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Xenophobia and Anti-Islamism: Framing the News Covering the Shootings Four Years After the Christchurch Mosque Shooting

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Abstract

The concept of xenophobia, defined as fear and hostility towards the strange and different in a simple and general sense, is quite comprehensive and can be addressed in conjunction with Islamophobia. The terrorist attacks on mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, in 2019 represent extreme examples of both xenophobia and anti-Islamism. In this study, news articles addressing the Christchurch mosque attacks from January 1, 2023, to October 22, 2023, were collected using keywords and analyzed in a total of 81 articles across nine different frameworks. A comparison was made with previous studies that conducted analyses and framed the topic, allowing an examination of how the content of news articles changed over time since the incident. Furthermore, it has been observed that the Western press did not categorize the attack as anti-Islamism, despite the clear statement in the terrorist's manifesto that he targeted Muslims. Given the influence of media content on shaping individuals' attitudes and perceptions of events, this discrepancy could impede efforts to combat xenophobia and anti-Islamism.

Keywords: Xenophobia, Anti-Islamism, Christchurch Mosque Shootings, New Zealand Mosque Shootings, Islam in Western Media

Zenofobi ve İslam Karşıtlığı: Christchurch Cami Saldırılarından Dört Yıl Sonra Saldırıyı Ele Alan Haberlerin Çerçevelenmesi

Öz

Zenofobi kavramı, basit ve genel anlamda yabancı ve farklı olana karşı korku ve düşmanlık olarak tanımlanmasıyla oldukça kapsayıcıdır. Kavramın kapsayıcı yapısı onu İslam karşıtlığıyla beraber ele alınmasını mümkün kılmaktadır. 2019 yılında Yeni Zellanda'nın Christchurch şehrinde gerçekleştirilen cami saldırıları da hem zenofobinin hem de İslam karşıtlığının uç örneklerinden birini oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmada 1 Ocak 2023 tarihinden 22 Ekim 2023 tarihine kadar Christchurch cami saldırılarını ele alan haberler anahtar kelimeler ile toplanmış ve toplamda 81 haberin analizi yapılarak dokuz farklı çerçevede ele alınmıştır. Konuyla ilgili analiz yapan ve çerçeve oluşturan önceki çalışmalar ile buradaki çerçevelerin karşılaştırılması yapılmıştır. Bu sayede olayın üzerinden belli bir süre geçtikten sonra haberlerin içeriklerinin nasıl değiştiğinin incelemesi yapılabilmiştir. Bunların yanı sıra saldırıyı gerçekleştiren teröristin manifestosunda Müslümanlara karşı bu saldırıyı gerçekleştirdiğini açıkça belirtmesine rağmen batı basınında saldırının İslam karşıtlığı bağlamında ele alınmadığı tespit edilmiştir. Medya içeriklerinin bireylerin tutumlarını ve olaylarla ilgili fikirlerini etkileyebildiği gerçeğini göz önünde bulundurduğumuzda bu durum, zenofobi ve İslam karşıtlığı konularındaki mücadeleye ket vurabilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zenofobi, İslam Karşıtlığı, Christchurch Cami Saldırıları, Yeni Zellanda Cami Saldırıları, Batı Basınında İslam

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Introduction

The duality of good and evil has been a constant presence throughout human history. Over time, the meanings attributed to these concepts have evolved, often resulting in blurred boundaries. The 16th and 17th centuries marked a pivotal period when the changing global landscape influenced the perception of good and evil. Prior to the age of modernism, virtue held a position of paramount importance, closely associated with the concept of goodness. As Terry Eagleton aptly stated in a speech, "For Thomas Aquinas, virtue is about being good and its flourishing; conversely, evil is characterized by lack, negativity, and deprivation, as opposed to virtuousness" (The Institute of Art and Ideas, 2019).

However, with the advent of modernism, a historical reversal occurred, casting doubt on the concept of virtue. The central question shifted to what truly constitutes virtue and what does not. The transformation of the meanings of good and evil in modern times has given rise to various forms of revolt. During these historical processes, rebellions and contradictions have forged their own interpretations. The blurring of the concept of evil has provided fertile ground for extremists to justify their actions. In this context, xenophobia has emerged as a significant tendency. Xenophobic actions are often accompanied by justifications that can evolve into entrenched mindsets. Consequently, the appeal of evil can become more pronounced.

One of the important concepts that emerged with modernism is national identities (Farrands, 1996). These identities can be characterized as the main reason for the emergence of the concept of "other". Simply, the person who falls within the scope of the other identity is characterized as the other (Fabian, 2006). When viewed from the perspective of the historical process, the conflict of the other appears as a natural process. Lacan interprets this concept, which is also within the scope of psychoanalysis, as the other as unlike us. It both has an essential role in the formation of the subject and is an agent radically alien to the subject (Lacan, 2019). Therefore, the concept of the other is undoubtedly related to the concept of the stranger. Being a citizen of a different country, having a different skin color or being subject to a different belief evokes the concept of stranger in an individual's mindset. Especially from the beginning of the twentieth century, the struggle against the strange is one of the most common phenomena in history. In fact, almost all historiography consists of struggles with this "stranger". The race for power and profit leads to hatred and hostility towards the other and the stranger (Mamabolo, 2015). This could be considered as one of the most concrete social realities in our social life. This social reality could be expressed by the term xenophobia.

The concept of "xenophobia" encapsulates the fear of strangers, manifesting itself in various forms throughout history and defined within numerous theoretical frameworks (Sanchez-Mazas & Licata, 2015). The emergence of the term xenophobia coincides with the emergence of modern national identities. By the end of the 19th century, xenophobia made a relatively recent appearance in literature (Kökel and Odabaşı, 2017). The Greek root "xenos" may evoke a universal psychological response to strangeness, as well as a political dimension, primarily concerned with the rules and regulations that prevent access to a territory and separate the civilian body from strangers. The term "stranger" may evoke strange as a general category, referring to that which is unfamiliar or outsider (Sanchez-Mazas and Licata, 2015). Therefore, xenophobia means fear of strangers. However, it also means "hatred of the stranger" (Hervik, 2015). Attitudes, prejudices, and behaviors that reject, exclude, and often denigrate people who are or feel that they are strange to society or national identity are known as xenophobia (Özmete et al., 2018). Consequently, xenophobia can be conceptualized on a variety of levels of analysis, depending on the targeted stranger and the theoretical frame of reference. Xenophobia can come in many different varieties and is a very inclusive term, as it can be caused by anything that is stranger to a person. For this very reason, fear and hatred towards strangers is an important social reality that needs to be addressed today.



The sources, intensity and character of any fear, especially of another religion, ethnicity or civilization, are complex, occasionally obscure and ephemeral, and not usually concrete and tangible. Few if any studies of the contemporary politics of xenophobia begin with an examination of the origins of people's predispositions, partialities, phobias, biases, anxieties and antipathies (Taras, 2012, p. 8).

Today, we see many reflections of xenophobia, which can be briefly defined as "hostility to everything stranger" (Bauman, 2016, p. 59). Many reflections of xenophobia, which emerged in different periods and in different geographies, can be seen today. Undoubtedly, one of these reflections is the recent widespread anti-Islamism. Anti-İslamism or Islamophobia can be considered as a subspecies of xenophobia (Taras, 2012). Our beliefs influence our social and political identities. Identities may cause individuals to show favoritism and loyalty to the groups to which they belong, but they may adopt the opposite attitude towards groups to which they do not belong and this could consider as a situation that triggers xenophobia (Tajfel, 2010). In this context, xenophobic attitudes can be directed towards religion and its members, racial differences, cultural or ethnic differences (Kökel and Odabaşı, 2017). In a performative context, we can see that xenophobia mobilizes individuals in different degrees. The circumstances and circumstances of that period can determine how effective xenophobia is on individuals and when it becomes radicalized. Not only do more radicalized forms of antagonism against strangers from different cultures threaten harmonious multicultural relations within nation-states, but they also pose a threat to the development of a cosmopolitan global society (Sanchez-Mazas & Licata, 2015). Radicalized xenophobia can lead to radical actions. From this context, one of the most concrete examples of xenophobia turning into radical action and directed against individuals of different religions is the New Zealand mosque attacks that took place in 2019 as anti-Islam sentiment.

On 15 March 2019, two mosque attacks took place in Christchurch, New Zealand, killing 51 people. The extremist terrorist, who came from Australia just to carry out this attack, entered two mosques with legally obtained automatic rifles and caused a massacre. While the terrorist was carrying out this attack, he broadcast it live on social media and sent this live broadcast information to politicians and journalists by e-mail beforehand. This terrorism, which took place in Christchurch, a quiet city in New Zealand where such an event had almost never occurred before, created a catastrophic atmosphere nationally and internationally. This incident, which took place in Christchurch, a quiet city in New Zealand where such an event had almost never occurred before, created a catastrophic atmosphere nationally and internationally. There are reasons and facts behind this terrorist act, which was carried out deliberately and in a xenophobic and Islamophobic sense against a certain group.

The terrorist's live broadcasting of the violence that fuels xenophobia on social media and presenting himself as a protagonist here appears as a performative form of radicalization in anti-Islamism. One of the indicators that the attack will be considered a radical form of xenophobia is the preparation plan of the attack. The terrorist came to New Zealand specifically from Australia to carry out the attack. The fact that the attack took place in New Zealand, especially in the city of Christchurch, reveals what meanings radical xenophobia produces. Mazer (2020) explains why the terrorist chose this city in particular:

By all accounts, including his own, the gunman's decision to target Christchurch's small, almost invisible Islamic community was performative. He was calculating impact, courting notoriety, promoting himself. New Zealand is not like the USA, where gun violence is so commonplace and mass murder so much a daily occurrence that it's a struggle to hold the spotlight for more than a single news cycle. The very unlikelihood of Christchurch being the site of mass murder, its reputation for being a placid sort of place where nothing of interest (earthquakes aside) ever happens, would serve to heighten its dramatic effect (Mazer, 2020, p. 5).

It has been revealed that the terrorist who carried out the attack was in contact with some extreme racist groups. He visited many countries and received funding from different sources (Scotcher, 2020). This can be considered as one of the indicators that xenophobia against Islam has a global radical dimension. In connection with this, and as another indicator of the radicality of the



event, is the manifesto published by the terrorist before the attack. In the manifesto published by the terrorist before the attack, he clearly states that the migrating Muslims are invaders and that this should be prevented, and that his action serves this purpose according to manifesto (Beutel, 2019). This manifesto is the most obvious indicator of radicalized xenophobia and anti-Islamism. To summarize, this attack and the realities behind it present us with one of the most concrete and striking examples of radical xenophobia on the part of anti-Islamism.

This attack had a great impact on New Zealand. Socially and politically, the country has gone through a process it has almost never seen before. New Zealand's Security Intelligence Service, for the first time in its history, raised the national terrorism threat level to a "high" (Every-Palmer et al., 2021). Numerous pundits and politicians have openly asserted that this catastrophe permanently altered New Zealand. "Another common refrain -echoed on newspapers' front pages the day after the attack- was that this marked 'the end of our innocence'" (Peacock, 2019, p. 18).

The approach of the society and the leaders of the period to the incident can be described as quite humane when looked at objectively. In fact, after the incident in Christchurch, the people of New Zealand reacted with a sense of unanimity (Rahman, 2020). The situation was covered live by the New Zealand media, but the terrorist, his manifesto, and his background were not discussed. All attention was focused on the casualties. Especially the attitude and stance of the then Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern was exemplary in the national and international arena. Ardern's speeches and discourses were such that she managed the crisis moment in a very constructive manner and removed the drama of the event. Ardern wore a headscarf and met with Muslims in mosques to show her support for Muslims (Normand, 2022). She tried to prevent extremists from taking advantage of this by never mentioning the terrorist's name in her speeches. Continuing this constructive approach, she constantly repeated the statement "This is not us" and differentiated terrorists and terrorism from the people of New Zealand and declared "we are them" (Mazer, 2020). Ardern's clear emphasis on terrorism and extremism in her first statements about the incident is an indication of her empathetic and constructive attitude. Arden's first public reaction to the anguish and suffering of those impacted embodied the quintessential New Zealand display of love, compassion, and understanding. Arden was commended by political analysts, detractors, and social commentators for her "strong and swift leadership" (Malik, 2019).

Literature Review

Ardern's statement that "we are not this", "we are them" actually indicates that this attack is an attack based on xenophobia in general. The fact that the attack targeted Muslims and the fact that the pronoun "them" in Arden's "we are them" discourse represents Muslims, reveals the relationship of this xenophobic action with anti-Islamism without the need for evidence or deep analysis. There are some reasons and phenomena behind the xenophobic attitude towards Muslims. This phenomenon constitutes a reality that needs to be researched and studied more today. Especially the Western world and the Western media are constantly trying to create an ideological enemy (Herman et al., 2012). After the dissolution of the Soviets, the West lost its "a spectre haunting Europe", that is, its enemy, which legitimized its actions, and this created the need for new ones. The fact that the lands where Islam is widespread are rich in oil and that this geography is geopolitically important has caused the West to set its sights on this region and attempt to establish hegemony (Harvey, 2019). Huntington (2021), on the other hand, has argued that cultural differences and historical legacies between Islam and the West have led to conflicts, resulting in a negative perception of Islam and Muslims in the Western world (Rane et al., 2014). Prior to the mosque attacks, the New Zealand media exhibited a similar attitude to that of Western media (Rahman and Emadi, 2018). Rahman (2020) suggests that prior to the Christchurch attack, articles against Muslims were disseminated in global media, predominantly originating from the USA, and these narratives aligned with the negative portrayals of Muslims in New Zealand media. The way in which the media addresses and constructs facts can significantly influence individuals'



attitudes and can be effective in shaping public opinion, potentially contributing to the formation of xenophobia. In this context, the process of framing and critically examining media content concerning xenophobic actions plays a pivotal role in addressing this issue comprehensively and elucidating its underlying causes.

While individuals may not always be consciously aware of it, the news disseminated through the media has the potential to influence our beliefs, attitudes, and thought processes, to varying degrees (Kiousis, 2001). It is crucial to critically analyze news texts to uncover the underlying meanings, thereby gaining insights into the prevailing trends and attitudes regarding emerging situations and events. Hence, a critical examination of the media's stance is imperative for comprehending the sociocultural repercussions in the aftermath of the mosque attacks in New Zealand. "There were more articles on the mosque shooting than any other event in 2019, with the story dominating the headlines for three months (Every-Palmer et al., 2021, p. 277)." Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the New Zealand press had been generating news pertaining to Muslims even prior to the incident, in addition to the immediate post-incident coverage. Incorporating the content of news reports preceding the terrorist attack, in addition to the coverage produced after the event, can offer valuable insights into the prevailing attitudes. It is conceivable that certain attitudes and tendencies may have played a direct role in shaping the events that led up to the incident. Rahman and Emari (2018) conducted a pre-incident study in which they analyzed news content related to Muslims and Islam in the New Zealand press, revealing the presence of negative trends. Peacock (2019), who serves as an editor at a New Zealand media outlet, articulated in an article that a detrimental disposition towards Muslims had been evident in the press of both Australia and New Zealand prior to the attack. In a separate study, Ewart et al. (2016) affirmed the presence of a detrimental disposition towards Muslims in the press of Australia and New Zealand, attributing this phenomenon to content generated without a comprehensive understanding of Islam.

When examining the research conducted following the incident, Şentürk and Aşçıoğlu (2020) scrutinized the initial reports published in the international press immediately following the incident, demonstrating that the news exhibited varied tendencies attributed to the recentness of the event. For instance, certain websites opted to publish images of the massacre, while others refrained from doing so, reflecting a similar dilemma in the dissemination of the terrorist's identity information. Hence, it was deduced that the initial news reports concerning the incident concentrated on the underlying factors and potential reasons for terrorist attacks. In a study focusing on the local press in the geographic region where the incidents related to the attacks occurred, through an analysis of news coverage related to the Christchurch assaults in Australia and New Zealand, and through interviews with local news executives, Ellis and Muller (2020) explored the influence of proximity on media coverage. Their findings indicate that local news rooms prioritize proximity as a key factor. It was observed that in New Zealand, news coverage was driven by sympathy for the victims and their families, while in Australia, the nationality of the attacker played a significant role in shaping the narrative.

In a comparative study, Greaves et al. (2020) contrasted attitudes towards Muslims with those towards other religious groups. Their findings indicate a higher prevalence of threats and negative sentiments directed at Muslims in comparison to other groups. In a different research yielding akin findings Yogeeswaran et al. (2019) centers on the impact of New Zealanders' national identity constructs on their attitudes towards Muslims following the terrorist attacks. The research draws on data collected from a study examining individual behavior in New Zealand. The study reached the conclusion that New Zealanders exhibit a stronger preference for civic and ethnic components in their national identity constructs compared to other aspects. This inclination has a negative influence on their perceptions of Muslims, specifically, and on their attitudes toward minorities in general. In one of the other comprehensive studies conducted regarding the incident and presenting similar findings, Rahman (2020) conducted an analysis of the news disseminated on



social media and arrived at the following conclusion: A significant transition is evident, moving away from the international media's adversarial rhetoric of 'othering' to the New Zealand press adopting a more inclusive national approach in its tone. This change in the tone of media coverage contributes to a more positive portrayal of Islam and Muslims.

In a study that underscores the conclusion of discriminatory media portrayal against Muslims more explicitly than the aforementioned studies, Satır (2020) asserted that through the analysis of news reports related to the event from five distinct media organizations, these entities emphasized various facets of the event and delivered them in diverse manners, thereby unveiling the implicit dimension of the interplay between news, ideology, and power. Furthermore, in his analysis, he contended that while the country's leadership overtly underscored the aspect of terrorism, the Western press exhibited a degree of reluctance in giving similar prominence to this aspect.

Finally, akin to this study, Soliman et al. (2021) analyzed news coverage of the attacks. They developed their framework through the examination of news reports regarding the terrorist attacks in New Zealand published by major international news outlets, including CNN, BBC, and DW. According to their research findings, significant acts of terrorism often lead to extensive media coverage, which is presented in diverse ways across various online news platforms. The predominant framing employed in these reports was the 'terror' frame. It can be inferred that the 'Terror' frame is particularly apt for understanding an event of the magnitude of the mosque attacks in New Zealand.

Research Problem

The primary focus of research revolves around the representation of terrorist attacks in New Zealand within the Western media landscape. The manifesto authored by the individual responsible for the attack explicitly elucidates the core motive behind the incident, which was to perpetrate violence against and cause harm to Muslims. Regrettably, media organizations often overlook this pivotal dimension in their news coverage, consequently failing to encompass the underlying reality of anti-Islamism. Such an omission may potentially foster the perception that the media does not adopt a proactive stance against xenophobic actions, and may even inadvertently perpetuate discrimination.

Questions of Research

Q1: "After an extended temporal interval subsequent to the terrorist attack, what are the underlying elements that comprise the structural framework of news coverage on this particular subject matter?"

Q2: What similarities and differences can be observed between the methodological frameworks used in previous studies on acts of aggression and those introduced within the context of this research?

Q3: Despite the attack's unmistakable origins rooted in xenophobic and anti-Islam sentiments, does the Western media portray it as such?

The Hypothesis of the Research

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H1: Despite the unequivocally anti-Islamic nature of the terrorist attack that occurred in Christchurch, New Zealand in 2019, the Western media inadequately acknowledges this reality. Such a stance hinders the broader efforts to combat xenophobia, extending beyond the scope of anti-Islamism.

H2: While a majority of resemblances can be observed between the news frames delineated in prior studies pertaining to the attack and the news texts generated in the aftermath of the incident, certain distinctions have also come to light.



Methodology

The study involved the collection of news articles regarding the mosque attacks that occurred in New Zealand in 2019 from Western media organizations and internet sources published in the English language between January 1, 2023, and October 22, 2023. The news articles were retrieved through Google search with the application of specific filters. Paid-access sites were not considered, and news articles published in languages other than English were excluded from the study. Furthermore, all news articles published within the specified date range were included in the dataset. A total of 81 news texts were subjected to data analysis and categorized into distinct frames. The research incorporated the use of six key questions during the investigation of these news articles:

"New Zealand mosque attacks"

"New Zealand mosque shootings"

"Christchurch mosque attacks"

"Christchurch mosque shootings"

"NZ mosque attacks"

"NZ mosque shootings"

The data acquired within the study underwent a qualitative analysis, and the findings were subsequently juxtaposed with those of previous research efforts.

Findings of Research

The 81 news stories gathered for this research can be examined within a total of nine distinct frameworks. As illustrated in the graphic below, these frameworks encompass: (F1) "Jacinda Ardern and domestic politics in New Zealand", (F2) "gun reform", (F3) "radical groups", (F4) "victims and their families", (F5) "judicial processes", (F6) "social issues and societal healing", (F7) "crime and fight against crime", (F8) "social media and cybercrimes" and lastly (F9) "subject to any content." Each frame is shown in different colors in the graphic below. The abbreviations in each box indicate the site from which the news was taken. The numbers next to the abbreviations specify how many articles from that news site are included in that frame. Although there are 81 collected news articles, the total count of frames is 87. This discrepancy arises from the fact that certain news articles have been categorized under multiple frames. The abbreviations correspond to the news sites, and a comprehensive list of these abbreviations is provided at the end of the study. At the same time, all news texts distributed according to their frames can be accessed via the link given in the endnote¹.





Each delineated framework in the graphic above converges on a specific subject axis. Although the news articles within the frames touch on different points, they are generally integrated within the context of a topic. Hence, it is necessary to scrutinize each framework individually.

Media Frame 1: Jacinda Ardern and Domestic Politics in New Zealand

It can be observed that the news articles published in 2023 predominantly emphasized Jacinda Ardern and the internal political landscape of New Zealand. The prevalence of news within this framework, originating from various sources, indicates the Western media's predominant focus on this aspect of the incident (see Graphic 1). As delineated in the preceding sections of this study, Ardern's resilient and optimistic image in the aftermath of the attacks unquestionably stands as one of the most significant contributing factors to this phenomenon. Another factor contributing to the notable concentration of news in this context is the infrequency of terrorist attacks in New Zealand and the country's overall stable security structure. In contrast to Middle Eastern nations, a terrorist attack of this magnitude can sustain its prominence in both media and politics over an extended period in New Zealand. Furthermore, in addition to the aforementioned factors, the phenomenon of tragic events and massacres evolving into a political dynamic over time can be regarded as a practice that has become rather normalized in everyday life (Baum, 2007).

The news coverage, in general, revolved around topics such as Ardern's decision not to run for re-election, the discourse of opposition parties, contrasting perspectives directed at Ardern, as well as the responses and viewpoints of various political parties and politicians in the wake of the incident. The prevalence of political matters as the overarching framework in the compiled news articles underscores a distinctive characteristic when compared to other studies within the existing literature that have analyzed the event. In this context, it is reasonable to surmise that the political framework was not as extensive in prior studies, and as time elapsed, this tragedy evolved into a focal point within the realm of New Zealand's domestic politics, as perceived by the media.

AEDIAD

102



Media Frame 2: Gun Reform

Approximately 250,000 people in New Zealand are licensed to carry guns (Manch, 2018). These criticisms targeting politicians, particularly in relation to gun control laws, have seen a notable surge, especially in the aftermath of the Christchurch attacks. After the terrorist attack, legislative amendments were implemented concerning individual armament, resulting in restrictions on certain aspects of personal firearm ownership. Palmer and his colleagues (2021) similarly incorporated this framework, referred to as 'gun reform', within the scope of their media analysis in their research pertaining to the incident. In their study, they articulated that the media content predominantly centered on the legal acquisition of such a lethal arsenal of firearms. Three of the news articles gathered as part of this study encompass discussions regarding the prospects of alterations that have been implemented or are anticipated within the domain of gun legislation. It appears that individual armament and modifications in firearm regulations are predominantly among the subjects that draw the media's attention within the context of this event.

Media Frame 3: Radical Groups

It was observed that, in contrast to the news examined in prior research, the news articles gathered in this study placed a distinct emphasis on extremist organizations. And this frame, being the second most covered, marks a noteworthy distinction from previous studies (see Graphic 1). Regrettably, individuals with radical and extremist ideologies, akin to the perpetrator of this attack, coexist within our global community. While certain extremist factions may direct their focus on specific groups, others may adopt radical stances towards anyone external to their own. As elucidated in the initial sections of the study, xenophobia is employed to precisely elucidate this phenomenon. The terrorist attack in Christchurch garnered the interest of extremist organizations, owing to the dissemination of the manifesto and the live streaming of the incident. The news examined within this context predominantly revolves around the perpetrators' connection to the Christchurch attacks, their repercussions, and the role they played as exemplars in subsequent events following the Christchurch attacks. Additionally, reports are indicating that the individual responsible for the Christchurch attacks was affiliated with certain extremist organizations, receiving support and coordination from these groups. It is particularly imperative to underscore the issue of anti-Islamism in this context, as these extremist groups operate with a clear objective of organizing anti-Islamic actions and attacks. Nevertheless, among these news articles, only one addresses this issue concurrently with anti-Islamism. This news content will be deliberated upon in the end note section of the study.

Another noteworthy aspect within this context pertains to the adjectives ascribed to the assailant. While the assailant had been labeled as a 'terrorist', 'extremist', 'white supremacist' and 'gunman' in news articles scrutinized in earlier studies, in the content analyzed in this study, the attacker was characterized as a 'Nazi' or 'neo-Nazi. It is evident that news articles concerning individuals sympathetic to the Christchurch attacker, described as Nazis, are generated in various global regions, including England (Sims, 2023), USA (Associated Press, 2023) and Australia (Southwell, 2023). This circumstance bolsters the assertion that anti-Islamic xenophobia is a global phenomenon.



Media Frame 4: Victims and Their Families

While a considerable amount of time has elapsed since the attacks, the enduring repercussions of xenophobia persist for the victims' families. Although this frame may not receive the same degree of emphasis as it did in the initial of the events, it remains a subject addressed by the media. Ardern's responsible and empathetic conduct towards the victims and their families, particularly in the immediate aftermath of the attack, prompted the media to allocate increased attention to this matter (Every-Palmer et al., 2021). It may be reasonable to posit the following assumption: The demeanor and stance of politicians can influence the posture and orientation of the media. Constructive and responsible conduct by politicians might likewise exert an influence on the media's content generation. As the catastrophic aftermath engendered by the incident evolves and its impact gradually wanes, recent news articles within this framework center their attention on the survivors of the attack (RNZ, 2023) and the support initiatives devised to denounce and memorialize the event (Newsline, 2023). In earlier research, this framework has been examined under the identical approach and designated as 'empathy' (Every-Palmer et al., 2021; Soliman et al., 2021).

Media Frame 5: Judicial Processes

The trial processes were the least addressed subject matter among the collected news articles. The fact that only one news website focuses on this issue is an indication of this (see Graphic 1). The New Zealand Herald, the only news outlet contributing to the frame, stands out as the broadcasting entity with the most extensive coverage of Christchurch terrorist attacks. New Zealand Herald has notably emerged as the primary source extensively covering the aftermath of the terrorist attacks. The exclusive focus of this site on producing news content related to the trial processes serves as compelling evidence of its unparalleled commitment to monitoring and reporting on the developments since the incident transpired.

The protracted nature of judicial trials results in their omission from news content unless there is a substantial development occurring within a specific time frame. From this perspective, it can be posited that even though prior studies did not explicitly scrutinize a framework under this specific heading, there are news articles pertaining to terrorism and trial processes encapsulated within political frameworks. The rationale behind incorporating this framework in the current study stems from the identification of three news articles directly linked to the trial processes, which from the same new site (see Graphic 1). The initial news pertains to the prison conditions of the terrorist (Blck, 2023), while the second addresses an individual who violated the law by disseminating images of the attack (Wilkinson, 2023). The final news item discusses the judicial inquiry about the attack (Shaskey, 2023).

Media Frame 6: Social Issues and Societal Healing

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Disruptive occurrences invariably exert an influence on societal dynamics, with the extent of this impact varying according to the event's location and its severity. The enduring social repercussions of this event can be attributed to the severity of the attack and its occurrence within New Zealand, where have rarely faced this kind of attack. The societal impacts of disruptive events and the alterations they bring about in the social realm emerge as a topic that can only be comprehensively addressed after a certain period has elapsed since the occurrence. The ambit of this framework encapsulates a broad phenomenon. Alterations in firearm legislation following the



attack, the impact of the incident on perpetrators and the connection between their criminal activities, media coverage, and a shift towards a more sanguine approach by politicians towards a particular group subsequent to the event, all essentially stem from the transformative influence wrought upon the social milieu by this attack. Seven of the news articles gathered in the context of this research (see Graphic 1) were examined within this framework due to their direct relevance to social life. When viewed from this perspective, it becomes evident that there are news articles expressing individuals' apprehensions and anxieties in a light (O'Connor, 2023), as well as efforts aimed at ameliorating social wounds (1news, 2023). It appears that certain news articles directly address initiatives organized to dispel the stereotypes and prejudices directed towards the targeted Muslim community (McCulloch, 2023). News analyzed in previous studies can be included in this framework because they are inclusive of social issues. Given the inherent inclusiveness of social issues. However, these studies do not identify a framework specifically dedicated to news articles that directly engage with social issues and their processes of recuperation.

Media Frame 7: Crime and Fight Against Crime

Fundamentally, this terrorist attack can be categorized as a 'criminal act'. This situation inherently places it within the media frameworks of 'crime' and 'crime prevention'. Ten of the collected news articles delve into issues related to crime and efforts in crime prevention. Some news articles directly confront the xenophobic actions and criminal acts perpetrated by individuals influenced by the Christchurch terrorist attacks (Associated Press, 2023; Price, 2023). Several news articles encompass reports about interventions and efforts to combat the escalating racism, extremism, and xenophobia (Australian Human Rights Commissions, 2023; Lewis et al., 2023; Thomas, 2023). In earlier studies, news articles falling within the purview of 'crime' predominantly center on the classification of the attack as either a terrorist act, a massacre, or a distinct form of criminal activity, striving to address questions of this nature (Every-Palmer et al., 2021; Sentürk and Așicioğlu, 2020; Soliman et al., 2021). These studies pursue answers to these inquiries and subsequently establish the framework accordingly due to their proximity to the date of the attack. In the present day, there is no longer a need to debate the classification of this attack: "terrorism". Consequently, the news articles collected within the 'crime' framework for this research concentrate on the interrelation between the Christchurch terrorist attacks and other criminal activities.

Media Frame 8: Social Media and Cybercrime

The terrorist live-streamed the attack on social media using the body-worn camera. It can be surmised that his intent was to manifest his xenophobic animosity on a global scale, to resonate with like-minded extremists, and to cast himself in the role of a hero. However, it can be posited that the disposition of Jacinda Ardern, along with the alignment of politicians and the media with Ardern's stance, has largely deterred the materialization of these intentions. The terrorist's live streaming of the attack's moment and politicians' efforts to prevent the release of these records establishes a distinctive framework, as news articles explicitly delve into this issue. We can observe that identical or analogous frameworks have been deliberated in prior studies (Every-Palmer et al., 2021; Rahman, 2020; Soliman et al., 2021).

Among the collected news articles, eleven of them can be examined within the confines of this framework (see Graphic 1). Even though most of these articles may not directly center on the



attack, they refer to the Christchurch terrorist attack while exploring the influence of the internet, internet addiction, and violent content on individuals (Bevan, 2023; Gutelle, 2023; Kirkpatrick, 2023; Lang, 2023; Pugachevsky, 2023). These news articles predominantly allude to online culture and the violent content to which individuals are exposed within the virtual realm. Some of the news articles within this framework overlap with the news covered in the 'crime' context discussed in the preceding framework. This overlap is due to the fact that the live broadcast recording of the Christchurch attack serves as a motivating factor for other criminals, and sharing this recording is deemed a cybercrime. The remaining news articles address the political measures taken to hinder the dissemination of the attack recording (Franks & Cheng, 2023; Walch, 2023).

Media Frame 9: Subject to any Content

After the passage of a specific period of time, events become an integral part of the historical experiences. Despite the calamitous and devastating nature of events, they could possibly evolve into historical facts. Over four years have transpired between the terrorist attacks in Christchurch and the date of authorship of this article. Nonetheless, there is an approximate four-year gap between the date when the collected news articles were authored and the occurrence of the terrorist attack in Christchurch. The news articles addressing this attack today, as a part of the historical narrative, have given rise to the establishment of this framework. The news articles within this framework regard the Christchurch terrorist attacks as a historical event and incorporate them as content for various other subjects. As an example, in a podcast program focusing on criminal activities, this attack is deliberated in an episode and it is reported on the news (Leask, 2023). Another news article reports the publication of a new book that also examines the Christchurch terrorist attack (New Zealand Herald, 2023). The same holds true for another news article (Novitz, 2023). The news articles within this framework encompass diverse topics and approach the Christchurch terrorist attacks from various perspectives within the context of the subject. For instance, one article centers on politicians vying for votes (Stewart, 2023), while another discusses a journalist facing threats (Stuff, 2023), with each reference to the Christchurch attacks integrated within the context of their respective subjects or employed as an illustrative example. In contrast to prior studies, this research encompasses news articles that regard the event as a part of the historical continuum and introduces a novel framework pertaining to the subject under investigation.

Conclusion

06

The concept of xenophobia, as an overarching construct, delineates individuals' apprehension and antipathy towards that which is strange and dissimilar. A Turkish adage succinctly elucidates this phenomenon: "Man is the enemy of what he does not know". Here, the 'not known' phenomenon hold a broad connotation. Xenophobia encompasses not only matters of race, religion, language, or skin color but, in a comprehensive sense, it pertains to an individual's overarching negative disposition towards anything that deviates from their own lifestyle and identity. This adverse disposition towards a specific group or minority is likewise encompassed within the domain of xenophobia. When examined from this perspective, anti-Islamism can also be regarded as a manifestation of xenophobia. There is always a possibility that anti-Islamism may be underpinned by diverse systematic causes, intentions, financing, and structures. However, when



analyzed at the individual and societal levels, anti-Islamism can be concomitantly viewed as a facet of xenophobia.

The terrorist attacks in Christchurch in 2019, the terrorist's manifesto, his declarations, and his affiliations with extremist radical groups collectively indicate that this attack embodies both xenophobia and anti-Islamism. The terrorist's direct targeting of Muslims and the explicit expression of his animosity towards them undeniably indicate that this attack is unquestionably a result of anti-Islamism. On the other hand, the terrorist's affiliations with extremist radical groups and his assertion in his manifesto, perceiving Muslims as an invasive minority group, can be regarded as indicative of a xenophobic orientation. In short, this terrorist attack can be considered as one of the extreme manifestations of xenophobia, specifically in the context of anti-Islamism.

Within the scope of the research, a total of 81 news articles concerning the Christchurch terrorist attacks, published between January 1, 2023, and October 22, 2023, were gathered and scrutinized as data to explore this matter and elucidate their framework. These collected news articles were examined using filters and keywords on Google. All news pieces written in English and devoid of access restrictions were collected. The collected news was analyzed and discussed in nine different frameworks (see Graphic 1). In the analysis of the initial frame, it was evident that the majority of news articles concerning the incident revolved around the response of the then Prime Minister, Jacinda Ardern, during the attack and the impact of the attack on New Zealand's domestic politics. The second framework centers on the discussions surrounding gun laws in New Zealand subsequent to the attack. The third framework delves into the association of the terrorist who executed the attack with radical groups and the ramifications of the attack on such radical groups. The fourth framework emphasizes the individuals who lost their lives in the terrorist attack and their bereaved family members. The fifth framework comprises news articles pertaining to the trial proceedings of the terrorist. The sixth framework, adopting an inquisitive stance, centers on the challenges within the social sphere engendered by the attack and the endeavors made to ameliorate them. The seventh framework revolves around the criminal activities influenced and catalyzed by the Christchurch attack, along with the efforts to combat them. Additionally, it examines the classification of sharing images of the Christchurch attack as a criminal offense. The eighth framework addresses the news articles that discuss the terrorist's live broadcast of the attack and the online dissemination of this live stream, considering it as a cybercrime. The last frame focuses on how the Christchurch attack became one of the historical events in the historical process and how the news treated this attack as exemplary content on different topics.

When the frames of the news articles gathered within the ambit of this study were juxtaposed with prior studies (Every-Palmer et al., 2021; Peacock, 2019; Rahman, 2020; Satır, 2020; Şentürk and Aşicioğlu, 2020; Soliman et al., 2021) exploring the news frames of the Christchurch attacks in the media, it was discerned that certain frames and subjects exhibited congruity, while others exhibited divergence. For instance, while frameworks like politics, gun control laws, victims, and their families have appeared in previous studies and address analogous themes, frameworks such as social media, crime, trial proceedings, and legal processes might display distinct content, despite being previously framed. Unlike these, prior studies do not encompass frameworks addressing radical groups and the evolution of the attack into a historical event. The discernible reason for this circumstance lies in the temporal progression since the occurrence of the incident.



One of the research's main objectives is to scrutinize whether the Western media portrayed this terrorist attack as an act of anti-Islamism, despite the evident indications from the terrorist's manifesto and conduct that he perpetrated the attack with anti-Islamic intentions. When we examine the prior studies referenced above, it is apparent that the media did not address this attack within the anti-Islamism context. Similarly, it is evident that the news articles collected as part of this study did not interpret the attack as anti-Islamism, with the exception of one². The problematic aspect in this context is that the news articles in the international press fail to label the attack as anti-Islamism, despite the explicit emphasis on this aspect in the terrorist's manifesto. It can be asserted that the objectivity of the media is lacking in this regard, constituting a problematic situation from the perspective of professional ethics. Furthermore, and of greater significance, it is connected to the notion that the media's coverage of events can influence individuals' perceptions of the event. Neglecting to classify an unmistakably anti-Islamic attack in this fashion could hinder individuals' awareness of such a social issue and reality, thereby obstructing collective and individual endeavors to address xenophobia and anti-Islamism.

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08

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10



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| # | Newspapers | Acronyms | | Newspapers | # |
|----|--------------------|----------|-----|---------------------------------------|----|
| 1 | Firstpost | FPT | ССС | Christchurch City Council | 26 |
| 2 | The Week | TWK | MCL | MyCity Logan | 27 |
| 3 | Sahara Reporters | SRS | AJN | The Australian Jewish News | 28 |
| 4 | The Time of Israel | TTI | TMD | The Minnesota Daily | 29 |
| 5 | Newsroom | NRM | TJP | The Jerusalem Post | 30 |
| 6 | Stuff | STF | BLM | Blunt Magazine | 31 |
| 7 | 9News | 9NS | SMH | Sydney Morning Herald | 32 |
| 8 | Euronews | ENS | TST | The Strateg | 33 |
| 9 | Reuters | RTS | ASP | Australian Strategic Policy Institute | 34 |
| 10 | Aljazeera | AJZ | SLG | Sri Lanka Guardian | 35 |
| 11 | Newshub | NHB | AHR | Australian Human Rights Commission | 36 |
| 12 | ABC News | ABC | TLL | The Local | 37 |
| 13 | The Spinoff | TSF | GNE | Global Network on | 38 |
| | • | | | Extremism and Technology | |
| 14 | Critic | CRC | TFR | Tubefilter | 39 |
| 15 | Desert News | DNS | YSS | Yahoosports | 40 |
| 16 | Radio New Zealand | RNZ | TWI | The Washinton Independent | 41 |
| 17 | Los Angeles Times | LAT | TGR | The Gamer | 42 |
| 18 | News.com | NWS | RET | RogerEbert.com | 43 |
| 19 | 1news | 1NS | ISR | Insider | 44 |
| 20 | Daily Mail Online | DMO | TCN | The Conversation | 45 |
| 21 | London Free Press | LFP | NZL | NZ Lawyer | 46 |
| 22 | All Israel News | AIN | IMO | Irish Mirror Online | 47 |
| 23 | Wales Online | WOE | TDB | The Daily Blog | 48 |
| 24 | Arab News | ANS | MEA | Middle East Eye | 49 |
| 25 | Otago Daily Times | ODT | | | |

List and Table of News Site Abbreviations



Zenofobi ve İslam Karşıtlığı: Christchurch Cami Saldırılarından Dört Yıl Sonra Saldırıyı Ele Alan Haberlerin Çerçevelenmesi

Mustafa ÇEĞİNDİR*

Genişletilmiş Özet

Giriş

Zenofobi, tarih boyunca farklı biçimlere bürünen, farklı teorik yaklaşımlara göre kavramsallaştırılan ve genel anlamda yabancı korkusu ve düşmanlığı anlamına gelen bir kavramdır. Bu açıdan bakıldığında zenofobinin farklı türlerde, farklı dönemlerde ve coğrafyalarda ortaya çıkan birçok yansımasını günümüzde görebilmekteyiz. Bu yansımalardan biri olan ve günümüzde yaygınlaşan İslam karşıtlığı, zenofobinin bir alt türü olarak kabul edilebilir. Bu durumun en belirgin örneklerinden biri 2019'da Yeni Zelanda'da gerçekleşen cami saldırılarıdır. Dönemin başbakanı Ardern'in olaya yönelik "biz bu değiliz", "biz onlarız" söylemleri saldırının genel olarak zenofobiye dayalı bir eylem olduğunu; bununla beraber saldırının direkt olarak Müslümanları hedef almasının ise saldırının İslam karşıtlığı içerdiğini göstermektedir.

Literatür İncelemesi

Olayın sonrasında yapılan araştırmaları incelediğimizde, Şentürk ve Aşçıoğlu (2020), olayın hemen ardından uluslararası basında yayınlanan ilk haber metinlerini inceleyerek bu haberlerin, olayın yeni gerçekleşmiş oluşundan dolayı çeşitli eğilimler sergilediğini göstermişlerdir. Örneğin, bazı web siteleri katliamın görüntülerini yayınlamayı tercih ederken, bazıları ise bunu yapmaktan kacınmıştır. Saldırıları yerel basın bazında ele alan bir diğer çalışmada ise Ellis ve Muller (2020), Avustralya ve Yeni Zelanda'daki Christchurch saldırılarıyla ilgili haberlerin analizini yaparak saldırının gerçekleştiği bölgesel medyada saldırıların nasıl ele alındığını tartışmıştır. Karşılaştırmalı bir çalışmada, Greaves ve diğerleri (2020), Müslümanlara yönelik tutumları diğer dini gruplara yönelik tutumlarla karşılaştırmıştır. Bulguları, diğer gruplara kıyasla Müslümanlara yönelik tehditlerin ve olumsuz duyguların daha yaygın olduğunu göstermektedir. Benzer sonuca ulaşılan bir diğer çalışmada ise Yogeeswaran ve arkadaşları (2019), terör saldırılarının ardından Yeni Zelandalıların ulusal kimlik yapılarının Müslümanlara yönelik tutumları üzerindeki etkisine odaklanmış ve Müslümanlara yönelik algının genel anlamda olumsuz olduğunu ifade etmişlerdir. Yine benzer çıkarımları içeren başka bir çalışmada ise Rahman (2020), sosyal medyada yayılan haberlerin bir analizini yapmış ve şu sonuca varmıştır: Uluslararası medyanın Müslümanlara karşı sürekli ötekileştirici tavrının aksine Yeni Zelanda basınının tonunda daha kapsayıcı bir ulusal yaklaşım benimsemesine doğru bir geçiş oluştuğundan bahsetmiştir. Satır ise (2020) çalışmasında Müslümanların medyadaki olumsuz temsilini diğer çalışmalara nazaran daha net vurgulamıştır. Beş farklı medya kuruluşunun olayla ilgili haberlerini analiz ederek, bu kuruluşların olayın çeşitli yönlerini vurguladığını ve bunları farklı şekillerde sunduğunu, böylece haber, ideoloji ve güç arasındaki etkileşimin örtük boyutunu burada görebileceğimizi ifade etmiştir. Ayrıca, analizinde, Yeni

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Zellanda'daki politikacıların saldırının terörizm boyutunu açıkça vurgularken, batı basınının bu boyuta benzer bir önem verme konusunda pek de istekli olmadığını dile getirmiştir. Son olarak bu makalede yürütülen çalışmaya benzer şekilde Soliman ve arkadaşları (2021), CNN, BBC ve DW gibi önemli uluslararası haber kuruluşları tarafından yayınlanan Yeni Zelanda'daki terör saldırılarına ilişkin haberlerin çerçevelerini oluşturmuşlardır.

Araştırmanın Problemi

Araştırmanın problemi, Yeni Zelanda'daki terör saldırısının Batı medyası tarafından ele alınma şeklinin olayın gerçekliğiyle kurduğu ilişki biçimidir.

Araştırmanın Soruları

S1: Christchurch'deki terör saldırılarının üzerinden belli bir süre geçtikten sonra konuyla ilgili üretilen haberlerin içerikleri ve çerçeveleri nelerdir?

S2: Bu terör saldırısına ilişkin daha önceki çalışmalarda gerçekleştirilen haber içerik analizleri ve oluşturulan haberlerin çerçeveleri ile bu çalışmadaki analiz ve çerçeveler arasında nasıl bir farklılıklar veya benzerlikler bulunmaktadır?

S3: Terör saldırısının açıkça Müslümanlara karşı işlendiği gerçeği göz önünde bulundurulduğunda batı medyası bu gerçekliği yansıtmakta mıdır?

Araştırmanın Hipotezleri

H1: 2019'da Yeni Zelanda, Christchurch'te gerçekleşen terör saldırılarının tartışmasız bir şekilde İslam karşıtlığı içermesine rağmen, batı medyası bu gerçeği yeterince kabul etmemektedir. Bu durum, zenofobi kapsamındaki İslam karşıtlığı mücadelelerine engel olabilmektedir.

H2: Terör saldırılarıyla ilgili yapılan önceki çalışmalarda ayrıntılı olarak incelenen haber çerçeveleri ile olayın ardından oluşturulan haber metinleri arasında çoğunlukla benzerlikler gözlemlenebilirken, belirgin farklılıklar da ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Metodoloji

Araştırmada 1 Ocak 2023 tarihinden 22 Ekim 2023 tarihine kadar İngilizce yazılmış ve erişim kısıtlaması olmayan Christchurch cami saldırılarını ele alan bütün haberler toplanmıştır. Google'da filtreler ve anahtar kelimeler kullanılarak ulaşılan toplam 81 haber analiz edilerek dokuz farklı çerçeveye ayrılmıştır.

Bulgular

16

Çerçevelerin dağılımı ve hangi haber sitesinin hangi çerçevede kaç adet içerik ürettiği grafik haline getirilerek görselleştirilmiştir (bkz. Grafik 1).

Çerçeve 1: Jacinda Ardern ve Yeni Zellanda İç Siyaseti

2023 yılında yayımlanan haber makaleleri ağırlıklı olarak Jacinda Ardern ve Yeni Zelanda'nın iç politika durumuna odaklanmaktadır. Haberler, Ardern'ın saldırıların ardından gösterdiği güçlü ve etkili liderliğinin örnek teşkil ettiğini vurgulamaktadır. Önceki yürütülen çalışmalarda da benzer haber içeriklerine ulaşılabilmektedir.

Çerçeve 2: Silah Yasası

Christchurch saldırılarının ardından, Yeni Zelanda, kişisel silah barındırmanın belirli yönlerini kısıtlayan yasal değişiklikleri hayata geçirdi, bu durum haber içeriklerinde 'silah reformu' başlığıyla ele alınmıştır. Önceki çalışmalarda da içerik açısından benzerlik gösteren bu çerçevedeki haber içerikleri, olayın ardından bireysel silahlanma karşıtı bir tavır alındığını göstermektedir.



Çerçeve 3: Radikal Gruplar

Önceki çalışmalardan farklı olarak bu çalışmada "radikal gruplar" yeni bir çerçeve oluşturmaktadır. Olayın üzerinden belli bir süre geçmesi ve teröristin farklı radikal gruplarla olan ilişkisinin açığa çıkması, haber içeriklerinin de bu konuyu ele almasına sebep olmuştur.

Çerçeve 4: Kurbanlar ve Aileleri

Konuyla ilgili üretilen haberlerin bu kısmı, önceki çalışmalarda da bir çerçeve olarak ele alınmaktadır. Olayın üzerinden zaman geçse de terörist saldırıdan kurtulanlara ve saldırıda hayatını kaybedenlere yönelik içerikler, medyada üretilmeye devam etmiştir.

Çerçeve 5: Yargılanma Süreçleri

Toplanan haberlerden birkaç tanesi direkt olarak saldırıyı gerçekleştiren teröristin yargılanma süreçlerine odaklandığı için bu çerçeve ele alınmıştır.

Çerçeve 6: Toplumsal Etki ve Sosyal İyileşme

Yeni Zellanda ve özellikle de Christchurch şehri, güvenlik sorunlarının pek görülmediği ve terör saldırılarının çok nadir yaşandığı bir coğrafyadır. Bu denli yıkıcı bir eylemin büyük bir etki yaratmasında bu durum etkili olmuştur. Bu bağlamda ülke çapında olayın etkisinin neredeyse hala sürdüğüne ve bunu atlatmak için etkinliklerin düzenlendiğine değinen haberlere ulaşılmıştır.

Çerçeve 7: Suç ve Suçla Mücadele

Teröristin radikal gruplarla olan ilişkisi ve bu gruplara üye olan veya sempati besleyen bireylerin olaydan etkilenerek gerçekleştirdiği suçları ele alan haberler bulunmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra saldırı anının kaydını paylaşmanın suç olarak değerlendirilmesi, haberlerin içeriklerinde görülmektedir. Bu açılardan bakıldığında toplanan haberler, terör saldırısının diğer suçlarla olan ilişkisine, saldırı kaydını paylaşanların suç işlediğine ve bunlara karşı yürütülen mücadeleye odaklanmaktadır.

Çerçeve 8: Sosyal Medya ve Siber Suç

Yukarıdaki çerçevede de belirtildiği gibi saldırı kaydının paylaşılması suç olarak sayılmaktadır ve bunun siber ortamda gerçekleşmesi bu suçu bir siber suç haline getirmektedir. Haberler sosyal mecraların bu tarz durumlardaki konumunu sorgulamaktadır ve sosyal mecralarda bu tarz içeriklerin birey psikolojisinde yarattığı olumsuz etkilerden bahsetmektedir. Bu durum da genellikle Christchurch saldırılarının kayıtları ile ele almaktadırlar.

Çerçeve 9: Herhangi Bir İçeriğe Konu veya Örnek Olarak Christchurch Saldırıları

Olayın üzerinden belli bir zaman geçmesi bu terör saldırısını tarihsel süreçte yaşanmış bir olay olarak ele alınmasına neden olmaktadır. Tarihsel ilerleme ele alındığında bu durum doğal bir süreç olarak değerlendirilebilmektedir. Christchurch saldırısı, kitaplara, podcastlere ve buna benzer yayımlara içerik olmakta; farklı meseleleri ele alan haberlerde ise örnek olarak gösterilmeye başlanmıştır.

Sonuç

Zenofobi kavramının kapsayıcı oluşu İslam karşıtlığını da bu kavramla beraber ele alabileceğimizi göstermektedir. İslam karşıtı eylemlerin ve tutumların ardında yatan sistematik niyetler, kuruluşlar ve fonlar olabilmektedir (ki Christchurch saldırısını gerçekleştiren teröristin radikal gruplarla olan ilişkisi buna bir örnektir) ancak kavramsal olarak ele alındığında İslam karşıtlığını zenofobi çatısı altında ele alınabilmektedir. Christchruch saldırılarında teröristin manifestosu, bu saldırının direkt olarak İslam karşıtlığının en uç örneklerinden birini oluşturduğunu göstermektedir. Bunun yanı sıra dönemin başbakanı Ardern'in olaya yönelik "biz bu değiliz", "biz,



onlarız" söylemi ise saldırının zenofobi ile ilişkilendirelebileceğini göstermektedir zira terörist manifestosunda Müslümanları istilacı bir 'öteki' olarak nitelendirmiştir.

Medyanın ise bir olayı nasıl ele aldığının bireysel ve toplumsal anlamda olaya karşı yürütülen düşünceleri etkileyebilme gücü, bu tarz yıkıcı durumlarda medyanın konuyu nasıl ele aldığını önemli hale getirmektedir. Bu sebeple araştırmada toplanan haberlerin analizi yapılmış ve çerçeveleri oluşturulmuştur. Çerçeveler olayın üzerinden belli bir süre geçtikten sonra olayın medyada nasıl ele alındığını açıklamaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra aynı konuda haber analizi yapan çalışmalardaki çerçeveler kıyaslanmış ve bazı belirgin benzerlikler ve farklılıklar tespit edilmiştir. Çerçevelere bölünerek analiz edilen haberlerde varılan en kritik sonuçlardan biri de bu terör saldırısının açık bir şekilde İslam karşıtlığı içermesine rağmen batı medyasının saldırıyı bu açısıyla ele almamasına dayanmaktadır. Bu durum, bu denli yıkıcı olaylarda batı medyasının objektif olmadığını ve zenofobi ve İslam karşıtlığı gibi toplumsal sorunlarla mücadelede batı medyasının tavrının olumsuz bir etkisi olduğunu söyleyebiliriz.

Araştırmacıların Katkı Oranı Beyanı/ Contribution of Authors

Araştırma tek bir yazar tarafından yürütülmüştür. The research was conducted by a single author. *******

Çıkar Çatışması Beyanı / Conflict of Interest

Çalışma kapsamında herhangi bir kurum veya kişi ile çıkar çatışması bulunmamaktadır. There is no conflict of interest with any institution or person within the scope of the study.

İntihal Politikası Beyanı / Plagiarism Policy

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In this study, the rules stated in the "Higher Education Institutions Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Directive" were followed.

Notes

¹ For news texts separated into frames in folders: https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1H59r8FyoN5ndAW-wXP3ja4M7ZDU3HL5I?usp=sharing

² This exception is found in a newspaper article within a music magazine named 'Blunt,' published in Australia. In this article, the terrorist who perpetrated the attack is characterized as a neo-Nazi, and it underscores the Islamophobic nature of the attack (Hillier, 2023).