

How The British Media Reports On

TERRORISM



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About Us

The Centre for Media Monitoring (CfMM) is a project of the Muslim Council of Britain, designed to improve the quality of reporting of Islam and Muslims in the media through constructive engagement. In the period 2016-2018, a constant stream of inaccurate stories about Islam or Muslims were changed or retracted by national newspapers and broadcasters following discussions with editors or complaints to the print and broadcast regulators. This initial work created the foundations for the inception of CfMM in 2018.

CfMM monitors the media, creates an evidence base of inaccurate and misleading print and broadcast stories, produces reports and guidelines, holds roundtable discussions as well as one to one meetings with the media, regulators, politicians and other stakeholders. CfMM also trains community organisations to proactively engage with the media and help CfMM hold the media to account and improve the quality of coverage.



Miqdaad Versi
Executive Director

Miqdaad is a media spokesperson for the Muslim Council of Britain and the founder of the Centre for Media Monitoring. Prior to CfMM's launch, Miqdaad was called "the man correcting stories about Muslims" by the BBC given his work correcting false stories about Islam and Muslims in mainstream media.



Rizwana Hamid
Director

Rizwana is responsible for overseeing CfMM's work and engaging with senior key stakeholders. She is an award-winning filmmaker and journalist with over 30 years' experience working in the British media. She has worked as a producer/director for BBC Television (News, Current Affairs, Religious, Documentary, World Service & Multicultural Programming) as well as for Channel 4 and other international broadcasters.



Faisal Hanif
Media Monitoring Analyst

Faisal is responsible for analysing and producing reports on the media's coverage of Muslims and Islam. He has worked as a news reporter at The Times and as a researcher at the BBC. He has also conducted field research for two national think tanks – Institute for Public Policy Research and The University of Oxford's Centre on Migration, Policy and Society.



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Abstract

Few subjects can claim to be as contentious as terrorism when reported on. Whilst the media is not necessarily predisposed to answering the questions of who is a terrorist and whether a particular attack constitutes terrorism, it nevertheless does this through it’s selective use of the terms terror, terrorist and terrorism.

Even when certain attacks are similar in nature, they are often defined and reported on differently. In doing so, certain sections of the media have not only decided de-facto what terrorism is and who is a terrorist but have also succeeded in co-opting everyday religious vernacular and symbols to influence their decisions.

This research focuses on specific incidents of terror over the course of 2018-2019 which reveal a pattern of behaviour by Britain’s mainstream media and corroborates the hypothesis above. The report does not aim to be accusatory but is formed through:

- observation, analysis and statistical evidence
- the views of journalists and editors who informed the discussion around our initial findings

There is no exact science to the reporting of terrorism but there is room for improvement and obvious areas where this can take place. This report aims to shed light on these issues and contribute to discussions already taking place among professionals in the industry.

Foreword



Rohit Kachroo,
Security Editor, ITV News,
RTS Specialist Journalist of the Year 2020

When news first broke of a mass shooting at a supermarket in the Texas city of El Paso last August, the story seemed too familiar: another rampage, another gunman in the United States. A man had opened fire on shoppers with an AK-47 assault rifle, killing 22 people. What happened at a Walmart store close to the Mexican border seemed to reflect the circumstances of previous tragedies at schools and concerts. But this deadly incident was different.

This was not Columbine or Virginia Tech. It was political not personal. This was an act of terrorism. A violent incident is defined as such based not only on what happened but why it happened – the motive behind the attack, not just the method used. The answer to the ‘why?’ question usually takes a while to become clear following an attack. But soon after the El Paso shootings, a racist essay emerged which was thought to have been posted by the suspected gunman just before the killings. It described the writer’s anger over an “invasion” of Hispanics and it seemed to indicate that the shootings were motivated by a white supremacist ideology.

Many news organisations took a long breath before calling the attack what it was – ‘terrorism’. That caution is understandable. Reporters need time to gather and assess the evidence. Few areas of reporting are more consequential than the reporting done on terrorism, and snap conclusions which prove to be wrong might be made with ease by Twitter’s armchair analysts but not by serious newspapers or broadcasters.

But we should ask ourselves – even if the answer is ‘no’ – whether reporters would have reached the same conclusions much sooner had the attacker been motivated by the ideology of so called Islamic State or al-Qaeda. That question is so important

because it cuts to the core of the suspicion held by many critics of my profession: that skewed reporting which instinctively labels Muslims as terrorists has helped to define the way those communities are perceived.

It’s journalism’s role to reflect reality, whatever that is, not to skew the facts to appease or attack any particular community. Terrorists don’t look a certain way or have a certain religion. They don’t have to shout ‘Allahu Akbar’. Following the racist killing of Jo Cox MP in 2016, some news organisations were reluctant to use the ‘T word’ to describe the actions of her killer – and they were wrong. Language matters. It can be used as a weapon against an ideology or as a way to sugar-coat grotesque beliefs. It shapes our perceptions of terrorism, of who is responsible and not responsible.

There are other important factors at play when journalists choose the words they use to talk about terror: what law enforcement sources might have indicated to them, particularly about the initial findings of an investigation and the reliability of the accounts given by eyewitnesses. Later on, if prosecutors choose not to charge a suspect under terrorism law, that decision is likely to affect the way we in the media describe the incident.

I travelled to El Paso to report on the attacks and from what I saw, American news organisations were broadly fair – avoiding the biases which have been clear in some of the reporting of previous attacks by white supremacists. CBS News, for example, titled its’ special programming ‘Terror in America’. Headlines referred not only to a ‘mass shooting’ but to a ‘terror attack’. But this hasn’t always been common practice. Brian Stelter, CNN’s chief media correspondent, wrote “We’re witnessing a change in how these types of attacks are talked about.”

None of this should be remarkable or even noteworthy. We are obliged to report what we see – and thanks to social media, we do so under a heightened level of scrutiny from legitimate critics, keyboard warriors and even the President of the United States. When criticism comes – particularly from people who are directly affected by the words we use – we need to listen and assess; we need to ask ourselves whether personal biases might affect the way we see the world. The work of the Centre for Media Monitoring offers us an opportunity to take time to do just that.

Foreword



Tony McEnery

Professor of English Language and Linguistics,
Lancaster University

The freedom of the press is to be cherished. A free media is a cornerstone of democracy, providing a medium through which truth may be transmitted and debate can be fostered. The British media has a long and proud history of speaking truth to power. Yet, freedom does not mean that the media are beyond reproach. Especially when talking about individuals and groups who are relatively powerless, the media becomes the power to whom the truth must be spoken. When the press communicates falsehood they are, and should be, challenged. Similarly, when fostering debate brings the freedom of the press into conflict with other values we hold dear – fairness, respect for others, building a sense of shared community – then again the press should be challenged.

The press are aware of these needs for challenge and, to their credit, participate in systems of oversight such as IPSO. Yet, for the individual and marginalised groups in particular, the question will always be ‘who will speak truth to the power of the media’? The easy answer – ‘anyone can’ is too glib. The response overlooks a host of difficulties which means the challenge may never happen. The prospect of taking on media organisations and their legal counsels may prove too intimidating for many people. But perhaps most importantly, those people who are capable of arguing their case and willing to do so may be stopped by the need to marshal evidence. They may

suspect, for example, that language is systematically biased against a group over time, but they are defeated by the daunting task of gathering sufficient evidence to substantiate that claim.

This is where organisations like the Centre for Media Monitoring (CfMM) can play an incredibly important role. They can explore issues with a depth and thoroughness that would be well beyond the abilities of most people in the UK. They have the expertise to pursue examples of perceived media bias and they have the experience and prestige both to work with the UK media to effect positive change and to engage with Muslim communities in the UK to show them that concerns they have about media representation can, and will be, pursued.

In doing so, of course, the result will most often be dialogue. The best way to resolve tensions of the sort that I mentioned at the start of this introduction is for people to address them as part of an evidence based discussion which seeks to share understanding and through that to reach a resolution. Such discussions are rarely swiftly concluded and may often be fraught – yet the discussion is worth it. The evidence brought to that discussion will, ultimately, cultivate understanding even if it fails to reach agreement.

This report is a good case in point – within it are many pieces of evidence of reporting that CfMM is clearly, and in my opinion rightly, framing as problematic. The report contains evidence which has been carefully gathered and analysed. In presenting and interpreting that evidence CfMM can continue the dialogue it has started with other events and reports. That dialogue is establishing clearly and unambiguously, how and why CfMM questions some reporting practices. Whatever publishers, broadcasters and journalists may dispute after that, they cannot escape the reality that reports such as these show clearly how and why CfMM sees some media reporting as problematic. The Centre for Media Monitoring has moved beyond the point which our imaginary complainant above reached, of feeling vaguely that they had a complaint but not knowing how to evidence it, to the position of knowing exactly what the complaint is and being able to show it clearly.

I am consequently delighted that CfMM is doing this work; from a firm base of thoughtful analyses they are presenting work which is giving a voice to the powerless while also engaging constructively with the UK media to bring about a better understanding amongst journalists of the concerns of Muslim communities in the UK. I believe that through a dialogue started in such a way both mutual understanding and positive change may arise. Given the sensitive topic of this report, I, and all people living in the UK, should welcome that dialogue.

Introduction

Since 9/11, terrorism has become synonymous with Muslims.¹ Much of this has been driven by media reporting on the subject. For example terrorism is disproportionately the most recurring theme in British media when reporting on Muslims and/or Islam.² Centre for Media Monitoring's "State of Media Reporting on Islam & Muslims" quarterly report Oct-Dec 2018 found that one quarter of 10,931 online news articles, with an identifier of Muslims and/or Islam, were on the topic of terrorism/extremism.³

Previous research attests to the dominance of conflict paradigms when it comes to reporting on Islam and Muslims in the media with Moore et al concluding that between 2000–2008, one in three items in the print media featuring Muslims linked them to terrorism.⁴

Quantifying the exact effect of such reporting is virtually impossible. Yet there are indicators which point to possible cumulative results of the distorted media focus on terrorism. One of these is the widespread sentiment held by British Muslims, namely that the Media's representation of them was framed through a 'consistent conflation of Islam and terrorism'.⁵ Another is how almost two-thirds of the population feared an attack in the UK within a year of being surveyed in 2018.⁶ The statistical improbability of terrorism compared with other crimes or dangers has led some to argue that such a fear is irrational.

On statistics alone, the disparity between threat and fear is out of proportion, given that approximately five people have been killed on average every year in the UK since 2001 as a result of terrorism, whilst those killed as a result of knife crime was 100 in the first five months of 2019 with over 40,000 knife offences alone in 12 months up to March 2019.⁸

Research suggests that the huge volume of media coverage, which focuses on terrorism, partly explains why such a fear exists at the level it does. Among the studies on perceived risks, researchers found a positive and statistically significant relationship between the number of hours people spend watching television news and the fear that a family member might be the victim of a terrorist attack. Similarly, studies have shown how news sources, such as newspapers or online news sites, influence fear of terrorism among Western populations.

Prior to 9/11, most people in the UK associated terrorism with the IRA. This is no longer the case, despite the MI5 threat level from Northern Ireland-related terrorism being higher (SEVERE) than the threat to the UK of general terrorism (SUBSTANTIAL). Yet, this is not translated in terms of media coverage of terrorism, or public perception.

Journalists and editors are becoming increasingly aware of such issues and the perils of reporting on terrorism in the manner in which it is currently done. CfMM's *Roundtable Discussion "Reporting of Terrorism"* was held in June 2019 with senior editors, producers and security correspondents from 18 national newspapers, magazines, radio and television outlets. Participants were forthright in detailing the specific challenges of reporting on terrorist incidents in the age of social media. Amongst the most interesting observations were how the commercial realities of media corporations in the 24-hour news environment can conflict with the need to assess the socio-cultural impact of the reporting.

Whilst previous studies have highlighted the dominant bias of terrorism as a news frame when covering Islam and Muslims, this report seeks to demonstrate the inconsistency and disproportionality in the coverage of terrorism when the perpetrator is a Muslim.

With insights from established national correspondents and editors who have covered some of the most high-profile terror attacks of the last two decades, this report seeks to provide a resource to help improve standards in the reporting of terrorism.

For the more casual and interested reader, it is hoped, among other things, it will enlighten them to the challenges faced by journalists when reporting in the midst of a terror attack.

- 1 Islamic Relief UK. (2015). *Poll on eve of Ramadan shows 'hugely negative' view of Muslims and sharp decline in support for refugees* | Islamic Relief UK. [online] Available at: <https://www.islamic-relief.org.uk/poll-on-eve-of-ramadan-shows-hugely-negative-view-of-muslims-and-sharp-decline-in-support-for-refugees/> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].
- 2 Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C. and McNery, T. (2013). *The Big Picture*. [online] [Cass.lancs.ac.uk](http://cass.lancs.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/CASS-Islam-final.pdf). Available at: <http://cass.lancs.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/CASS-Islam-final.pdf> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].
- 3 Hanif, F. (2019). *State of Media Reporting on Islam and Muslims; Quarterly Report: Oct - Dec 2018*. [online] [Cfmm.org.uk](https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/CfMM-Quarterly-Report.pdf). Available at: <https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/CfMM-Quarterly-Report.pdf> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].
- 4 Moore, K., Mason, P. and Lewis, J. (2008). *Images of Islam in the UK: the representation of British Muslims in the national print news media 2000-2008*. [online] [Orca.cf.ac.uk](http://orca.cf.ac.uk/53005/). Available at: <http://orca.cf.ac.uk/53005/> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].
- 5 Clements, J., Roberts, M. and Forman, D. (2020). *Listening to British Muslims: policing, extremism and Prevent*. [online] London: Crest Advisory, p.46. Available at: <https://www.crestadvisory.com/post/listening-to-british-muslims-policing-extremism-and-prevent> [Accessed 1 Mar. 2020].
- 6 Bulman May (2018), UK more concerned about terror than any other country, finds study, at <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/uk-terror-concerns-higher-other-countries-isis-terrorismattacks-study-ipsos-mori-britain-a8147691.html>, (Accessed on 25-Jul-2019)

- 7 Michael, T. (2019). *How many terror attacks have there been in the UK and what is the definition of terrorism?*. [online] The Sun. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/3857950/terror-attack-definition-uk-response-tips/> [Accessed 29 Nov. 2019].
- 8 Home Office (2020): *Crime in England and Wales: year ending September 2019*, Statistical Bulletin, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/bulletins/crimeinenglandandwales/yearendingseptember2019#knife-or-sharp-instrument-offences> (Accessed on 24 Jan 2020)
- 9 Williamson, Harley, Fay, Suzanna & Miles-Johnson, Toby (2019) *Fear of terrorism: media exposure and subjective fear of attack*, *Global Crime*, 20:1, 1-25, DOI: 10.1080/17440572.2019.1569519 & Coughlan, Sean. "Young People Anxious from Terror Coverage." BBC News, BBC, 9 Oct. 2018, www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-45784642. (Accessed on 25-Jul-2019)

Methodology

This report seeks to demonstrate its findings by looking at the issues of definition, narrative, consistency, accuracy, sourcing, religious literacy and terminology mainly through qualitative analysis, whilst using quantitative data to compare the coverage of different terrorist attacks and how they are covered by mainstream British-based news outlets to highlight patterns of behaviour.

This report looks in detail at the following terrorist attacks:

- **Pittsburgh Synagogue, Pennsylvania, USA, 27 October 2018**
- **Thousand Oaks, California, USA 7 November 2018**
- **Bourke Street, Melbourne, Australia, 9 November 2018**
- **Strasbourg, France, 11 December 2018**
- **Manchester Victoria Station, Manchester, UK, 31 December 2018**
- **Bottrop, Germany, 1 January 2019**
- **Londonderry, Northern Ireland, 20 January 2019**
- **Christchurch, New Zealand, 15 March 2019**
- **Hanau, Germany 19 February 2020**

We take a close look at the coverage of Christchurch – the deadliest (non-state) white supremacist terror attack against Muslims.

Coverage of this attack suggested some positive changes may be afoot in the way the UK media reports on and recognises terrorism beyond those acts committed by so-called Muslims.

The report also references the following attacks in lesser detail for the purposes of comparison.

- **Sri Lanka, Churches, 21 April 2019**
- **El Paso, Texas, USA, 3 August 2019.**
- **Halle Synagogue, Germany, 09 October 2019**
- **Bayonne Mosque, France, 28 October 2019**
- **London Bridge, London, 29 November 2019**
- **Villejuif, Paris, 03 January 2020**
- **Streatham, London, 02 February 2020**

**Further reference is made to other attacks and incidents throughout this report.*

Many of the examples presented have been taken from the ongoing monitoring of the media's coverage of Muslims and Islam as well as terror attacks which have gained prominent coverage across UK online news and TV broadcast platforms.

Whilst there are many studies which have highlighted the dominant bias of terrorism as a news frame when covering Islam and Muslims, this report includes a statistical insights section to add further evidence to the existing body of data on this phenomenon, and contrasts it to the coverage of far-right or white supremacist terrorism.

We also look at a noticeable 'religious illiteracy' among media channels when reporting on religious concepts and ideas which has, in effect, turned ordinary Islamic phraseology and concepts into symbols of terror.

Two major trends emerged based on individual news reports and complaints by staff at the Centre for Media Monitoring about certain articles and broadcast clips:

- **Some sections of the British media report differently on attacks depending on who the perpetrator(s) is or are.**
- **The label of terrorist, terrorism and terror is largely reserved for perpetrators who are considered or found to be inspired by Daesh or other so-called 'Islamist' groups.**

A full list of the mainstream British news outlets, including print newspapers, online news websites and television broadcast channels that we have monitored can be found in Appendix A. These outlets were chosen in line with the Centre for Media Monitoring's ongoing work of monitoring the British media in its reporting of Islam and Muslims.

The data selected for the Statistical Insights section of this report, which focuses on the period 2015–2019, excludes broadcasters and online material from The Sun, The Sun on Sunday, The Times and The Sunday Times given the non-availability of these sources prior to 2018.

Individual articles from newspapers have been selected as the best possible available examples to illustrate a particular point being made. These do not necessarily reflect the overall pattern of behaviour of that newspaper or broadcaster in comparison with its competitors, unless this is explicitly stated.

*All information on print newspapers has been taken from available editions on Press Reader and any changes that have subsequently occurred in later editions may not have been accounted for despite best efforts to do so.

Previously published research from academics (many of whom have been referenced in this report) as well as the views of reporters, columnists and media commentators have also contributed to the various themes discussed in this report.

During CfMM's Roundtable Discussion on "Reporting of Terrorism", we highlighted a range of examples included in this report. The participants gave their views and insights including justifications, limitations and shortcomings in certain instances. These views have been included in this report in order to:

- **Illustrate or provide context or rationale for a finding or insight;**
- **Highlight already established behaviour and protocols which newspapers, broadcasters or individual journalists practice when reporting on terrorism;**
- **Express the general views and consensus which journalists and editors have on the reporting of terrorism, both currently and historically.**

In certain instances, the views of journalists who have provided testimony outside of CfMM's "Reporting of Terrorism" Roundtable have also been included where relevant. In particular, research and comments have been included from the workshop Understanding the Impact of Media Terrorism Reporting – A Community Perspective held on 22 October 2019 at the Finsbury Park Mosque in London and convened by Virginie Andre, Senior Research Fellow, Victoria University.

The final section of this report covers the reporting of the Christchurch terror attacks (March 2019). The reason for focusing on Christchurch is its status as the most high-profile terror attack perpetrated by a white supremacist terrorist against Muslims. As well as this, analysis and observations around the coverage of this particular attack show that this may have been a turning point in the Media's reporting of terrorism.

The approach taken here is a comparative analysis approach examining how the attacker was described across online news sources and contrasting this to the description of Daesh-inspired terrorists who attacked worshippers at churches in Sri Lanka in April 2019¹⁰.

Moreover, examples of coverage which platformed certain individuals and ideas following the terror attack have been included as they raise interesting issues which were discussed at CfMM's Roundtable on "Reporting of Terrorism".

CfMM has made every reasonable attempt to differentiate between individual editorial teams within one news organisation which publish their content on one single online platform. For instance, all articles from Mail Online, Daily Mail, Daily Mail Australia, Mail on Sunday and dailymail.com are published on dailymail.co.uk even though all these publications are editorially independent of each other. This is also true for The Times and Sunday Times as well as The Guardian and The Observer.

However, this differentiation is not always transparent on every news platform. For example, material on Daily Mirror comes from at least four separate editorial teams (Daily Mirror, Mirror.co.uk, Sunday Mirror and The Sunday People) as does thesun.co.uk (The Sun, The Sun on Sunday and The Scottish Sun). In such instances, articles from these publications are indistinguishable and as such are monitored and analysed under their one online banner.

CfMM's statistical approach combined with the selection of particular examples allows for a deeper insight into both the overall approach taken by the media, as well as examples of good practice. It also looks at which practices may necessitate further reflection and reconsideration by the media in light of the analysis presented here.

¹⁰ The term Daesh is the preferred moniker of the authors of this report for this terrorist group. The usage of the so-called "Islamic State" preferred monikers effectively makes the media a loudspeaker for the group and gives it legitimacy by projecting its claim to be acting in the name of Islam. It is also a more accurate reflection of the group's un-Islamic actions.



Key Insights

51%

During the period 2015-2019, over half (51%) of individual online news pieces in 31 of the mainstream British news websites, magazines and newswires which mention the term *terror*, *terrorism*, *terrorist(s)* one or more times, also mention *Muslim(s)* and/or *Islam*, *Islamic*, *Islamism* or *Islamist* in the same piece. The equivalent total for *far-right*, *white supremacist*, *right wing* and *neo-Nazi terrorist(s)* is 6%.

3x

Online news coverage of terrorism in 2019 still refers to so called 'Islamist' terror over three times more frequently in online news articles.

Frequency

Words identifying *Muslims* or *Islam* are more frequently placed alongside *terror*, *terrorism*, or *terrorist(s)* in comparison with the most frequent identifiers of *far right* or *white supremacist terrorism*.

1 in 4

During the period October – December 2018, at least one in four online articles with a mention of one or more identifiers of *Muslims* and/or *Islam* fell under the theme of terrorism or extremism

Inconsistency

The general pattern of print newspaper coverage shows major inconsistencies in attacks which are similar and a reluctance to label white perpetrators as terrorists or the act as terror.

2019

Coverage in 2019 shows a greater willingness on the part of the British news media to refer to white supremacy inspired individuals and attacks as terrorists and terrorism.

Online

In 2019, online news media shows a higher level of consistency in describing far right or white supremacist inspired attacks as terrorism.

Blame

Right-leaning publications have published material which puts the burden of blame for white supremacist terror attacks onto Muslim communities.

Hearsay

Live reporting on terror attacks can sometimes be ambiguous with journalists not adequately separating facts from hearsay.

Prominence

Undue prominence is sometimes given to content which has not been independently verified or corroborated.

Allahu Akbar

Online news sites, and in particular the Mail Online, have appropriated the phrase "Allahu Akbar" in headlines as a shorthand for a terror attacks committed by individuals of Muslim background.

Publicity

Online tabloids often risk giving the oxygen of publicity to terrorist groups by republishing their latest propaganda material.

Fear

The dissemination by media outlets of violent imagery produced by terrorists contributes to their aim of spreading fear.

Rhetoric

Mainstream presenters and reporters across terrestrial channels sometimes failed to challenge pro-white supremacist and anti-Muslim rhetoric during the coverage of the Christchurch attacks.

Statistical Findings

During the period 2015-2019, CfMM’s monitoring and analysis found that over half (51%) of individual online news pieces in 31 of the mainstream British news websites and newswires (See Appendix A) which mention the term *terror*, *terrorism* or *terrorist(s)* one or more times, also mention *Muslim(s)* and/or *Islam** (and its derivative terms *Islamic*, *Islamist*, *Islamism*) in the same piece. Contrastingly, news pieces which refer to the far right and terms associated with similar ideologies constitute only six percent of the total articles which include the terms *terror*, *terrorism*, *terrorist(s)*.

A detailed study conducted between 1998–2009 found that *tabloids* focused disproportionately on stories which associated Islam with terrorism and extremism. Further statistical insight showed how the term *Muslim* is used most frequently in conjunction with words denoting extremism, such as “*extremist*, *fanatic*, *terrorist*, *fundamentalist*.”¹¹

There was a spike in the number of articles which mentioned *Muslim(s)* or *Islam** alongside *terror*, *terrorism* or *terrorist(s)*, between the years 2015-2017 with an average of 50,000 texts per year. This number has since decreased to an average of around 40,000 in 2018 and 2019.

This is explained mainly by the major terror attacks which took place during that period: Nice and Paris (2015), attacks across mainland Europe (2016), the intensification of war against Daesh (2017), the Manchester Arena attack (2017), the vehicle attacks on Westminster Bridge and outside Finsbury Park Mosque (2017) and the bombing of Parsons Green tube station, among others (2017).

When assessing the words which most commonly follow or precede the words *terror*, *terrorist(s)* or *terrorism* - *Islam*, *Islamic*, *Islamist* or *Islamism* are overwhelmingly the most frequent nouns, with *Muslim(s)* coming second. This

shows how the use of the terms *terror*, *terrorism* or *terrorist* are overwhelmingly linked to *Muslim(s)* and/or *Islam*.

Yet, as the data shows, the figures have decreased over time with reference to *Muslim(s)* and *terrorism*, *terror* or *terrorist(s)* having halved from a 2017 peak of over 10,000 articles. It can be argued that there has been a noticeable decrease in *Muslim(s)* being labelled directly as *terrorist(s)* or references to *Muslim terror* or *terrorism*.

Table 1: Statistics showing the frequency of selected words (namely B and C, D and E) within the total number of articles which also mention *Terror*, *Terrorist(s)* or *Terrorism* (A)

	Words	Total No of Articles 2015	Total No of Articles 2016	Total No of Articles 2017	Total No of Articles 2018	Total No of Articles 2019	% of articles containing one or more of selected terms 2015-2019
A	Terror, Terrorism or Terrorist(s)	48,100	50,600	54,700	36,300	43,100	N/A
B	Islam, Islamic, Islamist or Islamism	19,900	18,800	16,700	9,280	12,200	33%
C	Muslim or Muslims	9,660	9,090	10,100	5,510	6,840	18%
D	Far Right, Far-right, Right wing, Right-wing, Neo-Nazi, Neo Nazi, White Supremacist, White Supremacy	1,340	1,800	3,110	2,330	5,963	6%
E	Northern Ireland, Northern Irish	600	760	1,100	1,820	796	2%

According to journalists at the CfMM roundtable, the labelling of terrorism appears to have become less personalised. Table 2 shows how references to *terror** are associated more with the abstract concept of *Islam** the religion rather than its followers. The number of mentions of *Muslim/s* in the same article as *terror** have almost halved between 2017-2018. This trend follows on from previous studies which show a similar picture for the word *Islamic*, where the average number of mentions of one of these ‘extremist’ words next to *Islamic* fell from one in six in 1998-2009 to one in eight in 2010-2014, with only one newspaper (The Times), showing a slight rise in this practice.¹²

Yet, in tandem with previous research, these findings still support the conclusion that the frequent use of such linguistic patterns is of concern because it can cause readers to unconsciously associate Muslims and Islam with terrorism.

11 Baker, P & Gabrielatos, C & McEnery, T (Cambridge 2013). Discourse Analysis and Media Attitudes: The Representation of Islam in the British Press 1998–2009, pp. 151

12 McEnery, T. and Baker, P. (2015). The British press and radicalisation | Radicalisation Research. [online] Radicalisation Research. Available at: <https://www.radicalisationresearch.org/debate/baker-british-press-and-radicalisation/> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019]

Table 2: Statistics showing the frequency of selected noun association with Terror, Terrorist(s) or Terrorism 2015-2018.

Terror or Terrorism or Terrorist(s)	Immediately before/ after the words Terror, Terrorism or Terrorist(s)	Within 3 words before/ after Terror, Terrorism or Terrorist(s)	Within 5 words before/ after Terror, Terrorism or Terrorist(s)
Islam ¹³	6270	8316	10260
Muslim ¹⁴	401	1468	2624
White Supremacist ¹⁵	60	81	138
Far-Right ¹⁶	337	420	502
Right-Wing ¹⁷	131	168	236
Neo-Nazi ¹⁸	139	179	221

Table 2 indicates a significant disparity in the association of *terror* with *Muslim* and non-Muslim suspects. However, official statistics reveal that the proportion of those reported is far less disparate.

In 2017/18, 44% of referrals to the Government's Channel Programme were apparently linked to what is described as "Islamist extremism" and 18% to "right-wing extremism".¹⁹

Whilst the programme itself is deeply controversial, and has significant challenges in how it is used, the figure suggests that reporting on terrorism is heavily skewed towards so called "Islamist terrorism" and fails to report on the established and growing far-right threat in the UK.

While there were more than twice the number of referrals for Islamist extremists than for far-right extremists, online news/media coverage of terrorism between 2017/2018 disproportionately referred to 'Islamist' terror six times more frequently.

Table 3. Statistics showing the frequency of selected noun association with Terror, Terrorist(s) or Terrorism 2017-2018.

Node Words: Terror/ Terrorist(s)/ Terrorism	Immediately before or after Terror/ Terrorism/ Terrorist(s)	Within 3 words before or after Terror/ Terrorism/ Terrorist(s)	Within 5 words before or after Terror, Terrorism, Terrorist(s)	Total
Islam or Muslim	3,070	4,295	5,475	12,840
Other	544	682	879	2,105

¹³ Islam or Islamic or Islamist or Islamism

¹⁴ Muslim or Muslims

¹⁵ White Supremacist or White-Supremacist or white supremacist or white-supremacist

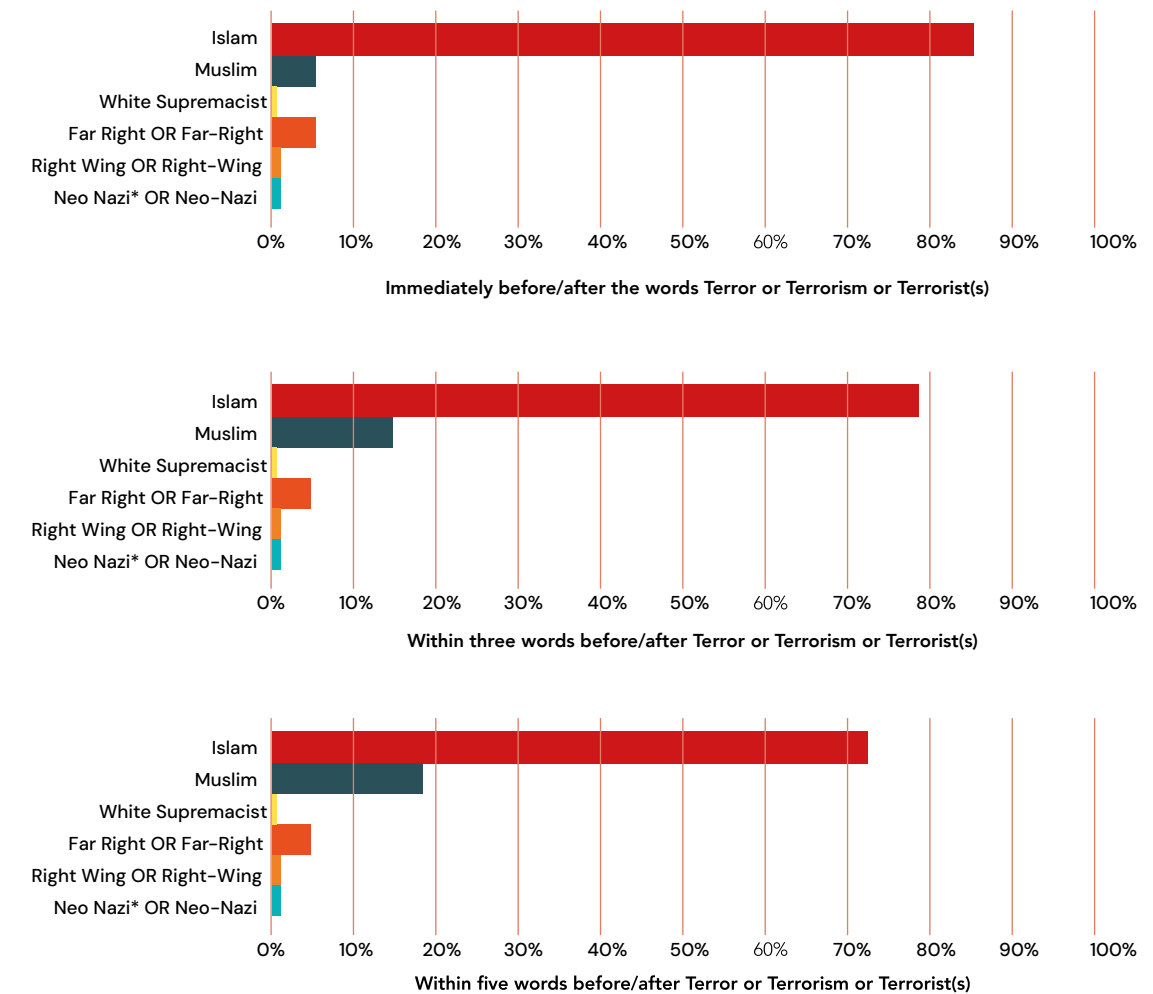
¹⁶ Far-Right or Far right or Far Right or far-right

¹⁷ Right-Wing or right-wing or Rightwing or rightwing

¹⁸ Neo-Nazi or neo-Nazi or neoNazi

¹⁹ Home Office (2018). Individuals referred to and supported through the Prevent programme, England and Wales, April 2017 to March 2017. [online] London: Home Office, pp.10. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/763254/individuals-referred-supported-prevent-programme-apr2017-mar2018-hosb3118.pdf, pp.13 [Accessed on 20 Dec 2019]

Figure 1. A comparison between the percentage of selected monikers (including plurals) indicating ideological or political affiliation associated with the node words Terror/Terrorist(s)/Terrorism between 2015 - 2018



There is also a disparity between the number of terror attacks and the attention given to terror attacks. According to the Global Terrorism Database, since 2014, terror attacks have decreased, falling from about 17,000 in 2014 to about 11,000 in 2017, with terror attacks in the Middle East, falling by almost 40%.

Table 4 shows that the frequency with which mainstream British news websites report on acts of violence associated with *Islam* and *Muslim(s)*, in comparison to those by white supremacists, is even more disproportionate between the years 2015-2018.

The disparity in describing and defining terror attacks according to who the perpetrator is, has also been found in several recent studies which have proved conclusively, through quantitative analysis, that terror attacks by so called Muslims were disproportionately covered by the media worldwide.

In 2017, an academic study of terrorist attacks in the United States found that between 2011 and 2015 there was a staggering 357% increase in media attention when the perpetrator was a so-called Muslim.

²⁰ Rubin, J. (2019), "Just How Bad Is the White Nationalist Terrorism Problem?" The Washington Post, WP Company, 06 Aug 2019 [online], www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/08/06/just-how-bad-is-white-nationalist-terror-problem/ (Accessed on 07 Aug 2019)

²¹ Kearns, E and Betus, AI and Lemieux, A, (2018) Why Do Some Terrorist Attacks Receive More Media Attention Than Others?, Justice Quarterly, Forthcoming. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2928138> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2928138>

This is despite the fact that right-wing terrorists killed three times more people in the US than Daesh or Al Qaeda inspired terrorists in the past decade.²² The study also found that even though a Muslim was the assailant in 12.5% of attacks during the period studied, the attacks received more than half of all terrorism coverage.²³ Similarly, the researchers at the University of Alabama showed how terrorist attacks committed by non-Muslims (or where the religion was unknown) received an average of 15 headlines, while those committed by Muslim extremists received 105 headlines.²⁴

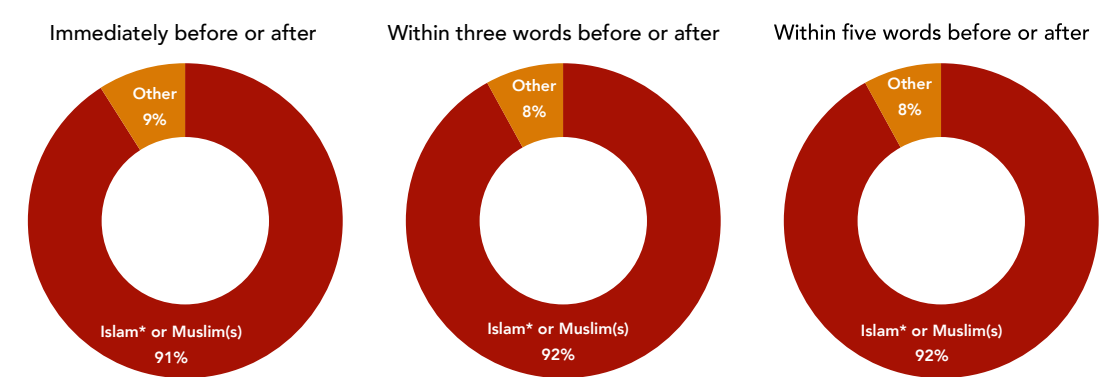
These findings are more remarkable in light of the recent findings published by the Anti-Defamation League in the US which found that over three quarters of killings by terrorists in the United States were carried out by those affiliated to white supremacist groups or ideas.²⁵ “Domestic Islamists” were responsible for 2%²⁶

More recent preliminary research following the terror attacks against Muslim worshippers in New Zealand, shows that Daesh inspired attackers were three times more likely to be called “terrorists” by the media compared to their white supremacist counterparts.²⁶

Table 4. A comparison between the frequency of words associated with Islam/Muslims and identifiers of white supremacists with node words terror/terrorist(s)/terrorism between 2015-2018

Node Words: Terror/Terrorist(s)/ Terrorism	Immediately before or after Terror/ Terrorism/Terrorist(s)	Within 3 words before or after Terror/ Terrorism/ Terrorist(s)	Within 5 words before or after Terror, Terrorism, Terrorist(s)
Islam* or Muslim(s)	6671	9784	12884
Other	667	848	1097
Total	7338	10632	13981

Figure 2. A comparison between the percentage of selected monikers (including plurals) indicating ideological or political affiliation associated with the node words Terror/Terrorist(s)/Terrorism between 2015 - 2018



22 “Right-Wing Extremism Linked to Every 2018 Extremist Murder in the U.S.” (2019), www.adl.org/news/press-releases/right-wing-extremism-linked-to-every-2018-extremist-murder-in-the-us-adl-finds. (Accessed 07 Aug 2019)

23 *ibid*; Kearns & Betus, & Lemieux (2018), *Why Do Some*, pp.18

24 *ibid*; Kearns & Betus, & Lemieux (2018), *Why Do Some*, pp.18

25 Pitcavage, M. (2019). *Murder and Extremism in the United States in 2018* [online] Adl.org. Available at: <https://www.adl.org/media/12480/download> [Accessed 7 Aug. 2019].

26 Moore, B. (2019). *How the Media Finally Acknowledged Far-right Terrorism - Signal AI*. [online] Signal AI. Available at: <https://www.signal-ai.com/blog/lessons-from-christchurch-how-the-media-finally-acknowledged-far-right-terrorism> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019]: In over 200,000 articles on 11 different attacks, Islamist extremists were labelled terrorists 78.4% of the time, whereas far-right extremists were only identified as terrorists 23.6% of the time.

2019: A Shift In Coverage

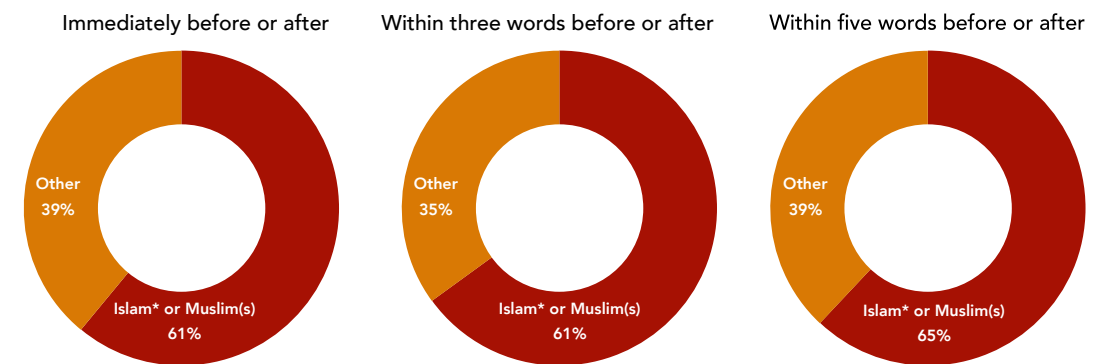
Coverage of terrorism in 2019 shows a greater focus towards white supremacist terror* mainly as a result of major attacks in Christchurch and El Paso.

Overall the coverage is still weighted towards so called ‘Islamist’ terror by a ratio of 2-1 (figure 3) however this represents a major shift from the 2015–2018 split of 9–1 as figure 2 shows. This still falls short of the stats from the official counter-radicalisation programme; ‘Prevent’ which in 2019 revealed how, there were almost identical numbers of suspected ‘right-wing’ and so called ‘Islamist’ suspects for the first time. Referrals to UK Police for so called ‘Islamist’ extremists (1404) are almost level with those of ‘far-right’ extremists (1389), with British security services foiling 2 so called ‘Islamist’ terror plots to 1 ‘far-right’ since 2017. In addition to this the majority of cases that received specialist support, known as the “channel” process, were for concerns about suspected right-wing radicalisation, another first.²⁸

Table 5. A comparison between the frequency of words associated with Islam/Muslims and identifiers of white supremacists with node words terror/terrorist(s)/terrorism 2019

Node Words: Terror/ Terrorist(s)/ Terrorism	Immediately before or after Terror/ Terrorism/Terrorist(s)	Within 3 words before or after Terror/ Terrorism/ Terrorist(s)	Within 5 words before or after Terror, Terrorism, Terrorist(s)
Islam* or Muslim(s)	1,318	1,927	2,561
Other	836	1,039	1,210
Total	2,154	2,966	3,771

Figure 3. A comparison between the percentage of selected monikers (including plurals) indicating ideological or political affiliation associated with the node words Terror/Terrorist(s)/Terrorism between 2015 - 2019



27 Home Office (2019). *Individuals referred to and supported through the Prevent programme, England and Wales, April 2018 to March 2019*. [online] London: Home Office, pp.10. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/853646/individuals-referred-supported-prevent-programme-apr2018-mar2019-hosb3219.pdf [Accessed on 20 Dec 2019]

28 *Ibid*; Home Office (2019). *Individuals referred*, [online] London: Home Office, pp.1; Of the 561 Channel cases, the most common were cases referred because of concerns about right-wing radicalisation (254; 45%), followed by Islamist radicalisation (210; 37%) [Accessed on 20 Dec 2019]

The favoured description in online news articles towards non-Daesh inspired terrorism is 'far right', the usage of which is almost four times as synonymous with terrorism as 'white supremacist' suggesting these actors and their attacks are still seen as more politically motivated as opposed to an ideologically driven phenomena (see table 6).

Table 6 shows a shifting of focus in 2019 mainly due to the increasing number of major white supremacist/far right attacks, in particular, Christchurch and El Paso. The almost identical percentage of descriptions of terror, terrorism or terrorist(s) alongside a noun indicating ideology shows an increased willingness on the part of the UK online newspapers to acknowledge white supremacist attacks as terror and the perpetrators as terrorists.

Table 6: Statistics showing the frequency of selected noun associations with Terror, Terrorist(s) or Terrorism (2019)

Node Words: Terror/ Terrorist/ Terrorism	Immediately Before/ after the words Terror*		Within 3 words of Terror*		Within 5 words of Terror*	
Islam*	1,180	(55%)	1,520	(51%)	1,910	(50%)
Muslim*	138	(6%)	407	(14%)	651	(17%)
White Supremacist*	109	(5%)	138	(5%)	175	(5%)
Far Right OR Far-Right	399	(19%)	494	(17%)	575	(16%)
Right Wing OR Right-Wing	199	(10%)	255	(9%)	289	(8%)
Neo-Nazi* or Neo Nazi*	129	(7%)	152	(5%)	171	(5%)
Total	2,154	100%	2,966	100%	3,771	100%

Our findings, alongside more in-depth statistical studies, indicate the importance of ensuring responsible reporting on terrorism. Viewers and readers demand the news quickly, accurately and in the right context, all of which are far greater challenges faced by journalists when covering terrorism.

While established mechanisms already exist within news organisations on how best to report on terrorism, our findings suggest a number of problematic areas in which improvements can be made if some of the following questions are discussed.

- **Definition:** Is there a clear, transparent and consistent definition of what constitutes terrorism among all media outlets? Are so-called Muslim suspects more likely to be called terrorists than white supremacists or the far right?
- **Narrative:** How is this news framed and within what broader narrative? Is there sufficient justification for taking any particular position? Is there a recognition that the vast majority of those arrested under terrorism laws are not charged with a terrorism offence, and even fewer are convicted (just under 17% of those arrested according to latest Home Office figures for the year ending 30 September 2019)⁹
- **Consistency:** Are all terrorist incidents treated in a similar manner in terms of the language used and how much prominence they receive? Which words are used to describe the incident (e.g. "terrorism" or "knife attack") or the influence (e.g. Islamist or far-right)? How can care be taken to avoid using the term terrorist for suspects of terrorism who have not been convicted of terrorism?
- **Accuracy & Sourcing:** What verification is required prior to publication or broadcast especially when uncorroborated views potentially unreliable witnesses are the key source of information? If these accounts are already in the public domain, should the media amplify or give them credence without validating the facts? Aside from witnesses, to what extent should the lead be taken from police and security services? Does the choice of experts invited to comment on and/or the transparency of their funding source or political agenda, have an impact on the bias of the coverage? To what extent do prior assumptions, whether by journalists or readers/viewers skew accuracy and impartiality?
- **Religious Literacy:** Is due care given when Muslim beliefs, practices and terminology are being used in the reportage of terrorism? Is the media in danger of conflating everyday Muslim/Islamic religious words with violence and terrorism?
- **Oxygen of Publicity:** At what point does the reporting of terrorism give terrorists and terror groups the publicity they actively seek? A negative externality of the media's reporting of terrorism is to give notoriety to individuals and groups. Is the broadcasting of a terror attack an unfortunate and gruesome aspect of providing news or is it insensitive and unethical? Is every update or proclamation by a terror group worthy of headlines and wider broadcast? And when does the behaviour of media outlets effectively make them a press bureau for terror groups?
- **Consequences:** Should journalists consider the impact of their reporting, or misreporting on society at large? Might a rash or overhasty initial judgement cast unfair aspersions on one section of society? Does reporting on terrorism in itself encourage public fear? Does it fulfil the terrorist's goal and risk turning journalists into unwitting collaborators?

29 Home Office (2019). Operation of police powers under the Terrorism Act 2000 and subsequent legislation: Arrests, outcomes, and stop and search Great Britain, year ending September 2019 second edition. [online] London: Home Office, pp.13. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/850457/police-powers-terrorism-sep2019-hosb3019.pdf [Accessed on 20 Feb 2020]

Definition



While there is no agreed universal definition of what constitutes terrorism, most of the major transnational bodies and governments as well as academics and think tanks broadly use the same criteria to define it; namely political violence directed against the state and ordinary citizens.³⁰ Historically, terrorism has been understood in varying ways. The ancient Romans understood it militarily, while “The Reign of Terror” post the French Revolution became famous for denoting state persecution of enemies. In the 1930s, it took on a more specific definition. The League of Nations defined it as “criminal acts directed against a State”.³¹

The United Nations General Assembly’s definition is broader and also includes acts against persons and even a particular person. Acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes.”³²

The European Union’s definition for legal/official purposes states an act which “may seriously damage a country or an international organisation” before going on to list possible aims of the act.³³ The current UK definition of terrorism is given in the Terrorism Act 2006 as “an action or threat designed to influence the government or intimidate the public. Its purpose is to advance a political, religious or ideological cause.” The UK definition also includes “serious interference with or disruption to an electronic system” which departs from many other definitions which center on

violence only by encapsulating behaviours associated with cyberterrorism.

The Global Terrorism Database stipulates that its definition of terrorism only includes actions carried out by sub-national actors whose actions must be outside the context of legitimate warfare activities.³⁴ However, some of the British commentariat have argued that wars waged by sovereign nations which often kill many unarmed civilians have all the hallmarks of what is considered terrorism.

“The US routinely kills large numbers of civilians in drone strikes across the Muslim world – 12 were reported incinerated last week in Yemen. By waging a war without borders, often against unarmed or unidentified victims, they have fatally blurred the boundaries and invited their enemies to do the same.”³⁶

The recent furore over the classification of Extinction Rebellion as an extremist ideology by the UK counter-terrorism police is the latest controversy over the shortcomings of the law enforcement and legal bodies in the classification of extremism and terrorism.

For example, in the United States no federal offence exists which refers to ‘domestic terrorism.’ In such an instance white-supremacists are often charged with a “hate crime” as opposed to terrorism which strictly gives news platforms the license to report incidents as ‘hate crime’ following the lead of law enforcement authorities.

The political and moral positions taken by newspapers and commentators are not the only defining factors into how and what is reported as terrorism. Research into linguistic differences in reporting can distinguish justified acts of violence committed by the ‘ingroup’ from unjustified acts of violence committed by the ‘outgroup.’ According to Jonathan Brown, despite the 100 plus scholarly definitions of terrorism (all being abstractions which make no mention of background, religion or culture), what is thought of as terrorism and often reported as terrorism is “violence done by people of whom we don’t approve.”³⁷

Within newsrooms there is broad agreement as to what constitutes terrorism. The general understanding, as agreed by reporters at the CfMM roundtable in June 2019, is that it is any violent attack where the attacker is inspired by an ideology be it religious, political or otherwise consistent with most definitions of terrorism. In defining an attack as terrorism, reporters and media institutions take their lead from security agencies or self-define based on certain features. Many organisations like the BBC have their own editorial guidelines that define what terrorism is and how to cover it³⁸. However, this report will demonstrate inconsistencies in the approach taken by newspapers and broadcasters in defining and describing an attack as terrorism.

30 Greene, Alan (2017), “DEFINING TERRORISM: ONE SIZE FITS ALL?” Cambridge Core, Cambridge University Press, www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-and-comparative-law-quarterly/article/defining-terrorism-one-size-fits-all/0E707CD33E7F656573C777BE23C27168/core-reader, (Accessed on 25-Jul-2019)

31 League of Nations’ 1937 Convention for the prevention and punishment of Terrorism Archived 2011-07-24 at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20110724185446/http://www.jur.uib.no/ansatte/joreh/temasider/internasjonalisering/Convention%20on%20terrorism%201937.pdf> (Accessed on 25-Jul-2019)

32 Human Rights, Terrorism and Counter-terrorism Fact Sheet No.32, July 2008, <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Factsheet32EN.pdf> (Accessed on 25-Jul-2019)

33 Understanding definitions of Terrorism: At a Glance, November 2015, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2015/571320/EPRS_ATA\(2015\)571320_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2015/571320/EPRS_ATA(2015)571320_EN.pdf) (Accessed on 25-Jul-2019)

34 “Terrorism Act 2006.” Legislation.gov.uk, Statute Law Database, www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2006/11/contents, (Accessed on 25-Jul-2019)

35 Global Terrorism Database, Codebook (2019), Inclusion Criteria and Variables, University of Maryland, (Accessed on 25-Jul-2019)

36 Milne, S. (2013.) Woolwich attack: If the whole world’s a battlefield, that holds in Woolwich as well as Waziristan, 20-Dec-2013, The Guardian at <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/20/woolwich-attack-muslim-worldislamophobia> (Accessed on 6-Aug-2019)

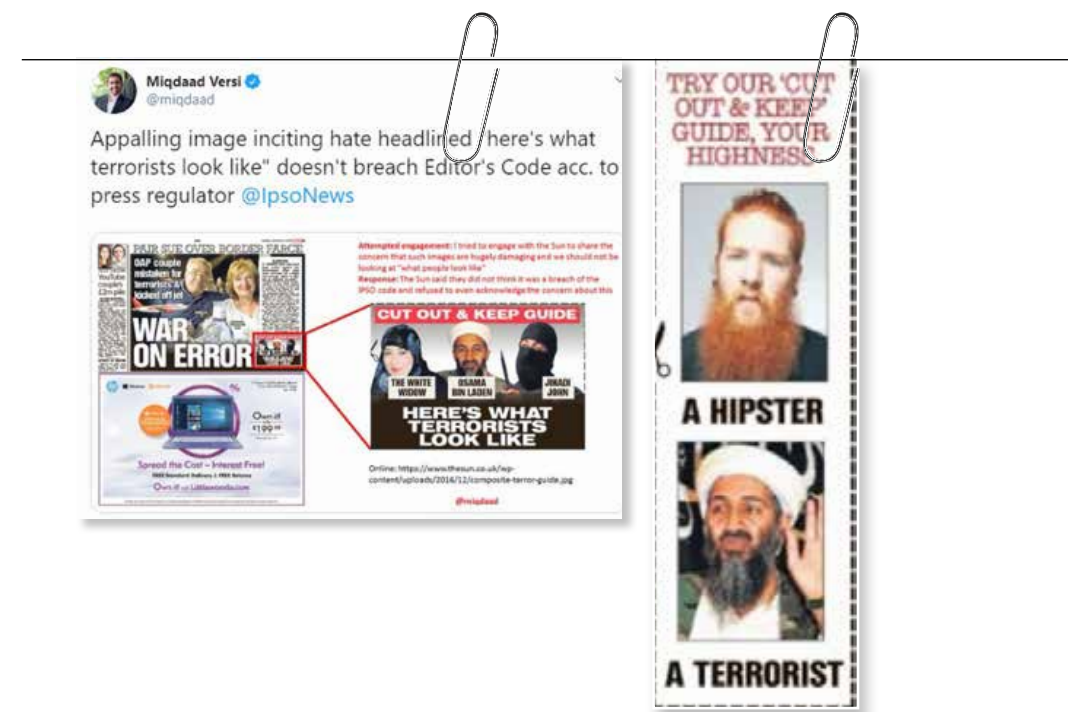
37 Brown, Jonathan A.C. (2019), Slavery and Islam, London, pp.26

38 “Section 11: War, Terror and Emergencies - Introduction - Editorial Guidelines.” BBC News, BBC, www.bbc.com/editorialguidelines/guidelines/war-terror-emergencies#1 (Accessed on 6-Aug-2019)

Who Is A Terrorist?

Since 9/11, the association of Muslims with violence has permeated the media and led segments of the media to fall into the trap of perpetuating certain stereotypes and tropes.

One of the most blatant examples appeared in The Sun in 2016 in its publication of a cut out guide to "WHAT TERRORISTS LOOK LIKE". The exclusivity of the label terrorist given to three high profile international suspects claiming to act in the name of Islam, was selective and bordered on racism.³⁹ Despite complaints from various organisations and individuals, including the executive director of CfMM, Miqdaad Versi, the press regulator IPSO (Independent Press Standards Organisation) found that the guide did not breach editorial standards.



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The Sun was therefore free to repeat a similar cut out guide the following year, (this time for the Duke of Edinburgh) and published two images of bearded men ; the non-Muslim being the "hipster", while the Muslim, albeit Osama bin Laden was the "terrorist".⁴⁰

39 Versi, M. (2016). Twitter. [online] Twitter.com. Available at: <https://twitter.com/miqdaad/status/1084233474578530304> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].

40 Wilkinson, M. (2018). Bearded builder and dad from Norfolk unveiled as Prince Philip's 'terrorist', 02-Jan-2018 [online] The Sun, Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/5255911/prince-philip-is-that-a-terrorist-revealed/> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019]

One of the clearest examples of *error*, *terrorist(s)* and *terrorism* being used exclusively for so-called Muslim perpetrators and not for non-Muslims are the two plots which targeted members of the Royal family. In two respective Mirror articles, both headlines and the opening sentences reflect the disparity in coverage. Husnain Rashid was referred to by the Daily Mirror as a "terror threat" and "internet terrorist" after he posted a picture of Prince George at school with the words "Even the Royal family won't be left alone."⁴¹ Michael Szewczuk, on the other hand, was referred to as a 'Neo-Nazi yob' and a 'far-right teen', despite admitting terrorism offences. Szewczuk called Prince Harry a "race traitor" and created an image of the Duke of Sussex with a gun pointed to his head.⁴²



41 O'Reilly, L (2019), Prince terror threat man's jail term cut, April 17, 2019, Daily Mirror, p.15

42 Pennink, E (2019) Neo-Nazi yob is caged over Harry hatred, June 19 2019, Daily Mirror, pp.7

The Daily Mirror's front page following the Christchurch terror attacks also caused much consternation and condemnation given the emphasis placed on the killer's background and the description of terrorist Brenton Tarrant as an "Angelic Boy." As well as being criticised for attempting to 'whitewash' the extent of the crime, the coverage was in sharp contrast to a previous Daily Mirror front page following the terror attack on partygoers in a gay club in the US. The list of discrepancies between the two front pages are evident from the headline (ISIS Maniac vs Angelic Boy) to the description of the attack (US Terror Attack vs Massacre).



Following the Christchurch attack, Luca Demetriou, the culture editor of the Redbrick Paper of the University of Birmingham, wrote;

"How can there be an attempt at humanising one killer and not the other? These headlines exist within a dominant discourse that seeks to absolve white supremacists, while turning convictions of extremist Islamist terrorists into stories that will propagate fear surrounding the Muslim population and subsequently brown bodies. It is precisely this juxtaposition of headline that breeds this fear that surrounds Muslim bodies, if this juxtaposition ceased to exist, we could all condemn these horrific actions with equal measure."⁴³

At What Point Can You Call It Terror?

In many cases, a violent incident is initially dubbed a 'terror attack' when later evidence proves this to be unfounded. So, are journalists too quick to jump the gun maybe in the hope of being 'first with the story'? Undoubtedly, the term terrorism attracts greater attention and all media outlets wish to sell copy. However greater caution initially or defter phraseology can often avoid the need for a retraction or apology to maligned parties. It is also worth remembering that false claims of terrorism undermine the fight against real terrorism. And if journals, papers and broadcasters are seen as 'the boy who cried wolf', consider the reputational damage: who will trust them the next time around?

43 Demetriou, L. (2019). Fact or Fiction: The Stories in the Media, [online] Redbrick. Available at: <https://www.redbrick.me/fact-or-fiction-the-stories-in-the-media/> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019]

The following examples from the Daily Telegraph show how and when the newspaper chose to describe an attack in Cologne, Germany on 16th October, 2018. On day one when the attacker threw a molotov cocktail into a McDonalds outlet, there is no mention of the word terror⁴⁴



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Once the individual has been identified as a Syrian asylum seeker, the following day's coverage is more damning in its headline. The gunman became the 'Cologne hostage terrorist.' This was despite the lack of any evidence corroborating witness testimonies that he may have had links to Islamic state of Iraq." Moreover, German police did not disclose clear evidence or suspicion as to the attacker's motive.

Cologne hostage terrorist was Syrian granted asylum



45

By December that year, the German media reported that the federal prosecutor's office had found no evidence that the attacker had a "terrorist motive". The perpetrator was reported to have been suffering from mental health issues with investigators finding he had been in psychotherapy since 2017 and was taking medication to combat depression. He was also suffering from gambling and drug addiction. Yet before any of this information was ascertained, the incident has already been described as terrorism.

44 Huggler, J. (2018) Gunman shot in Cologne station as police move in to rescue hostage, Oct 15, 2018, The Daily Telegraph, pp.15

45 Foreign Staff (2018), Cologne hostage terrorist was Syrian granted asylum, Oct 17 2018, The Daily Telegraph, pp.16

46 Associated Press (2018). Germany: Cologne hostage-taking wasn't terror incident. [online] AP NEWS. Available at: <https://apnews.com/ceb49dc6a79b4824b3ce6d395f94df50> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

47 ZEIT ONLINE & AFP (2018). Kölner Hauptbahnhof: Geiselnahme offenbar nicht islamistisch motiviert. [online] ZEIT ONLINE. Available at: <https://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2018-12/koeln-hauptbahnhof-geiselnahme-brandanschlag-islamistischer-anschlag> [Accessed 2 Oct. 2019].

The selective use of the word terrorism by the media has led some within the trade to take the lead in deciding what does and does not constitute an act of terror. As far back as 2016, ITV's security editor, Rohit Kachroo, who has written a foreword to this report, was in no doubt as to the description which should be applied to Thomas Mair who murdered Labour MP, Jo Cox. Kachroo was emphatic about Mair being called a "terrorist".



"Thomas Mair is being described as an extremist, a fanatic, an assassin – even 'a constituent'. But make no mistake – he is a terrorist: Just like the 7/7 bombers who caused carnage on the London transport system in 2005; just like the killers of Fusilier Lee Rigby in South London in 2013."⁴⁸

Six years apart, The Times columnist Hugo Rifkind made a similar point to Rohit Kachroo's about what took place in El Paso, Texas when Patrick Crusius shot dead 22 people. He says in the opening sentence of his column, "Don't debate whether it is terrorism, because of course it is."⁴⁹ The fact that these unequivocal viewpoints have to be made six years apart shows that there is still very much an issue as to what is defined as terrorism and what is not. This and other studies show that so-called Muslim suspects are far more likely to be called terrorists than their non-Muslim counterparts, exposing the need for consistency in the definition and application of the terms *terrorism*, *terrorist* or *terror* in newsrooms.

One approach is to have an organisation-wide policy as seen in the BBC Editorial guidelines which discourage the use of the words terrorist in labelling perpetrators. BBC editorial guidelines suggest the word terror is not used when describing an attack. The Guidelines state:

48 Kachroo, R. (2016). "Media Reluctant to Use 'T-Word', but Mair Is a Terrorist." 23-Nov-2016, ITV News, www.itv.com/news/2016-11-23/media-reluctant-to-use-t-word-but-mair-is-a-terrorist/. (Accessed on 6-Aug-2019)

49 Rifkind, H. (2019) "Websites Don't Kill People, but They Help." Comment | The Times, 6 Aug. 2019, www.thetimes.co.uk/article/websites-don-t-kill-people-but-they-help-0lnnf0p9z. (Accessed on 6-Aug-2019)

"The word "terrorist" itself can be a barrier rather than an aid to understanding. We should convey to our audience the full consequences of the act by describing what happened. We should use words which specifically describe the perpetrator such as "bomber", "attacker", "gunman", "kidnapper", "insurgent", and "militant". We should not adopt other people's language as our own; our responsibility is to remain objective and report in ways that enable our audiences to make their own assessments about who is doing what to whom."⁵⁰

However, citing terror when others refer to it as such is still very much a practice and on occasions is headlined as such. The recent terror attacks in Christchurch, Sri Lanka and El Paso are all examples of BBC broadcasts which refer to terror.



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For consistency, all news organisations should try to formulate and adopt a definition of terrorism and publicly state what characteristics of an attack constitute terrorism. By doing so, they would show themselves to be transparent in their coverage and not selective on an incident by incident basis. It would further spare the publication or broadcaster from the charge of hypocrisy or double standards in its identification of terror attacks and terrorists.

Recommendation

- Adopt an internal definition of terrorism, make this transparent and be consistent in its application

50 BBC Editorial Guidelines (2019). Section 11.3.6 Use of Language- [online] [bbc.com](https://www.bbc.com/editorialguidelines/guidelines/war-terror-emergencies/guidelines). Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/editorialguidelines/guidelines/war-terror-emergencies/guidelines> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

51 BBC News (2019), John Sopel reporting from El Paso U.S., BBC News (BBCN), Aug 4, 2019 [TV programme]

Narrative

The goals and expectations of news are generally to provide an accurate reality of the world and report on significant changes therein to consumers. Moreover, the media sees its role as not only to inform but also to provide something new and novel. To achieve this, information is often spun into a narrative to attract the audience's attention, a necessity for the success of any media platform. Yet, paradoxically, such reports are most easily digested when couched in terms of a known narrative. Journalists relate stories in ways that obey or agree with consumers' assumptions. This is known as 'confirmation bias'.

At its extreme, we have the purveyors of 'fake news' who feed targeted fans of conspiracy theories what they want to hear. Less extreme are articles and broadcasts from the established professional media. While not outrightly false, their emphasis on, or definition of, certain 'facts' can transform the message of a story. They often conform to certain expectations, assumptions and familiar formulations which, whether intended or not, can bend the story away from the truth.

One of the impacts of 9/11 was the American "War on Terror" and the subsequent characterisation and generalisation of Muslims as potential suspects across Western nations. As a result of this, white supremacist terrorism has not been adequately recognised in the same manner even though attacks by white supremacists are on the increase, most notably across Europe, where at least 86 attacks were targeted against refugee shelters and migrants in the year 2015, with many more in 2016 and 2017.⁵²

The latest European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report has detailed how 'completed or foiled or failed Jihadist terrorist attacks' decreased significantly in 2018 by over 25% from 2017. Arrests for right-wing terrorism across the EU increased for

the third year in a row and doubled for the second consecutive year.

A similar pattern is also observed in the UK where despite remaining the highest category among those in custody for terrorism related offences, so-called 'Islamist-extremists' suspects were 11% down from a 2017 peak whilst 'far-right' suspects had increased by 18%.⁵⁴ The Guardian reported how "a third of all terror plots to kill in Britain since 2017 (seven out of 22) were by those driven by extreme-right causes."

This is also the case in the United States especially in what the New York Times has called a "post-election political environment".⁵⁵ In July 2019, FBI Director Christopher Wray, said his agency had made about 100 domestic terrorism-related arrests since October 2018, and the majority were connected to white nationalists. The Anti-Defamation League has recorded 1,318 incidents of a white supremacist nature ranging from propaganda to murder in 2017–2018 almost three times the number from the previous year.⁵⁶

Even when it comes to naming terrorists, recent research suggests that news sites have adopted double standards. An analysis of 12 terrorist attacks globally, six by white supremacists and six by Islamists, suggests that in terror attacks, non-Muslim perpetrators were identified by their names three times as frequently as so-called Muslims.⁵⁹ The research found Islamist attacks were linked to terrorism in 78% of news reports, whereas those from the far right who carried out violent attacks were only identified as terrorists 24% of the time.

One conclusion drawn from this is the researcher's suggestion that there is a possible humanising motive on the part of the media for white perpetrators. While white suspects carry the burden of their crimes as individuals and as anomalies divorced from their wider communities, Muslims, as Tahir Abbas suggests, are cast in "reductionist and essentialist" terms, presented as uniquely dangerous hailing from a "seemingly primitive body of people and their ways."⁶⁰

Following the Christchurch attacks, New Zealand's Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern was quick to name Tarrant a terrorist and starve him of any media attention by not using his name. Ardern went on to distance herself and New Zealanders from the attacker, suggesting that this was alien to New Zealand culture and history. No doubt, Jacinda Ardern made her comments with genuine sincerity. However, Dr Paul Buchanan, a former intelligence consultant to the United States Government based in Auckland, said in an interview on the BBC News channel, hours after the terror attack:

53 Ibid; Europol (2019). Terrorism Situation and Trend Report [online] Europol, pp.60.

54 Ibid; Home Office (2019). Operation of police powers under the Terrorism Act 2000 second edition. [online] London: Home Office, pp.9.

55 Dodd, V. and Grierson, J. (2019). Fastest-growing UK terrorist threat is from far right, say police. [online] The Guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/sep/19/fastest-growing-uk-terrorist-threat-is-from-far-right-say-police> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].

56 Ibid; Cai & Landon (2019) [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].

57 Carter, J. (2019). 5 Facts about white-nationalist terrorism. [online] ERLC. Available at: <https://erlc.com/resource-library/articles/5-facts-about-white-nationalist-terrorism> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019]

58 A.D.L Heat Map, (2019). [online] Available at: <https://www.adl.org/education-and-resources/resource-knowledge-base/adl-heat-map> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].

59 Moore, B. (2020). Lessons from Christchurch: How the media finally acknowledged far-right terrorism. [online] signal-ai. com. Available at: <https://www.signal-ai.com/blog/lessons-from-christchurch-how-the-media-finally-acknowledged-far-right-terrorism> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].

60 Abbas,T. (2019), Islamophobia and Radicalisation: A Vicious Cycle, London and New York

52 Cai, W. and Landon, S. (2019). Attacks by White Extremists Are Growing. So Are Their Connections.. [online] Nytimes. com. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/04/03/world/white-extremist-terrorism-christchurch.html> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].

"I have to say, with all due respect to our prime minister, she said that these people who committed this act, the gunmen and his accomplices, are not part of us, New Zealanders. I beg to disagree. They are part of us, they are a cancer in our midst, a well-known cancer, to be honest with you. And it makes it all the more puzzling, knowing that these groups exist, particularly in Christchurch, that they never came to the attention of the authorities or they did, and the dangers they posed to the community and particularly the Islamic community, were downplayed.

He was being encouraged by hundreds of other people to include some people in New Zealand and then when he livestreamed the atrocity, he was being cheered on by hundreds of people. It truly was appalling. And so, something went missing. Both the electronic surveillance and certainly the human surveillance. I'm more familiar with the human intelligence side than the signal side but let's say that both sides failed on this one."⁶¹

Buchanan's remarks were also echoed in Time Magazine, which describes US federal law officials feeling a sense of "bewilderment" as authorities continually ignore the white supremacist terror threat which in turn allowed it to grow. The attacks at El Paso have caused consternation and soul searching among politicians and the security apparatus. They also raise questions for journalists. The media it seems, has fallen short of recognising the true extent of white-supremacist terrorism. By failing to apply the label of *terror* or *terrorism* or *terrorist(s)* to attacks by *far right* and *white supremacist* attackers, the general perception has been one of Daesh inspired terrorists being the main threat. Yet, Christchurch, El-Paso and the recent example in Hanau, Germany (Feb 2020), in which a white supremacist shot dead nine people in a shisha bar, show that this is no longer a given.

Danger Of Assumptions

Assumptions and unconscious bias inform the way we understand the world and interpret events. This is also the case for journalists, especially when reporting on stories about terrorism. These assumptions were exposed by Professor Paul Spoonley from Massey University following the Christchurch terror attacks. Spoonley explained how his research as far back as the 1980s showed the presence of over 70 Neo-Nazi groups in New Zealand. Yet, news pieces following the 2019 attacks saw presenters and commentators parroting the idea that New Zealand was immune from the scourge of white supremacy.

61 Buchanan, P. (2019) BBC Business Live, BBC News (BBCN), 15-Mar-2019, 08:48 GMT [TV programme]

62 Bergengruen, V. and Hennigan, W. (2019). August 19th, 2019 | Vol. 194, No. 6 | U.S.. [online] TIME.com. Available at: <https://time.com/magazine/us/5647302/august-19th-2019-vol-194-no-6-u-s/> [Accessed 9 Aug. 2019]

"One of the things I find frustrating about New Zealand is its naivete about the presence of extreme, right-wing groups and white supremacists and extreme nationalist groups. I've studied them since the 1980's and it has been difficult to convince my fellow New Zealanders, that they're here, that they always present a threat and unfortunately that threat has come today in very unfortunate circumstances.

I began studying it in the late 1950s, I studied the National Front and the British National Party in the UK and then I returned to New Zealand. The authorities here said there were no such groups and I found over seventy of them through the 1980s."⁶³

This assumption, that "whiteness" and "terrorism" are essentially antithetical and unknown to New Zealand was implied in the coverage of the Christchurch attack; in particular, the media's characterisation of the perpetrator, Brenton Tarrant. The description of "angelic" ascribed to Tarrant by the Daily Mirror was quite revealing.

A narrative is insinuated in the description of a mass murderer as "angelic", albeit when he was a child. This narrative implies that firstly, the perpetrator was once "pure" and has diverged from his true state. Second, is the humanising intention behind the description "angelic".

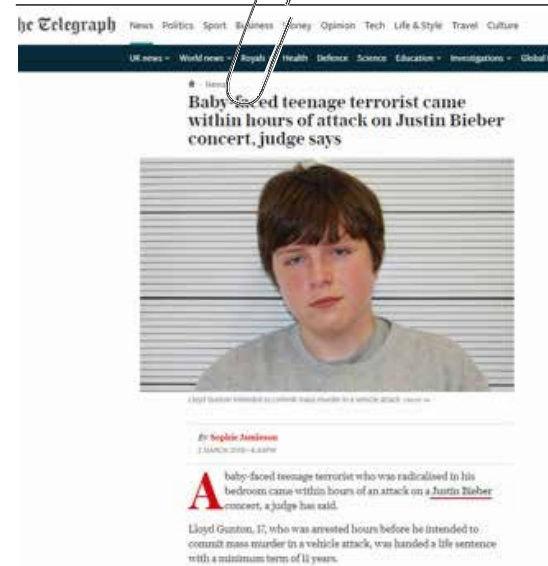
The situation is posed as a "good" person who did a bad thing, as opposed to an intrinsically "bad" person doing a typically (to them) "bad act". Thus, the narrative becomes that the act of terror committed was at odds with his true "angelic" nature, and, as such, the problem is not systematic, nor predictable. Similar infantilising of terrorists can be seen in examples of other news coverage when the perpetrator is white.



63 Spoonley, P. (2019) All Out Politics, Sky News (SKYN) 15 Mar 2019, 09:50 AM GMT [TV programme]

64 Daily Mirror (2019), Angelic boy who grew into an evil far-right mass killer, 15 March 2019, Daily Mirror Front Page

“Baby faced”



“Boy scouts”



65, 66

This narrative is starkly different to other accounts of terrorism, where perpetrators who are Muslim are placed within a framework whereby their crimes are understood and explained through their identity, religion, and background as illustrated in examples from various newspaper stories.



67

- 65 Jamieson, S. (2019). Baby-faced teenage terrorist came within hours of attack on Justin Bieber concert, judge says. [online] The Telegraph. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/03/02/baby-faced-teenage-terrorist-radicalised-bedroom-came-within/> [Accessed 31 July 2019].
- 66 Knox, P. (2019). New York 'terror plot' foiled after former boy scouts 'armed with guns and NAIL BOMBS planned to attack Muslim community'. [online] The Sun. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8259120/new-york-terror-plot-boy-scouts-muslim-community/> [Accessed 31 Jul. 2019].
- 67 Allen, P. (2019). 'Islam convert' stabs four to death at Paris police HQ. [online] Available at: <https://www.metro.news/islam-convert-stabs-four-to-death-at-paris-police-hq/1742415/> [Accessed 31 Jul. 2019].



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Vandalism, property damage and assault against Muslims and Islamic institutions are underreported in the media which masks the true extent of the white supremacist threat being faced by Muslims in the West. In addition to this when the white supremacist threat does manifest itself in murder and killings, this is not always acknowledged in the broad sense of its ideology.

This was the case in some of the media coverage following the murders of 81 year- old Muhsin Ahmed in Rotherham, 82 year-old Mohammed Saleem in Birmingham and 51 year-old Makram Ali in London. All three cases are examples of media coverage which generalised about Muslims in an “overtly prejudiced way.”

In relation to the murder of Lee Rigby, researchers found how newspaper coverage, in particular, the Daily Telegraph, associated the general Muslim community with acts of terrorism.⁶⁸

When white supremacist Anders Brevik murdered 77 people in Norway, The Telegraph featured a piece which attempted to explain the terrorism, not as a result of white supremacist ideas, but as the “predictable effect and logical conclusion” of multiculturalism.⁶⁹

The Telegraph is not alone in shifting the focus away from the ideology of white supremacy. The Spectator also does this in its coverage of Christchurch by shifting the focus from the horrific act against Muslims towards what it calls ‘Islamists’ and goes even further to suggest that Muslims should be grateful for living in the West where they “are free and empowered”.⁷⁰

- 68 Davies, G. (2019). Muslim convert 'The Eagle' who planned Oxford Street terror attack jailed for life. [online] The Telegraph. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/03/06/muslim-convert-eagle-planned-oxford-street-terror-attack-jailed/> [Accessed 31 Jul. 2019].
- 69 Byman, D. (2019). Does America Face a Threat from Within?. [online] The National Interest. Available at: <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/does-america-face-threat-within-63237> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019].
- 70 Awan, I. & Rahman, M. (2016) 'A Content Analysis of UK Newspapers Portrayal of Muslims following Woolwich and Mohammed Saleem in Birmingham: A content analysis of UK newspapers', Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, available at <http://www.open-access.bcu.ac.uk/527/1/527.pdf> [accessed 20 Oct 2019]
- 71 vik Tittle, G. (2013). THEY CALLED A WAR, AND SOMEONE CAME: The communicative politics of Breivik's ideoscape. Nordic Journal of Migration Research, [online] 3(4), pp.216. Available at: <https://content.sciendo.com/view/journals/njmr/3/4/article-p216.xml> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].
- 72 Ahmed, Q. (2019). My grief for the victims of the New Zealand mosque attack | Coffee House. [online] Coffee House. Available at: <https://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2019/03/my-grief-for-the-victims-of-the-new-zealand-mosque-attack/> [Accessed 25 Mar. 2019]

When analysing terror attacks, assumptions which form part of the media narrative are often at the behest of what has been termed by academics as the Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) industry, comprising of think tanks, academics, private security firms, religious clerics and various other 'experts.' This "invisible college" of "experts" in the Anglophone world, identified as far back as 2009, has provided staple material for media coverage in response to successive terrorist incidents.⁷³ They have become the media's go-to people. Sinister examples of their messages include, the solution to terrorism is "less Islam"⁷⁴

Despite established academic experts detailing the history of white supremacist thought and the threat which preceded the Daesh and Al-Qaeda inspired terrorism, the lines meted out by these 'experts' are framed within a template where white-supremacist terror is a response to Daesh inspired terrorism. One of the consequences of this has been at times a distorted focus on Daesh inspired terrorism even when the white supremacist threat and actions are the discussion at hand.

An example of this was found on Sky News in their coverage of Christchurch. Despite the focus of the segment being the massacre of Muslim worshippers by a white supremacist, one interesting observation is the mention of "Islamist/Islamic" in comparison to the subject under discussion. This is a possible indication that an attempt is being made to preserve a narrative where the focus of terrorism is maintained towards the so-called 'Islamist' threat. In an interview on Sky News, Haras Rafiq of the Quilliam Foundation said:

"Because we haven't been able to, as a civil society, get to grips properly with society, get to grips properly with the hitherto threat which was Islamist extremism and Islamist terrorism, we see people responding through ignorance, fear, a whole bunch of other things, and coming to the realisation themselves, which I believe is false, that their culture is under threat, and that the government and society is not responding properly to the Islamist terror attack, and so are going to see a lot more of this."⁷⁶

Nicolas Pirsoul of the Australian Catholic University has also warned about how journalists, researchers and production staff should be aware of right-wing commentators who often make statements about Islam and Muslims that are factually incorrect:

"They demonise Muslims and proclaim that Islam is incompatible with Western democratic values."⁷⁷

73 M. Karen Walker. (2019), Akil N. Awan, Andrew Hoskins, and Ben O'Loughlin. Radicalisation and Media: Connectivity and Terrorism in the New Media Ecology, Book Review [online] Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09546553.2015.1006102> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019].

74 Murray. D (2017), Sunday Politics, BBC One (BBC1) 28 May 2017

75 MOHAMEDOU, M. (2019). Whitewashing White Supremacist Terrorism | IHEID. [online] Graduateinstitute.ch. Available at: <https://graduateinstitute.ch/communications/news/whitewashing-white-supremacist-terrorism> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].

76 Haris, R. (2019), Sky News Tonight, Sky News (SKYN) ,15 Mar 2019 [TV programme]

77 Pirsoul, N. (2019). We need to stop conflating Islam with terrorism. [online] The Conversation. Available at: <https://theconversation.com/we-need-to-stop-conflating-islam-with-terrorism-114073> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019].

One example of this is the space afforded to Richard Kemp, who has repeated inaccurate narratives on social media.



Some newspapers, including in The Times, The Daily Telegraph and more recently the Daily Mirror and Daily Express, have given him space to express similar views. When writing on the death of Abu Bakr al Baghdadi, Kemp inflated both the religious credentials of the former Daesh leader as well as incorrectly stating that his claims of having descended from Prophetic lineage were widely accepted.



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This message contradicts the widely understood idea that the terrorist leader was not a religious leader with any trustworthy credentials. As Jessica Lewis, a former US army intelligence officer and now research director at the Institute for the Study of War in the US, has pointed out that the core strength of his organisation is military not religious authority.⁷⁹

78 Kemp, R. (2019), Analysis: End of Baghdadi, Daily Mirror, 28 Oct 2019, pp.8

79 Khalaf, R. (2014). Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, Isis leader | Financial Times. [online] Ft.com. Available at: <https://www.ft.com/content/ec63d94c-02b0-11e4-a68d-00144feab7de> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].

Similarly the idea that Baghdadi's claims are "widely accepted", has echoes of one of Kemp's previous views about Muslims which was published in The Times and commented on by Azi Ahmed, a former member of the British army;

"Colonel Richard Kemp was Commander of British Forces in Afghanistan and a former head of the international terrorist team at the Cabinet Office so no one can argue with his military pedigree - but that's no guarantee of good sense... I read with disbelief an article he wrote in The Times, suggesting that recruiting more Muslims into the police and armed forces is endangering this country... If you're a Muslim you might be a terrorist, a "sleepers" radicalised online and recruited by Isis to murder members of the Royal Family or members of the Cabinet."⁸⁰

Official Classification

Reporters who cover terrorism are often dependent on the position taken by government officials and the police, as well as information from witnesses. The weight attributed to each of these actors by journalists determines the overall narrative. Yet reporting at its most effective takes place independently of authorities, and despite the difficulties involved in covering terrorism, the media have a responsibility to ensure fairness, balance and objectivity at all time, including by questioning the position taken by politicians or other officials in public office in relation to the incident.

So far, there does not exist an official protocol within all media newsrooms as to which position should confirm whether or not an incident should be called "terror". In some instances, the label "terror" is applied almost instantaneously, while in other instances, ambiguity prevents an immediate prognosis. On many occasions, the media relies on security agencies and politicians when designating an attack. The potential problem with such an approach is that it invites inconsistency.

The FBI and Home Office have previously failed to distinguish white supremacist and far right terror cases in their own data.⁸¹ It was only in July 2019 that the Home Office announced that risks posed by right wing extremists would be included in the terror threat levels.⁸² Additionally, far right attackers are rarely prosecuted as terrorists, particularly in the USA where there is no federal criminal statute which broadly outlaws acts of domestic terrorism.

Trevor Aaronson, the executive director of the Florida Centre for Investigative Reporting, demonstrates the double standard which applies to prosecutions under anti-terrorism laws.⁸³

⁸⁰ Ahmed, A. (2017). It's Time To Stop Stigmatising Muslim Recruits. [online] Huffingtonpost.co.uk. Available at: https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/azi-ahmed/stigmatising-muslim-recruits_b_17654534.html [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].

⁸¹ Lennard, N. (2019). Trump Administration Is Making It Harder to Find Out Whether It's Fighting White Supremacist Terror. [online] The Intercept. Available at: <https://theintercept.com/2019/06/08/white-supremacist-domestic-terrorism-fbi-justice/> [Accessed 31 Jul. 2019].

⁸² BBC News. (2019). Right-wing extremism to inform terror threat level. [online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-49088293> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019].

⁸³ Aaronson, T. (2019). Violent Far-Right Extremists Are Rarely Prosecuted as Terrorists. [online] The Intercept. Available at: <https://theintercept.com/2019/03/23/domestic-terrorism-fbi-prosecutions/> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019].

"Over 70 percent of extremist attacks that resulted in fatalities from 2008 to 2017 were committed by right-wing groups, and, in 2018, jihadists killed only one person on U.S. soil, while right-wing violence led to sixteen deaths"⁸⁴

Given the discrepancy between arrests and prosecutions under anti-terrorism legislation, the true extent of the white supremacist terror threat has been underreported. One of the key reasons suggested for this is that right wing or white supremacist violence has often stopped short of murder. However, this is not uniform across Western countries. A body count of victims in the US shows the disproportionate threat from white supremacists in comparison to its Daesh inspired counterparts.

Attacks in the US, in particular, have historically alluded to 'gunmen' and 'shooters' even if the perpetrators have clearly demonstrated an allegiance to white-supremacist ideology or revealed a larger political motive. An example of this is seen in the case of Dylan Roof who shot dead black church worshippers in Charleston in 2015. Roof admitted to wanting to instigate a "race war" as well as being in contact with white supremacist groups.

Yet officially, Roof was charged with nine counts of murder and one count of possession of a firearm. Later, during Roof's trial, court documents showed he had been found to have a host of mental disorders.⁸⁵ This raises another issue of whether a mental health diagnosis of suspects lessens the likelihood of their being described as terrorists. A later section dealing with mental health and terror discusses this dilemma.

Journalists at the CfMM roundtable believed this issue to be more applicable to the plethora of shootings in the U.S. which are not designated as terrorism, particularly when committed by a white supremacist.

This is partly true as seen in the example of the attack by Robert Bowers on Jewish worshippers at the Tree of Life Synagogue in October 2018. This attack was not labelled as terror by US law enforcement authorities, nor was he charged with domestic terrorism, as no such charge actually existed.⁸⁶

Similarly in the case of the attack on worshippers at the Quebec City Mosque on 29 January 2017, where six people were killed, Alexander Bissonnette was not charged with terrorism with no official reason given as to why these charges were not pursued.⁸⁷ One possible suggestion is the country's criminal law which requires the offence of terrorism to go beyond an act of violence, and involves collaboration with a "terrorist group", which is more difficult to prove for a single gunman.⁸⁸ This raises the question whether suspected lone actors such as Tobias Rathjen who killed nine people in Hanau, Germany would be charged with the offence of terrorism had he committed his attack in Canada or a country with similar statutes around terrorism.

⁸⁴ Ibid: Byman, D. (2019). Does America Face

⁸⁵ Sack, K. (2017). Trial Documents Show Dylann Roof Had Mental Disorders. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/02/us/dylann-roof-charleston-killing-mental.html> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

⁸⁶ Cortellessa, E. (2019). Why the Pittsburgh shooter is not being prosecuted for terrorism. [online] Timesofisrael.com. Available at: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/why-the-pittsburgh-shooter-is-not-being-prosecuted-for-terrorism/> [Accessed 2 Aug. 2019].

⁸⁷ Hamilton, G. (2018). Should Quebec City mosque killer Alexandre Bissonnette have been charged with terrorism?. [online] National Post. Available at: <https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/should-quebec-city-mosque-killer-alexandre-bissonnette-have-been-charged-with-terrorism> [Accessed 2 Aug. 2019].

⁸⁸ 2018 PUBLIC REPORT ON THE Terrorist Threat to Canada: BUILDING A SAFE AND RESILIENT CANADA: 3rd revision. (2019). [online] p.24. Available at: <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/pblc-rprt-trrrsm-thrt-cnd-2018/pblc-rprt-trrrsm-thrt-cnd-2018-en.pdf> [Accessed 2 Aug. 2019].

Even in its application different law enforcement authorities and security agencies have labelled attackers through different terms despite similar methods used by them. This is particularly the case with white supremacist attacks which are given various monikers, some of which are *white supremacist, neo-Nazi, far-Right* and *loner*. Beyond this the attacks themselves can be described by law enforcement authorities as anything from **“Racist”** which is how the Metropolitan Police described an incident on 19 Sep 2018, when perpetrators, shouting Islamophobic abuse, drove a car into a crowd of Muslim worshippers, to **“Xenophobic”** which is how the German police described the shooting of nine people of immigrant backgrounds in Hanau in February 2020⁸⁹.

Classification by authorities poses a major challenge for the media. When a police authority or politician designates an attack using certain words such as racist or xenophobic as opposed to terrorism, reporters feel justified in continuing to describe the attacks using the official term/s. Yet, it can also be argued that reporters and editors would be justified in designating such attacks as terrorism if the perpetrators are known to:

- **Target Muslims/immigrants/Jews/Blacks etc.**
- **Believe in theories of white racial supremacy**
- **Share manifestos or documents detailing political/racial/religious beliefs**

Most recently the UK counter terrorism police was ridiculed for its classification of the climate activist group, Extinction Rebellion, as a terrorist organisation; a description most reasonable observers would agree was plainly wrong. This designation was rescinded, but assuming it had stayed, no reasonable mainstream reporter would describe any protest by the group as an act committed by **“terrorists.”** As such, there is always the potential to designate an individual or an act outside the fold of what officialdom describes it, unless there is confirmed and compelling evidence to follow the official line.

Following the Oklahoma bombing of a federal building in 1995 by the white nationalist, Timothy McVeigh, the US government’s response was to pass the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 (AEDPA).⁹⁰ However, some law enforcement authorities have responded to terrorism by disproportionately targeting Muslims since 9/11 as Caroline Mala Corbin, a Professor of Law at Miami, has written. She said it has been:

“enforced “almost exclusively” against the Muslim community. All of these factors contribute to the “all terrorists are Muslim” narrative.”⁹¹

89 BBC News. (2018). ‘Anti-Islamic taunts’ as car hits crowd. [online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-45570907> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019]. & BBC News. (2020). ‘Far-right extremist’ behind Germany killings. [online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-51567971> [Accessed 21 Feb. 2020].

90 Segura, L. (2016). The Inside Story of How Bill Clinton Sacrificed Prisoners’ Rights for Political Gain. [online] The Intercept. Available at: <https://theintercept.com/2016/05/04/the-untold-story-of-bill-clintons-other-crime-bill/> [Accessed 2 Aug. 2019].

91 Corbin, C.M. (2017) ‘Terrorists Are Always Muslim But Never White’: At the Intersection of Critical Race Theory and Propaganda (August 16, 2017). Fordham Law Review, Vol. 86, p. 455, 2017; University of Miami Legal Studies Research Paper No. 17-26. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3020330> [Accessed 2 Aug. 2019].

The UK has also not been immune from this classification blind spot. In 1998, Matthew Glynn admitted to making bombs in his home. He was also found to have “anti-Muslim” views and followed far right groups online. Despite making bombs, his actions did not reach the threshold of “terrorism” for investigatory bodies - a decision The Times questioned:

“The decision not to charge him with terrorist offences will raise questions for police and prosecutors about whether white suspects are being treated differently from their Muslim counterparts.”⁹²



The Times raises the issue of double standards in police classifications, but in turn this also raises a question for newsrooms themselves; if the authorities are not going to label an act as terror or an attacker or potential attacker as a terrorist, will journalists and editors be brave enough to do so?

An example of how this double standard can also affect media coverage is seen in the reporting of two different attacks involving cars in London which took place just over one month apart in August and September 2018.

The first involved a 30 year-old student from Coventry, Salih Khater, who drove at cyclists and police officers outside the Houses of Parliament. Khater himself maintained he got lost and panicked. His social media activity showed no evidence of him being a potential threat or fitting what is considered the typical profile of a terrorist. Yet, the next day’s coverage in some newspapers had already designated the incident to be a **“Terror Attack.”**

92 Hamilton, F. and Aviram, A. (2018). White fanatic Michael Glynn who made bombs avoids terrorism charges. The Times Newspaper (Nov 2018))



93 94 95

A similar attack on Muslim worshippers at the Al-Majlis Al-Hussaini Islamic Centre in Cricklewood, where the white suspect was accused of subjecting victims to a tirade of Islamophobic and racist abuse” when mowing them down with a vehicle was not described as an act of terror. The Daily Mail headlined it as a “racist attack” and the Daily Express called it a “hit-run”. They took their lead from Chief Superintendent Simon Rose of the Metropolitan Police.

93 The Sun (2018), 15 August 2018, The Sun, pp.8

94 Sky News. (2018). Westminster terror crash: Suspect Salih Khater was in London 'to get Sudanese visa'. [online] Available at: <https://news.sky.com/story/westminster-terror-suspect-named-as-salih-khater-sky-sources-11473159> [Accessed 1 Jun. 2019].

95 Daily Mirror (2018). Front Page, 'Westminster Terror', Daily Mirror 15 August 2018



96, 97

Given the symbolic significance of Westminster Palace and the opening of a terrorism investigation by Scotland Yard, newspapers may have felt justified in labelling such an incident as terror. However, apart from the inconsistency with similar attacks involving cars targeting Muslims, the lack of any conclusive evidence of a political or ideological motive, raises questions. The Guardian reported Whitehall sources saying that, “Khater had no extremist propaganda in his home or on his electronic devices such as his phone, which is highly unusual for a jihadiist.”

The Crown Prosecution Service’s counter-terrorism division were seemingly at odds with this. According to them:

“It was reasonable to assume he had a terrorist motive because he chose an iconic site of national importance that had been previously attacked by terrorists.”⁹⁹

At his trial, where Khater was found guilty of attempted murder, Alison Morgan QC told the jury that the attacker had “a terrorist motive.”¹⁰⁰ Defense Barrister, Peter Cater QC, suggested that, “the lack of evidence is not a proper basis for drawing a conclusion there is evidence of a terrorist connection.” Defense lawyers further stated, post trial, that there was scant evidence of a political or religious nature.”¹⁰¹

96 Norton, J., & Sears, N. (2018), 3 injured in mosque ‘racist attack’ as car is driven into crowd, 20 September 2018, Daily Mail, pp.28

97 Pilditch, D. (2018). Worshippers mown down by mosque in hit-run horror, 20 September 2018, Daily Express, pp.20

98 Dodd, V. (2019). Westminster attack: Salih Khater convicted of attempted murder. [online] The Guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/jul/17/westminster-attack-salih-khater-convicted-attempted-murder> [Accessed 1 Jun. 2019].

99 Cps.gov.uk. (2019). Parliament attacker guilty of attempted murder | The Crown Prosecution Service. [online] Available at: <https://www.cps.gov.uk/cps/news/parliament-attacker-guilty-attempted-murder> [Accessed 14 Oct. 2019].

100 Pennink, E. and Sandford, E. (2019). Former Coventry Uni student jailed over terror attack. [online] coventrytelegraph. Available at: <https://www.coventrytelegraph.net/news/coventry-news/salih-khater-jailed-terrorism-westminster-17081707> [Accessed 14 Oct. 2019].

101 Doughty Street Chambers, personal communication (2019), 16 October 2019

This raises a couple of interesting questions:

1. Should publications pre-emptively designate and label something as a terror attack before it has been proven beyond all doubt to have been one?
2. Given there can still be a lack of clear motive following a trial, should news outlets designate such an incident as a terror attack independently of reporting the words of the police, security services or courts?

Recommendations

- Care should be taken in establishing any other facts which reasonably explain the motives or actions of the perpetrator before the incident is described as terror.
- If a narrative is created and subsequent information proves many of the pre-empted details to be untrue or inaccurate, media organisations should clarify and amend earlier mistakes.

Consistency

This section considers a number of areas in which inconsistencies appear frequently in the media's reporting of terrorism. Of particular significance are the pre-conceived correlations between the identity and background of the perpetrator and the way in which their crime is reported on. This is evident when comparing attacks of a very similar nature.

This inconsistency is reinforced by the disproportionate application of the term "lone wolf" to non-Muslim terror suspects, as well as the near exclusive description of non-Muslims as mentally unwell. Plotters and attackers inspired by white supremacist ideology are all too often given a terrorism free pass in comparison with those inspired by Daesh.

"We must not try to relabel what is a terrorist act. It is a terrorist act, not because we want to treat them in the same way as Islamist terrorists, but they behave in the same way, they have the same non-verbal language, and sometimes the same verbal language, you can see the similarities in the statements you read out, and the methods used. I think that language identifies these people as terrorists, as the prime minister of New-Zealand did straightaway. That is very important."¹⁰²

As commentators and academics have observed after the Christchurch attacks, the phenomena of white nationalism and supremacy are not recent ones. Such ideologies have deep historical roots which are based on scientific racism and exemplified expansively across time. The Oklahoma bombing in 1995 is an early well-known manifestation of terrorism based on white supremacist beliefs. Timothy McVeigh's devastating attack which killed 168 people and damaged 324 buildings was heard and felt 55 miles away and occurred six years before the next most devastating attack on American soil, namely 9/11.

¹⁰² Ashraf, A. (2019) 49 People Dead in New Zealand Shootings, Sky News (SKYN), 17 Mar 2019 1:12 PM GMT [TV Programme]

Almost one year on from the Christchurch terror attack, another far-right terrorist killed nine people of immigrant backgrounds (Turkish, Kurdish, Afghan, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Romanian) in two shisha bars in the town of Hanau, in Germany on the night of 19 February 2020. The attacker Tobias Rathjen exhibited similar beliefs to Brenton Tarrant invoking among other things the Great Replacement theory. He likewise left behind a manifesto detailing his hatred for non-whites as well as a video confession, before shooting himself and his mother. Just days earlier the German authorities had arrested 12 members of a far-right terror cell who had planned attacks on Mosques within the country.

Hanau (2020): Online News Coverage

Twelve hours after the first reports emerged of the mass shooting, the UK online national news media did not use the words “terror”, “terrorist” or “terrorism” in any headlines or articles relating to the incident.¹⁰³ This despite the following facts being known at the time;

- The attacker published a manifesto which highlighted the political motivation, as well as a letter and a video on his personal website.¹⁰⁴
- The German Counter Terrorism police were investigating the attack.
- The party leader of the SPD, Saskia Esken, described the attack in #Hanau as “right-wing terror.”¹⁰⁵
- Peter Beuth, the interior minister for the state of Hesse, said federal prosecutors had taken over the investigation of the crime and were treating it as an act of domestic terrorism.¹⁰⁶

Given this plethora of information, the reluctance to refer to the attack as terrorism is noticeable and could point to, at worst, a deliberate policy on the part of online news sites, or most likely, an editorial reluctance to still classify far right attacks as terrorism. The first online news article using the term ‘terror’ in relation to Hanau was published at 09:31 AM (20-Feb 2020) which was just over 12 hours after the attack took place.

In contrast to this, our analysis showed that in the first 12 hours of the Streatham, London attack on 2 February 2020 and the London Bridge attack on 29 November 2019 the words “terror, terrorist or terrorism” were used 106 and 201 times respectively. Both men in the London attacks had been recently released from jail and were identified as Muslims.

¹⁰³ Search on Meltwater media monitoring platform dates: 19/02/2020-20/02/2020 using the words, ‘Hanau’ and ‘terror*’ (includes: terrorist/s and terrorism)

¹⁰⁴ DW.COM. (2020). German prosecutors say Hanau shooter had a ‘deeply racist mentality’ | DW | 20.02.2020. [online] Available at: <https://www.dw.com/en/german-prosecutors-say-hanau-shooter-had-a-deeply-racist-mentality/a-52443129> [Accessed 22 Feb. 2020].

¹⁰⁵ BBC News. (2020). Has Germany done enough to tackle far-right violence?. [online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-51571177> [Accessed 23 Feb. 2020].

¹⁰⁶ Ibid; BBC News (2020).). Has Germany done enough [online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-51571177> [Accessed 23 Feb. 2020].

¹⁰⁷ Association, P. (2020). Far-right terror probe after nine killed in shootings in Germany. [online] Mail Online Wires. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-8024065/Far-right-terror-probe-nine-killed-shootings-Germany.html> [Accessed 20 Feb. 2020].

A more detailed comparison of the first 12 hours of reporting of three far right/white supremacist attacks and three “Muslim” attacks (including the ones mentioned above) similarly show a stark difference in coverage by the British media. CfMM examined the total number of online articles published in the 12 hours following the officially quoted time of each of the following attacks in the UK, Germany and France:

- Streatham
- London Bridge
- Villejuif
- Halle
- Hanau
- Bayonne

Articles were taken from the same 32 British online national news sites which we monitor daily and which include newspapers, wires, all major broadcasters and magazines¹⁰⁸

A statistical look at the coverage for these six attacks shows a clear bias in labelling attacks committed by so called “Islamists” as ‘terror*’ with less of an appetite to apply the labels to far-right or white supremacist attackers.

Insights

Terror attacks by so called “Islamists” were either labelled or contextualised under or alongside the subject of terrorism more often in both the copy and headline than attacks by far-right actors. A majority of copy and headlines for UK based “Islamist” attacks were labelled or discussed under the subject of terrorism.

Articles

70%

of articles on “Islamist” attacks mention terror, terrorism or terrorist(s)*

10%

of articles on far right attacks mention terror*

Headlines

43%

of headlines on “Islamist” attacks described as terror*.

0

headlines for the three attacks by far-right actors were labelled as terror/terrorism or the perpetrator as a terrorist.

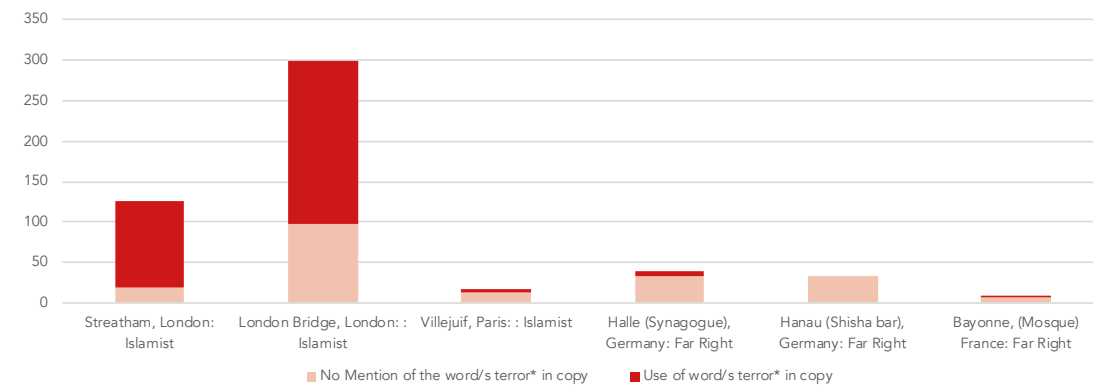
¹⁰⁸ All searches conducted on the Meltwater media monitoring database. A search was conducted using the location of each attack which gave the total number of articles. These terms alongside the words AND ‘terror*’ were used to get total number of articles containing the term in the copy (Both headline and article including and picture captions). All articles containing terror or a derivative of it in the headline were then found among the copy containing terror.

Evidence

- All attacks took place within a six-month time frame Oct 2019 – Feb 2020.
- The common feature of Daesh inspired attacks was the use of a knife as a weapon.
- Far Right attackers carried out their attacks with guns.
- Daesh inspired attacks were seemingly random street attacks allowing for more initial unanswered questions.

Far right attacks all targeted a religious building (Mosque, Synagogue) or significant cultural settings (shisha bars) which give an initial indication of a possible motive but still needed verification and confirmation. The following graphs show this huge disparity.

Figure 4: A comparison between the number of articles with the word Terror/Terrorist(s)/Terrorism for six different attacks in the UK and Europe



A comparison between the number of Headlines with the word Terror/Terrorist(s)/Terrorism for six different attacks in the UK and Europe

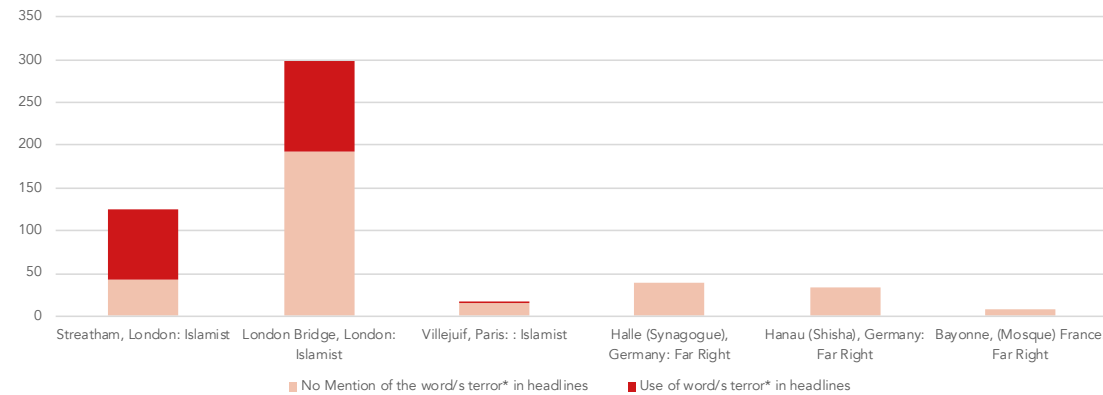


Table 7: Comparison of coverage of six attacks in the UK and Europe from October 2019 – February 2020

Location	Streatham, London:	London Bridge, London	Villejuif, Paris	Halle (Synagogue), Germany	Hanau (shisha bar), Germany	Bayonne (Mosque) France
02-Feb-20	02-Feb-20	29-Nov-19	03-Jan-20	09-Oct-19	19-Oct-20	28-Oct-19
Approx Time of Attack (GMT)	14:00 PM	13:58 PM	13:00 PM	11:00AM	21:00 PM	15:20PM
Type of Attack	Stabbing	Stabbing	Stabbing	Stabbing	Stabbing	Stabbing
Reporting Period following attack (12 hrs) GMT	14:00PM–02:00AM	13:58 PM–01:58AM	13:00 PM–01:00AM	11:00 AM–11:00PM	21:00 PM–09:00 AM	15:20PM–03:20 AM
Ideology of Perpatrator	"Islamist"	"Islamist"	"Islamist"	Far-Right	Far-Right	Far-Right
Fatalities (not including perpatrator)	0	2	1	2	10	0
Injured	3	3	2	2	5	2
Total Articles	125	299	17	40	33	8
Use of word/s terror* in copy	106	201	4	7	0	1
% Use of word/s terror* in copy	85%	67%	24%	18%	0%	13%
Use of word/s terror* in headlines	82	106	1	0	0	0
% Use of word/s terror* in headlines	66%	35%	6%	0%	0%	0%

Coverage Of White Supremacist Plotters & So Called "Islamist(s)"

While no two attacks are ever the same, the examples below show clear inconsistencies in the reporting of potential terrorists based on their ethnic backgrounds and political or ideological motives. This pattern can be seen in two recent high-profile UK-based terror attacks in which both suspects used vehicles to kill bystanders. Both had criminal records, and both were influenced by a bigger ideology as was revealed in their respective court cases. Despite this, the description for both actors is markedly different and reflects the negative pattern illustrated previously.

Darren Osborne was described as a "career criminal" while Khalid Masood was the "Muslim convert".

Flusbury Park

Two weeks after the attack at London Bridge, career criminal Darren Osborne, drove a hire van from his home in south Wales to north London, where he ploughed into a group of pedestrians who had just left a mosque in Flusbury Park.

One person was killed and two others sustained serious injuries in what was later established to be a terrorist attack aimed at the Muslim community.



Osborne released on parole for 100 for terrorism a Muslim convert at Flusbury Park.

Osborne had an extensive criminal history, with 33 convictions for more than 100 offences.

Westminster

Khalid Masood, who was a Muslim convert stabbed four people in March 2017 when he drove his hire car across Westminster bridge plunging into pedestrians.

After crashing the vehicle he attempted to storm the Palace of Westminster, stabbing police officer Keith Palmer to death before being shot dead by an armed officer.

While his attack required less planning and preparation than the Manchester outrage, MPs found there were still opportunities for him to have been stopped.

Masood had a lengthy criminal record dating back to 1979 and converted to Islam while in prison in 2000.



109

Other examples of coverage across newspapers suggests that the exclusive application of the label terrorist to so-called Muslim suspects is widespread among the media. The following examples juxtapose reporting on far right/white supremacist plotters and so-called Muslim plotters, exposing the consistent difference in treatment between the two.

109 Evans, M. and Nicholls, D. (2019). The opportunities MI5 and police missed to prevent the five terror attacks of 2017. [online]The Telegraph. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/11/22/missed-opportunities-prevent-2017-terror-attacks/> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

White Supremacist Plotters



110, 111, 112, 113, 114 , 115 116

- 110 Daily Mirror (2019), Loner who plotted mass killing in hometown is jailed, May 01 2019, Daily Mirror, pp.9
111 Scott, D. (2018). 12 years for racist who built a bomb, Aug 16, 2018 [online] Express.co.uk. Available at: <https://www.express.co.uk/scotland/1004454/peter-morgan-jailed-far-right-extremist-bomb> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019]
112 Murphy, A. (2019), Teenage 'Bomber Was Fan of Hitler': Deadly device loaded with nails and tacks jury hears, Apr 09 2019, Daily Star, pp.4
113 Deal, J (2019), Mosque link to US gunman, 29-Apr-2019, The Sun, pp.6
114 Parker, A (2019), Far-right yob gets life for kill MP plot, May 18 2019, The Sun pp. Unknown
115 The Sun (2019), Mosque plot guilt, April 09 2019, The Sun, pp. Unknown
116 Siddique, H & Agencies (2019), Racist Army veteran had plan to build an all-white stronghold, Nov 13 2018, The Guardian, pp. Unknown

So-called "Islamist" Plotters



117, 118, 119



121

120,

- 117 Twomey, J. (2019) Muslim convert planned terror attack massacres, Jan 04 2019, Daily Express, pp.22
118 Andrews J. (2019) Enemy Within, Terror fantasy family get jail, Jan 26 2019, Daily Star, pp.8
119 Sabey.R, (2019) "Terrorist plotter to be freed," Date: July 01 2019, The Sun, pp. Unknown
120 Perrie, R. (2019), Remote Terror Plotter, Jihadist's 15yrs jail, 25-Jul-2019, The Sun, p.33
121 (2019) Terror Charge pair in Court, Sunday Mirror, Jul 28 2019, pp.4

Lone Wolves

Media framing has fallen short of standards in describing terrorists as “lone wolf” actors. The over prescription of applying this term to white and non-Muslim assailants lends credence to the argument that Muslim suspects function in networks while non-Muslims assailants are mavericks and therefore a lesser threat to wider society.

In an article in the New Statesman, *Why we should stop using the phrase “lone wolf”*, Amelia Tait argues:

“Although the term ostensibly refers to an individual acting without help from a group, it is now often used to downplay acts of terrorism committed by white, non-Muslim perpetrators.

Used directly after an attack, the phrase “lone wolf” is also laden with other meanings. It means: this man should not be treated as a terrorist. It means: we have found and isolated the problem. Most importantly it means: you are safe. He was alone. There is no one else.”¹²²

In a book review on the white power movement in America, Thomas Meaney shows how the Oklahoma bomber, Timothy McVeigh, had widespread connections with various paramilitary networks formed after the Vietnam war. McVeigh had relied on much of the material published by these groups, which promoted anti-government and white-supremacist views. Yet as Meaney writes, **“the media in general presented him as an isolated psychopath.”¹²³**

There are many other examples of perpetrators being described **“lone wolves”**, despite being involved in wider networks and having links to far right or Nazi organisations. Some of the most high profile ones include;



Brenton Tarrant who carried out the Christchurch attacks revealed quite clearly, through his manifesto and names engraved on his guns, that he was part of a broader white supremacist movement/ideology. AFP when analyzing the global reach of white nationalism following Tarrant's attack, (which was watched and encouraged by hundreds online), referred to his and similar high-profile attacks as “lone-wolf.”¹²⁴ Yet Tarrant's own manifesto as well as subsequent investigations have found extensive links to white supremacist organisations and individuals. The links between white supremacists and international far-right figures was emphasised following the Christchurch terror attack by Professor Paul Spoonley who stated;

¹²² Tait, A. (2017). Why we should stop using the phrase “lone wolf”. [online] Newstatesman.com. Available at: <https://www.newstatesman.com/science-tech/social-media/2017/01/why-we-should-stop-using-phrase-lone-wolf> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

¹²³ Meaney, T (2019). White Power. London Review of Books, Vol. 41 No. 15 · 1 August 2019, pp.7

¹²⁴ AFP (2019). White nationalist movement spreads, pushing lone-wolf attacks. [online] AFP. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-6815265/White-nationalist-movement-spreads-pushing-lone-wolf-attacks.html> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

“There are a group of New Zealanders who are very strongly supportive of Tommy Robinson from the UK. You will see free Tommy signs around the protests. There has always been an element of it, and I don't think anybody has taken it seriously.”¹²⁵



Anders Breivik “the ultimate lone-wolf terrorism case”¹²⁶, had long been part of the far right network. A member of the English Defense League told the Telegraph that Breivik had been in regular contact with its members via Facebook and had **“hypnotic”** effect on them.



Martyn Gilleard, who was jailed in 2008 for terrorist offences and for possessing child pornography was described by Judge John Milford QC, as **“working as a lone wolf.”** Despite this moniker, he was the local branch organiser of the British People's Party (BPP) which welcomed membership applications only from those who believe in **“racial nationalism”**. The Yorkshire Post reported him as **“Nazi nail bomb racist”¹²⁷** and the telegraph.co.uk as **“Nazi sympathizer”**.¹²⁸ Gilleard's case was the focus of a 2011 study **“Lone Wolves: Myth or Reality?”** which found among other things that Gilleard had an internet password which included the number 1488;

“a commonly used Nazi code in which 14 represents the “14 words”, a phrase coined by David Lane, the founder of an American white supremacist paramilitary organisation...”¹²⁹

“Although Gilleard acted alone, he appears to have shared details of his terrorist plans with others, who appear to have approved. After his arrest a number of mostly semi-literate messages appeared on the C18 Guestbook, including one from “White Wolf” on 3rd December, advising that because Gilleard's computer had been seized by the police “whoever he showed pictures of the bombs to on MSN, should think about wiping MSN messenger of their PCs and then reinstalling it. This should get rid of all your previous IM conversations. Because if the Pigs find out you knew about the plan, you will be charged with aiding and abetting terrorism ...and that is a very serious charge.”¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Spoonley, P (2019). All Out Politics, Sky News (SKYN) 15 March 2019, 09:50 AM GMT [TV programme]

¹²⁶ Ranstorp, M. (2013). ‘Lone Wolf Terrorism’. The Case of Anders Breivik. Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F) / Security and Peace, Vol. 31, No. 2, 87-92.

¹²⁷ Yorkshire Post (2018). Nazi nail-bomb racist jailed for 16 years. [online] Available at: <https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/latest-news/nazi-nail-bomb-racist-jailed-for-16-years-1-2504903> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

¹²⁸ Stokes, P. (2019). Nazi sympathiser Martyn Gilleard jailed for 16 years. [online] Telegraph.co.uk. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/2193160/Nazi-sympathiser-Martyn-Gilleard-jailed-for-16-years.html> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

¹²⁹ Gable, G. and Jackson, P. (2011). Lone Wolves: Myth or Reality?. [ebook] Ilford: Searchlight Magazine, pp.35. Available at: <http://nectar.northampton.ac.uk/6014/1/Gable20116014.pdf> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

¹³⁰ Ibid: Gable & Jackson (2011). Lone Wolves, pp.36 [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019]



Ian Davison became the first Briton convicted under new legislation dealing with the production of chemical weapons in 2009. He was described as a “lone wolf” by police officers, judges and journalists.¹³¹ He was a founder of the ‘Aryan Strike Force’, the members of which went on training days in Cumbria where they flew swastika flags. Police believed that Davison along with his son Nicky were in contact with 300 Nazis worldwide as far afield as Canada and Australia. Nicky Davison adopted the name Thorburn 1488 and was the leader of its youth wing in the northeast.¹³²



Alexandre Bissonnette, a 27-year-old student, was charged with six counts of murder, but faced no terrorism charges for shooting and killing Muslim men while they prayed in a mosque in Quebec, Canada. Within hours of the attack, Ralph Goodale, the Canadian Minister for Public Safety, described the killer as a “lone wolf” even though the evidence suggests he had been inspired by far right and white supremacist propaganda online. Amelia Tait, writing in the New Statesman suggested that;

“The way the media has plundered Bissonnette’s Facebook profile – posting pictures of his Halloween costume and trying to glean information from his status updates – could itself fuel online extremism.”¹³³

It may be argued that the label of “lone wolf” is applied when describing how perpetrators single handedly carry out acts and not in itself dispelling the wider links the terrorists may have. Yet, the connotations of such a term include the underplaying of what Ramzy Baroud has described as a large ideological, militant network that is dedicated to spreading hate and racism, one which sees immigrants – especially Muslims, as invaders.¹³⁴ Furthermore, it limits the recognition of the threat posed by white supremacists. The overemphasis on the “loner” angle is a convenient label to avoid discussion of the social networks and wider socio-political and cultural influences which impact on the actions of white supremacist terrorists.¹³⁵

131 Burke, J. (2017). The myth of the ‘lone wolf’ terrorist. [online] theguardian.com/. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/mar/30/myth-lone-wolf-terrorist> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

132 Ibid: Gable & Jackson (2011). Lone Wolves, pp.36 [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019]

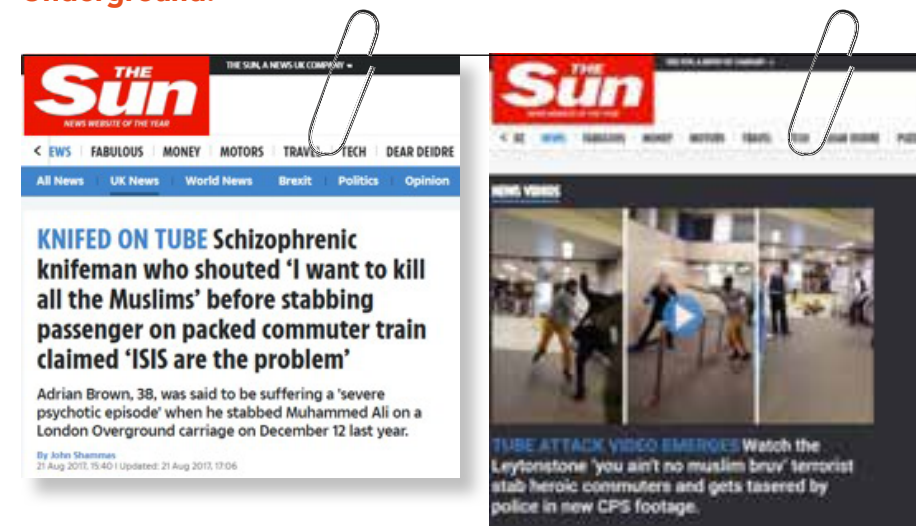
133 Tait, A. (2017). Why we should stop using the phrase “lone wolf”. [online] Newstatesman.com. Available at: <https://www.newstatesman.com/science-tech/social-media/2017/01/why-we-should-stop-using-phrase-lone-wolf> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

134 Baroud, R. (2019). Manifestos of Hate: What White Terrorists Have in Common. [online] Middle East Monitor. Available at: <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20190812-manifestos-of-hate-what-white-terrorists-have-in-common/> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

135 Ibid; Abbas (2019) Islamophobia and Radicalisation, pp.67

Mental Health

Another aspect of reporting on terrorism which sheds light on inconsistencies is the prescription of mental illness to some suspects and not others. The implication of distinguishing between “mentally ill” and “terrorists”, when the latter is mostly reserved for Muslims, implies that a non-Muslim suspect is less responsible for their actions. It also perpetuates the stereotype that Muslim suspects can be understood only in terms of ideology and religion as motivating factors. An example of this inconsistency can be seen in The Sun’s coverage of two separate knife attacks which were both carried out on London Underground.



136, 137

Despite their similarity and both suspects having a history of mental illness, the Muslim attacker, Muhaydin Mire was labelled a terrorist, while the other, Adrian Brown, was characterised as schizophrenic. This was irrespective of Brown’s proclamation that he wanted to “kill all Muslims”; a slogan indicative of white supremacist ideology.

The Sun’s headline, which quoted Brown as saying ‘ISIS are the problem’ is a further demonstration of how white supremacist ideology and its adherents wish to conflate all Muslims with the crimes of terrorists. Brown’s claim “I want to kill all Muslims” illustrates this conflation of ordinary Muslims with Daesh. It is arguable that they have over the years been encouraged on this path by some media outlets and commentators who after a major terrorist atrocity in the UK have asked for, wider Muslim introspection or have accused Muslims of being commanded by their religion to kill. Any Muslim denial of this charge is considered tantamount to a command to lie and deceive (a misinterpretation of the term “taqqiya” which is being pedalled by some journalists and right-wing commentators). Furthermore, this daily drip feed of stories about Muslims as criminals, terrorists, groomers and a threat to the body politic of Britain and the West, has resulted in a narrative that Islam is uniquely to blame for terrorism.

136 thesun.co.uk (2016). Watch the Leytonstone ‘you ain’t no muslim bruv’ terrorist stab heroic commuters and gets tasered by police in new CPS footage.. [online] The Sun. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/video/news/watch-the-leytonstone-you-aint-no-muslim-bruv-terrorist-stab-heroic-commuters-and-gets-tasered-by-police-in-new-cps-footage/> [Accessed 31 Jul. 2019]

137 Shammass, J. (2016) Knifed on Tube: Schizophrenic knifeman who shouted ‘I want to kill all the Muslims’ before stabbing passenger on packed commuter train claimed ‘ISIS are the problem’ [Online] The Sun. Available at <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/4289408/schizophrenic-knifeman-who-shouted-i-want-to-kill-all-the-muslims-before-stabbing-passenger-on-packed-commuter-train-claimed-isis-are-the-problem/> [Accessed on 31-Jul-2019]

The Mail Online not only refers to Brown as schizophrenic, but also references an irrelevant detail about the knife victim’s wife being “burka-clad”. In doing so, it appears as though the Muslims are being othered and the blame is placed on their shoulders even when they were victims of terror.



“Schizophrenic patient”

Similarly, a BBC News headline when reporting on the verdict of insanity opted for the obscure term “Muslim Killer” in the headline, wording normally associated with tabloid coverage which obscures the detail between victims and perpetrators and noticeably used when victims were Muslim.



“Muslim killer”

In Mire’s case, his history of mental illness was an issue overlooked by the media until his family revealed that they had raised concerns with the police over his mental health. In the ensuing case, the head of Scotland Yard’s Counter Terrorism Unit stated that Mire’s crime was not politically motivated but caused by Mire’s mental illness. These examples show that preconceptions can misinform reporting on terrorism and that instances involving people with clear mental health issues should be treated with care. However, these cases do throw up interesting questions including whether spontaneous actors can also be influenced by a larger ideology and how much weight should be given to mental illness in relation to other influential and relevant factors.

138 Duell, M. (2016). Schizophrenic train passenger ‘screamed’ ‘I want to kill all Muslims’. [online] Mail Online. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4809574/Train-passenger-screamed-want-kill-Muslims.html> [Accessed 31 Jul. 2019].

139 bbc.co.uk (2017). ‘Psychotic’ knife attacker detained. [online] BBC News. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-41011324> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

140 As reported in Dodd, V. and Addley, E. (2017). Leytonstone knife attack: man convicted of attempted murder. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jun/08/leytonstone-knife-attack-man-convicted-of-attempted> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

Case study 1

Melbourne & Pittsburgh (2018)

The attacks in Melbourne Australia and Pittsburgh USA took place almost two weeks apart. These attacks were similar; there were fatalities, they took place in a Western nation, there was live reporting and there was an alleged shouting of an “ideological” slogan.

Table 8: Key facts about the attacks

	Pittsburgh	Melbourne
Date / time	27 Oct 2018 at approx. 09:54 AM (EST)	9 Nov 2018 at approx. 04:00 PM (AETD)
Description of attack	46-year-old Robert Gregory Bowers opened fire on worshippers lasting 20 minutes at the Tree of Life – Or L'Simcha Congregation in the Squirrel Hill neighbourhood of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Eleven people were killed before Bowers surrenders to the police.	Hassan Khalif Shire Ali, sets his car on fire and stabbed three people, one fatally, in the Central Business District of Melbourne, Australia, before being shot and killed by police.
Perpetrator	The suspect was described as a tall white male by officers at the scene from an early stage.	Police identified the attacker as 30-year-old Hassan Khalif Shire Ali, who moved to Australia from Somalia in the 1990s with his parents and siblings.
Motive	In the weeks before the shooting, Bowers made anti-Semitic posts directed at the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) who sponsored National Refugee Shabbat of October 19–20, in which Dor Hadash and Tree of Life participated. He claimed Jews were aiding members of Central American caravans moving towards the United States border and referred to members of those caravans as «invaders».	The Australian Federal Police’s acting national manager of counter-terrorism said Hassan’s passport was cancelled in 2015 when ASIO believed he was planning to travel to Syria to fight for the Daesh terrorist group. Relatives and acquaintances described Ali as having mental health and substance abuse issues, being delusional and agitated prior to the attack, and complaining of «being chased by unseen people with spears.»
Comments by police / witnesses	He allegedly told a SWAT officer that he wanted all Jews to die, and that Jews were committing genocide against his people, according to a criminal complaint filed in Allegheny County.	Chief Police Commissioner, Graham Ashton described the incident as “an act of Terror.”

Observation 1

The Melbourne attack was called terrorism immediately and by all media outlets, whilst the Pittsburgh attack was not called terrorism by the vast majority of media outlets.

This disparity is a reminder once again that “terrorism” is used by definition to refer to terrorism by those from Muslim backgrounds; whereas similar acts by non-Muslim agents seem to require extra qualification and certainly more caution.

Evidence

Only four of 43 published pieces on the Pittsburgh attack in the first four hours following the attack on mainstream British news sites had a mention of the term *terror, terrorism or terrorist* with none of the headlines describing it as *terror* or describing the perpetrator as a *terrorist*.¹⁴¹ The references to terror in the four pieces spoke of the “terror” which the Jewish worshippers felt and not the act of killing by the assailant.

By contrast, in the initial four hours after the Melbourne attack, 14 out of 14 published articles online used the term *terror, terrorist or terrorism* to describe the incident (See Appendix B). The print publications were in no doubt as to the Melbourne attack being a “terror attack.” Most nationals as well as the Evening Standard used one of the terms “terror”, “terrorist” or “terrorism” within their headlines.

Both attacks exhibited similar characteristics, yet the Pittsburgh attacker displayed clearer terrorist motives, by deliberately targeting worshippers in a synagogue and unarguably declaring “all Jews must die”. Even so, as far as media coverage was concerned, only the Melbourne attacker was, initially, considered a “terrorist”.

Observation 2

There was a significant difference in the space afforded to each attack in the print newspapers.

Evidence

On 11 Nov 2018, five newspapers (London Evening Standard, The Times, The Guardian, Daily Mirror and The Sun) printed an entire page in the next day’s edition on the Melbourne attack. This was a major departure from a fortnight earlier where the red tops dedicated fewer column inches to the Pittsburgh synagogue attack.



Attendees at the CfMM roundtable on terrorism raised the fact that images of the Melbourne attack were captured live and involved a dramatic explosion when the terrorist drove his van full of gas canisters into a crowd which could be one reason why it gained more coverage.

These are factors which many newspapers consider when choosing how to present a particular story as well as the prominence given to it. Column inches for the Melbourne attack were also noticeably more voluminous in comparison to Pittsburgh with more words dedicated to the former. While dramatic images do determine the prominence of the coverage, care should still be taken to be consistent when reporting on similar attacks.

¹⁴¹ See Appendix B

Case Study 2:

Bottrop, Manchester Victoria & Londonderry

These three attacks took place in January 2019. They were similar in that there were no fatalities, they took place in Europe and over the course of the New Year. We looked at their coverage from the time of the story breaking to four complete 24-hour news cycles to assess how these attacks were treated by the national broadcasters.

Table 9: Key facts about the attacks

	Bottrop	Manchester Victoria	Londonderry
Date	31 December 2018 and 1 January 2019 at 23:40 PM	31 December 2018 at 20:52 PM	January 19, 2019 at 20:10 PM
Description of attack	A man in a car intentionally drove into crowds of people four times before being arrested by police on New Year's Day. Among the victims were a family of four from Syria who were slightly injured. The mother was critically injured and required surgery. In addition, a 10-year-old boy, also from Syria, a four-year-old child and a 29-year-old woman from Afghanistan were injured in the attack.	Three people were stabbed in a knife attack at Manchester Victoria station. A man and woman in their 50s and a British Transport police officer were seriously injured.	A car bomb exploded outside a courthouse in the centre of Londonderry, Northern Ireland. No one was injured in the attack.
Perpetrator	Andreas N, a 50-year-old unemployed cleaner, later reported to have schizophrenia.	Mahdi Mohamud, a 25-year-old Somali male who resides in Manchester's Cheetham neighbourhood with his parents and siblings. The suspect, originally held on suspicion of attempted murder, was detained under the Mental Health Act. He was later charged with a terrorism offence and three counts of attempted murder.	The police believe it to be the work of Irish militants, most likely the new IRA.
Motive	Herbert Reul, Minister of the Interior of North Rhine-Westphalia said: "There was the clear intention of this man to kill foreigners."	The attack was investigated as a terrorism incident. Prime Minister Theresa May described the incident as a "suspected terrorist attack."	It is suspected that the explosion was planned with the desire to exploit the fallout from Brexit. Five men were arrested all of whom have subsequently been released.

	Bottrop	Manchester Victoria	Londonderry
Comments by police / witnesses	Police and Prosecutors said: "The investigating authorities are currently expecting a targeted attack, which may be due to the xenophobic attitude of the driver."	Greater Manchester Police enquires focused on the state of the suspect's mental health, whilst maintaining an open mind in relation to the motives. The BBC reported that a witness alleged that during the attack he shouted "Allah" and shouted a slogan "criticising Western governments". BBC producer Sam Clack reported he heard him saying "As long as you keep bombing other countries this sort of s--- is going to keep happening."	Police condemned the attack as "unbelievably reckless." Assistant Chief Constable Mark Hamilton said: "The people responsible for this attack have shown no regard for the community or local businesses. They care little about the damage to the area and the disruption they have caused." Northern Irish politicians described the attack as "Terror." Tánaiste Simon Coveney said: "There is no place and no justification possible for such acts of terror..." DUP Leader, Arlene Foster called it a "pointless act of terror" Theresa May said: "This house stands together with the people of Northern Ireland in ensuring that we never go back to the violence and terror of the past." Five arrests have been made.

Observation

All the attacks were being investigated by the respective counter-terror agencies, yet the Manchester Victoria train station attack, which featured a Muslim perpetrator, had by far the greatest level of coverage and the largest number of articles mentioning the term terrorism.

This could be explained by two factors:

1. The Manchester Victoria attack happened in the same city as the Manchester Arena attack in 2016, prompting fears of a repeat incident.
2. It was a dramatic story on New Year's Eve which is traditionally a slow news period.

Yet the huge disparity in both news coverage and the description of the attacks demonstrate inconsistency in media output when covering attacks which essentially have the same features, including:

- No deaths
- Confirmed ideological basis through shouting of slogans
- Active investigations by counter terror authorities
- Suggestion of mental health issues

Evidence

Table 10: Online News Articles published for each attack in January 2019

Incident	News Articles	Headlines mentioning terror/terrorist(s)/terrorism	% of Headlines Mentioning terror/terrorist(s)/terrorism	Articles Mentioning terror/terrorist(s)/terrorism	% of Articles Mentioning terror/terrorist(s)/terrorism
Bottrop	25	1	4%	2	8%
Manchester Victoria	91	24	26%	74	81%
Londonderry	63	1	0.02%	24	38%

Figure 5: % of headlines and articles mentioning "terror*" according to the ideological/political outlook of attacker

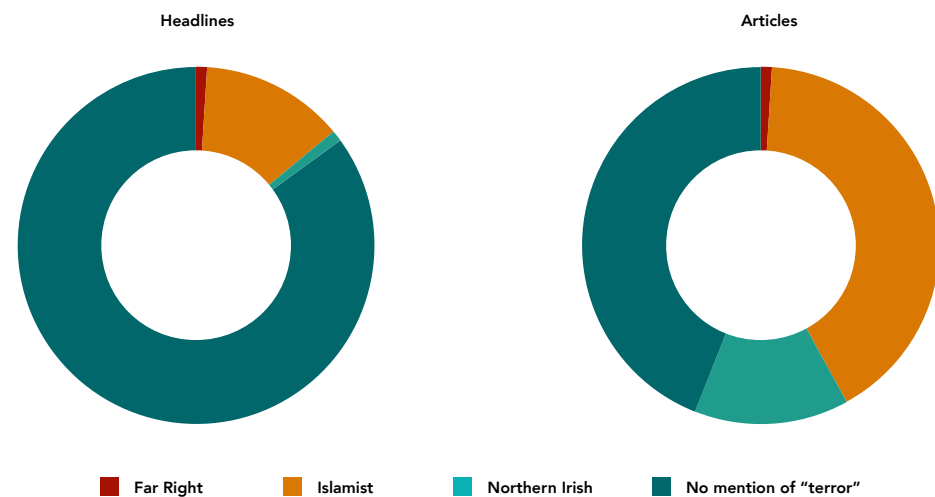


Table 11: Number of news clips of each attack in January 2019

Incident	Number of News clips	News Clips mentioning terror/terrorist(s)/terrorism	%
Bottrop	13	0	0%
Manchester Victoria	423	213	50%
Londonderry	207	18	9%

Note: Broadcasts are from the following sources: Sky News, BBC World, BBC News, BBC 1, BBC 2, BBC Four, ITV, Channel 4, Channel 5 (no local or regional bulletins are included).

Figure 6: Comparison between total news clips with mention of 'terror*' and news clips without mention of 'terror'



Bottrop

At no point was the Bottrop incident referred to as **terror** or a **terrorism** incident. Despite German authorities opening a terror investigation into the attack, only one story carried by the Daily Telegraph news website on 02 January 2019 headlined this detail by stating that the attack was "being treated as terrorism."¹⁴²

In ten articles published after this, including agency copy from Reuters, Associated Press and Agence France Presse, headlines ranged from describing the attack as a "racist car attack" to a "racist vehicle ramming". Five of these articles were focused on migrant violence in the city of Amberg with reference to a "Xenophobic Attack" in Bottrop. In two articles the word terrorism was used in reference to Germans being concerned by "Islamist terrorism."

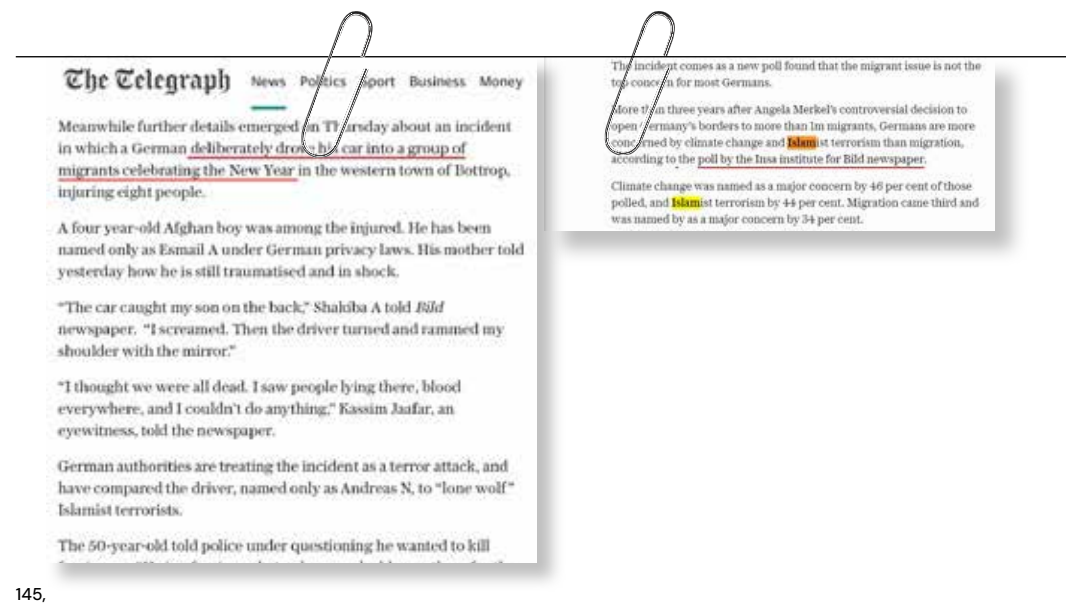


143, 144

¹⁴² Huggler, J. (2018). Attack in which German driver mowed down migrants being treated as terrorism. [online] The Telegraph. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/01/02/attack-german-driver-mowed-migrants-treated-terrorism/> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

¹⁴³ Barnes, T. (2018). Man suspected of racist car attacks in Germany charged with attempted murder. [online] The Independent. Available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-car-attack-suspect-man-charged-attempted-murder-police-far-right-bottrop-a8707536.html> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

¹⁴⁴ Reuters (2018). Germany charges man suspected of racist car attacks with attempted murder. [online] Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-germany-attack/germany-charges-man-suspected-of-racist-car-attacks-with-attempted-murder-idUSKCN10W0LO> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].



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Manchester Victoria

As soon as the Manchester Victoria attack was announced by Greater Manchester Police as a terrorism investigation, news reports, both broadcast and online, were littered with the term *terror*, *terrorism* or *terrorist* to describe the attack. This continued until the end of the news cycle and beyond the point when it was confirmed that the perpetrator had been detained under the Mental Health Act. A total of 74 articles out of the 91 published specifically on the Manchester Victoria attack referenced *terror*, *terrorism* or *terrorist* to describe the attack.¹⁴⁷



148, 149



150 151

145 Ibid; Huggler, Attack in which German driver [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019] & Huggler, J. (2018). Far-Right vigilante group stake to streets of small German town following migrant violence. [online] The Telegraph. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/01/03/far-right-vigilante-groups-take-streets-small-german-town-following/> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

146 AFP (2018), Neo-Nazis patrol German town where asylum seekers 'attacked people'. [online] Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6553661/Far-right-group-vigilante-patrol-German-town-asylum-seekers-hurled-abuse-injured-12.html> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019]

147 Meltwater Search, Dec 31- Jan 4 (Manchester Victoria), Jan 01-Jan 05 (Bottrop), Jan 20-Jan 24 (Londonderry, Bombing)

148 O'Connor, M. (2019), Manchester Knife Terror: Attacker 'shouting Allah' stabs three at busy railway station - including a police officer, Jan 01 2019, Daily Mail, pp.2

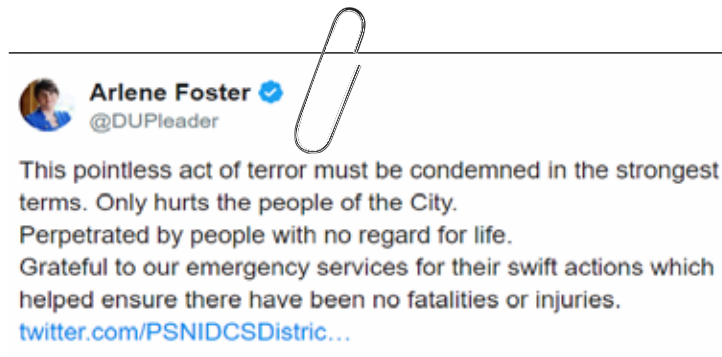
149 Tozer, J & Dolan, A & Hayward, E (2019), Long Live the Caliphate: Terror suspect's scream after three are stabbed at rail station, Jan 02 2019, Daily Mail, pp.14

150 Wilford, G (2019), 3 Knifed in 'Terror Rampage:' Stabbed yards from Manchester bomb site, Jan 01 2019, The Sun Frontpage

151 Wilford, G, (2019) 12 Inch Knife and Yells of Allah: Witness tells of rant as three stabbed in station, Jan 01 2019, The Sun, pp.5

Londonderry

A similar news flow after the Londonderry car bomb attack garnered one headline from a BBC piece declaring it a “pointless act of terror”, which was a direct quote from the DUP leader Arlene Foster.



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Other prominent figures such as Leo Varadkar, the Taoiseach (Irish Prime Minister) and Simon Coveney, the Tánaiste (Deputy Prime Minister), also described the incident as a “terrorist attack”, and yet the news publications did not follow suit in headlining it as such.



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152 Foster, A. (2019). Twitter. [online] Twitter.com. Available at: <https://twitter.com/dupleader/status/1086739699622969345> [Accessed 9 Aug. 2019].

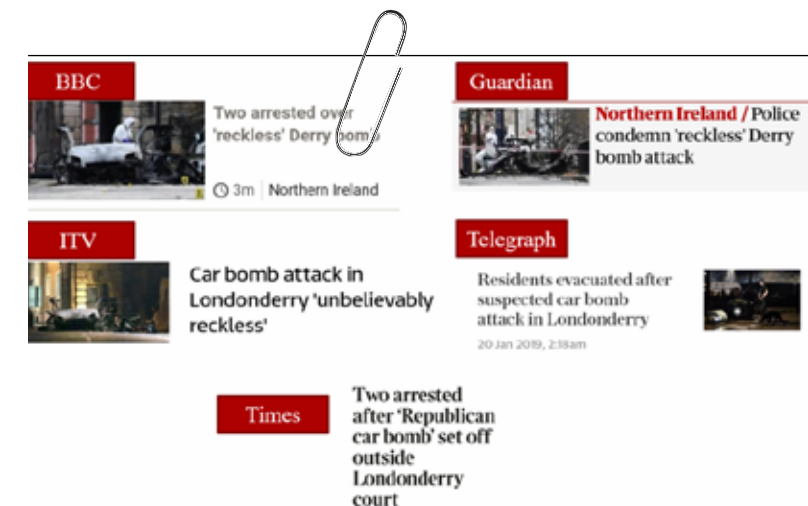
153 Convey, S. (2019). Twitter. [online] Twitter.com. Available at: <https://twitter.com/simoncoveney/status/1086745876754767873?lang=en-gb> [Accessed 9 Aug. 2019].

The day after the attack, the police announced that the bombing may have been carried out by the New IRA. Apart from the BBC which qualified its one article as an “act of terror” (consistent with its editorial policy) other British media outlets didn’t follow suit. Interestingly, local Irish news sites such as the Belfast Telegraph Digital did call it “terrorism” from the outset.¹⁵⁴



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Selected headlines for Londonderry Bomb



154 Live Blog (2019). Derry car bomb: How the terror attack unfolded - BelfastTelegraph.co.uk. [online] BelfastTelegraph.co.uk. Available at: <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/derry-car-bomb-how-the-terror-attack-unfolded-37730601.html> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

155 BBC News (2019), Londonderry bomb: Condemnation of 'pointless act of terror', 20-Jan-2019, Available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-46940667> (Accessed on 02-Sep-2019)

Accuracy & Reliable Sources

Accuracy is the most important aspect of good journalism: a value shared unanimously by leading media platforms and facilitated by a number of established mechanisms. These include systems of fact-checking as well as rigorous efforts to determine the reliability of sources. Reporting on the issue of terrorism demands even more regard for accuracy given the sensitivity, speed and changing nature of the breaking news story. However, and as this report will illustrate, numerous inaccuracies and a dependency on unreliable sources have been apparent in reporting on terrorism causing serious harm both to British Muslims as well as the general public's understanding of Islam.

One example comes from The Sun's reporting of an attack on shoppers at a Spanish supermarket. The news site's original report had the attacker **'screaming Allahu Akbar whilst shooting.'** This was later retracted after Spanish police and a spokesman for the supermarket denied this, with a police officer stating that the suspect had spoken something in the Basque language of **Euraska.**¹⁵⁶ What is noticeable is how when the alleged shouting of Allahu Akbar was dropped the attack was downgraded by The Sun from **"TERROR"** to **"HORROR"**.

156 Burnip, L. (2019). Gunman opens fire in Spanish supermarket wearing 'makeshift suicide vest filled with fuel and gunpowder'. [online] The Sun. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2591800/gunman-opens-fire-in-spanish-supermarket-while-carrying-bag-filled-with-petrol-and-gunpowder/> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019]



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Is Witness Testimony Sufficient?

Witness statements constitute a valuable source for journalists, often contributing crucial information to breaking news stories. They, at times, be the only information available to reporters, and when reliable and cross-referenced, are a good check against what authorities wish to reveal. Yet, witness statements can also be wrong. Maria Nilsson, senior lecturer for Journalism, Media and Communications in Sweden, has described the dilemma of a social media first world which weakens the gatekeeping position of news organisations, placing questions of ethics and journalistic power at the forefront of the production of news.

Andrew Roberts, a specialist in evidence at the University of Leeds, has cited media coverage as a contributing factor among the distorting features in eye-witness statements.¹⁵⁹ The most infamous case of this was the shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes by the Metropolitan Police, which was subsequently reported based on the testimony of witnesses. Claims were made that De Menezes vaulted a ticket barrier and was running away from police whilst also carrying a bag and wearing clothing which could be construed to have been worn to potentially hide a bomb. All of these claims proved to be without foundation.

Yves Eudes, a reporter with the French broadsheet *Le Monde*, questioned the validity of witnesses as far back as 2011:

"first-hand witnesses cannot see the big picture...they're not trained to understand whether what they're seeing is relevant to the big picture or to see what really happens. They're trained to see what they want to see. If you only rely on Twitter or Facebook, you might end up howling with the wolves."¹⁶⁰

157 Versi, M. (2017). Twitter. [online] Twitter.com. Available at: <https://twitter.com/miqdaad/status/819821028784349184/photo/1> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].

158 Maria Nilsson (2019), An Ethics of (not) Showing: Citizen Witnessing, Journalism and Visualizations of a Terror Attack, Journalism Practice, Available at 10.1080/17512786.2019.1623708 [Accessed 2 Sep 2019]

159 Rohrer, F. (2005). BBC NEWS | UK | The problem with eyewitnesses. [online] News.bbc.co.uk. Available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4177082.stm> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019]

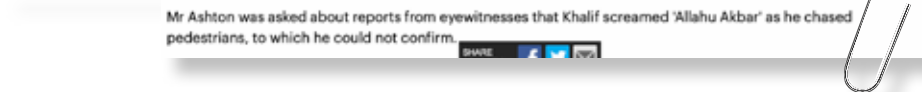
160 Krotoski, A. (2011), What effect has the internet had on journalism?. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2011/feb/20/what-effect-internet-on-journalism> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019]

Furthermore, Stephen Linn Chew of Samford University says **“We are biased to notice and exaggerate some experiences and to minimize or overlook others.”**¹⁶¹

A prominent example of invalid or weak witness testimonies being widely publicised, occurred following the Melbourne terror attack in November 2018. In particular, the repetition across news sites that the attacker proclaimed **“Allahu Akbar”** during the crime. This claim, which relied upon the account of a single witness, could not be confirmed by the police or by other witnesses, and yet received prominent coverage in headlines.



162



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161 Chew, S. (2018), Myth: Eyewitness Testimony is the Best Kind of Evidence. [online] Association for Psychological Science - APS. Available at: <https://www.psychologicalscience.org/uncategorized/myth-eyewitness-testimony-is-the-best-kind-of-evidence.html> [Accessed 3 Sep. 2019].

162 Kitching, C. (2018). 'Lone wolf' terrorist kills one in knife rampage before he's shot dead. [online] mirror. Available at: <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/breaking-melbourne-attack-knife-wielding-13560511> [Accessed 9 Nov. 2018]. Before and After screenshot

163 White, N. and Chain, B. (2018). ISIS claims responsibility after knifeman stabs shoppers in Melbourne. [online] Daily Mail Australia. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6370669/Car-smashes-Melbournes-Bourke-Street-Mall-bursts-flames.html> [Accessed 9 Nov. 2019].

The case of Alexander Bissonnette in Canada, who shot dead six worshippers at the Quebec City Mosque in January 2017, is an example of how misreporting occurs when relying on witness testimony, particularly in the immediate aftermath of a terror attack. One early report of the incident broadcast on Radio Canada saw an alleged witness state the following;

“One of them opened fired, and he yelled: “Allahu Akbar” and the bullets were hitting people who were praying. People who were praying lost their lives. One of the balls passed right over my head.”¹⁶⁴

As Vice News reported at the time these eyewitness reports **were not corroborated.** Similarly social media accounts were spreading false reports, some blaming **“Islamic extremists”**, for the attack.¹⁶⁵

Initial reports of the Canadian police having detained two men, in relation with to shootings, led certain sections of the US media to report that the suspect was a Moroccan born man, Mohamed Belkhadir. In fact, Belkhadir was the person who had initially called the police upon hearing gunshots.¹⁶⁶



Moreover the rush to associate the attack with the traditionally designated label of **“terrorist”** was also apparent in the British online news media. UK based tabloids arguably went further in misreporting the incident by relying on the uncorroborated witness to headline a live story with the attacker shouting **“Allahu Akbar”**. The Sun removed the false details when notified of the error and a correction was made to wrongly labelling **“Allahu Akbar”** as an **“Islamist phrase.”**

164 Browne, R. (2017). Six dead in Quebec mosque attack. [online] Vice. Available at: https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/8xmy73/reports-of-multiple-dead-in-shooting-at-quebec-city-mosque [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].

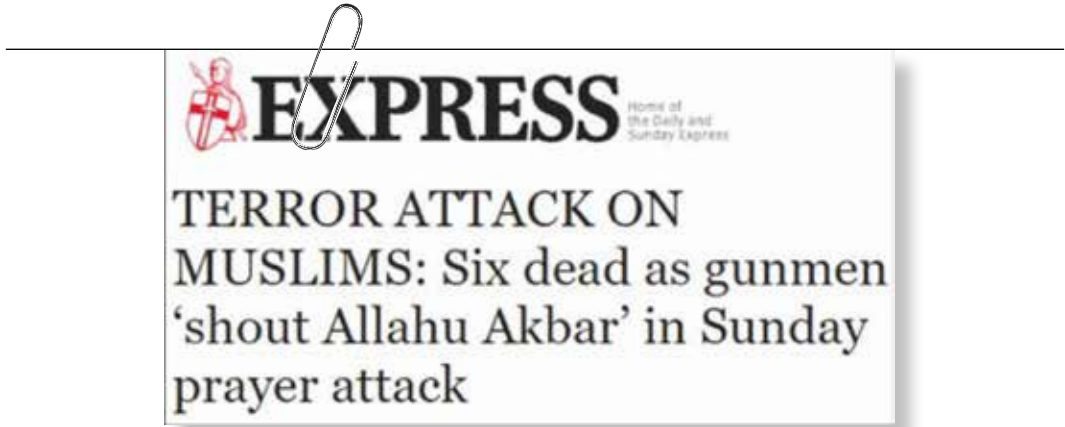
165 Ibid; Browne (2017), Six Dead, [online] Vice. Available at: https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/8xmy73/reports-of-multiple-dead-in-shooting-at-quebec-city-mosque [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].

166 BBC News. (2020). Fox News deletes Canada mosque tweet. [online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-38821804> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].



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Similarly the express.co.uk also led with the false details as well as the MailOnline which subsequently changed its original headline which read **‘Killer surrendered ‘because he felt bad’ after he and a second gunman shot six people dead during ‘terror attack on Muslims’ at Quebec city mosque ‘while they shouted Allahu Akbar.’**¹⁶⁸



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The express.co.uk and Mail Online did subsequently change the copy yet offered no acknowledgement of the initial error. The left leaning Daily Mirror also followed the lead of its right leaning counterparts in publishing the false details. To date, it has not removed or corrected the article.

167 Versi, M. (2017). The Sun changes its headline on the #Quebec terror attack. [image] Available at: <https://twitter.com/miqdaad/status/826483372750946304/photo/1> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].

168 Ponsford, D. (2017). UK newspaper reports about attack on mosque in Quebec ‘appalling’ says Muslim Council assistant secretary general - Press Gazette. [online] Press Gazette. Available at: <https://www.pressgazette.co.uk/uk-newspaper-reports-about-attack-on-mosque-in-quebec-appalling-says-muslim-council-assistant-secretary-general/> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].

169 Versi, M. (2017). The Express retains its false headline. [image] Available at: <https://twitter.com/miqdaad/status/826484181874176001/photo/11> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].



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Journalists at the CfMM roundtable expressed the difficulty with establishing the reliability of witness statements in a social media age. One prominent correspondent was so perturbed by the lack of credibility, having encountered “witnesses” in the aftermath of terrorist incidents regurgitate hearsay or already reported information, that he no longer seeks witness statements in his reporting.

Recommendation

- Make clear what is yet to be established about an incident.

170 Robson, S. and Kitching, C. (2017). Six dead after gunmen shout “Allahu Akbar” and open fire at mosque. [online] mirror. Available at: <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/quebec-mosque-shooting-least-five-9719347> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].

Case Study 3:

Thousand Oaks

The “Thousand Oaks” attack saw the shooting of twelve people in California in November 2018. The ensuing coverage and subsequent reception by the public demonstrate the cost of publicising inaccuracies; both in terms of audience reach as well as the propaganda value this creates for prominent anti-Muslim figures.

Table 11: Key facts about the attacks

	Thousand Oaks attack
Date/time	Nov 7 at 11 PM (PST)
Description of attack	A US Marine Corps veteran, Ian Long, shot dead 12 people before turning the gun on himself.
Perpetrator	A white male who served in Afghanistan and was said to be suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder.
Motive	Unknown. However, the gunman left a Facebook post: “I hope people call me insane... (laughing emojis).... wouldn't that just be a big ball of irony? Yeah.. I'm insane, but the only thing you people do after these shootings is 'hopes and prayers'.. or 'keep you in my thoughts'... every time... and wonder why these keep happening...” ¹⁷¹
Comments by police/witnesses	Police found Long dead of what was believed to be a self-inflicted gunshot. Eyewitness Holden Harrah alleged the gunman came in, apparently in disguise, and began shooting without saying anything. ¹⁷²

Observation

There appears a willingness to use weak sources, especially when it comes to confirming a narrative that Muslim Middle Easterners are the main perpetrators of terror attacks, when in the US, the opposite is the case.¹⁷² Such misreporting has huge consequences.

171 McCloskey, J. (2018). Marine with PTSD identified as gunman who went into student bar and killed 12 | Metro News. [online] Metro.co.uk. Available at: <https://metro.co.uk/2018/11/08/marine-with-ptsd-identified-as-gunman-who-went-into-student-bar-and-killed-12-8118604/> [Accessed 09 Aug. 2019]., (Accessed on 09-Aug-2019)

172 Vera Bergengruen, W.J. Hennigan (2019), ‘We are Being Eaten From Within.’ Why America is Losing the Battle Against White Nationalist Terrorism, 08-Aug-2019, Time at www.time.com, (Accessed on 13-Aug-2019); “since 9/11, white supremacists and other far-right extremists have been responsible for almost three times as many attacks on U.S. soil as Islamic terrorists, the government reported. From 2009 through 2018, the far right has been responsible for 73% of domestic extremist-related fatalities, according to a 2019 study by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). And the toll is growing.”

Evidence

While covering the Thousand Oaks attack, both Sky News and the Daily Express chose to report that the shooter was a “Middle Eastern man”, even though this was not the case. This misreporting was shared millions of times on social media and gave ammunition to the anti-Muslim agitators and Islamophobes to use this description of the assailant to incite hate towards Muslims.

Given the reputation of Sky News, this error was repeated on the MSN UK homepage, Yahoo! UK and Ireland as well as on LBC Radio. Between 3:17 AM (GMT) and 6:46: AM (GMT) this collective mass platform had an estimated audience of just under 60 million, according to Critical Mention - the media monitoring platform.¹⁷³

Centre for Media Monitoring submitted complaints and elicited corrections from both the Express and Sky News.



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175

173 Coverage of California Bar attack with Sky News copy replicated on 42 other online news websites as found on the Critical Mention Media Monitoring Platform (A full list of these websites can be found at www.CfMM.org.uk)

174 Jordan, F. (2018), Officers were advised that the suspect was a Middle Eastern man in his early 20s wearing all black clothing and with a beard, 08-Nov-2018 (Before and After), Article is No longer accessible, but can be accessed at <https://web.archive.org/web/20181108161040/https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1042521/california-shooting-thousand-oaks-bar-video-live-police-latest-news-update-terror> (Accessed 08-Nov-2018)

175 Sky News (2019), Multiple people shot as gunman opens fire in California bar, Nov 082018, Sky News, accessible at <https://news.sky.com/story/multiple-people-shot-as-gunman-opens-fire-in-california-bar-11547848> (Accessed on 09-Nov-2018)

Consequences Of Error

Amongst the most detrimental consequences of such misreporting is the ammunition it provides to known anti-Muslim populists, demagogues and far right activists who circulated the supposed 'Middle Eastern' identity of the Thousand Oaks attacker on social media.

Pamela Geller, who has been banned from entering the UK and who has been called, "one of the most flamboyant anti-Muslim activists in the United States" by the Southern Poverty Law Centre, tweeted Sky News' article link to her 200,000 plus followers.¹⁷⁶



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Similarly, Paul Watson, from the conspiracy site "Infowars", also referenced the article. When challenged, he blamed mainstream media reporting as the reason for his actions; in other words, because it appeared on a mainstream media channel it was deemed accurate and reliable. Watson is known for posting false information and has in the past pushed fringe conspiracy theories about 9/11 and mass shootings. This inaccurate reporting provided him with the exact ammunition required to further his own narrative against Muslims and Islam.

176 SLPC (n.d.). Pamela Geller Profile. [online] Southern Poverty Law Center. Available at: <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/pamela-geller> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].

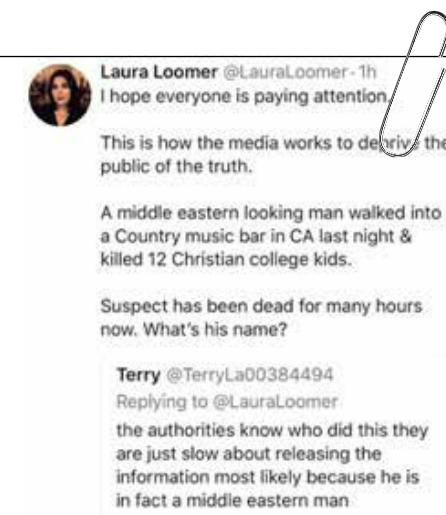
177 Geller, P. (2018), Twitter. [online] @PamelaGeller, Twitter.com. No Longer Available [Accessed 8 Nov. 2018]

178 Hananoki, E. (2017). Infowars' Paul Joseph Watson can't get anything right. [online] Salon. Available at: <https://www.salon.com/2017/06/19/infowars-paul-joseph-watson-cannot-get-anything-right/> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].



179

Laura Loomer, who was found to have connections with the anti-Muslim hate group, United West,⁸⁴ hinted at a media cover-up in depriving the public of learning the truth about the shooter.⁸⁵



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Misreporting in the immediate aftermath of an attack is a hazard of the 24-hour news cycle as reporters seek to gain new information to add further facts and details to a fast-moving news story. Yet as seen in the example of Thousand Oaks, as well as others such as the Melbourne attack in 2018, news sites were forced to change copy after failing to verify initial claims made by witnesses. This is by no means the only example of such an occurrence.

Channel 4 News and The Independent, both named Abu Izzadeen, a "radical" Muslim cleric formerly known as Trevor Brooks, as the man responsible for the 2017 Westminster terror attack, even though the man was and remains in prison in the UK. This misinformation was capitalised on by Milo Yiannopoluos accusing authorities of a cover up and protecting Izzadeen.¹⁸¹ As seen, unfortunately, reporting misinformation can have severe unintended consequences both for purposes of accuracy as well as empowering far-right, anti-Muslim agitators and their narratives.

179 Watson, P.J. (2018), Twitter. [online] @PrisonPlanet, <https://twitter.com/prisonplanet/status/1060592893528809473?lang=en> [Accessed 8 Nov. 2018]

180 Loomer, L. (2018). Twitter. [online] @LauraLoomer Twitter.com. 6:26 AM 08 Nov 2018 No Longer Available [Accessed 8 Nov. 2018]

181 Flood, B. (2017). UK Media Misidentify Jailed Man as London Terror Suspect. [online] <https://www.thewrap.com/london-terrorist-misidentified-man-named-still-in-jail/>. Available at: <https://www.thewrap.com/london-terrorist-misidentified-man-named-still-in-jail/> [Accessed 8 Nov. 2019].

Recommendation

- Avoid uncorroborated witness statements.
- A caveat should be included in witness statements making it clear to the reader or viewer that this is the view of one or several witnesses, in order to distinguish between eyewitness accounts and accounts from what maybe more reliable sources or information which is easier to verify.

Religious Literacy

A two-year national commission by the Woolf Institute found significant and widespread concern about the portrayal of religion in the media. Among the findings was how one particular religion, Islam, “is all too often misrepresented both in social and in traditional media.” The Commission noted how, when it came to Islam, the misuse of language seems to occur most often.¹⁸² This is particularly poignant when considering that the general reporting on terrorism often relies on some religious contextualisation. In particular, so-called “Islamist” terrorists appropriate everyday Muslim vernacular, which is then, as stated by participants at the CfMM roundtable, presented as “shorthand for terrorist vocabulary.”

Such an approach misleads audiences and readers and also inadvertently helps terrorists in achieving their aims. Terrorists or “wannabe terrorists” do habitually use and abuse everyday Islamic terminology quite deliberately. This is for several reasons but mainly because they know that the untutored general public have come to associate certain terms with violence, even if inaccurately. The abuse of Islamic terminology can therefore be a deliberate tactic to spread fear – one of the key goals of real terrorists.

The general level of ignorance among news consumers of the religious vernacular is understandable. However, the question is, should journalists collude in the misuse of Islamic terms, and by doing so, exploit religious illiteracy in the general population? This section will aim to answer that question by illustrating some high-profile examples of religious illiteracy and the consequences of their use and misuse.

¹⁸² Butler-Sloss, E. (2015). LIVING WITH DIFFERENCE community, diversity and the common good, Cambridge: The Woolf Institute, pp.45-46. Available at: <https://corablivingwithdifference.files.wordpress.com/2015/12/living-with-difference-online.pdf> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019]

Allahu Akbar

Allahu Akbar is a phrase which often appears in headlines in stories relating to terrorist attacks by so-called “Islamist” perpetrators. At times this is because the attacker is heard shouting it but often the phrase has been headlined as shorthand for a “Muslim” terrorist attack even when unsubstantiated.

The constant reference to “Allahu Akbar” in the context of terrorism has conflated the phrase with acts of violence and assigned an ordinary Islamic phrase a negative connotation. The takbir, or proclamation, “Allahu Akbar” is an expression in Arabic which usually translates as “God is the greatest” or “God is great.”

The varying translations are in themselves indicative of the problem of open language. As Bassam Saeh writes:

“the correct translation of Allah-hu Akbar is “God is Greater [than everything and everyone else]. Despite the fact that this breaks with linguistic conventions.... Islam has left this expression open in order to allow the person uttering it to imagine whatever ending best fits his or her circumstances.”

Allahu Akbar is a phrase used by Muslims worldwide at least five times a day in prayer but is also a core part of their daily vernacular. As Khaled Beydoun writes in the Washington Post:

“It is uttered incessantly by the pious and the not so pious, Arab Muslims and Muslims of every race and nationality. In fact, the saying comes from the mouths of Arab Christians just as frequently as it does Muslims.”¹⁸³

However, the phrase has taken on a new meaning partly due to its appropriation by certain terrorist organisations but also due, in part, to media reporting and framing. Specifically, the media’s obsession with the phrase has made a standard and beautiful phrase to the ear of Muslims, become equated with, as Beydoun writes, **“coming horror.”**¹⁸⁴ All too often journalists make it not just a passing mention or detail in a story, but the headline itself. The persistent magnification of this phrase, in relation to attacks, can unwittingly impugn the religion of Islam itself and subsequently entire Muslim communities.

183 Beyoun, K. (2018). The perils of saying ‘Allahu Akbar’ in public. [online] Washington Post. Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2018/08/25/the-perils-of-saying-allahu-akbar-in-public/?> [Accessed 1 May 2019].

184 Ibid: Beyoun (2018)



The obsession with this phrase “Allahu Akbar”, and it being associated with terrorism, is widespread and goes beyond the media. The Greater Manchester Police admitted to having used it as part of a terror training exercise at one of the UK’s biggest shopping centres.¹⁸⁵ In Switzerland, a Muslim man was allegedly fined £170 for saying “Allahu Akbar” on seeing a friend in public.¹⁸⁶

A more recent example of the paranoia surrounding the term came from white supremacist blogs, which fixated on a seven-year-old tweet by Muslim Democrat senator, Ilhan Omar, in which she simply stated “Allahu Akbar :) #LifeisGood” – a typical expression of gratitude to God. The bloggers used this to support their conspiracy that Omar, by default of being Muslim, supported the death of the US ambassador to Libya two weeks previously.¹⁸⁷

185 Perraudin, F. (2016). ‘Allahu Akbar’ cry at terror drill was scripted, police admit. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/may/11/allahu-akbar-manchester-terror-drill-scripted-police> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019]. Chief Constable Ian Hopkins later apologised for conducting the exercise in such a matter.

186 Stickings, T. (2019). Muslim fined £170 for saying ‘Allahu Akbar’ in public in Switzerland. [online] Mail Online. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6577257/Muslim-fined-170-saying-Allahu-Akbar-public-Switzerland.html> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019].

187 Omar, I. (2019). Twitter. [online] Twitter.com. Available at: <https://twitter.com/ilhanmn/status/250746228529311744?lang=en> [Accessed 9 Aug. 2019].

Participants at the CfMM roundtable acknowledged the media’s role in typecasting “Allahu Akbar”, once presented with the evidence, and many explicitly agreed that it was overused, exploited and had no place in headlines. The fact that UK based online news sources headlined the term “Allahu Akbar” a total of 285 times between January 2016 and December 2019, with 214 of them associated with terror attacks, is an indication of this trend.

For a full list of articles with the headline Allahu Akbar, visit Centre for Media Monitoring’s resouce page on the website¹⁸⁸.

Table 12: Allahu Akbar Headlines¹⁸⁹

	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
Number of articles which have Allahu Akbar or Allah-hu Akbar in headline	131	97	35	22	285
News website which uses the term most	Mail Online	Mail Online	Mail Online	Mail Online	Mail Online
Number of articles	53	41	21	12	127
% of total articles	40%	42%	60%	55%	45%

The Mail Online is the publication which overwhelmingly uses the term “Allahu Akbar” in its headlines. Between January 2016 and December 2019, 45% of all headlines with Allah-hu Akbar were in the Mail Online.

One recent example of this was seen in October 2019 following the stabbing of four police officers in Paris.



190

The suspect who was a deaf-mute, according to French media, was reported to have “screamed” Allahu Akbar in the early hours of the morning of 3 October 2019, the day of the attack. Given that the reciting of Allahu Akbar in the early hours of the morning is consistent with the Muslim observance of the pre-dawn Fajr prayer, basing an entire story around this detail for a suspect reported to have had a “psychotic fit”, suggests a deliberate association of the term with terrorism and violence.

188 For a complete list of 285 headlines see <https://cfmm.org.uk/publications>
189 Headlines from the [thesun.co.uk](https://www.thesun.co.uk) and [thetimes.co.uk](https://www.thetimes.co.uk) have not been included in these statistics given their non-accessibility on the monitoring platform pre-2018
190 Stickings, T. and Newman, J. (2019). Paris knifeman shouted ‘Allahu Akbar’ at his flat, witness claims. [online] Mail Online. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7538419/Paris-knifeman-shouted-Allahu-Akbar-flat-witness-claims.html> [Accessed 15 Oct. 2019].

Another example of the Mail Online, again headlining an allegation and promoting sensationalist conjecture, can be found in its reporting of an attack in which it states that a “Syrian man hijacks a truck and plows into cars in Germany, injuring nine people before shouting ‘Allah’”.

Germany’s Frankfurter Neue Presse confirmed that the claim of the man “shouting Allah” had only been alleged by witnesses¹⁹¹. The Guardian, which also cited the DPA news agency, reported the fact that the suspect appeared to fit a profile shared by many who have committed similar offences, namely serial criminals¹⁹².



193

The headlining of proclamations by attackers is by no means a consistent policy in the coverage of terror attacks in the MailOnline as seen in an anti-Muslim terror incident when worshippers at the Cricklewood Islamic Centre in London were deliberately mowed down. Not only was the attack not given the moniker “terror”, but the usually detailed headline omitted the claims by witnesses that the perpetrators shouted, “Dirty Muslims.”



194

191 Frankfurter, S. and Limburg, B. (2019). Lkw rammt mehrere Autos in Limburg: „Dann gab der Lkw ordentlich Gas“ - Zeugen berichten. [online] <https://www.fnp.de/lokales/limburg-weilburg/limburg-terroranschlag-rammt-autos-mir-alles-weh-erlebten-zeugen-vorfall-zr-13078538.html> [Accessed 15 Oct. 2019].
192 Oltermann, P. (2019). Eight injured as stolen lorry crashes into cars in Germany. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/08/eight-hurt-as-stolen-truck-crashes-into-cars-in-germany> [Accessed 9 Oct. 2019].
193 Nikolic, I. (2019). Syrian man hijacks a truck and ploughs into cars, injuring nine people. [online] Mail Online. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7549105/Stolen-truck-crashes-cars-Germany-9-hurt.html> [Accessed 15 Oct. 2019].
194 Duell, M. (2018). Moment hit-and-run driver ploughs into London mosque worshippers. [online] Mail Online. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6183835/Hit-run-driver-ploughs-pedestrians-outside-London-mosque.html> [Accessed 2 Oct. 2019].

Case Study 4:

Strasbourg

The Strasbourg Christmas market shootings by Cherif Chekatt is a good example of how mainstream news coverage focused on the suspect's proclamation of Allahu Akbar at the expense of more important details.

Rémy Heitz, the French terror prosecutor, confirmed this on the basis of witness testimony. Nevertheless, the cry in Arabic was ultimately just a small part of the story, alongside plenty of other crucial and arguably more newsworthy factors in a live situation. This included the attacker's escape, plus the testimony of the taxi driver who was hijacked. Colleague Toufik Elkiri told the Telegraph that Chekatt was not seen at the mosques and described his drug and alcohol fueled life-style. Other neighbours referred to him as a thug and a career criminal **who had lost his marbles.**" The Mail on Sunday columnist Peter Hitchens, when assessing the suspect, points out how the evidence actually showed little or no religious affiliation or motive:

"Take the supposed 'terrorist' of Strasbourg, Chérif Chekatt. He had 27 convictions (including, of course, for the drugs he took and sold). He couldn't have cared less about Islam, as he was just a violent, crooked slob."¹⁹⁵

The issue of drug use is sometimes not considered important when certain media outlets and commentators are adamant in ascribing terrorism to religious ideology. In common with many terrorists, the latest Daesh inspired attacker in Streatham, London, had a major drug habit before he was sent to prison which was further exacerbated by an addiction to Spice – a drug which among other things is said to **be a combination of aluminium cleaner and insect killer.**" Despite media reports saying he had been excluded from Friday prayers for exhibiting extreme behaviour and views when not able to access drugs or when under the influence of them, he was still definitively labelled an **"Islamic terrorist"** with some articles focused on his supposed religious credentials. The same applies to the coverage of the Strasbourg attack.

¹⁹⁵ Hitchens, P. (2018). Does Archbishop Welby's pride matter more than an elderly lady's pain? - Mail Online - Peter Hitchens blog. [online] Hitchensblog.mailonsunday.co.uk. Available at: <https://hitchensblog.mailonsunday.co.uk/2018/12/does-archbishop-welbys-pride-matter-more-than-an-elderly-ladys-pain.html> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019]

Key Facts

Table 13: Strasbourg Christmas Market Shootings

	Strasbourg Christmas Market Shootings
Date/ time	11 December 2018, at approx. 19:50 Local Time
Description of attack	29-year-old man attacked civilians in the city's busy Christmas market (Christkindelsmärik) with a revolver and a knife, killing five and wounding 11 before fleeing in a taxi. The attacker was killed in a shootout with French police on the evening of 13 December after a manhunt involving 700 officers.
Perpetrator	Chérif Chekatt had multiple criminal convictions and was on a security services watch list as a suspected Islamist extremist. Chekatt had been known to police since the age of 10 and he had his first criminal conviction by age 13. He was known to security services for a total of 27 convictions in France, Germany, and Switzerland, arising from 67 recorded crimes in France alone. His criminal activities started with petty crime, robbery and drug dealing.
Motive	Judicial sources said that the attacker had pledged allegiance to the Daesh who claimed him as one of their "soldiers" through their propaganda outlet, after he was shot dead by police.
Comments by police/ witnesses	Chekatt was heard shouting Allahu Akbar" as he attacked members of the crowd. French police considered him "gangster-jihadist", a term referring to people convicted of various crimes and "radicalised" in prison. France's Interior Minister, Christophe Castaner, dismissed Daesh's claim that he was a 'solider' as 'completely opportunistic'. Marine Le Pen, Leader of the Rassemblement National (RN) party, described the attack as an 'Islamist massacre'.

Media Coverage

Within 24 hours of the attack, the suspect was named and identified. Every mainstream, national news website headlined the incident as **"terror"** or referred to the suspect as a **"terrorist."**¹⁹⁶ The Metro and the London Evening Standard, along with the Sun and Mail Online, headlined pieces referring to witness testimonials of Chekatt shouting **"Allahu Akbar."**



197

¹⁹⁶ See table of headlines in Appendix C.

¹⁹⁷ Diebelius, G. (2018). Strasbourg terror suspect shouted 'Allahu Akbar' as he shot and stabbed victims | Metro News. [online] Metro.co.uk. Available at: <https://metro.co.uk/2018/12/12/strasbourg-terror-suspect-shouted-allahu-akbar-shot-stabbed-victims-8239942/> [Accessed 15 Dec. 2019].

By contrast, as mentioned in an earlier section of this report, when news broke of the attack at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh, the London papers, (Metro and Evening Standard), chose not to feature the gunman's alleged proclamation of wanting all Jews to die in their headlines.



198

The BBC and Sky also updated their coverage of the attack to include the alleged "Allahu Akbar", quite probably to entice a greater readership to the news page.



199, 200

Breaking News Screenshot from Sky News website capture on Dec 12, 2018 BBC Homepage Headline Screenshot captured on Dec 12, 2018

At least five publications as well as Reuters and the Press Association news agencies emphasised the gunman's shouting of "Allahu-Akbar." The Daily Mail's YouTube channel headlined the video 'Strasbourg shooting suspect cried out "Allahu Akbar."'201

- 198 Jarvis, J. (2018). Pittsburgh synagogue shooting leaves 11 dead and six more injured after attack at baby-naming ceremony. [online] Evening Standard. Available at: <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/pittsburgh-synagogue-shooting-leaves-10-dead-with-suspect-named-as-robert-bowers-by-law-enforcement-a3973631.html> [Accessed 15 Nov. 2019].
- 199 Jarvis, J. (2018). Strasbourg shooting suspect pictured as hunt for gunman continues. [online] Evening Standard. Available at: <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/strasbourg-christmas-market-shooting-suspect-accused-of-shouting-allahu-akbar-ahead-of-attack-that-a4015931.html> [Accessed 15 Dec. 2019]
- 200 Mann, T. (2018). 11 dead, six injured as gunman opens fire on prayer service at US synagogue | Metro News. [online] Metro.co.uk. Available at: <https://metro.co.uk/2018/10/27/multiple-victims-as-shooter-storms-prayer-service-at-us-synagogue-8081009/> [Accessed 9 Nov. 2018].
- 201 'Daily Mail (2018). Strasbourg shooting suspect cried out 'Allahu Akbar'. [video] Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CDj8H59oaug> [Accessed 12 Dec. 2018]



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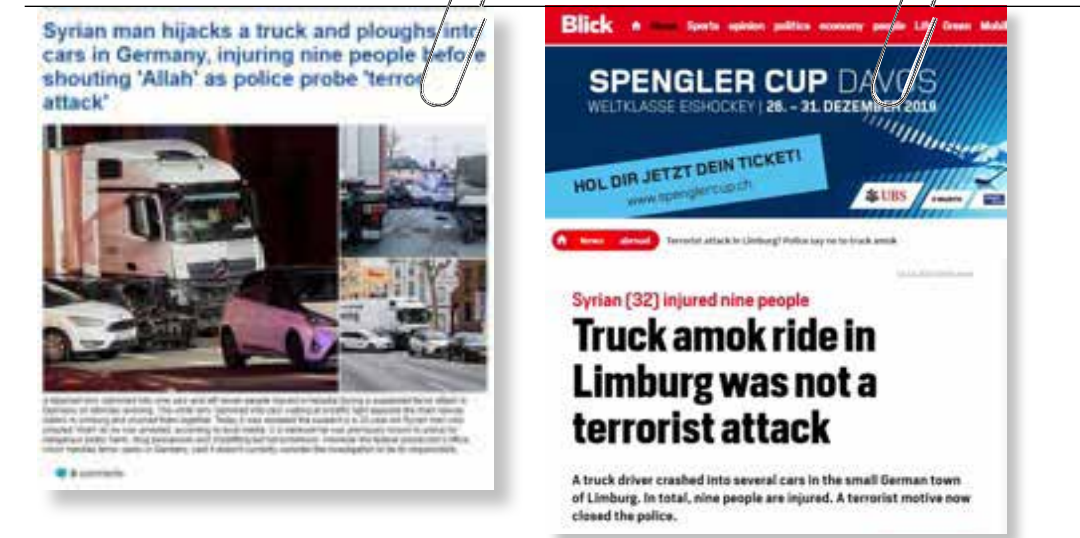
Broadcast Media, on this occasion followed suit. Every mainstream news broadcaster, barring Channel 5, headlined their updated bulletins with the suspect's shouting of "Allahu Akbar" in response to the French terror prosecutor's press conference.

- 202 Reuters (2018). Strasbourg shooting suspect cried out "Allahu Akbar" - Paris prosecutor. [online] U.K. Available at: <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-france-security-prosecutor/strasbourg-shooting-suspect-cried-out-allahu-akbar-paris-prosecutor-idUKKBN10B1B7> [Accessed 12 Dec. 2018].
- 203 Press Association (2018). Gunman shouted 'God is great' before Christmas market terror attack. [online] Mail Online Wires. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-6488043/Gunman-shouted-God-great-Christmas-market-terror-attack.html> [Accessed 12 Dec. 2019].
- 204 Tahir, T., Birchall, G., Reilly, J. and Allen, P. (2018). Strasbourg shooting - Huge manhunt for 'Islamist maniac on terror watchlist' who killed three at Christmas market before fleeing in hijacked taxi. [online] The Sun. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/7955548/strasbourg-christmas-market-shooting-islamist-killed-three/> [Accessed 12 Dec. 2018].

Table14: Television Broadcasters

Channel 4	French police have said that the gunman who shot dead two people in an attack on a Christmas market shouted “God is great” as he opened fire.	12/12/2018 19:44
BBC 1	The French anti-terrorist prosecutor said the man shouted “God is great” in Arabic,	13/12/2018 05:13
ITV Good Morning	Officers say Cherif Chekatt shouted “Allahu Akbar”, or “god is the greatest”, as he opened fire. A terror investigation is underway	Dec 13, 2018 06:08 am
BBC News Afternoon Live	“The suspect has been named as Cherif Chekatt, a 29-year-old petty criminal from Strasbourg, and prosecutors say he shouted “Allahu Akbar” or ‘God is great,’ during the attack.”	Dec 12, 2018 04:49 pm
Sky News	“a 29-year-old man with a long criminal record who shouted Allahu Akbar” “this suspected extremist who yelled as I said God is Great in Arabic during the shooting spree.”	Dec 13, 2018 03:01 pm

A similar pattern of reporting has continued as can be seen in a truck ramming incident in Limburg, Germany in October 2019. The Mail Online news site seemingly jumped the gun in ascribing a motive to the incident based on an allegation by several witnesses, which was then used to headline the story. This was taken from German publications who reported witnesses saying the ‘allegedly’ spoke ‘Allah.’²⁰⁵ However, other German publications stated that this was a detail that police could not confirm.



205 Nikolic, I. (2019). Syrian man hijacks a truck and ploughs into cars in Germany, injuring nine people before shouting 'Allah' as police probe 'terror attack'. [online] Mail Online. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7549105/Stolen-truck-crashes-cars-Germany-9-hurt.html> [Accessed 8 Oct. 2019].

206 Dickmann, S. (2019). Truck rams several cars in Limburg: “Then the truck went really well” - witnesses report. [online] <https://www.fnp.de>. Available at: <https://www.fnp.de/lokales/limburg-weilburg/limburg-terroranschlag-rammt-autos-mir-alles-weh-erlebten-zeugen-vorfall-zr-13078538.html> [Accessed 8 Oct. 2019].

Latest reports on the incident suggest that the incident in Limburg “was not about terror” and “probably due to “personal problems”,²⁰⁷ including being rejected for jobs with those who knew the alleged assailant saying he was “aggressive” person who was often “drunk.”²⁰⁸ In addition to this the Guardian also reported that the alleged perpetrator might have the typical profile shared by many who have committed similar offences as serial criminals.”²⁰⁹

Is Allahu Akbar A Relevant Detail When Determining Motive?

As seen in previous examples, such as the Leytonstone tube stabbing, the attacker’s motive could not be determined solely by his sloganeering. All subsequent evidence showed unequivocal signs of mental illness leading to the attack not being classified as terrorism. A more blatant example of the problem of ascribing motive through this medium, was the more recent attack in Sydney in August 2019 when a man stabbed two people, killing one.



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Once again, all indications showed the suspect had a history of severe mental illness. Video footage of the incident was reported to show the suspect shouting “Allahu Akbar” albeit with a somewhat indistinct pronunciation. Despite the suspect’s mental health issues and highly erratic behavior, as caught on camera, the UK media, like its Australian counterparts, focused on the terror angle with “Allahu Akbar” front and center of the coverage. News websites of The Mail Online, The Sun (See screenshots above) and The Metro headlined their coverage to feature the suspect’s shouting “Allahu Akbar”, which they later changed.³

207 Borufka, H. (2019). Nach Lkw-Attacke in Limburg: Vermieter des Amokfahrers im Visier von Polizei und Internet-Trollen. [online] hessenschau.de. Available at: <https://www.hessenschau.de/gesellschaft/nach-lkw-attacke-in-limburg-vermieter-des-amokfahrers-im-visier-von-polizei-und-internet-trollen,limburg-naturfreundehaus-100.html> [Accessed 14 Oct. 2019].

208 Blick. (2019). Terroranschlag in Limburg? Polizei sagt nach LKW-Amok Nein - Blick. [online] Available at: <https://www.blick.ch/news/ausland/syrer-32-verletzte-neun-menschen-lkw-amokfahrt-in-limburg-war-kein-terroranschlag-id15568239.html> [Accessed 16 Oct. 2019].

209 Oltermann, P. (2019). Eight injured as stolen lorry crashes into cars in Germany. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/08/eight-hurt-as-stolen-truck-crashes-into-cars-in-germany> [Accessed 8 Oct. 2019].

210 Baker, N. (2019). Man arrested after ‘knifing woman’ in Sydney before running in city with blade. [online] thesun.co.uk. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/9710046/sydney-stabbing-cbd-attack-news-latest-updates/> [Accessed 13 Aug. 2019].

211 Wilkie, K., Piotrowski, D. and Robinson, J. (2019). British men hailed as heroes for taking down Sydney knifeman. [online] Mail Online. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7351585/At-one-woman-dead-knifeman-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-goes-stabbing-spreed-Sydney.html> [Accessed 13 Aug. 2019].

212 McGowan, M., Davidson, H. and Doherty, B. (2019). One woman killed and one injured in ‘terrifying carnage’ in Sydney’s CBD. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/aug/13/sydney-stabbing-one-woman-killed-and-one-injured-in-terrifying-carnage> [Accessed 2 Oct. 2019].

213 Hartley-Parkinson, R. (2019). Sex worker dead in Sydney stabbing and woman injured in attack | Metro News. [online] Metro.co.uk. Available at: <https://metro.co.uk/2019/08/13/sydney-stabbing-attack-as-man-runs-through-cbd-shouting-allahu-akbar-10560643/> [Accessed 14 Aug. 2019]. Original Headline stated: Sydney stabbing attack as man runs through CBD shouting ‘Allahu Akbar’ as seen in the URL

Impact

The constant reference to “Allahu Akbar” in the context of terrorism has impacted media reporting and the way the phrase is reproduced. It has conflated the phrase with acts of violence and has lent an ordinary Islamic phrase a negative connotation. The Daily Mirror news website demonstrated this in its report on Tareena Shakil who was freed from jail after serving a prison sentence for joining Daesh. The Mirror’s reference to “Allah-hu Akbar” in this instance, assigns it a criminal attribute, when in fact the phrase is taught to every Muslim child and is used by Muslims possibly over a hundred times a day especially if all five obligatory prayers are observed²¹⁴



This is not an isolated occurrence. The following example from the Sunday People shows how “Allahu Akbar” has come to be associated and described as “terror cry.”²¹⁵



214 Fricker, M. and Parry, T. (2019). First British woman guilty of joining ISIS is free from jail and living in Birmingham. [online] mirror.co.uk/news. Available at: <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/first-brit-woman-guilty-joining-14001867> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019]. Original article containing error, can be accessed at <https://web.archive.org/web/20190217044629/https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/first-brit-woman-guilty-joining-14001867>

215 Gardner, A. (2019), Terror Cry in Lab Stab, in Sunday People, May 26 2019, pp.21

Creation Of Narrative

The initial coverage of events can have particular consequences as these preliminary descriptions often sets the tone of the narrative. The coverage of the attack in Sydney in August 2019 is a good example of terrorism being an easy narrative by which a more complicated story can be simplified. The emphasis given to the everyday Muslim vernacular of Allahu Akbar (See section on Religious Literacy) is, it seems, an easy hook on which this narrative can be hung. It gives initial prominence when other details may be scarce and signals the narrative of terror when constantly reiterated.

Australian blogger, Ketan Joshi, who commented on the Australian media’s coverage on the stabbing incident in Sydney, was in no doubt about this as he pointed out the dangers of “dropping hints and implications of an Islamist terror attack in the first few hours after an event as setting the narrative for the coming weeks and days.”²¹⁶

Clarke Jones of the Australian National University’s School of Psychology, also suggested this following the Sydney attacks:

“For people trying to explain it, [terrorism] is a comfortable fit for them. They want to box it into a particular explanation or particular corner,” he said. “The way the media has rallied around this incident in particular shows a desire to turn it into a terrorism event, and I think that is very unhelpful.”²¹⁷

A free media is privileged to define the world and events within it on its own terms. Yet in failing to report on both the extent of the threat of the white supremacist threat and generating a narrative which has effectively made terrorism the preserve of one community, it does a disservice to its audience as well as the truth. The lack of consistency in coverage of the various strains of terrorism highlights how these diverging narratives take shape and the broader consequences of such coverage.

Propaganda For White Supremacists

An obvious and prevalent danger of emphasizing certain information, and thus fomenting a narrative, is the propaganda value it provides for an established network of white supremacists who feed off the initial reporting.²¹⁸

A study published by Australia’s Victoria University, and cited as a “world first” by Australia’s The Saturday Paper, reveals Muslims and Islam to be amongst the most discussed topics on far right propaganda websites. It further shows how mainstream news outlets were the top sources of content being shared in these groups with the Daily Mail Australia news website cited as the number one source.²¹⁹

216 Joshi, K. (2019). Twitter. [online] Twitter.com. Available at: <https://twitter.com/KetanJ0/status/1161174046597361665> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].

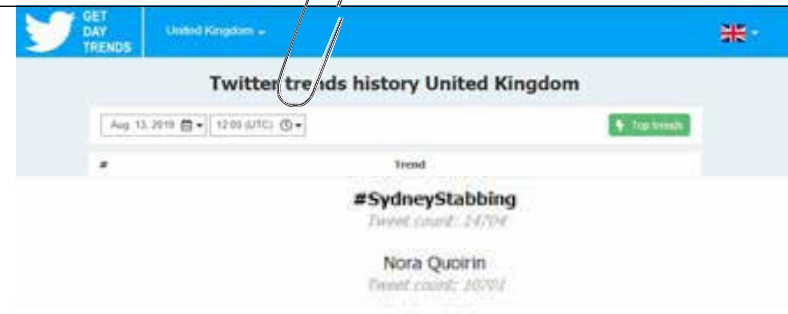
217 Napier-Raman, K. (2019). Mental health, Arabic phrases and the challenge of the lone-wolf killer. [online] Crikey. Available at: <https://www.crikey.com.au/2019/08/15/mert-ney-sydney-stabbing/> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].

218 Watson, P. (2019). Twitter. [online] Twitter.com. Available at: <https://twitter.com/ProsinPlanet/status/1161674461629898752> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].

219 Morton, R. (2019). Murdoch media fuels far-right recruitment. [online] The Saturday Paper. Available at: <https://www.thesaturdaypaper.com.au/news/politics/2019/08/10/murdoch-media-fuels-far-right-recruitment/15653592008581> [Accessed 19 Aug. 2019].

Again, the attack in Sydney is a case in point. UK Twitter trends on the morning of 13 August showed “Allahu Akbar” among the top ten trending themes in tandem with #SydneyStabbing.²²⁰

Almost all of these tweets about the attack in Sydney were fueled in part by the prominence given to the term in headlines. Adding fuel to the fire were known white supremacist agitators, including Katie Hopkins and Paul Watson.



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The shouting of “Allahu Akbar” by terrorists at the time of an attack is sometimes a detail that is verified and from a reporting perspective important in providing a possible indication of motivation for the terrorist’s actions however misinformed he/she maybe in respect to religion. Given the contention between reporting fact and detail and the danger of misrepresenting everyday Muslim vernacular one of the ways this phrase can be reported with greater accuracy is through contextualisation.

A particularly outstanding example is seen here in Sean O’Neil’s reporting in the Times which explains how “Allahu Akbar” has been “appropriated” by terrorists as a “war-cry.”²²²

220 getdaytrends. (2019). *Twitter trends history United Kingdom* | Aug. 13, 2019 12:00 (UTC). [online] Available at: <https://getdaytrends.com/united-kingdom/2019-08-13/12/> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].

221 Hopkins, K. (2019). *Twitter*. [online] Twitter.com. Available at: <https://twitter.com/KTHopkins/status/1161281503785078785> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].

222 O’Neill, S. (2020). Prisons are breeding a new wave of terrorists. [online] Available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/prisons-are-breeding-a-new-wave-of-terrorists-zl6smng9w> [Accessed 7 Feb. 2020].

Tawheed

Tawheed, which refers to the belief in the oneness of God, is the essence of Islam and constitutes a matter of personal faith. It is the first, fundamental pillar of faith and servitude to God. Muslims exemplify this belief in a number of different ways including with the raising of the index finger in prayer when testifying to there being only one God. However, the raising of the index finger has now become a propaganda symbol for organisations like Daesh who have instrumentalised this to denote an ulterior meaning.

A recent example of the media’s religious illiteracy surrounding “tawheed” was Stacey Dooley’s reference to it as “an IS salute” in a Panorama documentary about so-called “IS Brides” in Syria. Media commentators and journalists themselves were quick to point out the absurdity of describing a practice performed by millions of Muslims when testifying to the oneness of God as the “salute” of terrorists.



The BBC moved quickly following complaints and removed this reference from the broadcast, but not before it had already been reported in the highest profile news programmes on the eve of the broadcast, when promoting the documentary. The issue was also widely reported across mainstream newspapers. However, the focus was more on the embarrassing gaffe by the BBC than on the nefarious linking of an Islamic practice with Daesh terrorists. Nevertheless, while exposing religious illiteracy in the media, the incident provides a strong example of how journalism can correct itself when better informed by authoritative voices and independent research.

223 News at Ten (2019): Stacey Dooley Meets the IS Brides, BBC News at 10 (BBC1), 05 Aug 2019 [TV programme]



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This is not the first time that sections of the media have, on occasions, associated normative religious obligations and practices with extremism. In a BBC Breakfast interview, author and investigative journalist Anne Seierstad discussed her latest book detailing the radicalisation and eventual absconding of two Norwegian girls to Daesh. When discussing their radicalisation, Seierstad described the girls praying five times a day as a sign of radicalisation.²²⁷ The presenters failed to challenge or probe the assertion given that praying five times a day is an Islamic obligation and the everyday practice of observant Muslims as opposed to a sign of radicalisation.

The insinuation that performance of normative practice by Muslims entails radicalisation is also found when discussing issues of belief and faith. In an article on young people in Turkey supposedly rejecting Islam, the author describes one of the subjects as having been a radical believer of Islam.²²⁸ This followed the anonymous subject saying how "Until recently, I would not even shake hands with men." This normative practice of avoiding direct physical contact with non-family members of the opposite sex is followed by many Muslim men and women.,

224 White, J. (2019). Stacey's Islam gaffe. Daily Mail, August 06 2019, pp.5.

225 Jefferies, M. (2019). Beeb Sorry after Stacey says prayer gesture is 'ISIS Salute', August 06 2019, *Daily Mirror*, pp.19.

226 Moore, M. (2019). BBC cuts Panorama after Islam mistake, August 06 2019 *The Times*, pp.19

227 *BBC Breakfast* (2019): Interview with Anne Seierstad, BBC One (BBC1), 19 March 2019 [TV programme]

228 Girit, S. (2018). *Losing their religion: The young Turks rejecting Islam*. [online] BBC News. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-43981745> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

Daesh As So-Called "Islamic State"

Another example of the media inadvertently propagating a basic and negative stereotype of Islam and particularly the word "Islamic" is in reference to Daesh as "Islamic State." Many media outlets argue they use it because Daesh refer to themselves as such in English. However, the reference to the organization as "Islamic State" is inconsistent with the approach taken with the reporting of other terror organisations.

Al Qaeda, for example, has rarely, if ever been referred to as "The Base." The Taliban were never known as "The Students" and similarly, Hizbullah is not translated as the "Party of God." Yet ad-Dawlah al-Islāmiyyah has constantly been referred to as "Islamic State." This misnomer is interesting especially considering this description legitimises the group as some sort of authentic movement and within the core Islamic tradition. Among other monikers given to describe Daesh is as "Sunni Arab Muslim force."²²⁹ And yet as BBC correspondent Paul Wood writing in the *Spectator* argued powerfully and convincingly;

"The majority of the Sunni population it ruled over were revolted by its brutal theatricality: throwing gays from rooftops, stoning 'fallen' women, beheading apostates — apostasy being whatever Isis said it was."²³⁰

This, coupled with the outright rejection by Sunni jurists, scholars, populations and experts in the history of Islamic tradition, should have been sufficient to preclude the use of "Islamic State." One example of this is the treatise "Refuting ISIS", published by Syrian Sunni scholar Shaykh Muhammad al-Yacoubi, as well as 70,000 Indian clerics who signed a fatwa against Daesh and other terrorist groups clarifying that these were not "Islamic organisations."²³¹

A similar pattern is also observed when referring to the anti-Assad group Jaysh al-Islam which when translated into English is more blatant in its association of violence with Islam, "Army of Islam". A search of online news pieces shows that the group was referred to as "Jaish al-Islam" or "Jaysh al-Islam" a total of 10 times. The moniker "Army of Islam" was referenced in 86 different pieces.²³²

The casting of the former leader of Daesh, Abu Bakr Al Baghdadi, as a religious authority has been a constant theme in mainstream media output. On the announcement by President Trump that US forces had killed the former leader of the terrorist group, six online news pieces as well as three obituaries and op-eds in three tabloids mentioned Baghdadi and his claims of being a religious scholar and claiming descent from the Prophet Muhammad. See Appendix E for an extensive list of articles.

The link implied, if not explicitly stated, is that if ISIS does not represent the majority of Muslims, there still remains an unfettered link between its so-called Caliphate and the authority of the Prophet. Some commentators have been more explicit in attempting

229 Burke, J. (2017). *Rise and fall of Isis: its dream of a caliphate is over, so what now?*. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/21/isis-caliphate-islamic-state-raqqa-iraq-islamist> [Accessed 2 Nov. 2019]

230 Wood, P. (2019). 'The Islamic State will never die: their territory is gone but the jihadis are always with us' | *The Spectator*. [online] The Spectator. Available at: <https://www.spectator.co.uk/2019/03/the-islamic-state-will-never-die/> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].

231 Göran, L. (2017) Apostasy and Counter-narratives—Two Sides of the Same Coin: The Example of the Islamic State, *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, 15:2, 45-54, DOI: 10.1080/15570274.2017.1329397 [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].

232 Search on Meltwater platform: "Jaish al Islam" AND "Jaysh al-Islam"

to promote this narrative as seen in Anne Widdecombe's column published in the Daily Express where she writes:

"In more than 1,400 years since Islam began these terrorists have not progressed an inch in anything except technology. They are as savage as their furthest ancestors, as lacking in humanity as wild beasts, unable to appreciate literature, music, art or love."²³³

Yet as Hisham Hellyer had to point out as far back as 2015, a study of Islamic history as well as the complex systems of religious authority and outright rejection of scholars from across Sunni and Shia traditions, gives little or no room for claims of the credentials of ISIS to be from within the Prophetic or valid Islamic tradition.²³⁴

Hellyer further alludes to the inflated credentials of figures like Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi given that he held nothing more than a religious studies degree from a substandard university set up by Saddam Hussein's regime.²³⁵ Yet, despite these clarifications by Hellyer and other experts, some online news sites, in particular, continue to inflate the credentials of terrorist masterminds and leaders in order to present them as bona fide religious authorities. The latest example comes in the Sun which talks about Daesh's latest leaders 'Amir Mohammed Abdul Rahman al-Mawli al-Salbi', as an Islamic Scholar despite him having no more than a university degree in Sharia which does not qualify one as an Islamic scholar.²³⁶

Historical Revisionism

Another example of religious illiteracy was seen in the misinterpretation of the Arabic name Jerah which was given by London schoolgirl Shamima Begum, who fled to Syria, to her newborn son. There were three main issues with this story.

- The first was there was no evidence that she named her third child after a historical figure but rather her comments in an interview seemed to indicate that she had named her son after her first-born son who died.
- The second and more problematic point concerns the actual meaning of the name Jerah
- The third relates to historical figures who carried that name.

In Arabic, the meaning of Jerah most commonly translates as surgeon or one who heals.²³⁷ As the name of Begum's son emerged, the historian, Tom Holland, tweeted

²³³ Widdecombe, A. (2019). *No soft option in the fight against terror, says ANN WIDDECOMBE*. [online] Express.co.uk. Available at: <https://www.express.co.uk/comment/columnists/ann-widdecombe/1090036/jihadi-bride-fight-terror-no-soft-option-shamima-begum-comment> [Accessed 20 Feb. 2019].

²³⁴ Hellyer, H. (2015). This stupidity needs to end: Why the Atlantic & NY Post are clueless about Islam. [online] Salon. Available at: https://www.salon.com/2015/02/20/this_stupidity_needs_to_end_why_the_atlantic_ny_post_are_clueless_about_islam/ [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

²³⁵ Hellyer, H. (2019). The Conditions That Created ISIS Still Exist. [online] Foreign Policy. Available at: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/10/28/conditions-created-isis-still-exist-middle-east-authoritarianism/> [Accessed 5 Feb. 2020]

²³⁶ Coyle, M. (2020). ISIS vows to attack Israeli settlements and orders militants to begin targeting Jews. [online] The Sun. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10833868/isis-vows-to-attack-israeli-settlements/> [Accessed 7 Feb. 2020].

²³⁷ Lane, E. (1863). Jarrah. In: *Arabic-English Lexicon*. [online] London: Willams & Norgate, pp.400. Available at: <http://www.tyndalearchive.com/TABS/Lane//> [Accessed 21 Feb. 2019] AND Hava, J. (1899). Jarrah. In: *Arabic-English dictionary for the use of students*. [online] Beirut: Beyrut, Catholic Press, p.91. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/arabicenglishdic00hava/page/n8> [Accessed 21 Feb. 2019].

that she had named him Jerah in honour of **"7th Century Muslim warlord."**²³⁸

One of Holland's previous contributions, on the origins of Daesh, was debunked for its **"selective facts"** and **"misleading implications"**.²³⁹ His interpretation of Jerah was also rebuked by the Cambridge scholar Michael Mumisa, who called it **"historical misunderstanding"** of the lives of key figures in Arabic sources:²⁴⁰

"It appears that Mr Holland is not aware that if Ms Begum wanted to name her child after 'Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah' she'd not have named him Jarrah but Abu Ubayda or 'Āmir [Ibn 'Abdullāh]. Al-Jarrāh is actually Abū 'Ubayda's grandfather. In addition, the idea that Abu Ubaidah was "famed for beating the crap out of infidels" is an ahistorical misunderstanding of the lives and contexts of key figures in Arabic sources."

Despite Shamima Begum herself stating that the name of her baby was a tribute to her deceased first born as well as qualified experts in Islamic history and linguistics **dismissing the revisionist narrative, newspapers and online sites continued to publish the claims.**

Among them were The Daily Mirror (which later changed its copy), The Mail Online, The Daily Express, The Daily Star, The Sun and The Daily Telegraph. Some of these reports continually advanced the revisionist view at the expense of more qualified interpretations of the Arabic language and figures in Islamic history with the Mail Online doing so on four separate occasions without qualifying that Tom Holland's view was widely rejected.

The Daily Express news website advanced the argument that the historical figure being referenced, namely Abu Ubaid ibn Jarrah, was **chiefly responsible for the massacre of Jews"** whilst The Sun chose to quote verbatim from the social media thread of an anti-Muslim commentator who keenly promoted the mistruth. For further examples of coverage of the Shamima Begum story see Appendix D.

²³⁸ Holland, T. (2019). *Twitter*. [online] Twitter.com. Available at: https://twitter.com/holland_tom/status/1097260078426673153 [Accessed 18 Feb. 2019].

²³⁹ Osborne, P. (2019). No, Channel 4, Islam is not responsible for Islamic State. [online] Middle East Eye. Available at: <https://www.middleeasteye.net/big-story/no-channel-4-islam-not-responsible-islamic-state> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

²⁴⁰ Mumisa Michael, personal communication, 22 February 2019



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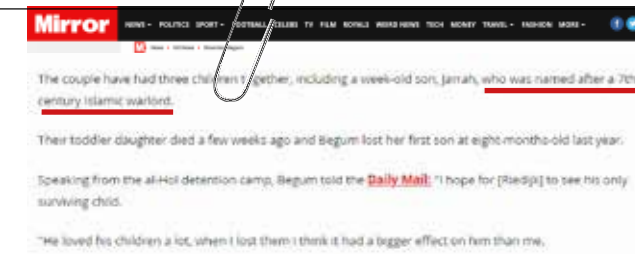


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The Mirror, The Express and The Sun subsequently revised some of their coverage after CfMM presented them with evidence, both in terms of the mistranslation of the name Jarrah as well as the false narrative advanced. The Mirror removed the reference to a "7th century Islamic warlord."

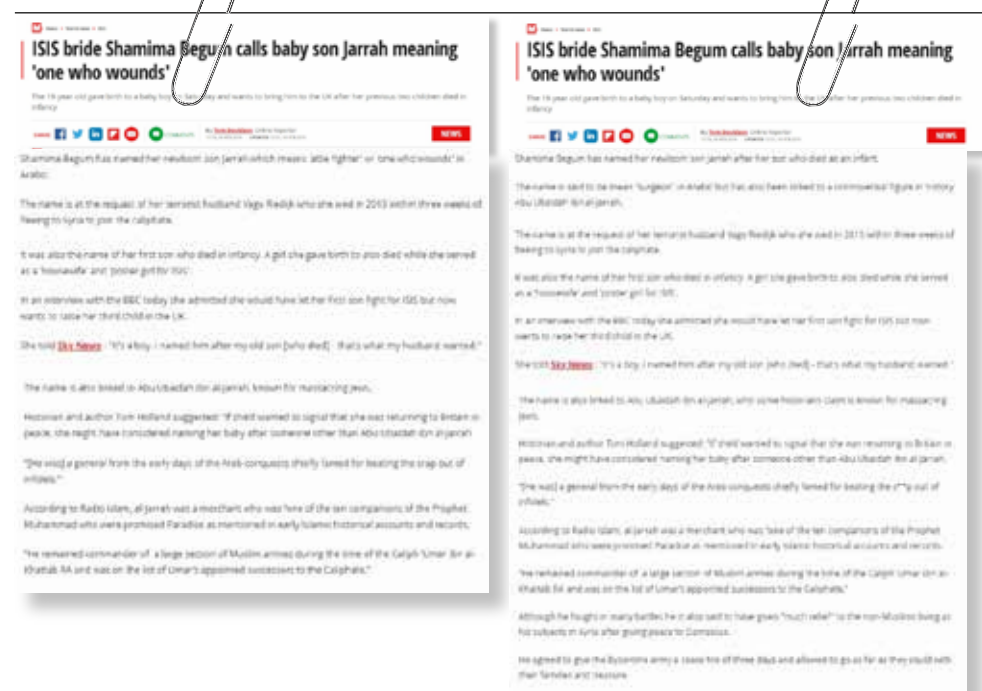
Before



After



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- 241 O'Callaghan, L. (2019). *Shamima Begum: ISIS bride names baby son 'after Islamic warlord who massacred infidels.'* [online] Express.co.uk. Available at: <https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/1089070/shamima-begum-isis-bride-syria-names-son-jarah-islamic-warlord> [Accessed 20 Feb. 2019].
- 242 White, D., Christie, S. and Burrows, T. (2019). *ISIS bride Shamima Begum names baby son Jarrah 'after historic jihadi warlord' at request of her terrorist husband.* [online] thesun.co.uk. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8450050/shamima-begum-isis-named-baby-jarrah-husband/> [Accessed 20 Feb. 2019].
- 243 Vance, D. (2019). *Twitter.* [online] Twitter.com. Available at: <https://twitter.com/DVATW/status/1097207956821676032> [Accessed 20 Feb. 2019].

- 244 Kitching, C. (2019). *ISIS bride Shamima Begum still loves terrorist husband and 'will wait for him'.* [online] mirror. Available at: <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/isis-bride-shamima-begum-still-14049299> [Accessed 2 Oct. 2019], earlier version can be found at <https://web.archive.org/web/20190228135924/https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/isis-bride-shamima-begum-still-14049299>

As has been demonstrated, terminology has, through ignorance or deliberate framing, been misrepresented to associate the everyday religious terms with violence and terrorism. The extent of this trend has seen the popularisation of revisionist ideas and a twisting of Islamic history to contrive a narrative that is consistent with modern trends; thus, laying the blame of terrorism at the door of Islam and at prominent figures in Islamic history. Yet, what these misrepresentations have in common is the wilful neglect of orthodox interpretations, practices and scholars in favour of those promoting a more sensationalist spin, and whose 'scholarship' has been discredited by mainstream academics and historians.

Recommendations

- Avoid headlining the term "Allahu Akbar" as shorthand for a terrorist attack.
- If a narrative is created and subsequent information proves many of the pre-empted details to be untrue or inaccurate, media organisations should clarify and amend earlier mistakes
- Do not refer to Daesh as "Islamic State". Either use their full name ad-Dawlah-al-Islāmiyyah or Daesh or "so-called Islamic State" or ISIS.
- Greater efforts should be made to present religious narratives accurately and in line with normative academic and religious scholarly works.
- If a narrative is created and subsequent information proves many of the pre-empted details to be untrue or inaccurate, media organisations should clarify and amend earlier mistakes

Oxygen of Publicity

Research by academics and others has shown that there may be a strong case for limiting the airtime and oxygen given to terrorists in the media. The work of Australian academic, Michael Jetter, has shown that there is a causal affect between the extent of reporting on terrorist incidents and further attacks committed by terrorist groups.²⁴⁵ Terrorist attacks by definition are newsworthy, given their relative improbability in comparison to other forms of national catastrophes, tragedies or mass crimes. However, the coverage becomes concerning when it is skewed and sensationalised.

In 2016, the then US Secretary of State, John Kerry, during a visit to Bangladesh stated, that the media could 'do us all a service if they didn't cover terrorism quite as much.' For some, Kerry's words smacked of a politician wishing to perhaps limit the inevitable scrutiny faced by authorities during such tragedies. But, his comments also allude to the oxygen of publicity this gives terrorist organisations and individuals. The decision by the French newspapers, Le Monde and Le Croix, to stop publishing photos and names of terrorists can be said by some to be a current gold standard of what Margaret Thatcher described as 'starving the terrorist and the hijacker the oxygen of publicity on which they depend.' CNN's reporter, Anderson Cooper, also followed a similar line when he refused to broadcast the Orlando perpetrator's photograph or name.²⁴⁷

Almost all participants at the CfMM roundtable were perplexed by such an approach by media organisations or individual journalists, choosing instead to echo the views of former editor turned media commentator, Roy Greenslade,

²⁴⁵ Jetter, M (2017) Terrorism and the Media: The Effect of US Television Coverage on Al-Qaeda Attacks. IZA Discussion Paper No. 10708. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2960517>, [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].

²⁴⁶ Nypost.com. (2019). *John Kerry's new 'fix' for terror: denial*. [online] Available at: <https://nypost.com/2016/08/30/john-kerrys-new-fix-for-terror-denial/> [Accessed 01 Aug. 2019].

²⁴⁷ Wemple, E. (2019). *CNN's Anderson Cooper, too, has baffling shooter-naming policies*. [online] Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/erik-wemple/wp/2015/12/08/cnns-anderson-cooper-too-has-baffling-shooter-naming-policies/> [Accessed 2 Aug. 2019].

who wrote of the consequence of such an approach both in terms of self-censorship and the potential rumour mill which such withholding of information would elicit.²⁴⁸

The roundtable responses as well as survey findings from journalists in the US on the reporting of “mass shootings” indicates that traditional libertarian journalistic ideas are still prevalent regarding coverage of terrorism – namely that the duty is to report without withholding any information, thus allowing citizens to make responsible and informed choices.²⁴⁹

However, one example which shows how terrorists can use the media for their own propaganda purposes was clearly seen in the Christchurch terrorist incident, when video footage of the attack was shown and shared on social media and newspapers in the UK published segments of the terrorist’s manifesto, before removing them.

Brenton Tarrant harnessed the power of social media to livestream the massacre and enhance his notoriety worldwide. Despite New Zealand police urging the public not to share the footage, The Mail, The Sun and The Mirror all ran excerpts of the video online. The Mail Online also hosted and enabled the download of the attacker’s 84-page manifesto as a PDF. The manifesto remained on the Mail Online website for several hours before it was removed later in the afternoon.

Even though all three publications removed the videos that same morning, Tarrant’s intention, to propagate his hateful views, was blindly served. Social media activists Stop Funding Hate, told the Drum:

“It’s astonishing that any newspaper would think it appropriate to share this appalling video. But so long as publishing hateful and extremist content remains profitable, there will always be a risk that brands will find themselves aligned with this kind of material.”²⁵⁰

248 Greenslade, R. (2019). *Why we should publish the photographs of Isis terrorists*. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2016/aug/01/why-we-should-publish-the-photographs-of-isis-terrorists> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019].

249 Dahmen, N., Abdenour, J. and McIntyre, K. (2019). Journalists’ Perceptions of Mass Shooting Coverage and Factors Influencing Those Perceptions. *Journalism Practice*, 13(8), pp.895-900.

250 McCarthy, J. (2019). UK tabloids facing moral & brand safety questions over Christchurch terror video. [online] The Drum. Available at: <https://www.thedrum.com/news/2019/03/15/uk-tabloids-facing-moral-brand-safety-questions-over-christchurch-terror-video> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

The campaign group, Hacked Off, estimates that over 1 million people possibly viewed the video.²⁵¹ Neil Basu, the senior National Coordinator for Counterterrorism Policing in the United Kingdom, criticised the actions of the publishers stating:

“A piece of extremist propaganda might reach tens of thousands of people naturally through their own channels or networks, but the moment a national newspaper publishes it in full then it has a potential reach of tens of millions. We must recognise this as harmful to our society and security.”²⁵²

Basu’s view chimes with academics who have increasingly recognised the way in which “violence saturates our lives”, and the role the media has played in making this the norm. Farish Noor in reference to Daesh says that the group is tapping into the sensibilities of the present digital and social media generation by offering a form of “death pornography.”²⁵³ Online news outlets which published the latest Daesh propaganda, including graphic illustrations, were clearly designed to provoke fear and revulsion.

The Copycat Phenomenon

Research from the University of Kent in reference to vehicle rammings, (Nice in July 2016, Finsbury Park 2017 and Charlottesville 2017), demonstrates the “mimetic quality of some forms of violence” when given news and social media exposure. This, in turn creates, a momentum that leads to people with different beliefs and motives to repeat the act.²⁵⁴ Alexander Spencer in his paper “Terrorism and the Media” definitively concludes that terrorism needs the media but illustrates the impracticalities of preventing media from reporting on terrorism to cure the symbiotic relationship.²⁵⁵ Yet, if reporting on terrorist atrocities and major events is a necessary and absolute duty of media outlets, then the same cannot be said for the de facto dissemination of terrorist propaganda.

251 Hacked Off (2019). Inflection Point: Christchurch When social media platforms became publishers of extremism and news websites became amplifiers of hatred. [online] Hacked Off. Available at: <https://hackinginquiry.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/inflection-point.pdf> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019]; “The question of how many individuals watched the footage as a result of their being hosted on these websites can only be answered by the newspaper websites responsible. But given the statistics on reach that are available, and the possibility that these videos were published for up to three hours which are typically a high traffic period (9am – 12pm), it is likely that the actions of these publishers brought the edited footage to over a million people. We have written to the newspapers in question about how long the videos were available for, but (as of 2 May 2019) we have not received a response.”

252 Basu, N. (2019). Head of Counter Terrorism Policing issues open letter about reporting of terrorism. [online] National Police Chiefs’ Council (NPCC). Available at: <https://news.npcc.police.uk/releases/head-of-counter-terrorism-policing-issues-open-letter-about-reporting-of-terrorism> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].

253 Cherian G. interviewing Farish N. (2015) Islamic radicalisation: Questioning the security lens, *Media Asia*, 42:1-2, 5-20, DOI: 10.1080/01296612.2015.1072330, [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].

254 Miller, V, Hayward, K.J. (2019) ‘I Did My Bit’: Terrorism, Tarde and the Vehicle Ramming Attack as an Imitative Event, *The British Journal of Criminology*, Volume 59, Issue 1, January 2019, Pages 1–23, <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azy017>, [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].

255 Spencer, A. (2012). *Terrorism and the Media. Lessons Learnt*. [online] Swindon: Arts and Humanities Research Council, pp.21. Available at: <https://ahrc.ukri.org/documents/project-reports-and-reviews/ahrc-public-policy-series/terrorism-and-the-media/> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019].

The most recent example of such behaviour was seen in a Sky News report on the death of Abu-Bakr Al Baghdadi in October 2019. A profile piece on Baghdadi translated and broadcasted his call for Daesh to continue;

"The battle of Islam, and with the people of the Cross and its people, is long. The battle of Baghouz has ended and in it the barbarity and savagery of the nation of the cross towards the Ummah of Islam was clear."²⁵⁶

This was followed by images of Baghdadi sitting on the pulpit of Mosul's famous mosque with the call to pray (Adhaan) echoing in the background.



Two major British tabloids have seemingly adopted a strategy, most likely driven by the desire and need for clicks and views, when publishing the latest proclamations of major terrorist organisations, particularly Daesh. Since December 2018 The Sun's online news site has published at least seven articles detailing the latest announcement from Daesh, including images of the latest graphic posters made by the group's propagandists.²⁵⁷ The risk to these online publications of reprinting such material is to inadvertently act as a de facto press agency for the group.

²⁵⁶ Haynes, D. (2019) Death of Baghdadi, Sky News (SKYN), 27 October 2019 [TV programme].

²⁵⁷ Search on Meltwater platform: Nov 2018 - Nov 2019: "ISIS"



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But such blatant publishing of terrorist copy is not the only way news sites risk becoming a platform that propagates the views of terrorist groups. The extent to which the media can become an inadvertent propaganda tool is seen most strikingly

²⁵⁸ Kindred, A. (2019). ISIS threatens to blow up Big Ben in chilling new poster showing Houses of Parliament in flames. [online] The Sun. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/9490183/isis-big-ben-houses-of-parliament-flames/> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019].

²⁵⁹ Sticklings, T. (2019). ISIS supporters threaten fresh attacks on the West in chilling posters. [online] Mail Online. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7304997/ISIS-supporters-threaten-fresh-attacks-West-chilling-posters.html> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019].

²⁶⁰ Hodge, M. and Lockett, J. (2019). Chilling map of ISIS' worldwide network proves fanatics AREN'T finished. [online] The Sun. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8922071/isis-map-worldwide-network-burkina-faso/> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019].

²⁶¹ Bayliss, C. (2018). Al-Qaeda leader calls on Muslims to carry out more terror attacks. [online] Mail Online. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6158459/Al-Qaeda-leader-calls-Muslims-carry-terror-attacks.html> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019].

across the United States, where since the 9/11 attacks, Al-Qaeda has received more news coverage on US television than China and Russia combined.²⁶² The former Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation, Lord David Anderson QC also commented on the disproportionate coverage of terrorism in the news and the reason behind this. He says,

“We have allowed ourselves to be persuaded that terrorism is a threat of a uniquely serious kind, at home as well as abroad. How did that come to be? The answer, I’m afraid, is that Islamist terrorism in particular has punched well above its weight. And we have helped it to do so, in part by failing to understand its purpose.”²⁶³

The effective use of international media by terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda has been acknowledged by, among others, the Rand Corporation in the United States.²⁶⁴ Bin-Laden’s own statements pre 9/11 suggests this was a deliberate tactic as he told CNN reporter Peter Arnett in 1997 when asked about his future plans, **“You’ll see them and hear about them in the media, God willing.”²⁶⁵**

The journalist Jean-Paul Marthoz raises a further interesting observation when looking at the problem of media complicity in terrorists’ messages when discussing the use of imagery. Should a newspaper print an image showing a white supremacist making a Nazi salute, as in the case of Anders Breivik, or any similar image which aids a terrorist group such as Daesh? The image showing Breivik was published on the Independent Online news site, which made the image the focus of a story.



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262 Jetter, M. (2017). Terrorism and the Media: The Effect of US Television Coverage on Al-Qaeda Attacks. Discussion Paper Series. [online] Bonn, Germany: Institute of Labor Economics, pp.5. Available at: <http://ftp.iza.org/dp10708.pdf> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019].

263 Anderson, D. (2019), Essex University Annual Journalism Lecture, 11-Feb-2019: As a result of so-called Islamist’ inspired attacks since the September 11th 2001

264 Rabasa, A, Chalk, P, Cragin, K, Sara A. Daly, Heather S. Gregg, Theodore W. Karasik, Kevin A. O’Brien, William Rosenau (2006), Al-Qaeda’s Ideology and Propaganda,” from “Beyond al-Qaeda: Part 1, The Global Jihadist Movement, (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 2006), pp.19: al-Qaeda has made excellent use of the media to spread its propaganda

265 Bergen, P. (2017). Today’s terrorism didn’t start with 9/11 -- it started with the ‘90s. [online] CNN. Available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/08/02/opinions/nineties-terrorism-bergen/index.html> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019]

266 Khan, S. (2017). Mass murderer Anders Breivik gives Nazi salute in court appearance. [online] The Independent. Available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/anders-breivik-norway-mass-murderer-gunman-neo-nazi-salute-white-supremacist-utoya-island-2011-a7519491.html> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

Marthoz suggests;

“that such a step in exposing an abhorrent ideology by a left of liberal news site with readers whose views are far removed from those of Nazi and Far right sympathisers can have the potential effect of exposing such an individual to views that are abhorrent to them. Yet the unintended consequences of a more right leaning paper publishing such a picture can inadvertently, through the sympathies of some of its readership, present the terrorist in this case with a propaganda coup. Newspapers would no doubt argue that the spectacle of Breivik offering a Nazi salute during his trial was newsworthy in itself, demonstrating his political disposition and ideological sympathies. Furthermore, newspapers would undoubtedly trust in the discernment of their readers in correctly identifying the symbol and its relation to the subject of the article.”²⁶⁷

The image showing the infamous British citizen (nicknamed ‘Jihadi John’) posing with journalist David Haines, was published in a Mail Online article which was not the only news site or newspaper to have printed the image. Several issues arise from such a harrowing image, firstly the question of sensitivity afforded to the victim and the respective families. Secondly, the propaganda value of such an image for Daesh which seeks to project power and fear beyond its capabilities. Thirdly, the added aim of gaining new recruits.



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This was a point emphasised by veteran war correspondent, Marc Marginedas, who was abducted by Daesh in August of 2013 on the outskirts of the western city of Hama before being transferred to a jail on the outskirts of Aleppo.²⁶⁹ He shared a cell

267 Marthoz, M. (2019) Understanding the Media reporting of Terrorism a community perspective workshop held at Finsbury Park Mosque, 22 Oct 2019

268 Webb, S. (2014). Junkie Jihadi John? Expert claims slurred speech of ISIS executioner in beheading video of Brit hostage David Haines could have been down to drugs. [online] Mail Online. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2760354/Junkie-Jihadi-John-Expert-claims-slurred-speech-ISIS-executioner-beheading-video-Brit-hostage-David-Haines-drugs.html> [Accessed 4 Sep. 2019].

269 Marginedas, M. (2019) Understanding the Media reporting of Terrorism a community perspective workshop held at Finsbury Park Mosque, 22 Oct 2019

with 19 other Western prisoners, including prominent victims of the group of four British terrorists, nicknamed the “Beatles” by British media outlets. On his release in March 2014, Marginedas revealed that Western media outlets had aided the Daesh propaganda machine by assuming narratives which were in the interest of Daesh.” Three incidents in particular which demonstrate this point are summarised here;

- The publishing of images showing James Foley in camouflage was a Daesh aim to present the conspiracy that the victim was a soldier.
- The harrowing footage of a Jordanian pilot in a cage surrounded by fire was recorded in January 2013 a month previous to the actual publishing of the video. Daesh coincided this release whilst facing major losses in Kobane again, to project an image of power and thus help with recruitment.
- Footage showing the kidnapping and beheading of 21 Egyptian Coptic Christians on a Libyan beach in February 2015 was done to invoke fear and deliberately locate themselves as geographically close as possible to Christian Europe and the Vatican to provoke a retaliation.

What these examples show is that despite the best intentions of journalists and news outlets, the increasing sophistication of terrorist groups can leave the media playing catch-up as well as inadvertently facilitating the aims of the former.

Properly exposing and reporting on terrorist messages is among the most difficult challenges journalists face. Reporting accurately and factually in the aftermath of a terror attack inevitably involves terror groups getting a portion of the global klaxon they desire. Yet, reproducing warnings from Daesh or Al Qaeda can at times make news outlets de-facto press agencies which should be avoided.

The media’s dissemination of terrorist propaganda adds to the growing and dangerous list of ways in which the mainstream media copes with the challenge of social media and the battle for eyeballs and advertising revenue. The perennial challenge of ethics keeping pace with fast-moving technology, and the expectation of instant “gratification”, is a constant dilemma.

In light of these challenges, journalists should ask themselves the question: what does a terrorist group or terrorist aim to achieve by committing a certain act, or through a certain publication? If it can be reasonably established that the information contradicts the facts or that it could prove useful fodder for the terrorist’s ambition, then it can and should be avoided.

Newsrooms and journalists have a duty to consider the way a terrorist attack is reported and whether this can and does help terrorist organisations achieve their ultimate goals?

Reporters and editors at the CfMM roundtable on terrorism were asked if journalists have a duty to consider whether the way a terrorist attack is reported, might help achieve the goals of the terrorist? Over half responded with ‘Yes’. The rest opted for a less definitive answer of ‘It’s complicated.’ Notably none of the participants said ‘No’, which clearly suggests that reporters are grappling with the potential negative externality of reporting terrorism.

Recommendation

- Avoid using images or republishing material which terrorists would want widely disseminated.

Christchurch

On 15 March 2019, when Brenton Tarrant shot 51 Muslim worshippers attending Friday prayers, he brought the world's attention to the scale and severity of terrorism committed by individuals inspired by white supremacist ideas. His inspiration and alliances were drawn from white terrorists' attacks in Norway, the United States, Italy, Sweden and Europe. This was exposed in his extensive manifesto, which he posted online and distributed in advance to media outlets and to New Zealand Prime Minister, Jacinda Ardern's office.

Christchurch was the deadliest shooting in modern New Zealand history and helped to expose the global nature of white supremacism. It had its roots in the attacks by Anders Behring Breivik who killed 77 people by detonating a bomb in Oslo before shooting dead 69 participants of a Workers' Youth League (AUF) summer camp on the island of Utøya, in July 2011.

Canadian national Alexandre Bissonette, who shot dead six Muslim worshippers in a Mosque in Quebec, was another person who Tarrant claimed inspiration from. Bissonette in turn was partly inspired by Dylann Roof, the man who killed nine African-American worshippers in a church in Charleston in 2015.

These terror attacks show the existence of and violent threat posed by a global, transnational online community which espouses and incites violence against Muslims and immigrants. The scale and severity of Christchurch has shifted the conversation on terrorism, exposing the far right as a much greater threat than has previously been considered, despite warnings over the years about the growing dangers of far right groups and organisations as well as their online activities.

270 Page, J. (2018). Quebec City mosque shooter obsessed with mass murderers since adolescence | CBC News. [online] CBC. Available at: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/quebec-city-mosque-shooting-bissonette-sentencing-1.4621689> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019]., "Bissonette seemed particularly interested in Dylann Roof, a white supremacist who killed nine churchgoers inside a church in South Carolina, searching for references to the mass murderer 201 times during that month."

The coverage of Christchurch reveals, on the one hand, inconsistencies amid the refusal to recognise Tarrant as symptomatic on a wider societal level. It also reveals an attempt to seek causation in Daesh inspired terrorism while deflecting responsibility to shockingly point a finger of blame at Muslims. However, on the other hand, Christchurch also marks the beginning of self-reflection in the media of how to report on terrorism and the realisation that the far right and white supremacists are a significant and a growing threat. This shift was catalysed by the decision of New Zealand's Prime Minister, Jacinda Arden, to publicly label it as a terrorist attack just six hours after the shootings at the first Mosque.

Print And Online Coverage

The Daily Mirror's coverage of the Christchurch terror attacks included what the paper described as Tarrant's "crazed rhetoric", "twisted obsession" and "chilling" threat to kill London's Mayor Sadiq Khan. However, a double page spread focused on the Rotherham grooming scandal and identified it as a significant influence on Tarrant. This is a prominent example of misjudged reporting in the aftermath of a tragedy. By doing this, the paper was arguably complicit in spreading Tarrant's far right propagandist ideas which select morsels from history to concoct a twisted, self-serving narrative - arguably in this case a narrative that claimed white non Muslim communities were victims of a "grand replacement" by Muslims.



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By featuring the reference to Rotherham on Tarrant's gun, The Mirror's coverage also suggests a causation between the crimes of individual Muslims and the massacre of innocent Muslim worshippers thousands of miles away. This causation theory and its promotion by certain media outlets and journalists masks the potent anti-Muslim racism that permeates through white supremacist thought. It also legitimises the argument that the attacks were somehow a response to crimes, such as grooming,

which many media outlets have racialised and portrayed almost exclusively in connection with Muslim communities.²⁷²

Ella Cockbain makes this point when commenting on the inaccurate and dangerous narrative around ‘Asian grooming gangs’.

“Recurrent photo montages of brown faces convicted in high-profile ‘grooming’ trials have reinforced dubious stereotypes, skewed perceptions and detracted from a much more complex reality.”²⁷³

The Mail Online’s story-telling headline insinuated that Tarrant’s actions could be understood as a rational result of his travels and his father’s death through cancer.

Dani Garavelli writing in The Scotsman newspaper summarised the coverage of Tarrant in the mainstream tabloids by stating:

“This is what the tabloids do in their coverage of domestic violence and terrorism. They inform the reader of the white, male perpetrator’s good qualities, as if the fact he went on to murder was a minor aberration in an otherwise pristine life. They look for excuses – an early trauma, say – to justify the violence.”²⁷⁴



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As well as attempting to place the possible motive outside of his homeland Australia, Daily Mail Australia’s choice of focusing their headline on North Korea and Pakistan as opposed to other countries he visited, is selective.

272 Cockbain, E. (2013). Grooming and the ‘Asian sex gang predator’: the construction of a racial crime threat. *Race & Class*, [online] 54(4), pp.22-32. Available at: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0306396813475983> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

273 Cockbain, E. (2019). When bad evidence is worse than no evidence: Quilliam’s “grooming gangs” report and its legacy - Policing Insight. [online] Policing Insight. Available at: <https://policinginsight.com/analysis/when-bad-evidence-is-worse-than-no-evidence-quilliams-grooming-gangs-report-and-its-legacy/> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2019].

274 Garavelli, D. (2019). Islamophobe hypocrites ride wave of sympathy after Christchurch. [online] Scotsman.com. Available at: <https://www.scotsman.com/news/opinion/dani-garavelli-islamophobe-hypocrites-ride-wave-of-sympathy-after-christchurch-1-4890667> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019].

275 Daily Mail Australia Reporters (2019). Inside the life of New Zealand’s worst ever terrorist. [online] Mail Online. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6812527/Inside-life-New-Zealands-worst-terrorist.html> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2019]

The manifesto, which the Mail Online chose to publish, details Tarrant as being obsessed with Europe’s battles against the Ottoman Empire. This obsession saw Tarrant travel to 11 semi-rural locations in Bulgaria in November 2018, all of which were significant locations in wars against the Ottomans. On a two-month tour of Europe he also visited the United Kingdom and Austria – a country housing the neo-Nazi Identarian Movement, to which he donated \$1,500 according to prosecutors.²⁷⁶

Furthermore, Tarrant’s manifesto described three particular events, all occurring as a result of his travels in Europe, which turned him to violence. Given this, the choice of headlining North Korea and Pakistan is not only deliberately sensationalist, given the perception of one with the Taliban (Pakistan) and the other a rogue state with nuclear weapons (North Korea), but also highlights the bias of some journalists who assume white supremacist and far right terrorism is an anomaly that has no roots in Europe.

Other newspapers also revealed examples of headlines which came directly from the terrorist’s manifesto.

‘Invader’ Sadiq Khan targeted in killer’s rambling manifesto

The Times implicitly qualifies Tarrant’s description of the Mayor of London as an ‘Invader.’



The Sun was the only paper which explicitly headlined the front page with the word “Terrorist”, whilst also following the social media dimension of the story referring to the killer’s Facebook stream.

276 Besser, L. (2019). Christchurch shooter was Bulgarian guesthouse’s first-ever Australian guest. [online] ABC News. Available at: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-04-01/brenton-tarrant-bulgarian-travels-investigated/10957500> [Accessed 2 Sep. 2019]



I News' front page labelled him a "racist", "gunman" and "terrorist". Most other newspapers preferred to use the monikers of "gunman", "racist", "far-right" or "white supremacist."



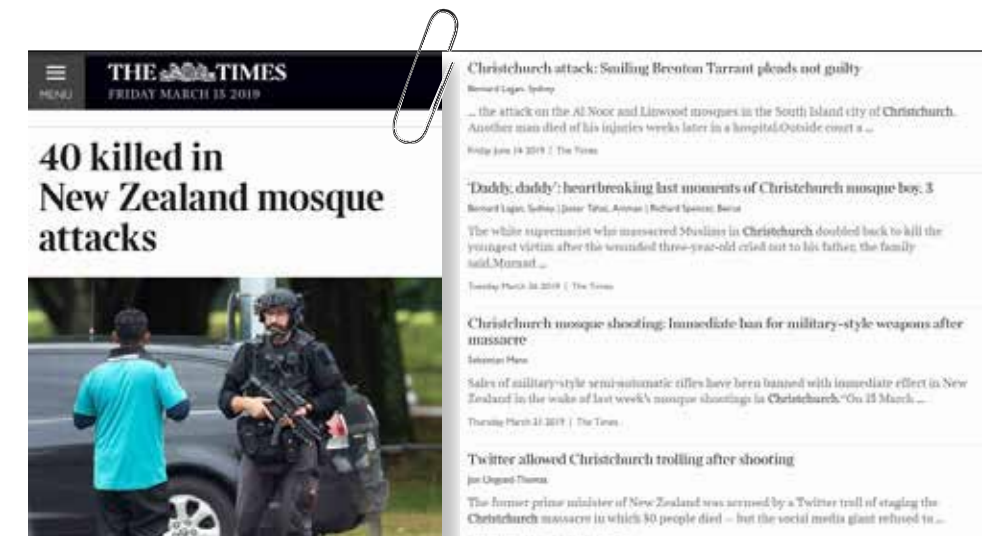
The Daily Telegraph's front page the following day, labelled him a "far-right racist."



The Guardian's Front Page referred to Tarrant as a "gunman"



A basic online search of The Times Online coverage using the term Christchurch shows some consistency, on this occasion, to avoid using the term terrorism. In opting for "shootings" in the headline and "shooter" to describe the perpetrator, The Times Online has taken the factual approach (similar to BBC editorial guidelines) by choosing not to interpret or pass judgement on events. However, unlike the BBC, it does not have a policy on this and as such has used the term "terrorism" in many other situations in relation to Christchurch, including editorials which referred to far-right terrorism and the "real pathology of Islamophobia".²⁷⁷



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²⁷⁷ The Times (2019). The Times view on the New Zealand terror attack: Fruits of Fanaticism. [online] Available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/the-times-view-on-the-new-zealand-terror-attack-fruits-of-fanaticism-nrrt2s6sp> [Accessed 17 Mar. 2019].

²⁷⁸ Search of Times.co.uk with term 'Christchurch' conducted on 26 June 2019

The Daily Mail's decision to refer to Christchurch as "Mosque terror attacks" and Tarrant as a "Mosque Killer" in the headlines, makes the mosque the active noun which seems to insinuate that the mosque was somehow linked to the carrying out of a terrorist atrocity, rather than being the site where a terrorist incident unfolded. The framing leaves the identity of victim and perpetrator ambiguous in the mind of the reader when the facts clearly identify the victims as worshippers at a mosque and the killer a white supremacist terrorist.



This style of headlining has been a recurring phenomenon, particularly in tabloid newspapers. A more recent example of this kind of headlining is seen in The Sun when a terror attack by a white supremacist on someone he believed to be a Muslim (but turned out not to be), was headlined as "Muslims Stab bid". Such headlines once again suggest that the alleged "Muslim" was the perpetrator of the attack as opposed to the victim.



This was also seen in the attack in Bayonne, France where the terrorist was a far-right politician who shot two elderly worshippers and attempted to set fire to a mosque. Only three print newspapers gave any coverage to the attack.

The Sun led with "2 shot at mosque," – a headline which gives nothing about who was shot, who did the shooting, nor the potential motivation. We have to read to the end of the article to know that it was politically motivated.

2 shot at mosque

A GUNMAN aged 84 was arrested after seriously wounding two Muslim worshippers yesterday.

Claude Sinké shot the men, 74 and 78, who challenged him as he tried to burn a mosque in Bayonne, south-west France.

Sinké, an election candidate for a far-right party, fled in his car and was arrested at his home in a nearby village.

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The Guardian gives more information in the headline, but still no idea why the 84-year-old man would do this. His politics are not mentioned until the 4th paragraph! The headline is also ambiguous in referring to "mosque attack".



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The Daily Telegraph, on the other hand, ran a headline which made clear the far-right affiliation of the perpetrator. The article also manages to answer the who, what, why, where and when of the story within the first paragraph.

Failed far-Right candidate held over shooting at French mosque

By David Chazan in Paris

A FORMER election candidate for Marine Le Pen's far-right National Rally has been arrested for allegedly shooting and injuring two Muslim worshippers at a mosque in Bayonne, south-west France yesterday.

The 84-year-old suspect, named locally as Claude Stoké, is also accused of trying to burn down the mosque.

He was arrested at his home in Saint-Martin-de-Ségur, near Bayonne, after fleeing the scene by car. He reportedly set a vehicle on fire before he left. Police found a gas canister and a handgun in his car.

Patrice Peyrueque, a police union official, said: "The suspect threw an incendiary device at the mosque and then drove away. He was apparently trying to set fire to the mosque when two worshippers intervened and he shot them." One worshipper was hit in the chest. The two wounded men, aged 78 and 74, are in serious but stable conditions in hospital.

The suspect reportedly admitted the shootings when questioned by Bayonne police, but the motive for the attack was unclear. He was said to have no police record and was not on the radar of French intelligence agencies.

Ms Le Pen condemned the attack, which she said was "contrary to all the values upheld by our movement".

The suspect was reportedly an unsuccessful candidate for her party in regional elections in 2015. He attended a military academy in his youth.

A source close to the investigation said: "There was widespread panic at the mosque. There were a lot of people inside at the time."

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Headlining in this way where the identifiably Muslim/Islamic element of the story is the adjective affixed with the noun "attack" or "terror", or "shooting(s)" is more common when compared with attacks on other non-Muslim religious buildings. A comparison between the Christchurch terror attacks and those on churches in Sri Lanka reveals a trend which shows that affixing symbols which are identifiably Muslim/Islamic with negative nouns, alarming behaviour or descriptions, are far more frequent.

Front Page Coverage - Hanau

Almost a year on from the Christchurch attack, in the late hours of 19 February 2020, Tobias Rathjen shot dead nine people of immigrant backgrounds in Hanau, Germany. It had many similar traits to Christchurch including a manifesto which spoke of the "complete extermination" of races he considered inferior, a video and a letter. The following day, (20 February 2020) the attack was officially established as a "Far Right Terror Attack." Yet, the majority of national newspapers did not feature the story on their front pages even on 21 February 2020 which suggests that there remains a reluctance on the part of many editors to give due prominence to attacks by far right/white supremacists or label them as terrorists.



The Daily Mail gave the story due prominence on the 20th February 2020 despite it being an ongoing situation at the time, even replacing a story to accommodate it and declare it as 'Terror.'

Before

After



The Independent newspaper did change its front page edition on 20 February to feature the live story but referred to the attack as a “mass shooting”.



The London Evening Standard was clear in what it saw as a manifestation of evil on its front page for its 20 February edition.

On 21 February 2020, even though The Guardian, the Daily Mirror and the Daily Express covered the story on their inside pages, they did refer to the perpetrator as a “terrorist” or the attack as “terror”.

The Daily Telegraph and the Guardian were the only national newspapers which featured the story on their front page on 21st Feb 2020 with the former headlining it as “A Far Right Terror Attack”, and the Guardian heading it as “racist attack”.



Interestingly, the non-terror incident at the Regents Park Mosque, which took place in the afternoon of the 20th February 2020, where a regular worshipper stabbed the Muezzin (the man who recites the call to prayer), was headlined “**Terror**” on two national front pages.



As seen in earlier examples, this style of headlining in The Sun newspaper is done by preceding “Terror” with “Mosque”, rendering it ambiguous. It leaves open the question as to who committed the act and who was the victim? A similar headline is seen on The Sun newspaper’s front page for 21 February 2020 calling the incident a “Mosque Stabbing.”



Once more the coverage of Hanau suggests that terrorism for certain newspapers remains very Muslim focused, whilst labelling white supremacists as terrorists or at least headlining them as such is still proving difficult a year on from the Christchurch. A look at the coverage in The Sun newspaper on the 22nd and 23rd of February, the weekend after the terror attack in Germany, shows all terror related coverage focused on Muslims with some suggestive headlines making the newspaper's stance clear as to who it definitely considers are the terrorists.



A Comparison Between Online News Headlines For Christchurch And Sri Lanka (2019)

The table below shows online news articles on the Christchurch terror attacks compared with the terror attacks on churches in Sri Lanka. Specifically, Islamic/Muslim symbols affixed with negative or alarming nouns were compared with Christian symbols affixed to nouns. These statistics show that Islamic/Muslim symbols are more frequently affixed to negative behavior.

Table 15: A comparison between affixed nouns with “Muslim” and “Christian” in headlines linked to the attacks in Christchurch and Sri-Lanka.

Articles with the term “Christchurch” in Headline 14 March -31 March 2019	Shooting(s)	Mosque Shooting(s)	Mosque Terror*	Mosque Attack(s)	Mosque Gunman/ Shooter
591	129	42	13	22	15
	22%	7%	2%	4%	3%
Articles with the term “Sri Lanka” in Headline 21 April - 8 May 2019	Bombing(s)	Church Bombing(s)	Church Terror*	Church Attack(s)	Church Bomber(s)
540	128	4	1	4	0
	24%	1%	0%	1%	0%

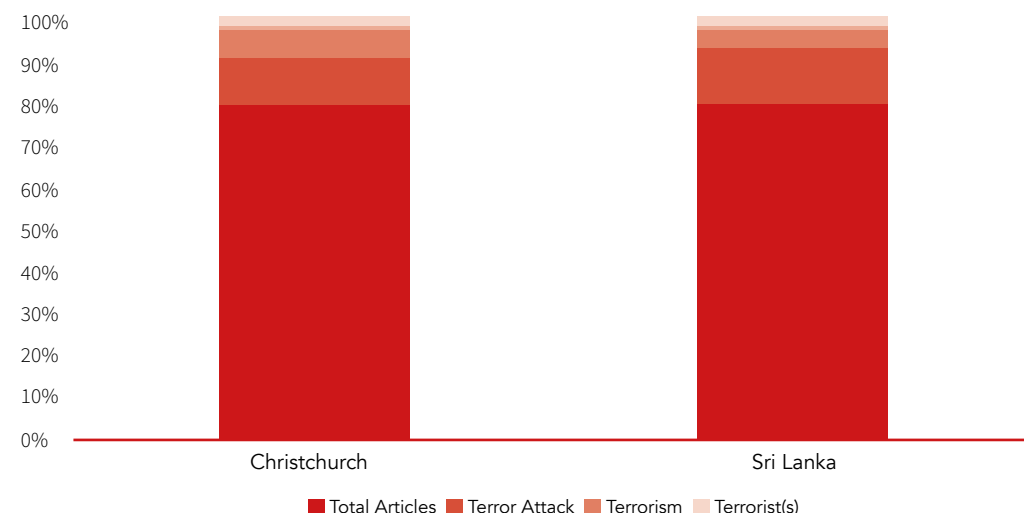
However contrary to above, a brief analysis of the online coverage of terror attacks in Christchurch (14 March 2019 – 31 March 2019) and Sri Lanka (21 April 2019 – 8 May 2019) shows a remarkable consistency in headlines used to describe both events.

Articles containing the word “Christchurch” in the headline were looked at between (14 March 2019 – 31 March 2019). Similarly, articles with the words “Sri Lanka” in the headline were also analysed over an eighteen-day period following the initial attacks (21 April 2019 – 8 May 2019). Both in terms of total articles published and the use of labels to describe the attacks and the attacker(s), there is a very transparent consistency.

Table 16: A comparison for headlines used for coverage on attacks in Christchurch (2019) and Sri Lanka (2019)

Articles with the term “Christchurch” in Headline 14 March -31 March 2019	Terror	Terror Attack	Terrorism	Terrorist(s)
591	86	54	2	20
% of total articles	15%	9%	0%	3%
Articles with the term “Sri Lanka” in Headline 21 April - 8 May 2019	Terror	Terror Attack	Terrorism	Terrorist(s)
540	89	30	4	17
% of total articles	16%	6%	1%	3%

Figure 7: Comparison for headlines describing terror* for online news coverage of Christchurch and Sri Lanka attacks over first 18 days



Broadcast Coverage: Christchurch

Broadcast coverage of Christchurch was overall of a higher standard with wall to wall coverage in the week following the attacks. Sky News and ITV News consistently headlined the shootings, both onscreen and in commentary, as a "Terror Attack." The BBC, in line with its editorial guidelines, labelled the events most frequently as "New Zealand Mosque Attacks." Yet broadcasters were not completely shorn of problematic coverage in their reporting of Christchurch. In the main, the hosting and broadcasting of white-supremacist viewpoints was seen across several channels.

It is a justified editorial decision to attempt to challenge the radical right's anti-Muslim racism as well as the underlying philosophy and inspiration for the actions of white-supremacist terrorists. However, what is concerning is how these contributors are introduced, platformed and in some cases not challenged when propagating far right tropes and narratives.

BBC Newsnight was heavily criticised by anti-racism campaigners, as well as others, for its decision to host Benjamin Jones of the white-supremacist group Generation Identity. The group has propagated the "great replacement theory", a central theme in Tarrant's manifesto with suggestions that Tarrant donated \$1,500 to their Austrian branch.²⁸³ Newsnight's defense for platforming such an individual was:

"It is important we examine and challenge ideologies that drive hate crimes in a wider context, whether they have been distorted, and the connection they may have with any European or UK groups."²⁸⁴

²⁸³ Wilson, J. (2019). Christchurch shooter's links to Austrian far right 'more extensive than thought'. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/16/christchurch-shooters-links-to-austrian-far-right-more-extensive-than-thought> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].

²⁸⁴ Alibhai, Z. (2019). BBC Newsnight defends Generation Identity discussing NZ terror attack. [online] Inews.co.uk. Available at: <https://inews.co.uk/news/uk/bbc-defends-allowing-generation-identity-discuss-new-zealand-terror-attack-505394> [Accessed 1 Oct. 2019].

While Jones may be relevant to understanding parts of Tarrant's manifesto and the Christchurch story, he is not a neutral observer or an independent expert. He is a protagonist of similar views to those which led Tarrant to murder 51 individuals in cold blood in a place of worship.

Benjamin Jones should have therefore been given an appropriate introduction to identify his background, the views he shares with others in the movement and held to account for his movement's racist ideology. Instead, Generation Identity was euphemistically introduced as a group which "campaigns against immigration and Islam." Jones was allowed to advocate arguments which in effect othered Muslims, promoted the benefits of a homogenous (white) society and warned about the "inevitable" attack if immigration continued.

The reporter Richard Watson's challenge to Jones' claim that Islam was an ideology which drives hate crimes, amounted to "that is a serious thing to say".



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The decision by BBC Newsnight to host Generation Identity was criticised by several prominent commentators including Shadow Attorney General, Shami Chakrabarti who stated the following;

"I know there's been a lot of controversy about the Newsnight piece that went out on Friday, the day of the massacre, where an extreme far right voice was left essentially unchallenged and I think we all need reflect on editorial decisions that we make and also on the tone of our discourse about things like culture wars and invaders and immigration, this othering of minorities."²⁸⁶

The Jeremy Vine Show on Channel 5 conducted a phone-in on the morning of 16 March 2019, less than 12 hours after the attacks were first reported. One caller by the name of Lisa, launched into a diatribe blaming Muslims as a community for Tarrant's actions and holding all Muslims collectively responsible for the actions of a few criminals. This was done by making references to the

²⁸⁵ Newsnight (2019), Richard Watson interview with Benjamin Jones, BBC Two (BBC2), 15 Mar 2019 [TV programme]

²⁸⁶ Andrew Marr Show (2019), Andrew Marr interviews Shami Chakrabarti, BBC One (BBC1) on 17 Mar 2019, 10:25AM [TV programme]

grooming scandals. Her call echoed the views of white-supremacist movements and individuals, including Tarrant, who referred to the Rotherham grooming case in his manifesto. Jeremy Vine did not immediately challenge the caller's blatantly xenophobic rhetoric or her gross generalisations about Muslims. He simply interjected to clarify what the caller was referring to, i.e. Rotherham.



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Lisa: "I do see a pattern unfortunately. I think that one of them I believe, one of the killers I believe was 20. Now, New Zealand is a beautiful, calm, young country and perhaps he and his colleagues are looking at the rest of the world and not - they don't want to happen to New Zealand what is happening in the rest of the world. Over in this country you have Muslim men who are grooming, raping and murdering young white girls only!

Jeremy Vine: You are talking about the Rotherham case, and so on, yeah?

Lisa: Yes. It isn't just Rotherham. It's happening everywhere where there's a large Muslim community. Also, you have ISIS, the terrorists. and they just don't want anything to happen to New Zealand, and I think that could be at the back of their minds, if they just bring it to the attention of the New Zealand people what they consider, Muslims are responsible for.

Jeremy Vine: But you are not justifying it here, are you, Lisa?"

On Sky News, the general coverage of Christchurch was of a better standard. However, it too fell short on occasions. One news item which looked at the rise in hate crime following Christchurch sought to expose the far right's anti-Muslim narratives which feed white supremacists. However, it ended up falling into the trap of causation theory.

The broadcast first stated, "the far-right is also inspired by Islamic extremism. In many ways, they mirror each other." It then went on to play a clip of a speech given by the then leader of UKIP Gerard Batten at a UKIP rally which the Sky News reporter summarised as "focus[ing] on issues such as rape and child exploitation by Asian men or grooming gangs."

287 Jeremy Vine, (2019). Channel 5 (CH5), 15 Mar 2019 [TV programme]

The audience then hears a soundbite from Batten, which goes unchallenged, in which he says:

"So, the age of consent in Islamic culture is a lot more elastic than it would be in western culture."²⁸⁸

The airing of such rhetoric without providing any context or explanation gives credence to both white supremacist views about 'Muslim grooming' whilst allowing a complex jurisprudential concept; the age of consent, to be misused to seemingly justify the sex crimes of paedophiles.

It also risks creating a justifiable link aiding the theory that Muslims are themselves to be blamed for such attacks. In airing a simplistic narrative devoid of any context, the broadcast inadvertently masks more plausible explanations of abuse of power and position, and the failure of institutions to protect vulnerable minors from the clutches of predators despite ample opportunities to do so.²⁸⁹

This causation theory was also seen in a BBC News broadcast, when presenter Shaun Ley suggests to his guest, Latifa Akay, that the reason why there is anti-Muslim hatred is because of "Islamist violence" and a lack of criticism by the "mainstream Islamic community." Even, when Muslims are the victims of attacks, they still come under collective scrutiny for the actions of a few.



"The reasons that some of this language has become normalised almost, the anti-Muslim language and rhetoric, is bluntly because of the Islamist violence and the Islamist extremism that has happened. And one of the criticisms in communities for example in this country is there hasn't been enough criticism of those people by the mainstream Islamic community. What do you have to say to that?"²⁹⁰

The above examples reflect an approach in broadcasting which ends up propagating and normalising white-supremacist propaganda, especially when false or incendiary claims go unchallenged. They also reflect a gross insensitivity towards victims and a palpable lack of religious literacy.

288 Sky News Tonight, (2019). Sky News (SKYN), 15 Mar 2019 [TV programme]

289 Woodhouse, S. and Murray, R. (2018). *Just a child*. London: Blink.

290 BBC News 24: Shaun Ley interviewing Latifa Akay, (2019). [TV programme] BBC News (BBCN), 16 Mar 2019 [TV programme]

What these examples show is not only the danger of platforming white supremacists ideologues but also the failure of presenters to challenge, contextualise, counter and expose their arguments despite forums such as feature news reporting (Newsnight, Sky News Report) and phone in's (Jeremy Vine) having the ability to do this effectively.

Another example of this was following the terror attack in Streatham, London, in February 2020. It demonstrates the lack of challenge towards commentators who wish to advance a particular narrative using tropes popular among anti-Muslim conspiracist circles.

Among the claims made by Carole Malone on Sky News' Press Preview was that radicalisation happens in "Islamic schools", "mosques and other community settings", and that "Shari'ah courts" operate a parallel legal system, to which authorities turn a blind eye.²⁹¹ Despite these claims being debunked as far back as 2012 there was no challenge to them.

Carole Malone: "What my solution is that these people have to, you know we have to come down heavy on hate preachers and we don't do it. Sharia law operates in this country, we turn a blind eye to it. Things are happening in this faith and they are happening, they are not right. You can't have women being abused and being tried in a right. You can't have women being abused (inaudible) in this country.. Why do we have Sharia law operating?"

Effective Broadcasting

The scale of the Christchurch terror attacks as well as Jacinda Arden's response to it, has on the whole, altered news coverage for the better when reporting on white supremacist attacks.

Sky News, in particular, has strengthened its reporting in this area and is more aware of the increasing seriousness with which white-supremacist terror attacks should be covered. In a stabbing incident following Christchurch, when the perpetrator shouted, "All Muslims need to Die", the incident was headlined as "Terror Stabbing."

291 Malone, C. & Abell, S. Press Preview, Sky News (SKYN), 03 Feb 2020, 10:43 PM GMT, [TV programme]



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Another example of where a change in approach is noticeable, was on Sky's Press Review programme, following the El Paso attacks on 4 August 2019.

The editor of The Times Literary Supplement, Stig Abell, rightly called out the double standards in the media's coverage and the government's policy of "Islamist inspired" terrorism and "white supremacist terrorism." The presenter of the programme, Isabelle Webster, went further to clarify that white supremacist terrorism is "far more prevalent" now. This exchange was both factually accurate and informative for the viewers and highlighted the true extent of the white-supremacist terror threat.²⁹³



Similarly, following the Daesh-inspired terrorist attacks on Christian worshippers in churches in Sri Lanka, Vicki Young, a BBC presenter, was quick to pick up on a generalisation made by Sue Pollard who suggested that certain values were exclusively akin to people in the West.

292 Sky News at Ten, (2019), Sky News (SKYN), 17 Mar 2019 [TV programme]

293 Sky News Press Review, (2019), Stig Abell discussing El Paso Terror Attacks with Presenter Isabelle Webster, Sky News (SKYN), 05 Aug 2019 [TV programme]



Sue Pollard: "A woman who was pregnant, the wife of one of these men, actually blew up herself and her children. The idea of that is so far away from the Western idea of nurturing your children and keeping them safe. That is a really terrifying new dimension of ISIS."

Vicki Young: "Muslims would say that family and peace is part of their religion, it is not just a western thing, and that is what is so difficult for them because they feel they will be targeted."

Further examples of the seriousness with which mainstream media is beginning to question the true extent of white supremacist terrorism after Christchurch, was evident on the BBC World News Channel, after the El Paso terror attacks. In an interview with the Democrat Senator for Pennsylvania, Bob Casey, BBC presenter Laura Trevelyan was very direct in asking whether it was time for the FBI to tackle "white supremacist terrorism" as it had tackled Islamist-inspired terrorism.²⁹⁵



Simple straightforward questions like these help raise the discussion around the threat of white supremacist terrorism and challenge officials on how they intend to tackle the problem in the same manner as other terrorist threats, propaganda, and ideas.

294 *The Papers*, (2019), Vicki Young correcting Sue Pollard, BBC News (BBCN), 24 Apr 2019 [TV programme]

295 *BBC World News America*, (2019), Laura Trevelyan interviewing Bob Casey, BBC News (BBCN) 05 Aug 2019 [TV programme].

The BBC's North America editor, Jon Sopel, went further in his analysis of Donald Trump's reaction to the El Paso Terror attacks. He corrected the President's assertion that "radical Islamic terrorism" was the greatest internal threat to the United States.



"Actually the greater threat has been white supremacy, Charlottesville, the shooting at the Synagogue in Pittsburgh, another one in San Diego and now this incident at El Paso."²⁹⁶

The realisation by the media, experts and security forces that there is a global influence on attacks carried out by white supremacists and far right extremists, is beginning to shift the myopic focus on Islamist extremism as the only driver of international terrorism.

According to The New York Times:

"It may also require rethinking the legal framework for what constitutes terrorism: from violence that arises from a command and control structure to a looser definition that can account for a wider range of violent actors who share a common ideology."²⁹⁷

296 *BBC News*, (2019). John Sopel reporting from El Paso U.S., BBC News (BBCN), 04 Aug 2019 [TV programme].

297 Cai, W. and Landon, S. (2019). Attacks by White Extremists Are Growing. So Are Their Connections.. [online] *Nytimes.com*. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/04/03/world/white-extremist-terrorism-christchurch.html> [Accessed 1 Dec. 2019].

Broadcast Coverage – Hanau

Here we look at how UK TV news channels covered the attacks over a two day period following the first reporting of the attacks, and features notable examples of reporting and commentary.²⁹⁸

Table 17: 215 clips were collated using the word ‘Germany.’ as a search term.²⁹⁹

Broadcaster	Number of unique clips reporting on Hanau Terror Attacks
BBC	157
ITV	16
Channel 4	2
Channel 5	5
Sky News	35

The first clip was a BBC News channel broadcast reporting breaking news from Germany... “in relation to a shooting incident in which it is reported at least eight people have been killed.”³⁰⁰

All of the coverage was in line with standard reporting protocols, with correspondents careful not to speculate and informing viewers of what was known about the incident and what was still to be confirmed.

A standout example of reporting in this initial stage of a possible terror attacks came from Damien McGuinness on the BBC World channel who as well as reporting what was and was not known at the time, contextualised this by acknowledging how the past reporting of such situations jumped to conclusions before facts were established.³⁰¹



298 23:16 PM GMT on 19 Feb 2020 to 22:47 PM GMT 21 Feb 2020.
299 Duplicate clips such as repeated headlines were excluded. [TV programme]
300 BBC News (2020), Breaking News, BBC News (BBCN), 19 Feb 2020 23:16 PM GMT
301 BBC News (2020), The Briefing; Damien McGuinness reporting on Hanau shootings, BBC News (BBCN) 20 Feb 2020, 12:07 AM GMT [TV programme]

“It’s not clear what is behind the shooting and what the target, if any target there was. There are reports that the shootings took place in two shisha bars and those are also the bars that you can see on pictures are circulating on social media here and videos, showing the police acting just after shooting incidents. But so far we haven’t got any clarification from police as to what might be behind the attacks or whether this is any terror motivation or terror related incident. We have seen rumours flying around about what was behind the attack and in fact it turned out to be something very different to what was originally thought. What we do know, though, is eight people have been killed, so this is obviously a serious incident.”

Despite the German police referring to the attack as a ‘racist’ attack, some debate was initiated as to whether this was a terror attack. Most channels did refer to it as such, at least on one or more occasions.

The most emphatic example of this came from the BBC Security Correspondent, Frank Gardner who unequivocally called the incident “terrorism” leaving no room for doubt or conjecture.

Presenter: “When it comes to national security some people believe this should be called a terror incident and other people calling it a far-right extremist incident.”

Frank Gardner: “I’m going to cross the line there! It’s terrorism! If you carry out an attack on innocent human beings due to your political beliefs, its terrorism! You can dress it up any other way, that’s what it is.”³⁰²



302 Gardner, F. (2020), Live With Lucy Hockings, BBC World (BBCWLD), 20 Feb 2020 10:20AM GMT [TV programme]

Experts

Another noticeable aspect of the broadcast coverage included the list of experts and commentators which most broadcasters invited to comment and provide context to the attacks. These included seasoned reporters from the German newspapers and academics and authors whose research has included a focus on the far-right in Germany.

The advantage of having such reputable academics, as opposed to ‘experts’ from security think tanks, was their in-depth knowledge of the realities of the German far right movement and its history. This allowed the debate to be discussed outside of the paradigm promoted by right leaning commentators in particular, that such acts were perpetrated as a result of the German government’s decision to allow over one million refugees to find shelter in Germany in 2015. Further experts such as Dr Paul Jackson, senior lecturer in History at University of Northampton, discussed the “different strands of the far right” and the succour such rhetoric has given to far right terrorists.³⁰³ Similarly, Professor Cynthia Miller-Idriss, from the American University in Washington DC spoke of “racist ideas becoming normalised and becoming mainstream.”³⁰⁴ What was particularly noticeable about this exchange was that, the question posed by the presenter Katty Kay to the Miller-Idriss, came as a result of the preceding interview with Talha Kiraz from the organisation, Turkish Community in Germany, who emphasised how “low level racism” had become acceptable and mainstreamed in Germany.³⁰⁵ This is an example of very insightful and authoritative broadcasting and presenting. Given that the point raised by the German-Turkish activist was then put before an authoritative academic effectively gave it double credibility.

It is not just academics who can be effective at correcting myths around the subject under discussion as broadcaster and presenter Iain Dale demonstrated on ITV’s Good Morning programme. Dale identified a blind-spot in discussions of security in Germany as well as correcting a trope promoted by nefarious elements.

“Some people in Germany say it is these 1.2 million people that have come in committing all these crimes. If you look at the statistics, they have committed less crime proportionally than native German people, but nobody talks about that.”³⁰⁶

303 BBC News (2020), Paul Jackson interviewed by Lukwesa Burak, Beyond 100 Days, BBC News (BBCN), 20 Feb 2020 20:06 PM GMT [TV programme]

304 BBC Four (2020), Cynthia Miller-Idriss interviewed by Katty Kat, Beyond 100 Days, BBC Four (BBC4), 19 Feb 2020, 19:11 PM GMT [TV programme]

305 BBC Four (2020), Talha Kiraz interviewed by Katty Kat, Beyond 100 Days, BBC Four (BBC4), 19 Feb 2020, 19:05 PM GMT [TV programme]

306 Dale, I. (2020), Good Morning Britain, ITV (ITV1), 20 Feb 2020 07:28 AM GMT [TV Programme]



Christchurch presented media outlets with the typical challenges of reporting on terrorist attacks and a good dose of introspection. Newspapers on the whole chose to deflect the blame towards social media companies. Some columnists, commentators, security “experts” and even presenters suggested that the actions of Muslims were to blame for the worshippers at two mosques being gunned down in cold blood. Other commentators highlighted the role mainstream media has played in amplifying anti-Muslim rhetoric. Reporters and presenters are challenging myths more effectively, as seen in the coverage of subsequent attacks in the US and Europe, and giving white supremacist ideas the scrutiny they deserve. Yet, inconsistency remains and terror* is often a difficult word to utter when the victims are Muslims or immigrants and the attackers are not.

Recommendations

- White-supremacist voices should only be platformed if their views can be adequately contextualised and challenged.



Conclusion

A free media is privileged to be able to define the world and the goings on within it, on its own terms. This freedom, like most others, comes with a responsibility towards those who are most likely to be affected by what is written and broadcast.

Irresponsible and sensationalist reporting on terrorism feeds broader, divisive narratives designed to polarise communities and present a “clash of civilisations” scenario. The lack of consistency in coverage of the various strains of terrorism highlights how these diverging narratives take shape and the broader consequences of such coverage. In failing to report on both the extent of the threat of the white supremacist threat and generating a narrative which has effectively made terrorism the preserve of one community, media institutions do a disservice to their audiences as well as compromise on the truth.

More extensive statistical research, demonstrated in this report and others, has shown beyond doubt that the media can be complicit in advancing these narratives. The examples presented in this report would support this claim. The media can also misrepresent the everyday practices of an entire civilisation, casting suspicion on important aspects of identity as well as religious and ritual practices by adding to an already established discourse that seeks to portray Muslims and their beliefs as inimical to the West.

Why this is the case is not always easy to ascertain. The behaviour of certain publications and their proclivity for producing sensationalist click-bait coverage suggests a deliberate ploy to exploit the commercial opportunity such events can provide. Any glib information will be used to distort the facts and provide hints as to the motive for the attacks, even though these may be unproven and sometimes false. But the predetermination to identify a particular motive can drive publications to obscure clarity and fan confusion in a developing news story.

Newspapers and online sources are driven by a commercial imperative to constantly produce clickbait and use algorithms and metrics to work out what sells, making the reporting of terrorism more of a science than an art. This can skew the coverage away from the particular realities of that single act. The search for details which replicate what has gone previously has become a staple of newsrooms to confirm whether an

attack can be given the label of terrorism. The ethnicity of the perpetrator is enough for some and in many cases is the most vital detail for editors and reporters when determining whether the tag of terror should be applied. The classification of incidents in mainland Europe have been predicated on the shouting of religious slogans or the mere suggestion that they might have been uttered according to a “witness”. Certain newsrooms take this as a sufficient basis of attribution, irrespective of its reliability. Others still wait for clearance from those in positions of power or authority to give their verdicts, sometimes failing to take into account possible conflicts of interest or the political spin being employed to limit any scrutiny of potential security failures.

As the terror perpetrated by white supremacists in Christchurch, El Paso and Hanau has shown, it is impossible to justify that terrorism is the preserve of one group of people. The plethora of information that arises after so called terror attacks, such as the state of the perpetrators mental health, no substantial links to actual terror groups, a history of criminal activity etc., demonstrates that what journalists do not immediately know about a perpetrator is just as important as what can be verified. As such, publishers who do not make it clear to viewers and readers which information is unknown and not corroborated, are in danger of reporting conjecture and suspicion as opposed to facts. Rectifying this would go some way to arrest the confusion that arises with the flood of information which some publications continue to manipulate to form their neat narrative and satisfy certain prejudices.

The coverage of terrorism post Christchurch 2019 shows that it is no longer correct to say that according to the media ‘all’ terrorists are Muslims. Yet, the label “**terror**”, “**terrorist**” and “**terrorism**” are still overwhelmingly focused towards Muslim actors. As for the far-right/white supremacist terror threat in the UK, Europe, North America and Australasia, some newspapers remain reluctant to designate their attacks on Muslims and immigrants for political, religious or racist motives, as terror. Others still frame the discourse to exonerate white attackers, placing the burden of their actions at the door of liberal governments, immigrants, the left, Muslims and Daesh inspired terrorists. One of the consequences of doing this has been the failure to trace the roots of white supremacist terrorism outside of designated timeframes such as post 9/11 or the 2015 mass migration to Europe of refugees fleeing war torn countries. The media is far behind academia in this respect. Many studies in the fields of critical race theory, history, and other disciplines demonstrate that the origins of white supremacy far outdate any contemporary threat to western nations and people. Rigorous, responsible and accurate reporting demands that the media is consistent and gives due prominence to all forms of terrorism, irrespective of the background of the perpetrator.

Faisal Hanif

March 2020

Recommendations

This list of recommendations below is not designed to be exhaustive, nor cater for the full breadth of possibilities when it comes to improving reporting on terrorism. It is, nonetheless, a good place to start.

1. Adopt an internal definition of terrorism, make this transparent and be consistent in its application.
 - Each publication or news provider should formulate or adopt a definition of terrorism and publicly state what characteristics of an attack would constitute terrorism if they can be established. By so doing, it would show itself to be transparent in its coverage and consistent irrespective of the ethnic, political or ideological background of the perpetrator. This would further spare the publication or broadcaster from the charge of hypocrisy or double standards in its identification of "terror", "terrorism" and "terrorist(s)".
 - If media outlets follow the lead of law enforcement or governing authorities then, this should be made clear to readers and viewers, and applied consistently case by case irrespective of the allegiances or beliefs of the attacker(s).
2. Care should be taken in establishing any other facts which reasonably explain the motives or actions of the perpetrator before the incident is described as terror.

Criminal backgrounds as well as whether mental health was likely to be the driving force should be considered in a consistent way independent of the perpetrator.
3. Make clear what is yet to be established about an incident.
 - If the ideology of the perpetrator is suspected but not confirmed, this should be clearly indicated.
 - The Sun Online presents one possible good model of this in its Blue Box

accompaniment to stories which gives wider context. A similar feature with a checklist of knows/don't knows would be a useful guide and help with clarity.

4. Avoid uncorroborated witness statements.
 - If witness statements are used, they should be corroborated, especially given the number of examples where an individual's witness testimony has dominated coverage, and later proven to be incorrect.
 - Witness accounts should also be caveated in the text to make it clear that this is the view of one or several witnesses, to distinguish between eyewitness accounts and accounts from other more reliable sources.
5. If a narrative is created and subsequent information proves many of the pre-empted details to be untrue or inaccurate, media organisations should clarify and amend earlier mistakes

If a person is labelled a terrorist which later proves to be unfounded equal prominence should be given to the correction.
6. Spurious links between normative Islamic practices and the crime of terrorism should be avoided.
 - An individual owning a Qur'an or attending a particular mosque is not indicative of religiosity nor does it implicate a mosque in the act.
 - An individual having sporadically attended a mosque for prayers, is not indicative between the mosque and the individual.
 - An individual who demonstrably practices their faith does not mean they are radical or a potential terrorist.
7. Greater efforts should be made to present religious concepts accurately and in line with normative academic and religious scholarly works.
 - Care should be taken with interpretations of religious vernacular and journalists should be aware of the promotion of revisionist narratives which have been disproven. This requirement applies both to statements from revisionist historians and those working in the field of national security. Independent, credible authentication by scholars and recognised experts is important.
 - Explanations should be given to claims being published, particularly in relation to historical events and religious references (Qur'anic/Hadith quotes, religious figures). When possible, orthodox academic experts and religious scholars from the classical traditions should be sourced in order to provide authentic interpretations.
8. Avoid headlining the term "Allahu Akbar" as shorthand for a terrorist attack.
 - The shouting of a slogan can be attributed as much to bravado and copycat phenomena as it can to any authentic religious motive.
 - By headlining Allahu Akbar, it predetermines a motive when the facts might not have been established, particularly when it comes to uncovering background details such as criminal history or mental health history or other factors.
 - Even if the words have been proven to be said, the greater priority in headlines

- should be given to the actual events and the nature of the act (e.g. murder / shooting) and/or the victims.
- Computer scientists at Columbia University and the French National Institute, have shown how 59 percent of links shared on social media have never actually been clicked; in other words, most people appear to retweet news without having read it.
- 9 Do not refer to Daesh as “Islamic State”. Either use their full name ad-Dawlah-al-Islāmiyyah or Daesh.
10. When possible avoid using images or republishing material which terrorists would want widely disseminated.
- Publishers can either adopt a hard and fast rule on this by taking a zero-tolerance approach to all terrorist propaganda or adopt an approach on a case-by-case basis.
 - Priority should be of victims and victims’ families
11. White-supremacist voices should only be platformed if their views can be adequately contextualised and challenged.
- An expert who is well versed with white supremacist thought should be used as an effective counterweight to challenge any claims such as the Great Replacement theory.
 - Classical Islamic scholars or notable academics could perform a similar role when myths on Islam and Muslims are being promulgated.
 - Blanket statements, not evidenced by research, should not be stated as facts. For example, white supremacists terrorism has a longer history than just a response to Daesh inspired attacks. The media’s failure to cover this does not mean any new attack is an anomaly.

Appendix A

Online Publications Referenced

News platform as referred to in report	Some or All of coverage has been accessed via
Daily Mail Australia	dailymail.co.uk
The Spectator	spectator.co.uk
New Statesman	newstatesman.com
The Economist	economist.com
Daily Star and Daily Star Sunday depending on which day it has been published and if identifiable)	dailystar.co.uk
The Jewish Chronicle	thejc.com
Press Association	dailymail.co.uk/wires
The Sun or The Scottish Sun or The Sun on Sunday (Depending on which day it has been published and if identifiable) If unsure then it will be the Sun	thesun.co.uk
The Mirror, Sunday Mirror, The People, (Depending on which day it has been published and if identifiable) If unsure then it will be Daily Mirror	daymirror.co.uk
The Telegraph	telegraph.co.uk
ITV Online	itv.co.uk
The Daily Express & The Sunday Express	express.co.uk
The Mail on Sunday	dailymail.co.uk
The Observer	theguardian.com
Associated Press	dailymail.co.uk/wires
Mail Online	dailymail.co.uk
AFP	dailymail.co.uk/wires
Dailymail.com	dailymail.co.uk
Reuters	dailymail.co.uk/wires
London Evening Standard	standard.co.uk
Christian Today	christiantoday.com

The Guardian	theguardian.com
The Independent	independent.co.uk
The Metro	metro.co.uk
Sky News Online	skynews.com
The Sunday Times	thetimes.co.uk
The Tablet	thetablet.co.uk
BBC Online	bbc.co.uk
The Times	thetimes.co.uk
INews	inews.co.uk
The Daily Mail	dailymail.co.uk

Appendix B

Articles On Melbourne And Pittsburg Attacks

Melbourne: First four hours of coverage³⁰⁷
Melbourne Bourke Street Attack: Approx. Time of Incident: 9 November 2018, at around 16:20pm local time (UK Time: 06:20am)

Date	Headline	Source	Keywords
09-Nov-2018 10:16AM	Remembrance Day services in Australia in urgent security review after Melbourne attack	Express.co.uk	terrorism, Melbourne, terror, Bourke Street
09-Nov-2018 10:13AM	One killed in Melbourne knife rampage terror attack	Sky News	Melbourne,terror,Bourke Street, terrorism
09-Nov-2018 09:52AM	One dead in Melbourne terror attack as man goes on rampage with a knife	Metro.co.uk	terrorism, Bourke Street, terror
09-Nov-2018 09:07AM	One dead, two injured in Melbourne knife rampage	Sky News	terrorism, Melbourne, Bourke Street
09-Nov-2018 09:00AM	One dead, two injured by knifeman in Melbourne's shopping district	Times Online	Melbourne, Bourke Street, terrorism
09-Nov-2018 08:57AM	Melbourne attack: Bourke Street stabbing leaves one dead – facts minus speculation	I News	Melbourne, Bourke Street, terrorism
09-Nov-2018 08:47AM	Melbourne Bourke Street attack: Shock AERIAL footage shows LOCKDOWN after knife RAMPAGE	Express.co.uk	terrorism, Melbourne, Bourke Street,
09-Nov-2018 08:41AM	A slashing knifeman, a dead body and a heroic arrest: How witnesses' videos captured the true horror of the Bourke Street attack	Mail Online	Melbourne, terrorism, Bourke Street

307 All results have been obtained through the Meltwater media monitoring tool using the search terms, Melbourne AND Bourke Street

09-Nov-2018 08:11AM	One dead and two in hospital after man launches knife attack on Melbourne street	Press Association	terrorism, Bourke Street, Melbourne
09-Nov-2018 08:01AM	Melbourne Bourke Street attack: Moment hero tries to take out attacker with trolley	Express.co.uk	Bourke Street, terrorism, MELBOURNE, Melbourne
09-Nov-2018 07:55AM	Melbourne Bourke Street attack MAP: Where did stabbing take place?	Express.co.uk	Bourke Street, Melbourne, terrorism
09-Nov-2018 07:51AM	Melbourne attack: Moment crazed knifeman swings at police before being shot	Mirror.co.uk	terror, terrorism, Melbourne, Bourke Street
09-Nov-2018 06:53AM	Melbourne stabbing: Australian city on lockdown as knifeman stabs several people in street	London Evening Standard	Bourke Street, Melbourne, terror
09-Nov-2018 06:25AM	BREAKING Melbourne attack: Knife-wielding man shot by police after 'stabbing people'	Mirror.co.uk	terror, Melbourne, Bourke Street

Pittsburgh: First four hours of coverage: articles with word Terror and/or Terrorism and/or Terrorist(s)

Pittsburg Tree of Life Synagogue attack: Approx. time of incident: 27 October, 2018, at around 09:54am local time (UK Time: 14:54pm)

Date	Headline	Source	Keywords
27-Oct-2018 06:00PM	America's week from hell: Three pipe bombs sent to two former Presidents, a racist shoots two African Americans after trying to enter a Kentucky black church and a gunman kills eight at a Pittsburgh synagogue	Dailymail.com	Pittsburgh, synagogue, Synagogue, terror
27-Oct-2018 05:41PM	Robert Bowers named as Pittsburgh shooting suspect who 'believes Donald Trump is controlled by Jews'	Mirror.co.uk	synagogue, Pittsburgh, Synagogue, terror
27-Oct-2018 05:34PM	'They kept hearing gunfire': Survivors of Pittsburgh synagogue shooting barricaded themselves in basement as gunman massacred congregants	Dailymail.com	synagogue, Pittsburgh, terror, Synagogue
27-Oct-2018 05:06PM	Pittsburgh shooting: Gunman yelled 'all Jews must die' before killing eight in synagogue packed with families	Mirror.co.uk	synagogue, Synagogue, Pittsburgh, terror

Articles without word Terror and/or Terrorism and/or Terrorist(s) in first 4 hours

Date	Headline	Source	Keywords
27-Oct-2018 06:40PM	'Multiple fatalities' after man opens fire at Pittsburgh's Tree of Life Synagogue	The Jewish Chronicle	Pittsburgh, synagogue, Synagogue
27-Oct-2018 06:28PM	Israeli prime minister heartbroken by Pittsburgh synagogue attack	Reuters	Pittsburgh, synagogue
27-Oct-2018 06:27PM	President Trump calls for death penalty for Pittsburgh synagogue shooter and says incident 'little to do with gun laws'	London Evening Standard	synagogue, Synagogue, Pittsburgh
27-Oct-2018 06:16PM	Pittsburgh shooting: Trump says synagogue attack 'has little to do' with gun laws	The Independent	synagogue, Pittsburgh, Synagogue
27-Oct-2018 06:05PM	'They had a maniac walk in and they didn't have any protection': Trump says outcome of synagogue shooting would have been 'much better' if they had armed guard inside and calls for speedy executions of mass shooters	Dailymail.com	synagogue, Synagogue, Pittsburgh
27-Oct-2018 06:03PM	Pittsburgh shooting: Trump's 'hateful' rhetoric BLAMED for inciting synagogue gunman	Daily Star	Pittsburgh, synagogue, Synagogue
27-Oct-2018 06:00PM	Eight people killed in Pittsburgh Tree of Life synagogue shooting	Times Online	synagogue, Pittsburgh
27-Oct-2018 05:55PM	Donald Trump says Pittsburgh shooter 'deserves death penalty' and calls for armed guards in holy buildings	Mirror.co.uk	Pittsburgh, synagogue, Synagogue
27-Oct-2018 05:53PM	Trump says Pittsburgh shooting has little to do with gun laws	Reuters	Pittsburgh, synagogue
27-Oct-2018 05:50PM	BREAKING: Donald Trump demands DEATH PENALTY for gunman 'wackos'	Daily Star	Pittsburgh, Synagogue
27-Oct-2018 05:46PM	Synagogue shooting: Stay inside, it's not safe	Sky News	Pittsburgh, Synagogue
27-Oct-2018 05:35PM	Pittsburgh synagogue shooting: facts minus speculation about Jewish community attack	INews	Pittsburgh, Synagogue, synagogue
27-Oct-2018 05:20PM	'Beware of active shooter. God Bless All!' Trump leads politicians reacting to mass shooting at Pittsburgh synagogue	Dailymail.com	Synagogue, Pittsburgh, synagogue
27-Oct-2018 05:13PM	Pittsburgh shooting LIVE: Deaths confirmed at synagogue gun attack and three police shot	London Evening Standard	Synagogue, Pittsburgh, synagogue
27-Oct-2018 05:13PM	Pittsburgh shooting LIVE: Deaths confirmed at synagogue gun attack and suspected gunman named	London Evening Standard	Synagogue, Pittsburgh, synagogue

27-Oct-2018 05:03PM	The Latest: Trump monitoring Pittsburgh synagogue shooting	Associated Press	Pittsburgh, synagogue, Synagogue, PITTSBURGH
27-Oct-2018 05:01PM	Pittsburgh Synagogue shooting: Suspect in CUSTODY as Police confirm 3 officers SHOT	Express.co.uk	Synagogue, Pittsburgh, synagogue, PITTSBURGH
27-Oct-2018 04:58PM	'Multiple casualties' in shooting at Pittsburgh synagogue	AFP	Pittsburgh, synagogue
27-Oct-2018 04:49PM	Suspect in custody in fatal Pittsburgh synagogue shooting	Press Association	Pittsburgh, synagogue, Synagogue
27-Oct-2018 04:49PM	Pittsburgh shooting: 'Eight dead' after gunman opens fire at US synagogue during baby-naming ceremony	London Evening Standard	Pittsburgh, Synagogue, synagogue
27-Oct-2018 04:41PM	LIVE: 'Multiple casualties' in US synagogue shooting	Sky News	Pittsburgh, synagogue
27-Oct-2018 04:40PM	Pittsburgh shooting – LIVE: Multiple people dead after gunman attacks synagogue	The Independent	Synagogue, Pittsburgh, synagogue
27-Oct-2018 04:29PM	'Multiple casualties' after shooting near Pittsburgh synagogue	Press Association	synagogue, Pittsburgh, Synagogue
27-Oct-2018 04:25PM	Live 'Multiple casualties' after shooting at Pittsburgh synagogue	Telegraph.co.uk	synagogue, Pittsburgh
27-Oct-2018 04:23PM	'Multiple casualties' in shooting at Pittsburgh synagogue –police	Reuters	synagogue, Pittsburgh
27-Oct-2018 04:22PM	Multiple casualties after shooting near Pittsburgh synagogue	Associated Press	Synagogue, Pittsburgh, PITTSBURGH, synagogue
27-Oct-2018 04:17PM	Pittsburgh Synagogue shooting: Where is Pittsburgh? What is police advice?	Express.co.uk	Synagogue, Pittsburgh, SYNAGOGUE
27-Oct-2018 04:12PM	'Multiple casualties' in active shooting near US synagogue	Sky News	synagogue, Pittsburgh
27-Oct-2018 04:09PM	Pittsburgh shooting: Gunman opens fire at US synagogue	London Evening Standard	synagogue, Synagogue, Pittsburgh
27-Oct-2018 03:59PM	Police respond to reports of shooter at Pittsburgh synagogue	Telegraph.co.uk	synagogue, Pittsburgh
27-Oct-2018 03:58PM	Emergency situation at US synagogue	BBC News	Pittsburgh, synagogue
27-Oct-2018 03:53PM	BREAKING NEWS: At least four dead in shooting at Pittsburgh synagogue	Dailymail.com	synagogue, Pittsburgh, Synagogue

27-Oct-2018 03:51PM	Pittsburgh shooting: Multiple casualties after gunman opens fire at US synagogue	The Independent	synagogue, Pittsburgh
27-Oct-2018 03:51PM	Pittsburgh synagogue shooting: Police responding to reports of gunman	The Independent	synagogue, Pittsburgh
27-Oct-2018 03:51PM	'Multiple victims' as shooter storms prayer service at US synagogue	Metro.co.uk	synagogue, Pittsburgh
27-Oct-2018 03:35PM	Pittsburgh Synagogue shooting: Gunman opens fire - 'multiple people dead'	Express.co.uk	Synagogue, synagogue, Pittsburgh
27-Oct-2018 03:35PM	BREAKING: Gunman 'opens FIRE at Pittsburgh Synagogue' – eight reported dead	Daily Star	Pittsburgh, synagogue, Synagogue
27-Oct-2018 03:30PM	Pittsburgh Synagogue shooting: Gunman 'opens fire at prayer service'	Mirror.co.uk	synagogue, Pittsburgh, Synagogue
27-Oct-2018 03:05PM	Fatalities reported in shooting at Pittsburgh synagogue	The Guardian	synagogue, Pittsburgh

Appendix C:

Strasbourg Attack Headlines

	Date /Time	Headline	Publication
Before suspect is identified	11-Dec-2018 10:50PM	Strasbourg shooting victims lie wounded in street after 'terrorist' opens fire	Mirror.co.uk
	11-Dec-2018 11:03PM	'Extremist' gunman on run after four die in Strasbourg Christmas market shooting	ITV.com
	12-Dec-2018 01:06PM	Trump uses terror attack in France to get in another dig at Schumer and Pelosi after shocking Oval Office shouting match	Daily Mail Online
	12-Dec-2018 01:08PM	Donald Trump news: France terror attack shows 'why we will strengthen borders'	Express.co.uk
After suspect is identified	12-Dec-2018 01:41PM	Chérif Chekatt: Everything you need to know about Strasbourg terror suspect	Telegraph
	12-Dec-2018 01:59AM	BREAKING: France raises terror threat to 'ATTACK EMERGENCY' after Strasbourg shooting	Express
	12-Dec-2018 03:16PM	Terrorism cannot change how we live our lives – The or blot out political issues our leaders must deal with	Independent
	12-Dec-2018 03:21PM	Who is Cherif Chekatt? Strasbourg shooting suspect who killed 3 in Christmas Market terror	The Sun
	12-Dec-2018 03:21PM	XMAS TERROR SUSPECT Who is Cherif Chekatt? Strasbourg shooting suspect who killed 3 in Christmas Market terror	The Sun
	12-Dec-2018 06:50AM	Cherif Chekatt identified as Strasbourg Christmas market terrorist	Metro.co.uk
	12-Dec-2018 06:51AM	France hunts terror suspect who attacked Christmas market	Daily Mail Online
	12-Dec-2018 07:07PM	Strasbourg Christmas market shooting: Cherif Chekatt accused of shouting 'Allahu Akbar' ahead of attack that killed two	London Evening Standard
	12-Dec-2018 07:27AM	Christmas Market terror: How Google Maps could help YOU prepare for a terrorist attack	Express.co.uk
	12-Dec-2018 07:41AM	Strasbourg shooting: France hunts gunman as alert level raised	BBC.co.uk
	12-Dec-2018 07:46AM	Strasbourg shooting: Terror suspect on the run after killing three and injuring 11 at Christmas market	Telegraph.co.uk
	12-Dec-2018 07:57AM	Video: Strasbourg police shout: 'Get shelter, terrorist' after shooting	Metro.co.uk

12-Dec-2018 08:12PM	Strasbourg terror suspect shouted 'Allahu Akbar' as he shot and stabbed victims	Metro.co.uk
12-Dec-2018 08:33AM	Chérif Chekatt: Strasbourg terror attack suspect revealed as 'delinquent' amid manhunt after France Christmas market rampage	The Independent
12-Dec-2018 09:10AM	Strasbourg manhunt – live: France raises terror alert level as police search for gunman who killed three at Christmas market	The Independent
12-Dec-2018 10:32AM	SICK CELEBRATIONS ISIS supporters celebrate Strasbourg Christmas market terror attack claiming it came 'days after our threats' against festive events	The Sun
12-Dec-2018 10:54PM	ISIS 'lone-wolf attack' could hit Christmas shoppers, fear terror officials	Mirror.co.uk
12-Dec-2018 11:50AM	Strasbourg shooting suspect cried out Allahu Akbar – Paris prosecutor	Reuters
12-Dec-2018 11:08AM	Strasbourg shooting: gunman was listed as potential terror threat	The Guardian
12-Dec-2018 12:05AM	Terror alert after gunman runs amok in Strasbourg	The Times
12-Dec-2018 12:11PM	First image is revealed of fugitive 'Christmas market gunman' as Thai tourist among three people killed is identified and French police reveal murderer shouted 'Allahu Akbar' as he opened fire	Daily Mail Online
12-Dec-2018 02:33PM	Gunman shouted 'God is great' before Christmas market terror attack	Press Association
13-Dec-2018 03:59PM	Gunman shouted 'God is great' before Christmas market terror attack	The Independent
13-Dec-2018 04:01PM	Strasbourg manhunt: Anti-terror police close cordon off area of city as net closes on fugitive gunman	The Independent
13-Dec-2018 08:27PM	Strasbourg manhunt – live: Police operation corners suspected gunman Chérif Chekatt after Christmas market terror attack	Mirror.co.uk
13-Dec-2018 08:47PM	Strasbourg Christmas Market terrorist DEAD after shootout with police	Metro.co.uk
13-Dec-2018 10:24AM	Strasbourg terrorist killed in shootout with police	The Sun
13-Dec-2018 10:59AM	BLOODY REVENGE Strasbourg terrorist killed 3 in Christmas market shooting to 'avenge his dead brothers in Syria' as cops fear fugitive maniac is planning a SUICIDE attack	Sky News
13-Dec-2018 12:13PM	Strasbourg market terror attacker Cherif Chekatt wanted dead or alive	Metro.co.uk
13-Dec-2018 12:15PM	Armed police on the border between France and Germany in hunt for Strasbourg terrorist	Daily Mail Online
14-Dec-2018 05:07PM	Anti-terror police fear ISIS-inspired 'lone wolf' strike on Britain's Christmas markets in wake of Newcastle 'bomb factory' raid and Strasbourg attack	Metro.co.uk

14-Dec-2018 10:00AM	Fourth person dies after terror attack at Christmas market in Strasbourg	Daily Star
14-Dec-2018 11:12AM	BREAKING: Strasbourg centre on lockdown – days after Christmas market terror	Daily Mail Online
14-Dec-2018 05:07PM	'Bravo!' Crowd breaks into applause in Strasbourg as they thank police for killing Christmas market gunman who was shot dead in gun battle with anti-terror cops	Daily Star
14-Dec-2018 10:00AM	Fourth person dies after terror attack at Christmas market in Strasbourg	Daily Mail Online
14-Dec-2018 11:12AM	BREAKING: Strasbourg centre on lockdown – days after Christmas market terror	Daily Star
14-Dec-2018 11:12AM	'Bravo!' Crowd breaks into applause in Strasbourg as they thank police for killing Christmas market gunman who was shot dead in gun battle with anti-terror cops	Daily Mail Online
26-Nov-2019 05:43PM	Horror moment terrorist shouting 'Allahu Akbar' stabbed couple in knife frenzy	Daily Star
27-Nov-2019 01:34PM	Manchester New Year's Eve knifeman shouted 'Allahu Akbar' as he stabbed commuters	Mirror.co.uk

Appendix D:

Reporting On Shamima Begum's Late Son Jarrah

Mail Online had four separate articles which alluded to revisionist claims about the naming of the dead infant.



<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6727651/Sajid-Javid-defends-stripping-ISIS-bride-citizenship-fears-commit-terror-attack.html>



<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6724023/Will-ISIS-bride-Shamima-Begum-use-BABY-door-Britain.html>



Mr Javid had previously admitted that Begum's baby son **Jerah** - apparently named after a 7th century Islamic warlord - could still be British.

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6716167/Jihadi-bride-east-London-Shamima-Begum-family-lawyer-says-want-baby-son-home.html>

3.



<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6724655/At-12-British-ISIS-brides-arrived-Syrian-refugee-camps-past-week.html>

Further coverage on thesun.co.uk



<https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8535254/isis-shamima-begum-newborn-refugee-camp-jihadi-wives-threats/>
<https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8483857/shamima-begum-family-baby-raised-britain/>

Express Newspaper Editorial 20 Feb 2019, pp.12

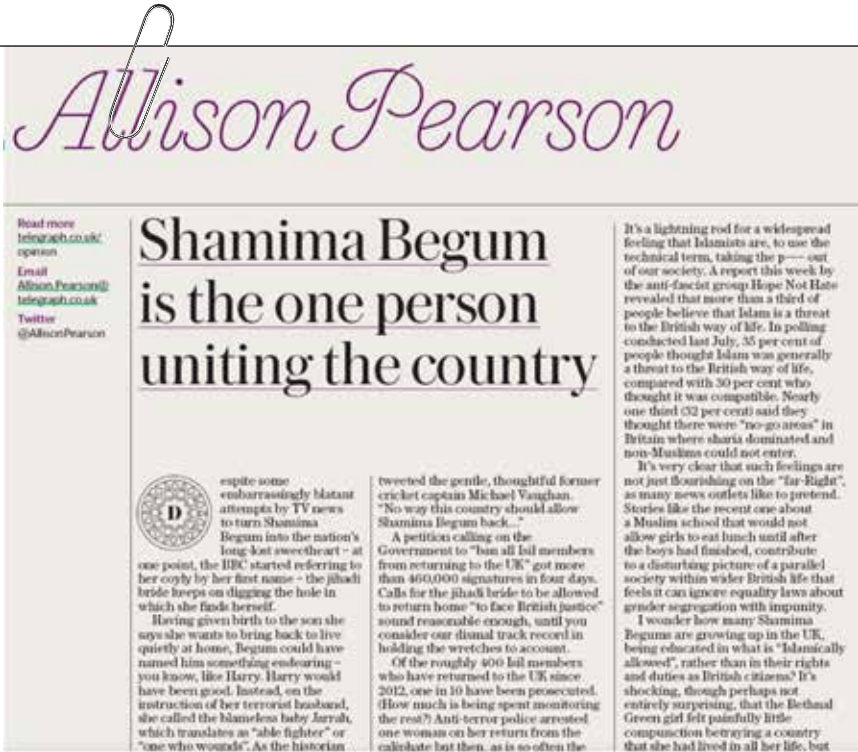


Daily Star carried the details in two online articles



<https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/760895/isis-bride-baby-shamima-begum-britain-uk-citizenship-sajid-javid-jarrah-son>
<https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/760438/isis-bride-shamima-begum-baby-name-britain-bethnal-green-london-return-uk>

Alison Pearson, Shamima Begum is the one person uniting the country against her, Daily Telegraph Newspaper, 20 Feb 2019



Appendix E

List Of Articles Ascribing A Link Between Baghdadi And Prophet Muhammad (Pbuh)

Articles which linked Daesh leader Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi to the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him).

27-Oct-2019 11:04AM	Who is Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and why is he important?	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/27/who-is-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-why-important-isis-caliph	The Guardian	«Baghdadi was not just an operational leader, but a symbol of Isis's Islamic credentials: he had claimed to come from the same tribe as the prophet Muhammad, to be a descendant of the prophet's grandson
27-Oct-2019 05:19PM	The killing of Baghdadi is not Trump's to claim, and his Syria policy may yet breathe life back into Isis	https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-death-isis-trump-syria-iraq-policy-a9173501.html	The Independent	Baghdadi claimed to have descended from the prophet Muhammad'
27-Oct-2019 03:33PM	Islamic State leader leaves a legacy of terror	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-7619127/Islamic-State-leader-leaves-legacy-terror.html	Daily Mail Online	By month's end, the group announced its own state governed by Islamic law. Al-Baghdadi became the declared «caliph» of the newly renamed Islamic State group, and Muslims worldwide were urged to pledge allegiance to him.'
27-Oct-2019 02:59PM	Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi: Who was the Isis leader and why is his death important?	https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-death-isis-islamic-state-leader-iraq-syria-a9173236.html	The Independent	The death of al-Baghdadi is important because he acted as a symbol of the group's supposed legitimacy as well as its leader – for example, he has claimed he came from the same tribe as the prophet Muhammad.'

27-Oct-2019 04:47PM	Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi obituary	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/27/abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-obituary	The Guardian	Baghdadi was convinced he could topple the new regime in Baghdad, restore old ways in which Islam was practised, settle a 1,500-year-old score with the rival Islamic sect, the Shias, and help fulfil prophecies that edged the world towards an inevitable end of days showdown with a pre-ordained foe.'
27-Oct-2019 10:24PM	Operation Obliteration: How US gunships cornered ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi as Donald Trump watched on live TV link	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7619773/How-gunships-cornered-ISIS-leader-Abu-Bakr-al-Baghdadi-Donald-Trump-watched-live-TV-link.html	Daily Mail Online	Dressed in a black turban and flowing black gown, he delivered a sermon urging Muslims around the world to swear allegiance to the new caliphate – an Islamic state led by a caliph, a successor to the Prophet Muhammad who has absolute political and religious power – and to flock to protect its newly conquered territory.
27-Oct-2019 10:27PM	Death of a butcher, but not of his cause: JOHN R. BRADLEY examines the likely impact of the death of ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7619977/JOHN-R-BRADLEY-examines-likely-impact-death-ISIS-leader-Abu-Bakr-al-Baghdadi.html	Daily Mail Online	Dressed in a black turban and flowing black gown, he delivered a sermon urging Muslims around the world to swear allegiance to the new caliphate – an Islamic state led by a caliph, a successor to the Prophet Muhammad who has absolute political and religious power – and to flock to protect its newly conquered territory.
28-Oct-2019 12:45AM	Abu Bakr al Baghdadi obituary	https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-obituary-jm6ppv3jn	The Times	Promising young footballer and student of the Koran who became a terrorist, mass murderer and the world's most-wanted man.'

Appendix F

Allahu Akbar Headlines 2016-2019

Date	Headline	URL	Source	Author	Keywords
05-Jan-2016 03:46PM	Youths destroy a town centre Christmas tree with a petrol bomb while shouting 'Allahu Akbar' in Belgian city	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3385563/Youths-destroy-town-centre-Christmas-tree-petrol-bomb-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-Belgian-city.html	Daily Mail Online	Corey Charlton for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
05-Jan-2016 01:10PM	WATCH: Muslims torch huge Christmas tree with PETROL BOMB while screaming 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/485445/video-teenage-muslim-gang-burn-christmas-tree-petrol-bomb-brussels-belgium	Daily Star	David Trayner	Allahu Akbar
07-Jan-2016 11:31AM	Paris shooting: Knife-wielding man wearing fake explosive vest 'shouting Allahu Akbar' shot dead trying to get into police station	https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/paris-police-station-shooting-man-7132984	Mirror.co.uk	Anthony Bond	Allahu Akbar
11-Jan-2016 03:29PM	Jewish man attacked by machete-wielding boy shouting 'Allah hu akbar' outside Marseille synagogue	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/jewish-man-attacked-machete-wielding-7157692	Mirror.co.uk	Ian Sparks	Allah hu akbar
14-Jan-2016 05:51PM	Mum accused of fleeing to Syria with her toddler 'who wore ISIS balaclava and could say Allahu Akbar'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/mum-accused-fleeing-syria-toddler-7179855	Mirror.co.uk	Richard Vernalls , Rachel Bishop , Andrew Jehring	Allahu Akbar
29-Feb-2016 02:33PM	Woman arrested in Moscow after shouting 'Allahu Akbar' and carrying child's severed head	http://www.christiantoday.com/article/woman.arrested.in.moscow.after.shouting.allahu.akbar.and.carrying.childs.severed.head/80871.htm	Christian Today	Carey Lodge	Allahu Akbar
29-Feb-2016 10:49AM	Moscow child beheading horror video shows 'woman in burkha brandishing tot's head shouting Allahu Akbar'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/woman-held-russia-after-handing-7463406	Mirror.co.uk	Alex Wellman , Richard Wheatstone	Allahu Akbar

29-Feb-2016 10:07AM	Woman held in Russia after 'handing police child's severed head and shouting Allahu Akbar'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/woman-held-russia-after-handing-7463132	Mirror.co.uk	Alex Wellman , Richard Wheatstone	Allahu Akbar
29-Feb-2016 09:54AM	Horror in Russia as woman in burka 'holding a child's severed HEAD and shouting Allahu Akbar' walks through centre of Moscow	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3469100/Woman-black-burka-holding-child-s-severed-HEAD-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-shuts-metro-station-Moscow.html	Daily Mail Online	By Julian Robinson for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
29-Feb-2016 04:09AM	'Aussie, Aussie, Aussie! Allahu Akbar!': Nazeem Hussain's bogan-Muslim army	http://www.theguardian.com/culture/2016/feb/29/aussie-aussie-aussie-allahu-akbar-nazeem-hussains-bogan-muslim-army	The Guardian	Monica Tan	Allahu Akbar
09-Mar-2016 02:56PM	ISIS fighter's epic fail as militant firing artillery gun falls off truck shouting 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/isis-fighters-epic-fail-militant-7524541	Mirror.co.uk	Kara O'Neill	Allahu Akbar
09-Mar-2016 01:48PM	WATCH: Epic fail as ISIS fighter falls off artillery gun shouting 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/499976/ISIS-fighter-falls-from-artillery-gun-Syria-Daesh-war-viral-video	Daily Star	Tom Evans	Allahu Akbar
09-Mar-2016 01:43PM	Uruguayan Jew stabbed to death by a man shouting 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.jewishnews.co.uk/uruguayan-jew-stabbed-to-death-by-a-man-shouting-allahu-akbar/	The Jewish News		Allahu Akbar
13-Mar-2016 04:27PM	Ivory Coast hotel shooting: Eye-witness describes how gunmen shouted 'Allahu Akbar' before gunning down women and children	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/ivory-coast-hotel-shooting-eye-7549507	Mirror.co.uk	Richard Wheatstone	Allahu Akbar
29-Mar-2016 04:19PM	Jewish man is arrested after going to Synagogue dressed as a Kalashnikov-wielding jihadist and shouting 'Allahu Akbar' to 'lighten the mood'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3514222/Jewish-man-arrested-going-Synagogue-dressed-Kalashnikov-wielding-jihadist-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-lighten-mood.html	Daily Mail Online	By Ben Tufft For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
29-Mar-2016 11:44AM	Jewish man arrested after rushing into Paris synagogue with fake Kalashnikov shouting Allahu Akbar as a 'joke'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/jewish-man-arrested-after-rushing-7647045	Mirror.co.uk	Richard Wheatstone , Peter Allen	Allahu Akbar

30-Mar-2016 01:19PM	Seventeen Middle Eastern men detained 'after shouting Allahu Akbar-type stuff and firing weapons in a hiking area'... only to be released when police found no evidence they had committed any crime	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3515456/Seventeen-Middle-Eastern-men-detained-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-type-stuff-firing-weapons-hiking-area-released-police-no-evidence-committed-crime.html	Daily Mail Online	By Ashley Collman For Dailymail.com	Allahu Akbar
01-Apr-2016 06:11PM	'I was woken to this guy shouting in my face': Muslim man yells 'Allahu Akbar' repeatedly terrifying Etihad airline passengers as he performs call to prayer	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3519067/I-woken-guy-shouting-face-Muslim-man-yells-Alluha-Akbar-repeatedly-terrifying-Etihad-airline-passengers-performs-call-prayer.html	Daily Mail Online	By Harriet Mallinson For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
02-Apr-2016 08:22PM	WATCH: Passengers panic as Muslim man shouts 'Allahu Akbar' mid-flight	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/505448/Muslim-passenger-shouts-Allahu-Akbar-American-Airlines-flight-passengers-panic	Daily Star	Tom Evans	Allahu Akbar
07-Apr-2016 08:44AM	Student who criticised Islamism in Facebook post hacked to death with machetes by thugs shouting Allahu Akbar	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/student-who-criticised-islamism-facebook-7705407	Mirror.co.uk	Jon Dean	Allahu Akbar
12-Apr-2016 05:08AM	'Cops clash with migrants screaming Allahu Akbar' as violence rocks European border	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/507464/migrant-crisis-greece-macedonia-border-nikos-toskas-allahu-akbar-tear-gas	Daily Star	Jack Fenwick	Allahu Akbar
05-May-2016 07:09AM	Mourners chanting 'Allahu Akbar' gather outside a Sydney mosque to farewell a gangland figure gunned down in an execution-style hit at a shopping centre carpark	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3574478/Hundreds-mourners-flooded-Lakemba-Mosque-farewell-Walid-Ahmad-shot-dead-Bankstown-shopping-centre.html	Daily Mail Online	By Lucy Mae Beers For Daily Mail Australia	Allahu Akbar
10-May-2016 07:48PM	If the police are sorry for shouting 'Allahu Akbar' during a terror drill, they may as well apologise for EVERYTHING	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/police-sorry-shouting-allahu-akbar-7939106	Mirror.co.uk	by Fleet StreetFox	Allahu Akbar
10-May-2016 05:13PM	Allahu Akbar shouts Manchester terror drill 'suicide bomber'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/video/news/video-1290106/Allahu-Akbar-shouts-Manchester-terror-drill-suicide-bomber.html	Daily Mail Online		Allahu Akbar

10-May-2016 04:46PM	Allahu Akbar and Manchester police: The difference between racism and realism	http://www.christiantoday.com/article/allahu.akbar.and.manchester.police.the.difference.between.racism.and.realism/85781.htm	Christian Today	Harry Farley	Allahu Akbar
10-May-2016 04:45PM	Manchester Police didn't need their fake terrorist to shout 'Allahu Akbar' - I know, I was a counter-terrorism officer	http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/manchester-police-didnt-need-their-fake-terrorist-to-shout-allahu-akbar-i-know-i-was-a-counter-a7022981.html	The Independent	Kevin Maxwell	Allahu Akbar
10-May-2016 02:05PM	Police apologise for 'Allahu Akbar' use in mock Manchester attack	http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/may/10/police-apologise-for-allahu-akbar-use-in-mock-manchester-attack	The Guardian	Frances Perraudin	Allahu Akbar
10-May-2016 02:05PM	Police apologise for 'Allahu Akbar' use in mock Manchester attack	http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/may/10/police-apologise-for-alluha-akbur-use-in-mock-manchester-attack	The Guardian	Frances Perraudin	Allahu Akbar
10-May-2016 01:49PM	Manchester police chief: I'm sorry fake terrorist shouted 'Allahu Akbar' during Trafford Centre bomb drill	http://www.standard.co.uk/news/uk/police-chief-apologises-for-use-of-allahu-akbar-counter-terrorism-training-exercise-a3244706.html	London Evening Standard	Laura Proto	Allahu Akbar
10-May-2016 12:12PM	Police apologise for making fake suicide bomber shout 'Allahu Akbar' in Trafford Centre counter-terror exercise	http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/police-apologise-for-making-fake-suicide-bomber-shout-allahu-akbar-during-counter-terror-exercise-in-a7022196.html	The Independent	Lizzie Dearden	Allahu Akbar
10-May-2016 08:00AM	Police apologise after fake bomber shouts 'Allahu Akbar' during counter-terror exercise	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/514219/police-sorry-bomber-terror-attack-British-shopping-centre-Manchester-Trafford-Centre	Daily Star	Simon Green	Allahu Akbar
10-May-2016 07:50AM	Munich stabbing: Man 'shouts Allahu Akbar' before launching attack at railway station in German town of Grafing	http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/munich-stabbing-suspected-islamist-shouts-allahu-akbar-before-launching-attack-at-railway-station-in-a7021816.html	The Independent	Lizzie Dearden	Allahu Akbar

10-May-2016 07:26AM	Munich station attack: Knifeman 'shouting Allahu Akbar' stabs passengers leaving four seriously injured during rush-hour	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/munich-station-attack-knifeman-shouting-7935459	Mirror.co.uk	John Shammas	Allahu Akbar
10-May-2016 06:45AM	Man, said to shout Allahu Akbar, knifes Munich rail passengers	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-3582359/Man-said-shout-Allahu-Akbar--knifes-Munich-rail-passengers.html	Daily Mail Online	By Reuters	Allahu Akbar
10-May-2016 06:43AM	BREAKING NEWS: Knifeman screaming 'Allahu Akbar' goes on rampage at train station, leaving four people seriously injured after random attack on passengers in Munich	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3582358/Knifeman-screaming-Allahu-Akbar-goes-rampage-train-station-leaving-four-people-seriously-injured-random-attack-passengers-Munich.html	Daily Mail Online	By Allan Hall In Berlin for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
11-May-2016 02:28PM	Man who screamed 'Allahu Akbar' while carrying out knife rampage which left one person dead in Germany is sent to a psychiatric hospital	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3584965/German-station-assailant-sent-psychiatric-hospital.html	Daily Mail Online	By Associated Press Sara Malm for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
11-May-2016 01:45PM	'Allahu Akbar' cry at terror drill was scripted, police admit	http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/may/11/allahu-akbar-manchester-terror-drill-scripted-police	The Guardian	Frances Perraudin	Allahu Akbar
12-May-2016 07:12AM	Muslim group demands sacking over fake suicide bomber who shouted 'Allahu Akbar' at Trafford Centre	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/muslim-group-demands-sacking-over-7950962	Mirror.co.uk	John Scheerhout	Allahu Akbar
12-May-2016 12:51AM	STEPHEN GLOVER: How police's apology for shouting Allahu Akbar at a mock terror attack reveals their warped priorities	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3585933/STEPHEN-GLOVER-police-s-apology-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-mock-terror-attack-reveals-warped-priorities.html	Daily Mail Online	By Stephen Glover for the Daily Mail	Allahu Akbar
17-May-2016 05:29PM	'The crowd were shouting Allahu Akbar. A man was striking Raif with all his might': Wife of Saudi blogger sentenced to 1,000 lashes reveal horror as she saw him punished	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3595153/The-crowd-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-man-striking-Raif-Wife-Saudi-blogger-sentenced-1-000-lashes-reveal-horror-saw-punished.html	Daily Mail Online	By MailOnline Reporter	Allahu Akbar

26-May-2016 01:17PM	Elderly Christian mother 'is stripped and forced to walk through her village by men shouting Allahu Akbar' after her son was rumoured to be having a relationship with a Muslim	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3610283/Muslim-mob-attacks-Christian-homes-Egyptian-province.html	Daily Mail Online	By Nick Enoch for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
03-Jun-2016 11:06PM	Terror scare on UK-bound flight after passenger shouts "Allahu Akbar" and "Boom"	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/terror-scare-uk-bound-flight-8111962	Mirror.co.uk	Ross McCarthy	Allahu Akbar
03-Jun-2016 11:06PM	Terror scare on Birmingham-bound flight after passenger shouted "Allahu Akbar" and "Boom"	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/terror-scare-birmingham-bound-flight-8111962	Mirror.co.uk	Ross McCarthy	Allahu Akbar
04-Jun-2016 03:06PM	Plane passenger, 38, threw food and towels around a flight from Dubai to Birmingham while shouting 'Allahu Akbar' and 'Boom'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3625252/Plane-passenger-38-threw-food-towels-flight-Dubai-Birmingham-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-Boom.html	Daily Mail Online	By Matt Hunter For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
05-Jun-2016 05:36AM	Terror as Muslim shouts 'Allahu akbar' and 'boom' on UK flight	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/520763/muslim-passenger-shouts-allahu-akbar-boom-emirates-flight-birmingham-uk-Shehraz-Sarwar	Daily Star	David Trayner	Allahu akbar
09-Jun-2016 10:27PM	'Life and death situation': Police defend shooting crazed knifeman who shouted 'Allahu Akbar' at packed Westfield - as three elderly women are treated for bullet wounds	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3634180/Sydney-police-defend-decision-shoot-man-Westfield-Hornsby-despite-bystander-injuries.html	Daily Mail Online	By Liam Quinn Rachel Eddie Daniel Piotrowski	Allahu Akbar
01-Jul-2016 07:01PM	Bangladesh terror attack: Gunmen 'shouting Allahu Akbar' storm Spanish bakery popular with Westerners and take hostages	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/bangladesh-terror-attack-gunmen-shouting-8329356	Mirror.co.uk	Gemma Mullin	Allahu Akbar
01-Jul-2016 07:01PM	Breaking: Eight gunmen 'shouting Allahu Akbar' storm Bangladeshi restaurant taking people hostage including 'several' foreigners	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/breaking-eight-gunmen-shouting-allahu-8329356	Mirror.co.uk	Gemma Mullin	Allahu Akbar
01-Jul-2016 10:15AM	French charity official says stabbed by couple shouting Allahu Akbar	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-3669655/French-charity-official-says-stabbed-couple-shouting-Allahu-Akbar.html	Daily Mail Online	By Reuters	Allahu Akbar

01-Jul-2016 10:14AM	Charity boss stabbed by couple shouting 'Allahu Akbar' armed with axe and knife	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/charity-boss-stabbed-couple-shouting-8323739	Mirror.co.uk	Stephen Jones	Allahu Akbar
01-Jul-2016 10:05AM	BREAKING: Charity boss stabbed by couple armed with axe and knife shouting 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/526867/Allahu-Akbar-France-terrorism-axe-and-knife-stabbing-charity-boss-stabbed	Daily Star	Jeremy Culley	Allahu Akbar
01-Jul-2016 08:14AM	French charity official says stabbed by couple shouting Allahu Akbar - media	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-3669497/French-charity-official-says-stabbed-couple-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-media.html	Daily Mail Online	By Reuters	Allahu Akbar
03-Jul-2016 05:43PM	Plane passenger who chanted 'Allahu Akbar' and 'boom' during turbulent flight is jailed	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/plane-passenger-who-chanted-allahu-8340506	Mirror.co.uk	Andy Richardson	Allahu Akbar
04-Jul-2016 08:00AM	Passenger, 38, is jailed after terrifying holidaymakers when he shouted 'Allahu Akbar' and 'boom' on turbulent Dubai flight	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3673247/Passenger-38-jailed-terrifying-holidaymakers-shouted-Allahu-Akbar-boom-turbulent-Dubai-flight.html	Daily Mail Online	By Euan McLelland For MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
04-Jul-2016 12:05AM	Passenger who shouted 'Allahu Akbar' and 'boom' as plane hit turbulence jailed	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/527388/Birmingham-Shehraz-Sarwar-Passenger-Allahu-Akbar-boom-emirates-plane-turbulence-jailed	Daily Star	Vincent Wood	Allahu Akbar
15-Jul-2016 11:10AM	Crazed Nice lorry terrorist 'shouted Allahu Akbar' as he mowed terrified people down 'like skittles'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/crazed-nice-lorry-terrorist-shouted-8426243	Mirror.co.uk	Alex Wellman	Allahu Akbar
18-Jul-2016 11:24PM	Germany train axe attack: Afghan teenage refugee shouting 'Allahu Akbar' goes on bloody rampage hacking passengers	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/germany-train-axe-attack-afghan-8445784	Mirror.co.uk	Richard Wheatstone	Allahu Akbar
19-Jul-2016 05:42PM	Man suspected of knifing mum and three daughters at French resort shouts 'Allahu Akbar' 3 times in prison	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/man-suspected-knifing-mum-three-8450861	Mirror.co.uk	Martin Fricker , Sam Webb	Allahu Akbar
19-Jul-2016 12:14PM	Germany train axe attack: Recap as 18 injured after teenage refugee shouted 'Allahu Akbar' and hacked passengers	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/germany-train-axe-attack-recap-8445573	Mirror.co.uk	Natalie Evans , Richard Wheatstone , John Shammas	Allahu Akbar

22-Jul-2016 10:15PM	Munich shooting: Witness claims gunman yelled 'Allahu Akbar' during attack	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/532187/munich-terror-attack-gunman-muslim-islamic-extremism-shootings	Daily Star	Rachel O'Donoghue	Allahu Akbar
23-Jul-2016 02:00PM	'Allahu Akbar, Tom Cruise': Mission Impossible star is dragged into police investigation after 'suicide bomber' threatens Church of Scientology	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3704739/Tom-Cruise-dragged-police-investigation-surrounding-suicide-bomber-threatened-Church-Scientology.html	Daily Mail Online	By Dailymail.com Reporter	Allahu Akbar
26-Jul-2016 12:51PM	Two ISIS knifemen shouting 'Allahu Akbar' slit French priest's throat in church attack taking nuns and worshippers hostage	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/two-isis-knifemen-shouting-allahu-8494268	Mirror.co.uk	Richard Wheatstone	Allahu Akbar
26-Jul-2016 11:07AM	Nine ISIS militants shouting 'Allahu akbar' are shot dead in police raid in Bangladesh after plotting major attack	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3708147/Nine-militants-killed-police-raid-Bangladesh.html	Daily Mail Online	By Charlie Moore For Mailonline	Allahu akbar
27-Jul-2016 01:49PM	Dramatic moment French police gun down ISIS jihadis charging out of church while using nuns as human shields and chanting 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3710858/Dramatic-moment-French-police-gun-ISIS-jihadis-charging-church-using-nuns-human-shields-chanting-Allahu-Akbar.html	Daily Mail Online	By Julian Robinson for MailOnline Fidelma Cook In France For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
29-Jul-2016 07:32AM	Islamic preacher shouts 'Allahu Akbar' in police officer's face during extraordinary street confrontation	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/islamic-preacher-shouts-allahu-akbar-8517553	Mirror.co.uk	David Raven , Steve Robson	Allahu Akbar
29-Jul-2016 02:25AM	High alert as Turks chanting 'Allahu Akbar' gather outside NATO nuke base	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/533682/incirlik-ss-air-base-turkey-protest-nato-us-demand-closure-nuclear-coup-video	Daily Star	David Trayner	Allahu Akbar
03-Aug-2016 04:45PM	WATCH: 'Muslim teens' firebomb Paris bus shouting Allahu Akbar	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/535036/Firebomb-bus-Muslim-attack-Paris-Saint-Denis-Allahu-Akbar-terrorism-video	Daily Star	Tom Evans	Allahu Akbar
06-Aug-2016 06:02PM	Police attacked with machete by man yelling 'allahu akbar'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/video/news/video-1317246/Police-attacked-machete-man-yelling-allahu-akbar.html	Daily Mail Online		allahu akbar

06-Aug-2016 04:36PM	Belgium police attack: Man shouting 'Allahu Akbar' attacks two officers in Charleroi with machete	http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/belgium-police-attack-news-latest-man-shouting-allahu-akbar-attacks-two-officers-in-charleroi-with-a7176361.html	The Independent	Lizzie Dearden	Allahu Akbar
06-Aug-2016 04:24PM	Belgium police attacked with machete by man yelling 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/belgium-police-attacked-with-machete-by-man-yelling-allahu-akbar-a3313571.html	London Evening Standard	Mark Chandler	Allahu Akbar
06-Aug-2016 04:20PM	BREAKING: Machete-wielding knifeman shouting 'Allahu Akbar' wounds two cops	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/535828/knifeman-attacks-police-belgium	Daily Star	Joshua Nevett	Allahu Akbar
06-Aug-2016 04:12PM	Belgium police machete attack: Live updates after two officers stabbed by knifeman shouting 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/belgium-police-machete-attack-live-8574903	Mirror.co.uk	Gemma Mullin	Allahu Akbar
07-Aug-2016 02:58PM	ISIS claims responsibility for machete attack on two Belgian policewomen by Algerian who shouted 'Allahu Akbar' before being shot dead by officers	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3727953/ISIS-claims-responsibility-machete-attack-two-Belgian-policewomen-Algerian-shouted-Allahu-Akbar-shot-dead-officers.html	Daily Mail Online	By Julian Robinson Chris Summers For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
07-Aug-2016 02:17PM	Belgium police machete attack: ISIS claim responsibility after knifeman shouting 'Allahu Akbar' hacks two female officers in face	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/belgium-police-machete-attack-isis-8580544	Mirror.co.uk	Sam Webb	Allahu Akbar
08-Aug-2016 01:42PM	'We march through the night to cut and behead... Allahu Akbar': Young girl in full niqab sings disturbing song as she beheads toy doll in video posted by ISIS supporter	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3729524/We-march-night-cut-behead-Allahu-Akbar-Young-girl-niqab-sings-disturbing-song-beheads-toy-doll-video-posted-ISIS-supporter.html	Daily Mail Online	By Jennifer Newton for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
08-Aug-2016 09:55AM	Machete attacker who hacked two Belgian officers with a machete while screaming 'Allahu Akbar' was known to police for petty crime – but had NO terror links, they claim	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3729141/Belgian-official-says-machete-attacker-known-petty-crime.html	Daily Mail Online	By Alexander Robertson For Mailonline Associated Press	Allahu Akbar

10-Aug-2016 05:29PM	Ex-Chessington Zoo worker 'made videos of himself shouting 'Allahu Akbar' in support of ISIS from a car window near Windsor army barracks after the Paris terror attacks'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3733553/Ex-Chessington-Zoo-worker-accused-making-pro-ISIS-videos.html	Daily Mail Online	By Keiligh Baker for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
18-Aug-2016 09:16AM	Shouts of 'Allahu Akbar' cause mass stampede as protestors fear terrorist attack	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/538834/Allahu-Akbar-protestors-fear-terrorist-attack-stampede-Islam-shouts	Daily Star		Allahu Akbar
19-Aug-2016 12:50PM	Strasbourg stabbing: Jewish man stabbed in France by attacker 'shouting Allahu Akbar'	http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/strasbourg-rabbi-jewish-stabbing-france-latest-attacker-knife-allahu-akbar-terrorism-a7198991.html	The Independent	Lizzie Dearden	Allahu Akbar
19-Aug-2016 12:35PM	BREAKING: Rabbi stabbed in street by attacker shouting 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/539186/Strasbourg-stabbing-Hasidic-Jew-rabbi-knife-attack-France-near-Germany	Daily Star	Tom Evans	Allahu Akbar
19-Aug-2016 12:27PM	Strasbourg stabbing: Jewish rabbi knifed by man shouting 'Allahu Akbar' in daylight attack	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/strasbourg-stabbing-jewish-rabbi-knifed-8663645	Mirror.co.uk	Anthony Bond	Allahu Akbar
23-Aug-2016 05:15PM	Horror as 'man shouting Allahu Akbar tries to behead one victim and stabs another in ISIS-inspired US attack'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/horror-man-shouting-allahu-akbar-8690509	Mirror.co.uk	Scott Campbell	Allahu Akbar
23-Aug-2016 12:03PM	FBI probing stabbing where suspect shouted 'Allahu akbar'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-3754574/FBI-probing-stabbing-suspect-shouted-Allahu-akbar.html	Daily Mail Online	By Associated Press	Allahu akbar
23-Aug-2016 08:21AM	FBI launches terror probe after knifeman who 'wanted to sneak into Syria' tried to behead a man while shouting 'Allahu Akbar' in suspected ISIS-inspired lone wolf attack	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3754267/FBI-launches-terror-probe-knifeman-wanted-sneak-Syria-tried-behead-man-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-suspected-ISIS-inspired-lone-wolf-attack.html	Daily Mail Online	By Darren Boyle for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar

24-Aug-2016 11:45PM	'The threat has become a reality': Pauline Hanson demands a halt to Muslim immigration after backpacker slaying by 'man screaming Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3757335/Pauline-Hanson-demands-halt-Muslim-immigration-death-British-backpacker.html	Daily Mail Online	By Cindy Tran for Daily Mail Australia	Allahu Akbar
24-Aug-2016 04:43PM	First picture of knifeman accused of killing British backpacker 'while shouting Allahu Akbar'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/first-picture-knifeman-accused-killing-8697923	Mirror.co.uk	Richard Wheatstone , John Shammas	Allahu Akbar
24-Aug-2016 08:20AM	Mia Ayliffe-Chung: 'Infectiously happy' British backpacker stabbed to death by knifeman 'shouting Allahu Akbar' in hostel rampage	http://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/mia-ayliffechung-infectiously-happy-british-backpacker-stabbed-to-death-by-knifeman-shouting-allahu-a3327961.html	London Evening Standard	Hatty Collier	Allahu Akbar
24-Aug-2016 07:30AM	First picture of British backpacker Mia Ayliffe-Chung murdered in Australia hostel by Frenchman shouting 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/first-picture-british-backpacker-mia-8693568	Mirror.co.uk	Natalie Evans , Hannah Stubbs , Stephen Jones	Allahu Akbar
24-Aug-2016 06:45AM	British woman stabbed to death at Australian hostel by attacker shouting 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.independent.co.uk/news/british-woman-stabbed-death-australia-hostel-terror-attack-a7206696.html	The Independent	Hannah Stubbs	Allahu Akbar
24-Aug-2016 06:23AM	British woman stabbed to death 'by man shouting Allahu Akbar' in rampage at Australian hostel	http://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/shellys-backpackers-stabbing-young-british-tourist-killed-and-another-fights-for-life-in-australia-a3327906.html	London Evening Standard	Frank Thorne	Allahu Akbar
24-Aug-2016 05:44AM	British woman backpacker, 21, murdered in Australia hostel by Frenchman screaming 'Allahu Akbar!'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/british-woman-backpacker-21-murdered-8693473	Mirror.co.uk	Natalie Evans , Hannah Stubbs , Stephen Jones	Allahu Akbar
24-Aug-2016 05:44AM	Australia stabbing: British woman backpacker, 21, murdered in hostel by Frenchman screaming 'Allahu Akbar!'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/australia-stabbing-british-woman-backpacker-8693473	Mirror.co.uk	Natalie Evans , Hannah Stubbs , Stephen Jones	Allahu Akbar
24-Aug-2016 05:01AM	British woman stabbed to death by 'Allahu Akbar' attacker at Australian hostel	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-3755794/British-woman-stabbed-death-Allahu-Akbar-attacker-Australian-hostel.html	Daily Mail Online	By Press Association	Allahu Akbar

24-Aug-2016 04:02AM	Man allegedly shouted 'Allahu Akbar' after stabbing British woman	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/video/news/video-1322870/Man-allegedly-shouted-Allahu-Akbar-stabbing-British-woman.html	Daily Mail Online		Allahu Akbar
24-Aug-2016 03:55AM	BREAKING: Brit tourist killed by man shouting 'Allahu Akbar' in Australia	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/540301/stabbing-Australian-hostel-Queensland-Home-Hill-British-backpacker-killed-injured	Daily Star	Nicole Stinson	Allahu Akbar
24-Aug-2016 03:52AM	Frenchman in Australia kills British backpacker and injures man while 'shouting Allahu Akbar'	http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/08/24/frenchman-in-australia-kills-british-backpacker-and-injures-man/	Telegraph.co.uk	Jonathan Pearlman, Sydney	Allahu Akbar
24-Aug-2016 03:03AM	Police: Man shouts 'Allahu akbar' in Australian knife attack	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-3755731/Police-Man-shouts-Allahu-akbar-Australian-knife-attack.html	Daily Mail Online	By Associated Press	Allahu akbar
25-Aug-2016 01:22AM	Knifeman who shouted 'Allahu Akbar' as he 'stabbed a British backpacker' at a hostel was 'entranced' and stalked the 21-year-old for days before he flew into a rage over a racy photo shoot	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3757404/French-man-killed-British-backpacker-Queensland-hostel-stabbing-entranced-her.html	Daily Mail Online	By Tracey Kandohla For Mailonline Louise Cheer	Allahu Akbar
28-Aug-2016 11:33AM	Germany stabbing: Knifeman 'shouts Allahu Akbar' as he attacks couple at music festival leaving wife fighting for life	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/germany-stabbing-knifeman-shouts-allahu-8722043	Mirror.co.uk	John Shammass	Allahu Akbar
30-Aug-2016 05:50AM	Passage from the Koran will be read at slain British backpacker Mia Ayliffe-Chung's funeral - who was 'killed by a French national shouting Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3764535/Passage-Koran-read-slain-British-backpacker-Mia-Ayliffe-Chung-s-funeral.html	Daily Mail Online	By Daniel Peters For Daily Mail Australia Australian Associated Press	Allahu Akbar
06-Sep-2016 01:10PM	Hate preacher Anjem Choudary jailed for promoting Islamic State as supporters shout Allahu Akbar inside court	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/hate-preacher-anjem-choudary-jailed-8776876	Mirror.co.uk	Richard Wheatstone	Allahu Akbar
06-Sep-2016 01:10PM	BREAKING: Anjem Choudary jailed as supporters shout Allahu Akbar INSIDE court	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/543569/Anjem-Choudary-hate-preacher-jailed-ISIS-Syria-Iraq-London-UK-terrorism	Daily Star	Tom Evans	Allahu Akbar

06-Sep-2016 12:07PM	BREAKING NEWS: Anjem Choudary's supporters chant 'Allahu Akbar' as the hate preacher is jailed for five and a half years - just HALF the maximum sentence he faced	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3775624/Anjem-Choudary-gets-five-half-years-hate-campaign.html	Daily Mail Online	By Richard Spillett, Crime Correspondent For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
10-Sep-2016 10:30PM	Migrant repeatedly screams Allahu Akbar onboard easyJet flight	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/video/news/video-1328382/Migrant-repeatedly-screams-Allahu-Akbar-onboard-easyJet-flight.html	Daily Mail Online		Allahu Akbar
10-Sep-2016 09:09PM	Terror on EasyJet flight as migrant being deported to Venice screams 'Allahu Akbar' 29 times, 'death is coming' 17 times and 'we will die' nine times in shocking two-hour frenzy	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3783356/Terror-EasyJet-flight-migrant-deported-Venice-screams-Allahu-Akbar-29-times-death-coming-17-times-die-nine-times-shocking-two-hour-frenzy.html	Daily Mail Online	By Simon Murphy, Martin Beckford And Adrian Hearn For The Mail On Sunday	Allahu Akbar
11-Sep-2016 08:00PM	Shocking moment a migrant being deported to Venice on an easyJet flight is held down after screaming 'Allahu Akbar' 29 times, 'death is coming' 17 times and 'we will die' nine times in two-hour frenzy	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3784323/Shocking-moment-migrant-deported-Venice-easyJet-flight-held-screaming-Allahu-Akbar-29-times-death-coming-17-times-die-nine-times-two-hour-frenzy.html	Daily Mail Online	By Abe Hawken For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
11-Sep-2016 06:03PM	Three women screaming 'Allahu Akbar' are shot dead as they carry out firebomb and knife attack at Kenyan police station	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3783962/Three-women-killed-terror-attack-Kenya-police-station.html	Daily Mail Online	By Afp Reporter	Allahu Akbar
11-Sep-2016 01:38PM	Petrified easyJet passengers sit in horror as deported migrant screams 'Allahu Akbar' and 'death is coming' throughout flight	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/petrified-easyjet-passengers-sit-horror-8812416	Mirror.co.uk	Richard Wheatstone	Allahu Akbar
11-Sep-2016 08:09AM	Man 'being deported to Venice' screamed 'Allahu Akbar' and 'we will die' during easyJet flight from Gatwick	http://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/man-being-deported-to-venice-screamed-allahu-akbar-and-we-will-die-during-easyjet-flight-from-a3341966.html	London Evening Standard	Fiona Simpson	Allahu Akbar
11-Sep-2016 05:20AM	Terror fears as migrant chants 'Allahu Akbar' 29 times on EasyJet flight	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/544679/Terror-fears-as-migrant-chants-Allahu-Akbar-29-times-on-EasyJet-flight	Daily Star	Zoe Efstathiou	Allahu Akbar

12-Sep-2016 12:19PM	Three veiled women shot dead after trying to blow themselves up in police station while screaming Allahu Akbar	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/three-veiled-women-shot-dead-8816723	Mirror.co.uk	Scott Campbell	Allahu Akbar
12-Sep-2016 09:47AM	Chilling CCTV shows knife-wielding ISIS supporter shout 'Allahu Akbar' moments after 'stabbing victim in rampage'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/chilling-cctv-shows-knife-wielding-8815867	Mirror.co.uk	Patrick Lion	Allahu Akbar
16-Sep-2016 10:51AM	At least 16 worshippers are killed as suicide attacker shouting 'Allahu Akbar' detonates huge bomb at mosque in Pakistan during Friday prayers	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3792678/Suicide-bomber-kills-16-people-Pakistan-mosque-official.html	Daily Mail Online	By Julian Robinson for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
28-Sep-2016 04:30AM	'Incredibly drunk' pro-cannabis mayoral candidate steals the mic and shouts 'Allahu Akbar' amid a brawl at a chaotic election debate	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3810962/Drunk-pro-cannabis-Auckland-mayoral-candidate-shouts-Allahu-akbar-debate.html	Daily Mail Online	By Ollie Gillman For Daily Mail Australia	Allahu Akbar
30-Sep-2016 02:04PM	'ISIS terrorist' ploughs vehicle into crowd while screaming Allahu Akbar – but fails to hit anyone	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/isis-terrorist-ploughs-vehicle-crowd-8948334	Mirror.co.uk	Scott Campbell	Allahu Akbar
30-Sep-2016 01:35PM	Turkish migrant screaming Allahu Akbar ploughs into crowd of pedestrians	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/549685/Turkish-migrant-Allahu-Akbar-crowd-Austria-Vienna	Daily Star	Simon Green	Allahu Akbar
06-Oct-2016 05:42PM	Minnesota mall stabber was recently radicalised, shouted 'Allahu akbar' and asked people if they were Muslim before attacking with steak knives as police release graphic videos of moment he was fatally shot	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3824581/Officials-provide-update-Minnesota-mall-stabbing-probe.html	Daily Mail Online	By Associated Press	Allahu akbar
06-Oct-2016 03:03PM	Airline denies it's on high alert after reports 'Allahu akbar' was sprawled on its planes	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/551396/airline-Air-france-allahu-akbar-deny-terror-fears-graffiti	Daily Star	Margi Murphy	Allahu akbar
07-Oct-2016 10:42AM	Man who drove into pedestrians shouting Allahu Akbar 'was just singing along to rap music while buying pizza'	http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/vienna-favoriten-car-ramming-attack-allahu-akbar-pizza-against-isis-rap-music-singing-cannabis-a7349876.html	The Independent	Lizzie Dearden	Allahu Akbar

08-Oct-2016 08:25AM	Louis Smith accused of 'mocking' Islam as he yells 'Allahu Akbar' and jokes about '60 virgins' in shock video	http://www.mirror.co.uk/3am/celebrity-news/louis-smith-accused-mocking-islam-9003646	Mirror.co.uk	Joshua Haigh	Allahu Akbar
08-Oct-2016 02:29AM	Shocking footage shows Louis Smith mockingly yell 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/video/news/video-1337706/Shocking-footage-shows-Louis-Smith-mockingly-yell-Allahu-Akbar.html	Daily Mail Online		Allahu Akbar
17-Oct-2016 05:41AM	Pro-cannabis politician who shouted 'Allahu akbar' in a debate not sorry for hitting a mother and her two children while drunk-driving – saying the alcohol limit is 'absolutely pathetic'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3842446/Pro-cannabis-mayoral-candidate-Adam-Holland-shouted-Allahu-akbar-debate-convicted-drink-driving-months-election.html	Daily Mail Online	By Ashleigh Davis Ollie Gillman For Daily Mail Australia	Allahu akbar
26-Oct-2016 11:22AM	Does anyone object to this marriage... Migrant screaming 'Allahu Akbar' bursts into a wedding in a German church and tears down decorations	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3874108/Does-object-marriage-Migrant-screaming-Allahu-Akbar-burts-wedding-German-church-tears-decorations.html	Daily Mail Online	By Sarah Dean For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
27-Oct-2016 07:02PM	Pupils at a primary school in a German ski resort 'suffering' after an influx of migrants are 'forced to recite Muslim Allahu Akbar prayer'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3879770/Pupils-primary-school-German-ski-resort-suffering-influx-migrants-forced-recite-Muslim-Allahu-Akbar-prayer.html	Daily Mail Online	By Gareth Davies For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
01-Nov-2016 11:00AM	Burka-clad female ISIS supporter who converted to Islam screams 'Allahu Akbar' while attacking German police with a knife	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3893202/Burka-clad-female-ISIS-supporter-converted-Islam-screams-Allahu-Akbar-attacking-German-police-knife.html	Daily Mail Online	By Allan Hall In Berlin for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
01-Nov-2016 03:10AM	Children in Germany Throw Rocks at Priests While Shouting 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.christiantoday.com/article/children.in.germany.throw.rocks.at.priests.while.shouting.allahu.akbar/99315.htm	Christian Today	Czarina Ong	Allahu Akbar
24-Nov-2016 04:12PM	Nanny who killed girl, four, and carried her head through a Russian town shouting 'Allahu Akbar' WON'T face criminal charges because she has a 'psychiatric disorder'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3968636/Nanny-killed-girl-four-carried-head-Russian-town-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-WON-T-face-criminal-charges-psychiatric-disorder.html	Daily Mail Online	By Will Stewart In Moscow for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar

18-Dec-2016 02:04PM	Buses evacuating families from Aleppo are burned by 'armed terrorists' chanting 'Allahu Akbar' as children scream	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4045322/The-Latest-Aleppo-evacuations-set-begin-again.html	Daily Mail Online	By Alexander Robertson For MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
22-Dec-2016 09:04AM	President Putin carries red roses as he leads tributes at ceremony for Russian ambassador to Turkey who was gunned down in front of his wife by a man shouting 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4057828/Russia-lays-rest-murdered-Turkey-envoy-honours.html	Daily Mail Online	By Reuters Will Stewart In Moscow for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
23-Dec-2016 11:25AM	Berlin attack: Anis Amri 'shouted Allahu Akbar' during gun battle with Italian police in Milan	http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/berlin-attacker-anis-amri-shot-dead-killed-police-shootout-milan-allahu-akbar-france-paris-ticket-a7492191.html	The Independent	Lizzie Dearden	Allahu Akbar
23-Dec-2016 09:18AM	World's most wanted man is dead: Rookie Italian policeman guns down fugitive Berlin killer screaming 'Allahu Akbar' after he shoots his fellow officer when they confront him in Milan as the Tunisian's ISIS video is revealed	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4061096/Berlin-market-killer-Anis-Amri-shot-dead-Italy-Milan-police.html	Daily Mail Online	By Julian Robinson Martin Robinson Uk Chief Reporter Dave Burke Sam Tonkin Jake Wallis Simons In Milan Richard Spillett for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
01-Jan-2017 06:43PM	First picture of Istanbul terror suspect after gunman 'screamed Allahu Akbar' as he slaughtered 39 in Turkish nightclub	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/istanbul-terror-attack-major-police-9547745	Mirror.co.uk	Alex Wellman	Allahu Akbar
01-Jan-2017 03:53PM	Istanbul nightclub terror attacker 'screamed Allahu Akbar' during massacre that left 39 dead and 69 injured	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/istanbul-terror-attack-major-police-9546745	Mirror.co.uk	Alex Wellman	Allahu Akbar
02-Jan-2017 08:10AM	BREAKING: Syrian man 'carrying bomb shouts Allahu Akbar' at major international airport	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/574604/Antalya-Airport-bomb-turkey-syrian-man	Daily Star	Joshua Nevett	Allahu Akbar
11-Jan-2017 06:32PM	BREAKING NEWS: Gunman screaming 'Allahu Akbar' opens fire in Spanish supermarket while wearing 'suicide vest' filled with gasoline and gunpowder	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4110542/Gunman-screaming-Allahu-Akbar-opens-fire-Spanish-supermarket.html	Daily Mail Online	By Paddy Dinham For MailOnline	Allahu Akbar

11-Jan-2017 05:50PM	BREAKING: Gunman enters supermarket and shouts 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/577499/Gunman-supermarket-shouts-Allahu-Akbar-attack-gun-Spain-Lagoas-Ourense	Daily Star	Douglas Patient	Allahu Akbar
14-Jan-2017 05:14PM	Mother of four-year-old girl who was decapitated by her nanny and had her head carried through Russian town shouting 'Allahu Akbar' fears family could be targeted again if killer is released	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4120200/Mother-nanny-killed-four-year-old-girl-carried-head-Russian-town-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-says-fears-daughter-kill-family-freed.html	Daily Mail Online	By Will Stewart In Moscow for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
14-Jan-2017 03:16PM	Nanny was sane before she beheaded girl, 4, and brandished head in street shouting Allahu Akbar, says mother	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/nanny-sane-before-beheaded-girl-9620365	Mirror.co.uk	WILL STEWART	Allahu Akbar
30-Jan-2017 09:42AM	Quebec mosque terror attack: Six dead after gunmen shout Allahu Akbar and open fire during evening prayers	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/quebec-mosque-shooting-least-five-9719347	Mirror.co.uk	Steve Robson	Allahu Akbar
02-Feb-2017 06:05PM	Rotherham paedo gang yelled 'Allahu Akbar' in court after being jailed for 81 years	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/584752/Rotherham-paedophile-gang-rape-abuse-Muslim-Allahu-Akbar-girls-court-case-trial	Daily Star	Alex Hickson	Allahu Akbar
02-Feb-2017 04:23PM	Child sex gang members shout 'Allahu Akbar' in court as they are jailed for abusing a girl who fell pregnant at just 12 after being groomed with alcohol and drugs	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4184966/Child-sex-gang-members-shout-Allahu-Akbar-court.html	Daily Mail Online	By Sam Tonkin For MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
02-Feb-2017 02:52PM	Rotherham sex abusers shout 'Allahu Akbar' as gang is jailed for 81 years after 'vile' abuse of girls	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/rotherham-sex-abusers-shout-allahu-9744074	Mirror.co.uk	Anthony Bond	Allahu Akbar
03-Feb-2017 10:13AM	Attacker at Paris' Louvre cried out Allahu Akbar - police	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-4187688/Attacker-Paris-Louvre-cried-Allahu-Akbar--police.html	Daily Mail Online	By Reuters	Allahu Akbar
03-Feb-2017 09:25AM	BREAKING: Terror in Paris as knifeman 'shouts Allahu Akbar' before storming Louvre	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/584928/Paris-Louvre-evacuation-art-gallery-stormed-armed-police-attack	Daily Star	George Martin	Allahu Akbar

04-Feb-2017 02:45PM	FIRST PIC: Paris terror suspect identified after machete nut screamed 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/584974/Paris-terror-identity-Louvre-attacker-knife-machete-attack-photos	Daily Star	Henry Holloway & Tom Rawle	Allahu Akbar
07-Feb-2017 04:41AM	Donald Trump says these terror attacks weren't reported in the media - here's proof that they were	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/donald-trump-says-terror-attacks-9770549	Mirror.co.uk	Steve Robson	Allah hu akbar
17-Feb-2017 12:26PM	'Rowdy' women 'who shouted Allahu Akbar' removed from easyJet plane at UK airport as delighted passengers cheer	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/rowdy-women-who-shouted-allahu-9838151	Mirror.co.uk	Courtney Greatrex	Allahu Akbar
17-Feb-2017 10:00AM	Moment two 'rowdy' women 'who shouted Allahu Akbar' are escorted off an easyJet plane at Stansted airport to the delight of their fellow passengers	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4234178/Women-shouted-Allahu-Akbar-escorted-easyJet-plane.html	Daily Mail Online	By Martin Robinson, Uk Chief Reporter For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
17-Feb-2017 12:00AM	Police remove nightmare passengers who shouted 'Allahu Akbar' on easyJet flight	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/589360/Police-arrest-passengers-shouted-Allahu-Akbar-easyJet-flight	Daily Star	Jack Bellamy	Allahu Akbar
22-Mar-2017 07:37PM	Sick ISIS celebrating 'blessed London attack' posting 'Allahu Akbar' next to horrific photos of the attack	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4339864/Sick-ISIS-celebrating-blessed-London-attack.html	Daily Mail Online	By Rebecca Taylor For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
08-Apr-2017 12:54AM	Teenager charged with fatally stabbing service station worker in an 'ISIS-inspired attack' shouted 'Allahu Akbar' after his arrest - as 'radicalised boys' aged 15 and 16 face extradition to New South Wales	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4392222/Queanbeyan-stabbing-Boys-charged-Caltex-murder.html	Daily Mail Online	By Max Margan Belinda Cleary Sinead Maclaughlin For Daily Mail Australia	Allahu Akbar
11-Apr-2017 05:10PM	BREAKING: Shopping centre evacuated as two men shout 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/604744/leiderdorp-holland-shopping-centre-evacuated	Daily Star	Joshua Nevett	Allahu Akbar
11-Apr-2017 01:35AM	Shirtless man 'yells "Allahu Akbar" as he tried to run cars off the road in a drug-fuelled rampage on motorway before swinging punches at police'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4399870/Gold-Coast-chaos-Man-yells-Allahu-Akbar-arrest.html	Daily Mail Online	By Max Margan For Daily Mail Australia	Allahu Akbar

18-Apr-2017 11:50PM	Man kills three in Fresno shouting 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/video/news/video-1449491/Man-kills-three-Fresno-shouting-Allahu-Akbar.html	Daily Mail Online		Allahu Akbar
18-Apr-2017 09:49PM	Fresno shooting: Three people shot dead by California gunman yelling 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/fresno-shooting-three-people-shot-dead-by-california-gunman-yelling-allahu-akbar-a3517626.html	London Evening Standard	Mark Chandler	Allahu Akbar
18-Apr-2017 09:30PM	Fresno shooting: Three dead after gunman opens fire and shouts 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/fresno-shooting-latest-gunman-suspect-opens-fire-downtown-california-dead-a7689941.html	The Independent	Andrew Buncombe	Allahu Akbar
18-Apr-2017 03:34PM	Man screaming 'Allahu Akbar' killed three people on the street before telling police he 'hates white people'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4422714/1-killed-2-hurt-shooting-downtown-Fresno-California.html	Daily Mail Online	By Associated Press	Allahu Akbar
19-Apr-2017 09:55AM	Pictured in custody: The self-styled black Jesus rapper who yelled 'Allahu Akbar' before 'randomly shooting dead three victims because he hates white people'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4425146/Pictured-Man-killed-three-hates-whites.html	Daily Mail Online	By Hannah Parry	Allahu Akbar
19-Apr-2017 09:27AM	Fresno shooting: Gunman who killed three and shouted 'Allahu Akbar' wanted to 'kill as many white men as possible'	http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/fresno-shooting-california-gunman-kori-ali-muhammad-allahu-akbar-kill-as-many-white-men-police-a7690281.html	The Independent	Samuel Osborne	Allahu Akbar
20-Apr-2017 01:31AM	Pictured: The white victims who were shot dead at random by race-hate gunman who yelled 'Allahu Akbar' as he tried to murder as many white people as possible	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4427276/Pictured-white-victims-racist-Black-Jesus-rapper.html	Daily Mail Online	By James Wilkinson Hannah Parry	Allahu Akbar
21-Apr-2017 12:10PM	Machete-wielding man shouting Allahu Akbar shot down by cops in city centre	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/607571/knife-man-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-shot-down-police-Netherlands-The-Hague	Daily Star	Zoe Drewett	Allahu Akbar

22-Apr-2017 05:01PM	Allahu Akbar, let's behead a screw: Blood-curdling cry issued by a Muslim extremist who plotted to murder a warder... but he won't be moved to a new 'jihadi jail' unit because that would infringe his human rights!	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4436104/Jailed-Muslim-extremist-wins-human-rights-case.html	Daily Mail Online	By Omar Wahid Martin Beckford for The Mail on Sunday	Allahu Akbar
23-May-2017 11:46AM	'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'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4533476/Jihadist-praises-Manchester-terror-attack-ISIS.html	Daily Mail Online	By Jay Akbar For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
29-May-2017 07:37AM	'Terrorist incidents are associated with people shouting out 'Allahu Akbar' as they kill': ASIO boss accused of 'tiptoeing' around extremist Muslims – after saying he 'wasn't interested' in connection between Islam and terror	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4551296/Tony-Abbott-accuses-ASIO-boss-avoiding-terror-link.html	Daily Mail Online	By Australian Associated Press Jacob Polychronis For Daily Mail Australia	Allahu Akbar
12-Jun-2017 05:14PM	'At first we thought it was a sick joke': Woman recalls terrifying moment four 'Indian' men shouted 'Allahu Akbar' during a screening of Baywatch inside a packed Sydney cinema	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4596768/Police-hunt-men-storm-cinema-shouting-Allahu-Akbar.html	Daily Mail Online	By Nelson Groom for Daily Mail Australia	Allahu Akbar
21-Jun-2017 01:32AM	Eyewitness: Suspect screamed Allahu Akbar before explosion	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/video/news/video-1487707/Eyewitness-Suspect-screamed-Allahu-Akbar-explosion.html	Daily Mail Online		Allahu Akbar
22-Jun-2017 11:21AM	Michigan airport stabbing: Amor Ftouhi shouted Allahu Akbar before knifing police officer in neck	http://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/man-shouted-allahu-akbar-before-stabbing-police-officer-in-neck-at-michigan-airport-a3570431.html	London Evening Standard	Patrick Grafton-Green	Allahu Akbar
23-Jun-2017 05:50AM	Some kind of Sikh joke? Bearded men who 'terrified families after storming a Sydney cinema shouting Allahu Akbar' were not Muslims – but turban-wearing INDIANS offended by Baywatch	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4631342/Men-yelling-Allahu-Akbar-cinema-just-silly-Sikhs.html	Daily Mail Online	By Stephen Gibbs for Daily Mail Australia	Allahu Akbar

25-Jun-2017 05:59AM	Two ISIS knifeman screaming 'Allahu Akbar' stab a policeman to death hours before Eid prayers to mark the end of Ramadan in Indonesia	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4636744/Alleged-IS-militants-kill-police-officer-Indonesia.html	Daily Mail Online	By Gareth Davies For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
28-Jun-2017 11:25AM	Man who stabbed Michigan airport police officer in the neck with an eight-inch blade while yelling 'Allahu Akbar' is denied bail	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4647688/Michigan-airport-attacker-stay-jail-pending-trial.html	Daily Mail Online	By Afp Dailymail.com Reporter	Allahu Akbar
25-Jul-2017 03:45PM	Knife-wielding man shouting 'Allahu Akbar' taken down by cops at busy border crossing	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/632476/knife-man-Allahu-Akbar-Spanish-police-stabbed-arrest-Morocco-border-CCTV-video	Daily Star	Zoe Drewett	Allahu Akbar
25-Jul-2017 09:45AM	BREAKING NEWS: Knife-wielding man attacks police officers shouting 'Allahu akbar' near the Spanish-Moroccan border	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4727702/Knife-wielding-man-attacks-police-shouting-Allahu-akbar.html	Daily Mail Online	By Gareth Davies For Mailonline	Allahu akbar
25-Jul-2017 05:21AM	Man shouting 'Allahu Akbar' attacks police on Morocco-Spain border	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-4727814/Man-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-attacks-police-Morocco-Spain-border.html	Daily Mail Online	By Afp	Allahu Akbar
26-Jul-2017 11:09AM	Knifeman shouting 'Allahu Akbar' at Spanish border taken out in unusual fashion after police smash traffic BOLLARD over his head	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/knifeman-shouting-allahu-akbar-spanish-10873299	Mirror.co.uk	Amy Willis	Allahu Akbar
28-Jul-2017 09:27PM	Moment brave heroes fight knife attacker 'who screamed Allahu Akbar' during stabbing spree	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/633413/Hamburg-attack-knifeman-one-dead-moment-heroes-fight-back-video	Daily Star	George Mills	Allahu Akbar
28-Jul-2017 05:43PM	One dead in knife attack in Hamburg supermarket as man shouts 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/one-dead-knife-attack-hamburg-10891411	Mirror.co.uk	Thomas Escritt	Allahu Akbar
28-Jul-2017 05:19PM	Hamburg attack: Man 'shouting Allahu Akbar' kills one person and injures four in frenzied supermarket knife attack	http://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/hamburg-attack-man-screaming-allahu-akbar-kills-one-person-and-injures-four-in-frenzied-supermarket-a3599036.html	London Evening Standard	Patrick Grafton-Green	Allahu Akbar

28-Jul-2017 03:35PM	BREAKING: Man 'shouts Allahu Akbar' and stabs shoppers with machete in major city	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/world-news/633329/Edeka-Hamburg-supermarket-knife-attack-stabbing-passers-by-Germany	Daily Star	Nicholas Bieber	Allahu Akbar
01-Aug-2017 10:56PM	Extremist who drove through streets shouting 'Allahu Akbar' and sent ISIS propaganda videos found guilty of terror offences	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/extremist-who-drove-through-streets-10914262	Mirror.co.uk	Kara O'Neill	Allahu Akbar
06-Aug-2017 10:06AM	Eiffel Tower evacuated after knife-wielding man in Paris Saint-Germain shirt 'shouts Allahu Akbar' before trying to force way past security	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/eiffel-tower-evacuated-after-knife-10939249	Mirror.co.uk	Scarlet Howes	Allahu Akbar
06-Aug-2017 06:10AM	Police arrest knife-wielding man yelling 'Allahu Akbar' in Paris St-Germain shirt at Eiffel Tower as monument is evacuated	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4765194/Police-arrest-knife-wielding-man-yelling-Allahu-Akbar.html	Daily Mail Online	By Jay Akbar For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
18-Aug-2017 03:37PM	Finland 'terror attack': Horrifying moment people flee in terror as man yelling 'Allahu Akbar' rampages down the street	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/finland-terror-attack-horrifying-moment-11010906	Mirror.co.uk	Rachel Bishop	Allahu Akbar
23-Aug-2017 10:31PM	Florence mayor shouts 'Allahu Akbar' to Venetian counterpart	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/video/news/video-1523935/Florence-mayor-shouts-Allahu-Akbar-Venetian-counterpart.html	Daily Mail Online		Allahu Akbar
23-Aug-2017 04:14PM	Mayor of Florence apologises for yelling 'Allahu Akbar' at Venetian counterpart during terrorism debate	http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/08/23/mayor-florence-apologises-yelling-allahu-akbar-venetian-counterpart/	Telegraph.co.uk	Nick Squires,	Allahu Akbar
23-Aug-2017 01:30PM	Mayor of Florence apologises after yelling 'Allahu Akbar' at Venetian counterpart during debate on terrorism	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4817168/Mayor-Florence-apologises-yelling-Allahu-Akbar.html	Daily Mail Online	By Chris Pleasance for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
24-Aug-2017 03:36PM	Venice mayor: Anyone shouting 'Allahu akbar' in St Mark's Square will be shot	http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/venice-mayor-allahu-akbar-shot-luigi-brugnaro-barcelona-attack-st-marks-square-muslims-italy-city-a7910081.html	The Independent	Jon Sharman	Allahu akbar

24-Aug-2017 09:20AM	'We'll take them down: Mayor of Venice orders snipers to shoot ANYONE who shouts 'Allahu Akbar' in famous Italian city	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/well-send-straight-god-venice-11043606	Mirror.co.uk	Stephen Jones	Allahu Akbar
24-Aug-2017 09:20AM	Mayor of Venice says ANYONE who shouts 'Allahu Akbar' in his city will be shot by snipers	https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/well-send-straight-god-venice-11043606	Mirror.co.uk	Stephen Jones	Allahu Akbar
24-Aug-2017 08:30AM	Snipers deployed in tourist hotspot ready to GUN DOWN anyone who shouts 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/639745/Terrorist-Attack-ISIS-Allahu-Akbar-Snipers-Barcelona-Venice-Police-Luigi-Brugnaro-Italy	Daily Star	Henry Holloway	Allahu Akbar
25-Aug-2017 08:00PM	Machete-wielding terrorist shouting Allahu Akbar shot dead after attacking soldiers	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/world-news/640184/Terror-attack-Brussels-machete-wielding-man-shot-dead-attacked-soldiers	Daily Star	Tom Towers	Allahu Akbar
26-Aug-2017 12:32PM	Suspect arrested outside Buckingham Palace was heard shouting Allahu Akbar-UK police	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-4825538/Suspect-arrested-outside-Buckingham-Palace-heard-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-UK-police.html	Daily Mail Online	By Reuters	Allahu Akbar
26-Aug-2017 12:15PM	Terror suspect drove at police outside Buckingham Palace then reached for 4ft sword while shouting Allahu Akbar	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/terror-suspect-drove-police-outside-11058138	Mirror.co.uk	Chris kitching	Allahu Akbar
26-Aug-2017 08:47AM	Brussels attacker shouted 'Allahu Akbar' while stabbing soldiers in attempted terror attack	http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/brussels-attack-soldiers-stabbed-knife-man-somali-belgian-terror-isis-allahu-akbar-qurans-replica-a7913781.html	The Independent	Lizzie Dearden	Allahu Akbar
26-Aug-2017 06:41AM	Moment machete-wielding man 'shouting Allahu Akbar' is gunned down after attacking soldiers on patrol in Brussels	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/moment-machete-wielding-man-shouting-11057282	Mirror.co.uk	Jamie Bullen	Allahu Akbar
27-Aug-2017 10:54AM	BREAKING NEWS: Second man, 30, is arrested on terrorism charges after 'a knifeman shouting allahu akbar was caught brandishing a four ft sword outside Buckingham Palace'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4827284/Second-man-arrested-Buckingham-Palace-sword-attack.html	Daily Mail Online	By Paddy Dinham For Mailonline	allahu akbar

02-Sep-2017 06:23PM	Passengers evacuated after man shouts 'Allahu Akbar' on Ryanair flight	http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/09/02/passengers-evacuated-man-shoutsallahu-akbar-ryanair-flight/	Telegraph.co.uk	Natasha Salmon	Allahu Akbar
02-Sep-2017 03:35PM	Lads thrown off Ryanair flight after one 'shouted Allahu Akbar for a joke'	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/world-news/642005/Ryanair-Brussels-Belgium-Allahu-Akbar-ISIS-terror-bomb-scare	Daily Star	David Rivers	Allahu Akbar
02-Sep-2017 02:20PM	Bomb squad called after man shouts 'Allahu Akbar' on Ryanair flight - getting him and his friends thrown off	http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/nine-men-thrown-off-ryanair-flight-allahu-akbar-brussels-airport-zavenem-madrid-a7925701.html	The Independent	Chris Baynes	Allahu Akbar
02-Sep-2017 12:42PM	Nine men thrown off Ryanair flight 'after shouting Allahu Akbar and making bomb joke'	https://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/nine-men-thrown-off-ryanair-flight-after-shouting-allahu-akbar-and-making-bomb-joke-a3625501.html	London Evening Standard	Hatty Collier	Allahu Akbar
02-Sep-2017 11:45AM	Holidaymakers thrown off packed early-morning Ryanair flight to Spain after one shouted 'Allahu Akbar' as a JOKE	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/holidaymakers-thrown-packed-early-morning-11099189	Mirror.co.uk	Rita Sobot	Allahu Akbar
02-Sep-2017 11:11AM	Nine men are thrown off a Ryanair flight to Madrid after one shouts 'Allahu Akbar' for a joke leading to the bomb squad being called in	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4846354/Men-thrown-flight-one-shouts-Allahu-Akbar.html	Daily Mail Online	By Rita Sobot In Tenerife For Mail Online	Allahu Akbar
04-Sep-2017 03:08AM	Far-right United Patriots Front activists arrested for conducting a mock beheading while chanting 'Allahu akbar' claim charges are 'an attack on free speech' - as violent clashes erupt outside court	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4849914/United-Patriots-fighting-vilification-charges.html	Daily Mail Online	By Matilda Rudd For Daily Mail Australia Aap	Allahu akbar
06-Sep-2017 08:30AM	Woman has a leg blown off as Rohingya Muslims enter minefields to reach Bangladesh, while Islamists in Indonesia chanting 'Allahu Akbar' demand punishment for Myanmar	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4857004/Thousands-Indonesians-join-anti-Myanmar-rally-Jakarta.html	Daily Mail Online	By Gareth Davies For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
13-Sep-2017 07:12PM	Man shouting 'Allahu Akbar' attacks seven people including three cops in busy city centre	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/man-shouting-allahu-akbar-attacks-11165029	Mirror.co.uk	Jane Lavender	Allahu Akbar

13-Sep-2017 06:20PM	BREAKING: Seven injured in attack by man shouting 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/644660/toulouse-attack-terror-man-injured-france-allahu-akbar-latest	Daily Star	Joshua Nevett	Allahu Akbar
13-Sep-2017 01:28PM	BREAKING NEWS: Man 'shouting Allahu Akbar attacks seven people including three police officers in Toulouse'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4881174/Knifeman-stabs-seven-people.html	Daily Mail Online	By Charlie Moore For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
15-Sep-2017 03:00PM	BREAKING: Hammer attack on two women by man screaming 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/world-news/645177/France-Hammer-Attack-Allahu-Akbar-Terror-Two-Women-Chalon-sur-Saone-Parsons-Green	Daily Star	Henry Holloway	Allahu Akbar
15-Sep-2017 02:52PM	BREAKING NEWS: 'Two women are injured after man shouting Allahu Akbar attacks them with a hammer in Lyon' hours after knifeman attacks soldier in Paris	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4888132/Two-attacked-man-wielding-hammer-Lyon.html	Daily Mail Online	By Martin Robinson Sara Malm for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
15-Sep-2017 02:23PM	Chalon-sur-Saône hammer attack: 'Two women in critical condition after man assaults them screaming Allahu Akbar'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/chalon-sur-sane-hammer-attack-11177873	Mirror.co.uk	Sam Rkaina	Allahu Akbar
15-Sep-2017 02:23PM	Lyon hammer attack: 'Two people in critical condition as man assaults them while screaming Allahu Akbar'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/lyon-hammer-attack-two-people-11177873	Mirror.co.uk	Sam Rkaina	Allahu Akbar
27-Sep-2017 06:00PM	Moment men shout 'Allahu Akbar' and play gun noises through speaker	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/video/news/video-1544361/Moment-men-shout-Allahu-Akbar-play-gun-noises-speaker.html	Daily Mail Online		Allahu Akbar
27-Sep-2017 05:36PM	Dramatic video shows 'Islamic protesters' shouting 'Allahu Akbar' and playing the sound of EXPLOSIONS at full volume in east London	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4925584/Men-shout-Allahu-Akbar-play-explosion-sounds.html	Daily Mail Online	By Liz Dunphy For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
02-Oct-2017 10:19AM	Marseille attacker who shouted 'Allahu Akbar' as he stabbed two women to death 'was arrested and released last week'	https://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/marseille-terrorist-who-killed-to-women-was-arrested-and-released-a3648191.html	London Evening Standard	Peter Allen In Paris	Allahu Akbar

02-Oct-2017 03:14AM	Killer who stabbed two female cousins to death while screaming Allahu Akbar in Marseilles was a North African illegal immigrant who had been arrested and released on Friday	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4939960/Marseilles-attacker-killed-two-illegal-immigrant.html	Daily Mail Online	By Peter Allen In Paris for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
03-Oct-2017 07:54AM	Knifeman who shouted 'Allahu Akbar' before murdering a 'brilliant student' and her cousin in Marseille is named as a 29-year-old Tunisian illegal immigrant	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4943330/Marseille-knifeman-named-29-year-old-Tunisian.html	Daily Mail Online	By Julian Robinson for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
05-Oct-2017 11:32AM	Dozens of tearful mourners embrace at funeral of two female cousins, both 20, stabbed to death by Tunisian illegal immigrant shouting 'Allahu Akbar' in Marseille	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4951434/Mourners-embrace-funeral-Marseille-knifeman-victims.html	Daily Mail Online	By Gareth Davies Julian Robinson for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
06-Oct-2017 09:52PM	Man is arrested for threatening passengers with '11-inch knife while yelling Allahu Akbar' on a train in Brussels	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4957080/Knifeman-arrested-threatening-rail-passengers.html	Daily Mail Online	By Joe Sheppard For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
31-Oct-2017 10:13PM	New York terror attack: Driver shouted 'Allahu akbar' after ploughing into crowd on cycle path	https://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/new-york-terror-attack-driver-shouted-allahu-akbar-after-ploughing-into-crowd-on-cycle-path-a3673046.html	London Evening Standard	Tom Powell	Allahu akbar
31-Oct-2017 10:07PM	Everything we know about New York terror suspect Sayfullo Saipov who shouted 'Allahu Akbar' as 'he mowed down eight victims'	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/everything-know-new-york-terror-11444679	Mirror.co.uk	Toby Meyjes	Allahu Akbar
31-Oct-2017 09:35PM	New York terror attack suspect 'shouted Allahu Akbar' as he ploughed into cyclists leaving eight dead	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/new-york-terror-attack-suspect-11444535	Mirror.co.uk	Jane Lavender	Allahu Akbar
01-Nov-2017 01:25PM	TV reporter mispronounces 'allahu akbar' – and gives it very different meaning	http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/weird-news/tv-reporter-mispronounces-allahu-akbar-11447812	Mirror.co.uk	Joshua Barrie	allahu akbar
01-Nov-2017 12:30AM	PICTURED: NYC truck terror suspect 'who yelled Allahu Akbar' – and what we know about him	https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/656646/nyc-attack-new-york-terror-truck-sayfullo-saipov-ground-zero-trump-isis	Daily Star	Rachel O'Donoghue	Allahu Akbar

01-Nov-2017 12:28AM	Sayfullo Saipov: The Uzbek suspect who 'shouted Allahu Akbar' in New York terror attack	http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/11/01/sayfullo-saipov-uzbek-suspect-shouted-allahu-akbar-new-york/	Telegraph.co.uk	Chris Graham	Allahu Akbar
03-Nov-2017 03:26AM	'STOP praising potatoes': Lawyer Rabia Chaudry, who featured in the popular Serial podcast, offers to teach anchors and pundits how to say 'Allahu Akbar' after several mispronounce the phrase	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-5044387/TV-anchors-say-Allahu-Akbar-wrong-praising-potatoes.html	Daily Mail Online	By Carly Stern For Dailymail.com	Allahu Akbar
06-Nov-2017 08:30AM	Moroccan screaming 'Allahu Akbar' broke into Spanish school and threatened to slaughter children 'like lambs' before caretaker overpowered him	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5053519/Moroccan-yelling-Allahu-Akbar-breaks-Spanish-school.html	Daily Mail Online	By Gerard Couzens In Spain For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
18-Nov-2017 02:35PM	BREAKING: Terror cops shoot attacker shouting 'Allahu Akbar'	https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/world-news/660991/la-jonquera-shooting-terror-police-allahu-akbar-motorway-spanish-border-france	Daily Star	Douglas Patient	Allahu Akbar
20-Nov-2017 04:11PM	Hero train passenger 'attacked as he defended worker from racists shouting 'Allahu Akbar' at London Bridge station'	https://www.standard.co.uk/news/crime/hero-train-passenger-attacked-as-he-defended-worker-from-racists-shouting-allahu-akbar-at-london-a3696346.html	London Evening Standard	Ella Wills	Allahu Akbar
23-Nov-2017 05:11PM	Moment police officers fire warning shot at a knifeman after he 'shouted Allahu akbar' in before wrestling him to the ground in Holland	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5111863/Moment-police-officers-fire-warning-shot-knifeman.html	Daily Mail Online	By Gareth Davies For Mailonline	Allahu akbar
25-Nov-2017 12:24PM	Egypt mosque terror attack: survivors say as children screamed in terror, the extremists shouted Allahu Akbar	http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/egypt-mosque-terror-attack-witnesses-survivors-bir-al-abed-sinai-20-minute-children-screaming-a8075511.html	The Independent	Adam Lusher, Agencies	Allahu Akbar
15-Jan-2018 11:42AM	Uber driver, 26, denies attacking police officers with a 4ft samurai sword after shouting 'Allahu Akbar' outside Buckingham Palace	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5270511/Uber-driver-allegedly-attacked-police-officers-sword.html	Daily Mail Online	By Keiligh Baker for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar

05-Mar-2018 02:38PM	The ISIS child executioners: Horrifying footage shows three boys – one no bigger than a four-year-old – decapitating and shooting prisoners before celebrating by chanting 'Allahu Akbar'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5463937/Horrifying-footage-shows-three-boys-beheading-shooting-prisoners.html	Daily Mail Online	By Iain Burns For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
23-Mar-2018 11:57AM	Mayor says man entered French supermarket shouting Allahu Akbar, I'll kill you all	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-5536013/Mayor-says-man-entered-French-supermarket-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-kill-all.html	Daily Mail Online	By Reuters	Allahu Akbar
25-Mar-2018 03:10PM	BREAKING: Anonymous caller saying 'Allahu Akbar' warns of Rome bomb attack	https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/world-news/691396/rome-bomb-evacuation-rinascente-scare-ia-del-tritone-in-piazza-fiume	Daily Star	Rachel O'Donoghue	Allahu Akbar
10-Apr-2018 11:09AM	Man faces hate crime charges after shouting 'Allahu Akbar' and 'go back to your country' at two hijab-wearing sisters who he threatened to beat up when they stepped off school bus	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5598461/Man-faces-hate-crime-charges-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-two-hijab-wearing-sisters.html	Daily Mail Online	By Tariq Tahir For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
15-Apr-2018 04:36PM	Father recounts the terrifying moment a burqa-clad Bangladeshi student staying at his house and 'inspired by ISIS screamed Allahu Akbar as she stabbed him in the neck' while he slept and his daughter, 5, watched in horror	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5618099/A-Bangladeshi-student-inspired-Isis-screamed-Allahu-Akbar-stabbed-man-neck.html	Daily Mail Online	By Daily Mail Reporter	Allahu Akbar
02-May-2018 07:09AM	Burqa-clad Bangladeshi student, 24, who 'screamed "Allahu Akbar" as she stabbed her landlord in the neck in an ISIS-inspired terrorist attack practised on a mattress before knifing him'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5681165/Bangladeshi-student-24-stabbed-landlord-ISIS-inspired-attack-practised-mattress.html	Daily Mail Online	By Max Margan For Daily Mail Australia and Australian Associated Press	Allahu Akbar
05-May-2018 02:33AM	Father reveals the horrifying moment he woke to find an 'ISIS-inspired burqa-clad terrorist, 24, screaming Allahu Akbar as she stabbed him in the neck with a kitchen knife'	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5693313/Father-reveals-horrifying-moment-woke-ISIS-inspired-terrorist-screaming-Allahu-Akbar.html	Daily Mail Online	By Emily Pidgeon For Daily Mail Australia	Allahu Akbar

10-May-2018 03:55AM	Chilling moment an 'Islamic terrorist who yelled "Allahu Akbar" as he stabbed his neighbour with a hunting knife' calmly compares the attack to eating a CHOCOLATE BAR in police interview	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5711927/Islamic-terrorist-stabbed-neighbour-hunting-knife-compares-attack-eating-CHOCOLATE-BAR.html	Daily Mail Online	By Max Margan For Daily Mail Australia and Australian Associated Press	Allahu Akbar
13-May-2018 08:56AM	Paris knife attack: 1 killed by man shouting 'Allahu akbar'	https://www.christiantoday.com/article/paris-knife-attack-1-killed-by-man-shouting-allahu-akbar/129130.htm	Christian Today	Reuters	Allahu akbar
29-May-2018 10:47AM	Gunman shouting 'Allahu Akbar' shoots dead two policemen in Belgium	https://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/gunman-shouting-allahu-akbar-shoots-dead-two-policemen-in-belgium-a3849936.html	London Evening Standard	Sophie Williams	Allahu Akbar
30-May-2018 11:25PM	Police dog dies after axe-wielding man shouting 'Allahu Akbar' attacked armed officers	https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/police-dog-dies-after-axe-12624686	Mirror.co.uk	Kelly-Ann Mills	Allahu Akbar
30-May-2018 08:50PM	Dutch police shoot man shouting 'Allahu Akbar' as he tries to attack	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5788503/Dutch-police-shoot-axe-wielding-man-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-tries-attack-them.html	Daily Mail Online	By Sebastian Murphy-bates For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
30-May-2018 08:58AM	BREAKING Liege gunman who killed two police officers and bystander while shouting Allahu Akbar committed another murder night before	https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/breaking-liege-gunman-who-killed-12619822	Mirror.co.uk	Joshua Taylor	Allahu Akbar
17-Jun-2018 04:51PM	Woman shouting 'Allahu akbar' injures two with blade in France	https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/06/17/woman-shouting-allahu-akbar-injures-two-blade-france/	Telegraph.co.uk	Our Foreign Staff	Allahu akbar
17-Jun-2018 03:30PM	BREAKING France supermarket stabbing: Woman 'shouting Allahu Akbar' knifes two shoppers	https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/breaking-france-supermarket-stabbing-woman-12727977	Mirror.co.uk	Elaine McCahill	Allahu Akbar
17-Jun-2018 03:12PM	Woman crying 'Allahu Akbar' attacks two people in French supermarket with box cutter	https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/french-supermarket-attack-boxcutter-stabbing-toulon-a8403251.html	The Independent		Allahu Akbar

17-Jun-2018 01:53PM	Woman shouting 'Allahu akbar' wounds two as she stabs shoppers in French supermarket Daily Mail Online	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5853517/Woman-shouting-Allahu-akbar-wounds-two-stabs-shoppers-French-supermarket.html	Daily Mail Online	By Cheyenne Roundtree For Mailonline	Allahu akbar
18-Jun-2018 01:58PM	Uber driver who allegedly hated The Queen 'shouted Allahu Akbar during Samurai sword attack on police near Buckingham Palace'	https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/uber-driver-who-allegedly-hated-12734739	Mirror.co.uk	Emily Pennink	Allahu Akbar
20-Aug-2018 08:05AM	Knifeman 'shouting Allahu Akbar' is shot by officers in Barcelona Daily Mail Online	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6077807/Knifeman-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-shot-officers-entering-police-station-Barcelona.html	Daily Mail Online	By Gerard Couzens for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
20-Aug-2018 06:32AM	BREAKING Barcelona police shoot 'knifeman shouting Allahu Akbar who tried to attack them'	https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/breaking-barcelona-police-shoot-knifeman-13108066	Mirror.co.uk	Gerard Couzens	Allahu Akbar
23-Aug-2018 10:20AM	BREAKING: Paris terror – one dead in knife rampage as attacker shouts 'Allahu Akbar'	https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/world-news/725165/paris-attack-knife-stabbing-one-dead-trappes-latest-updates	Daily Star	David Rivers	Allahu Akbar
23-Aug-2018 09:53AM	Paris attack: Knifeman shouting 'Allahu akbar' kills two wounds one	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6089987/One-killed-two-wounded-knife-attack-Paris.html	Daily Mail Online		Allahu akbar
23-Aug-2018 09:53AM	Paris attack: Knifeman shouting 'Allahu akbar' kills one person and leaves two wounded Daily Mail Online	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6089987/One-killed-two-wounded-knife-attack-Paris.html	Daily Mail Online	By Sara Malm For Mailonline	Allahu akbar
23-Aug-2018 08:46AM	BREAKING Paris knife attack: One dead and two injured after suspect heard shouting 'Allahu Akbar'	https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/breaking-paris-knife-attack-one-13125150	Mirror.co.uk	Dave Burke	Allahu Akbar
29-Aug-2018 01:24PM	Cops take down man waving knife in their face 'screaming Allahu Akbar' as investigation into 'any terror links' launched	https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/cops-take-down-man-waving-13158228	Mirror.co.uk	Koen Berghuis	Allahu Akbar

25-Sep-2018 04:58AM	Afghan refugee accused of driving into pedestrians said 'Allahu Akbar'	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6204341/Afghan-refugee-accused-driving-pedestrians-said-Allahu-Akbar-car-attacks-computer.html	Daily Mail Online		Allahu Akbar
25-Sep-2018 04:52AM	Vic driver said 'Allahu Akbar', court told	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/aap/article-6204337/Vic-driver-said-Allahu-Akbar-court-told.html	Daily Mail Online		Allahu Akbar
13-Nov-2018 09:04PM	Tunisian man who stabbed Michigan airport cop in the neck with an eight-inch knife while yelling 'Allahu Akbar' is convicted of terrorism	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6386191/Tunisian-man-stabbed-Michigan-airport-cop-neck-convicted-terrorism.html	Daily Mail Online	Keith Griffith For Dailymail.com and Associated Press	Allahu Akbar
20-Nov-2018 03:50PM	'My dad was saying allahu akbar and he stabbed me': How boy, 8, told detectives from his hospital bed that his father attacked him with a cooking knife in crazed rampage that left his mother, 33, and older sister, 9, dead	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6410045/Florida-boy-8-told-detectives-father-attacked-knife-killed-mom-sister.html	Daily Mail Online	Marlene Lenthang For Dailymail.com	allahu akbar
20-Nov-2018 07:37AM	Knifeman is shot after stabbing policeman in Belgium 'while shouting Allahu Akbar' hours before Macron visits Brussels district linked to Paris terror attack	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6408957/Knifeman-shot-stabbing-police-officer-near-historic-Grand-Place-Brussels.html	Daily Mail Online	Julian Robinson for MailOnline and Ap	Allahu Akbar
11-Dec-2018 06:49PM	Police officer 'fought for his life as he grabbed samurai sword blade and grappled with Uber driver terror suspect yelling 'Allahu Akbar' outside Buckingham Palace'	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6484537/Police-officer-fought-life-grabbed-samurai-sword-blade.html	Daily Mail Online	Duncan Gardham For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
12-Dec-2018 07:07PM	Strasbourg Christmas market shooting: Cherif Chekatt accused of shouting 'Allahu Akbar' ahead of attack that killed two	https://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/strasbourg-christmas-market-shooting-suspect-accused-of-shouting-allahu-akbar-ahead-of-attack-that-a4015931.html	London Evening Standard	Jacob Jarvis	Allahu Akbar
12-Dec-2018 12:11PM	First image is revealed of fugitive 'Christmas market gunman' as Thai tourist among three people killed is identified and French police reveal murderer shouted 'Allahu Akbar' as he opened fire	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6487547/Cherif-Chekatt-Strasbourg-Christmas-market-gunman-killed-three-injured-13-pictured.html	Daily Mail Online	Sara Malm and Peter Allen In Paris for MailOnline and Afp	Allahu Akbar

12-Dec-2018 11:50AM	Strasbourg shooting suspect cried out Allahu Akbar - Paris prosecutor	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-6487481/Strasbourg-shooting-suspect-cried-Allahu-Akbar--Paris-prosecutor.html	Daily Mail Online	Reuters	Allahu Akbar
01-Jan-2019 08:14AM	Three people stabbed in Manchester attack on New Year's Eve by 'knifeman shouting Allahu Akbar'	https://www.standard.co.uk/news/crime/three-people-stabbed-in-manchester-attack-on-new-years-eve-by-knifeman-shouting-allahu-akbar-a4027856.html	London Evening Standard	Asher Mcshane	Allahu Akbar
01-Jan-2019 12:46AM	Manchester Victoria stabbing suspect screams 'Allahu Akbar' on Snapchat video	https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/breaking-manchester-victoria-stabbing-suspect-13798609	Mirror.co.uk	Elaine McCahillNews Reporter	Allahu Akbar
03-Jan-2019 02:55AM	Video: Victoria train station suspect shouts 'Allahu Akbar' after arrest Daily Mail Online	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/video/news/video-1832904/Video-Victoria-train-station-suspect-shouts-Allahu-Akbar-arrest.html?mwv_rm=rta	Daily Mail Online		Allahu Akbar
10-Jan-2019 12:55PM	Muslim fined £170 for saying 'Allahu Akbar' in public in Switzerland	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6577257/Muslim-fined-170-saying-Allahu-Akbar-public-Switzerland.html	Daily Mail Online	By\nTim Stickings For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
25-Jan-2019 11:34AM	Flight from Paris forced to divert after man shouts 'allahu akbar'	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6631759/Flight-Paris-Tunisia-forced-divert-passenger-shouted-allahu-akbar.html	Daily Mail Online	By\nJulian Robinson for MailOnline	allahu akbar
25-Jan-2019 10:12AM	Transavia passenger shouted 'Allahu Akbar' and tried to enter plane's cockpit	https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/transavia-passenger-shouted-allahu-akbarand-13905165	Mirror.co.uk	Tom DavidsonOnline Reporter	Allahu Akbar
25-Jan-2019 10:12AM	Transavia passenger shouts 'Allahu Akbar' and tries to enter cockpit as plane is diverted	https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/transavia-passenger-shouted-allahu-akbarand-13905165	Mirror.co.uk	Tom DavidsonOnline Reporter	Allahu Akbar
25-Jan-2019 10:05AM	Plane passenger screams 'Allahu Akbar' and 'tries to STORM cockpit' of flight in France	https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/755659/transavia-flight-paris-tunis-diverted-passenger-shouted-allahu-akbar	Daily Star	Joshua Nevett	Allahu Akbar
22-Feb-2019 09:47PM	Muslim convert screams 'Allahu Akbar' as he's jailed for vile Facebook rant	https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/muslim-convert-screams-allahu-akbar-14039368	Mirror.co.uk	Jamie Barlow	Allahu Akbar

22-Feb-2019 03:40PM	IT programmer Muslim convert, 37, screams Allahu Akbar as he is jailed for four years for posting a hate-filled rant on Facebook blaming Britain for the 'inevitable' Manchester bombing the day after the attack	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6734187/IT-programmer-Muslim-convert-37-screams-Allahu-Akbar-jailed-four-years.html	Daily Mail Online	Joel Adams For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
05-Mar-2019 02:54PM	Radicalised Islamist inmate screaming 'Allahu Akbar' stabs two guards in 'terror incident' during conjugal visit by his wife at French prison	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6773409/Radicalised-Islamist-inmate-screaming-Allahu-Akbar-stabs-guards-terror-incident.html	Daily Mail Online	Ross Ibbetson For Mailonline;Afp	Allahu Akbar
14-May-2019 01:03PM	First victim of London Bridge terrorists tells inquest how gang leader screamed 'Allahu Akbar' before plunging knife into his back	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7027261/First-victim-London-Bridge-terrorists-tells-gang-leader-plunged-knife-back.html	Daily Mail Online	James Wood For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
01-Aug-2019 08:44PM	Homeless man, 40, shouting 'Allahu akbar' arrested in Manhattan subway station after he stole a cellphone and shoved a passenger onto tracks	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7311495/NYC-commuters-man-shoving-strap-hanger-subway-tracks.html	Daily Mail Online	Leah Mcdonald For Dailymail.com	Allahu akbar
13-Aug-2019 09:41PM	Cheeky-grinned schoolboy who became bloodied knifeman: Sydney attacker who slashed sex-worker's throat before being tackled by hero Brits as he rampaged through the city shouting 'Allahu Akbar' is pictured	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7353835/Sydney-attacker-slashed-sex-workers-throat-tackled-hero-Brits.html	Daily Mail Online	Lauren Ferri;Charlie Coe;Hannah Moore;Daniel Piotrowski for Daily Mail Australia	Allahu Akbar
13-Aug-2019 08:24AM	At least one woman dead as knifeman shouting Allahu Akbar goes on stabbing spree in Sydney before being taken down by three British men	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7351585/At-one-woman-dead-knifeman-shouting-Allahu-Akbar-goes-stabbing-spreed-Sydney.html	Daily Mail Online	Kelsey Wilkie;Daniel Piotrowski for Daily Mail Australia;Julian Robinson for MailOnline	Allahu Akbar
13-Aug-2019 07:32AM	WATCH: Sydney stabbing suspect tackled by onlookers after yelling Allahu Akbar on car roof	https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/world-news/797957/Sydney-stabbing-video-suspect-tackled-ground-bystander-Allahu-Akbar	Daily Star	Simon Green	Allahu Akbar

27-Aug-2019 12:52AM	Finsbury Park mosque terrorist 'batters Muslim paedophile in jail attack while shouting 'f***** Allahu Akbar' '	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7397141/Finsbury-Park-mosque-terrorist-batters-Muslim-paedophile-jail-attack.html	Daily Mail Online	Joel Adams For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
17-Sep-2019 02:02PM	Italian soldier is stabbed in the throat by a man with scissors shouting 'Allahu Akbar' outside Milan train station	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7472829/Italian-soldier-stabbed-throat-man-scissors.html	Daily Mail Online	Faith Ridler For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
04-Oct-2019 04:10PM	Paris knifeman screamed 'Allahu Akbar' just hours before he slaughtered four of his police colleagues, officer claims – as killer's wife says he 'heard voices' during a psychotic fit and search of his flat finds no signs of radicalisation	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7538419/Paris-knifeman-shouted-Allahu-Akbar-flat-witness-claims.html	Daily Mail Online	Tim Stickings; Jack Newman For Mailonline	Allahu Akbar
26-Nov-2019 05:43PM	Horror moment terrorist shouting 'Allahu Akbar' stabbed couple in knife frenzy	https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/horror-moment-terrorist-shouting-allahu-20965715	Daily Star	Henry Holloway	Allahu Akbar
27-Nov-2019 01:34PM	Manchester New Year's Eve knifeman shouted 'Allahu Akbar' as he stabbed commuters	https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/breaking-manchester-new-years-eve-20971131	Mirror.co.uk	Bradley Jolly Online journalist	Allahu Akbar

"The British media has a long and proud history of speaking truth to power. Yet, freedom does not mean that the media are beyond reproach. Especially when talking about individuals and groups who are relatively powerless, the media becomes the power to whom the truth must be spoken."

Tony McEnery

Professor of English Language and Linguistics, Lancaster University

"When criticism comes – particularly from people who are directly affected by the words we use – we need to listen and assess; we need to ask ourselves whether personal biases might affect the way we see the world. The work of the Centre for Media Monitoring offers us an opportunity to take time to do just that."

Rohit Kachroo,

Security Editor, ITV News