

REPORTING OF TERRORISM AGAINST MUSLIMS THROUGH DEUTSCHE WELLE NEWS IN PAKISTAN: A CASE OF CHRISTCHURCH MASS SHOOTING

Barira Bakhtawar*

Dr. Faiza Latif**

Dr. Anjum Zia***

***Abstract:** It has been observed through various studies that the reporting of crime against ethnic minorities in Western media is questionable. The purpose of this study is to analyze the coverage and broadcast by international news media regarding the act of terrorism in Christ church, New Zealand which was faced by an ethnic minority i.e. Muslims. The study has analyzed Deutsche Welle's radio broadcast through qualitative content analysis as it stands as a popular method for exploration of the subject under study while using the framework of critical race and framing theory. The research findings reveal a variety of frames of reporting elaborated further with detailed analysis. The major themes of the study include a difference in the news coverage of crime incidents against Muslims as compared to non-Muslims, reporting of parallel events, counter narratives and image building of western political leadership.*

Keywords: Christ church, Critical race theory, framing, terrorism, qualitative thematic analysis

*Barira Bakhtawar is a PhD Scholar Department of Mass Communication Lahore Women College University, Lahore, Pakistan

**Dr. Faiza Latif is a Assistant Prof. Department of Mass Communication Lahore Women College University, Lahore, Pakistan

*** Dr. Anjum Zia is a Professor, Department of Mass Communication Lahore Women College University, Lahore, Pakistan

Introduction

The rise in hatred and crime against ethnic minorities has stirred the global landscape. The crime against the Muslim community is represented using the term, Islamophobia, which was introduced in a report titled, "Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All", in November 1997 in Britain.¹ The term Islamophobia can be a modern form of racism due to fear, lack of trust and hatred of Islam and Muslims² and as an irrational fear of Muslims and Islam without any realistic foundations.³ The fear of Muslims and Islam in the West has resulted in the radicalization of ideas globally and has led to spreading collective movements of terrorism and violence against Muslims. The role of media as a tool in spreading popular beliefs, ideas, culture, dominating perspectives and shaping public opinion is widely accepted by scholars and media professionals.⁴ The elements of Islamophobia have been on a rise during Trump's regime in the US.⁵ In Australia, there was a wave of Islamophobia on the rise during which tens of thousands of Australians liked anti-Muslim social media pages and at least six political parties with anti-Muslim platforms showed intention to contest in the elections.⁶ Also, the Australian media reporting aided the rejection of Muslim amenities in Australia.⁷ There is a considerable increase in hate crimes and victimization against Arab Muslims post 9/11.⁸ Themes of deviance and un-

¹ Runnymede, Trust. "Islamophobia: A challenge for us all." *London: Author* (1997).

² WALIA, Kanika, MdSajid KHAN, and MdNazmul ISLAM. "TERRORISM, HATE CRIMES AND WESTERN POLITICS."

³ Sudan, R. "Increasing attacks on Muslims caused by media-hyped Islamophobia." *Retrieved September 1* (2015): 2016.

⁴ Kellner, Douglas. *Media spectacle and the crisis of democracy: Terrorism, war, and election battles*. Routledge, 2015.

⁵ Butt, Khalid Manzoor, and Mominyar Khalid. "Rise of the far-right groups in Trump's America." *Journal of Political Studies* 25, no. 2 (2018): 105-120.

⁶ Latham, Susie. "The Global Rise of Islamophobia: Whose side is social work on?." *Social Alternatives* 35, no. 4 (2016): 80.

⁷ Briskman, Linda, and Susie Latham. "Muslims at the Australian periphery." *Coolabah* (2017): 33-46.

⁸ Disha, Ilir, James C. Cavendish, and Ryan D. King. "Historical events and spaces of hate: Hate crimes against Arabs and Muslims in post-9/11 America." *Social problems* 58, no. 1 (2011): 21-46.

Britishness were reported in the representation of Islam and Muslims in the British press,⁹ also a paradigm of ‘us’ vs ‘them’ has come out as a result of discourse analysis in the portrayal of Muslims in media.¹⁰ Coverage of attacks on Muslims has significantly declined in the news media.¹¹ As concluded in a latest study, “characteristics of a terrorist attack and its perpetrator(s) impact the amount of coverage that it receives from media.”¹² It is generally perceived that there are different perceptions for terrorists belonging to different ethnicity; a white shooter is considered to have previous problems in life while a Muslim shooter is assumed to be driven by religion instead of any mental illness or rejection.¹³

Radio is a powerful tool of communication that has maintained its significance despite the arrival of many competing media.¹⁴ The terrestrial radio includes AM/FM radio stations covers 98% of the population and 80% of the total area of Pakistan. News on the radio is an effective way to inform the audience thereby fulfilling the role of radio as a surveillance tool in society.¹⁵ FM 100 is the first commercial FM radio station in Pakistan which started its broadcast in 1995. Deutsche Welle started its news service through FM 100 in 2011 becoming the first international broadcaster to launch such a major collaboration in the field of news in Pakistan.

⁹Saeed, Amir. "Media, racism and Islamophobia: The representation of Islam and Muslims in the media." *Sociology Compass* 1, no. 2 (2007): 443-462.

¹⁰Nurullah, Abu Sadat. "Portrayal of Muslims in the media: ‘24’ and the ‘Othering’ process." *International Journal of Human Sciences* 7, no. 1 (2010): 1020-1046.

¹¹Moore, Kerry, Paul Mason, and Justin Matthew Wren Lewis. "Images of Islam in the UK: The representation of British Muslims in the national print news media 2000-2008." (2008).

¹²Kearns, Erin M., Allison E. Betus, and Anthony F. Lemieux. "Why do some terrorist attacks receive more media attention than others?." *Justice Quarterly* 36, no. 6 (2019): 985-1022.

¹³Brown, Kevin Angelo. "Mass Shootings: An International Perspective." In *Handbook of Research on Mass Shootings and Multiple Victim Violence*, pp. 56-73. IGI Global, 2020.

¹⁴Oliveira, Madalena, Grażyna Stachyra, and Guy Starkey. *Radio, the Resilient Medium Papers from the Third Conference of the ECREA Radio Research Section*. Centre for Research in Media and Cultural Studies, University of Sunderland, 2014.

¹⁵Greenleaf, Peter, and David Manning White. *People, society, and mass communications*. [New York]: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964.

The news and information in DW news bulletins focus on the international landscape which can engage and interest the Pakistani audience.

Significance of study

The current research is significant as the analysis of objectivity in coverage given to the particular incident of terrorism against Muslims of New Zealand by international media has yielded fruitful outcomes in determining if the news coverage by DW was biased or unbiased or if certain frames supported the assumptions of critical race theory. Pakistan is a key player in the war against terrorism¹⁶, and being a Muslim majority country, the news of the mass shooting in a mosque in New Zealand is connected to the emotional and religious sentiments of people. The current study observes broadcast media overcoming the constraint of time and space, along with examining if the findings of previously conducted researches in this area are similar in the geographical boundary of Pakistan or they differ in the case of DW news service. The study aims to

- Explore the content of DW news bulletins covering the Christchurch mass shooting and identification of major themes found in data.
- Analyze the framing of Christchurch mass shooting news by DW Urdu news bulletins in connection with critical race theory.
- Examine the underlying narrative and latent context of the DW news bulletin in covering the Christchurch mass shooting incident.

Literature Review

Framing Theory

Framing theory is the most suitable framework as there is a direct connection between people's perception and framing of news as it can ultimately affect public opinion, especially in a terrorist act.¹⁷ The frame is explained as an idea that deals with the arrangement of news ideas in

¹⁶Tellis, Ashley J. "Pakistan and the War on Terror." *Conflicted Goals, Compromised Performance*. Washington, DC (et al.): Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 10 (2008).

¹⁷DÜNDAR, Lale. "THE NEWS COVERAGE OF CHRISTCHURCH TERRORIST ATTACKS IN BRITISH MEDIA." *Electronic Turkish Studies* 14, no. 5 (2019).

the process of selecting a particular type of news for being noticed by the audience.¹⁸ Framing theory helps to understand the hidden dimensions of news stories.¹⁹ The current study utilizes the framing theory through an 'issue-specific approach' as this approach allows an in-depth analysis of the subject under study because of its high level of specificity.²⁰ Framing analysis is a development approach toward the construction of news discourse as it helps in the formulation of news texts into operational features.²¹ For example, generally, coverage of terrorism incidents by Muslims is covered more dramatically by media²², however, the media would be reticent to use the word 'terrorist' for a white attacker in a similar incident of terrorism against Muslims.²³

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory (CRT) was launched in the CRT movement in 1989. The idea that prejudice and disparity exist paying little respect to any gathering development pushing bigotry in the 21st century delineates race and imbalance assume a noteworthy job in western culture.²⁴ The key supposition is made about an unfair and unequal society that is ruled by White Eurocentric's. Visual impairment inside a multicultural society where people are focused on their religious moral and good convictions, with the developing strains of Islamophobia.²⁵ Critical

¹⁸Severin, Werner, and James Tankard. "Communication theories, translated by Alireza Dehghan, Tehran." (2001).

¹⁹Ahmed, Rohail, and Fatima Sajjad. "A Comparative Framing Analysis of the Red Mosque Incident in the Coverage of Local Right Wing and Western Print Media (June-Aug 2007)." *Journal of Political Studies* 26, no. 2 (2019).

²⁰De Vreese, Claes H. "News framing: Theory and typology." *Information design journal& document design* 13, no. 1 (2005).

²¹Pan, Zhongdang, and Gerald M. Kosicki. "Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse." *Political communication* 10, no. 1 (1993): 55-75.

²²Saleem, Muniba, and Craig A. Anderson. "Arabs as terrorists: Effects of stereotypes within violent contexts on attitudes, perceptions, and affect." *Psychology of Violence* 3, no. 1 (2013): 84.

²³Maguire, Sean. "When does Reuters use the word terrorist or terrorism." *Reuters Editors* 13 (2007).

²⁴Treviño, A. Javier, Michelle A. Harris, and Derron Wallace. "What's so critical about critical race theory?." *Contemporary Justice Review* 11, no. 1 (2008): 7-10.

²⁵Saeed, Amir. "Media, racism and Islamophobia: The representation of Islam and Muslims in the media." *Sociology Compass* 1, no. 2 (2007): 443-462.

Race Theory takes a gander at the multicultural development and has recognized that Muslims and Non-Muslims are in a struggle with one another which is something that is imbued with individuals.

The utilization of critical race theory in the current study helps to analyze the case of Christchurch mass shooting and the theory is often allied and enhances legal aspects of a crime committed against people of color.²⁶ The popular methods to study the theory include storytelling, narrative communication and interpretive analysis of text in connection to actual social practices related to marginalized people.²⁷ The theory provides a comprehensive method of inquiry to understand racism and the struggle against discrimination not only in US but all around the world.²⁸

Situation post-Christchurch mass shooting

Christchurch mass shooting incident stands as one of the most disturbing events of media usage where the viral dissemination of extremely violent content occurred through social media.^{29,30} An event similar to the attack of Christchurch where nine African Americans were gunned down by a white supremacist at Charleston church was hesitantly received as an incident to be included as an act of terrorism by the FBI claiming that it was not a political act bringing further ambiguity in the legal definition of terrorism.³¹ In a survey half of the Muslim population

²⁶Stefancic, Jean, and Richard Delgado, eds. *Critical race theory: The cutting edge*. Harvard: Temple University Press, 2000.

²⁷Dunbar, Christopher. "Critical race theory and indigenous methodologies." *Handbook of critical and indigenous methodologies* (2008): 85-99.

²⁸Alexander, Bryant Keith. "Reflections, riffs and remembrances: The black queer studies in the millennium conference (2000)." *Callaloo* 23, no. 4 (2000): 1285-1305.

²⁹Every-Palmer, S., R. Cunningham, M. Jenkins, and E. Bell. "The Christchurch mosque shooting, the media, and subsequent gun control reform in New Zealand: a descriptive analysis." *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law* (2020): 1-12.

³⁰Macklin, Graham. "The Christchurch attacks: Livestream terror in the viral video age." *CTC Sentinel* 12, no. 6 (2019): 18-29.

³¹Taylor, Helen. "Domestic terrorism and hate crimes: legal definitions and media framing of mass shootings in the United States." *Journal of policing, intelligence and counter terrorism* 14, no. 3 (2019): 227-244.

in New Zealand has agreed to be targeted personally for hate crime due to their religion, also 7 out of 10 adults in New Zealand think that hate speech is on a rise on social media.³² Analysis of news content post-Christchurch shooting revealed four prominent areas related to Muslims including Muslim women Hijab, terrorism-related to religion, government, democracy and the politics of repression and depiction of Muslims point of view.³³ Moreover, a strong connection was observed between anxiety, terrorism and behaviors towards Muslims post-Christchurch mass shooting.³⁴

Research Questions

1. Does the language analysis support inclination toward critical race theory?
2. What type of coverage has been given to the Muslim leaders?
3. What type of coverage has been given to the western political leaders?
4. How far DW news bulletins attempt to gain neutrality in reporting?

Methodology

The paper utilizes the method of qualitative content analysis which focuses on the understanding of the text, following the research questions, placing them into categories that are finally taken under analysis and to ensure validity, the results can be compared with previously conducted studies.³⁵ There are 6 basic phases of latent thematic analysis including familiarization with data, generation of initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing and analyzing the themes,

³²Netsafe." Hate Speech Online Findings from Australia, New Zealand and Europe. ."2019.

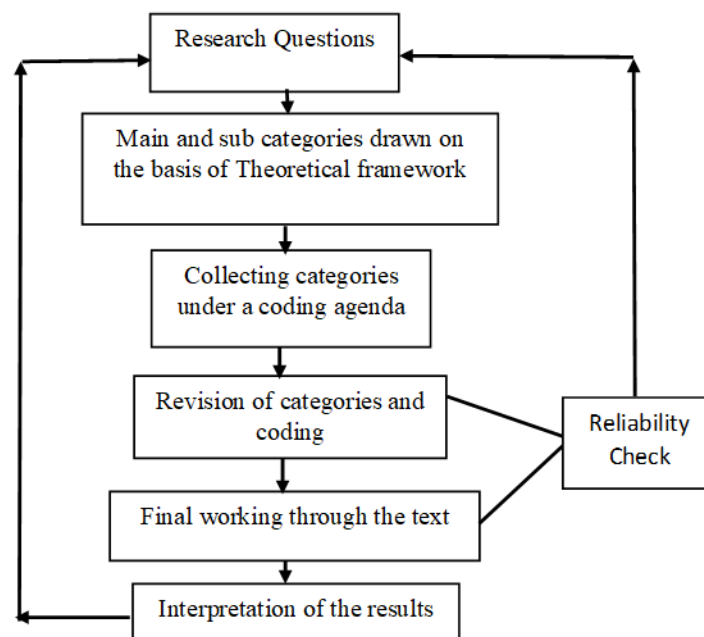
³³Rahman, Khairiah A. "News media and the Muslim identity after the Christchurchmosque massacres." *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online* 15, no. 2 (2020): 360-384.

³⁴Hawi, Diala, Danny Osborne, Joseph Bulbulia, and Chris G. Sibley. "Terrorism anxiety and attitudes toward Muslims." *New Zealand Journal of Psychology (Online)* 48, no. 1 (2019): 80-89.

³⁵Mayring, Philipp. "Qualitative Content Analysis." *A companion to qualitative research* 1, no. 2 (2004): 159-76.

identifying the themes with titles and producing the report.³⁶The content analysis approach is widely used in media because it effectively measures how the content is used in covering a specific issue by media.³⁷The study has modified the ‘deductive category application’ procedure where prior formulated theoretical framework of critical race and framing theory come in connection with the analysis. Following the guidelines by Mayring Philipp^{38,39} the process has been adopted, modified and explained in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Deductive category application model for qualitative content analysis



³⁶Braun, Virginia, and Victoria Clarke. "Using thematic analysis in psychology." *Qualitative research in psychology* 3, no. 2 (2006): 77-101.

³⁷Yousaf, Zahid, and MugheesUddin Sheikh. "Treatment of Terrorism Issue in Pakistani Minorities Press." *Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities (1994-7046)* 24, no. 2 (2016).

³⁸ Philipp, *Qualitative Content Analysis*, 72

³⁹Mayring, Philipp. "Qualitative content analysis: Theoretical background and procedures." In *Approaches to qualitative research in mathematics education*, pp. 365-380. Springer, Dordrecht, 2015.

Sampling

The population under study is the news bulletins of DW news. Purposive sampling has been utilized to obtain a sample of news bulletins related to the Christchurch incident. The tag line of the story in the News Bulletin is ‘Christ Church, Wellington’. The unit of analysis is every “news story” which is related to the incident of Christ Church Wellington. Each day has two fresh and two repeated bulletins. Therefore, it makes a total of two identical news bulletins broadcast every day. There is a 27-30 seconds promo of FM 100 and DW before every news bulletin. The broadcast frequency of these bulletins is 7 Days a week, 4 times a day (13.00, 17.00, 19.00, 23.00) PST. The total time of the news bulletin is 4minutes 30seconds approximately. There are about 6-7 news items per bulletin. Each news bulletin was transcribed and data collection started on 15th March 2019 which was stopped after regular missing of the specific news item in bulletins and the repetition of the same content. Therefore, the time frame of the study is fifteen days and the total number of news bulletins analyzed for the study is thirty, as this is the time frame during which the news stayed hyped and was reported in the news bulletins.

Procedure

The news related to the “Christ Church incident” have been analyzed in the perspective of language including choice of words (the literal meaning of the words used, tone, philosophical and definitional foundations), story placement (headline, lead, position in the bulletin), the chronology of events discussed, character sketch of main characters including (New Zealand PM Jacinda Arden, important diplomatic personalities and Muslim community) and the discussion of related news discussed parallel to the main incident. The position of issue-specific news in the bulletin has been coded as 1(Headline), 2, 3 and onward (descending order).

The observed themes from data helped in establishing frames of study using framing theory. The frames further helped in developing an understanding of critical race theory. The news bulletins have been coded down in the dimensions of time (space allocation) for the news item, positioning of the news item, repetition, details of incidents discussed and the usage of particular words and language. The coding for content analysis has been conducted by the researcher. The main news story understudy has appeared seven times in the headlines of bulletin out of a total of 15 days of coverage.

Findings and Discussions

The themes drawn out from data collection have been analyzed and frames have been developed from the collected data for qualitative analysis.

Table 1: Frames drawn out of data

Frames	Categories Biased/Unbiased/Neutral	Analysis	Examples	Conclusion
Frame 1	Biased	Language	Choice of words indicating reluctance in accepting the incident as an act of terrorism and the perpetrator as a terrorist.	An inclination toward assumptions of Critical Race Theory.
Frame 2	Unbiased	Parallel Events	Events indicating neutrality and balance. Muslim clerics point of view. Usage of word Islamophobia.	Balancing the two sides (Muslims and West).
Frame 3	Neutral	Counter Narratives	Narratives representing a combative position of Muslims. An attack in Holland. Threatening statements from Da'aish and Turk President as counter arguments	An inclination toward assumptions of Critical Race Theory
Frame 4	Unbiased	Western Political Leadership	Incidents narrating Western political leadership wants peace and reconciliation/ Image building of Western leaders. Actions and statements part of	Image building of politicians through framing in media news reporting.

the bulletin by the
NZ Prime Minister
and western world
leaders in response
to the incident.

Frame 1: Language Analysis

It is the most important part of the analysis as the language of news decides biasness or unbiasedness because the news stories are organized and treated by many people involved in the process of news production.⁴⁰ The words used repeatedly for the description of the event are assessed as follows as per their literal, definitional and philosophical foundations.

‘Attack’ has been defined as “an offensive or scoring/destructive action”.⁴¹ The bulletins used the word attack on the first day of the incident. It can be assumed that attack is a generalized word and it is not further categorized into a “terrorist” attack or a “racist” attack etc. Therefore, the use of a generalized term without any adverb offers an open-ended perception to the listeners to perceive according to their judgment. Using neutral words in a news bulletin leads to a defensive, non-judgmental and non-controlling perspective put forward by DW. ‘The black day’ is “a day that marks a sad or unfortunate event” and for sorrow, melancholy, gloom, and dire predictions for a country.⁴² The bulletins used the word a black day to commemorate the incident as called by the New Zealand government. ‘Terrorism’ has taken the most diverse form of meaning in recent years. This word is not a simple word that can be used as a replacement for the word ‘attack’. Both of them have a difference in their intensity even though they use to point out a similar act. The word terrorism and attack have been used multiple times during news bulletins with ‘Terrorism’ taking the lead against the word ‘attack’ but not during the initial stages of reporting.

⁴⁰Bell, Allan. *The Language of News Media*. Blackwell Oxford, 1991.

⁴¹*Merriam-Webster*. Merriam-Webster, 2021.

⁴²Idioms, The. *The Idioms*, <https://www.theidioms.com/black-day/>.

‘Accused’ according to Cornell law school is defined as a person who has been arrested or formally charged with a crime, the accused has the right to remain silent or has his right to consult with his attorney and he cannot be confronted with having perpetrated a crime.⁴³ In criminal cases, the accused may get assistance and aid because he has yet to undergo the process of just disposition of the dispute.⁴⁴ The bulletins initially used the word to refer to the person involved in the mass shooting. The word accused being a legal word is a neutral word to be used in any criminal incident. However, the details of the incident involve many emotionally disturbing actions for the affected community i.e. Muslims. Therefore, the use of a neutral word like ‘accused’ to report this extremist incident might be objectionable to the concerned community. It should also be noted that various researchers have found that international media is reluctant to use the word ‘terrorist’ for a white person who committed the crime^{45,46}.

‘White Supremacy’ is the word used after ‘accused’ for the attacker in the next day’s news bulletin. Supremacy is defined in simple words as a state or condition of being superior to all others in authority, power and status, etc.⁴⁷. The term white supremacist has been considered to function as incitement and as an offensive slander. It is also pointed out in a study that white supremacists are now organizing themselves on the internet in the form of groups to support radically religious movements and concepts as a community that has no boundaries.⁴⁸ The usage of this word in bulletin can be considered ahead of the word neutral and gives a more directional connotation. The bulletin uses the word, ‘Australian citizen’. A ‘citizen’ as defined by Merriam Webster is someone who can claim the security and protection of a state and it is equally applied to someone living inside or traveling outside the state. The bulletin uses a neutral word like this

⁴³Institute, Legal Information.Cornell Law School, <https://www.law.cornell.edu/>.

⁴⁴Goldstein, Abraham S. "The state and the accused: Balance of advantage in criminal procedure." *Yale Lj* 69 (1959): 1149.

⁴⁵Ahmed, Yasmin. "Why Are We So Reluctant to Label White Attackers As Terrorists?." *The Independent* 18 (2016).

⁴⁶Winer, Jonathan M. "Globalization, Terrorist Finance, and Global Conflict: Time for a White List?." In *Financing terrorism*, pp. 5-40. Springer, Dordrecht, 2002.

⁴⁷Merriam-Webster. Merriam-Webster, 2021..

⁴⁸Burris, Val, Emery Smith, and Ann Strahm. "White supremacist networks on the Internet." *Sociological focus* 33, no. 2 (2000): 215-235.

to further establish the origin of the attacker. Disclosing the nationality of the accused also brings with itself pressure and shame from the affected community for Australians. After the first usage, this word has somehow replaced the words like ‘terrorist’ and ‘attacker’.

Frame 2: Parallel Events Analysis

The bulletin reports petition by more than 350 Islamic scholars and clerics to urge the world in curbing Islamophobia against Muslims, referring to the involvement of some political leaders and media groups in spreading hate against Muslims. The use of the word Islamophobia in the news reporting points out the growing concern of the Muslim community over this prejudice against Muslims. In a time of a violent attack against Muslims, DW attempts to maintain neutrality and balance by reporting Muslim’s point of view in the news bulletin.

Another news outlet reported by DW is the claim of Syrian democratic forces supported by the US to capture ISIS militants. The reporting of ISIS twice in the news bulletins marks the prominence of this extremist organization. Another attempt to achieve balance in the bulletin is the reporting of an attack in Holland with the involvement of a Turk citizen killing three people. However, DW reports the incident under investigation and if it is to be included as an act of terrorism or it was an incident of personal enmity. This parallel news appears twice in the news bulletin and then disappears with news of the further investigation into the incident.

Frame 3: Counter Narratives

Media selects the loudest voices that suit their ideology rather than fitting the ideology around the more important voices.⁴⁹ The bulletin involves statements issued in response to the Christchurch attack. It is important to notice that the bulletin has given importance to only two responses from the Islamic world. The general response from the Muslim world comprised of a condemn statement from Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey, Pakistan and Bangladesh collectively and reported only once in the news bulletin. The two most highlighted statements were from Da’aish or ISIS and the Turk president Erdogan. ISIS has proved itself as clever and skillful when it comes to the use of social media and cyberspace to propagate its messages⁵⁰ and to take

⁴⁹Allen, Christopher. "Islamophobia in the media since September 11th." *Exploring Islamophobia: deepening our understanding of Islam and Muslims*. University of Westminster 29 (2001).

⁵⁰Farwell, James P. "The media strategy of ISIS." *Survival* 56, no. 6 (2014): 49-55.

advantage of political situations and internal conflicts based on sectarian and ethnic discords.⁵¹ However, the addition of messages from ISIS threatening for a revenge on traditional media i.e. radio news bulletin raises questions as to what extent this organization is considered a representative of Muslims around the world? Involving a threatening statement seeking revenge from an extremist organization with radical ideology can give rise to conflict in an already unstable condition. It is also important to note that similar extremist organizations are a part of every religion around the world⁵² including white extremists⁵³ and extremist Jews.⁵⁴ Violent and radical ideas and images are not limited to any particular religion; every religion around the world contains some violent actors.⁵⁵

The statement issued by Turk President Tayyip Erdoğan is strong. Turk president calls the attack an ‘attack on Islam’ as quoted by the news bulletin. Also, he connects the dots to history, recalling World War 1 in which Ottoman Army killed many Australian soldiers. The statement is reported in the DW bulletin as an important stance from Turkey which is a significant Islamic country. The statement by Erdogan received criticism from the West as being an intolerant and prejudiced response which can further worsen the situation.

It is important to notice that both counter-arguments included by the DW bulletin can be categorized as neutral but it cannot be ignored that these are radical statements issued in response to the Christ church attack. Therefore, the selection of particular statements raises certain questions on why were these statements chosen and what was the purpose behind their selection? Do radical and extremist statements of response are an attempt to prove the extremism of Muslims to the West? Selection and filtration of news items are proven to be responsible for

⁵¹MUNIR, DR MUHAMMAD. "Exposing Is's Propaganda Reality." *Pakistan Observer*, 2017.

⁵²Almond, Gabriel A., R. Scott Appleby, and Emmanuel Sivan. *Strong religion: The rise of fundamentalisms around the world*. University of Chicago Press, 2003.

⁵³Ray, Beverly, and George E. Marsh. "Recruitment by extremist groups on the Internet." (2001).

⁵⁴Marton, Kati. *A Death in Jerusalem: The Assassination by Jewish Extremists of the First Arab/Israeli*. Pantheon, 2011.

⁵⁵Juergensmeyer, Mark. *Terror in the mind of God: The global rise of religious violence*. Vol. 13. Univ of California Press, 2017.

leading audience attention and perceived importance to certain statements and issues.⁵⁶ In a time of crisis when soft news and statements from the West are a part of DW news bulletin, the inclusion of such reports as counter-arguments plays an important role in the combative depiction of Muslims. More care should have been taken since no statement from any extremist western group has been added in the bulletin (which were circulating during the incident in international media) therefore, the inclusion of ideology of an extremist organization of Muslims can appear as a distorting element to the Muslim's point of view particularly the suffering community. This also points out toward selection of particular news for setting up audience perceptions. The second statement by the Turk president selected in the news bulletin also depicts an intense tone by Muslims.

Frame 4: Western political leadership

A government leader can build his/her public image in the time of emergency by using effective communication skills, the key is to take active actions as the time of crisis needs appropriate tackling.⁵⁷ Mass media has the power to shape the views of the audience through various forces that can work toward the social construction of image building and leadership.⁵⁸ The evolution of modern forms of communication gives a fresh angle to the relation between leaders and citizens. The news coverage of women politicians is changing over the period due to the dynamic media industry and the subtle signs of discrimination in coverage as given to their male counterparts in traditional times are getting weaker.⁵⁹ The news bulletin reports an active role of New Zealand prime minister Jacinda Ardern. She has been issuing condolences and official statements and took the center stage.⁶⁰ The first news to issue gun control law by the

⁵⁶Feezell, Jessica T. "Agenda setting through social media: The importance of incidental news exposure and social filtering in the digital era." *Political Research Quarterly* 71, no. 2 (2018): 482-494.

⁵⁷Zhang, Shao Yuan, Jun Jie Guan, and HaiRong Yin. "Government Leaders' Media Communication and Public Image Building in Emergency." In *2011 International Conference on Management and Service Science*, pp. 1-5. IEEE, 2011.

⁵⁸Chen, Chao C., and James R. Meindl. "The construction of leadership images in the popular press: The case of Donald Burr and People Express." *Administrative science quarterly* (1991): 521-551.

⁵⁹Campus, Donatella. *Women Political Leaders and the Media*. Springer, 2013.

⁶⁰Mazer, Sharon. "From Performance to Performativity: The Christchurch Mosque Murders and What Came After." *TeKaharoa* 15, no. 1 (2020).

government in the wake of the Christchurch incident has been given central coverage in the bulletin. The second is the news regarding funeral services and the personal interest of the New Zealand prime minister in the families of the deceased. Silence over funeral prayers, personal condolences by the PM with the families, live broadcast of Friday prayers on NZ media, 20 thousand people attending the service and New Zealand PM shortening her visit to China. The news bulletin also reports a Royal Commission' for an inquiry into the incident being set up by Prime Minister of New Zealand. These details revolve around the practical steps taken by the New Zealand government to tackle the issue of extremism and violence and convey a message of a practical, positive and active approach by the New Zealand government.

Alongside reporting the news regarding actions taken by the New Zealand government, the bulletin also serves the purpose of image building and positive portrayal of German chancellor Angela Merkel by including condolence statements by her for the audience in Pakistan. Jacinda Ardern's actions as reported through the bulletins point out toward the formation of nationalism with the inclusion of ethnic minorities.⁶¹ Media coverage plays a key role in developing professional public relations.⁶² The reporting of Jacinda Ardern's character traits and actions taken in the time of chaos for the Muslim community build her image as a 'friend' and an 'empathetic leader' for the audience in Pakistan.

Conclusion

The first research question, Does the language analysis support inclination toward critical race theory? The study concludes that DW news depicts reluctance in reporting the incident straightforwardly as 'an act of terrorism' in the initial stages of news reporting. This delay of labeling the crime as an act of terrorism can have several dimensions, one of which points out the reluctance of Western media in framing crime against Muslims as an act of terrorism as compared to a similar act committed against non-Muslims. The critical analysis of language covered major concepts and the repetition of words in the news bulletin and depicts that DW

⁶¹Wetherell, Margaret. "Understanding the terror attack: Some initial steps." *New Zealand Journal of Psychology* 48, no. 1 (2019): 6.

⁶²Manheim, Jarol B., and Robert B. Albritton. "Changing national images: International public relations and media agenda setting." *The American Political Science Review* (1984): 641-657.

tries to adopt a neutral phrasing for the coverage of the incident. This effort to use neutral words camouflaged the severity and intensity of the issue. This fact interprets the first frame of language analysis as biased and inclined toward assumptions of critical race theory.

The second research question, what type of coverage has been given to the Muslim leaders? The research question has been answered with the second and third frame of the study. The second frame of study involves the inclusion of Muslim leaders' and clerics' points of view in addressing the world against Islamophobia which is an effort to attain neutrality in the bulletin. At the same time, the discussion of parallel events in the news bulletin is an attempt to balance and neutralize the reporting of a terrorist act against Muslims by connecting it to an attack in Holland by a Turk citizen. The involvement of these short stories which appeared once in the news bulletin appears to be an attempt to neutralize the intensity of events occurring in a particular time frame. It can be concluded that the bulletin tries to balance out an intense incident of killing with reporting of several parallel counter events by the Muslim community to give a balance of events. The third frame concludes that the inclusion of strong statements by President Erdogan along with statements by Da'ish as a response agitate the whole situation and brings criticism from the west. The second and third frames of the study conclude that the Muslim world has been given voice by the inclusion of combating and defensive statements. However, reporting of ISIS statements can be considered a misrepresentation of Muslims as observed in the third frame and is inclined towards the assumptions of critical race theory.

The third research question, what type of coverage has been given to western leaders? The study has interesting findings when it comes to the image building of western leaders. The news bulletin reports a positive, sympathetic and conflict resolving side of Western leadership towards Muslims especially New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Arden. Therefore, the bulletins portray a positive and conflict resolving image of western political leadership through the news bulletins.

The fourth research question, How far DW news bulletins attempt to gain neutrality in reporting? The qualitative analysis of contents of news bulletins revealed a variety of patterns. The major themes drawn out of data include a difference in the news coverage of crime incidents that happen against Muslims as compared to non-Muslims i.e. white attackers are reluctantly reported directly as terrorists by the Western media, reporting of parallel events, counter

narratives and image building of western political leadership. The first frame can be categorized as a biased frame of reporting. The second and fourth frames of study have been concluded as unbiased while the third frame comes under a neutral category. The research concludes that DW conveys subtle and obvious meanings, both at the same time while analyzing frames drawn out of data in the reporting of the Christchurch incident.

Limitations of the study

The qualitative content analysis of broadcast media is very limited due to issues faced in accessing data. The study is limited to events occurring in a particular time frame which makes it too focused on its research dimensions. However, the study is unique in a manner as it explores the content of broadcast media in an in-depth manner in a strong and well-focused approach.

Recommendations

1. The content-centered approach of research measures the issue based framing of news reporting but misses out the feedback element from the audience, for which, further studies in future on the same subject can be conducted to measure the audience's involvement and impact of international news through the radio in Pakistan which can further reveal different dimensions.
2. The study also suggests that international media can use FM radio as a bridge to overcome the gap that exists between Pakistan and Western countries and it can reshape the perception of Pakistani people regarding political agendas and diplomatic relationships with foreign countries. Therefore, PEMRA and content producers can consider radio as an important tool for surveillance and political communication.