

***Gatekeeping or #porteouverte:  
Citizen Journalism and the Digital Media Landscape***

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## Abstract

The digital media landscape has changed the traditional rules of journalism. With the increased popularity of the use of Social Networking Sites (SNS) the public and news outlets have changed their approach to news reporting. The public has developed from a passive user to actively interacting and contributing and the news outlets are encouraging this. During this research, the Paris attacks 2015 was used as a case study to analyse this change and highlighted the small shift from tight gatekeeping to a looser networked journalism in the twenty-four-hours aftermath of the attack. This thesis contributes to the discussion of the extent of control held by journalists in digital news reporting and the greater debate on citizen journalism and how this has evolved to network journalism where journalism practices meet the public's need for involvement during a time of crisis.

*Keywords:* gatekeeping, citizen journalism, networked journalism, Paris attacks

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## Introduction

With constant notifications being sent to phones and trending topics on Twitter and Facebook, the digital user of today can be up to date with issues elsewhere in the world within a matter of seconds. This is a dramatic shift from the traditional media landscape that dominated before the introduction of Social Media where the public had to wait until the evening news to receive the headlines or visit the news websites. Twitter launched in March 2006 (Adweek, 2014) and Facebook became public in the same year (Business Insider, 2010,), these platforms allowed for a new digital space for news to be shared “contemporary media is being shaped by several contradictory and concurrent trends: at the same moment that cyberspace displaces some traditional information and cultural gatekeepers, there is also an unprecedented concentration of power within old media” (Jenkins, 2006, p. 223).

In a study on audience media behaviour Edgerly (2015) found that the “complexities of the new media landscape yield equally complex media repertoires” (p. 16). It is uncommon that members of the public rely solely on one source or one medium, instead they combine various outlets and media. Edgerly (2015) derives her study from Jenkins (2006) who interpreted modern media patterns when old and new media intersect. Since 2008 media corporations have picked up on the hybrid of old and new and have started to incorporate new media strategies on their traditional websites by opening discussions for the public. Domingo et al. (2008) analyse how citizen journalism emerged and compare citizen participation in online newspapers. This ensures that the general public does not only passively watch the news but also has the opportunity to contribute actively. Thruman and Hermida (2010) show how these newsrooms are shaping participatory journalism online and suggest that, although there is an increase of User Generated Content, the journalists still feel the need to be gatekeepers (p. 21). Citizen journalism, also known as participation journalism, has been

researched since the mid-1960s. In 2006 *The Economist* speculated that this would become more popular than the big media outlets and warned that the popularity of the use and need of the internet would cause established and professional journalism to become irrelevant (Who killed the newspaper?, *The Economist*, 2006). On the contrary; news is becoming more accessible and the need for more sources is increasing. Other non-news media outlets, such as BuzzFeed and VICE media, previously known as entertainment websites have turned to more traditional roles by also covering news stories and creating daily news content. These approaches, however, are not traditional. Poynter Institute explains BuzzFeed's change back in 2012 as "BuzzFeed as a news organization looks foreign to many people in [old] media because it is entering the online news realm from the opposite direction" (Jeff Sonderman, 2012). He continues by explaining that BuzzFeed has understood the way the internet works and has applied it to news reporting, whilst, "[old] media came with an understanding of news, but are still trying to apply that to the Internet" (Sonderman, 2012). VICE's approach to news is supported by their interactive video platform "as VICE moved online its focus evolved into online video, which has been driven by developments in technology" (Marshall, 2012). On these platforms, the public is open to respond and discuss.

Beyond that, with the increase of the use of social networking sites (SNS) such as Facebook, members of the public are also writing responses to articles or even writing their own articles and sharing those within their network. Current news outlets ensure their articles are published on Facebook so that the public can interact in the comment section and a "share" option is enabled for the users to post the articles on their own Facebook timeline. The use of Facebook has changed over the years. An article published in the *New York Times* examines the use and distribution of news through this SNS and looks at "How Facebook is changing the way its users consume journalism" (2014). In the article the author refers to a study carried out by an analytical website SimpleReach, which states that, in 2014, Facebook

“drives 20 percent of traffic to news sites” (Somaiya, 2014, p. 5). This shows that Facebook is more than just a SNS, as it is a global digital news stand, receiving daily news content from various outlets.

The 2015 Paris attacks was an example of an event covered extensively through Facebook. On the 13<sup>th</sup> of November a series of terrorist attacks took place in Paris killing 130 people. Six attacks were carried out throughout the city, including the Stade de France and the Bataclan theatre. A state of emergency was declared in France and the rest of the world watched to see how the events unfolded. Multiple online news outlets maintained live feeds throughout the weekend, updating readers regularly with new updates. Throughout the night of the 13<sup>th</sup> of November into the morning of the 14<sup>th</sup> many videos and photos were distributed online. These contained first-hand accounts of the attacks and the aftermath in Paris.

Facebook and Twitter users actively shared messages and certain hashtags linking to the attacks were used. For example: #PorteOuverte was used to offer anyone who needed it a place to stay for the night #JeSuisParis to show solidarity and support; referencing to the Paris Charlie Hebdo attacks at the beginning of 2015 when #JeSuisCharlie was used. During the days following the attacks, thousands of people all over the world decided to show solidarity and changed their profile picture into the colours of the French flag. The attacks received worldwide coverage through SNS, television, newspapers and online news outlets. News outlets were not the only outlets disseminating news on Facebook, as many first-hand accounts were shared on Facebook and later included in news articles. Facebook has been allowing us not only to share the news but also to actively be involved in the reporting of it. It is questionable as to what extent the information we are sharing and receiving is uncensored and not controlled by the media outlets and platforms. Facebook, for instance, has algorithms in place which is based on a person's personal interest and filters out news that does not correlate with the user's views. Facebook's Trending Topics; popular and breaking news

items, came under examination in 2016 by the US Senate Commerce Committee after sending a letter requesting “thorough explanation of how Trending Topics work, what the guidelines are for determining which topics to include or remove, under what circumstances a curator might inject a story into Trending Topics, and more” (Lapowsky, Wired, 2016). SNS in the current landscape “have started acting overtly like traditional publishers” (Lapowsky, Wired, 2016). This means that SNS must rid of as many biases and allow an open feed of information “If tech companies are now playing the role that traditional publishers have for centuries, then they need to begin having the same conversations about transparency and disclosure, ethics and fairness (Lapowsky, 2016)”. These features have changed the way in which SNS work and how users perceive their functionality.

This thesis will focus on the input from citizen journalism on SNS and the impact it had on the Paris attacks in 2015. I will look at how, if at all, it had influenced modern day news reporting and if the general public had a genuine say and could actively contribute to events that took place in Paris. Ali and Fahmy (2013) argue that citizen journalism is not as revolutionary as it seems, therefore, questioning if it is as free and un-edited as we would like to believe. After all, it is still the journalist who remains the gatekeepers and monitor and edit what the world gets to see.

## Editor’s Picks

In order to study the media landscape in the digital age, it is essential to review the current academic debate on gatekeeping in journalism because “whereas it was once the domain of journalistic gatekeepers deciding what news was fit to be heard, much news is now defined by interaction with readers. This makes the modern chain of news communication far more complex” (Scott et al., 2015, p.1). Coddington and Holton (2014) examined the problem with the archaic definition and addressed the issue as “an oversight in the long

history of gatekeeping research, examining the hybrid role of a business and media producer, as well as the role of those upon whom the gatekeeping process is being examined” (p. 238). They suggest that “the concept [of gatekeeping] must be updated to account for the rise of distributed communication technologies that have challenged one way models of communication and influence” (p. 238). This updated version of gatekeeping must therefore, distance itself from traditional ways of communication into a two-way model of communication that allows a space for feedback and interaction.

Coddington & Holton (2014) highlight the various views on the current definition of gatekeeping:

Some researchers have maintained that gatekeeping remains a powerful influence on the production of online media, as the structures through which gatekeeping has traditionally been conducted remain largely intact online (Boczkowski, 2004; Goode, 2009; Livingston & Bennett, 2003). Others have argued that the ease of publishing allows the public to play an active role in creating the news, threatening the media’s authority to play a gatekeeping role (Bowman & Willis, 2003; Gillmor, 2004). Through an abundance of information and this challenge to institutional publishing authority, the digital media environment ‘undermines the idea that there are discrete gates through which political information passes: if there are no gates, there can be no gatekeeper’ (Williams & Delli Carpini, 2000, p. 62) (Qtd in Coddington & Holton, p. 238).

An approach that combines the above-mentioned views is credited to Singer (1998, 2010) who “proposed a new model of gatekeeping in an online context, recasting it as an interpretive role that uses verification, analysis, and context to regulate information, as

gatekeeping's main concern shifts from the quantity of information to its quality" (p. 239). Martin (2015) also argues that there are blurred boundaries between traditional and citizen journalism by calling these boundaries networked journalism by analysing this with a cross-disciplinary approach. Martin (2015) concludes that although citizen journalism is on the rise, journalists remain the gatekeepers.

With that in mind, the study carried out by Tandoc Jr. and Vos (2015) shows that a journalist does not solely need to know "how events pass through the gates and end up as news", he/she must also know "how gatekeepers push news through gates" (p. 13). Tandoc Jr. & Vos suggest that, since the use of social media as a news outlet, journalists have become marketers of their own news (p. 12). They found that news outlets use social media in a traditional way by posting breaking news stories first, regardless of whether they possess a full story or not: "this is old school journalism –trying to be first- [is] being adapted into social media" (p.11). This means that journalists are incorporating social media in their already established landscape of news reporting. For example: when news of the attacks first broke the BBC posted on Twitter: "Multiple attacks in Paris – at least 18 people killed, French police say", an hour later this Tweet was updated with confirmed information. The BBC uploaded this thirty minutes before Reuters did (Appendix A). Singer (2014) defines this as a "process of normalization, when journalists adopt a new technology only to adapt it into traditional norms and routines, repurposing technology to suit their old practices instead of changing how they do their work" (Qtd Singer, 2005 in Tandor Jr. & Vos, p. 4). Suggesting that since the increase of the use of SNS, journalists have to fulfill multiple jobs simultaneously; instant news reporting and marketing. "Indeed, journalists now find themselves having to also focus on distribution channels, needing to promote their own content in order to stand out in a crowded online space where [...] it is now more difficult to get heard (Tandor Jr. & Vos, p. 12). This is reflected in a tweet by the BBC "For latest on

Paris, here's our list of BBC journalists reporting on deadly attack" (Appendix B).

As the way SNS is used evolves rapidly over time, findings from two years ago are not be applicable today. Video content is now being used on Facebook as a "live" feature where users can film directly to Facebook. The display of news on Facebook has recently come under fire with the distribution of fake news. With regards to this, generalisations cannot be made about such a diverse field; it is necessary to research a certain event and how it has developed a brief time frame at such a rapid speed. It portrays a small dot in the overall lifespan of a SNS such as Facebook. To what extent did the media landscape change the contribution from citizen journalism through Facebook during the twenty-four-hour aftermath of the Paris attacks?

To research this, one video and one Facebook status update, which were shared on Facebook instantly after the attacks, will be analysed. Concentrating on how it was distributed through multiple Facebook timelines, when the newspapers picked up on it, and who the filmmaker and author were. Specifically focusing on if there were gatekeepers involved, or if this was freely shared by the general public. In addition, the significance of these videos on Facebook and in the news room will be identified. Data will be collected by analysing the content of the video and how this and the post was shared on Facebook.

## Paris is Burning

During the BBC evening news reports came in that Paris was under attack, the news reporter, stunned by the events, had to improvise what he was going to say and was quickly connected to a Parisian who was close to the 11<sup>th</sup> Arrondissement (Appendix C). Shortly after, one of the BBC cameramen stationed in Paris sent in footage. Van der Meer et al. (2016), analyses how journalists respond quickly in a time of crisis by suggesting "the very nature of a crisis situation makes it difficult for journalists to properly report on such events" (p.2). It was

evident that the reporter struggled to inform the public what was going on and had difficulty obtaining information. “Even in the absence of crucial information, the story still needs to be run to address the audience’s immediate desire for information when being (indirectly) confronted with significant risks. Thus, the disruptive nature of a crisis poses substantial problems for journalists in covering the event and potentially alters their journalistic practices” (van der Meer et al., 2016, p.2). During the live broadcast, the BBC and the *Guardian* set up live twitter feeds on their websites to update the reader with information. The disadvantage of this was that the feeds contained non-verified information which later had to be revised. Networked journalism has created numerous challenges, with concerns about sourcing, authenticity and fairness due to “looser editing standards that often exist with a digital first policy stressing speed over verification, often without effective front-end checks and balances” (Martin, 2015,194). Uncertainty about reports became apparent during the live feeds and were later updated if untrue (Appendix D). “It becomes difficult to obtain and relay information for journalists and find the time to validate stories (Veil, 2012). Nevertheless, journalists have a responsibility to report on such newsworthy crisis events” (Qtd in Van der Meer, 2016, p.2).

Whilst BBC news attempted to gain information directly from Paris, people received information through Social Media. The BBC swiftly followed with a three-hour live programme on the breaking stories. According to Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism: “The timing of the event (Friday night) meant that many people heard the news first on smartphones and through social media rather than radio or TV. Eyewitness news came first from social media.” Following the attacks, the BBC carried out a video analysis of the Paris Attacks as much of the information were first-hand accounts uploaded by witnesses. “These videos shot using mobile phones – often vertical or square in aspect ratio – defined the early stages of coverage long before professional television cameras were able to get to

the scene” (Reuters, 2016). These images and videos were circulating on Twitter and Facebook and were redistributed by news sites. “During the Paris attacks, the BBC’s newsgathering operation was servicing two 24-hour television news channels, two continuous news radio channels, and its well-regarded online news operation. In terms of online audiences, the day of the attacks was the highest-ever traffic day online for the BBC with video playing a prominent part” (Reuters, 2016).

Video footage was the main source used during the news reporting through Social Media. One video uploaded by Karl Olive at 23:44 was watched 799, 895 times on Facebook. This (see Appendix E) shows French football supporters leaving the Stade de France singing *La Marseillaise*. *The Guardian* uploaded it to its website (Appendix F) at 02:34 UTC on the 14<sup>th</sup> of November and sourced Karl Olive’s Facebook. This uploaded version was viewed fewer times than the original, however, many people commented they shared the original video after watching the video on the news (Appendix G). The original video was shared over 9000 times on Facebook. “In this case, users are essentially serving as gatekeepers for a mass audience different from, yet not ultimately unlike, the one the original outlet serves – a large and unknown group of people who might be interested” (Singer, 2014, p. 58). Following the large number of shares, *The Guardian* and the BBC reposted these videos on their Facebook pages (Appendix H). Individuals and established news sites were sharing this video within their network. “Moreover, users’ active gatekeeping role extends beyond their circle of acquaintances to a more broadly conceptualized public of unknown others – to a mass audience as well as a more individualized or micro one. Social networking tools such as Facebook enable redistribution of content to personal contacts” (Singer, 2014, p.58).

The video was reposted three times within 24 hours and Olive also shared it on his Twitter. Within an hour this video was shared over a hundred times and picked up by local and international news (Appendix I). It was the most shared first-hand account on Facebook,

mainly because the uploader has a network of 5000 Facebook friends and is the former mayor of De Poissy, France. Such an extensive network was the reason behind the fast and large distribution thus establishing a greater trust between the journalist and the source,

Hence, it can be argued that the source–journalist relationship has an indirect effect on source inclusion during crisis. When the relationship is stronger, a journalist will evaluate a source more positively in terms of credibility and knowledge and a source will be more willing to comment and communicate more timely, in turn, increasing the likelihood of becoming a news source (Van der Meer, 2016, p.6).

This input from Olive and other well-networked people (Appendix J), helped reporters cover the story more accurately leading to a networked input system. Another post, by Isobel Bowdery was a written account posted the day following the attacks (Appendix K) this was shared 781,081 times with 2,9M likes. Within 5 ½ hours Business Insider UK (Appendix L) had written an article about it. Bowdery’s Facebook network is not as extensive as Olive’s, however, an article published on Bowdery’s account in Vanity Fair in December 2015 revealed the reason behind the large number of shares. “Isobel, the younger of the two, had been in the Bataclan theater that night, and the next morning I read an S.O.S. post from Cordelia [her sister] asking if Isobel and her boyfriend, Amaury Baudoin, were safe. A few hours later, I checked back and found the gut-wrenching post from Isobel: a picture of the bloody T-shirt she was wearing when she collapsed to the ground as bullets flew over her head” (Blasberg, Vanity Fair, 2015). Cordelia’s Facebook friends list contain the Vanity Fair journalist, an employee from the BBC, Associate Creative Director at VICE, and a reporter from FRANCE 24 (Appendix M); an essential network for this post to fall on the radar. Bowdery explained that the post was initially set to private, however, this was changed to

public after a friend asked if he could share the post (Vanity Fair, 2015). Within two days Bowedry was interviewed on television by CNN (Appendix N) and her post was incorporated in many news articles by *The Telegraph* and *Australian News* (Appendix O).

Newspapers were actively using Facebook, Twitter and Instagram to receive any information during the attacks. *The Daily Mail* commented on an image uploaded to Instagram just before the concert started in Le Bataclan (Appendix P) seeking more information or an opportunity to talk to the girl who uploaded the image. Previous “findings reveal that digital journalism facilitates richer story-telling, with connectivity between experts, journalists and the public” (Martin, 2015, p. 195). Information is now globally and instantly accessible, while SNS such as Facebook are the headquarters for gathering this information.

Through the contribution from citizen journalism through Facebook during the twenty-four-hour aftermath of the Paris attacks, the media landscape gradually shifted to a more networked system by actively sharing and posting content. The BBC video analysis showed that “the advent of new services like Periscope and Facebook live means that the video-enabled internet is now often the first port of call for big breaking news events like the Paris and Brussels attacks” (Reuters, 2016). Video content “provides a powerful and popular way of covering compelling stories (Reuters, 2016). The role of SNS such as Facebook has a greater impact and influence during crisis events as its users are able to share stories and can support the need for constant updates and enables user to upload image and video content.

The Paris attacks impacted lives, politics, security, and social media. During the twenty-four-hour aftermath of the Paris attacks users relied heavily on Facebook. Facebook was used by the victims to receive information from officials, or to let relatives know about their safety. The general public watched the events unfold on Facebook with videos and images being uploaded and shared globally. Many media outlets maintained live-feeds

throughout the entirety of the weekend. First-hand accounts were uploaded and came straight from the source, however, these were highlighted and distributed by news outlets. The public had a sense of power as Facebook gave them the ability to respond to and share the posts on their own timelines. To label the use of Facebook during the Paris attacks as citizen journalism would not be correct. Rather, taking into consideration that the uploaders of the abovementioned content had such an important circle of Facebook friends, the digital media landscape during the Paris attacks was shaped by networked journalism, where the journalist and the user depended on one another to share information.

This study shows what role Facebook played during the Paris attacks, yet, does not reflect the current use of Facebook in news reporting. Facebook has recently come under fire for allowing the distribution of fake news during the American presidential elections in 2016 and are forced to address the problem of “click-bait” articles. This raises concerns for users’ reliability on receiving their daily news content from their Facebook timeline. It is important to remember that SNS such as Facebook is not static and will continue to change at a remarkable speed over time. To pinpoint this growth in an academic sphere is challenging and can only reflect small-time frames such as observing a twenty-four-hour crisis. Further research should analyse the SNS during, and immediately after an event including a follow-up a few months later to observe impact that can only be analysed in hindsight. Nowadays, journalism and SNS are intertwined and need to be researched simultaneously in order to contribute to current academic debate on new media practices.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A: Fighting for first place



**BBC Breaking News**   
@BBCBreaking

 Follow

Multiple attacks in Paris - at least 18 people killed, French police say



**Paris attacks: Bataclan and other assaults leave many dead - BBC News**

France declares a national state of emergency after at least 128 people are killed and more than 180 wounded in gun and bomb attacks in Paris.

[bbc.co.uk](http://bbc.co.uk)

RETWEETS

7,279

LIKES


1,294



1:37 PM - 13 Nov 2015



**Reuters Top News**   
@Reuters

 Follow

BREAKING: As many as 30 dead in Paris attacks: BFM TV



**Paris attacks**

French police raid an apartment in Saint Denis following attacks that killed 129 people in Paris last week. Live updates from Paris and around the world.

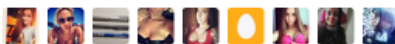
[live.reuters.com](http://live.reuters.com)

RETWEETS

1,540

LIKES

241



2:06 PM - 13 Nov 2015

 36

 1.5K

 241

## Appendix B: Self-promoting in time of crisis



**BBC Breaking News** ✓  
@BBCBreaking



Follow



For latest on Paris, here's our Twitter list of BBC journalists reporting on deadly attack  
[twitter.com/BBCWorld/lists...](https://twitter.com/BBCWorld/lists...)



RETWEETS

1,990

LIKES

1,312



8:40 PM - 13 Nov 2015

<https://twitter.com/bbcbreaking/status/665282387840999424>

## Appendix C: BBC breaking news moment



Start from 01:10 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hdRnYrWxwf4>

## Appendix D: Publishing unconfirmed reports

14 Nov 2015  
01:58

### Four officials – possibly police – reported dead in Bataclan siege

There are reports that four officials were killed during the retaking of the Bataclan concert hall where more than 100 people were being held hostage.

Initial reports have said that four police officers were killed, but this has not been confirmed, and others – security forces or military personnel – have reportedly been involved in operations.

The police said “four were killed during the very difficult takeover of the Bataclan”.

**Guillaume Auda**  
@GuillaumeAuda

Follow

Phrase exacte du prefet de police "4 tués lors de la prise de contrôle très difficile du bataclan". à confirmer s'il s'agit de policiers.

2:49 AM - 14 Nov 2015

82 16

We will bring you confirmation of this as soon as it is verified.

*[Edit: later comments from the police prefecture suggest the reference was to four attackers killed.]*

Updated at 2.19am GMT

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14 Nov 2015  
02:05

### What we know about the attackers

In short: very little so far. Here is what is known.

- The Paris prosecutor has said that five attackers may be dead across the various attack locations.
- Reports says three were killed in the operation by French security forces to retake the Bataclan.

On the Guardian live stream:

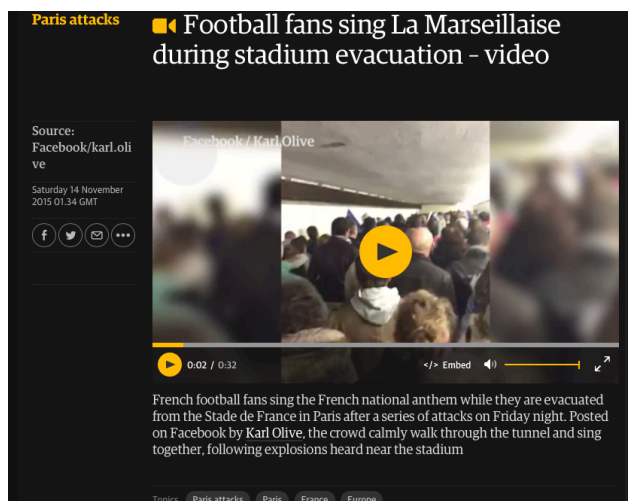
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2015/nov/13/shootings-reported-in-eastern-paris-live?page=with:block-56469c90e4b0ced428cb2822#liveblog-navigation>

## Appendix E: Singing and sharing



Facebook upload by Karl Olive <https://www.facebook.com/karl.olive>

## Appendix F: The Guardian sourcing a citizen



Upload on the Guardian website of the video at 02:34 UTC:

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/video/2015/nov/14/football-fans-sing-la-marseillaise-during-stadium-evacuation-video>

## Appendix G: What you see on the news



## Appendix H: Following the herd



BBC & *The Guardian* reposting the video twelve hours later on their Facebook pages

<https://www.facebook.com/bbcnews/videos/10153206236027217/>

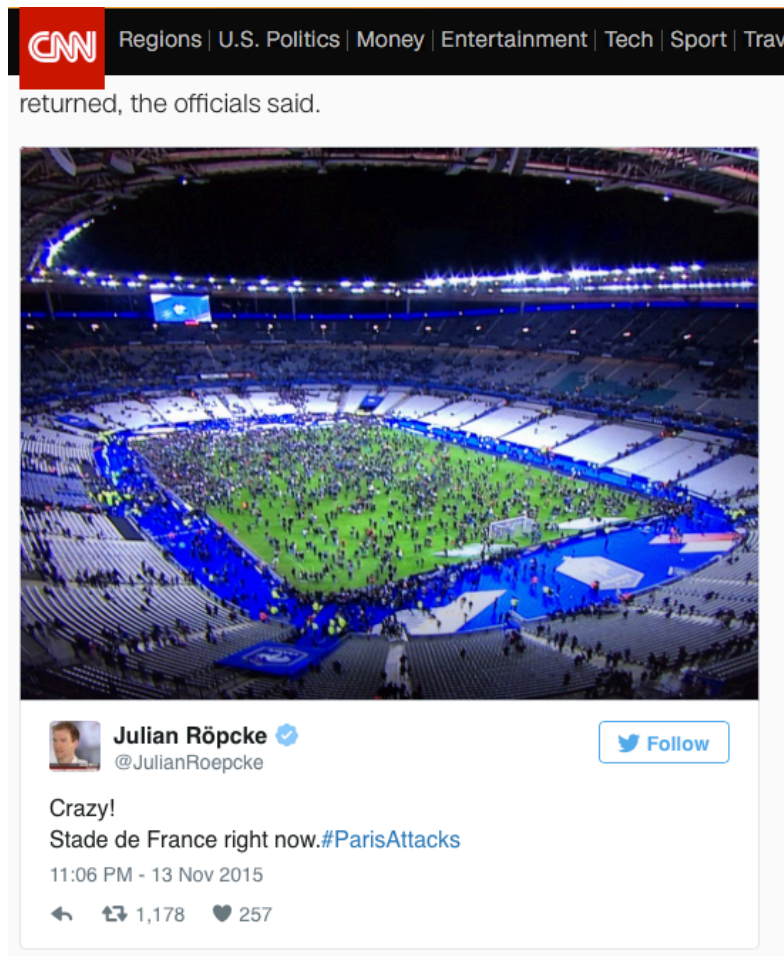
<https://www.facebook.com/theguardian/videos/10153749542226323/>

## Appendix I: Make sure to be the first to repost this



Both screenshots from Karl Olive's Facebook

## Appendix J: Verified accounts



Julian Röppke is political editor for Bild via CNN  
<http://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/13/world/paris-shooting/>

## Appendix K: Bowdery's Facebook post

“you never think it will happen to you. It was just a friday night at a rock show. the atmosphere was so happy and everyone was dancing and smiling. and then when the men came through the front entrance and began the shooting, we naiively believed it was all part of the show. It wasn't just a terrorist attack, it was a massacre. Dozens of people were shot right infront of me. Pools of blood filled the floor. Cries of grown men who held their girlfriends dead bodies pierced the small music venue. Futures demolished, families heartbroken. in an instant. Shocked and alone, I pretended to be dead for over an hour, lying among people who could see their loved ones motionless.. Holding my breath, trying to not move, not cry - not giving those men the fear they longed to see. I was incredibly lucky to survive. But so many didn't. The people who had been there for the exact same reasons as I - to have a fun friday night were innocent. This world is cruel. And acts like this are suppose to highlight the depravity of humans and the images of those men circling us like vultures will haunt me for the rest of my life. The way they meticoulsy aimed at shot people around the standing area i was in the centre of without any consideration for human life. It didn't feel real. i expected any moment for someone to say it was just a nightmare. But being a survivor of this horror lets me able to shed light on the heroes. To the man who reassured me and put his life on line to try and cover my brain whilst i whimpered, to the couple whose last words of

not let those men win. Last night, the lives of many were forever changed and it is up to us to be better people. to live lives that the innocent victims of this tragedy dreamt about but sadly will now never be able to fulfil. RIP angels. You will never be forgotten.



Like Share  
[Redacted] and 2.9M others  
781,081 shares 612 comments

love kept me believing the good in the world, to the police who succeeded in rescuing hundreds of people, to the complete strangers who picked me up from the road and consoled me during the 45 minutes I truly believed the boy i loved was dead, to the injured man who i had mistaken for him and then on my recognition that he was not Amaury, held me and told me everything was going to be fine despite being all alone and scared himself, to the woman who opened her doors to the survivors, to the friend who offered me shelter and went out to buy new clothes so i wouldnt have to wear this blood stained top, to all of you who have sent caring messages of support - you make me believe this world has the potential to be better. to never let this happen again. but most of this is to the 80 people who were murdered inside that venue, who weren't as lucky, who didnt get to wake up today and to all the pain that their friends and families are going through. I am so sorry. There's nothing that will fix the pain. I feel priviledged to be there for their last breaths. And truly beliving that I would join them, I promise that their last thoughts were not on the animals who caused all this. It was thinking of the people they loved. As i lay down in the blood of strangers and waiting for my bullet to end my mere 22 years, I envisioned every face that I have ever loved and whispered I love you. over and over again. reflecting on the highlights of my life. Wishing that those i love knew just how much, wishing that they knew that no matter what happened to me, to keep belieivng in the good in people. to not let those men win. Last night, the lives of many were forever changed and it is up to us to be better people. to live lives that the innocent victims of this tragedy dreamt about but sadly will now never be able to fulfil. RIP angels. You will never be forgotten.”

Copied directly from Isobel Bowdery's Facebook

<https://www.facebook.com/isobel.bowdery/posts/10153885280769893>

## Appendix L: Facebook news travels fast

# Here's one woman's horrific first-hand account of the Paris attacks inside the Bataclan theatre



Lianna Brinded



Nov. 15, 2015, 9:44 AM

5,447

Business Insider UK was one of the first to publish an article on this account

## Appendix M It's not what you know but who you know



Derek Blasberg



New York, New York



Belle [redacted]

Freelance Presenter / Reporter  
at FRANCE 24 English



Add Friend



Lisa [redacted]

Associate Creative Director at VICE



Hannah M. [redacted]

British Broadcasting  
Corporation



Add Friend

Bowdery's well-networked Facebook friend list

## Appendix N: CNN



<http://edition.cnn.com/videos/world/2015/11/18/paris-attacks-concert-hall-survivors-isobel-bowdery-amaury-baudoin-cooper-intv-ac.cnn/video/playlists/paris-shootings/>

## Appendix O: Sharing the stories

## The Telegraph

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## Paris terror attack: Horror at rock concert where woman tells how her ex-lover died in her arms

Escapees tell of hiding in the venue's cellars for hours as their friends and family were gunned down

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NEW HALF TERM DATES

## europe

## Survivor of Bataclan theatre massacre posts emotional Facebook post about playing dead

NOVEMBER 15, 2015 8:09PM

RIGHT NOW IN WORLD

Screenshots from the Telegraph and News Australia  
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/>

<http://www.news.com.au/world/europe/>

## Appendix P: If you have a moment...

This photo (posted on Instagram by @zsuzsulla) was reportedly taken in Bataclan concert hall before the co-ordinated bomb and gun attacks on the city.

It apparently shows Eagles of Death Metal on stage prior to the attack. The Guardian is seeking to verify this.



**i** This photo purports to show the band Eagles of Death Metal on stage prior to the attack. Photograph: @zsuzsulla/Instagram

Close-up of the Instagram post and message from the Daily Mail:

**molpicturedesk** Hi from Daily Mail, we hope you are okay and would like to speak to you if you are up to it. If so, please email at [nypictures@dailymail.co.uk](mailto:nypictures@dailymail.co.uk).

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2015/nov/13/shootings-reported-in-eastern-paris-live?page=with:block-56469c90e4b0ced428cb2822#liveblog-navigation>