Covering Terrorism:  
Ethical Challenges of Journalists 
Working in Norway’s Mainstream 
News Media 

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to explore ethical challenges experienced by journalists working in Norway’s mainstream news media in relation to reporting international terrorism. Working with news sources; desire to be first to disseminate the news; the desire to attract audiences through graphical contents; and cooperation with security agencies all create ethical challenges while covering the news of terrorism. Another part of this project studies the influencing factors in news making of terror attacks. News sources, competition and audiences are major influencers in news making of terror events. The last part examines the essentiality of journalistic codes of conduct. The Norwegian Press Council’s statistics has no cases of violation of press ethics in relation to covering news of terror attacks. In the view of Norwegian journalists, there is no need to amend the existing Code of Ethics for the Norwegian Press to include the issue of terrorism. The study also discusses the possibility of avoiding news reporting of terror attacks. I conclude with a discussion that avoiding coverage is not an option, but alternative narratives and framing could be a possibility.
PREFACE

This thesis is submitted for the master degree at the NLA University College, Kristiansand, study programme Global Journalism. The research was conducted under the supervision of Associate Professor Kåre Melhus and Associate Professor Chris Wales between November 2016 to November 2017.

All the work presented henceforth is an original and unpublished product, except where references are made to previous research work. The fieldwork is reported in the thesis was approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). The practical part of the thesis was conducted in Norway and included twelve qualitative interviews.
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ACRONYMS

DAB – Digital Audio Broadcast
ICT – Information, Communications and Technology
MS – Microsoft
NLA – Norsk Lærerakademi
NP – Norsk Presseforbund
NRK – Norsk Rikskringkasting
NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data
PFU – Pressens Faglige Utvalg
RQ – Research Question
SPJ – Society of Professional Journalists
TRP – Television Rating Point
TV – Television
VG – Verdens Gang
CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

Chapter introduction

This chapter introduces my study, *Ethical Challenges of Journalists Working in Norway’s Mainstream News Media*. The first part of this chapter provides background of the study, importance of ethics in media profession and brief introduction to the relationship between media and terrorism. In section 1.2, I present some prevalent ideas on why terrorist organizations want to use media, why media emphasize in news production concerning terrorism, why audiences want to follow the news of terror attacks and how media ethics are challenged while reporting terror attacks. The main objectives and the significance of this research are presented in section 1.3 and 1.4. The research questions are presented in section 1.5. Section 1.6 explains the scope and 1.7 clarifies the limitations of the study. Section 1.8 briefly introduces Norwegian media landscape, Norwegian mainstream news media and Norwegian Press Council’s and statistics concerning violations of media ethics.

1.1 Background of the study

Ethics are moral principles that govern a human being’s behaviour or the way they conduct their various everyday activities. Foreman defines ethics as “a set of principles, a code – often unwritten – that implies a person’s conduct” (Foreman, 2010, p. 17). Put simply, ethics guide to distinguish the difference between right and wrong and then suggest to act on what is right.

Journalism is a profession which is accountable to larger population has ethical responsibilities. This profession has great power to influence human behaviour and societies in order to make a better society. Journalistic ethics often known as ‘codes of conduct’ guide journalists to differentiate right and wrong throughout the communication processes. “It is not (just) a set of rules, rather a guide that encourages all who engage in journalism to take responsibility for the information they provide, regardless of medium” (SPJ, 2014). Press councils, journalists’ federations, media organizations and journalists themselves issue journalistic code of conduct. Those ethical codes are followed voluntarily in order to make profession moral and
responsible towards society. The *Canons of Journalism* introduced by American Society of Newspapers Editors in 1923 is documented as the first written ethics for journalists (Frost, 2000, p. 173). Journalistic codes of conduct are not mandatory to follow as law so they are often pronounced as ‘self-regulation’. Campbell (1999) states that, “self-regulation has been tried since the earliest days of electronic media, beginning with radio in the 1920s” (p. 720). *Declaration of Principles of the Conduct of Journalist, 1954* set by International Federation of Journalists, *SPJ Code of Ethics, 1973* introduced by Society of Professional Journalists are some other widely known journalistic codes of conduct. The essence of these codes suggests: (a) to seek truth and report it; (b) minimize harm; (c) act independently; (d) be accountable; and (e) be transparent. These main ethos of the codes remains relevant and exists in different forms of journalistic codes.

Journalists and news media organizations are often blamed for becoming unethical, mostly at the time when they compete for breaking news and TRP¹. Such behaviour of media raise questions over their ABC (accuracy, balance and credibility) of the journalists and news media organizations, which may become costly to the societies as result of unethical media practices. Many of the complications in journalism ethics arise from the conflict between ethical standards and the news media organizations’ competition for breaking news or focus upon making a profit. On the top of that, if journalists and news media organizations are influenced by some preoccupied ideologies, stereotypes or guided by diversified interest groups then there might be presence of unethical media practices. We have witnessed bitter experience of the unethical media practice during 1994 Rwandan genocide. Journalists and news outlets are supposed to be more attentive and sensitive especially when the consequences of news reporting directly or indirectly are concerned with the physical, mental and social life of human beings. At the same time, due to large outreach and impacts, journalists and news media organizations are expected to be more careful while reporting global issues and news that carry global values.

¹ Television Rating Point - TRP is a tool provided to evaluate which programmes are viewed most. This gives us an index of the choice of the people and the popularity of a television channel.
Terrorism is one of the most reported global issues in modern day media outlets. Barr (2001) argues that the word ‘terrorism’ itself is rarely defined in a way that has world-wide acceptance. Barr claims,

“Perhaps no word in modern political usage is more controversial than ‘terrorism’. The United Nations spent 17 years trying to come up with a universally accepted definition and failed” (2001, p.1).

But the difficulties in outlining world-wide accepted definition of terrorism do not end defining it. Schmidt and Jongman (1988), in their book *Political Terrorism*, studied 109 different definitions of terrorism from which they isolated some recurring elements. According to them violence, political, fear, threats, psychological effects, discrepancy between targets and victims, intentional, systematic organized action and methods of combat, strategy and tactics are some recurring elements in the definition of terrorism (Schmidt and Jongman, 1988, p.5). These recurring elements can be observed in the definition of Laqueur (1996). He states “terrorism is not an ideology or a political doctrine, but rather a method - the substate application of violence or the threat of violence to sow panic and bring about political change” (Laqueur, 1996). US Department of State has put forward a definition according to which it is the deliberate use of violence against non-combatants, whether civilian or not (Ganor, 2002, p.289).

In this study of media, terrorism and ethical challenges, the terrorism and terror acts are defined as use of violence against people for any ideological purposes by individuals or groups who are ready to apply any means to conquer their objectives.

Wievioka (1988) notes that there is a ‘symbiotic relationship’ between media and terrorism. In this relationship, terrorists calculate target, location and time of their attacks to get global media attention and media capitalizes the anxiety created by terror attacks to produce contents with news value. Wievioka is not only one who believes in symbiotic relationship between media and terrorism. Peresin (2007) also believes in relationships between media and terrorism.

“Because media industry trends and patterns for media contents head towards preference of sensation seeking content, whereas terrorist organizations can,
due to their actions, ensure themselves maximum presence in the media” (Peresin, 2007, p. 5).

Peresin (2007) argues media prefer attention seeking contents and terror acts provide such contents for media. The relationship between media and terrorism is further discussed in Chapter 2.

Right to Information and Right to Free Expression are the two basic fundaments of the press freedom and democracy. These rights not are not only privileged to journalists and media but also to the audience. Audience as citizens also have right to get information on what is happening around the world. While exercising these two basics, media “provide terrorists with the publicity they need to inform the public about their operations and goals” (Cohen-Almagor, 2006, p.186).

1.2 Statement of the problem

News reporting of the terror acts is one of the toughest newsbeat in journalism. Unwisely chosen words, videos, audios, or any signs and symbols in the news may cause serious problems in societies. I would like to present an example that happened recently. Several news outlets including the New York Post and the Daily Mail published photos of a Moroccan woman named Nabila Bakkatha, identifying her as one of the terror cell members who was killed during the raid after terrorist attacks in Paris in November 2015. The woman who died in the Saint-Denis raid on 18th of November was Hasna Ait Boulahcen. The result of this media practice is serious and costly to the media victims. Bakkatha shared her experience with CNN:

“My family was shocked, and some of my relatives are not talking to me anymore. My life changed drastically, I stopped going to work, and I cannot go out anymore as I live in continuous fear. I am sure I will face a lot of problems if I travel to France.” (Azzam, 2015).

In such cases, on the one hand journalists and news media organizations spread false information, victimize innocent people and traumatize. On the other hand their works indirectly provide terrorists a free media platform to advertise terrorist organizations, their goals and outreach, and spread fear. There are many other who argue symbiotic
relationship between terrorism and media as Wievioka (1988), Choen-Almagor (2006) and Peresin (2007) have contended. Their arguments incorporate audience as well. Maddocks (1980) argues, “terrorists without an audience is inconceivable”. Micheal Stohl (1988) also believes that “terrorists are primarily interested in audience not the victims” (p. 4). Laqueur (1996) is also in the same line. He says, “it is not the magnitude of the terrorist operations that counts, but the publicity.” It is not only terrorist organizations that want to use media to spread fear and propaganda, but audiences are also attentive to be informed about terrorism and terrorist organizations. While fulfilling audiences’ ‘right to information’ and their interest, journalists and news media organizations have to overcome with several ethical dilemmas during the coverage of terror acts, specially being sensitive to victims and saving self from being used as propaganda tools of terrorist organizations.

Terror activities have great news value. But should journalists and news outlets transmit only what has happened, how it happened, who were killed? Resse (1990) argues that acts of terror are newsworthy, but while reporting journalists do not have to view themselves as detached observers; they should not only transmit what was happened there (p.394). Sometimes journalists and news media organizations face ethical difficulties to acknowledge it. Use of unverified news sources, use of extremely graphic contents and endangering peoples’ lives during/through the news making process are some ethical challenges observed while reporting acts of terrorism. The actual problem is not why media is reporting terror attacks but how media is reporting it.

Once journalists and news media organization realized that they commit mistakes, they publish or broadcast apologies. However, the information containing apologies do not create as much hype as the false news creates. Audience may not give attention to the information containing apologies as they give for news. Therefore, the victims of those false news to suffer as Bakkatha had suffered. Such news not only influence at individual level but may also have serious impact on country’s internal and international policies. If so, how can we practice responsible journalism solving ethical challenges while writing news of terrorism without making blunders.
1.3 Purpose of the study

The main purpose of the study is to explore the ethical challenges that Norwegian journalists face while covering acts of terror. In attempting to answer this question, the study also sought-to consider:

i. What are the determining factors that influence the news making process while reporting the terror acts.

ii. What sort of self-regulating mechanisms are important while dealing ethical challenges while of reporting terror acts.

1.4 Significance of the study

The study of ethical challenges that journalists encounter while reporting acts of terror can contribute for the betterment of ethical guidelines for journalists and news media organizations to enhance professionalism in the media fraternity. This is but a small contribution to understand how terrorist organizations want to use journalists and news media organizations and how media struggled not to be used. Rather than limiting discussions only on ethical challenges, the study also discovers the influencing factors in news making process and examines the most helpful ethical mechanisms in the newsroom. So, the immediate beneficiaries of this study are media students and beginner journalists. TI believe the findings of study will also attract the attention of senior journalists, media owners, media experts, audience and other readers as well. Furthermore, the study adds contribution on the ongoing vibrant discourse of need to rethink the sensationalist coverage of terrorism and stop providing terrorists a free media platform.

1.5 Research questions

In order to be able to meet the aforementioned research objectives and significance, the following research questions are answered in the study. The study contains three specific research questions which aim to explore the ethical challenges that journalists come across while covering the acts of terrorism. These three questions are interconnected and related to each other.

RQ1 – What are the ethical challenges faced by Norwegian journalists while reporting the terror acts?
RQ2 – What are the influencing factors in news making process while reporting the terror acts?
RQ3 – Which form of self-regulation mechanism is more essential while writing the news of terrorism?

This study also examines the possibility of avoiding the news reporting of terror attacks and the possibility of updating journalistic codes of conduct to provide ethical guidelines while covering news of terror attacks.

1.6 **Scope of the study**

The study includes twelve journalists working in 4 different Norwegian mainstream news media, who have experience of reporting news of terror attacks and aftermaths. These respondents are purposefully selected based on their work experience. They were chosen based on their recently published/broadcasted news reports on terrorism issues. Further details on how those twelve journalists from 4 Norwegian mainstream news media were chosen is explained in Chapter 3. I had asked the same set of open-ended questions following the interview guidelines to the respondents. Most of the interviews are conducted face-to-face, few of the them are done via Skype and Facebook Messenger.
1.7 Limitations of the study

The main limitation of the study is the sample size used for the study. Critiques of purposeful sampling often argue that purposefully sampled respondents may not represent the whole population. On top of that, some respondents felt uncomfortable providing certain details because of the personal nature of the interviews. To discuss the ethical matters is a sensitive topic for many and not everyone likes to reveal that they had violated ethical codes.

1.8 Norwegian media and regulatory system: brief introduction

This study explores ethical challenges of journalists working in Norway’s mainstream news media. Therefore, this section accommodates Norwegian media landscape, mainstream news media and press regulatory system.

Professor Emeritus Helge Østbye (2017) believes that political conflict with Sweden in 1860-1905 and class struggle from 1900 to 1935 made Norwegian population lucrative to newspapers and it remains very much popular until 1990. In World Press Trends 2016 published by World Association of Newspapers, Norway has the 3rd highest density of paid for dailies circulation with 341 copies for 1000 adult. However, the popularity and circulation of the printed newspapers was challenged by the internet from the 1990s. Østbye states that radio was available to Norwegians from the second half of the 1920s and television was introduced in 1960. In early 1980s monopoly of national broadcasting service was broken when local radio and television was introduced in Norway. He thinks that the break of monopoly opened the door for commercial radio and television stations. According to Media Norway’s statistics, retrieved in 2017-09-29, there are 227 newspaper titles, 208 radio channels, 45 television channels and 220 online newspapers. This statistics includes both national and regional media outlets. Then, what are the Norwegian mainstream news media?

1.8.1 NRK – public service broadcasting of Norway

Norsk Rikskringkasting – NRK is government owned public service broadcaster, which runs several television and radio channels along with online news portal. It
operates through the revenue generated from licence fees paid by audience. NRK operates 3 television channels; NRK1 is a general public-service channel, NRK2 focuses on news and documentaries, NRK3 is a children’s channel until 19:30 and then airs programmes for adults later in the evening. NRK has 3 radio and several Digital Audio Broadcast (DAB); P1 is a general channel with various content, P2 is a channel for news and culture and P3 is a channel for young listeners. According to Media Norway’s statistics 2016, NRK’s televisions have total 39 percent of total viewers, and its radio have market share of 65 percent of the total listening.

1.8.2 TV2 – most viewed commercial TV channel of Norway with 24/7 news channel

The first real rival of NRK came into frontline in the year of 1992 when TV2 came into existence. TV2 is a commercial television which rely on revenues from advertising, distribution and special subscription services. Since 2012, Egmont is the sole owner of TV2. Norwegian newspaper giants Schibsted also had share in it before that. TV2 also has several television channels and along with a 24/7 news television named TV2 Nyheter. According to Media Norway’s statistics 2016, the market share of TV2 is 18 percent and the total share of viewership for all the channels operated by TV2 company is 27 percent. It is the most viewed commercial television channel in Norway.

1.8.3 Aftenposten – most read print newspaper in Norway

Aftenposten is the largest newspaper of Norway’s on the basis of daily circulation. It was established in 1860 by Christian Schibsted. Throughout most of the 20th century, it was the largest selling newspaper in Norway. Schibsted not only published Aftenposten, but also started to take over small newspapers and became one of the big investors in Nordic media industry. In Media Norway’s statistics of Readership of Norwegian print newspapers (2016), Aftenposten is on top of the rank having 428,000 not including Saturday and Sunday’s readership.

1.8.4 VG – most read online news portal of Norway

Verdens Gang also known as VG has history of seven decades. It is owned by the giant Nordic media conglomerate Schibsted. VG is now second largest newspaper
in Norway after Aftenposten. It has readership of 342,000 excluding Saturday and Sunday’s readership. Nevertheless, VG’s online news portal VG Nett is the most visited online news portal or the digital newspaper in Norway. According to Media Norway’s statistics of Top 10 online newspapers (2016), VG has 2,012,000 online readers.

1.8.5 Media regulatory system in Norway

Norwegian media enjoy one of the world’s most open media environments, “though the degree of ownership concentration among major news outlets remain concern” (Freedom House, 2016). Press freedom, freedom of expression and the right to information is protected under Article 100 of the Norway’s constitution 1814.

The Norwegian Press Association Norsk Presseforbund (NP) is responsible for the safeguard and improvement of the Code of Ethics for the Norwegian Press, which is also applicable to other media. “NP appoints a Press Council (Pressens Faglige Utvalg - PFU) that evaluates individual cases of possible breaches of the ethical rules” (Østbye, 2017). Generally, members in the council are from the media but there are also members who represent the public. However, Press Council cannot impose sanctions on the media, but can require offenders to publish the Council’s judgements regarding unethical news or programmes, or unethical behaviour by journalists. There is also a parallel way of handling such cases, via the Broadcasting Council (Kringkastingsradet) appointed by Ministry of Culture and the Parliament (Ibid).

There are some cases where Norwegian journalists and news media had to answer judicial court to clarify their stories, news sources upon doubt on violation of good media practices. NRK was asked to share the sources of a news related to Breivik attacks 2011. But the Supreme Court gave verdict favoring NRK that it does not have to reveal the news source.

“Leaks related to the 2011 terrorist attack carried out by far-right, anti-immigrant militant Anders Behring Breivik have led to a series of ruling on protection of journalist’s sources. In October 2013, the Supreme Court determined that an editorial director from NRK did not have to reveal the name of source” (Freedom House, 2016).
This was a case, there are numbers of other complaints registered in the Norwegian Press Council against Norwegian journalists and news media. According to the Norwegian Press Council’s annual report of 2016, Aftenposten had violated press ethics in 5 cases, TV2 had violated 3 times, VG and NRK had violated 2 times each. While searching a key word ‘terror’ in Norwegian Press Council’s official web portal, there appeared 50 complains. Among them, NRK has violated media ethics in 3 cases, VG and TV2 have violated one case each until 2016. Norwegian Press Council had given final verdict saying ‘Det har brutt god presseskikk’ (it has broken good media practice – direct translation in English) on all of these ethics violated cases.

Chapter summary

The introductory chapter revealed the main goal of the study. The first part offered the background of the study and statement of the problems. It not only defines what ethics is, but also discusses importance of ethics in journalism and relationship between media and terrorism. It also points out how the problems occurred due to relationship between media and terrorism. The subsequent sections offer the purpose of the study, its importance and the research questions. The scope of the study explains the area of study and suggests that the findings of the research questions benefit journalists and media students. Limitations of the study clarifies limits of the research. The last section of this chapter presents short history of Norwegian media, introduces Norwegian mainstream news media in brief and discusses The Press Council’s role and statistics on breaches of media ethics. The introductory chapter revealed some of the main ideas of the study which will be closely explained in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter introduction

This chapter explores the previous studies underlining the research project and presents a critical review over them. “The literature review is usually concerned primarily with the research and writing connected with the main subject matter of the research study” (Oliver, 2004, p. 106). Bryman (2016) clarifies that “the aim of literature review is to establish what is already known about the topic” and suggests “to frame the review in such a way that it can act as a background and justification for study (p. 90).

The study centres upon the ethical challenges faced while covering acts of terror. The discussion in this chapter begins with exploring the relationship between terrorism, media and audience and different views on the media coverage of terrorist activities. Next, it reviews some literature on influencing factors in the news making process. Furthermore, it outlines researchers’ findings on ethical challenges and solutions while covering news of terrorism. Finally, it sheds light on the importance of journalistic codes of conduct as a self-regulatory mechanism and its necessity of amendment.

2.1 The relationship between terrorism, media and audience

Terrorism, media and audience have triangular relationship. Terrorist organizations want to use media as their propaganda tool with an aim of raising the level of threat and fear. The media, on the other side emphasizes the news of terrorism as it is one of the most saleable and an important issue to increase the readership or the number of audience as it always is the centre of concern for people around the globe. Audiences also want to follow news of terrorism for their own safety.

2.1.1 Terrorism and media

Many researchers who studied terrorism and media raise the issue of a mutually beneficial relationship between terrorism and media (Maddocks, 1980; Laqueur, 1996; Wilkinson 1997; Rhine, Bennett & Flickinger, 2002; Cohen-Almagor,
Professor Michael Jetter’s (2014) studies on media coverage related to terror attacks throughout the world between 1998 and 2012 published in *The New York Times*, resulted in several interesting findings and predictions. First, suicide attacks receive significantly more coverage than non-suicide attacks, “which could explain their increased popularity among terrorist organizations” (Jetter, 2014). The more media cover the suicide attacks, the more suicide attacks become popular among the terrorist organizations. Second, terror attacks in countries that are located far away from the US draw less attention, while terror attacks in countries which trade with the US get more media coverage. Terror attacks in Western or European countries get more news coverage in comparison in terror attacks in other parts of the world. Third, terror attacks in countries governed by leftist administrations catch more media attention. The most interesting finding and conclusion of Jetter (2014) is that media coverage of any terror attack is both predictive of the likelihood of another strike in the affected country within a week and vulnerable for next terror attack. Jetter argues, “if a main purpose of terrorism is to draw public attention, to generate mass hysteria and fear, then media coverage is exactly what terrorists are seeking to promote their agenda” (Jetter, 2014, p. 42). I believe this happened when journalists and news media organizations became unable to address ethical dilemma properly. The more journalists and news media organizations commit mistakes while solving ethical challenges, the more terrorist organizations gets free publicity. So, it is worth to understand the core ethical challenges while covering the news of terror attacks and think of alternative ways to present news.

One of the leading terrorism scholars Bruce Hoffman who has been studying terrorism more than 30 years also says that “without the media’s coverage, the act of terrorism’s impact is arguably wasted” (2006, p. 174). He further argues, “without media coverage, an act of terrorism remains narrowly limited to the immediate victims of the attack, do not reach to the wider target audience to whom the acts of
terror are actually aimed” (Ibid). Another researcher Jeffrey Ian Ross’s (2007) concluding remarks also states,

“terrorists use the media as tool to gain increased coverage and communicate their message’. …terrorists and their organization have a better ability to harness the numerous tools of mass communication for their purposes. The relationship between terrorists and the news media will not subside, and in many aspects, that interconnectivity will increase in years to come.” (p. 221)

On the one hand researchers are assuming the interconnectivity between terrorism and media will increase in future days. On the other hand, terrorist organizations are getting tremendous support to spread fear and threat via new media. Weimann and Jost (2015)’s New Terrorism and New Media states that new media has provided terrorist organizations with all new possibilities for propaganda, recruitment, radicalization, funding and planning (p. 369). New media offer an excellent infrastructure for free and enable terrorists to reach to a global audience (p. 370). Edith Hilde Kaiter (2016) also believes that “modern technology has provided terrorist groups with a powerful instrument – mass media – which willingly or unwillingly serves their needs” (p. 428).

She further clarifies that terror attacks would not have big impact if it were not for publicity and terrorist organizations know very well about potentials of media-oriented terror, in terms of effectively reaching to large number of audiences (Ibid). These researches again raise the question in relationship between terrorism and media. Terrorist organizations are using new media, not only for spreading threats and fear but also recruitment, funding and planning. But is it possible to avoid coverage of terror acts? Or is it better to recognize the influencing factors in news making process and eliminate the bad influencers from the process? Recognizing the influencing factors in news making process might help to be aware of potential publicity of terrorist organizations.

The “media business is primarily driven by ratings and advertisement revenue” (Rivera, 2016). This is one of the reasons why media are always interested in reporting terrorism. The massive increase in the number of national and international news media has resulted unhealthy competition and appetite for shocking, sensational news which is believed to keep audiences engaged, boost ratings,
circulation, and surge profits (Nacos, 2006, p. 11). There is no doubt that terrorism is a striking issue for media to engage their audience. Therefore, journalists and news media seek to fulfil the needs of their audience by providing stories that comprise several specific elements: dramatic incidents, emotional resonance, or some highly disturbing aspect (Camphuijsen & Vissers, 2012, p. 14). Unfortunately, terrorism has all those components of drama, fear, blood, human tragedy, miracle stories, heroes, shocking footages, and action. Jeff Lewis (2005) also criticizes, “violence is a central and defining characteristic in contemporary television culture” (Lewis, 2005). Biernatzki’s (2002) argument is targeted towards ownership for leading media to such culture. Biernatzki argues, “many top media executives come from the corporate world, but not from the ranks of journalists” (2002, p. 5). This means media is business, so business tycoons want to make profit out of it. While fulfilling the business purpose, media is vulnerable to breach the good media ethics. Is ownership also an influencing factor while covering the news of terror attacks? This study has aimed to collect valuable findings regarding it.

Kevin G. Barnhurst (1991) categorizes two models to illustrate media-terrorism relationship more vividly. The culpable media model sees “a causal link with terrorism that call for vicious regulation” (p. 115) the media are fundamental part of a vicious cycle, “As media cover terrorism, they incite more terrorism which produces more media coverage” (p. 125). Jetter (2014) also has similar conclusion that the more news of terror attacks is reported, the more terror attacks are likely to increase. Barnhurst’s another model, the vulnerable media model sees the media as only victims, not causes of terrorism (p. 126). However, do controls of media coverage result in a decrease in terrorist attacks? Barnhurst (1991) states “controls are counterproductive. Any control on coverage, will be ineffective because terrorists can shift to other forms of communication” (p. 126). Terrorist organizations have already begun to use new media.

Alexander Spencer (2012) investigates the possibility that reduced media attention might increase terrorism. He argues that “any kind of media blackout of
terrorist attacks may face two grave problems, one normative and one practical” (p. 13). Spencer (2012) concludes it saying, “one cannot prevent terrorist groups from gaining public attention” (p. 14). However, Spencer agrees that terrorism and media have symbiotic relationship where media spread terrorists’ fear and terrorists provide “bloody news which helps media to sell their product” (p. 4). In a nut shell, researches show that both media coverage and avoidance of terror attacks may have relationship to incite terror attacks.

2.1.2 Terrorism and audience

The relationship between terrorism and audience can be labelled as frenemy (friendly + enemy) relationship. Friendly in the sense that both parties are known to each other; terror organizations are aware of their target audience; and audience are also aware of existing terrorist organizations through media. But at the same time, they have fundamental dislike and rivalry with each other. Researchers have presented the relationship between terrorism and audience as following. According to Maddocks (1980), “a terrorist without an audience is inconceivable”. Stohl (1985) also believes that terrorists “are primarily interested in audience not the victims” (Stohl, 1985, p. 4). Laqueur (1996) also states that publicity (reach to mass audience) counts more than the magnitude of the terrorist operations.

Audience are also equally anxious for information about acts of terror. On the one hand, it is their Right to Information to what is happening around the globe. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), states that the fundamental right of freedom of expression encompasses the freedom “to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers”. Many countries have mentioned this fundamental right of information in their constitution as well.

On the other hand, audiences’ psyche also played significant role in why they want to follow news of terrorism because they want to be aware of threats around them so that they can avoid or remain safe and secured. A reader or a viewer can get information from various media outlets at a same time. This idea can be related to the
philosopher and social theorist Jeremy Bentham’s design of an institutional building Panopticon. According to Merriam Dictionary, Panopticon comes from Greek word *pan* meaning sight and referred to *Panoptes*, a human with hundred eyes in Greek myth. The fundamental principle of Panopticon is the complete and constant surveillance of inmates without letting them know whether they are under surveillance. Therefore, inmates will act constantly as if s/he is being watched. Bentham believed this approach could be successfully adopted in any environment which involved some level of supervision. Comparing Panopticon with the audience, media and terrorism relationship, terrorists are inmates, their activities are under surveillance, terrorists do not know that they are being surveillance or not but they act as if they are under surveillance. The audience are one the one who supervise terrorist activities through media in order to live safely. Human beings always want to be aware of possible threats to take care of their life and belongings.

### 2.2 News making process and influencing factors

The Your Dictionary’s definition of ‘news making’ is an act or process of making news, of doing or saying something that is newsworthy\(^2\). In this process of news making, information of an incident passes through several stages, such as: news sources, writing, designing and distributing before it reaches to the mass audience. Gregg Hoffmann (1989) demonstrates abstracting process in news making in Accident Diagram:

\[\text{ACCIDENT} \rightarrow \text{REPORTER/WITNESS’S INTERVIEWS} \rightarrow \text{REPORTER/POLICE INTERVIEWS} \rightarrow \text{REPORTER SEEKS ADDITIONAL INFO} \rightarrow \text{REPORTER WRITES STORY} \rightarrow \text{EDITORS EDIT FOR SPACE, ETC.} \rightarrow \text{EDITOR ADDS HEADLINE} \rightarrow \text{READER ABSTRACTS WHILE READING STORY}\]

*Figure 1 – Abstracting process in news making in Accident Diagram* (Hoffmann, 1989, p. 327).

Journalists and news media organizations do not necessarily have any kind of involvement in Hoffmann’s (1989) first stage’s Accident and the final stage’s interpretation by audience. However, the rest of the stages can be considered the news

making process, where a journalist and news media organization is actively involved. Interview with witnesses, authorities, and seeking additional info are associated with using news sources. So, the news making process primarily consists of four different stages: using sources, writing, designing, and distributing.

The news making process is influenced by journalist’s morals, beliefs and opinions, or *individual factors* when making news decisions. They are also influenced by *external factors* such as their news media, guidelines and universal ethics. Paul S. Voakes (1997) in his *Social influence on journalist’s decision making in ethical situations* proposes several factors; individual, small group, organization, competition, occupation, extra media and law that act simultaneously to influence journalists’ decision in news making (p. 18). It is not only individual, organization, competition, laws that influence news making but also interest of audience. Griffiths (2010) finds out ‘relevance to the audience, accuracy, public interest, newsworthiness and entertainment value are major influencing factors in decision making for news editors (p. 51-53). Among those various influencing factors; individual, sources, organizational, competition, norms and audience, some of them have positive influences and some of them have negative. This study tries to differentiate between positive and negative influencing factors. Negative influencing factors may appear as ethical challenge.
2.3 Ethical challenges and solutions

Based on several researchers’ conclusions, as discussed in section 2.1, we can say that neither media can embargo news of terrorism nor audiences can totally ignore it. In such scenario, how media can present themselves as information providers to their audience, without being used as a tool propaganda by terrorist organizations? Good practices of media ethics might be a solution for these dilemmas.

Jeffrey Ian Ross (2007) finds out basic difficulties with the coverage of terrorism by the media. According to him challenges are due to: (a) selective reporting and self-censorship; (b) editorial discretion; (c) lack of specialists focusing on terrorism; (d) misinformation given to reporter by national security agencies; (e) news media obstructing counter-terrorist efforts; and (f) sensationalization (Ross, 2007, p. 217). Some of these challenges are observed in other day-to-day reporting as well while most of the other challenges are specifically related to news coverage of terror attacks. Richard Keeble (2009) states that challenges occur due to journalist has overburden of work. A journalist has to work as a reporter, designer, editor, reviewer, photographer, broadcast producer, web designer, researcher and etc. (Keeble, 2009 p. 1). Keeble further explains, ‘because of this overburden for journalist, “the range of specific ethical dilemmas ends up being enormous” (p. 2). Another ethical challenge that Keeble (2009) discusses is about the international audience’s access to local media content. The Internet has made this possible so that local media are no longer limited to local audience in terms of their global outreach. This kind of media penetration also poses ethical challenges because content encoded in one media environment can be decoded differently by an audience from a different media environment.

Ethical challenges while writing news about terrorism is not a new and unsolvable phenomenon. Following good media ethics is a best way to please the audience. Being very specific in writing news about terrorism, Spencer (2012) proposes that one may be able to at least minimize any psychological effect of terrorist activities on the audience by framing terrorism news in a less fear provoking manner (p. 14 & 21). He believes that “framing of terrorism through linguistic devices such as metaphors can help construct terrorism in a particular way by highlighting certain
characteristics and downplaying others” (p. 21). Self-regulation might be another way to solve ethical challenges along with news framing. Paul Wilkinson (1997) thinks that self-regulated mechanisms like journalistic codes of conduct are the important guidelines to professional media practices. In one of the most cited articles in terrorism and media studies *The media and terrorism: a reassessment*, Wilkinson (1997) concludes by arguing that “voluntary self-restraint and self-regulation by the media are the best policy options for a democratic society in regard to the media’s response to terrorism” (p. 51). He further argues that the mass media need to work harder to develop measures of self-regulation that are both appropriate and effective (p. 51). That is why self-regulation should be amended and update as per need to make it appropriate and effective.

### 2.4 Self-regulatory mechanisms and amendments

Self-regulation is the fact of something such as an individual or an organization regulating self without intervention from external bodies. Self-regulation in journalism is a predominant method used by journalists to minimize probable ethical errors. The ethics which are introduced by any of the regulatory bodies in written form and the one that comes from inner instinct of the journalist are essential while covering sensational issues like terrorism.

Normally, Press Council, journalists, their associations and media organizations introduce and implement journalistic codes of conduct, interchangeably known as ethics of press. Those ethical codes are followed to conduct the profession remaining within moral boundaries. The ‘Canons of Journalism’ introduced by American Society of Newspapers Editors in 1923, *Declaration of Principles of the Conduct of Journalist, 1954* prepared by International Federation of Journalist, and *SPJ Code of Ethics, 1973* introduced by Society of Professional Journalist are some well-known existential journalists’ codes of conduct. The main essence of these ethics suggest journalists to seek truth, minimize harm, act independently, be accountable and transparent.
Written forms of journalists’ codes of conduct published at official website of a press council, or hung on the wall of media institutions are not sufficient to solve modern days’ ethical issues and dilemmas. They should be revised or updated frequently as Wilkinson (1997) has stated. Until two and half decades ago, there was almost absence of codes relating to media coverage of terrorism. David Paletz and Laura Tawney (1992) examine broadcasting media regarding to the existing guidelines relating to the coverage of terrorism. They have categorized broadcasting organizations according to the existence of guidelines concerning the coverage of terrorism. First three categories are: 1 - no rules for covering terrorism, no guidelines, codes or even approaches; 2 – no rules, but philosophies or general policies about how to cover terrorism; 3 – no rules for terrorism, but general policies about how to cover terrorism (Paletz & Tawney, 1992, p. 105). This shows that many of the existing guidelines do not have specific guidelines for covering terrorism. Terry Anderson (1993) assumes general guidelines too often do not fit in all incidents. That is why journalists’s codes of conduct are expected amend and update as per need to make it appropriate and effective.

Journalists’ codes of conduct are often amended as per need. Amendment are made to deal with newly emerged ethical issues, for example, ethical challenges created by the Internet and new media. According to Diaz-Campo and Segado-Boj (2015), 31 countries’ journalistic codes of conduct have been written or revised since 2001 (p. 15). They study journalism ethics in a digital environment analysing 99 countries’ journalistic codes of conduct. Diaz-Campo and Segado-Boj (2015) conclude that only 9 countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Canada, Hungary, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania and the United Kingdom) have added specific references to the internet and ICTs (p. 7). This is an example on how journalistic codes of conducts are updated to address newly emerged ethical issues created by digital technologies, however only few countries have initiated to amend. But what about ethical issues raised by contemporary terrorism activities? Isn’t is a necessary to amend codes of conduct to address ethical issues raised by terrorism. While doing this project, I went through the journalistic codes of conduct of 46 European countries. Only six European countries: Albania, Belgium Hungary, Luxembourg, Serbia and Switzerland have
ethical codes that contain element of terrorism. The findings related to these are elaborated more on Chapter 4 along with the Norwegian journalists’ opinion regarding necessity of the amendment for journalistic codes of conduct.

**Chapter summary**

This chapter presents previous researches related with the main subject matter of this study. The first part discusses the relationship between terrorism, media and audience. It also presents researchers’ views on difficulties in avoiding terrorism news. The second part of the chapter examines the influencing factors in the news making process. The third part offers researchers’ suggestions to tackle ethical challenges while covering news of terror attacks’. The relationship between terrorism, media and audience, and influencing factors in news making process themselves are ethical challenges for journalists. The last part of the chapter discusses the importance of journalistic code of conduct and its amendment as per need. This chapter is important to understand what is already known about the topic and provides basis on which the findings can be analysed. The next chapter will provide information about methodology.
CHAPTER 3 – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Chapter introduction

Research methodology is a guideline to conduct the research. “It is a way to systematically solve and research problem and it may be understood as a science of studying how research is done scientifically (Kothari, 2004, p.8). Roberts (2010) is of the opinion that research methodology should be chosen based on “the problem to be investigated, purpose of the study, theory base, and the nature of data” (p. 141).

This chapter provides information about research methodology used in the research. It has five main parts which are organised as follows: section 3.1 and 3.2 shed light on methodology and choice of method; section 3.3 reviews ethical consideration and informed consent; section 3.4 shares details on conceptualisation of the interviews, and discussion concerning selection and contacting the respondents, and the process of transcription; and section 3.5 presents data analysis and data coding.

3.1 Qualitative – research design

Qualitative research is a “research strategy that usually emphasises words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data” (Bryman, 2016, p. 374). Qualitative research lets researchers to make relevant connections between literature and finding to understand the subject matter (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 1). The rationale behind choosing qualitative research design is that it is relevant for the capability to provide in-depth information that is crucial to illuminating the research problem stated in this study. The research questions of this study aim to explore ethical challenges, examine influencing factors in news making process and to discover essential self-regulation mechanism while covering news of terror attacks. In order to meet the aim of those research questions, qualitative research design was chosen. This research design helps researcher to learn and to understand the issues from the respondents’ perspective.
3.2 Qualitative interview – research method

In an interview, the researcher asks about and listens to what respondents experience throughout their life (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009 p. 1). The interview is one of the most useful methods in qualitative research design. Qualitative interviews tend to be less structured, emphasizes interviewee’s own perspectives rather than researcher’s concerns, interviewers can depart from the interview guide and raise new follow up questions, and most importantly interviewees may be interviewed on more than one occasions (Bryman, 2016, p. 466 & 467). This research aims to find out Norwegian journalists’ experience during the news making of terror attacks. In order to meet the aim of those research questions, qualitative interviews seemed as an useful research method for this study, because of its flexibility and focus on respondents’ perspectives.

Qualitative interviews also vary in terms of approach taken by the researcher. A semi-structured interview approach was used while conducting interviews for this research. Johnson (2002) notes that “crafting the good interview means learning and listening, it provides great advantages but also the issues arising from ethics” (2002, p. 105). All the interviews conducted for this research were accompanied with interview guide (See Appendies for interview guide).

3.3 Ethical consideration

Choices about method must related to research ethics. “Research ethics is a complex set of values, standards, and institutional schemes that help constitute and regulate scientific activities” (National committee for research ethics in Norway, 2006, p. 5). Ethical issues arise at the several phases in social research (Bryman, 2016, p. 210) and a researcher is required from the outset to consider ethical issues which can arise during the research work (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.63).

Following Norwegian research ethics standards, the research project was reported to Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) at the early stage of the research process. Professional and institutional regulations were followed throughout
whole research process. In order to bring new input into the research topic, the researcher has emphasized on producing valuable knowledge from respondents.

Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) outline a process of operationalizing ethical considerations. This “[e]ntails informing the research participant about the overall purpose of the investigation and the main features of the design, as well as any possible risks and benefits form participation in the research project” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.112). All respondents were instructed about the purpose of the research and their rights as a participant of it. The participants’ rights include their access to read transcribed texts of interviews, re-clarify statements, and power of withdrawal of their views from the study at any time without giving any justifications for it. Every respondent was also made aware about privacy, confidentiality and who has access to the primary data. According to consent between researcher and respondents, the real name of respondents are not revealed until and unless they have agreed for it. In addition of that, recorded interviews were deleted within six months, transcribed text of the interviews is saved with different code name than real name of respondents, the computer where all data are saved is have password protected, and only researcher has have access to the files. Respondents have shared their experience on difficulties occurred due to ethical issues, their conflict with editor and opinions on the media they are working for. Some of them who shared such stories chose to remain anonymous.

3.4 Conceptualizing the interviews

In this study, three research questions are posed, and the choice of the research method was chosen based on them. In order to seek answers for those research questions, a semi-structured interview guide was prepared before conducting the interviews (See Appendices for interview guide). The interview guide was prepared based on the research questions. In the interview guide, there are three thematic areas for three research questions A semi-structured interview is neither an open conversation nor highly-structured questionnaires (Kvale, 1996, p. 27). Interview guide within a semi-structured design ensure some extent of control over what type of information is produced (Hollway & Jefferson, 2008, p. 302). Most of the questions
asked from the interview guide and follow up questions were open-ended and researcher had provided sufficient time for respondents to answer.

### 3.4.1 Choosing the interviewees

Respondents should be experienced and have first-hand knowledge about the research topic to make a credible research (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 64). The aim of this research was to study the ethical challenges while reporting on acts of terror. So the Norwegian journalists currently working with stories concerning terrorism or have experience of reporting news of terrorism became the purposefully selected interviewees for the study. As Rubin & Rubin (2005) suggests in page 65, the study has focused on relevant experiences to make the convincing finding and results.

According to Media Norway’s statistics, retrieved in 2017-09-29, there are 227 newspapers, 208 radio channels, 45 television channels and 220 online news portals in Norway. Interviewing journalists from all of those media is impossible within limited timeframe. To narrow down the sample, four mainstream news media of Norway; NRK, TV2, VG and Aftenposten were purposefully selected. Why these media are chosen is briefly introduced in Chapter 1. They represent public service broadcasting, commercial media and online media, are different in terms of ownerships and form. Journalists currently working in these media who have experience of reporting news of terrorism were purposefully selected based on Bryman’s (2016) generic purposive sampling (p. 412). To find out what you want to know, it is necessary to interview as many respondents as possible (Kvale, 1996, p. 101). At the beginning, a list of 24 potential respondents was prepared. Out of 24, only 12 were interviewed. The respondents chosen for the study have significant variation in terms of age, educational background and their experiences of covering news of terrorism. Their judgements, experiences, and opinions on the research topic are documented in the interviews.

Beside purposeful sampling as main sampling method, this research has used some instincts of snowball sampling. “Snowball is using a small pool of initial respondents to suggest others who meet the eligibility criteria for the study” (Morgan,
This method provides great benefits when population is difficult to access, however it is criticized for creating an “uneasy line between replicable and representative research” (Atkinson & Flint, 2003, p. 275). Journalism is an extremely busy profession and journalists may have very little extra time for someone they do not know. In some of the case, method of snowball sampling became most efficient technique to contact the respondents. It was not used for communicating with new respondents, rather used for contacting purposely sampled respondents. The question about other potential respondents asked at the end of the interview to the respondents actually helped to collect contacts details of purposely sampled respondents.

### 3.4.2 Communicating with respondents

While communicating with potential respondents for the first time, my intention was to provide sufficient information about the researcher, researcher project and purpose of the study. Firstly, details about the researcher and research project along with a support letter (See Appendices for support letter) written by Program’s Coordinator of Master in Global Journalism at NLA University College were sent to all potential respondents via email or Facebook messenger. Most of those emails were not respondend. Meanwhile, the number of responses was quick via Facebook messenger. Interestingly, respondents’ assistance to provide contact details of other potential respondents worked effectively to increase the number of respondents in my study. Respondents’ busy schedules and assignments delayed to get appointment to conduct interviews.

### 3.4.3 Recording interviews

The standard audio video recording device LG 360 Cam R105 was used to record interviews which was very useful to record audio and video of both interviewer and interviewees at a same time. A good recording device “frees the interviewer to concentrate on the topic” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.179). The choice of the place for recording was thus very important to avoid unwanted noise. Each of the respondents was interviewed at their work place. Most of the interviews took place around 9 AM to 10 AM before the work station gets busy and noisy. Before
starting the recording, every respondent was reminded about the purpose of the study and respondents’ rights. The researcher had also taken notes of the key points of the information and reflections shared by respondents. The recordings of interviews were immediately copied onto the researcher’s personal password protected computer to ensure the security of the conducted interviews. Interviews were conducted in English.

### 3.4.4 Transcribing the interviews

Transcription is an important part of a research. “The interview is an evolving face-to-face conversation between two persons; in a transcription, the conversational interaction between two physically present persons becomes abstracted and fixed in a written form.” (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p. 177). The interview questions were systematically organised in a way to ensure the average length of interview was no more than 60 minutes. The transcription process was carefully conducted as soon as interviews were copied to personal computer. Then the recorded audio video files were deleted and pseudo titles were given to transcribed texts. Every interview resulted into six to eight pages long MS Word file. The transcripts together with notes taken during the interview are used as the basis for coding and analysis.

### 3.5 Data analysis and coding

This section describes data analysis process and coding used in this research. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) note that the analysis is an extended technique which actually starts after researcher stops the recording device. “The analysis of the transcribed interviews is a continuation of the conversation that started in the interview situation, unfolding its horizon of possible meanings” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.193). Bryman (2016) believes that clear cut rules have not been developed yet about how qualitative data analysis should be carried out (p. 567). According to Michèle Lamont and Patricia White (2009), the role of the researcher in qualitative analysis is to tell the story from their perspective by identifying themes and looking for specific characteristics of the speakers, and to reveal hidden context (p. 28). Analysis is made based on research questions posed in the research. Each research
question is analysed individually but due to their interconnectedness, findings derived from the interviews might overlap to some extent.

3.5.1 Coding

Interviews resulted in 12 MS Word files have full of rich knowledge and information on the study topic. The key notes made at the time of interviews also with transcripts also have served as the ground for coding materials. To make coding easier at initial phase the transcribed interviews are printed and the key terms of the research questions are highlighted. To make actual analysis more robust the data needed are linked to the codes. “Coding involves attaching one or more keywords to a text segment” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 202). While articulating the codes, Rubin and Rubin’s (2005) recognition manual was followed. In recognition stage the researcher is looking for “a. concepts, b. themes, c. events and d. topical markers” (Rubin and Rubin 2005, p.207).

The MS Word program was used to categorize the transcribed interviews to place them under each research questions. The the first three MS word documents were made based on three research questions with the name RQ Coding 1, 2 and 3. Each sheet was assigned to one research question and was filled out individually. At the end of the process all materials were copied into a single file for the final coding.

3.5.2 Analysis of coded data

According to Rubin & Rubin (2005), the next step is to summarize and group particular concept and themes around the events and the stories which prevailed in the series of events from interviews (p. 224). In this step, the codes were thoroughly compared for similarities, differences, and contrasted to study patterns between them. All data units of the same codes were assembled into one file with the summary in the form of description. Further, the codes should be analysed together to synthesize different version of the same event (Rubin & Rubin, p.227).

Twelve interviews comprise different opinions and experiences of journalists working for different forms media and employed under different kind of media
ownership. This became very useful to weight their responses to see how they are similar and different from each other. The last stage of creating the proper description was to check for credibility and accuracy. The text was reviewed with regards to the initial thoughts and evaluated together with results from the first phase of analysis.

Chapter summary

This chapter discussed the details of the chosen research methodology. It began with discussion of the justification of methodology, process of doing interviews and the final stage of analysis of interview. The first part discussed the methodology choice and the second part outlined detailed description of structuring the qualitative interviews. The third part of this chapter discussed ethical consideration which is significant part of the research because it gives information about ethical approach and the ethical codes. The fourth part explained on how interviews were conceptualized and how the transcribing process was done. The last part is focused on understanding how coding and analysis was done. All methodological information provided in this chapter are important for understanding how findings and results are presented in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 4 – RESULTS AND MAIN FINDINGS

Chapter Introduction

This chapter provides results and main findings of the three research questions. The main data of the chapter are transcribed interviews and hand notes taken during the interviews. Twelve Norwegian journalists participated in the research and their most important statements are presented together with explanations. Most of the informants are identified with pseudo name in the text and their work place is also not revealed.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 4.1 discusses results from the first research question where the aim is to explore the ethical challenges for journalists while covering the news of terrorism. Section 4.2 presents findings from the second research question where the aim is to find influencing factor during the news making process at the time of reporting the incidents of terrorism. Section 4.3 offers results from the third research question, where the aim is to find essential self-regulated mechanisms while writing the news of terror acts.

4.1 Norwegian journalists’ first impression on journalism ethics

All respondents of this research have knowledge of journalism ethics and its importance. Every respondent immediately pronounced the ‘Codes of Ethics for Norwegian Press’ known as Vær Varsom-plakaten in Norwegian language as soon as they heard question about journalism ethics. This not only demonstrates their familiarity with journalistic codes of conduct, but also shows importance of ethical codes in day to day journalism practices. Respondents believe that codes of ethics as moral guideline for good media practices. For them, to follow ethical standards is a way to maintain the reputation of their profession and the news media organization where they work. As it is stated in most of the journalistic codes around the world, all respondents stated that the most significant ethical norms are; to seek truth, minimize harm to victims and innocence, act independently, be accountable and transparent to the reader and audience. To be truthful in presenting information is one of the most important ethical norms for the respondents. The focus on truthfulness of the
information are most important for them because misleading information and mistakes in news reports result in negative consequences. They are aware of the fact that even a small error might have a very harmful impact on their professional career. They shared, mistakes might raise hatred, avoidance, and negative judgment on journalists and news media organizations they represent. Norwegian journalists are very much conscious of potential difficulties connected to violation of press ethics. Long involvement in news media and relevant academic background might be a factor which assists journalists to be conscious about potential difficulties.

Half of the respondents have five to ten years’ experience of professionally working as a journalist in news media organizations. One third of the respondents have more than a decade of experience, and very few respondents have experience of less than five years. Among them, majority of the respondents have experience of covering news of terrorism of more than five years. Meanwhile, rest of the respondents has begun to report about terrorism within the last five years.

4.2 Ethical challenges while covering news of terror acts

Journalism is a profession where journalists have to weigh the words and calculate the consequences before writing or producing any kinds of news reports. Journalists, therefore, disseminate information to a large number of audience and readers considering ethical norms and values in head and heart. Whenever ethical issues are raised, journalists visit journalists’ code of conduct and try to solve the problems. According to the respondents, some serious and sensational issues may take a little longer time than other day to day reporting.

News reporting over terrorism activities is one among them, where journalists and news media organizations are supposed to be more serious. Such issues demand serious hard work in the overall news writing process. The outcome of misleadingly disseminated news may not only propagandize and give free popularity to terrorist organizations, but also traumatize the civilians, and endanger the journalist’s own life.
What are the ethical challenges that Norwegian journalists face during the media coverage of acts of terrorism? “Well! There are many.” It is the very first expression of every respondent to the first research question. To be specific, the first ethical challenge that most of the Norwegian journalists face while writing the news of terror acts is about ‘hurries in breaking news’. They shared that most of the newsrooms have ethical dilemma of whether to circulate information immediately as soon as journalists get the information or wait until the incident gets matured and authorities or concerned organizations release statement or news agencies working in the field send news reports. Sometimes, immediately after the attacks, news media organizations do hurry to label it as terror attack by jihadists. Later, it might turn to be some other elements than jihadists. A respondent says, “being too quick to say this is terrorist attack perform by jihadist and later it turns out it was not terrorist attack. It is not practice of good ethics. To be too quick to conclude something is a dilemma.”

Apart from this, the majority of other respondents also gave similar statements that being too quick to conclude something and publish/broadcast about is not good practice of journalistic ethics. But some respondents do not prefer to wait for too long to publish or broadcast information that carries high news value. In this regard, a respondent argues, “being a news media, we cannot remain calm closing our eyes and ears and act like nothing has happened.” So, the idea is to disseminate information as soon as possible. This fraction of the respondents suggests to broadcast/publish news reports in less controversial manner in order to inform their audience as soon as possible about the incident. They believe that it will make audience regularly engaged with the news media organizations.

The second ethical challenge that most of the Norwegian journalists experienced while writing the news of terror attacks is ‘use of words and pictures’. Every respondent shared that they had to go through this ethical dilemma. Based on how they overcome this dilemma, they have two different views. Some believe that there needs to be a genuine purpose to use pictures, specially reporting the terror attacks, scene and aftermaths. A respondent shared, “there has to be purpose except from that you need a picture.” Another respondent shared his experience in this
regard. In the beginning when the ISIS emerged as global issue, Norwegian media also disseminated ISIS’s propaganda videos and pictures. They further claim that Norwegian media do not publish and broadcast such propaganda videos and pictures anymore. Meanwhile, rest of the respondents believe it as an ethical issue, but it is worth to publish or broadcast such pictures/videos in proper way. Respondents who believe in it argues “In some case we may have to publish their propaganda videos and pictures but in right context to show the people what this terrorist organization wants to say and how the world has to deal with them.”

There is another ethical dilemma with ‘use of words and pictures’, i.e. ‘description of incidents’. The dilemma is how explicit should the text be and how should one describe the situation and aftermaths? Respondents do not prefer to write every single detail on how terror attack was conducted. For example, how they used killed people, how deadly/bloody was the scene or disturbing description like this. A respondent’s suggestion for the this ethical dilemma is that the content of news reports should be written based on target group. Considering target audience of news report, journalist can decide how detail should the news text and pictures be. Some respondent believe that children may have access to online news portals so that news reports that have detail description about the terror attacks are suitable to broadcast late night via TV when most children are asleep. Some other respondent prefer to describe little about the attacks, but more in-depth analysis behind terror attacks. They argue that it is important to know what led the attacker/s to do this, which organization lays hand behind it and how can we contribute to make situation better. Transparency and openness are the most important journalistic element for those respondents and argue “if you have information you should publish it.”

The third ethical challenge most of the Norwegian journalists face while writing the news of terror acts is ‘handling information of prior the attacks, during the attacks and after the attacks. Journalist sometimes may get information from terrorist organizations that they are planning to do some terror attacks, for example in X city in X time. Terrorist organizations may want to spread fear and raise the level of threat as their strategies to be popular or to make security agencies focused in one areas so
that they can conduct attack in other area. Most often journalists are advised from security authorities not to circulate any information to mass audience on when and whereabouts terror attack is going to happen even journalists knew it from their verified sources. Use of news sources is the most discussed ethical challenge by Norwegian journalists. It is discussed more in upcoming section 4.3. If journalists publish or broadcast when and whereabouts terror attack is going to happen, it creates more panic and trauma to the civilians. Security authorities also advise journalists not to disseminate any information about counter terrorism tactics and operations during terror attacks such as hostage taking. The attackers also easily have access to such information published/broadcasted about police tactics through digital technologies. This is new ethical challenges aroused by modern terrorism and digital media. The ethical dilemma for journalists and news media organizations is; on the one hand, they have to make the audience assured of disseminating information on how government and security agencies are tackling the situation while on the other hand they have to be very careful about not leaking any counter terrorism strategies until a specific situation comes under control.

4.3 Influencing factors in different phases of news making

News and information travel from senders to receivers via one or several media. In this journey of information (often known as “communication process”) in media, information of an incident has to go through several phases, such as: news sources, writing, designing and distributing before it reaches to the large number of audience. Based literature discussed in Chapter 2, news making process normally consists; using of news sources, writing, designing, and distribution to large swath of audience or people. Use of news sources refers to handling the first-hand information (information collected by journalists) and secondary information provided by local journalists and authorities in the area or national and international news agencies. Writing refers to news scripting, proofreading, editing and so on. Designing refers to making layout, presentation, using info-graphics, pictures and videos. And distribution refers to forwarding the outcome to the mass audience following target group through appropriate media platforms.
The news making process is one of the most important phases of information dissemination. Press freedom and editorial independence are some factors that safeguard journalists to work independently without interference. But when it comes to serious issue like terrorism, both internal and external actors try to be influential in news making process. This study found some determining factors that influence the news making process.

4.3.1 Source

One of the determining factors which influences journalists and the overall news making process is ‘news sources’. News sources are critical while doing daily reporting as well. While doing reporting for terror attacks, news sources becomes more vulnerable. Due to hype that terrorism news picks up, sources want to exploit journalists and news media organizations giving false information for fame and money. This is an ethical dilemma as well. Due to the advancement of media technologies, these days most media houses do not to hire correspondents in each country. It is costly to establish news bureaus everywhere around the world. Generally, news media organizations assign a team and send to the field when they have special interest to make authentic special report. Otherwise, journalists and news media organizations are bound to use secondary news sources, such as national and international news agencies, local journalists and local authorities and social/political activists or influential people in local area. Norwegian journalists are both confident and skeptical while choosing and using sources. Respondent shared, “now reporting from news desk became easy to verify the source. Fifteen years ago, we have to rely only on news agencies. But now due to the Internet, you have even police commander of the local area is twittering about the incident from the scene.” Such advances in media technologies and massive use of digital media make journalists easy to contact sources and verify information. Even though, Norwegian journalists have some doubt in trusting local correspondents. Another respondent says that she uses information from local journalists, only if they are working with the credible news media organizations. Another Norwegian journalist shared an important experience, that she prefers to seek at least three types of sources on the scene. She usually verifies information from local journalists, local authorities, news agencies and influential
people in local area. She further clarifies, “if I have these three sources describing a situation, usually that would be enough if those are quite similar.” For a respondent, choosing and using sources is constant dilemma. He would prefer to talk with local people whom he knows from a long time and have a level of trust. But still the information provided by local people who are known to journalists for a long time are also cross checked with other information distributed from news agencies. He further clarifies that he will be more careful while using such information even though such information is seen in other media platforms. Another Norwegian journalist suggests how to use local people as a source. She is of the opinion that it is good to ask about what they saw around the incidents and how they felt during and after the attacks rather than asking about fact and figures.

4.3.2 Writing

In the writing phase of news making process, journalists often get influenced. Sometimes disturbing image observed in the scene may disturb the psyche of journalists which might disturb the creative writing process. But beside that it is important to be aware of ethical guidelines while writing about the terror attacks. News reports written without caring ethical norms may ruin the reputation of journalists and news media organizations. According to the respondents, it is unethical to write about possible attacks saying that it can be happen. Their argument is, it is unethical to write in a way that audience will think terrorist organizations are the only thing that we should fear or get scared about.

If a journalist is uncertain about something, it is better not to write about it. Modern terrorist organizations are smart on how to make world talk about them and they know how to make journalists write about them. In this regard, respondent shared her opinion “journalists from all over the world cannot collectively decide on not writing about terrorist organizations in the news. But in our media house we have decided that we will not write about every horror movies they make.” Majority of respondents agree that news scripts should not be explicit in terms of describing terror attacks and there should be a genuine reason to use graphical contents.
Another influential factor while writing news is ‘objectivity’, one of the core values of fair journalism. But can journalist be objective while reporting? All respondents answered that it is impossible to be objective specially while reporting terror attacks. Respondent clearly states, “no journalist is objective.” She further argues that if some claim that they are objective then they do not have their own thoughts or feelings. Journalists never try to seek balance between attackers and victims in writing. Another respondent shared his experience from news media organization he represents, “our news reports should sympathize the victims of the attacks and write more negatively about the groups because they are perpetrators.” A suggestion from a respondent is that one should write what is true and focus on facts, and let viewer and reader to judge. Trying to keep the truth and fact while writing is a way to be kind of objective. A Norwegian journalists says that journalists are the one who choose the words while writing news, they are the one who select what fact to present, doing it in a good way is kind of objectiveness.

How to label the attacks and perpetrators? This is another influencing factor and ethical dilemma which is raised while reporting the terror attack. Most of the respondents shared that in the beginning they always do what they can do to clarify the confusion among the audience about the attack. They use their available source to clarify whether it was an accident, or it was a psychiatric situation or a terror attack. According to the experience shared by respondents, they decide to change accident to attack that is mostly based on national government or authorities. In the first stage, very often they write/say “local authorities are calling this as a terror attack but no person or organization has yet claimed responsibility for it.” Then after, they spend some time and resources to find out what it is. A respondent explains, “Sometimes we can observe and analyze the pattern of known terrorist organization in terror attacks.” She believes that in such situation she could use the term possible terrorist attacks underscoring that there is no confirmation at this stage. How to label perpetrators then? This is another ethical dilemma. “One man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter” (Biernatzki, 2002, p. 3). Terrorists are labelled differently, ranging from murderers to freedom fighters. “Some of these labels are loaded with positive values (e.g., liberation, movement, popular front, freedom fighters) that may affect the image
and attitudes held by a public unacquainted with the issue” (Kaiter, 2016, p. 432). It is worth to share understanding of a respondent. He believes that there is vast difference between terrorists and fighters. He further argues all the fighters fighting for ISIS is not terrorist. This is something that journalists like him are struggling with. He says he sometimes become confused about what and how to call them differently. He explains, “Some journalist called Turkey bomb attack killed 50 ISIS terrorists today. I see this is problematic. Some of the fighters in ISIS, they are poor 14 years old boys. ISIS took their village and they had to join ISIS. It is problematic to call these boys are terrorists. So, for them I use the term ISIS fighters instead of ISIS terrorists.”

Meanwhile, another journalist thinks it is too soft to call ISIS just ‘a radical rebel group’ based on their cruelties. She gives an example that fits Biernatzki’s (2002) statement, “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter”. Armed rebel groups in Syria who are fighting against President Bashar al-Assad are portrayed as terrorists by Syrian government and state media meanwhile the same group is tagged as freedom fighters in some of the global media.

4.3.3 Design

Journalists are often influenced while designing news. Here, designing means not only the layout of news articles but overall presentation for both print and broadcast media. It incorporates use of pictures, audio and video clips, info-graphics, use of space, prioritization of contents, time slots etc. Even though a journalists have information about terror attacks, they often become confused where, when and how to present it. A respondent remembers his experience that “some (he did not reveal the name) had argued that we should not put Breivik’s face on the front page.” As a journalist, he believes that a journalist needs to present the information and let the discourse continue. Another respondent thinks that journalists have to produce different contents for different target groups and should be disseminated through different platforms in different timeslots. It is worth sharing an experience of a respondent to show how a journalist’s story is influenced inside the news room.
“I had interviewed one jihadi from the Netherlands doing training for foreign fighters in Syria. I wrote news article saying his claims that he has been training ‘Scandinavian jihadists’ in Syria. My editor provided prime space for the content I wrote to publish in our media. But while editing he labelled those jihadists as terrorists. Somehow, that Dutch jihadi saw this news and he became mad at me. He had trusted me that I would not call him ‘terrorist’, I believe they had not conducted terrorist operations yet. But my boss wanted a saleable headline and ruined all my relationship with this guy as a source. I lost his contact and he never wanted to answer me again.”

He further reveals that he often receives death threats from anonymous phone calls. This is an example how journalists and their news script and layout are influenced. Findings related to use of pictures and videos are discussed already in previous section 4.3.2. In short, some of the respondents strongly believe of using pictures and videos with purpose only. Meanwhile, some other prefers to use it believing that it is journalists’ job to inform their audience in responsible way.

4.3.4 Distribution

News making process is influenced in distribution stage as well, even though the entire distribution phase does not fall under news making process. Here, distribution refers to disseminating the final product to mass audience. One most influential factor that influence in this stage is the ‘target group’ or audience. SEN believes that children may have access to online news so that something it contains, details, description and visualization about the terror attack could broadcast late night on television when most children are asleep.

‘Clickbait’ is another thing that influences journalists and media organizations. The main goal of clickbait in news media is to get online readers/viewers to click on news link to go to a certain news page. Clickbait headlines normally aim to exploit the curiosity gap, providing just enough information to make readers curious, but not to satisfy their curiosity without clicking through to the linked content (Thompson 2013, Waldman 2014 & Shire 2014). A respondent criticizes,
“Some online newspapers are too fast to distribute information. They think that dramatic headlines and news content is important to get more clicks. I think clickbait is practiced where the motivation is may be not to cover the news but to be first to publish those dramatic contents in order to get more clicks.”

In a same question, another respondent answer that Norwegian media are quite sober and they do not have so many cases on violation of ethical codes but sometimes mistakes may happen. Majority of the respondents also shared that journalism morals and principles have influence positively in every ethical dilemma to overcome it.

4.4 Essential self-regulation mechanisms

In this era of press freedom, the morality of journalists and news media organizations is self-responsibility. This maintain reliability on journalists and news media organizations. If journalists and news media organizations enjoy press freedom from the state, it is expected that they will self-regulate. Self-regulation is guidelines for individual or organization to conduct their profession in ethical way. It is “combination of standards setting out the appropriate codes of behavior for the media” (Puddephatt, 2011, p.12). “Self-regulation has been tried since the earliest days of electronic media, beginning with radio in the 1920s” (Campbell, 1999, p. 720). Self-regulated mechanisms can be categorized in two forms, official; written forms, prepared and implemented by journalists’ association, press council, media organizations and unofficial; unwritten and influenced by societal upbringing, human nature, religions, newsroom discussions, ongoing discourses etc. Norwegian journalists shared that both written and unwritten self-regulation mechanisms are are important. A respondent shared “We grew with Norwegian press tradition. The most important thing is that we do not put anyone in danger by publishing information or hurt anyone misusing information.” She further emphasizes saying that journalistic codes of conduct remains as the core thing in backbone of Norwegian journalists. Another respondent also has similar kind of opinion in this regard. He says, “we have Code of Ethics for Norwegian Press which is being reviewed from time to time. Every journalist should have it in head wherever they are, whether in field or in news desk. I think combination of all of both written and unwritten are important for me.” Another respondent adds one more important aspect into the self-regulation that is
the ‘experience’. He clarifies, “When I was studying journalism at university, they had a very big focus on media ethics. Along with formal education, discussion with experienced colleagues and my own experiences in those fifteen years also play significant role to regulate self.” Another respondent shared, “everybody says that Code of Conduct are clichés but when you have some doubt it is very essential and easy to go through it”. To summarize, Norwegian journalists always prefer and have been prioritizing the written form of journalistic codes of conduct and do not hesitate to go back to it at the time of ethical difficulties. Meanwhile, they also agree that unwritten form of self-regulatory mechanisms such as newsroom discussions and experiences also play essential role while writing the news of terror attacks.

If a written form of Code of Conduct is that important for every journalist, how often they are updated or amended? As journalism is fostering with new media and technologies, challenges are also growing together. Sometimes media are blamed for being used by modern terrorist organizations to spread their propaganda and spread fear. Do journalistic codes of conduct incorporate guidelines to cover the news of terror attacks? I went through journalistic code of conduct of 46 European countries available at Ethic Net - Collection of codes of Journalism Ethics in Europe. Only six European countries; (a.) Albania, (b.) Belgium, (c.) Hungary, (d.) Luxembourg, (e.) Serbia and (f.) Switzerland out of 46 European countries have ethical codes related to terrorism.

Luxembourg’s Code of Deontology\(^3\) mentions that “the press agrees not to commit or glorify crimes acts of terrorism or other acts of cruelty or violence.” Similarly, Belgium’s Code of Journalistic Principles\(^4\) and Code of Ethics of Albanian Media\(^5\) also have similar kind of stance. Both codes of conduct states that crimes and terrorism as well as other cruel and inhuman activities must not be glorified. Ethical

Code of the National Association of Hungarian Journalists⁶ suggests that journalists should not be impartial while covering news or terrorism and recommend to check validity of source. Its Article 4.4 states,

“Journalists must not remain impartial when it comes to the protection of democratic values. It is a duty of a journalist to take a stand against incitement to hatred. In case of obtaining information about planned assassination attempt or act of terrorism, it is crucial to check the validity of the information. If it can be suspected that the threat is valid, then journalists must immediately notify authorities as well the public.”

Similarly, Journalists’ Code of Serbia⁷ asks journalists to be more serious while covering news of terrorism. It says that “themes of terrorism, crimes and armed conducts must be treated by journalists with utmost professional care.” Switzerland’s Declaration of the Duties and Rights of a Journalist⁸ urge to sympathize victims stating that “the reporting of war, acts of terrorism, accidents and catastrophes by means of text, image and sound should respect the victims’ suffering and the feelings of their loved ones.”

Beside these journalistic codes of conduct from European countries, updates can be observed in journalistic code of conduct from African and Asian countries as well. Recently amended Nepal’s Journalist Code of Conduct⁹ states that “journalists and mass media should not produce, publish, broadcast and distribute materials that incite violence, terrorism and crime or suicide and are vulgar, contrary to public health, decency and morality: and that create fear.” Code of conduct for the practice of journalism in Kenya¹⁰ also has same sort of ethos which says, “the media shall avoid

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presenting acts of violence, armed robberies, banditry and terrorist activities in a manner that glorifies anti-social conduct.”

4.5 Possibility of limiting or avoiding media coverage of terrorism

As researchers (Barnhurst, 1991; Wilkinson, 1997; Nacos, 2006; Spencer, 2012 & Rivera, 2016) point out difficulties in limiting or avoiding media coverage of terrorism, respondents of this research also see difficulties in limiting or avoiding media coverage of terrorism. A respondent shared that if we limit the coverage to prevent terrorist’ propaganda or if we do not report the news about them then we are hiding the fact. She believes that it is important for journalists to cover not only the attacks but also why and how it happened. She further elaborates that it is better to cover news from broader perspective. Another respondent argues, “media coverage of terrorism help to make safe and secured societies, but not covering terrorism in not an option.” She also believes that it is important to see the behind the curtain of the attacks, how it happens, who are the people behind attacks and their background in order to bring the hidden facts. Another respondent strongly argues that he does not believe in limiting the media coverage of terrorism, states, “as long as it is new and has news value it should be written, but neither it should be exaggerated on nor it should be ignored.” He further argues that it is not a journalist’s job to guide the audience into right kind of thinking but a journalist should be honest, true and not sensationalize the situation.

Chapter Summary

This chapter dealt with the findings from interview with respondents their experience while reporting the news of terror attacks. The first section identified the main ethical challenges faced by Norwegian journalists while writing the news of terror activities. Each ethical challenge is identified according to the experience and knowledge from the respondents. The second part examined influencing factors in news making process. The aim was to find out how a journalist is influenced during news making process while writing news of terrorism. The third part discussed self-regulated mechanisms and its significance while writing news. This part also shed
light on recently revised journalistic code of conduct, which incorporates ethical guidelines that covers the news of terror attacks. The purpose was to find out the importance of self-regulation mechanisms in the time of ethical difficulties. Finally, the last part discussed on possibility of limiting or avoiding media coverage of terrorism activities. Other researchers' views along with additional theoretical review are offered in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 5 – DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

Chapter introduction

This chapter is primarily a discussion of the results and findings of the study connected to the three research questions posed in the introduction. The areas to be discussed are related to the ethical challenges, influencing factors in news making and the significance of self-regulated mechanisms while reporting the news of terrorism. The first part of chapter deals with the ethical challenges observed while covering the news of terrorism. The second part of chapter deals with influencing factors in the news making process. The third part of chapter discusses ways to mitigate ethical challenges and influencing factors. The last part of the chapter explores the importance of self-regulation and amendment of journalists’ code of conduct.

5.1 Ethical challenges: Individual and external factors

The ethical challenges while covering sensational issues like terror attacks for a journalist are not a new and un-discussed phenomenon. Every news-beat has own kind of ethical dilemmas. Reporting of terror attacks also has own ethical challenges. Such ethical challenges experienced by Norwegian journalists while reporting the acts of terror are already illustrated in Chapter 4. Among the several ethical challenges discussed in this study, one is journalists and news media organizations’ rushes to publish or broadcast news. The ethical challenge is whether to publish / broadcast immediately or wait until the verified details of the incidents arrive in news room. Such rush and challenge can be observed in other kind of daily news reporting as well. But while reporting terror attacks, the level of seriousness and hard work increases. Therefore, Norwegian journalists regards this is an ethical challenge.

There are two major driving factors why Norwegian journalists want to publish/broadcast news of terror attacks. The first factor is a responsibility of journalist to inform the audience as soon as possible. It is a right of the audience to be informed about the issues they are concerned with. Also, it is not a possible alternative to avoid the news coverage of terror attacks. A critical role for a journalist is to keep the public informed about important issues (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) and the
audience want to know about terrorist threats. Censoring coverage of such things does not play well against the norm of serving and informing the public (Sui et al., 2017, p.897). The second driving factor is competition with other media on being first to break the news. Voakes also states ‘competition’ is one determinant in decision-making (1997, p. 21). Journalists and news media organizations are afraid of losing their regular audience/reader if they became late to keep public informed about the important issues. There is no doubt that breaking news and full news coverages attract both regular and new customers and subscribers. On the top of that, news of terror attacks itself is attention seeking story. Citing the work of Owers, Carveth and Alexander (2002) in Understanding Media Economics, Doyle (2013) writes, the issue of supplying violent media content provides an example of an economic activity that maximizes the goal attainment of individual economic units (i.e. it contributes to success and profitability) but, arguably, may detract from overall social welfare (Doyle, 2013, p.6). The second factor is more vulnerable to breach press ethics in comparison to the first factor.

Norwegian journalists have a way to deal with the news reporting of terror attacks. According to them, they have been exercising immediate group discussion with editors, news desk chief and assigned an experienced journalist or group of journalists to follow up further about incidents. If other journalists or informants have some information related to attack, then they share with those assigned journalists.

Another most experienced ethical challenge shared by Norwegian journalists is about ‘news description’. This ethical challenge includes dilemma of how news text should describe the incident, how incident and perpetrators should be labelled and use pictures, audio and videos. There are two beliefs in this regard. The first belief is that news texts described in detail using photographs, info-graphs attract audience. Overall, it contributes in the commercial function. News stories frames using description and images not only help to increase circulation but also attract audience (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, p.108 & 113). Another belief is that detail description and use of photographs, info-graphs in news texts make audience easy to understand about the incidents. While journalists try to ease the abstraction process for audience,
they are often influenced and have to face ethical challenges while writing news scripts.

The third most discussed ethical challenge by Norwegian journalists experienced while writing the news of terror acts is ‘use of news sources’ and handling information of prior to the attacks, during the time of terror attacks and after the attacks. Journalists have regular contact with different news sources. They are advised from security authorities not to circulate any information to mass audience on when and whereabouts terror attack is going to happen and how security agencies are tackling it, even they knew it from their verified sources. This is an informal method of regulation, which has been in practice while reporting the news of terror attacks. This method could involve private meetings between the government authorities and chief editors of news media organizations to discuss the (non-) coverage of certain topics (The Levenson Inquiry, 2012, p.1115). In such situations, strategic crisis communication and political information management are becoming common approaches to improve public resiliency against terrorist propaganda (Rosmalen, 2016, p.4). Norwegian journalists shared two reasons why they cooperate with government and security agencies while covering the news of terror attacks. The first one is that they do not want to spread fear and panic publishing news about when and whereabouts terrorist attack is going to happen. The second reason is that they will get exclusive information at the end from the security agencies if they cooperate with them in the beginning.

**Analysis based on Ross (2007)**

Another most experienced and discussed ethical challenge is created by ‘news source’. How news sources influence journalists while producing news reports is discussed in upcoming section 5.2. According to Ross (2007), there are six basic difficulties with the coverage of terrorism by the media (p. 217). According to him, challenges are due to (a.) selective reporting and self-censorship; (b.) editorial discretion; (c.) lack of specialists focusing on terrorism; (d.) misinformation given to reporter by national security agencies; (e.) news media obstructing counter-terrorist efforts; and (f.) sensationalization. Ross’ six basic difficulties with the coverage of
terrorism by the media can be categorized into two groups: individual and external factors. Selective reporting, self-censorship, lack of knowledge on terrorism issues are individual factors. Ethical challenges created due to environment of news media organization, employer, and news sources are external factors. However, Ross (2007) has not clearly mentioned ‘audience’ as an influencing factor. The categorization can be portrayed as follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>External</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Selective reporting and self-censorship</td>
<td>editorial discretion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lack of specialists focusing on terrorism</td>
<td>misinformation given to reporter by national security agencies</td>
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<td></td>
<td>news media obstructing counter-terrorist efforts</td>
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<td></td>
<td>sensationalization</td>
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Table 1 - Factors that create ethical challenges while covering news of terrorism

Ethical challenges generated based on individual incompetents are not discussed by any journalist in this research. Generally, such challenges occur due to journalists’ bias in selection of news stories and lack of their specialization in the field of terrorism. One example could be Nabila Bakkatha’s news story discussed on Page 4, where a journalist published her photographs without properly knowing the background of the incident.

Meanwhile, external factors have influencing role to create ethical difficulties. Some Norwegian journalists believe that editorial decision making is one of challenges they have to encounter. Norwegian journalists think that editorial processes sometimes blend editor’s or news media organization’s stand on their news reports. They see it as an ethical challenge to sensationalize the issue and believe that it happens because of commercial value. One example could be Dutch Jihadi’s news story discussed on Page 40, where editor surprisingly labelled him as terrorist. But many other Norwegian journalists, have not experienced editorial decision as ethical challenge. They argue that it is not ethical dilemma. They believe that editors have wide range of knowledge and experience so they rationally decide for good outcome.
Norwegian journalists experienced misinformation from news sources as ethical challenge but they do not have experience of obstructing counter terrorism efforts. They prefer to cooperate with government and security agencies while covering the news of terror attacks. Likewise, simply sensationalized version of the issue, making of attractive headlines, use of info-graphics are not big ethical problem for the journalists who are working in commercial news media. Overall, external factors seem to be more prominent than individual factors in creating ethical challenges in Norwegian mainstream news media.

**Analysis based on Keeble (2009)**

Among the several challenges of journalists and news media organizations outlined by Keeble (2009), two of them are utmost relevant to discuss here. Keeble believes that because of the multiple platforms of a media, a journalist has overburden of work. A journalist has to work as a reporter, designer, editor, reviewer, photographer, broadcast producer, web designer, researcher and etc. (Keeble, 2009, p. 1). Because of this overburden for journalist, “the range of specific ethical dilemmas ends up being enormous” (Ibid, p. 2). This can be categorized as ethical challenges created before publishing or broadcasting any news report.

Another ethical challenge that Keeble (2009) sketches is about international audience’s access to local media’s content. Because of internet, local media are no longer local in terms of their global outreach. It also poses ethical challenge because contents are encoded in one media setting but audience from another media setting may decode it differently. This can be categorized as ethical challenges created after publishing or broadcasting any news report.

For Norwegian journalists, both challenges outlined by Keeble (2009) are opportunities rather than challenges. Firstly, multi-task makes journalists competent in many areas. This not only make journalist prepare for modern technologies, but also helps to generate income from different platforms. On the top of that, media organizations can make profit not hiring different employees for different tasks.
Secondly, penetration in different platforms ease media to make access to global audience. Norwegian journalists believe that global outreach of local content is essential to build global media market.

To sum up, the rush to publish or broadcast news, news description of terror attacks and difficulties in handling news sources are the most experienced ethical challenges by Norwegian journalists while covering the news of terrorism. External factors seem to be more prominent than individual factors in creating ethical challenges in Norwegian mainstream news media. Some ethical challenges are created due to overburden of journalists’ work in multiple platforms and local media’s access to global audience through the internet. But Norwegian journalists perceive multi-task of journalists and local content’s outreach to global audience as opportunities to develop self in competitive market and possibilities to enlarge media business.

5.2 Influencer in news making: Source, audience, media and norms

News making is a process of producing and publishing or broadcasting news. Journalists are the ones who are mostly engaged in this process. As discussed in Chapter 2, there are several stages in news making process. According to Hoffmann’s (1989) Accident Diagram, news making process includes reporter/witness’s interviews, reporter/police interviews, reporter seeking additional info, editors edit for space, etc., and editor adds headline. Hoffmann’s finding can be classified in two categories. First three phases where journalists interview witnesses, authorities, seek additional information about incident can be put under the news source. The rest of the two phases where editors edit for space and add headline can be put under writing and designing.

| Reporter/witness’s interviews | Source |
| Report/police interviews | |
| Reporter seeking additional info | |
| Editors edit for space, etc. | Writing and designing |
| Editor adds headline | |

*Table 2 - Different phases in news making process*
For Norwegian journalists, some news sources are creator of ethical challenges and influence in news making process. News that has sensational issues like terrorism are often most read or visited. “A growing body of literature shows that humans regularly pay more attention to negative information than positive information” (Soroka and McAdams, 2015, p. 1). News sources are also aware of the fact that such news stories are read or visited widely. According to Norwegian journalists, news sources such as local journalists, politicians, activists became more active during the terror attacks. “Most journalists tend to use, as sources, people from the mainstream establishment, who they believe have more credibility with their audience” (Beder, 2004, p. 5). Norwegian journalists shared that they use local journalists, local people or witnesses available around attacks, security agencies, news agencies and local political leaders and activists as news sources while covering the news of terrorism. Some journalists believe that local political leaders as a news source try to manipulate the news providing false information or try to misinterpret incident. So of those political leaders give false information (for example, randomly label opposition party has link with this terror attack) in a way which benefits them in their national politics. Some local journalists, local people and witness provide fake photos and information for some economic benefit. Sometimes, local security officers also give false information to become popular in no time. Misinformation collected from those sources not only manipulate the news making process, but also ruin the image of journalists and news media organizations. For Norwegian journalists, news agencies seemed to be more trustworthy than the other news sources.

Norwegian journalists shared that they are influenced while writing news, describing the incidents, labelling incidents and perpetrators and so on. The influences in this phase of news making process have positive values as well. Journalistic morals and principles have positive influence while writing news of terrorism. Norwegian journalists agree that journalistic codes of conduct help in the time of ethical difficulties. Some Norwegian journalists assume that press ethics, prepared by the media organization where a journalist works, also has influences while writing the news. Media organizations’, in some contexts, prepare their own style-book and press code based on their organizations’ stance on prevalent and dominant ideologies in
societies. For example, state media in communist state follow the press code which hardly criticise about the communist system. Norway falls under the Democratic Corporatist Model of Hallin and Mancini (2004). One of the characteristics of this model is that press and political parties have strong connection historically but shifted toward neutral press (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). This remarkable shift towards neutral press might be a reason so Norwegian press are not influences by such codes prepared based on ideologies.

In the designing phase, journalists work with pictures, audio, video, layout, presentation of the news contents. Audience is another factor that influences both writing and designing process. “Like most forms of news, the decision to cover terrorist event is largely based on the interests and tastes of audience” (Sui et al., p.905). Alan Bell (1991), in The Language of News Media, also believes that audience has role in influencing media language styles. Norwegian journalists also shared that audience have significant role to influence text and presentation. Their writings, presentation and news space and time slots are influenced when they try to make news contents according to taste of their target audience.

In a nut shell, news source and audiences are two major factors that influence the most while producing the news of terrorism. News media organizations have desire to increase viewership, readership and profit. So, media organizations themselves, government and security agencies are also influencing factor in making the news of terror attacks. Interestingly, ‘journalism morals and principles’ also has influencing role during news making process but in a positive manner to guide journalists what to do and what not to do at the time of ethical dilemmas.
Analysis based on Shoemaker and Resse’s (1996) and Voakes’s (1997)

In *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*, Shoemaker and Resse’s (1996) stress on six kinds of influencing factors in mass media content: (a) individual media workers; (b) media routines; (c) media organization; (d) outside of media organizations; (e) ideology; and (f) effects of content. Voakes’s (1997) proposes seven influencing factors in news making: (a) individual; (b) small group; (c) organization; (d) competition; (e) occupation; (f) extramedia; and (g) law. The essence of Shoemaker and Resse and Voakes is that individual factors, sources, media organization and competition, audience and norms and principles as influencing factors. Gender, ethnicity, class, upbringing and education falls in individual factors. Shoemaker and Resse’s *outside of media organization* and Voakes’s *small group* can be set in sources and ownership. Similarly, Shoemaker and Resse’s *media organization* and *media routines* and Voakes’s *organizations* and *competition* can be set under media environment. Likewise, Shoemaker and Resse’s *ideology* and Voakes’s *law* can be set under norms and principles. In the same way, Shoemaker and Resse’s *effects of content* and Voakes’s *extramedia* can be set under audience and feedback. Feedback is another influencing factor. Norwegian journalists shared that as soon as their news articles are published or broadcasted, audience give feedbacks and those feedbacks also become one influencing factor in another news story. In a nut shell, news making process has four major influencing factors; journalists’ own individual background, news sources, media environment, audiences and journalism norms and principles.

### 5.3 Mitigating ethical challenges and influencing factors

There is no doubt that journalists and media organizations should not be used as propaganda tools of any terrorist organizations. Norwegian journalists shared that there is no way of avoiding or not reporting the news of terrorism. They believe that it is duty of journalists to let audience know what had happened and what is happening around the globe. While undertaking their duties and responsibilities, indirectly media content contributes to popularize and spread fear of terrorist organizations.
Avoiding media coverage of terrorism is almost impossible. “In terms of news value, a terrorist event has immense appeal. A TV channel cannot avoid reporting it (Iqbal, …)”. However, limiting or framing in news alternative narratives could be an option to cover terrorism news. Barnhurst (1991) states “controls are counterproductive, and free and competitive media may be naturally self-limiting in their coverage of terrorism (p. 126).”

Today, some authoritarian governments around the world sensor media while reporting on terrorism. Rivera (2016) states that two notorious cases of government imposed limits on media coverage of terrorist activities are Russia and China. These restraints are manifestly ill-advised and have no place in free societies (Ibid). Wilkinson’s (1997) argument has also same viewpoint, “if the freedom of media is sacrificed in the name of combating terrorism one has allowed small groups of terrorists to destroy one of a key foundation of democratic society” (p. 62). Nacos (2006) also argues, “the limits of domestic media censorship by governments – which is, of course, incompatible with values of liberal democracies” (p. 12). Alexander Spencer (2012) studies on the possibility of reduced media attention might increase terrorism. He argues that “any kind of media blackout of terrorist attacks may face two grave problems, one normative and one practical” (p. 13). Normative problems in the sense of difficulties to maintain norms and values of press freedom and democracies as mention by Rivera (2016), Nacos (2006), and Wilkinson (1997). Practical problems in the sense that audience may get access to other media platforms even some media in a country avoids covering news terrorism. Nacos (2006) states, “even if national media organizations would agree to follow a set of guidelines, this would not prevent the public accessing foreign media without such self-imposed reporting limits (p. 12)”. Barnhurst (1991) is of the opinion that “any control on coverage, will be ineffective because terrorists can shift to other forms of communications” (p. 126). Spencer (2012) also concludes saying, “one cannot prevent terrorist groups from gaining public attention” (p. 14).

Journalism and media should be saved from influence of terrorist organizations. “It is widely recognized that it is important to avoid the mass media
being hijacked and manipulated by terrorist (Wilkinson, 1997, p. 62).” Bilgen (2012) recommends, “media should specially avoid presenting extreme and blindly partisan viewpoints to raise ratings and use a plain language that everybody can understand in order not to invite panic”.

Spencer (2012) proposes alternative ways to frame terrorism in a less fear provoking manner so that journalists become able to at least minimize psychological effects of terrorist activities on the audience (p. 14 & 21). Norwegian journalists shared that they sympathize the victims to minimize psychological effect of terrorist activities. They are exercising this kind of media practice even though it not directly written ethical guidelines the way it is written in Switzerland’s Declaration of the Duties and Rights of a Journalist. Swiss code states that *the reporting of war, acts of terrorism, accidents and catastrophes by means of text, image and sound should respect the victims’ suffering and the feelings of their loved ones*¹¹. Norwegian journalists also shared that they write more negatively about the terrorist organizations. They do not follow the rule of balance and objectivity while reporting the news of terrorism. Rather they focus more on truth. Journalism codes of conduct of Luxembourg, Belgium and Albania also advice journalists to de-glorify the cruel and inhuman activities like terror attacks.

These are some suggestions collected form Norwegian journalists to overcome ethical challenges related to news covering of terror attacks.

- If one has to publish or broadcast news of attacks as soon as it happened, but unsure about whether it is terror attacks or not, suggestion is to analyse the trends carefully and use terms like ‘possible terrorist attacks’ and ‘no claims yet’.
- Journalists should be aware and familiar with terms like ‘terrorists’, ‘fighters’, ‘insurgents’, ‘rebels’ and so on.

• If one has to use graphical contents of terror attacks, suggestion is to consider on two things; target audience and victims.
• There is no possibility of objectivity while covering the news of terror attacks, suggestion is to focus on truth.
• Journalists are suggested to cooperate with government and security agencies during counter-terrorism operations. But meanwhile suggestion is to be careful regarding privacy of source.
• While covering the news of terror attacks, journalists are suggested to verify the information with at least three different news sources before publishing or broadcasting it.
• If a journalist became unable to solve ethical issues, it is suggested to consult with editors and colleagues.
• Journalists are strongly encouraged to complete trainings like safety trainings, first aid before going on field reporting to cover news of terrorism.

Among ethical challenges mentioned above, journalists and news media organizations’ cooperation with government and security agencies can be regarded as media’s contribution to make secured society. Maddocks (1980), Laqueur (1996), Wilkinson (1997), Rhine, Bennett and Flickinger (2002), Cohen-Almagor (2006), Rohner and Frey (2007), Hoffman (2006), Seib and Janbek (2011), Spencer (2012), Jetter (2014), and Nacos (2016) shed light in the relationship between media and terrorism. In their relationship, media are blamed for two reasons. One, it is indirectly being used by terrorist organizations to spread fear. Another, media want publish or broadcast to saleable content, violence and terror attacks some of them. Nevertheless, media contributions are also helping to defeat terrorism. Media raise issues for discourse on social and political consequences of terrorism and alert government agencies to develop efficient policies and counter terrorism measures. Wilkinson, one of the prominent researchers in study of media and terrorism, states that, “although the mass media in an open society are highly vulnerable to manipulation and exploitation by terrorists, they can also make an invaluable contribution to the defeat of terrorism” (1997 p. 60). He proposes three major policy options for a democratic society in regard to the media’s response to terrorism; (a.) laissez faire; (b.) media censorship or
statutory regulation and (c.) voluntary self-restraint (p. 60, 61, 63). He believes the third option ‘voluntary self-restraint’ on media policy on terrorism coverage is the most favoured by the responsible mass media organizations “to avoid the dangers of manipulation and exploitation by terrorist groups (Ibid). The importance of voluntary self-restraint like journalistic codes of conduct and its necessity to update regularly is discussed in next section 5.4.

5.4 Importance of self-regulation mechanisms and its amendments

As it is discussed in section 4.3 that self-regulation (specially written form of journalistic codes of conduct) are most important standards to guide journalists’ professional behaviour. Norwegian journalists believe that journalism morals and principles are positive influencing factor in news making. “Voluntary self-restraint and self-regulation by the media are the best policy options for a democratic society in regard to the media’s response to terrorism.” (Wilkinson, 1997, p. 51). He further explains that “many major media organizations have adopted guidelines for their staff with the aim of helping to prevent the more obvious pitfalls” (p. 63). If guidelines are executed correctly and consistently, they help to mitigate the ethical challenges occurred while reporting the news of terrorism. Norwegian journalists shared that journalistic code of conduct is the most important mechanism in ethical difficulties. A respondent shared that “everybody says that codes of conduct are clichés but when you have some doubt it is essential to go through it”. It also shows the importance of written form of code of conducts in the time of ethical difficulties.

Beside written forms of journalistic codes of conduct, informal form of self-regulation mechanisms also have significant role while covering the news of terrorism. It is not written in the Code of Ethics of Norwegian Press, but Norwegian journalists do not hesitate to cooperate with government and security agencies while covering the news of terror attacks. Relevant educational background, work experience and news room discussions with colleagues also play significant role to guide journalists during the ethical dilemmas. Meanwhile, preoccupied ideologies, beliefs, faiths, sexual orientation do not have any role in intervening journalists during ethical difficulties.
Only six (Albania, Belgium Hungary, Luxembourg, Serbia and Switzerland) out of 46 journalistic codes of conduct of European countries are amended to incorporate guidelines for covering terror acts. Wilkinson (1997) suggests that mass media need to work harder to develop measures of self-regulation that are both appropriate and effective (p. 63). There have been significant changes in developing and revising journalistic codes of conduct.

In regarding the question of amending codes of conduct incorporating how to handle the issues of terrorism in media, Norwegian journalists have mixed opinion. Most of them believe that ethical codes in the existing Codes of Ethics for Norwegian Press cover the issues of terrorism though it has not any specific clauses mentioning ‘terrorism’. Some of them believe that it would be easier to deal with ethical difficulties if we have such ethical codes that specifically guide in the ethical dilemmas while covering news of terrorism.

Norway has old history of practicing journalistic codes of conducts. Code of Ethics of Norwegian Press13 (Vær Varsom-plakaten) was introduced in 1936. Since then it has been revised 12 times as per the need. The latest version was adopted by the Norwegian Press Association in June 13, 2015. It states “Words and pictures are powerful weapon. Do not misuse them” (Pressens Faglige Utvalg, 2015). Code of Ethics of Norwegian Press has four parts; (a.) the role of the press in society; (b.) integrity and credibility; (c.) journalistic conduct and relations with the sources; and (d.) publication rules. Ethical guidelines for one of the most discussed ethical challenges ‘using of news sources’ is mentioned in Article 3.1, 3.2, 3.4, 3.6 and 3.11. Another most discussed ethical challenge ‘using pictures’ is mentioned in Article 4.7, 4.10, 4.11, and 4.12. Ethical guidelines for use of online link is mentioned in Article 4.16. (See Appendices for Code of Ethics of Norwegian Press, 2015).

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Norwegian journalists shared that they face ethical difficulties mostly in handling sources, describing indecent, perpetrators and using of pictures. Norwegian Press Council’s (2016) statistics also states Norwegian journalists have encountered cases on breaching journalistic codes of conduct in those issues of source and pictures.

According to the yearly statistics published by Norwegian Press Association in coordination with Norway’s Press Council, most of the cases are registered against violation of Article 4.7 in last twelve months. There have been twenty-four cases registered against violation of Article 4.7. Code of Ethics of Norwegian Press’ (2015) Article no. 4.7 provides guide for using pictures,

“Be cautious in the use of names and photographs and other clear identifiers of persons in referring to contentious or punishable matters. Special caution should be exercise when reporting cases at the early stage of investigation, case concerning young offenders and cases in which an identifying report may place an unreasonable burden on a third party. Identification must be founded on legitimate need for information. It may, for instance, be legitimate to identify someone where is imminent danger of assault on defenceless individuals, in the case of serious and repeated crimes, if the identity or social position of the subject is patently relevant to the case being reported on, where identification protects the innocent from exposure to unjustified suspicion” (Code of Ethics of Norwegian Press, 2015).
One case each is registered against Aftenposten and TV2 in 2016 for violating Article 4.7. Likewise, there are sixteen cases against violation of Article 4.14 in last twelve months. One case each is registered against Aftenposten, TV2 and NRK in 2016 for violating Article 4.14. The Article 4.14 of Code of Ethics of Norwegian Press (2015) states,

“Those who have been subjected to strong accusations shall, if possible, have the opportunity to simultaneously reply as regards factual information. Debates, criticism and dissemination of news must not be hampered by parties being unwilling to make comments or take part in the debate.”

Fifteen cases are registered against violation of Article 4.1 in last twelve months. One case each is against TV2 and NRK in 2016 for violating Article 4.1. The Article 4.1 asks to make a point of fairness and thoughtfulness in contents and presentation. Fourteen cases are registered against the violation of Article 3.2 in last twelve months. The Article 3.2 provide guide for using sources,

“Be critical in the choice of sources, and make sure that the information provided is correct. It is good press practice to aim for diversity and relevance in the choice of sources. If anonymous sources are used, or the publication is offered exclusivity, especially stringent requirements must be imposed on the critical evaluation of the sources. Particular caution should be exercised when dealing with information from anonymous sources, information from sources offering exclusivity, and information provides from sources in return for payment” (Code of Ethics of Norwegian Press, 2015).

In 2016, Aftenposten has 3 cases for violation of Article 3.2. NRK has 2 and VG has 1 case for breaching the same Article. But none of those violations of codes in 2016 have any relations with media coverage of terrorism. While searching the key word like ‘terror’, ‘terrorism’, there appears dozens of cases in PFU database. Most of those cases related to terrorism, which violated the Code of Ethics for Norwegian Journalist, were registered a long while ago. For example, one case against VG’s violation of press ethics was registered in November 1993. Majority of verdict on newly registered cases related to terrorism resulted stating that press has not broken good media ethics.

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14 Politimester Willy Haugli mot VG - [http://presse.no/pfu-sak/93-172/](http://presse.no/pfu-sak/93-172/)
Based on these statistics, Norwegian journalists are very much aware of using journalistic codes of conduct correctly and consistently while covering news of terrorism so it does not seem any urgency to amend current journalistic codes of conduct to incorporate the issues of terrorism.

Chapter summary

The discussion is focused on applying existing knowledge to the findings of this research. The crucial part of the chapter was to select information of the great importance gained from the qualitative interviews with the twelve respondents, and to summarize them together with the existing knowledge in the area of study. There are individual and external factors that create ethical challenges, external factors seem more dominant to create ethical challenges while covering news of terrorism. Influencing factors in news making also create ethical challenge. Norwegian journalists believe that challenges can be converted into opportunities and there are positive influencers in news making. Lastly, self-regulation is the most important standard to guide in ethical difficulties. The research will be summarized in next chapter.
CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION

6.1 Aim of the research and contribution to the field

The main aim of this research was to explore the ethical challenges that Norwegian journalists face while covering the news of terror attacks. Journalists are the ones who have to be familiar and tackle with day-to-day issues. They often have to come across with ethical difficulties raised from the professional and commercial function which also influences overall news making process. This study mainly focuses on journalists who are working with stories concerning terrorism or have had experience of reporting news of terrorism in mainstream Norwegian news media. Those news media are some among the most read, viewed and visited news outlets for news and information. They not only have a long history of professional journalism but also have influencing role in creating discourse on ongoing national and international issues. Journalists working in those media are a main source for audience to understand the global issues and make opinion.

Along with uncovering ethical challenges while covering the news of terror attacks, another goal of study was to examine the influencing factors in news making process specially focusing on media coverage of terrorism. Simultaneously, this study assessed on importance of self-regulated mechanisms and necessity to amend journalistic codes of conduct. Journalists and news media organizations exercise press freedom, meanwhile they are expected to self-regulate. By examining current ethical challenges of the journalists, the thesis could contribute to the existing knowledge in the field. The study gives an insight on how Norwegian journalists are reporting news of terror activities. Examining the current ethical issues make easy to seek solutions for the betterment of future of journalism. The objective of the study is, however not to provide a solution for the issues, but to provide understanding in depth the opinions of those practicing the profession. This research also documents the current media practices for future.
6.2 Summary on ethical challenges while covering the news of terrorism

The research begins with exploration of the ethical challenges faced by Norwegian journalists during the media coverage of acts of terror. Norwegian journalists identified three main challenges. The most discussed ethical challenge concerned the dilemmas of using news sources. News media organizations necessarily do not have foreign correspondents and bureaus in every country. Therefore, they have to rely on information provided by witnesses, local journalists, authorities and political leaders, national and international news agencies. Norwegian journalists are skeptical while choosing news sources to use information provided by them. While reporting terror attacks, they usually compare the information provided by at least three kinds of news sources before disseminating it to the public. Norwegian journalists have doubt on using information provided by local political leaders. Norwegian journalists normally use information provided by witnesses and local journalists to describe the terror attacks, and information provided by security agencies and news agencies to present fact and figures.

Another ethical challenge discussed in this study is concerned with news description. The dilemma is whether to describe violence explicitly using pictures and graphical contents or write simply what had happened and how many were killed. While dealing with this ethical challenge, Norwegian journalists shared that they produce news content based on targeted audiences. Such contents are presented in specific space and timeslots. The primary reason to use detailed description, pictures and graphical contents of attacks is to make audience easy to understand the scene. Such contents will also help audience to attract to their news media organizations. However, Norwegian journalists are also aware of not violating journalistic codes of conduct while producing news reports with detail description, pictures and graphics.

Whether to publish or broadcast the news of terror attacks as soon as it happened or wait until arrival of further updates in news room, is another most discussed ethical challenge by Norwegian journalists. They believe that it is a responsibility of journalists to inform their audience about terror events. However, they strongly follow the ethics and avoid personal judgment while labeling the acts,
events and perpetrators. Other most discussed ethical challenges were about objectivity, and cooperation with government and security agencies. Norwegian journalists do not believe in objectivity while covering news of terrorism and they think that it is quite essential to cooperate with security agencies during counter terrorism operations are ongoing.

6.3 Summary on influencing factors in news making process

News making is a process of making news that has news value. This research also explores the influencing factors in news making process while covering the news of terrorism. Those influencing factors in news making process also create ethical challenges. Norwegian journalists identified five main influencing factors; individual factor, news sources, media organizations, audiences, and journalism morals and principles. Individual factors refers to journalist self, his/her educational background, experience, knowledge over the subject, ideologies and faiths s/he follows. I did not find any violation of press ethics in Norway due to individual factors, however, most of the literature suggest that it is also an influencing factor that influences the news making process. Individual factor has both positive and negative influences. It has very positive influences in Norwegian media’ news desk. Norwegian journalists interviewed for this study have higher understanding on topic, relevant educational background and long work experience. It would be negative influence, if a journalist has given more emphasis on ideologies and faiths s/he follows while writing the news of terrorism.

News sources are other influencing factors in news making process while reporting news of terror acts. How news sources influence the news making process is already concluded in section 6.2. In short, Norwegian journalists use witnesses, local journalists, authorities and political leaders, national and international news agencies as news source. They experienced that local political leaders as news source often provides misinformation and manipulate the news to misinterpret incident on a way that benefit those political leaders in their national politics.
Another influencing factor in news making process is media organization. Overall news editing, publishing and broadcasting processes are influenced by certain stances of media organizations. A media organization’s competition with another media organization also influences the news making process. They have pressure of breaking the news first and providing detail information.

Audiences are another most influencing factor in news making process. Media want to publish or broadcast about the news of terror attacks in hurry to inform the audiences as soon as possible. Likewise, journalists want to use detail description of incident to ease audience to understand the whole situation. Similarly, they want to use pictures and graphical contents to attract or engage the audiences. The last influencing factor discussed in this study is journalistic morals and principles. This factor has positive influences. In every ethical challenge experienced while covering news of terror acts, it is easy way for journalists to revisit the journalistic codes and conduct.

6.4 Summary on significance of self-regulation mechanism

Press freedom is one of the foundations of democracy. Democratic countries guarantee press freedom expecting that media will regulate themselves. Therefore, journalists, media organizations, journalist’s associations, press council introduces journalistic codes of conduct to self-regulate. Those codes of ethics are useful in every ethical dilemma. Both ethical challenges (discussed in section 6.2) and influencing factors (discussed in section 6.3) create dilemmas while covering news of terrorism. In such ethical difficulties, self-regulated mechanisms like journalistic codes of conduct are one of the most significant instruments to regulate self.

Norway does not have any clause especially related to the issue of terrorism in their codes of ethics for Norwegian press. However, Norwegian journalists believe that the existing codes of ethics functions very well while covering the news of terrorism. Some Norwegian journalists shared that it would be easier to deal with ethical difficulties if there are some additional clauses in ethical codes that specifically
guide in the ethical dilemmas while covering news of terrorism. But they do not have any example of additional clauses for the moment.

While covering the news of terror attacks, Norwegian journalists more often face ethical challenges mostly in handling news sources, describing incident, perpetrators and using pictures, graphics. These ethical challenges occur not only at the time of reporting terror events, but also in day to day reporting. Ethical guidelines for one of the most discussed ethical challenges ‘using of news sources’ is mentioned in Article 3.1, 3.2, 3.4, 3.6 and 3.11 of Code of Ethics for Norwegian Press. Another of most discussed ethical challenge ‘using pictures’ is mentioned in Article 4.7, 4.10, 4.11, and 4.12 of Code of Ethics for Norwegian Press. According to Norwegian Press Council’s (2016), twenty-four cases were registered against the violation of Article 4.7 and fourteen cases were registered against the violation of Article 3.2 in last twelve months. Aftenposten has violated press ethics in 5 cases, TV2 violated 3 times, VG and NRK violated 2 times each. Interestingly, none of those violations of ethical codes in 2016 are related with media coverage of terrorism.

Norwegian journalists are very much aware of using journalistic codes of conduct correctly and consistently. Based on Norwegian Press Council’s statistics on violation of ethical codes while covering news of terrorism and opinion of Norwegian journalists collected while doing research, there is no urgency to incorporate terrorism issue in existing Code of Ethics for Norwegian Press. However, ethical guidelines for the use of describing terror acts, event and perpetrators are not clearly mentioned in Code of Ethics for Norwegian Press. It could be a suggestion for the next amendment.

6.5 Concluding remarks

Two popular sayings in journalism; one ‘journalism is a literature in hurry’ and another ‘journalism is the first rough draft of history. Journalists are bound to conduct most of tasks in a hurry and the produced news reports become the first rough draft of history for future. If one commit mistakes in hurry, the consequences can be observed in the rough draft of the history. So, before writing news on serious issues like ‘terrorism’, journalists have to do hard work, debate with self and may have to go
through several rounds of discussions with colleagues. Journalism documents the current affairs for the future, therefore, journalists and news media organizations are expected to be ethical and regulate themselves.

Cover or not cover news of terror attacks? The denotative meaning of ‘cover’ is to conceal and ‘not cover’ is reveal. But in connotative meaning in journalism, ‘cover’ means to reveal and ‘not cover’ means to avoid. The way these two words are paradoxical and ambiguous in media, likewise, there is ethical dilemma in whether cover or not cover the news of terror attacks. Literature discussed in this study and conclusion based on views of Norwegian journalists suggest that there is no way for not covering the news of terrorism in media. Terrorism is an issue that has news values. Therefore, that is why news media want to publish or broadcast it and readers and viewers want to read it or watch it. Knowing this behavior of media and audience, terrorist organizations try to link their goals and conduct their activities so that news media would cover it for their audience. Meanwhile journalists and news media organizations try their best to not to be used to fulfil the goal of terrorist organizations. While trying not being used by terrorist organizations, journalists and news media organizations have to face several ethical challenges. Journalistic codes of conduct are one of most essential self-regulation mechanism to guide journalists and news media organizations in every ethical dilemma. Meanwhile, ethical challenges open door for opportunities as well: opportunities to seek truth and report it; opportunities to do responsible journalism and minimize harm; opportunities to be accountable and transparent; opportunities to contribute for peace; and opportunities to professionalize the media fraternity.
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# APPENDIX II – List of Respondents

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<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Type of interview</th>
<th>Interview date</th>
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<td>TV2</td>
<td>Face-to-face</td>
<td>14.01.2017</td>
<td></td>
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<td>25.01.2017</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
APPENDIX III – Interview Guide

Respondents’ background
What is your educational background?
When did you started working as journalist?
How long experience do you have of covering news of terrorism?
How long since you are associated with current media?

RQ 1
What is your first impression on media ethics?
How do you learn about ethical values of journalism?
What are general ethical challenges of a journalist?
What are specific ethical challenges while covering news of terrorism?
Would you like to share your experience of tackling such ethical challenges?

RQ 2
What do you understand by news making process? What are different stages in news making process?
What are your news sources while reporting news of terrorism? How do you use and verify them? Do sources try to influence you?
What is your opinion regarding objective reporting? Is it possible to be objective while reporting terrorism? Is it also an ethical issue?
How to you label incidents and perpetrators?
Are there any influencing factors while writing news of terror activities?
How do you design/present your news? Any influencing factors to change it at the end?
Any preferences to publish your news in particular page or broadcast in particular time? Why do you prefer that?

RQ 3
What is the importance of journalistic code of conduct?
Are there any unwritten form of code of conduct which are important?
What do you feel regarding frequent amendment of journalistic code of conduct?
Is there any need to revise journalistic code of conduct to provide ethical guideline while covering modern terrorism? Why?

**Supplementary questions**
What is possibility of limiting or avoiding media coverage of terrorism?
Would you publish/broadcast and share information with security agencies, if you got information about upcoming terror attacks from your verified source?
APPENDIX IV -

Agreement concerning MA thesis supervision

Agreement between ______________________________ and the Department of Journalism and Media Studies at NLA University College concerning the supervision of master’s thesis work.

The thesis is expected to be submitted for final assessment 2 May 2017.

1. The responsibility of the supervisor

The supervisor agrees to:

• Be available for consultation on a monthly basis (however, the actual frequency of the consultations will often vary throughout the thesis period). Consultations may occur as physical meetings or as other means of communication.
• Give advice on the thesis work, including responding to the overall research approach, methodology, literature, theory and other pertinent issues.
• Respond to draft chapters within reasonable time.
• On behalf of NLA, assist in obtaining official permissions for doing research.
• Report on the thesis progress to the MA Programme Coordinator.
• Set aside 30 work hours for the task. This includes both consultation, preparation and other duties connected to the supervision.

2. The responsibility of the student

The student agrees to:

• Meet prepared for consultations.
• Act on advice and comments given by the supervisor. (However, the student may disagree with advice given and is free to make different choices than those suggested by the supervisor.)
• Take responsibility for all decisions made during the thesis work, including choice of methodology, theory, fieldwork approach, and so forth.

3. General premises

• The validity of this agreement depends on the student being duly registered each semester in StudentWeb and having paid the semester fee.
• Subject to a written and verified application, justifiable reasons (e.g. health issues) for delaying submission of the thesis will be accepted.
• If for no justifiable reason progress of the thesis work delays beyond the agreed submission date by more than a year, the supervision agreement will be terminated.
• Any disagreement or unresolved issue which demands external mediation shall be reported to the MA Programme Coordinator or to the Head of Department.

Kristiansand ______________________________

Student ______________________________

Supervisor ______________________________

MA coordinator ______________________________
APPENDIX V – Consent form

Request for participation in research project

"Media coverage of acts of terrorism: Ethical challenges (working title)"

This research is for the fulfillment of course requirement for Master in Global Journalism at NLA University College, Kristiansand. The overall objective of the study is to explore the ethical challenges that journalists encounter while covering the acts of terrorism. Interviewees for the study are purposefully selected journalists from NRK, TV2 and VG, who have experience in reporting the acts of terrorism.

The main methodology applied for this research is semi-structured, open-ended, in-depth interview. Each interview will take 40 to 60 minutes in a setting that allows intensive one-on-one conversation. Researcher will record the interview and manually take note whenever possible.

All personal data will be treated confidentially. Personal data/recordings will be stored in researcher’s private computer and researcher will have sole access to it. Names lists of respondents and their opinions and experience regarding this research title will be stored separately. And participants will be asked whether to make them recognizable or not during the time of publication. The project is scheduled for completion by August 2017. After the finalization of thesis, the personal data will be made anonymous.

It is voluntary to participate in the project, and you can at any time choose to withdraw your consent without stating any reason. If participants decide to withdraw, all concerned personal data will be made anonymous.

If respondents have any questions concerning the project, please feel free to contact supervisor Prof. Kåre Melhus (38 14 50 58), co-supervisor Prof. Chris Wales (38 14 50 54) or Programme Coordinator Prof. Terje Skjerdal (38 14 50 72).

The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

I have received information about the project and am willing to participate.

__________________________________________________________________________
(Signed by participant, date)
Appendix VI – Letter from NSD

Kåre Melhus
NLA Høgskolen AS
Postboks 74 Sandviken
5812 BERGEN

Vår dato: 04.01.2017 Vår ref: 51150 / 3 / HIT Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 16.11.2016. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

51150 Media coverage of acts of terrorism: Ethical challenges
Behandlingsansvarlig NLA Høgskolen AS, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Daglig ansvarlig Kåre Melhus
Student Anush Khadka

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.


Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.08.2017, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen
Kjersti Haugstvedt

Hildur Thorarensen

Kontaktperson: Hildur Thorarensen tlf: 55 58 26 54

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

NSD – Norsk senter for forskningdata AS Harald Hårfagres gate 29 Tel: +47-55 58 21 17 nsd@nsd.no Org nr. 985 321 884
NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data NO-5007 Bergen, NORWAY Faks: +47-55 58 96 50 www.nsd.no
To whom it may concern

2 December 2016

Support letter: MA student Anush Khadka

This letter serves to approve that Anush Khadka (citizenship: Nepali) is an MA student at NLA University College’s programme in Global Journalism 2015–17 (Kristiansand, Norway).

The topic for Anush’s MA project is coverage of terrorism, and he will do field interviews with selected Norwegian journalists from December 2016 onwards for his project.

May I ask for your support in assisting Anush when doing interviews and collecting information for his MA thesis.

Please feel free to contact me if there are any questions. More information about the MA programme in Global Journalism can be found here: www.nla.no/gj

Regards,

Dr. Terje Skjerdal (PhD)
MA thesis advisor
Coordinator, MA programme in Global Journalism, NLA University College

E-mail: terje.skjerdal@nla.no
Phone: (+47) 911 94 995
APPENDIX VIII – Code of Ethics of the Norwegian Press


Each editor and editorial staff member is required to be familiar with these ethical standards of the press, and to base their practice on this code. The ethical practice comprehends the complete journalistic process from research to publication.

1. The Role of the Press in Society
1.1. Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Information and Freedom of the Press are basic elements of a democracy. A free, independent press is among the most important institutions in a democratic society.

1.2. The press has important functions in that it carries information, debates and critical comments on current affairs. The press is particularly responsible for allowing different views to be expressed.

1.3. The press shall protect the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press and the principle of access to official documents. It cannot yield to any pressure from anybody who might want to prevent open debates, the free flow of information and free access to sources. Agreements concerning exclusive event reporting shall not preclude independent news reporting.

1.4. It is the right of the press to carry information on what goes on in society and to uncover and disclose matters, which ought to be subjected to criticism. It is a press obligation to shed critical light on how media themselves exercise their role.
1.5. It is the task of the press to protect individuals and groups against injustices or neglect, committed by public authorities and institutions, private enterprises, or others.

2. Integrity and credibility
2.1. The responsible editor carries personal and full responsibility for the contents of the media and has the final decision in any questions regarding editorial content, financing, presentation and publication. The editor shall act freely and independently towards any persons or groups who – for ideological, economic or other reasons – might want to exercise an influence over the editorial content. The editor shall safeguard the editorial staff’s production of free and independent journalism.

2.2. The editor and the individual editorial staff member must protect their independence, integrity and credibility. Avoid dual roles, positions, commissions or commitments that create conflicts of interest connected to or leading to speculations of disqualification.

2.3 Be open on matters that could be relevant for how the public perceive the journalistic content.
2.4 Members of the editorial staff must not exploit their position in order to achieve personal gain, including receiving money, goods or services, that can be perceived as compensation from outsiders for editorial benefits.

2.5 A member of the editorial staff cannot be ordered to do anything that is contrary to his or her convictions.

2.6 Never undermine the clear distinction between editorial copy and advertisements. It must be obvious to the public what is deemed to be commercial content. The distinction must be obvious also when using web links and other connective means. Decline any commercial content that can be confused with the individual medium’s journalistic presentation. Editorial mention of products, services, brand names and commercial interests, including the media’s own, must be motivated by editorial considerations and must not appear as an advertisement. Maintain an obvious distinction between marketing activities and editorial work. Turn down any offers of journalistic favours in return for advertisements. Avoid indiscriminate reproduction of PR material.

2.8 Hidden advertising is incompatible with good press practice. Commercial interests must not influence journalistic activities, content or presentation. If the editorial material is sponsored, or a programme has product placements, this must be obvious to the public. Sponsorship must always be clearly marked. Sponsorship or product placement in news or current affairs journalism or journalism directed at children is incompatible with good press practice. Direct expenses for journalistic activities must in the main be paid by the editorial department itself. In the event of an exception, the audience must be made aware of what is financed by external interests.

2.9 Members of the editorial staff must not accept assignments from anyone other than editorial management.

3. Journalistic Conduct and Relations with the Sources
3.1. The source of information must, as a rule, be identified, unless this conflicts with source protection or consideration for a third party.

3.2. Be critical in the choice of sources, and make sure that the information provided is correct. It is good press practice to aim for diversity and relevance in the choice of sources. If anonymous sources are used, or the publication is offered exclusivity, especially stringent requirements must be imposed on the critical evaluation of the sources. Particular caution should be exercised when dealing with information from anonymous sources, information from sources offering exclusivity, and information provided from sources in return for payment.

3.3. Good press conduct requires clarification of the terms on which an interview is being carried out. This also pertains to adjacent research. Any agreement regarding quote check should be made in advance of the interview, and it should be made clear what the agreement
includes and what deadlines apply. The editors decide for themselves what should finally be published.

3.4. Protect the sources of the press. The protection of sources is a basic principle in a free society and is a prerequisite for the ability of the press to fulfil its duties towards society and ensure the access to essential information.

3.5. Do not divulge the name of a person who has provided information on a confidential basis, unless consent has been explicitly given by the person concerned.

3.6. In consideration of the sources and the independence of the press, unpublished material as a main rule should not be divulged to third parties.

3.7. It is the duty of the press to report the intended meaning in quotes from an interview. Direct quotes must be accurate.

3.8. Changes of a given statement should be limited to corrections of factual errors. No one without editorial authority may intervene in the editing or presentation of editorial material.

3.9. Proceed tactfully in journalistic research. In particular show consideration for people who cannot be expected to be aware of the effect that their statements may have. Never abuse the emotions or feeling of other people, their ignorance or their lack of judgment. Remember that people in shock or grief are more vulnerable than others.

3.10. Hidden cameras/microphones or false identity may only be used under special circumstances. The condition must be that such a method is the only possible way to uncover cases of essential importance to society.

3.11. The press shall as a rule not pay sources or interviewees for information. Exercise moderation when paying a consideration for news tips. It is incompatible with good press practice to employ payment schemes designed to tempt people, without due cause, to invade the privacy of others or to disclose sensitive personal information.

4. Publication Rules

4.1. Make a point of fairness and thoughtfulness in contents and presentation.

4.2. Make plain what is factual information and what is comment.

4.3. Always respect a person’s character and identity, privacy, ethnicity, nationality and belief. Be careful when using terms that create stigmas. Never draw attention to personal or private aspects if they are irrelevant.

4.4. Make sure that headlines, introductions and leads do not go beyond what is being related in the text. It is considered good press conduct to reveal your source when the information is quoted from other media.
4.5. In particular avoid presumption of guilt in crime and court reporting. Make it evident that the question of guilt, whether relating to somebody under suspicion, reported, accused or charged, has not been decided until the sentence has legal efficacy. It is a part of good press conduct to report the final result of court proceedings, which have been reported earlier.

4.6. Always consider how reports on accidents and crime may affect the victims and next-of-kin. Do not identify victims or missing persons unless next-of-kin have been informed. Show consideration towards people in grief or at times of shock.

4.7. Be cautious in the use of names and photographs and other clear identifiers of persons in referring to contentious or punishable matters. Special caution should be exercised when reporting cases at the early stage of investigation, cases concerning young offenders and cases in which an identifying report may place an unreasonable burden on a third party. Identification must be founded on a legitimate need for information. It may, for instance, be legitimate to identify someone where there is imminent danger of assault on defenceless individuals, in the case of serious and repeated crimes, if the identity or social position of the subject is patently relevant to the case being reported on, or where identification protects the innocent from exposure to unjustified suspicion.

4.8. Reporting on children, it is considered good press conduct to assess the implications that media focusing could cause in each case. This also pertains when the person in charge or parent, has agreed to exposure. As a general rule the identity of children should not be disclosed in reports on family disputes or cases under consideration by the childcare authorities or by the courts.

4.9. Be cautious when reporting on suicide and attempted suicide. Avoid reporting that is not necessary for meeting a general need for information. Avoid description of methods or other matters that may contribute to provoking further suicidal actions.

4.10. Exercise caution when using photos in any other context than the original.

4.11. Protect the credibility of the journalistic photograph. Photos used as documentation must not be altered in a way that creates a false impression. Manipulated photos can only be accepted as illustrations if it is evident that it in actual fact is a picture collage.

4.12. The use of pictures must comply with the same requirements of caution as for a written or oral presentation.

4.13. Incorrect information must be corrected and, when called for, an apology given, as soon as possible.

4.14. Those who have been subjected to strong accusations shall, if possible, have the opportunity to simultaneous reply as regards factual information. Debates, criticism and dissemination of news must not be hampered by parties being unwilling to make comments or take part in the debate.
4.15. Those who have been the subject of an attack shall have the chance to reply at the earliest opportunity, unless the attack and criticism are part of a running exchange of views. Any reply should be of reasonable length, be pertinent to the matter and seemly in its form. The reply can be refused if the party in question has rejected, without an objective reason, an offer of presenting a contemporaneous rejoinder on the same issue. Replies and contributions to the debate should not be accompanied by polemic editorial comment.

4.16. Beware that digital publication pointers and links could bring you to other electronic media that do not comply with the Ethical Code. See to it that links to other media or publications are clearly marked. It is considered good press conduct to inform the users of interactive services on how the publication registers you, and possibly exploits your use of the services.

4.17. Should the editorial staff choose not to pre-edit digital chatting, this has to be announced in a clear manner for those accessing the pages. The editorial staff has a particular responsibility, instantly to remove inserts that are not in compliance with the Ethical Code.