civilization frame”, “bravery frame”, “inevitability frame”, and “religious frame”).

The study concluded that framing of news reporting on terrorist attacks does not significantly differ among the analysed websites. There are only subtle nuances that emphasise certain aspects or elements more than others. Most frames contain similar framing packages and lexical choices, and can be grouped into four broader sets that appear across all three websites. Most of the remaining frames can be then grouped into sets appearing in two websites, suggesting parallels and overlaps. Only two out of twenty identified frames were more distinct and appeared only on one of the websites. Quantitative content analysis of headlines, leads, and conclusions shows very similar trends across all three websites as well.

Furthermore, the study concluded that online reporting on terrorist attacks significantly contributes to the promotion of terror, violence, death, and destruction, which is likely to increase the effectiveness of terrorism as a violent communication strategy. This was clearly manifested in the framing packages and lexical choices of at least five identified news frames as well as by the results of quantitative content analysis of most frequently used keywords, headlines, leads, and conclusions of the articles from all three websites.

There are at least three limitations of this study that need to be highlighted. Firstly, although the analysis was conducted on a considerable number of articles, the findings have limited

external validity as the sample included only three UK news websites. Furthermore, all the terrorist attacks covered by the articles belong to the same type of terrorism – religious/Islamist terrorism. Secondly, the framing can evolve over time. Due to the space and time constraints of this type of academic work, this paper focused on news reporting from only the first two days following the attacks and could thus not capture potential changes. It is possible that analysis over a longer period of time would show more significant differences in news framing of the attacks by the studied websites. Last but not least, the methodological approach chosen for identifying frames does not provide a measure for their actual salience. Some frames may be more dominant than others, and, therefore play a more important role in influencing the audience. For instance, the results of quantitative content analysis of textual elements suggest that the frames which emphasise the negative impact of the attacks appear more often than others. However, this is an oversimplification and a different methodological approach would be required to reliably measure the salience of identified frames.

The findings of this paper suggest several possible areas for future research. Firstly, framing of the UK online media coverage of other types of terrorism than religious/Islamist terrorism should be investigated. For example, comparing framing of news reporting on right-wing or left-wing terrorism with that on Islamist terrorism could be interesting. Secondly, the relationship between news frames in reporting on terrorist attacks and audience frames in readers' reactions on social networks or in the websites' discussion/comments sections should be examined. Such a research could provide interesting insights also for the theory of framing. Thirdly, news websites contain a lot of visual material, which also plays a role in how certain issues is framed. Framing of terrorism through pictures and videos used in online reporting is the area that would definitely deserve further exploration. Finally, comparing the framing of terrorism between the UK online and printed media, including weekly/bi-weekly or monthly magazines, could shed more light on how the time pressure involved in digital journalism impacts reporting and what implications this may have for the effectiveness of terrorism as a violent communication strategy.

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Examples of frames²²

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8. Appendices

8.1 Appendix 1: Ethical Approval Letter

School of International Relations Ethics Committee

10 May 2020

Dear Juraj Nosal

Thank you for submitting your ethical application which was considered at the School Ethics Committee meeting on 6th November 2019.

The School of International Relations Ethics Committee, acting on behalf of the University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC), has approved this application:

Approval Code:	IR14698	Approved on:	15.01.2020	Approval Expiry:	15.01.2025
Project Title:	Online reporting on terrorist attacks by the news media outlets in the United Kingdom (2014-2018)				
Researcher(s):	<u>Juraj Nosal</u>				
Supervisor(s):	Dr Nick Brooke				

The following supporting documents are also acknowledged and approved:

1. Participant Information Sheet
2. Sensitive Research Form

Approval is awarded for 5 years, see the approval expiry data above.

If your project has not commenced within 2 years of approval, you must submit a new and updated ethical application to your School Ethics Committee.

If you are unable to complete your research by the approval expiry date you must request an extension to the approval period. You can write to your School Ethics Committee who may grant a discretionary extension of up to 6 months. For longer extensions, or for any other changes, you must submit an ethical amendment application.

You must report any serious adverse events, or significant changes not covered by this approval, related to this study immediately to the School Ethics Committee.

Approval is given on the following conditions:

- that you conduct your research in line with:
 - the details provided in your ethical application
 - the University's [Principles of Good Research Conduct](#)
 - the conditions of any funding associated with your work
- that you obtain all applicable additional documents (see the ['additional documents' webpage](#) for guidance) before research commences.

You should retain this approval letter with your study paperwork.

Yours sincerely,

Joyce Walsh

SEC ADMINISTRATOR

cc. Dr Nick Brooke

School of International Relations Ethics Committee

Dr Diego Muro, School of IR, Room 238, Arts Faculty Building
Telephone: 01334 [462988](#) ; Email: diego.muro@st-andrews.ac.uk
The University of St Andrews is a charity registered in Scotland: No SC013532

8.2 Appendix 2: Headlines of the articles included in the research sample²³

8.2.1 MailOnline

2015 Charlie Hebdo Shooting

- 12 dead in attack on Paris newspaper; France goes on alert
- At least 11 dead in Paris shooting-police
- 2-Police hunt brothers after Paris attack, third man hands himself in
- Charlie Hebdo shootings Europe's latest deadly terror attack
- Slaughtered for lampooning Islam: Firebombs did not stop satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo taking swipes at religion... but led to carnage
- Je suis Charlie! The cry of defiance: Vast crowds rally across the world to condemn the gun massacre as Francoise Hollande declares tomorrow a day of mourning
- Charlie Hebdo cartoonist reveals terrorists threatened to murder her toddler unless she let them in - and how she cowered with child under desk as massacre took place
- #JeSuisCharlie sweeps Twitter as Internet users rush to show solidarity with French satirical news magazine after massacre
- World expresses shock at attack on Charlie Hebdo newspaper
- Were they militarily trained? Terrifying footage shows how highly-trained Charlie Hebdo terrorists gunned down police with ruthless efficiency as they made getaway
- German groups say Paris attack shows Islamist threat
- The dope-smoking, rapping, 'loser' brothers turned mass killing commandos: Paris jihadis were orphan petty criminals before being radicalised and police knew about their terror links for TEN YEARS
- Islamic State fighter praises attack on Paris satirical magazine
- Obama calls French shooting 'cowardly evil attacks'
- Teenage suspect 'arrested after handing himself into police' over Paris magazine massacre that left 12 dead - as anti-terror unit raids building in hunt for two brothers 'trained in Yemen as assassins'
- Charlie Hebdo murderers were on U.S. no-fly list: Brothers had been flagged as terrorist risk BEFORE Paris attack
- Are fugitive Charlie Hebdo killers holed up in a giant cave? Darkness falls on hunt as locals warn gunmen could hide out in forest for WEEKS because it's so big
- 'There is no way, even if they kill 10 of us, that the newspaper won't be out next week': Ex-Charlie Hebdo writer says the paper will not be silenced
- 'Je Suis Charlie' message goes viral after Paris attack
- 'I was so happy because he wasn't dead... then I realised he might not walk again': Agony of Australian woman whose boyfriend is fighting for life after being shot in Charlie Hebdo terror attack
- Inside massacre newsroom: Chilling image reveals blood-soaked papers strewn across Charlie Hebdo office after 12 were shot dead
- No living in fear: 'I Am Charlie' rallies back free speech
- Paris goes dark for Charlie Hebdo: Eiffel Tower's lights are turned off as vigils are held around globe for 12 victims slaughtered by fanatics
- Paris attack raises fears of support surge for extreme right
- Pictured: Female police officer killed in second Paris shooting was '27-year-old rookie who dreamed of serving her country'
- Police officer dies in shooting at Paris' edge, amid tension
- Radical preacher justifies Paris massacre

²³ Headlines of the articles are not in chronological order.

- Massive manhunt for 2 suspects in Paris attack
- Parisians carry on, rattled but defiant
- Suspect sought in Paris attack had trained in Yemen - sources
- MI5 chief: Paris attack 'terrible reminder' of terror threat

2015 Paris Attacks

- At least 18 dead in Paris shootings - BFM TV
- At least 30 dead in Paris shootings - French media
- Around 60 people inside Paris concert hall where shots heard: BBC editor
- President Obama calls Paris massacres an attack against 'all of humanity' as leaders around the world pledge to work with France and bring those responsible to justice
- Hostage taking under way at the Paris Bataclan concert place - BFM TV
- Explosions, gunshots heard near Bataclan concert hall Paris - witness
- 120 dead in Paris attacks, worst since WWII
- 'We fell to the floor and crawled over bodies': British survivors of Bataclan massacre tell how they escaped ISIS gunmen as a Briton and an American are revealed to be among first victims of Paris attacks that killed 129
- French President calls emergency cabinet meeting on attacks
- NATO says stands with France against terrorism
- France to decree state of emergency, shut borders - Hollande
- US stands with France, ramps up security after attacks
- Suicide attacks near Stade de France leave three people dead as explosions are heard during friendly victory over Germany and Paris is rocked by coordinated terrorist strikes on six targets
- France declares state of emergency after dozens killed in Paris
- Obama calls Paris attacks 'outrageous attempt to terrorize' civilians
- France must "annihilate" Islamist radicals, far-right leader Le Pen says
- Was Paris terror revenge for Jihadi John? ISIS executioner's drone death may have accelerated attacks on France, experts say
- France increasing protection at its sites abroad, Fabius says
- IS group claims Paris attacks, says France at 'top' of list
- Empty Eurostar carriages as passengers choose not to travel to France in wake of Paris terror attacks and Foreign Office tells people heading there to 'exercise caution'
- Islamic State says France remains top target
- France in shock after Islamist attacks kill 129
- Islamic state video calls on Muslims to carry out attacks in France
- Saved by his mobile: Man hit by suicide bomb blast outside Stade de France that killed 6 survives after shrapnel smashes into his smartphone
- Islamic State video threatens France a day after Paris bloodshed
- David Cameron warns there may be British casualties in the Paris terror attack and tells France: 'We will do whatever we can to help'
- Australian student, 19, shot several times in the hip in Paris attacks in stable condition as her mother rushes to be by her side in hospital
- Details emerge on some of the victims of Paris attacks
- 'We were Charlie, now we are Paris!': World leaders condemn 'barbaric' Paris attacks
- Sporting world mourns for Paris in wake of attacks
- Why did they let him go? On-the-run Paris terrorist at centre of international manhunt was stopped and QUESTIONED by French police at the border as he fled to Belgium in wake of attacks
- Explosive in Paris attacks described as 'very unstable'
- Two men linked to Paris attacks registered as migrants in Greece: police
- At least one Briton killed in Paris attacks, more fatalities feared
- Timeline of Paris attacks according to public prosecutor

- Paris attacks 'crimes against humanity': Iran president
- Hezbollah chief denounces Paris attacks
- Algeria's Bouteflika denounces Paris attacks
- Belgian connection: three held in Brussels over Paris attacks
- Relatives search for missing, grief pours out on social media after Paris attacks
- US student killed in Paris attacks
- Possible link between Germany arrest and Paris attacks - senior official
- Square that filled with Charlie Hebdo protests stands empty after new Paris attacks
- To Paris, with Love: Vigils held around the globe as the world's iconic buildings are lit up in the colours of the French tricolour to show solidarity in wake of Paris attacks
- After Paris attacks, pressure builds for big military response to Islamic State
- Sporting world pays tribute to victims of Paris attacks in show of solidarity
- Britain to hold emergency response meeting after Paris attacks
- Expressions of solidarity for France in red, white and blue
- Paris, India knows your pain: In Mumbai-like shootings jihadists kill at least 129 on Friday night, as France bleeds for second time in less than a year
- Paris attack puts terrorism centre-stage as world leaders meet in Turkey
- Merkel says Germany will fight terrorism side-by-side with France
- China's Xi says willing to join France in combating terrorism
- Eiffel Tower goes dark as France mourns 129 dead
- 'Appalling atrocities': Prince Charles expresses 'total horror' over terror attacks in Paris and offers 'profound sympathy and solidarity' with the people of France
- Sydney Opera House will glow red, white and blue and sports fans will dress in France's national colours as Australians show their support after Paris terror attacks
- France reinstates border checks in wake of terrorist attacks and announces they will implement checks across ALL entry points into the country
- France's year of terror: How Charlie Hebdo massacre sparked series of extremist attacks which have brought bloodshed to country's shell-shocked people
- Fans stay calm amid chilling atmosphere at Stade de France
- France to decree state of emergency, shut borders – Hollande

2016 Brussels Bombings

- Manhunt launched for Brussels suspect after 34 people die in terror attacks
- 4-Police hunt suspect after Islamic State kills 30 in Brussels suicide attacks
- Missing bomber's exit from airport was PLANNED say officials, after footage showed him calmly walking out before explosions rocked terminal in attacks that left 34 dead across Brussels
- 'We need to stand together against appalling terrorists': David Cameron leads global condemnation of deadly Brussels terror attacks
- Security beefed up across world after Brussels attacks
- Attentions turn to security after Brussels terror attacks
- Security ramped up at airports and train stations across the world and border between France and Belgium is closed after Brussels terror attacks
- Obama condemns 'outrageous' Brussels attacks
- Belgian premier urges nation to stay united after barbaric attacks
- Police across U.S. step up security after deadly Brussels attacks
- Belgians turn to Twitter to offer rooms, rides after Brussels attacks
- Brussels attacks spark sympathy but also some support on social media
- Republicans point to Muslim immigration in Brussels attacks
- Belgian flag to light up Eiffel Tower after Brussels attacks
- Touching moment EU minister breaks down in tears and has to leave the stage while addressing conference after Brussels attacks

- U.S. Mormon missionaries, service member among injured in Brussels attacks
- Islamic State claims Brussels blasts -Amaq agency
- At Brussels airport, kids thought "fireworks", parents knew "bomb"
- Passengers could face bag checks on the doors and 'profilers' hiding among the crowds after Brussels terror attack in terminal kills 14
- Social media users share crying Tintin in Brussels aftermath
- Twitter users express support for Brussels with its iconic fountain
- Police issue wanted notice for suspect after Brussels attacks
- Paris, jolted by Brussels attack, sends Eiffel Tower salute
- Belgium evacuates two nuclear power stations amid fears ISIS will attempt to follow the Brussels attack with a dirty bomb
- ISIS threatens UK with 'harder and more bitter' attack than Brussels as armed police take to Britain's streets after terror group claims responsibility for bombings
- Airport security in spotlight after Brussels attacks
- Pedestrian strip becomes canvas of support in Brussels
- Indians caught in Brussels terror strike: Two Jet Airways cabin crew among over 200 injured in deadly ISIS attack on airport and metro station, as death toll hits 34
- Several Americans wounded in Brussels attacks
- A world united in grief: Brussels residents hold sombre candle-lit vigils around floral tributes as famous landmarks around the globe are lit up with colors of Belgian flag
- Australian exchange students trapped in Brussels reveal the devastation after the twin terrorist attacks
- ISIS celebrate Brussels terror attacks by handing out sweets to residents in Syria
- THIRD brush with terror: American Mormon, 19, left with burns and shrapnel injuries in Brussels attack also survived Boston and Paris bombings
- A loud bang, bloody victims running and children shaking with terror: American survivors including NBA star recount horror of Brussels attacks
- Pope leads crowd in silent prayer for Brussels attacks dead
- Pope denounces "abominable cruelty" of Brussels attacks
- Brussels attacks another reminder of Belgian security's weak link
- Dozen Americans injured in Brussels attacks: US official
- Brussels attacks expose vulnerability of Europe's cities
- Suspects linked to the Paris, Brussels attacks
- Obama says world must unite to fight terrorism
- Theresa May warns of travel chaos for the Easter getaway because of enhanced security checks after the Brussels attacks

2016 Nice Truck Attack

- Dramatic footage captures terrified diners cowering inside a restaurant storeroom as horror unfolds in Nice
- 'I saw bodies flying like bowling pins': Eyewitnesses describe horrific scenes as lorry slams into crowd in Nice before driver emerged shooting
- Death toll in Nice attack rises to over 70 - TV citing police
- Dozens dead, 100 injured in Nice truck attack, driver shot dead - regional official
- Truck slams into revelers in Nice, at least 80 dead
- Truck attacker kills up to 80 in Nice Bastille Day crowd
- Obama condemns 'what appears to be a horrific terrorist attack' in Nice
- One woman and two other Australians injured in Nice massacre – but dozens more in terror-struck city escaped unhurt including 22 students initially reported as missing
- 'This is war. When will we learn? It is only getting worse': Donald Trump quickly seizes on 'horrific' Nice Bastille Day attack
- Horrifying footage captures the moment truck ploughs into screaming crowd in Nice after heroic motorcyclist throws himself on the vehicle and police open fire

- 'France is in tears, but it's strong': Defiant President François Hollande promises the country will strengthen its role in Iraq and Syria following terrorist massacre which saw scores of children killed
- Anti-terror investigators put on Nice attack case -media
- Truck "terrorist" kills 80 in attack on Nice Bastille Day crowd
- Shock in Tunisian hometown of Nice attacker
- Narrow escape of Britons caught up in Nice nightmare: Dozens from the UK were among crowd whose celebrations turned to horror
- The empty buggies: The poignant image of three abandoned prams after ten children die under the wheels of the Nice terror truck
- 'I have never seen such fear and distress in so many people': Young Australians recall the moment they had to run past dead bodies to escape terrorists in Nice
- How Australian girl, 18, narrowly escaped death as the Nice terrorist mowed down dozens of people with a truck - and was left with deep grazes all over her body
- Brutal Nice truck attack hit smallest victims the hardest
- 'People were lying on the streets dead... everyone was running over their bodies': British tourists describe horrifying scenes as terrorist slaughters 84 in Nice
- Allahu Akbar, he cried, as bodies fell: Minute by minute, how the outrage by the beach in Nice unfolded
- Now French spies face searching questions over their competence amid claims Nice truck attack could have been prevented
- France's Valls says Nice attacker linked "one way or another" to radical Islam
- After Nice chaos, relatives in agonizing search for missing
- An out-of-place truck, then screams as Nice attack unfolded
- The Nice victims: A boy, a businessman, a police official
- Tunisians, Algerians among dead in Nice attack
- France calls up reserves to relieve tired security forces after Nice attack
- Deadly truck attack in Nice unfolded at high speed
- World unites in horror at Nice carnage, backs France
- French investigators still to determine Nice attacker's militant links- prosecutor
- Nice's tragic tots: Heartbreaking images of children STILL missing as fears grow for toddler in Nice hospital with 'no visitors'
- France's Hollande says dozens still fighting for their lives after Nice attack
- French flag flies 'proudly and defiantly' over the Sydney Harbour Bridge as hundreds of mourners pay tribute to the victims of the Bastille Day terror attack in Nice
- Man wielding a huge machete-blade is arrested at a vigil for the 84 victims of the Nice attack
- 'We stand in solidarity and partnership with our oldest ally': Obama condemns 'horrific terrorist attack' in Nice as Trump postpones VP nomination announcement
- Murdered in Bastille Day massacre: A beautiful Russian student and an American father and son on their dream holiday - first pictures emerge of victims killed in Nice terror attacks
- Nice massacre truck driver 'soldier of Islamic State'
- France's Hollande says Nice attack undeniably of terrorist nature
- Did the truck terrorist have an accomplice? Mystery over second man filmed being pinned to the floor by police before he is dragged away off camera
- EXCLUSIVE - 'He drank alcohol, ate pork and took drugs. He was NOT a Muslim - he was a s***': Truck terrorist's family friend reveals he is an 'unlikely jihadist' who beat his wife and NEVER went to the mosque
- Inside the shabby flat of truck terrorist Mohamed Lahouaiej Bouhlel who told police he was 'delivering ice cream' hours before he mowed down 84 terrified Bastille Day victims
- 'I released my mother's hand and lost her': Russian woman who was caught up in Nice horror tells of panicked hunt in aftermath of attack
- ISIS truck killer was KNOWN to police: Terrorist who mowed down 84 on Bastille Day was ARRESTED in France after a pub brawl in January
- #Pray for Nice: Candlelit vigils held around the globe as the world's iconic buildings are lit up in the colours of the French tricolour to show unity in wake of Bastille Day attack

- Huge cache of guns, grenades and 'larger weapons' found inside bullet-riddled truck sparking fears Nice massacre could have been even MORE deadly

2017 Manchester Arena Bombing

- BREAKING NEWS: Manchester bomber is named as British Libyan jihadist Salman Abedi who killed 22 - including a girl aged EIGHT - in terror attack on packed Ariana Grande concert
- IS claims responsibility for Manchester atrocity which claims 22 lives
- The schoolgirls massacred by ISIS coward: Seven teenagers as young as 14 and girl, 8, among innocent pop fans he murdered in sick suicide blast at Manchester Arena
- 'I saw the killer': Mother claims she stood just 15ft from Manchester Arena suicide bomber as second witness says 'only his legs were left' after the blast
- World leaders condemn Manchester Arena terror attack
- 'Anyone could walk in with things under their coat': Ariana Grande concert-goers slam 'horrendous' Manchester Arena security and say they didn't even have bags checked
- 'Everybody was just screaming': Woman, 20, relives the horrifying moment she watched a bomb go off in Manchester Arena
- Horrifying videos show the pandemonium inside Manchester Arena seconds after terrorist attack and the shocking scenes as terrified concert-goers flee for their lives
- Manchester Arena blast: What we know so far
- 'People's skin and blood were everywhere... I'm still finding bits of God knows what in my hair': Manchester Arena terror attack survivors tell of their horror
- Witness tells of seeing 'carnage everywhere' after Manchester Arena blast
- Celebrities pray for victims of Manchester Arena explosions
- Politicians send condolences to the victims of Manchester Arena 'blast'
- ISIS: 'We killed your children'. Terror group claim responsibility for Manchester bombing 'in the midst of a gathering of the Crusaders'
- PM says eight-year-old victim underlines 'barbarity' of Manchester bombing as she visits casualties in hospital and vows city's 'spirit' will NOT be broken
- 'Jihadist' praises Manchester bombing and chants 'Allahu Akbar' as he claims 'this is only the beginning' of terror attacks by 'the lions of the Islamic State'
- New York City and Boston step up policing in wake of the Manchester bombing which killed 22 including an 8-year-old girl
- How events unfolded at Manchester Arena
- Four years to the day since the Lee Rigby attack: Manchester Arena 'suicide bomb' is Britain's worst terror outrage since 7/7 and the latest in a tragic list of atrocities
- Cannes Film Festival cancels firework display and holds three-minute silence as security is stepped up in response to the deadly Manchester bombing

2017 London Bridge Attack

- British PM May says treating London incidents as potential act of terrorism
- Too early to say if London incidents are militant attack - source
- Terror attack on London Bridge leaves 6 dead; police shoot 3
- UK police rush to London Bridge after reports of van hitting pedestrians
- Witness in London Bridge incident says saw white van veering into people
- Trump offers help as London grapples with attacks
- 'Run, hide, tell': Metropolitan Police issue warning as officers launch hunt for attackers who went on a terror rampage in the streets of London
- Six killed as militants plough van into crowd on London Bridge, stab others
- 'I thought they were going to help, then I saw the knives': Witnesses saw London Bridge attackers mow down innocent people then kick and stab them as they lay helpless

- London Bridge: What we know so far
- 'You can hear them screaming': Senator Sam Dastyari describes the 'fear and confusion' as he is evacuated from London café amid terror chaos
- Six killed and three attackers shot dead in attacks on central London
- Terrifying moment three Jihadis were shot dead after killing seven and hurting 48: Gang yell 'This is for Allah' after mowing down crowd on London Bridge then going on stabbing frenzy
- The Latest: Photographer snaps picture of London attacker
- 'He looked like a f*****g Muslim terrorist': Straight-talking Australian describes how he was stabbed in the neck by London jihadi on his LAST night in the UK before flying home
- London Bridge terror attack: Police confirm three terrorists shot dead after they killed six people and injured at least 48
- Witness to London Bridge incident saw six lying on ground after van ploughed into people
- 'We grabbed our passports, we weren't ready for this': Australian tourist reveals the moment he was evacuated and told to 'run' in the wake of London Bridge terror attack
- 'On the floor!': Moment police barge into a pub near London Bridge and shout at terrified customers to get on the ground as knifemen target bar and restaurant goers
- Terrorism hits the heart of London once again in the third Jihadist attack on British soil in just 10 weeks
- 'They were running into all the bars and stabbing everyone': Hero threw bottles and chairs at terrorists as they slaughtered innocents around London Bridge
- Elite SAS 'Blue Thunder' unit lands helicopter on London Bridge as soldiers are scrambled to hunt three jihadi terrorists who shouted 'this is for Allah' before killing seven in a knife frenzy
- ISIS celebrates deaths of seven killed in London Bridge attack with sick posts vowing more terror
- 'I thought it was game over': Diner reveals his terror as he hid in a toilet from London Bridge attackers
- Londoner who took his £6 pint with him while fleeing pub amid terror attack sums up defiance of the city, while TFL workers declare 'London Bridge will NEVER fall down. You can't break our spirit'
- Chilling footage shows blood-soaked victims of London Bridge attack desperately hiding from terrorists in a Borough Market pub
- Sister confirms British business owner, 32, died in London Bridge terror attack as family of Canadian national reveal she died in her fiancé's arms
- 'Stay with me, please, I love you': Bystanders rush to save the lives of injured pedestrians on London Bridge as one woman is heard begging her loved one to 'hold on' while paramedics give CPR
- Harrowing dashcam footage reveals trail of devastation on London Bridge with victims laid strewn across the road as people ran for their lives
- Desperate families beg for information on 'missing' loved ones after the London Bridge terror attack as victims reveal their horror
- 12 arrested as London Bridge terror attack death toll rises to seven
- Militants plough van into London Bridge crowd, stab revellers, killing six
- Witnesses reveal moment armed officers stormed Tube station just minutes 'after man in red tracksuit who ran away from scene of attack across London Bridge is held by police'
- London Bridge attack - What do we know so far?
- The eerie aftermath of the London Bridge attack: Abandoned cars and buses remain beside discarded medical supplies as the jihadi killers' B&Q rental van is taken away by forensic officers
- Hero journalist who tweeted 'it isn't happening on my watch' before using his martial arts skills to tackle London Bridge terrorists now CANNOT SPEAK after being stabbed in the neck
- 'He's a soldier': Father-of-three stabbed FOUR times by Jihadis is pictured bloodied but unbowed in a hospital bed after doctors saved his life - as an angry friend calls on Sadiq Khan to resign over the London Bridge attack
- Sick ISIS supporters claim London Bridge attack was revenge for RAF's 'love from Manchester' airstrike
- One of three terrorists in London Bridge rampage was 'thrown out of a local mosque for shouting that voting in a General Election was un-Islamic'

8.2.2 The Independent

2015 Charlie Hebdo Shooting

- Charlie Hebdo shooting: At least 12 killed as shots fired at satirical magazine's Paris office
- Charlie Hebdo video: Shocking footage from witness shows Paris gunmen on rampage as policeman is shot
- #JeSuisCharlie hashtag used across the world to show solidarity with Charlie Hebdo shooting victims
- Charlie Hebdo attack victims: Tributes paid to the 10 journalists killed by gunmen in Paris
- Charlie Hebdo attack: Paris police name three suspects in manhunt as Kouachi brothers and surrendered 18-year-old 'accomplice'
- Charlie Hebdo attack: President Obama speaks out to condemn 'outrageous attack' on America's 'oldest ally'
- Charlie Hebdo attack: Thousands join vigils in Paris, London, Berlin and around the world
- Charlie Hebdo attack: World leaders unite in condemning 'barbaric' Paris killings
- Charlie Hebdo attack: Analysis shows Paris killers carried out their deadly mission with military precision
- Paris attack: Charlie Hebdo cartoonist says gunmen threatened to kill her toddler daughter unless she let them into office
- Charlie Hebdo vigils: Across France, hundreds of thousands gather in a show of defiant solidarity
- Charlie Hebdo attack: TV news executive says 'my reporters told me all they saw was blood'
- Charlie Hebdo attack: The gunmen burst into the offices, opened fire, and cried 'vengeance'
- Charlie Hebdo attack: Killers' sophistication suggests they had powerful backers
- Charlie Hebdo: What do we know about suspects Said and Cherif Kouachi who allegedly shot 12 people dead
- Paris shooting: Female police officer dead following assault rifle attack the morning after Charlie Hebdo killings
- Paris attacks: UK's emergency security committee Cobra to meet after Charlie Hebdo massacre
- Charlie Hebdo shooting: #BlameTheMuslimGame mocks offensive tweets about Islam after attack
- One victim killed in Charlie Hebdo attacks was Muslim police officer Ahmed Merabet
- Paris shootings live: Female police officer killed - and latest news from Charlie Hebdo manhunt
- Paris terror attack: British port and border security stepped up in wake of shooting
- Charlie Hebdo attack: One million copies of magazine will be published as French media vow to keep it running
- Charlie Hebdo shooting: Far-right Front National leader Marine Le Pen 'wants to offer France referendum on the death penalty'
- Charlie Hebdo: Classmates protest innocence of suspect Hamyd Mourad, 18, with school alibi
- Charlie Hebdo attack: All 12 victims are named
- Charlie Hebdo attack: Killings prompt only disgust in Paris's deprived northern suburbs

2015 Paris Attacks

- Paris attacks latest: More than 120 dead after night of terror in French capital - updates
- Paris attacks: At least 128 reported dead in French capital after shootings and explosions rock city
- Paris attacks: Eagles of Death Metal escape Paris attack, 100 hostages killed after police storm concert venue
- Paris attacks: Gunshots rock Stade de France
- Paris attacks: David Cameron 'shocked' after over 100 killed in French capital
- Paris attacks: Barack Obama calls incidents 'attack on all of humanity'
- Paris Attacks: Residents use #PorteOuverte hashtag to offer shelter to the stranded
- Paris attacks: France declares state of emergency after over 100 people killed in the capital
- Paris attacks: More than 140 feared dead after shootings and explosions stun France
- Paris shootings and explosions: President Francois Hollande condemns 'terrorist attacks of unprecedented proportions'
- Newspapers around the world react to the Paris attacks

- Paris attacks: Survivors share eyewitness accounts of deadly attack in concert hall
- Paris: What we know so far after terror attacks shook French capital
- Paris attack live: Attackers wore 'identical' explosive devices and worked in three teams, French prosecutor says
- Paris attacks: At least 127 dead but loss of life could have been far worse
- Paris attacks: Met Police says it is prepared for 'a multiplicity of firearms attacks' in London
- Paris terror: Man reveals he was saved by his mobile phone as survivors share stories
- Paris Terror: Football fans sing France national anthem 'La Marseillaise' during evacuation
- Paris attacks: Football League to hold a minute's silence as sporting world pays tribute to victims
- Paris attacks: World monuments lit up with Tricolore in solidarity with France
- Paris terror attack: Francois Hollande vows merciless response to Isis 'barbarity'
- Paris siege: Man posts live updates from inside Bataclan venue as hostages were shot 'one by one'
- Attack in Paris: Free taxis and open doors - how France responded to an act of barbarity with acts of humanity
- Paris terror attacks: Syrian and Egyptian passports found near bodies of suicide bombers at Stade de France
- Paris: David Cameron warns 'we must be prepared for British casualties' in attacks
- Hundreds of Paris citizens queue to give blood to wounded after terror attacks
- Paris attack: Isis warns 'This is just the beginning' after killing at least 127 people in French capital
- Paris police tracking 'black car carrying four armed people' after terror attacks
- Paris attack: Video shows victims desperately fleeing Bataclan theatre as shots ring out
- Paris attacks: What do we know about the attackers?
- As blood is swept from the streets outside the Bataclan, Paris mourns those lost in terror attacks hours earlier
- Paris attacks: British man Nick Alexander among victims at Eagles of Death Metal Bataclan gig
- Paris attacks: Several arrests made in Belgium following raids in Brussels linked to Isis
- Paris terror: Muslim leaders around the world condemn 'heinous' attacks
- Paris attacks: John Lennon's 'Imagine' performed outside Bataclan concert hall
- Paris: #MuslimsAreNotTerrorist starts trending on Twitter after attacks
- Paris attacks: World leaders unite in revulsion at atrocity
- Paris attack: Isis atrocity leads to tighter border controls across European Union
- France suicide bombings: Man wearing suicide vest denied entry to Stade de France before detonating bomb
- Paris attack: What we now know after Paris prosecutor reveals details of the atrocity
- Paris attack: How a mild Friday night plunged into murderous mayhem
- Paris attack: People who survived onslaught describe moment their night out turned to tragedy
- Paris attack: One of the terrorists who carried out brutal massacre may have entered Europe through Greece
- Paris attacks: David Cameron warns UK terrorist attack is 'highly likely'
- Paris attack: Suspects arrested in Brussels may have included members of a further murder squad who escaped from city during massacre

2016 Brussels Bombings

- Brussels terror attacks: At least 30 dead after suicide bombing and explosions at airport and Metro station
- Brussels terror: CCTV image of suspects released by police following attacks on airport
- Brussels attacks: Red Cross asks for blood donations following assault on city
- Brussels attacks: A look at Molenbeek, the small Belgian suburb home to some of the world's most dangerous terrorists
- Brussels attacks: Isis threatens to bring more 'dark days' to Europe and countries fighting its militants
- Brussels attacks: X-ray shows terror victim with bolt in their chest following assault on city
- Brussels attacks: Survivors of metro bombing describe moment explosion ripped through carriages
- Brussels attacks: Belgian flag displayed on world monuments in solidarity with victims
- Brussels attacks: Thousands gather to create improvised memorial with chalk messages of solidarity and defiance
- Brussels attacks: Manhunt for third bomber begins after bombings shake Belgian capital
- Brussels attacks: Video shows Metro passengers evacuated following Maalbeek station explosion
- Brussels terror attacks: David Cameron calls emergency Cobra meeting to determine UK response to explosions

- I was caught up in the Brussels Airport bombing and no one knew what to do. Not even the staff
- Brussels attacks: 'I was with my friends - boom, in one second, all the people were running away'
- Brussels attacks timeline: How bombings unfolded at airport and Metro station
- Isis supporters claim group responsible for Brussels attacks: 'We have come to you with slaughter'
- Brussels terror attacks: Two Britons injured in triple explosions in Belgian capital, Downing Street says
- What the terror threat alert levels mean for London, Brussels and Paris
- Brussels attacks: Belgians open their doors to those affected by explosions with IkWilHelpen hashtag
- Brussels attacks: What leaders from around the world said about the bombings
- Brussels attacks: Security stepped up at UK airports amid terror fears after deadly explosions in Belgium
- Brussels terror attacks: Fears blasts may be revenge for Paris suspect Salah Abdeslam's arrest
- Brussels attacks: Belgian authorities fear suspects could still be at large after Isis bombings at airport and on Metro
- Brussels Maalbeek Metro attack: Further explosion after several killed at Brussels Airport
- Brussels Metro system shut down after station explosion as Belgium terror alert raised to maximum
- Brussels attacks on Zaventem Airport and Maalbeek Metro station: In pictures
- Brussels Airport explosion: Video shows aftermath of explosions in terminal building
- Eiffel Tower to be lit up with Belgian flag colours 'in solidarity' with Brussels, says Paris
- Brussels attacks: Terrorists' headquarters uncovered in quiet part of capital – latest news
- Brussels Airport attack: Video shows aftermath of deadly suicide bombs
- Brussels attacks: How cartoonists around the world reacted to the atrocity
- Brussels attack: New York brother and sister missing after 'phone line went dead'
- Isis celebrates devastation of Brussels attacks by handing out sweets in Syria
- Brussels attacks: Why the two suicide bombers were wearing black gloves
- Brussels Airport attack: Woman pictured in aftermath of bombing identified
- Brussels attack: President Erdogan says bomber was caught in Turkey last year and deported to the Netherlands
- Brussels attacks: Briton David Dixon texted family to say he was safe moments before boarding bomb blast Metro
- Brussels attacks: Terrorists' headquarters uncovered in a quiet and unremarkable area
- Brussels Airport attackers 'forced to leave bomb behind after taxi mix-up'
- Brussels attacks: How extremism flourished amid lack of integration in Molenbeek
- Brussels residents gather collectively to mourn and stand defiant in the face of terror
- Brussels attacks: Security officials accused of missing a string of opportunities to stop suicide bombers
- Brussels attacks: Who were the attackers and what happened? Everything we know so far
- Brussels bombings: Survivor of Boston and Paris attacks 'seriously' injured in airport explosion
- Brussels Airport baggage handler named as 'hero' after pulling wounded people to safety during attacks
- Brussels attack victims: What we know so far about the people missing or lost
- Brussels terror: US government says militants planning 'near-term attacks throughout Europe'
- Brussels bombings: Social media reaction to attacks criticised as disproportionate compared to Ankara
- Brussels attack fugitive named as 'chief Isis bomb maker' Najim Laachraoui

2016 Nice Truck Attack

- Nice attack: 84 confirmed dead after lorry crashes into crowd at Bastille Day celebrations in France
- Nice attack: President Hollande rushes to Paris crisis centre after truck slams into crowd on Bastille Day
- Nice attack: People share messages of solidarity after Bastille Day massacre
- Nice attack: Lorry driver identified by French press as 31-year-old French man of Tunisian descent
- Nice attack: Hollande extends France's state of emergency after Bastille Day massacre
- Nice attack: Lorry driver was known to police, but not to intelligence services
- Nice attack: What we know so far after lorry drives into crowd on Bastille Day in France
- Nice terror attack: Witnesses describe 'children dead with their parents and toys next to them'
- Nice attacks: French police formally identify man who killed scores of people with truck
- Nice attacks: Isis supporters flood Twitter hashtags used by people mourning massacre
- Nice terror attack: The most powerful tribute cartoons after Bastille Day horror
- Nice attack: Woman apologies after saying lorry massacre 'spoiled' her shopping trip

- Nice terror attack: Clement Sordet writes 'Pray for Nice' on cap as French flag is flown at half-mast at the Open
- Nice attack: Moment lorry drives into crowd captured on camera
- Nice attack killer: Mohamed Lahouaiej Bouhlel identified as terrorist behind Bastille Day massacre
- Nice Attack: London safety measures to be reviewed, Sadiq Khan confirms
- Nice attack: Many Muslims reportedly among 84 killed by lorry
- Nice attack victims: Everything we know about those killed so far
- Nice attack: Heartbreaking photo shows young victim lying beside her doll
- Isis told supporters to run French over with cars before Nice truck attack
- Terror attack on the UK 'highly likely' says Theresa May after Nice killings
- Nice attack: Hero stopped killer's rampage by leaping into lorry and wrestling with him
- Nice attack: Couple reunited with their eight-month-old baby after making Facebook appeal
- Nice attacks: Security expert warns of growing threat from 'bedroom terrorists'
- Nice airport evacuated after terrorist lorry attack kills 84
- Nice attack victims: Tributes paid to Texan father and son killed in lorry massacre
- Nice terror attack: Video shows moment French police shoot killer after cornering lorry
- Nice attack killer: First photo of Mohamed Lahouaiej Bouhlel emerges
- Nice terror attack: Police arrest killer Mohamed Lahouaiej Bouhlel's wife
- Nice attack killer: Images from inside Mohamed Lahouaiej Bouhlel's flat emerge
- Nice attack: Locals open their doors for those affected by terrorist act with #PortesOuvertesNice
- Nice attack: Motorcyclist died as he tried to use bike to stop Mohamed Lahouaiej-Bouhlel during massacre
- Nice attacks: President Obama says 'we cannot let ourselves be divided by religion'
- Nice attack live: Photo emerges of Bastille Day killer as relative says 'he was no Muslim' - latest news

2017 Manchester Arena Bombing

- Manchester bombing: suicide bomber kills 22 in attack on concert crowds - as it happened
- Manchester 'explosion': Jeremy Corbyn responds to reported blast after multiple deaths confirmed
- Manchester 'explosions': Video shows screaming crowd fleeing Ariana Grande concert
- Manchester 'explosion' being treated as 'possible terrorist incident'
- Manchester Arena eyewitnesses speak out: 'People have said it was a speaker or balloons but it wasn't. It was explosions'
- Manchester 'explosions': Police confirm 'number of fatalities' after reported blast
- Manchester explosion: At least 22 dead and 59 injured after suicide bomber attack at Ariana Grande concert
- Manchester explosion: Theresa May says blast is being treated as 'an appalling terrorist attack'
- Manchester Arena images show chaos and devastation after deadly suicide bomb attack
- Manchester Arena attack: More than £300k raised to support victims of bombing in just hours
- Manchester Arena: Theresa May calls suicide bombing 'warped and twisted'
- Manchester Arena attack: All the facts about the suicide bombing after Ariane Grande concert
- Manchester Arena: Donald Trump brands suicide bomber behind terror attack as 'evil loser'
- Manchester Arena attack: Isis claims responsibility for suicide bombing that killed at least 22 people
- Manchester Arena attack: Police arrest 23-year-old man over suicide bomb attack
- Manchester Arena explosion: Relatives in desperate search for missing loved ones after suicide bomb
- Manchester Arena attack: Eight-year-old Saffie Rose Roussos among victims killed in suicide bombing
- Manchester Arena bombing: Muslim taxi drivers give free lifts and help victims after terror attack
- Manchester attack: Wounded parents 'refuse treatment so doctors can work to save children's lives'
- Manchester Arena bombing: MI5 says it is 'revolted' by 'disgusting' suicide attack
- Manchester Arena attack: Muslim leaders condemn 'horrific' suicide bombing
- Manchester terror attack: Homeless man 'pulled nails out of child's face'
- Manchester bombing: Isis claims responsibility for concert attack as part of 'shock and awe' tactics, analysts say
- Manchester Arena explosion: Mother makes tearful plea to find missing daughter

- Manchester attack: How people showed kindness and bravery in the face of unspeakable terror
- Manchester attack: More than £4,000 raised for homeless man who cradled dying woman in his arms
- Manchester bombing: Muslims raise thousands of pounds for victims after terror attack
- Manchester bombing vigils held across UK as thousands come together to mourn dead
- Manchester bomber may have operated as part of 'wider group', says Theresa May
- Manchester bombing: Missing teenage girl found alive but search continues for her friend
- Theresa May upgrades terrorist threat level to 'critical' and puts soldiers on streets
- Manchester explosion: At least 19 confirmed dead and 50 injured in 'terrorist incident' at Ariana Grande concert
- Manchester explosion: Young children, teenagers and parents feared to be victims of blast
- Manchester explosion: Mancunians give up their homes to strangers stranded after blast
- Manchester explosion: 'Suicide bomber suspected' after 19 people die at Ariana Grande concert
- Ariana Grande says she is 'broken' after explosion in Manchester Arena that left 22 dead and 59 injured
- Manchester explosion: Isis supporters share messages celebrating explosion
- Manchester explosion: Video captures moment of bomb blast that killed 22
- Manchester attack: Parties suspend general election campaigning
- Manchester explosion: Ariana Grande fans criticise arena's security after suicide bombing
- Manchester arena explosion: World leaders unite to condemn suicide bomb attack on Ariana Grande concert
- Manchester Arena explosion: Children among 22 dead and 59 people injured in suicide bombing at Ariana Grande gig
- Manchester arena explosion: Lone suicide bomber behind deadly terror attack, says police
- Manchester attack: Member of public leads 50 teenagers from arena to safety at nearby hotel
- Manchester Arena explosion: Terror attack is four years to the day since Lee Rigby's murder
- Manchester Sikh temples offer food and shelter to people affected by terror attack
- Manchester attack: Blood donation centre 'has enough for arena victims' after being inundated with volunteers
- Manchester Arena bombing: First victim named as 18-year-old Georgina Callander
- Manchester bombing: Witnesses describe 'horrific' scenes moments after attack
- Manchester to unite at evening vigil for arena victims after terror attack
- Manchester Arena: Taxis drive people home for free as city unites after terror attack
- Manchester Arena bombing: Everything we know about the suicide attack that killed at least 22 people
- Manchester terror attack: Homeless man held woman as she died after rushing to arena to help victims
- Manchester Arena attacker identified: Police know who carried out suicide bombing, says Theresa May

2017 London Bridge Attack

- London Bridge incident: Police searching for three armed men after crash, say reports
- Saturday night turns to deadly horror as terrorists strike on London Bridge
- London attack: Footage emerges of armed police rushing into bars and down streets in response to attacks
- London terror attack live updates: Seven killed in London Bridge and Borough Market before armed police shoot three suspects dead
- London terror attack: Photograph shows suspect shot by police with 'canisters taped to body' as witnesses tell of horrific night
- Police respond to new incident in Vauxhall after London Bridge
- London incident: Police speak of fatalities after 'van hits pedestrians'
- London Bridge and Borough Market are 'terrorist incidents', according to Met Police
- Saturday night turns to deadly horror as terrorists strike on London Bridge
- London terror attacks: Six people killed before three terror suspects shot dead by police, Scotland Yard says
- London terror attack: Terrorists wore fake suicide vests, police say
- London terror attacks: What we know so far
- London Bridge terror attack: Taxi driver 'hero' tried to 'ram' terrorists with cab to stop atrocity
- London terror attack: Policeman stabbed in face after rushing to confront three terrorists

- London terror attack: Londoners 'tried to fight off terrorists with pint glasses and bar stools'
- London terror attack: Seven dead after van and stabbing atrocity
- Theresa May: Britain experiencing new trend of 'brutal' terror in wake of London attack
- London terror attack: Londoners open homes to strangers amid acts of kindness after killings
- London terror attack: Police chief praises 'extraordinarily courageous' emergency services
- Theresa May: London terror attack shows Britain too tolerant of extremism
- London terror attack: SAS 'Blue Thunder' unit 'lands in London Bridge following atrocity'
- Theresa May says the internet must now be regulated following London Bridge terror attack
- London Bridge attacks: 12 arrested by police after Barking raids
- London Bridge terror attack: Australian woman stabbed in throat says she is in 'bit of pain but I will survive'
- Muslim taxi drivers offer free rides home after London terror attacks
- London terror attack: Woman 'saved 20 lives' by barricading door of restaurant as terrorists tried to enter
- London terror attack: MI5 and police investigating whether further attack is imminent
- London terror attack: Muslim Council of Britain says London attack during Ramadan 'shows they respect neither life nor faith'
- London Bridge terrorists shouted 'this is for Allah' as they stabbed victims
- London attack: Single police officer took on all three terrorists alone armed only with baton
- London terror attack: Police raid building in East Ham
- London Bridge security barriers ruled out 24 hours before terrorists struck
- London terror attack: Police accidentally shot member of the public during response
- London attack: Off-duty police officer 'rugby tackled knife-wielding terrorist'
- 'Terrified? That's a bit strong. We're going to go shopping' - How defiant Londoners refused to bow to terrorists
- London attack: 'I looked terrorist directly in the eye - then he started walking towards us'
- London attack: Heroic restaurant owner and staff led 130 people to safety as terrorists charged towards them
- London terror attack: Suspect 'thrown out of mosque for claim that voting is un-Islamic'
- London terror attack: Martial arts expert stabbed while trying to protect bouncer says he thought: 'This isn't happening on my watch'
- London terror attack: 'Remarkable young waiter' put foot against door to block terrorists, says diner
- London terror attack: Canadian Christine Archibald named as first victim
- London terror attack: Isis claims responsibility amid group's 'call for increased attacks'
- London attack: Security services wrestle with copycat terror threat
- London terror attacks: Questions raised about intelligence failure after decision to lower threat level
- London terror attacks: Donald Trump, Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn among politicians at home and abroad to react

8.2.3 The Telegraph

2015 Charlie Hebdo Shooting

- Charlie Hebdo attack: the worst terror attacks in Europe since 1995
- Charlie Hebdo attack: Paris gunman used gesture adopted by radical Islamists
- Terrorists shouted they were from al-Qaeda in the Yemen before Charlie Hebdo attack
- Paris shooting: the cartoonists who were killed
- Charlie Hebdo cartoonist murdered in Paris terrorist attack was on al-Qaeda wanted list
- Paris Charlie Hebdo attack: This is the worst act of terrorism in France for 50 years
- Charlie Hebdo attack: 2011 firebomb over Prophet Mohammed issue
- Paris Charlie Hebdo attack: In London, silence, defiance and a lone violin
- Paris Charlie Hebdo attack: it could happen in the UK
- France: a nation on tenterhooks since three 'lone wolf' attacks before Christmas

- Paris Charlie Hebdo Attack: Spontaneous rallies of defiance sweep France
- Paris Charlie Hebdo attack: Casualty doctor describes 'carnage'
- Marine Le Pen condemns 'murderous ideology' in the aftermath of Charlie Hebdo shooting
- Paris shooting at Charlie Hebdo office: how terrorist attack unfolded
- Charlie Hebdo attack: France's worst terrorist attack in a generation leaves 12 dead
- Charlie Hebdo shooting: 'several terror attacks' foiled in recent weeks, says Francois Hollande
- Paris shooting: teenage Charlie Hebdo suspect surrenders as police hunt 'armed and dangerous' brothers
- Paris shootings: Crowds around the world stage solidarity vigils
- Paris Charlie Hebdo shooting: increased security in London
- Said and Cherif Kouachi: the two brothers suspected of the Charlie Hebdo massacre
- Paris shootings lead to firebomb attacks on French mosques
- Charlie Hebdo attack: security heightened at British ports and Eurostar
- Charlie Hebdo: world leaders' reactions to terror attack
- Charlie Hebdo attack: terrible reminder of terror risk, says head of MI5
- Armed police scour forest as Charlie Hebdo shooting suspects hide out
- Paris attacks: two arrests made over shooting of French policewoman
- Charlie Hebdo attack: the Kouachi brothers and the network of French Islamists with links to Islamic State
- Charlie Hebdo shootings: Should the police have had greater surveillance of Cherif and Said Kouachi?
- Paris Charlie Hebdo attack: Police appear to be closing in on Said and Cherif Kouachi
- Charlie Hebdo suspect 'mentored' by Abu Hamza disciple
- Al-Qaeda plotting attack on Britain

2015 Paris Attacks

- Paris terror attack: Horror at rock concert where woman tells how her ex-lover died in her arms
- Paris attacks: EU leaders threaten to use "all necessary means" in war on Isil
- Paris terror attack: Diners gunned down in their favourite restaurants
- Paris attacks: Isil have shown their mastery of the full spectrum of terrorism
- Paris terror attacks: French anti-terror forces are among the best in the world
- Paris attacks: Holidaymaker car boot checks and shoreline patrols launched to hunt jihadists targeting Britain
- Paris attacks: EU border crisis as France demands new controls
- Paris attacks: 'Syrian refugee passport' found at stadium bomb scene
- Paris attacks: Syrian passport found near bomber used by 'migrant' to pass through Greece, Serbia and Croatia
- The newlywed, the father-to-be and the British music lover - the victims of the Paris massacre
- Paris attackers linked to Belgian suburb where the authorities have 'lost control'
- 'I pretended to be dead for over an hour' - woman who survived the Paris attacks shares her terrifying story
- Paris attacks: Gunmen may still be on the loose as Kalashnikovs and empty magazines found in abandoned car in city suburb
- Paris, two days after: No normal Sunday
- Paris attacks: carnage of Bataclan concert hall captured in horrific Twitter picture
- "Not in my name" - Muslims speak out against Paris attacks conducted in the name of Islam
- Paris attacks: Girlfriend of British victim breaks down at makeshift vigil
- Paris attacks: How the world is showing solidarity with France

2016 Brussels Bombings

- Brussels explosions: Suspects may have been shielded by criminal underworld

- Brussels attacks: Britain steps up security at airports
- British airport security checks face review in wake of Belgian attacks
- Police release image of Brussels bomb suspects wearing black glove on their left hand
- Brussels attacks: the cartoons going viral as social media expresses solidarity
- Brussels explosions: The Isil terror cell that spread across Europe
- Brussels attacks: Europe is acting as a 'welcome sign' to terrorists, warns former Tory leader
- Brussels attacks: World shows solidarity for Belgians after country's worst atrocity
- Brussels attacks: Belgium rebuked for chaotic passport control three weeks ago
- Brussels attacks: These are the incredible survivors' stories
- Brussels attacks: Police hunt mystery bomber who fled airport
- Brussels attacks: Airport bomber's suicide note to his mother
- Brussels attacks: Agonising wait of missing Briton David Dixon's partner and son for news of his fate
- Brussels attacks: Security scanners 'could be installed at airport entrances' in wake of bomb terror
- Brussels bombings: Missing Briton David Dixon said he was 'fine and safe' before 'getting on Metro'
- 'We can't live in fear' Belgium's residents say after Brussels attacks

2016 Nice Truck Attack

- 84 killed in Nice by lorry during Bastille Day celebrations - how the attack unfolded
- Bastille Day Terror attack: French president François Hollande extends state of emergency for a further three months
- Image of young victim killed in Nice attack becomes focal point of grief
- Theresa May orders emergency Cobra meeting, as London reviews security
- How the terror in Nice unfolded: Driver told police he was delivering ice creams - but instead delivered murder on a massive scale
- How newspapers in France, Britain and around the world reacted to the Nice atrocity
- Eye witnesses recall horror as they celebrated France's Bastille Day: 'there was carnage on the road'
- People across the US show solidarity with France by singing La Marseillaise
- Nice terror attack: Europe 'faces summer of copycat attacks'
- Nice terror attack: Islamic State called on followers to 'run over filthy French'
- Nice attack: vigils and tributes from around the world
- French government's terror warning app criticised following Nice attack
- Watch the moment police surround and shoot Nice terror attacker Mohamed Lahouaiej Bouhlel
- Boris Johnson: Our thoughts are with people of Nice, France
- Theresa May: I'm shocked and saddened by horrifying attack in Nice
- Nice terror attacks - how sport reacted to horrific scenes in France

2017 Manchester Arena Bombing

- The moment Manchester Arena erupts in panic after 'major incident' at Ariana Grande concert
- Ariana Grande 'broken' following terror attack at her Manchester Arena concert
- Video inside Manchester Arena captures explosion followed by panic
- 'Blood and bodies everywhere': Witnesses describe aftermath of Manchester attack
- 'Much rage, much pain!' - Cristiano Ronaldo and David Beckham lead tribute to victims of Manchester terror attack
- #RoomForManchester: Kind strangers open up their homes to those affected by Manchester Arena attack
- Mother's heartbreaking plea to find missing daughter leaves TV presenter Susanna Reid in tears
- Jeremy Corbyn pays tribute to victims of Manchester terror attack
- General Election campaigning suspended after Manchester Arena explosion

- Donald Trump calls Manchester Arena attack perpetrators 'evil losers'
- Theresa May: Callous terrorist attack was carried out with cold calculation
- Theresa May's Downing Street statement on Manchester terror attack in full
- The Queen condemns 'act of barbarity' and shares her sympathies after Manchester attack at Ariana Grande concert
- How newspapers reported the Manchester Arena attack
- Emotional Manchester Mayor Andy Burnham vows 'terrorists will never beat us'
- Tim Farron condemns 'wicked' Manchester terror attack as he reveals his children's friends attended Ariana Grande concert
- Blood donor centres inundated with people helping any way they can after Manchester attack
- 'We came back stronger': Busker sings songs of defiance after Manchester terror attack
- Video shows moment of explosion at Ariana Grande Manchester concert
- Teenage superfan who was pictured with Ariana Grande is first victim of Manchester terror attack
- Manchester terror attack - captured on camera by those who were there
- Eight-year-old girl dies in Manchester terror attack
- Manchester vigil to take place in Albert Square for 'city to come together'
- Police raid Manchester home believed to be linked to bomber
- Isil claims responsibility for Manchester attack
- Schoolgirl found in hospital with severe burns as search continues for her friend after Manchester attack
- Jose Mourinho insists Manchester 'will pull together as one' following terror attack
- Vigils held across the country for Manchester terror attack victims
- 'Another star in the sky': Eight pink balloons - one for each year of her life - released at vigil for Saffie-Rose Roussos
- 'It should have been the best day of her life, and it turned into the worst'. How a night of joy turned to mass murder in Manchester
- The Manchester Libyan connection - a recruiting ground for jihadists
- Old divisions put to one side as Manchester United and City join in emotional show of support
- Homeless man speaks of how he cradled a dying woman in his arms after Manchester attack
- Mother of Manchester attack victim Georgina Callander lays single yellow carnation at vigil in honour of her daughter and eight-year-old Saffie Rose Roussos
- 'Killed by evil': How newspapers reported the Manchester Arena attack on Wednesday morning
- Manchester terror attack comes 21 years after IRA bombed Arndale shopping centre
- 'An attack on innocents': World reacts with shock and horror to Manchester explosion
- Manchester Arena attack - the heroes who shone light in Manchester's darkest hour
- 'We stick together' - Mancunians rally to support those caught up in Manchester Arena attack
- Bystander leads 50 teens to safety in aftermath of Manchester Arena bombing

2017 London Bridge Attack

- 'I saw a man in red with a large blade stabbing a man': witnesses describe London Bridge terror attack
- Multiple people injured in terrorist 'rampage' at two London landmarks
- Theresa May rushes back to No10 to hold Cobra meeting after 'acts of terrorism' in London
- People flee in terror from London attack
- Transport police officer stabbed in the face in London terror attack
- Police: London attackers were wearing hoax suicide vests
- 'They shouted 'this is for Allah', as they stabbed indiscriminately' - How the London terror attack unfolded
- Taxi driver tells of heroic passenger who 'saved 20 lives' by pushing against door to stop terrorist entering restaurant
- Hero taxi driver describes trying to stop terrorists during London attack by 'ramming them'
- Journalist missing after London terror attack found in intensive care, friends say
- Nine minutes of horror, halted by the brave who stood in harm's way
- Customer returns to Borough Market restaurant to pay bill and tip staff after London terror attack

- 'Night of terror': How newspapers in UK and around the world reacted to London attack
- London attack victims: Australian woman and New Zealand man among the injured
- London terrorist attack hours after Islamic State outlet called for knife and vehicle assaults on civilians
- 'We are with you, God bless': How the world reacted to the London atrocity
- London attack victims: 21 critically ill in hospital, NHS officials say
- SAS 'Blue Thunder' helicopter team called in after London attack
- Armed police wound bystander as they kill London attackers with hail of bullets
- Attacker shouted: 'This is for my family, this is for Islam'
- Pro-Islamic State social media users claim London attack 'was revenge for RAF's love from Manchester air strike'
- Monuments around the world lit up with Union flag in solidarity with UK following latest terror attack
- 'Mummy, I want to be a Muslim': How alleged attacker was reported to police for trying to radicalise children
- London terrorist had twice been referred to police over his extremist views
- 'Enough is enough': How newspapers in Britain and around the world covered the London terror attacks on Monday morning
- 'He's a soldier': Father-of-three 'stabbed four times' in London terror attack recovering in hospital
- Londoners offer accommodation, free rides and help in wake of terror attack
- Brave Romanian baker hits terrorist over the head with crate before giving 20 terrified people shelter