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The Norwegian Press and the Reception of Donald Trump's Native American Narratives

The dispute between Donald Trump and Elizabeth Warren about Native American status and Trump's branding of his opponent as 'Pocahontas'.

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**The Norwegian Press and the Reception of Donald Trump's Native American
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Foreword

With this study I hope to shed light on the ways Indigenous issues are given visibility in the Norwegian press. The mega-phenomenon that Trump became in the Norwegian press is an interesting context and backdrop to examine how the Norwegian press received and represented both his narratives about Native Americans and the Native American response to the ways Trump brought forth an Indigenous issue to the world news stage; by nicknaming a political opponent ‘Pocahontas’ and demanding she take a DNA test to ‘prove’ she was Native American. With qualitative studies being the most common approach to Indigenous studies, I hope that a quantitative text study may contribute and supplement the field, in its own minor way, from a somewhat different approach.

Quotes from articles in Norwegian that is provided in the footnotes have been translated by me. In part to make the text accessible to English readers, in part because the link to the article is provided in the Bibliography for readers proficient in Norwegian.

The articles used as source material are listed both in its own section in the Bibliography as data, as well as sources under online newspaper articles, as they could not be referenced by the reader as both coded data for the tables in the appendix, and as sources in the general text in the thesis.

To my supervisor, Else Grete Broderstad, I owe a great deal of gratitude for her aid and advice in the work with this thesis, as well as for her infectious optimism.

Abstract

Indigenous Peoples faces a challenge in gaining visibility in western news outlets. It is well established that when they are made visible, coverage leans into representing stereotypes rather than giving voice to members of Indigenous Peoples or their spokespersons. This study aims to determine to what extent this dynamic can be found in the Norwegian Press.

Specifically, it investigates the Norwegian Press and their reception of the US president Donald Trump's use of the word Pocahontas as a nickname for his political opponent US senator Elizabeth Warren.

In the Norwegian context it is interesting how the Norwegian news outlets covered the events, and in what way they gave a stereotypical representation of Indigenous Peoples and if they made the Indigenous response to Trump's and Warren's statements visible. Furthermore, the reception in the Norwegian context should be analyzed according to the political position of the different news outlets.

To study this, a quantitative study of news articles regarding the topic, from 18 online news outlets was done. The language in the articles were then coded and each online news outlet reception were analyzed. The results showed that the Norwegian Press did use stereotyping language and words coined by Trump to a high degree. Native American and Indigenous Peoples voices were included only in a minority of articles, and there was a tendency for center-right wing media to give more visibility to the Native American response, than center-left wing media.

The results suggest that Norwegian news outlets largely perpetuate the dynamic where Indigenous peoples is made invisible in western media. On this basis attention should be given to how coverage is done of Indigenous issues and efforts made to give a less stereotypical representation, while including Indigenous peoples voices in the Norwegian Press.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Chapter overview

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the central elements of the research study, as well as describe the general problem that the study will address. The chapter will then describe the background, purpose, and importance of the study, and then describe the research questions for the study. The significance of the study and what the benefits of the research will be described before a reflection on ethical considerations and reflexivity.

1.2 Introduction

The topic of this thesis is the reception in the Norwegian press of President Donald Trump's use of the term "Pocahontas" for his political opponent Senator Elizabeth Warren.

The interest in the Norwegian press for Donald Trump's presidency has been massive. In 2017, the Norwegian press mentioned Donald Trump three times more often than the Norwegian Prime Minister Erna Solberg despite 2017 being an election year in Norway.¹ When Donald Trump began using the term "Pocahontas" as a nickname for one of his political opponents, it not only garnered national interest in the United States, but also internationally including the Norwegian press.^{2 3 4 5}

Pocahontas is a historical Native American figure, and spokesmen for Native American groups, communities and tribes were critical of Trump's attacks. Native American groups

¹ "This is three times as often as our own prime minister Erna Solberg – despite 2017 being an election year. She is only mentioned 22.846 times in the same period." Waatland, 2017. *[Translation from Norwegian into English is done by Torgrim Endresen, as are all following footnote-quotes from Norwegian language news outlet articles in this thesis]

²² "She made up her heritage, which I think is racist. I think she's a racist, actually because what she did was very racist," Trump said in a phone interview." Jackson & Rafferty, 2016.

³ "Donald Trump again attacked Elizabeth Warren on Thursday, calling her "Pocahontas" during a press conference in North Dakota and prompting pushback from a person identified as a reporter." Smith, 2016.

⁴ "But the most colorful nickname out of them all, has been given to the democratic senator and superstar Elizabeth Warren." Mogen, 2016.

⁵ "Trump calls Elizabeth Warren for "Pocahontas", saying he was asked to apologize, but states that he will apologize only to Pocahontas." Kvatningen, 2016.

condemned Trump's attacks and responded publicly to his use of her name as a slur to ridicule a political opponent. This would also be covered by the Norwegian press as it unfolded.⁶

Research shows that Indigenous Peoples are typically less visible in news coverage, and when they are visible their representation leans towards stereotypical representation.⁷ Norwegian news outlets have generally had an overwhelmingly negative evaluation of Donald Trump's politics. Because of the Norwegian news outlets' negative reception of Trump, it might be expected that they report Native American responses against Trump. However, the Norwegian press has been criticized by media personalities such as the editor of *Aftenposten*, politician Mimir Kristjanson and others for various reasons: ganging up on Trump; having a manic need to give him coverage; being too unison in their critical stance towards him; lacking reflection regarding their own coverage of Trump; and, for falling into the trap of furthering Trump's media strategy, despite being critical towards him.⁸ Given these many reasons, it is therefore interesting to analyze the visibility of Indigenous Peoples in the coverage of Donald Trump's use of the word "Pocahontas".

I became interested in this issue as I watched the 2016 US presidential election campaign unfold. While Trump's language was often incitive and hurtful, he generally avoided ethnic slurs, except when it came to Native Americans. It seems this was because there would be less backlash for making disparaging remarks touching upon this group. This effect was noticeable in the Norwegian press as well, and the idea for this thesis emerged.

1.2.1 A brief background

President Trump began using the term "Pocahontas" in 2016 and continued to use it until the 2020 election cycle where Elizabeth Warren ran for the nomination of the Democratic presidential candidacy. His stated purpose was to effectively attack his political opponent Senator Warren by ways of the "Pocahontas nickname". Trump believed the nickname was effective but thought he had used it too early.⁹ Regarding the historical Pocahontas, Trump stated in 2016 it was an insult to the historical Pocahontas to be compared to Warren, and he

⁶ "Indian leaders have called Trumps former attacks against Warren insulting and distasteful." Hågensen Rusdal, 2019.

⁷ Robertson, 2015, p. 115.

⁸ Østrem, 2021. Moe, 2020. Moore, 2020. Kristjansson, 2020. Akerhaug, 2018. Sørheim, 2020.

⁹ Hågensen Rusdal, 2019.

publicly apologized rather jokingly to the real Pocahontas¹⁰. Trump had made sparse remarks about the historical Pocahontas; however, during the 2018 mid-term elections he again apologized to the "real Pocahontas" while insisting he would not apologize to the "fake Pocahontas" (i.e., Warren).¹¹ He also felt that he had overused the nickname, and stated in preparation of the 2020 election cycle that he "regretted using Pocahontas as a name for Senator Warren," as it had now lost some of its effect and it would have been more efficient to save the name for later (i.e., 2020 and not 2016).¹²

In February 2019, Warren declared she was running for presidency for the 2020 election.¹³ Warren faced criticism by the Cherokee Nation in conducting a DNA-test to confirm her Indigenous ancestry as this is not a valid mechanism to confirm tribal membership.¹⁴ Trump applauded the Cherokee Nation's criticism of Warren and released a Tweet that read: "*Thank you to the Cherokee Nation for revealing that Elizabeth Warren, sometimes referred to as Pocahontas, is a complete and total Fraud!*"¹⁵ Trying to quell criticism and vulnerability pending the 2020 election, Warren publicly apologized to Native Americans. The apology was made in August 2019 at a Native American forum, where Warren apologized for any harm she may have caused with her claims and stated that she had listened to Native Americans and learned from it.¹⁶¹⁷ Her presidential campaign lasted until March 2020, when

¹⁰ "I do regret calling her Pocahontas, because I think it's a tremendous insult to Pocahontas," [...] "So, to Pocahontas, I would like to apologize to you." Hensch, 2016.

¹¹ "Trump blasts 'Pocahontas' Elizabeth Warren at rally" Fox News, 2018, 0:27.

¹² "We will repeat it, said Trump to thunderous applause during the election rally which was broadcast by MSNBC among others [...] He felt it was effective the last time, but that his attack came prematurely." Hågensen Rusdal, 2019.

¹³ "Sen. Elizabeth Warren officially launched her 2020 presidential campaign Saturday at a rally in Lawrence, Massachusetts, using the backdrop of Everett Mills -- the site of a historic 1912 labor strike led by women and immigrants -- to issue a call to action against wealthy power brokers who "have been waging class warfare against hardworking people for decades." Lee & Krieg, 2019.

¹⁴ "Using a DNA-test to lay claim to any connection to the Cherokee Nation or any tribal nation, even vaguely, is inappropriate and wrong." Blake, 2018.

¹⁵ Blake, 2018.

¹⁶ "Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, speaking at a presidential forum on Native American issues on Monday, offered a direct, public apology for the "harm" she caused with her past claims of Native American ancestry and pledged to uplift Native people as president." Kaplan, 2019.

¹⁷ "Democratic presidential hopeful Sen. Elizabeth Warren tried again Monday to put to rest an issue President Trump has used to attack her. It began with a public apology in Sioux City, Iowa. In front of a crowd of Native American activists, Warren apologized publicly for the first time for seeking a DNA-test to back up her claims of Native American heritage." O'keefe, 2019.

she suspended her campaign after failing to win first place in any of the states by Super Tuesday.¹⁸

1.3 Background and need for research on problems facing Indigenous groups in Western media

As Western media's target audiences are non-Indigenous, Indigenous Peoples are often treated differently in Western media.¹⁹ There are three main problems facing Indigenous groups' representation in Western media. Firstly, Indigenous Peoples' and their voices are less visible, as will be described in the 1.3.1. Secondly, when Indigenous Peoples are made visible, they are represented in stereotypes which are perpetuated by their coverage in Western media. Thirdly, while ethnicity counts in how Indigenous groups are represented in the media, the institution (i.e., news outlet) is decisive in how they are portrayed.²⁰ The second and third problems will be discussed in 1.3.2 and 1.3.3, respectively, before the problems are summarized in 1.3.4.

1.3.1 Indigenous groups and voices are less visible in Western media

As mentioned, Norwegian newspapers and other news outlets have been massively critical of Donald Trump's political career.^{21 22 23 24 25} Yet, his mocking of Warren has not been covered quite as critically as the general coverage of Trump. In the Norwegian coverage, articles with the Pocahontas name calling were reported upon, but without focus on the fact that Native Americans were affected by the dispute between the president and his senatorial opponent. There are examples of Norwegian press seeking out Sàmi comments in cases where Sàmi or Sàmi heritage has been mocked, and these instances have proven to result in a critical attitude

¹⁸ Politico, 2020.

¹⁹ Gardiner, 2003. Wilkes, 2007.

²⁰ Skogerbø & Fjellström, 2018, p. 996.

²¹ "No issues or persons is more covered by Norwegian media in 2017 than Donald Trump. Critical voices claims the coverage has been one-sided, skewed and non-balanced." Hansen, 2017.

²² "Norwegian Newspapers fears that the new president of the USA, Donald Trump, will lead to several problems for Norway." NTB, 2016.

²³ "The rest of us can continue to write and say whatever we want about Trump." Verdens Gang, 2016.

²⁴ "I have read quite a few of these American editorials today. They contain for the most views that we at Aftenposten shares, and that we are expressing today in our own editorial, says Hansen." Paust, 2018.

²⁵ "The election of an American president is always important for other countries. But seldom are the consequences so disturbing." Aftenposten, 2016.

in the Norwegian press.^{26 27 28 29 30} Despite this, research shows that Indigenous groups or reactions are less visible in national media.³¹ Group invisibility is part of an existing dynamic seen in Western news coverage where less attention is given to Indigenous Peoples. When the President of the United States uses “Pocahontas” as a slur against a powerful political opponent, this affects Native Americans by perpetuating a dynamic where Native American voices and issues are diminished and not given the attention they deserve.

Though there has been done little in Norway on the visibility of Indigenous issues in the national newspapers, research shows that the larger newspaper houses in Norway have had a traditional lack of serious and running coverage of Sámi issues.³² Outside Sámi areas, news about Sámi issues were not considered interesting or relevant, though in regions with more Sámi communities, such as Finnmark, there have been more newspaper coverage, and featuring cases of more varied content such as politics, business articles and opinion pieces. There are indications that relegation to Sámi only news outlets actually reduces visibility, such as Sámi issues not being covered on NRK, since the main NRK channel considers Sámi news covered by Sámi Radio and possibly later Oddasat.³³ Traditionally Sámi issues have struggled to gain visibility through the national and majority news outlets in Norway, though as mentioned, local and regional media have given more visibility traditionally. An alternative explanation to NRK relegating coverage of Sámi issues to sub-channels, is that major news outlets such as TV2, Aftenposten and Adresseavisen simply does not prioritize Sámi news or issues on an editorial level.³⁴ If Sámi issues have been given national visibility, the coverage have tended towards exotic stereotypes such as an

²⁶ "NRK made fun of Sámi people." Frey, 2003.

²⁷ "Boyne and the other Sámi doctors think it is sad that such things were said, especially after the focus on racism against Sámi lately." Pulk, 2018.

²⁸ "Sámi parliament representative and oppositional leader Ronny Wilhelmsen (Norwegian Labour Party), says that he can understand how people feel bullied by certain mockings of Sámi, but says that you need to consider the presentation and context. -When someone is mimicking to mock people and does it in negative settings, this is not fine in any way." Arntsen & Onsøien, 2017.

²⁹ "Could affect peoples mental health, says the Sámi parliament president." Verstad, 2020.

³⁰ "VG has spoken to four young Sámi persons about how it is to be Sámi in 2021. Alle four are proud of their culture - but it can also feel uncomfortable to display it." Vik, 2021.

³¹ Wilkes & Ricard, 2007 p. 242-43.

³² Skogerbø, 2003, p. 367.

³³ Skogerbø, 2003, p. 373.

³⁴ Skogerbø, 2003, p. 372.

unmarried gentlemen's club in Kautokeino or suicide rates among Sámi youth.³⁵ Since coverage of news is characterized by routine, genre and often based on issues the editor or journalist is familiar with, a result is that Sámi issues have not been covered in national newspapers.³⁶ This could be attributed to lack of knowledge, or ignorance of the topics, rather than any intentional desire to make Sámi issues invisible.

There has been done some international research on the topic of Indigenous visibility; Australian media and their coverage of Indigenous athletes has been studied by scholar Greg Gardiner in his article *Running for County: Australian Print Media Representation of Indigenous Athletes in the 27th Olympiad*.³⁷ Furthermore, Indigenous protests are portrayed differently in news media than majority ethnicity protests which has been described by R. Wilkes and D. Ricard in their article *How does newspaper coverage of collective action vary? Protest by Indigenous people in Canada*.³⁸ Both studies show that Indigenous topics are treated differently since the newspapers are written for non-Indigenous audiences. This might also be true for the Norwegian news outlets that reported on the Trump-Warren Pocahontas phenomenon. The Norwegian press' part in neglecting to report the Native American reaction to the use of Pocahontas might be, therefore, part of and typical for what is known about Western media as shown from international research.

Several Native American groups, organizations and spokespersons did make official statements in response to both Trump and Warren's' actions. Some Norwegian news outlets chose to include these reactions in their coverage, while others did not. It is of great interest both what that says about how Native Americans and Indigenous Peoples and their voices are made visible in the Norwegian press. Making the Native American response and protests to Trump's harassment of Warren via the Pocahontas name invisible would reinforce the dynamic described by Gardiner and Wilkes & Ricard in their articles. If Native American perspectives are made invisible it also robs these groups of representation, power, and dignity. It is also a democratic problem if some groups in society are given less attention than others in the media. The Native American reaction happens within the framework of American politics, but Indigenous issues are global and

³⁵ Skogerbø, 2003, p. 372.

³⁶ Skogerbø, 2003, p. 373.

³⁷ Gardiner, 2003.

³⁸ Wilkes & Ricard, 2007.

international in dimension. Because of their reliance on international institutions and organizations, such as the United Nations, it is especially problematic if Indigenous issues are made less visible when received abroad, such as if the Norwegian news outlets write about the Pocahontas conflict between Trump without presenting the Native American reaction.

1.3.2 Western media and the perpetuation of Indigenous stereotypes

Research show that Indigenous stereotypes are often perpetuated by the media.³⁹ Native Americans as Indigenous Peoples are not exempt from this. Media is known to portray stereotypes such as Native Americans vanishing, disappearing, being failures, alcoholics, downtrodden, helpless, and a series of other stereotypes.⁴⁰

Stereotypes seize control of a culture's narrative and reshape it into the observer's simplistic caricature. This plays a central role in cultural appropriation if Native American or Indigenous culture is recontextualized in a manner that is hurtful, belittling or essentializing.⁴¹ According to Store Norske Leksikon's definition of the term, it typical of the asymmetrical power dynamic between the powerful president and senator who is part of and speaking to the dominant groups of the country and the minority group exposed to cultural appropriation that the members of the dominant group does not understand what it means that one's culture and heritage is reduced to circus-like phenomena's by outsiders.⁴² Trump's reduction of Native American heritage to a slogan or stock character that many westerners associate with a cartoon character is relevant in how the Norwegian press furthers his narrative. This specific example 'transforms' and belittles Pocahontas from a historical Indigenous Person to a word of mockery by repeating it without contest or critical comment. Trump's insistence of DNA, blood and genes, as well as his branding of Warren's more specific claims to Cherokee heritage as "indian" are generally all part of his narrative of recontextualizing and defining 'Native American'.

³⁹ "A growing number of media outlets and prominent sports reporters have vowed to stop using the name [Redskins] [...]" Dunbar-Ortiz & Gilio-Whitaker, 2016, p. 95.

⁴⁰ "Popular culture has a long history of portraying stereotyped and blatantly racist images of American Indians, especially in film." Dunbar-Ortiz & Gilio-Whitaker, 2016, p.4.

⁴¹ "Kulturell Appropriering", SNL, 2020.

⁴² "Responses to this criticism will typically point out that the dominant group in an asymmetric power dynamic does not understand what it means that your cultural expressions are made into commercial or carnival like phenomenoms by outsiders." 'Kulturell Appropriering', SNL, 2020.

1.3.3 Institutions, among them media outlets, decide how Indigenous Peoples are portrayed

In Norway, the political Left has, arguably, been traditionally more sympathetic to Sámi and Indigenous causes.⁴³ The far right, such as the Progress Party, has been the most critical towards Sámi issues. For instance, the Progress Party has opposed the Sámi Parliament, campaigning for the abolition of the Sámi Parliament.⁴⁴ Other examples include the 2013 Tromsø language conflict in which politicians from parties (e.g., Høyre and Venstre) displayed mixed position in opposition to the political Left who remained more favourable to the position of Sámi language in Norway.⁴⁵ News outlets are possible to place on the political Left-Centre-Right axis and might be expected to follow this process. If data from the reception of Trump's use of Pocahontas paints another picture of how Native American or Indigenous issues are handled according to the Left-Right axis in news outlets, it might be possible that this modifies the idea of the Norwegian-Left as sympathetic towards Indigenous causes and the right as less so, at least in the press. In addition, research that nuances this dynamic would say something new about the Norwegian press and how they present Native Americans and Indigenous Peoples. As the Norway's state broadcaster, NRK operates one of the largest online news sites, though it has no paper publication. It would be interesting to see if its Indigenous journalism differs from other privately owned Norwegian media. Furthermore, the amount of visibility given to the Indigenous response to Trump's use of the word 'Pocahontas' is interesting. Political leanings of a news outlet deciding to what extent Trump's stereotyping language is repeated is also problematic, as it means there must be some level of editorial consent or decision making in this portrayal.

1.3.4 Summary of observed problems

As shown, the dynamic where Western media makes Indigenous issues less visible impacts Indigenous revival and culture. At the same time harmful stereotypes tend to be repeated and

⁴³ "[The Norwegian Labour Party's] strong support in the electorate – also in districts with a large Sámi population – shows that the party must have a stable support also in Sámi communities." Berg & Saglie, 2015, p. 230.

⁴⁴ Skogerbø & Fjellström, 2018.

⁴⁵ Thuen, 2016, p. 328.

perpetuated by the same majority western media when news about them Indigenous Peoples are covered. Furthermore, politics tend to be decisive when a non-Indigenous institution or news outlet decides how and what is covered about Indigenous issues. Lack of visibility or the presentation of stereotypes might be damaging to Indigenous revival as it hinders them from voicing their concerns.

1.4 Statement of the problem

1.4.1 Research Question

Following the argument already made in this chapter and the needed solutions to explore the stated problem, the Research Questions are as follows:

1. What was the reception in the Norwegian media of US President Donald Trump's use of the word "Pocahontas" as a nickname for his political opponent, Senator Elizabeth Warren?

a) Specifically, to what extent did Norwegian news outlets cover and make visible the Indigenous response to Trump's use of Pocahontas?

b) Secondly, to what extent did the Norwegian News media further Donald Trump's narrative by repeating stereotyping language and words chosen by him, rather than language and words chosen by Indigenous groups responding to him?

c) Thirdly, how did the results from (a) and (b) divide themselves in the Norwegian news outlets according to their place in the Norwegian political landscape (i.e., a Left-Centre-Right axis)?

1.5 Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study is to uncover to what extent the Norwegian news outlets contributed to the dynamic in the Western press where Indigenous Peoples are made less visible and stereotypes of them are perpetuated.

Recently, Norway has come to be seen as a society with well-developed Indigenous Peoples discourse, including Sámi rights being recognized and a relatively successful entry for the Sámi into political participation in Norway through the Sámi Parliament. Though the discourse on Sámi issues is ongoing and developing, Norway has reached a fairly sophisticated level of interaction between the majority society, the State and its Indigenous Peoples.

Through the Sámi parliament, legislation, and a well-developed press, the Indigenous Peoples of Norway have a voice in the Norwegian society. Portrayals of Indigenous Peoples from North America and Australia, partly fueled by Hollywood stereotypes, have traditionally leaned into both exotic, as well as poverty stricken, and miserable in Norwegian media.⁴⁶ The Sámi portrayal in Norwegian news outlets has also contained exotic stereotypes, but arguably has also been more neutral if local and regional media is taken into account and also in part because of the history of Sámi news outlets and Sámi journalism in Norway.^{47 48 49} Therefore, it is interesting to consider if the voice and opinions of the Indigenous Peoples in the USA were not represented adequately or taken into account when the Norwegian press covered the Pocahontas dispute between Trump and Warren. This would show a different standard for Indigenous Peoples abroad, and in Norway, or a lack of understanding or interest in the press about the Native American need for representation and visibility. The Norwegian press might be perpetuating harmful stereotypes with the coverage they chose to do in the Trump-Pocahontas case.

By collecting data from the largest and most important news outlets, it is possible to review the level of visibility given to the Native American response, and to what degree Trump's harmful stereotypes and language was furthered by the press. It will be important to consider to what extent the Norwegian press represented the Native American response and voice in the ongoing American discourse that followed Trump's use of the word Pocahontas, as well as to what extent the same news outlets furthered Trump's narrative and choice of words, and how these two factors were distributed according to the Left-Centre-Right political axis.

⁴⁶ Johansen, 2020.

⁴⁷ Ramsussen, 2019.

⁴⁸ Skogerbø, Josefsen & Bhroin, 2015, p. 258.

⁴⁹ Skogerbø, 2003, p. 272

Given the international framing of Sámi issues as Indigenous issues, it is of interest to see if there is a difference within the Norwegian press in how international Indigenous issues are covered. In this case, was the Norwegian press sympathetic to Indigenous perspectives of the Trump-Pocahontas phenomenon, compared to whether they normally would be sympathetic or not in Sámi issues?

If it is found, for example, that the news outlets on the political Left, like Dagbladet and Klassekampen, used the most stereotypical language when covering the issue, while right wing media such as Dagens Næringsliv and Resett, to a less degree repeats stereotypes, this would indicate a need for more inclusion of Indigenous Peoples perspectives in international news in Norway. A reflection on what type of exposure Indigenous Peoples and Native Americans are given, also in media on the Left side of the political axis, would also be needed.

1.6 Significance of the study

With efforts for Indigenous Peoples revival being a global effort, it is important that international news is thorough in reporting issues regarding them. If, for example, the political noise surrounding Trump's presidential period is allowed to affect Indigenous groups, the effort for Indigenous Peoples for recognition is hampered. Having a decent discourse on Indigenous Peoples in Norway obligates the press to also report with the visibility that the Indigenous Peoples of North American deserves. The study may contribute to the already existing research on how majority Western press gives less representation to Indigenous issues, even when they are affected by a much covered phenomenon like Trump, and how this dynamic occurs in the Norwegian press. What coverage the largest media gives to the Trump-Pocahontas phenomenon and what they express, or which positions they take is interesting because it will be descriptive of their knowledge about the field of Indigenous Peoples and possibly display which attitudes the different media expresses towards Native Americans and Indigenous Peoples.

1.7 Definitions

A few definitions need to be made clear for the following chapters.

The term "media outlet" and "news outlets" are generally used to refer to the news sites used to collect data. Most of them are Norwegian newspapers available online, but some like Nrk.no and tv2.no are the online news sites operated by TV channels. Their online websites resemble and operate in much as the same way as the traditional online newspapers. "Media outlet" and "news outlet" are therefore used to refer what is collectively not just a collection of online newspapers. The term Norwegian press is meant to describe the same as "news outlets".

The words "ancestry" and "heritage" are used interchangeably when referring to Senator Warren's claims to Native American status.

"Indigenous" or "Indigenous Peoples" may be used in the text as synonymous with "Native American" where appropriate in the text or context, but the term "Indian" is only used when referring a source where the word "Indian" is used. This is because "Indian" is considered both somewhat imprecise, and archaic, as well as inappropriate term for a Native American.

The term "Indigenous groups" is meant to imply any informal or formal community of Indigenous Peoples, ranging from federally recognized tribes with tribal sovereignty to informal collections of individuals with or without spokespersons or formal recognition. While the term "Indigenous" can be defined, there are instances in the text where various Indigenous groups needs to be addressed collectively.

The term "Pocahontas" is used to refer to Donald Trump's nickname for Elizabeth Warren. It is not disputed, not even by the president himself, that he uses it to mock, harm or slander her and generally when he applies the "Pocahontas" word to Warren. Therefore, in this context it should be understood as being used as a slur, despite the Pocahontas name itself not being a slur, but rather a historical person. When Trump's use of the word "Pocahontas" is referred to in this text, it is in the context of his mocking use towards Warren.

1.8 Limitations

All studies have limitations, and the practical limits and size of this paper is in part set by the scope of a master paper. An obvious limitation is to the data used. Some newspapers publish different articles in their paper versions that does not become available or searchable online. Searching through 10-20 diverse sources for the five-year period the data has been gathered

from would be very time consuming, and presumably the amount of new or different data about the Trump-Warren Pocahontas dispute would be limited, if there at all.

There are also visual mediums, such as VGTV or NRK's TV news coverage, which are sometimes released together with their online articles. Typically, these are short videos displaying Trump's speeches or actions, typically for less than a minute. These have not proved to be relevant to my topic when viewed together with the articles they are published with, but some mentions or coverage of the Trump-Warren Pocahontas dispute of limited significance might have been found, had these been included in the data.

Another limitation is that the data has only been collected from large national news outlets. As an example, as shown by Skogerbø, the election for the Sámi Parliament in 2009 was covered with more than 7 articles in the newspapers Sagat, Ávvir, Finnmark Dagblad, Altaposten, Finnmarken, Nordlys, Fremover and Avis Nordland. While interest for Indigenous politics such as the Sámi Parliament election might indicate that there would be interest for the Pocahontas controversy, they were not included due to the focus on national media.⁵⁰ It bears mentioning that a brief search did not discover any large amount of coverage about Pocahontas from these newspapers, and that Sagat was included in the study. Another somewhat limiting factor is the reliance on Norwegian and English sources for the data collection, which made searching Sagat and NRK Sapmi challenging.

1.9 Ethical considerations and reflexivity

The study has followed ethical considerations and uses available sources from news outlets. The journalists have been subjected to editorial review by their respective news outlets, have published their articles with a wider audience than this paper will get, and consent was not required from the authors. There should be no potential risk to the newspapers or their writers to have their articles used as data for a study.

Ethical concerns may appear due to the discussion and presentation of the newspaper editors by myself and other authors, especially commentaries in newspapers which might be written by private citizens. Being presented, or coded, as "pro-" or "anti-" in a political context might be a problem for many people, especially if they feel they have been assigned the

⁵⁰ Skogerbø, Josefsen & Bhroin, 2015, p. 261.

wrong or incorrect positions. In any case, journalists are public figures, and their work should be natural to discuss or study.

The choice of terms to discuss Indigenous topics in this paper bears some consideration, so as not to further or reinforce stereotypes or contribute to a terminology that is disadvantageous to the ongoing revival of Indigenous Peoples.

Being a native of Norway with what can roughly be described as an insider view of the consumer side of the Norwegian News outlets have arguably been advantageous in selecting sources and coding the data.

In the next chapter, I will cover the background of the Trump-Warren Pocahontas dispute to provide an understanding of the events in American politics which would be covered in the Norwegian press.

2 Chapter 2 - Background

2.1 Chapter overview

In this chapter I will describe the background for Trump's use of the Pocahontas nickname for his political rival Elizabeth Warren, the context of his use, and briefly Warren's reaction to it. Although there are exceptions, Trump's use of the word surfaced mostly and simultaneously in the Norwegian media especially during five events, incidentally, occurring in and between 2016 to 2020.

These five events were, respectively, his first use of the word, a Native American World War II veteran event, Warren's decision to take a DNA-test to prove Native American ancestry, Warren's apology for taking the DNA-test, and, finally, her 2020 run for the presidential nominee for the Democratic party.

As part of the background chapter, I will describe these events. I will also describe the Native American response to Trump's use of "Pocahontas" as a slur, as well as their reaction to Warren's attempts to prove Native American heritage, which was nearly always coupled with the use of "Pocahontas" as a slur that Trump had branded her with, in the Norwegian press.

Finally, I will present a timeline of the 2016-2020 events.

2.2 The Donald Trump rivalry with Elizabeth Warren

When Donald Trump entered the political scene in 2015, bidding for the 2016 presidential nomination for the Republican party, he quickly became known for the nicknames he would give his political opponents. Examples from the presidential nomination process were "Lying Ted Cruz", "Low Energy Jeb Bush", "Crazy Bernie Sanders", "Crooked Hillary Clinton", "Little Marco Rubio", "Truly Weird Rand Paul", "Sneaky Dianne Feinstein", and "Cheating Barack Obama".^{51 52} Among the targets for his nicknames were senators, governors, and

⁵¹ Silverstein, 2018.

⁵² Kasperowicz, 2015.

former presidents. Mostly his nicknames were given to political opponents or critical members of the press.

Senator Elizabeth Warren (b. 1949) became the target for Donald Trump's nickname "Pocahontas" in 2016. She had earlier faced accusations of falsely claiming Native American status or heritage in 2012 by her then republican rival Scott Brown in the Massachusetts senatorial run.

Warren is a graduate of Rutgers Law School and the University of Houston. Before entering politics, she taught law at the University of Texas at Austin and the University of Pennsylvania before gaining tenure at Harvard University.⁵³ In 1996, she became Harvard's highest paid professor without managerial duties. In 2011 she was the only professor with tenure at Harvard's law department who was educated at a public university. In addition to her academic career, where her expertise was in bankruptcy and commercial laws, Warren has authored five books. She also held several advisory roles, such as with the National Bankruptcy Conference, which is an independent advisory organ for the U.S. Congress on bankruptcy law and has been a vice president for the American Law Institute.⁵⁴ Running for the Democratic Party, Warren was elected to United States Senate in 2012 as a senator for Massachusetts and was re-elected in 2018.^{55 56}

Senator Warren has a long history of claiming Native American heritage. Her earliest claims to being Native American was in 1984, when she contributed Native American recipes to a cookbook publication under the byline "Elizabeth Warren, Cherokee".^{57 58 59} In 1986 she filled out a statistical form for lawyers in Texas, identifying as Native American, remaining

⁵³ Packer, 2013.

⁵⁴ Harvard Law School, 2021.

⁵⁵ RealClear Politics, 2018.

⁵⁶ Politico, 2012.

⁵⁷ "Warren, who has been under fire for claiming Indian lineage despite a lack of documentation, is identified as "Elizabeth Warren, Cherokee" under each of five recipes she contributes in the cookbook, published in 1984 by the Five Civilized Tribes Museum located in Muskogee." Chabot, 2012.

⁵⁸ "Massachusetts Democratic Senate candidate Elizabeth Warren is yet again in hot water after new allegations have surfaced that she plagiarized her 'Cherokee' recipes in the book *Pow Wow Chow* from the New York Times and other publications." Daily Mail Reporter, 2012.

⁵⁹ *Pow Wow Chow: A Collection of Recipes from Families of the Five Civilized Tribes : Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek and Seminole.* (1984). Five Civilized Tribes Museum.

listed as such until 1995.⁶⁰ ⁶¹ In affirmative action forms, her employer Harvard University listed her as a Native American between 1995 and 2004, though Harvard has denied that her Native American status affected her hiring.⁶² ⁶³ Warren has denied knowing about her employer promoting her as a minority professor.⁶⁴ In the 2012 election she stated that “*Being Native American has been part of my story [...] since the day I was born*”.⁶⁵ In her 2012 senatorial campaign for United States Senator for Massachusetts, she was criticized by her Republican opponent for falsely claiming Native American heritage, as well as taking advantage of it to further her career. Several TV ads were made to attack her on her claims to Native American ancestry, and the Boston Globe reported that two Republican staffers, including a member of Scott Brown's office made tomahawk chops and war whoops during a campaign event.⁶⁶ Warren refuted ever having gained advantage from being a Native American and went on to win the senatorial election.⁶⁷

There were a few other minor events which caused interest in the Norwegian press for Warren and the “Pocahontas nickname”. This included Warren’s 2019 statement that Trump could end up in prison, and general articles about Trump, Twitter and Warren. However, the five largest events receiving the most coverage and attention will be described below. They are not sorted into one event per year, except by chance.

⁶⁰ Chabot, 2012.

⁶¹ Madison, 2012

⁶² “[...] both Harvard Law School and the University of Pennsylvania touted her as a minority hire. Representatives from both institutions said Warren’s minority status played no role in her hire.” Chabot, 2012.

⁶³ Hamby, 2018.

⁶⁴ Warren’s campaign did not dispute the listings on Sunday, but a spokeswoman reiterated that she did not use minority status to advantage when she was hired at Harvard University. [...] But when asked about it Friday, she told reporters that she did not know Harvard was promoting her as a minority professor. " Ebbert, 2012.

⁶⁵ Madison, 2012.

⁶⁶ "At least two Republican staffers, including a member of Scott Brown's US Senate office, apparently mocked Elizabeth Warren’s claims to Native American ancestry by making tomahawk chops and war whoops outside one of Brown's campaign events in Dorchester, according to a video filmed by the state Democratic Party." Levison, 2012.

⁶⁷ "Let me be clear. I never asked for, never got any benefit because of my heritage. The people who hired me have all said they didn't even know about it," Warren says in her response ad. Former Democratic media strategist Tobe Berkovitz says Brown's newly confrontational style is risky." Nickisch, 2012.

2.2.1 2016 - Trump's first use of Pocahontas

Warren was a member of the United States Senate during the 2016 presidential election, and though she did not run for the presidency, she was a fierce critic of Donald Trump's bid for the presidency. Warren endorsed Hillary Clinton's candidacy for president as an incumbent Democrat senator during the 2016 election. During his election campaign Trump criticized Warren numerous times, and in 2016 he began referring to her as 'Pocahontas'.^{68 69} He did this on several platforms: in his campaign rally speeches, on twitter, and in interviews. His main point, which he made numerous times during the election cycle, was that Warren had lied about being a Native American and that this was both dishonest and an insult to Native Americans.⁷⁰

Trump also stated in 2016 that Warren's entire life was based on a fraud. He went on to dismiss an Indigenous journalist who told him it was rude to use the Pocahontas name in such a way. The New York Times reported that some of Trump's campaign events had Trump's supporters chant Indian war chants.⁷¹ This, again, sparked criticism of Trump's insensitivity towards Native Americans, his derogatory use of the term Pocahontas, and his mocking of both Warren and Native American history. The Executive Director of The National Congress of Indians stated that the use of 'Pocahontas' was clearly used as a slur, and that the use was disrespectful towards Native Americans, no matter the dispute between Trump and Warren.⁷² Trump has previously made mildly derogatory remarks towards Native Americans. In a 1993 lawsuit against the practice of Native American casinos he stated that "those people don't

⁶⁸ "Trump previously used the name of the Native American woman as a dig to describe Warren in the lead-up to 2016's presidential election." Trautwein, 2017

⁶⁹ "Pocahontas", SNL, 2020.

⁷⁰ Rappeport, 2016.

⁷¹ "She's got about as much Indian blood as I have," Mr. Trump said in March. "Her whole life was based on a fraud." In rallies, at news conferences and on Twitter, Mr. Trump has repeatedly called Ms. Warren "Pocahontas" and "goofy." Last month, when an Indigenous Canadian journalist told him his use of the name was rude, Mr. Trump kept repeating it. At some of his campaign events, Mr. Trump's supporters chant Indian war cries." Rappeport, 2016.

⁷² "Native Americans have taken notice. I think he definitely says it as a slur," said Jacqueline Pata, executive director of the National Congress of Indians "No matter how he feels about Elizabeth Warren, to throw that out there is disrespectful to real Native Americans." Rappeport, 2016.

look like Indians,” and further claimed these casinos posed an unfair competition to his own casinos. He later lost the lawsuit.⁷³

As mentioned, Warren became a firm critic of then-presidential nominee Donald Trump during the 2016 Presidential election. Trump, in turn, criticized Senator Warren, mainly criticizing her Native American heritage as a political and professional invention. Trump accused Warren of using a false heritage to get into schools she otherwise would not be accepted into. In May 2016 he stated: *"I don't know if you would call it a fraud or not, but she was able to get into various schools because she applied as a Native American. I think she's as Native American as I am, OK? That I will tell you."*⁷⁴ Trump then proceeded to refer to Warren as "Pocahontas". He mocked her claims of high cheekbones as an indicator of being Native American. This reinforced his narrative of a biological factor being critical to defining Native American status. Despite the above mentioned native American criticism, Trump put forth his jibes in both his speeches and on his Twitter account.

Trump stated that his reason for calling her Pocahontas is because she has criticized him, and that he retaliates because she tweets too much about him.⁷⁵ Senator Warren would later launch a bid for the position of Democratic nominee to the Presidential election in 2020. Trump's response to her bid was by repeating his mocking of Warren's Native American claims and boasted that he would refer to her as "Pocahontas".⁷⁶

2.2.2 2017 The Navajo World War II veteran's event

On November 27, 2017, President Donald Trump appeared in a White House ceremony with three Navajo veterans and Russel Begaye, the president of the Navajo Nation. The ceremony

⁷³ Wayne, 1993.

⁷⁴ Smith, 2016.

⁷⁵ "That's very offensive," the person [a Native American journalist] shouted.

"Oh, I'm sorry about that," Trump said.

"Pocahontas? Is that what you said? Elizabeth Warren?" he said.

He said he hits back at the Massachusetts senator because "she tweets a lot about" him." Smith, 2016.

⁷⁶ "Today Elizabeth Warren, sometimes referred to by me as Pocahontas, joined the race for President," he tweeted. "Will she run as our first Native American presidential candidate, or has she decided that after 32 years, this is not playing so well anymore? See you on the campaign TRAIL, Liz!" The tweet came shortly after Warren formally declared that she's running for president in 2020." Smith, 2016.

was a tribute to the Navajo code talkers and their contribution to the United States military during the Second World War.^{77 78} President Trump used the occasion to ridicule his political opponent Senator Elizabeth Warren, stated (standing next to the Navajo veterans) that “You were here long before any of us were here,” and that “Although we have a representative in Congress who, they say, was here for a long time ago. They call her Pocahontas. But you know what, I like you.”^{79 80}

Begaye would later object to the Trump’s remarks. The Executive Director of the National Congress of American Indians stated that it was “unfortunate that [the ceremony] was used as an opportunity to once again try to use the word Pocahontas in a negative way towards a political adversary”.⁸¹ The National Congress of American Indians had condemned Trump’s use of Pocahontas at a National Rifle Association gathering and stated that it was a “pejorative term” that was insulting and degrading to Native People and their cultures.⁸²

Trump’s comments made headlines in Norwegian newspapers. As will be seen in Chapter 3, the reaction by Norwegian media was generally critical to Trump’s character and his use of nicknames and bullying of Senator Warren as a political opponent. However, the story would be reported mostly from the angle of Trump’s remarks, rather than Begaye’s or any other Native American position.

2.2.3 2018 - Warren’s DNA-test

The accusations from Trump about of having made up her Native American ancestry made Senator Warren respond and defend her ancestry as a family story. She cited her grandfather's high cheek bones and said that her Native American heritage was something she had lived with her entire life.⁸³ In the summer of 2018, Donald Trump offered to donate a million

⁷⁷ Code Talkers were Native Americans who were employed to use their native language to send coded military information in the US armed forces, especially during the second world war. “ Code Talkers, SNL, 2020.

⁷⁸ Aaseng, Nathan & Ray Hawthorne, 1994, p. 17.

⁷⁹ FOX 11 Los Angels, 2017.

⁸⁰ Davis, 2017.

⁸¹ Davis, 2017.

⁸² Davis, 2017.

⁸³ ""Being Native American is part of who our family is and I'm glad to tell anyone about that. I am just very proud of it," Warren said.

dollars to charity if Senator Warren would take a DNA-test which could prove she had Native American ancestry.⁸⁴ Historically, blood quantum has been used as a determining factor for Native American status. Some tribes in the USA which have used DNA-testing or blood quantum to determine tribal membership, alongside the United States government, have also issued an official document of Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood.⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ Trump's narrative of DNA-testing had some historical background as the notion of biology and that Indian blood and genes determines Native American status occurred in the past. Still, according to scholar Jeffrey Sissons, Native American status can consist of more than biology, and that many Cherokee does not want a restrictive blood quantity since it would exclude many of them from membership in the Cherokee nation, and that to base Cherokee identity on blood is to belong to an increasingly 'white' nation, but that to de-racialize the tribal identity could risk federal funding and recognition.⁸⁷ According to this Sissons, the blood quantity for tribal membership feels like a trap and an imposed identity requirement for many Cherokee.⁸⁸ In addition, Ravi de Costa in his article *Descent Culture and Self-Determination: States and the Definition of Indigenous Peoples* argue that states rely on different ways to define Indigenous People, and that some of these definitions are arbitrary and at odds with current attempts to self-determination in asserting how to define tribal membership or Native American status, concluding that there is an ongoing discussion on the topic.⁸⁹ It is therefore a variant of

The candidate said Wednesday that she had never asked her relatives for documentation of her lineage, but when questioned by reporters if she regretted self-identifying as Native American, she recounted a story about her family's history with the culture.

"No, as I said, these are my family stories. I have lived in a family that has talked about Native Americans, talked about tribes since I had been a little girl," she said. "I still have a picture on my mantel and it is a picture my mother had before that - a picture of my grandfather. And my Aunt Bea has walked by that picture at least a 1,000 times remarked that he - her father, my Papaw -- had high cheek bones like all of the Indians do. Because that is how she saw it and your mother got those same great cheek bones and I didn't. She that thought was the bad deal she had gotten in life."

"Being Native American has been part of my story, I guess, since the day I was born," Warren continued." Madison, 2012.

⁸⁴ " In another real stemwinder of a speech straight from our president's normal brain, Donald Trump on Thursday said that if he were to face off with Elizabeth Warren in a debate, he would offer to pay \$1 million to charity if she took a DNA-test to prove she has Native American heritage. "I will give you a million dollars to your favorite charity, paid for by Trump, if you take the test and it shows you're an Indian," he said at a rally in Montana, fantasizing about what he might say to Warren in a debate. "I have a feeling she will say no." Buell, 2018.

⁸⁵ Kaplan, 2005.

⁸⁶ TallBear, 2013, pp.37-40.

⁸⁷ Sissons, 2005, p. 48.

⁸⁸ Sissons, 2005, p. 49

⁸⁹ De Costa, 2014, p. 59.

stereotyping when Trump, and to some degree Warren, tries to narrow the qualification of what constitutes 'Native American' into being solely biological, easily determined by a DNA-test. As discussed in the following section, the Native American response was largely a reaction or protest to DNA-testing being a determinant for Native American status.

Observers at the time commented that Trump's offer was likely a ruse.⁹⁰ Warren was also under pressure from other commentators to do a DNA-test. In Massachusetts, The Berkshire Eagle had published an editorial in March 2018 demanding Warren settle the issue with a DNA-test in order to remove an Achilles heel in a presidential run against Trump. The publisher argued that if the test failed to turn up any Native American heritage, she would be able to settle the issue with an apology to Native Americans.⁹¹ This caused a brief national uproar, and Warren initially refused to take a DNA-test, citing her family history of Native American ancestry.⁹²

However, Warren would later change her mind. Perhaps as part of her re-election effort in the 2018 mid-term elections for US Senate, or perhaps planning for a presidential campaign in 2020, Elizabeth Warren released a DNA-test in October 2018.⁹³ Her senatorial re-election

⁹⁰ "The \$1 million offer is almost certainly a ruse, by the way. There is nothing Trump dislikes more than giving to charity with his own money. All of this is reminiscent of his birther days—he once made a similar offer of \$5 million to Barack Obama if the first black president could prove he wasn't born in Kenya." Buell, 2018.

⁹¹ "Should the test come up negative, it would be an opportunity for the senator to perform an act rarely seen among politicians: an admission of her error and a full-throated apology to Native American tribes and anyone else offended by her spurious claim. By facing the truth and taking responsibility for it, she would disarm her enemies and show potential voters that she was human and capable of mistakes, just like them. [...] So we call upon our senior senator to screw up her courage and take the spit test. If she already has but is keeping the results under wraps, we urge her to be forthcoming with them. She has nothing to lose but her Achilles' heel." Berkshire Eagle, 2018.

⁹² "Warren responded with the story of her family's origins.

"Let me tell you the story of my family. ... My daddy first saw my mother when they were both teenagers. He fell in love with this tall, quiet girl who played the piano. Head over heels. But his family was bitterly opposed to their relationship because she was part Native American," Warren, D-Massachusetts, told "Meet the Press." Her parents, she said, eventually eloped.

"That's the story that my brothers and I all learned from our mom and our dad, from our grandparents ... It's a part of me and nobody's going to take that part of me away," she added.

The senator's heritage, which she has brought up at public events, has been questioned by critics, and has been a source of mockery for President Donald Trump, who refers to her as "Pocahontas." Vazquez, 2018.

⁹³ " Sen. Elizabeth Warren, who has faced repeated ridicule from President Donald Trump for claiming that she is of Native American descent, released a DNA-test on Monday that says there is "strong evidence" to back up her claim." Memoli & Edelman, 2018.

campaign quickly released a video about the DNA analysis.⁹⁴ Warren's position was that the DNA-test confirmed that she had Native American ancestry, and that this proved that she had been telling the truth.⁹⁵ The test showed that she had possibly one Native American ancestor, 6 to 10 generations ago, which was widely received by Non-Native American commentators as not qualifying for having Native American ancestry.⁹⁶

Native American reaction was mixed. Cherokee Nation Secretary of State, Chuck Hoskin Jr., released a full statement in response to Senator Warren's DNA-test saying that *“Using a DNA-test to lay claim to any connection to the Cherokee Nation or any tribal nation, even vaguely, is inappropriate and wrong. It makes a mockery out of DNA-tests and its legitimate uses while also dishonoring legitimate tribal governments and their citizens, whose ancestors are well documented and whose heritage is proven”*. The statement concluded by stating that *“Senator Warren is undermining tribal interests with her continued claims of tribal heritage”*.⁹⁷

Other Native American spokespersons were more supportive, such as the Tribal Chairwoman of the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe Indians in Minnesota who had previously provided advisory work for Warren stating that *“If you are told from Day One that you are that tribal person and that tribal home, that's who you are. And that's the simplest way to explain that.”* Avoiding the question of the DNA-test, Benjamin also added that regarding Warren *“We are those types of people where we will embrace you as part of our community, and then we will recognize you as our community from here on.”*⁹⁸

⁹⁴ "But as Warren mulls a presidential run in 2020, her Senate re-election campaign produced a video playing up the results." Singman, 2018.

⁹⁵ "In it, Warren says: “The president likes to call my mom a liar. What do the facts say?” Stanford University Professor Carlos D. Bustamante replies: “The facts suggest that you absolutely have Native American ancestry in your pedigree.” Singman, 2018.

⁹⁶ "Should Warren’s ancestor date back 10 generations, she would be only 1/1,024 Native American" Singman, 2018.

⁹⁷ Singman, 2018.

⁹⁸ "Melanie Benjamin, the tribal chairwoman of the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe Indians in Minnesota, said Warren asked her for advice on how to discuss her heritage before a speech in February.

"My advice to her -- and I used an example -- is that in Indian country, we are very community-oriented," she said. "We are those types of people where we will embrace you as part of our community, and then we will recognize you as our community from there on."

"If you are told from Day One that you are that tribal person and that tribal home, that's who you are. And that's the simplest way to explain that," Benjamin said." Berg & Bradner, 2018.

Donald Trump responded by dismissing the part of the test which showed Warren had a partial, though distant, Native American heritage and stated, “*Who cares?*”. The same day Trump released another statement demanding Warren apologize to the nation for faking her Native American heritage.⁹⁹ Warren was also criticized by observers on the political Left for conflating culture with genetics and for how this contributed to Trump’s narrative about genetics playing a role in Native American heritage.¹⁰⁰ The Cherokee Nation’s accusation of Warren’s undermining of tribal interests with her claims of tribal heritage gained interest in American Newspapers.¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² As will be discussed in chapter 5, Norwegian press would in various degree cover these Native American responses.

2.2.4 2019 - Warren’s apology for the DNA-test

Probably preparing for a 2020 run for the presidency, Elizabeth Warren made a public apology to Native Americans for the debacle surrounding her DNA-test the year before. She accepted that DNA-tests were not a reliable, nor legal method, of establishing membership of tribes and said that she has listened to and learned from Native American groups.¹⁰³ Trump responded by stating that he had more Indian blood than Warren, adding that he had none.¹⁰⁴ This apology, dismissing the biological aspect of establishing Native American status, was given less coverage in Norwegian news outlets than the original DNA-test release.

⁹⁹ " Trump waved off Warren's DNA-test results on Monday, telling reporters, "who cares?" when asked about them. Trump said later Monday that Warren owes the nation an apology. "She owes the country an apology," the President said when asked whether he himself owed the senator an apology for calling her "Pocahontas." Berg & Bradner, 2018.

¹⁰⁰ "More importantly: who cares? Warren should never have made this claim to begin with. It doesn't *mean* anything to possibly have 1/1024 Native American ancestry if she has no ties to Native American culture or politics otherwise. The test might prove she didn't lie about family history, but it doesn't tell us anything else useful, and plays into the dangerous ways that people already (wrongly) conflate genetic ancestry with culture." Chen, 2018.

¹⁰¹ Associated Press, 2018.

¹⁰² "Cherokee Nation, the federally recognized government of the Cherokee people, accused Sen. Elizabeth Warren, D-Mass., Monday of “undermining tribal interests with her continued claims of tribal heritage” after Warren released results from a DNA-test showing that she had a distant Native American ancestor. “A DNA-test is useless to determine tribal citizenship,” Cherokee Nation Secretary of State Chuck Hoskin Jr. said in a statement. Warren, who has been called “Pocahontas” by President Trump, has claimed she has Cherokee and Delaware heritage. But the Cherokee Nation criticized Warren for using the DNA-test to “lay claim to any connection” to a tribal nation." Correll, 2018.

¹⁰³ O’Keefe, 2019.

¹⁰⁴ Croucher, 2019.

In 2019-2020, Warren would run for the Democratic Party’s presidential nomination. Warren launched her bid by stating that she would seek the Democratic Party nomination for the presidency, in February 2019.¹⁰⁵ This created some coverage in the Norwegian press, and the Pocahontas name resurfaced in Norwegian news outlets up until her withdrawal from the presidency in March 2020.

2.3 Timeline of events

Below is a timeline of events relevant to the Norwegian media reception of Trump’s use of Pocahontas. Most articles in Norwegian News outlets were a reaction to the events in the timeline.

2016 21. March	Trump mocks Senator Warren for her Native American claims for the first time. ¹⁰⁶
2016 8. November	Donald Trump is elected the President of the United States. The 2016 election cycle ends.
2017 27. November	Donald Trump brings up Senator Warren and uses the Pocahontas nickname during a Navajo Second World War veteran's event. This event causes previously unseen international interest in Trump’s use of the Pocahontas name.
2018 5. July	Donald Trump offers \$1-million to charity if Warren can prove Native American ancestry with a DNA-test.

¹⁰⁵ Lee & Krieg, 2019.

¹⁰⁶ Mallin, Chavez & Stracqualursi, 2016.

2018 15. October	Elizabeth Warren releases her DNA-test.
2018 6. November	Midterm elections in the Unites States. Elizabeth Warren is re-elected as Senator from The Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
2019 9. February	Elizabeth Warren declares run for presidency in 2020. Her exploratory committee to run for president was announced on the last day of 2018.
2019 19. August	Elizabeth Warren apologizes publicly for the first time to Native Americans for the DNA-test.
2020 5. March	Elizabeth Warren drops out of 2020 presidential race after disappointing results on Super Tuesday.
2020 3. November	Donald Trump loses re-election for President of the United States. The 2020 election cycle ends.

2.4 The historical Pocahontas

The historical Pocahontas (1596-1617) was a North American woman from the Powhatan tribe. She was the daughter of the chief Wahunsonacook. In 1613, she married the Englishman John Rolfe, and this relationship helped maintain peaceful relations between the English settler community of the Jamestown colony and Native Americans for several years. She died while visiting England. Pocahontas has since become a legendary figure, and several movies have been made about her life, such as the well-known animated 1995 Disney cartoon *Pocahontas*.¹⁰⁷

In the next chapter I will describe the methodology used in this study.

¹⁰⁷ "Pocahontas", SNL, 2020.

3 Chapter 3 - Methodology

3.1 Chapter overview

The goal of this chapter is to explain the methodology I used for data collection and data analysis. I have structured this chapter in the following order. In Section 3.1, I present the theoretical background for the paper. In section 3.2, I present the methodology of data collection before discussing methodology of data analysis in sections 3.3. Finally, in section 3.4., I present the selection of sources for the data.

3.2 Theory

3.2.1 Stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples

Trump's mocking use of the word Pocahontas was widely condemned and criticized by Native American groups and spokespersons. Some of these protests made it into Norwegian news sources, which is an important part in answering my thesis question. Specifically, I will outline which news sources covered the Native American protests condemning Trump using Pocahontas as a nickname, and to what extent and perspective this was given coverage. This is part of a larger discourse on how Native American stereotypes are handled in Western society and what challenges Native American and Indigenous groups face in having their voices heard when protesting stereotypes and slurs.

There is little research on how Indigenous protests are covered by news media in the West. However, Rima Wilkes and Danielle Ricard presented research comparing both Indigenous and non-Indigenous newspapers in Canada, concluding that Canadian news sources are very

interested in Indigenous protests.^{108 109} Their study showed, however, that each newspaper also would miss several Indigenous protests and events in their coverage. Their conclusion was that any study on Indigenous protests needs to use as many media sources as possible, to cover as many events as possible.¹¹⁰ This is in part why the data collection of this study included not only online newspapers, but also the different online news sites such as the websites of tv-channels.

There has been some research on western media defining and stereotyping Aboriginals in Australia. In his article "Running for Country", Greg Gardiner examines how mainstream print media in Australia presents Aboriginal athletes.¹¹¹ He concluded that Aboriginal interests were equated with national interests and reconciliation between the non-Indigenous and Aboriginals, and that the Australian discourse situated Indigenous People in the role of the national reconciler. This role would then receive 'the applause of the white readers of the print media'.¹¹² In Australia, non-Indigenous media has been engaged in the construction of indigeneity since the late 18th century, and arguably the Norwegian Press plays a similar role in Norway.¹¹³ According to Gardiner, the views of activists and Indigenous academics are reflected in works on media representation and construction of race. Goodall et al. (1994), as quoted by Gardiner, substantiate that non-Indigenous media in Australia has been fundamental in the construction of Indigeneity since the colonial presses began in the late 1700s.¹¹⁴ According to Langton (1994), as quoted by Gardiner, the 'easiest and most natural form of racism' in representation is the act of making the other invisible.¹¹⁵ In view of the

¹⁰⁸ «Although there have been numerous studies of newspaper coverage of protest (Almeida & Lichbach, 2003; Danzger, 1975; Franzosi, 1987; Mueller, 1997; Myers & Caniglia, 2004; Swank, 2000), little is known about newspaper coverage in Canada and about newspaper coverage of protest by Indigenous people, in particular.» Wilkes & Ricard, 2007.

¹⁰⁹ «The findings from this study show that the Canadian news media are very interested in protest by Indigenous people. In just 2 years, Canadian newspapers published over 700 articles about 43 protests. Nevertheless, each individual Canadian newspaper examined in this study missed a significant number of events. The data indicate that there is no single newspaper, be it the Toronto Star (Canada's largest city-based newspaper) or the Globe and Mail (Canada's national newspaper) that should be considered the "best" source» (Wilkes & Ricard, 2007)

¹¹⁰ «Just as studies based on other countries must use as many media sources as possible (see also, Earl, Martin, McCarthy, & Soule, 2004; Swank, 2000), studies of protest in Canada must do the same if they hope to cover as many events as possible.» Wilkes & Ricard, 2007.

¹¹¹ Gardiner, 2003.

¹¹² "The overarching nationalizing agenda of media dis-course, therefore, twists reconciliation within the penumbra and the problematics of nation. In its equation of Aboriginal interests with national interests, and its framing of Aboriginality as the active, running source for national reconciliation, this discourse situates Indigenous people as the ones doing the reconciling, an activity to be watched by wildly applauding White audiences." Gardiner, 2003.

¹¹³ Skogerbø, E., Josefsen, E., & Bhroin, N. N. (2015), p. 255.

¹¹⁴ Gardiner, 2003.

¹¹⁵ Gardiner, 2003.

Norwegian context and media tradition regarding coverage of Sámi issues, it might be more relevant to view the act of making Indigenous people less visible from the perspective of ignorance on the part of the press. As discussed in Chapter one, it is known that lack of familiarity and ignorance is a driving factor when national news outlets in Norway does not prioritize the coverage of Sámi issues.¹¹⁶

As will be seen in chapter 4, the Native American response and reaction to both hurtful remarks from Trump and to Warren's DNA-test was partially ignored by Norwegian press.

3.2.2 Invisibility of Indigenous Voices

In her 2015 essay *Invisibility in the Color-Blind Era: Examining Legitimized Racism against Indigenous Peoples*, Dwanna Robertson argues that Native Americans – and by extension all Indigenous Peoples – become disempowered when they are denied or hindered representation.¹¹⁷ She argues that a historical, racist discourse about Native Americans have become a form of legitimized racism and a discourse that positions Indigenous Peoples as 'ordinary humans' rather than stereotypes must be done to counter a prevalent racist regime.¹¹⁸ Robertson also posits that

"Conversations with the participants reveal contemporary consequences for this historical racist discourse in the form of legitimized racism. Therefore, I inquired how we as Native people negotiate such persistent racist stereotypes and cultural appropriation in our daily lives. I find that we navigate such prevalent racist regimes by deploying the counter-discourse that positions Indigenous people as ordinary humans in opposition to racist taken- for- granted stereotypes."¹¹⁹

Robertson highlights that the use of the term 'Pocahontas' has a hurtful and racist history in the United States, traditionally used to demean Natives by non-Natives. Robertson details a history of Native American girls subjected to unwanted sexual advances and sexual harassment from non-Natives due to the stereotype of the sexualized historical myth of Pocahontas and the idea that Indigenous women are "highly sexualized. act wild, like to be

¹¹⁶ Skogerbø, 2003, p. 273,

¹¹⁷ Robertson, 2015.

¹¹⁸ Robertson, 2015.

¹¹⁹ Robertson, 2015.

held captive, and become sexually active at earlier ages than other racial groups of women."^{120 121}

A study done by Elizabeth Cook-Lynn on contemporary racism towards Native Americans in 2001 posits that there is a systemic racialized hatred for Indigenous Peoples in North America, and expressions of the idea that Indians or Native Americans 'no longer exist' is a manifestation of this Anti-Indianism.¹²² Anti-Indianism can also be expressed by ignoring Native American voices, such as protests made against Trump's use of the Pocahontas name. This concept of Anti-Indianism is useful to understand how the Norwegian press perpetuates stereotypes and systemic racism against Native Americans when they, to various degrees, fail to report on Native American positions on issues.

In his essay *Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory*, Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy addresses how European-American ideas, knowledge and power structures in the United States are dominating society today, and that assertions of cultural autonomy by Native Americans will be viewed through a racialized lens.¹²³ If a Native individual does not fit into the accepted racial classification of Indian, the authenticity will be questioned, possibly by other Indians.¹²⁴ This is central in understanding how Warren's claims of Native American heritage is met with resistance by both Native American groups and her political opponents, and, as will be

¹²⁰ "Almost all of them experienced it as early as the first stages of puberty. Maggie, a middle-aged Maliseet woman, discusses the trauma of puberty as a Native girl: As I got into puberty, white boys seemed to have some kind of idea that I was "wild" and would be more willing to have sex with them. . . . Boys would grab me and say stuff and call me "Pocahontas." They didn't treat other [white] girls on their street that way." Robertson, 2015.

¹²¹ "Maggie understood early that she was considered different from the other girls by the boys in her neighborhood. She bore the stigma of the sexualized Indian maiden in the personification of Matoaka (Pocahontas), the daughter of Algonquin chief Powhatan. Much is made of her relationship with Captain John Smith. However, at the time of Smith's capture by Powhatan's men, Matoaka would have been eleven years old. The treatment of young Native girls bears great resemblance to the sexualized historical myth of Pocahontas—the idea that Indigenous women are highly sexualized, act wild, like to be held captive, and become sexually active at earlier ages than other racial groups of women. Conversely, Native women who do not fit the ideal of the sexualized "Pocahontas" then fall into the category of the dirty squaw". Robertson, 2015.

¹²² Elizabeth Cook-Lynn posits that North America suffers from anti-Indianism, a systemic racialized hatred for Indigenous people. Anti-Indianism manifests in the sentiment that Indians no longer exist, using words and actions that stigmatize the experience of being Indigenous in the United States, blaming Indians for their own demise, and exploiting and distorting Indigenous beliefs and cultures. Cook-Lynn states, "All of these traits have conspired to isolate, to expunge or expel, to menace, to defame." Robertson, 2015.

¹²³ Robertson, 2015.

¹²⁴ Robertson, 2015.

shown, is a dynamic repeated by Norwegian press in coverage and discourse on President Donald Trump's use of the term Pocahontas towards Senator Elizabeth Warren.

3.2.3 Institutions decide how to portray Indigenous Peoples

Institutions, such as media houses, decide how Indigenous Peoples are portrayed. Research shows that Western media often presents Indigenous Peoples in ways that reinforce stereotypes of unimportant, disappearing, or not relevant on a national level, or to not report on them rarely.^{125 126} It is therefore problematic if Norwegian news outlets perpetuate these stereotypes when writing about Trump's use of the term Pocahontas. No research in Norway has been done to discuss Trump and Indigenous Peoples, or his use of the Pocahontas name. But in the article *Indigenous Political Journalism in the Norwegian and Swedish Public Service Broadcasters*, Eli Skogerbø et.al. argue that while ethnicity contributes to how Indigenous journalism is presented, larger institutions still decide final product.^{127 128} Skogerbø et. al.'s study applies to Indigenous journalism done within a framework of a state broadcaster, namely NRK. However, political journalism covering Indigenous topics may be presumed to labor under editorial teams in all the news outlets in Norway, as well as those releasing news for non-Indigenous consumers.¹²⁹ In addition, Skogerbø's study is limited to state broadcasters in Sweden and Norway, but most news outlets in Norway are privately owned and do have an editorial position anchored within the political or cultural landscape. What is covered about Indigenous Peoples in the news are not randomly produced but selected consciously and given editorial approval at some level or another. Furthermore, news outlets are often placeable on a political scale, and all of the news outlets used as data sources in this thesis can be fitted within the traditional Left-Centre-Right political axis.

¹²⁵ Josefsen & Skogerbø, 2021, p. 208.

¹²⁶ Robertson, 2015.

¹²⁷ "To explain the differences between Sámi journalism in Norway and Sweden, the analysis showed that ethnic identity counts, but institutions decide. Sámi journalism is constrained not only by limited resources, immense distances and scattered audiences but also by the institutional framework of the parent company, the public service remits and the status of the Sámi." Skogerbø & Fjellström, 2018.

¹²⁸ «Previous studies showed that Sámi political issues were increasingly marginalized in nationwide political news during the same period in which the Sámi newsroom grew (Ijäs 2012), indicating that more extensive Sámi political journalism does not necessarily provide access to the national public sphere. This topic has been discussed in analyses of other Indigenous media elsewhere (Hokowithu and Devadas 2013)." Skogerbø & Fjellström, 2018.

¹²⁹ "The editorial teams of NRK Sápmi and SR Sameradien & SVT Sápmi indeed showed evidence of practicing Indigenous journalism, but with some differences." Skogerbø & Fjellström, 2018.

3.2.4 Trump's problematic narratives

In the article *Engaging Indigeneity and Avoiding Appropriation: An Interview with Adrienne Keene* (2016), the problems of cultural appropriation and relegation of Native Americans as something of the past is explored. Which words are used in news coverage to avoid falling into portrayal of these stereotypes is important, and the instances where Norwegian press employs archaic words like 'indianer' and 'indiansk' perpetuates these stereotypes.

'Indigenous' and 'Native American' has replaced the term 'Indian' in English partly because the term 'Indian' has been perceived as derogatory by Indigenous Peoples. Another reason is that Native American institutions and organizations, as well as international organizations such as the United Nations, use the term 'Indigenous' rather than Indian. In Norwegian, the term 'indianer' has been replaced by 'urfolk'.¹³⁰ Additionally, the Norwegian word 'innfødt' (meaning 'native') when used to translate Trump's narrative has often been used to refer to people under colonial administration. SNL.no explains that the use of 'innfødt' can be perceived as derogatory and old fashioned, and that "urfolk" is a more appropriate term where the people referred to still live in some type of colonial relationship.¹³¹

Donald Trump is therefore perpetuating both a name that is rejected by the Native American groups and is out of fashion when he rhetorically asked "*Who's that? The Indian? You mean the Indian?*" when referring to Elizabeth Warren.¹³² If Norwegian news outlets promote or reuse Trump's narrative, it could be possible that they are complicit in his relegation of Native Americans to a stereotype and might aid his appropriation of Pocahontas as a slur, rather than a historical Native American figure. The same is relevant for Trump's biological narrative of Native Americanness, and of the words 'gener' (genes), 'blod' (blood) and 'DNA'. As these issues are criticized and rejected, being meaningless in determining Native American status,

¹³⁰ "The change from «indianer» to «urfolk» is connected with the former term being perceived as condescending, by Indigenous Peoples in both South- and North-America. [...] Especially as states [in which they lived] became more democratic." 'Indianer', SNL, 2020.

¹³¹ "As the term was for a long time used about people in areas colonized by European states, it was often understood during colonial times as a common or catch all term for colonized non-European peoples. As this meaning still exists, the term might be perceived as archaic and in some contexts as condescending. Today many of these peoples can be termed as belonging to the third world or as Indigenous Peoples, if they are still living under a sort of colonial regime in their traditional or historical territories." 'Innfødt', SNL, 2020.

¹³² "Donald Trump responded to an increasingly heated series of attacks from Massachusetts Sen. Elizabeth Warren by mockingly referring to her as "the Indian" at a Monday news conference in Washington. After a reporter brought up the Democrat's recent criticism of him, Trump interrupted, asking sarcastically, "Who's that, the Indian? You mean the Indian?" Krieg, 2016.

they are certainly furthering the stereotype of Indian blood or native American blood being relevant to Native American status that Trump is spreading when offering to pay Warren to prove her heritage with a DNA analysis.

3.3 Selection of sources

The data in this study has been collected from sources in the online archives of the news outlets I have selected. The archives of the news outlets contain all articles published by the respective media sources. Cross references with the internet archive ‘Wayback Machine’ (<https://archive.org/web/>) have not resulted in any additional articles archived, that may have been deleted from any of the online archives of the news outlets used for this study. Therefore, it is likely that these archives are complete.

The website services of the three tv-channels I have selected are open access, available for anyone online, and are published in an online newspaper format.¹³³ Most of the newspapers used in this study have different pay services or subscription services, which might make some of their articles less accessible. I have collected the data from their online archives through the University of Tromsø Library service, which holds a valid subscription to the newspapers and outlets where required; however, I also opened subscriptions where needed for ease of access during the data collection. Articles possibly published in the paper version of the newspaper, but not online, have not been included in the data collection. This is in part because the amount of work for this data collection is not probable to yield any proportional results. But it is also in part because any difference between paper version and online versions of a news outlets articles must be considered as limited in scope. Finally, it is also because it would make a comparison between the different news outlets difficult because some outlets (e.g., Nrk.no and Resett) do not have a paper version, while others (e.g., Aftenposten) are released several times each day with varying versions depending on location.¹³⁴ Online versions are also available for a national audience, while paper versions of regional newspapers (e.g., Adresseavisen) are not available in parts of Norway. Use of the online versions simplified assessing and comparing the reception of President Trump’s use of the word Pocahontas in the Norwegian press.

¹³³ Nrk.no, Tv2.no and Nrk Super. The latter is available at the Nrk.no website.

¹³⁴ Eira, 2019.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, most online newspapers used for the data collection have been selected due to being the largest newspapers in Norway. Mediebedriftenes Landsforening, the national union of media outlets in Norway, publishes yearly numbers for daily readers or visitors to news outlets in Norway. According to their numbers, daily online readership in 2016 dominated by the three largest national newspapers VG, Dagbladet and Aftenposten, respectively.

Table 3.1.a¹³⁵

10 largest online newspapers in Norway 2016	Daily users
1. VG	2 012 000
2. Dagbladet	1 240 000
3. Aftenposten	836 000
4. Nettavisen	517 000
5. Dagens Næringsliv	349 000
6. E24	344 000
7. Bergens Tidende	191 000
8. ABC Nyheter	156 000
9. Adresseavisen	155 000
10. Bergensavisen	120 000

Table shows number of daily users of the 10 largest online newspapers in Norway in 2016.

The domination of VG, Dagbladet and Aftenposten as the most used news sites was also the case in 2019, when Mediebedriftenes Landsforening published a site of the 20 most visited web pages in Norway.¹³⁶ As seen on table 3.1.b the majority of these were online newspapers. In addition, the websites of NRK and Tv2 had a lot of traffic, and therefore was included in the data collection.

¹³⁵ MedieNorge, 2017.

¹³⁶ Hauger, 2019.

Table 3.1.b¹³⁷

20 most visited web sites in Norway 2019 * (News outlets in bold)	Daily users, for newspapers both digitally and paper version.
1. VG	2 378 900
2. Dagbladet	1 295 200
3. NRK	1 134 400
4. Finn.no	1 085 400
5. Yr.no	1 063 200
6. TV 2	1 042 400
7. Aftenposten	755 100
8. Nettavisen	441 600
9. E24	440 100
10. Dagens Næringsliv	294 900
11. ABC Nyheter	265 800
12. Bergens Tidende	252 000
13. Adresseavisen	236 900
14. Startsiden	216 700
15. Stavanger Aftenblad	178 100
16. Finansavisen	139 600
17. Finn Eiendom	137 100
18. Dagsavisen	129 200
19. Klassekampen	124 00
20. Finn Torget	115 400

*According to the study, the 2019 numbers cannot be compared to the 2016 numbers as the method of collecting data and definitions of what a daily online user is has changed between 2016 and 2019.¹³⁸

Because of their size and dominant position as the largest news media in Norway it was natural to include VG, Dagbladet, NRK.no, TV2.no, Aftenposten, Nettavisen, Dagens Næringsliv, ABC Nyheter, Bergens Tidende, Adresseavisen, Stavanger Aftenblad, Finansavisen, Dagsavisen, and Klassekampen.

¹³⁷ Hauger, 2019.

¹³⁸ Hauger, 2019.

Out of the media outlets mentioned above, Bergens Tidende and Stavanger Aftenblad are regional newspapers for the Bergens/Western Norway and South-West Norway regions, respectively.^{139 140} Bergens Tidende are listed in SNL.no as the leading media house outside Oslo. Dagsavisen is an Oslo based regional newspaper that releases various regional print versions, though its online website is solely national.¹⁴¹ NRK.no and Tv2 are the largest Norwegian broadcasters and they have well visited websites. Their televised releases were not collected as data, though articles on their websites were. NRK operates a subpage or sub service for younger viewers in school age called NRK Super, and the website was included as well as Aftenposten's newspaper for children, Aftenposten Jr, a subscription-only newspaper. E24 is a website established in 2006 and owned by VG and Aftenposten which publishes financial news.¹⁴² E24 covered news about Warren and Trump but did not cover any news on Trump's use of the word Pocahontas, nor Warren's claims of Native American ancestry.

News media in Norway have been overwhelmingly critical to Trump's presidency.¹⁴³ The most notable outlet which has stated support of Trump is Resett.no, whose editor described himself as a Trump supporter, and praised Trump for 'shaking the system up'.^{144 145} Resett is a website-only news outlets which claimed a daily readership of 30 000 and a monthly number of unique visitors of 560 000.¹⁴⁶ Commentators from established media entities have criticized Resett for being a political campaign and not a newspaper.¹⁴⁷ The website has been denied membership in the established organizations for media in Norway.¹⁴⁸

However, a media study done by Professor Paul Bjerke at Høgskulen in Volda, and Birgitte Kjos Fonn at Oslo Met University found that Resett met the requirements for news media doing actual reporting of news and did not find any breach of ethical press concerns in any of

¹³⁹ "Bergens Tidende", SNL, 2021.

¹⁴⁰ "Stavanger Aftenblad", SNL, 2021.

¹⁴¹ "Dagsavisen", SNL, 2021.

¹⁴² "Nettavisen Næringsliv24, mostly known as E24 (from 2006), is a cooperation between Aftenposten and Verdens Gang." 'Schibsted', SNL, 2020.

¹⁴³ NTB, 2016.

¹⁴⁴ "In danger of adding another tag to your person: Are you still a Trump-supporter?" -Strictly speaking, I've never been a «supporter» of Trump. This is a tag that has been attached to me by others. But I preferred Donald Trump over Hillary Clinton, this is correct. So if that makes me a Trump-supporter, I guess I am." Michalsen, 2017.

¹⁴⁵ "What I still think is right, and important and good about Trump is that he does a «shake-up» in the system." Michalsen, 2017.

¹⁴⁶ NTB, 2018.

¹⁴⁷ Dagens Leder, 2018.

¹⁴⁸ Grindem, 2018.

the publications done in 2018 and 2019.¹⁴⁹ The study also included a study of two weeks of the commentary field of Resett's articles and found that it scarcely differed from other news outlets.^{150 151} Since Resett's editor, Helge Lurås, was arguably the most prominent Norwegian media commentator which predicted a Trump victory in the 2016 election and who also have expressed pro Trump sentiments, it is important to include Resett in the data collection for sake of comparison with other more established media outlets, which are also more critical of Trump's presidency.¹⁵²

In addition, Dagen, a Norwegian newspaper with a Christian profile has expressed a pro-Trump sentiment, possibly due to Trump's pro-life stance. In 2018, the chief editor of Dagen, Vebjørn Selbekk, wrote in an editorial that Donald Trump should receive the Nobel Peace Prize if his foreign policies worked out.¹⁵³ Dagen is Norway's oldest Christian Newspaper, while Vårt Land is the largest Christian newspaper.^{154 155 156} These were included as sources for the data collection, and both published a single article which discuss the Pocahontas term as used by Trump.

The Norwegian Sámi-language newspaper, Ságat has also been used as a source for data collection but did not publish any reaction to Trump's use of the word Pocahontas. Ságat published a critical editorial reaction to Trump's suggestion that USA should purchase Greenland, considered the affair an attempt to annex Indigenous land, and was supportive of the Danish response that Greenland was not Danish but belonged to itself.¹⁵⁷ It is interesting

¹⁴⁹ "The researchers thinks Resett fulfill the requirements for news media which are doing «current reporting of issues of public interest,» and does not find any press-ethical wrongdoings." Brække, 2020.

¹⁵⁰ "Not in the commentary section in our material can we find obvious breeches of the professional [journalistic] ethic as it is customary practiced." Brække, 2020.

¹⁵¹ "Even if the commentary section of Resett, in the two weeks contained many Islam-critical statements, they were according to the researchers not on a different scale than what many other media allows in their commentary fields." Brække, 2020

¹⁵² "Norway is underestimating Donald Trump. We may very well have to accept a victory for Trump in November. Yes, perhaps both the world and the USA might even benefit from this experience." Lurås, 2016.

¹⁵³ Selbekk, 2018.

¹⁵⁴ "Dagen is a christian Norwegian daily newspaper, founded in 1919." "Dagen", SNL, 2021.

¹⁵⁵ "Total numbers of readers both in paper format and digital, including free articles online, on an average day in 2015 was 23 000." "Dagen", SNL, 2021.

¹⁵⁶ "Total number of readers for both paper and digital format, including free articles online on an average day in 2016 was 89 000." "Vårt Land", SNL, 2020.

¹⁵⁷ "USA is drooling after more Indigenous territory. [...] It is scary to observe what levels the man who runs the most powerful country in the world stoops to. [...] -Greenland is not Danish. Greenland is Greenland. This was the answer from Danish prime minister Mette Fredriksen that provoked the American president. A crystal clear and good answer to a completely absurd approach by Donald Trump." Sagat, 2019.

that Ságat has not reacted to the Pocahontas term or echoed Native American criticism; this will be discussed in part in the data analysis part of this study, Chapter 5.

3.3.1 Norwegian News Outlets on the Political spectrum/Left-Right axis

Table 3.2.1.a lists the Norwegian news outlets used in this study distributed on a Left-Right axis. The Center-Left, Center and Centre-Right are all moderate news media, and media placed in the Center-Left column could arguably be placed in Centre, but not in the Centre-Right column, nor the Left column. Likewise, the Centre-Right column contains newspapers that share some traits with media placed in the Center column but are not radical enough to be placed in the Right column. Only the communist newspaper Klassekampen have been considered radical enough to be outside any semblance of Center-Left and belongs firmly in the Left column. Klassekampen is the only media in the data material that is (partially) owned by a political party. Likewise, Resett is the only news outlet that is radical enough to warrant a place in the Right column. Resett has since declared itself in opposition to mainstream media, and desires to tell news that are alternative to mainstream media, though the news outlet is firmly anchored in the Norwegian Right-wing politics.

3.3.1.a Table of Norwegian News Outlets placed on a political left-right axis.

Left wing	Centre-Left	Centre	Centre-Right	Right wing
Klassekampen	Dagbladet	TV2	Aftenposten	Resett
	Dagsavisen	NRK	Dagens Næringsliv	
		Verdens Gang	Finansavisen	
		Stavanger		
		Aftenblad	Dagen*	
		Nrk Oddasat ^	Vårt Land*	
		NRK super	Bergens Tidende	
		Nettavisen	Adresseavisa	

*Christian newspapers.
^NRK subchannel targeted at a Sámi language audience in Norway.

Table 3.2.1.a above shows where the news outlets in the study place themselves on the political spectrum. ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵

¹⁵⁸ Klassekampen is a communist newspaper, in part owned by the most prominent communist party in Norway. "Klassekampen is a daily newspaper in Oslo, founded in 1969. It is independent radical. [...] Klassekampen has a broad ownership with the party Rødt, Fagforbundet (a trade union) and Industry and Energy as major owners." "Klassekampen", SNL, 2021.

¹⁵⁹ "Through its treatment of literature and art, Dagbladet has traditionally been central in Norwegian culture sector, in part as a soap box for culturally radical currents. [...] Dagbladet has kept its position as a large liberal newspaper with partly radical positions in issues as the language issue, church policies, womens rights, partnership issues, crime and rehabilitation and so on." "Dagbladet", SNL, 2021.

¹⁶⁰ "II.6.5. TV 2 will maintain editorial independence." TV2 KONSESJONSVILKÅR, 2000.

¹⁶¹ "§12 d. NRK will be editorially independent. NRK will protect its integrity and its credibility in order to act freely and independent of persons or groups which out of political, ideological, economic or other reasons might want to gain influence over the editorial content." NRK Plakaten, 2012.

¹⁶² "Aftenposten was originally a non-political news and advertisement magazine but became conservative from the end of the 1880s. It has kept this conservative profile since and is often characterized as independent conservative." "Aftenposten", SNL, 2021.

¹⁶³ "Dagens Næringsliv recommended their readers to vote for the Right-Wing coalition in 2017, which at the time did not include Vestre or Krf, traditionally considered center parties." Brække & Åm, 2017.

¹⁶⁴ Resett is politically located in the political right side of Norwegian politics and seeks to present alternative news and opinions. "Resett launched itself with the aim to present 'alternative news and opinions' and to 'present issues from another angle than established media' according to editor Lurås. The aim to achieve a restrictive Norwegian asylum- and immigration policy was from the outset a central topic in the commentary sections. Resett presents itself as a politically independent internet newspaper, but is anchored in the right side of the political landscape."

"Resett", SNL, 2021.

¹⁶⁵ VG refused to recommend a political party to their readership when asked by Klassekampen for an article during the 2017 election. Brække & Åm, 2017.

¹⁶⁶ VG states in its declaration of establishment that it seeks to be independent from party politics and is built on humanistic ideals and democratic values. The declaration states that it will oppose extreme tendencies in the society.

"VGs foundational declaration

Verdens Gang A/S is a media corporation with the publishing of Newspapers and similar releases as its activity. The Newspapers Verden Gangs aim is to be a political and economically independent daily newspaper for the entire country. [...] It will be the newspapers task to build bridges over disagreement in society and calm political conflict which is not founded in ideological differences. This is considered by the newspaper as a goal also on the international level through a positive view on cooperation between peoples. In any context the newspaper will fight against radical tendencies detrimental to the society. VG's Stiftelseserklæring, date n/a.

¹⁶⁷ Dagsavisen recommended their readers to vote for the red-green coalition for the 2017 election. Brække & Åm, 2017.

¹⁶⁸ Stavanger Aftenblad recommended to vote for both the Norwegian Labor party as well as Høyre in 2017. " [...]Stavanger Aftenblad supports both Ap and Høyre [...]" Brække & Åm, 2017.

¹⁶⁹ Finansavisen recommended their readers to vote for the right wing coalition in 2017. Brække & Åm, 2017.

¹⁷⁰ Dagen is Christian Conservative according to the lexicon *Store Norske Leksikon*. "Dagen", SNL, 2021.

Table 3.2.1.b. Distribution of the analyzed articles across news outlets.

News Outlet	Name of Website	Number of Articles
Dagbladet	db.no	14
Aftenposten	Ap.no	13
Verdens Gang	Vg.no	12
TV2	Tv2.no	12
Resett	Resett.no	9
Dagsavisen	Dagsavisen.no	7
Nettavisen	Nettavisen.no	7
NRK	Nrk.no	7
Adresseavisen	Adressa.no	6
Stavanger Aftenblad	Aftenbladet.no	5
Dagens Næringsliv	Dn.no	5
Finansavisen	Finansavisen.no	4
ABC Nyheter	Abcnyheter.no	4
Bergens Tidende	Bt.no	3
Klassekampen	Klassekampen.no	3
NRK Super	nrksuper.no	1
Dagen	Dagen.no	1
Vårt Land	Vl.no	1
NRK Oddasat	Nrk.no	1
Sagat and E24	Sagat.no & E24.no	0
	Total	115

¹⁷¹ Vårt Land is a newspaper for the liberal and radical part of the Christian readership according to the lexicon *Store Norske Leksikon*. "Vårt Land", SNL, 2020.

"Vårt Land is today part of the media house Mentor Medier and is placed as the newspaper for the liberal and radical part of the Christian readership and as a very active debate organ in both paper and digital format." "Vårt Land", SNL, 2020.

¹⁷² Bergens Tidende recommended their readers to vote for the Right-Wing coalition in an editorial for the 2017 election. Brække & Åm, 2017.

"Our statutes and tradition builds on Bergens Tidende being a liberal newspaper. When we assume political position throughout the year in important political cases, such as the infrastructure in Bergen, it would be illogical for us to not assume a position in such an important issue as the national election." Brække & Åm, 2017.

¹⁷³ Adresseavisa is characterized as independently conservative in the lexicon *Store Norske Leksikon*. "Adresseavisen", SNL, 2021

¹⁷⁴ NRK super is a sub-channel to NRK.

¹⁷⁵ Nettavisen is Norway's oldest only-internet and non-paper newspaper. It was owned from 2012 and onwards by commercial media groups Egmont and A-media. In 2018 Amedia gained full ownership. 'Nettavisen', SNL, 2021.

Table 3.2.1.b shows how many articles were found to have discussed the Pocahontas controversy between Trump and Warren, distributed by news outlets.

In my analysis I will focus on which articles mentions the Native American response, and which terms are used to describe Native Americans (i.e., ‘blod’, ‘gener’, ‘urfolk’, ‘indianer’, ‘urinnvåner’, etc.). Furthermore, the media responses are distributed in relation to how the Norwegian media place themselves on the political spectrum. This will be presented in a coding scheme meant to capture the position in each news outlet.

3.4 Methodology of data collection

During the data collection, I searched for the word ‘Pocahontas’ because it is used in most (if not all) relevant articles discussing the issue of Trump’s use of the word. Thus, it is a key word for the debate. The search using this word automatically yielded the broadest selection of sources. Next, I used the word ‘Trump’ as a qualifier to select relevant articles out of those containing ‘Pocahontas’. In addition, to search for articles where the issue is discussed only pertaining to Warren is mentioned (i.e., not Trump), I used the word ‘Warren’. I also made a search for the words ‘Trump’ and ‘Warren’ together, as Trump’s use of the word Pocahontas might be referred to in other terms. Finally, I searched for Warren in combination with the following words: urfolk, urbefolkning, indianer, indiansk, innfødt, urinnvåner, uramerikaner, urinnbygger, cherokee, stamme, avstamning, herkomst, opphav, gener and DNA.

Trump’s Presidential campaign was launched on June 16, 2015, and he left office on January 20, 2021.^{176 177} This period covers the relevant activities where he clashed with Warren and used the term ‘Pocahontas’ as well as made various remarks regarding her association with Native Americans. I have elected to search for articles this entire period, which is just over five and a half years. For sake of simplicity and thoroughness, I have searched for data for the whole month of June 2015 and January 2021, as well as all months in between.

The search was in all cases done with the internal search engine provided at the websites of

¹⁷⁶ Santucci, 2015.

¹⁷⁷ Zurcher, 2020.

the news outlets. Cross-searches with Google did yield one extra results (an article in Dagen) that did not register within their internal search engine. This yielded 115 articles that were online news outlets articles from the online archives listed. All articles were published online in the period from June 2015 and January 2021.

3.5 Methodology of data analysis

The core of this case study is a quantitative analysis of how news outlets use different terms and what media coverage can be seen for each news outlet and their position on the Left-Right political axis. My approach and analysis of the articles included a number of different perspectives. First, what position does the article take towards the Trump-Warren Pocahontas dispute regarding Trump's narrative? Second, how explicit is the position expressed? Third, what terms for Indigenous Peoples does the article contain? Fourth, does the article consider or mention the Native American or Indigenous response? Finally, how does this presentation correspond with the newspapers position on the Norwegian political spectrum, given the assumption that Left wing newspapers are more supportive to Indigenous Peoples?

For each article, I counted the number of terms for Indigenous Peoples used. I then numbered which terms would appear most often for the newspaper. The number of times a word is used in a single article is not counted, only if the word appear, as repeating terms such as "indian blood" in the same newspaper article is still perpetuating a stereotypical and cultural appropriative portrayal, whether the word is used once or several time. This approach is considered a form of content analysis. Kristina Boréus and Göran Bergström in their book *Analyzing Text and Discourse* state that "the basic concept of quantitative content analysis is [...] a method for counting or measuring something in texts because it is thought that the frequencies, or the fact that there is more or less of something in texts, are indications of something outside the texts."¹⁷⁸ In addition, often the goal is not to see how often a topic occurs, but how it is portrayed or evaluated.¹⁷⁹ In my data, I want to examine whether

¹⁷⁸ Boréus & Bergström, 2017, p. 26.

¹⁷⁹ "Often one is not interested solely in how frequently a topic occurs not more in how it is evaluated or portrayed. The researcher might want to examine the extent to which something is valued positively or

Indigenous Peoples are mentioned generally and whether they are valued positively or negatively, and whether this presentation can be explained according to the news outlets political positions. Groups can be underrepresented because they are rated lower in society, and a lack of mention of Indigenous groups’ reactions to Trump could represent a low rating placed upon them by the different Norwegian news outlets.¹⁸⁰

To analyze the data collected for this thesis, a coding scheme instrument was used in content analysis. The "code" has to do with elements in the texts, in this case words like ‘urbefolkning’ or ‘indianer’, which is recorded through a numerically code.¹⁸¹ According to Borèus and Bergström "knowledge of the discourse of which the texts are manifestations and of the social context in which they were produced is also necessary in almost all cases."¹⁸² In the case of the data collected for this paper, that would mean attributing qualities for the words used to describe the Native American claims or connections for Warren.

Table 3.5.1.a Coding Scheme for Content analysis.

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles	Percentage of uses	
Yes			
No			

The table is the template for the coding scheme which will determine to what extent an Indigenous and Native American reactions were made visible in the Norwegian news outlets coverage. The percentage of uses on the ‘yes’ row will indicate the level of visibility.

negatively and/or whether there is any difference in such evaluations between different sources or whether the same source makes different evaluations of the same phenomenon." Borèus & Bergström, 2017, p. 26.

¹⁸⁰ "One of the project's theoretical notions was that groups in the population that were strongly underrepresented on television were often underrepresented because they were rated lower in society. This invisibility was thought, in turn, to contribute to these groups being disparaged." Borèus & Bergström, 2017, p. 26.

¹⁸¹ Borèus & Bergström, 2017, p. 27.

¹⁸² Borèus & Bergström, 2017, p. 26.

Table 3.5.1.b Coding Scheme for Content analysis.

Word to describe Warren’s claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trump’s Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American organizations protests or statements.
Indianer, Indiansk			Sympathetic	Critical
Gener			Sympathetic	Critical
Blod			Sympathetic	Critical
DNA			Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst			Neutral	Critical
Innfødt			Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming			Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk			Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning			Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme			Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee			Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic

Table 3.5.1.b shows the coding scheme for the content analysis. Words found in the Norwegian articles that are dominant and visible in Trumps narrative and statements are assigned into the sympathetic towards his narrative row, while words used by the Native American response is critical towards his narrative. The words neutral to his narrative are not words used by either Trump or the Native Americans, but that shows up to some degree in the Norwegian coverage.

Then, I made an assessment whether the article used words that were critical, neutral or sympathetic towards Trump’s use of the words. In this assessment, the use of the same words that Trump used in his criticism of Warren and his demand that she has to “prove” her claims (i.e., the biological narrative of genes, DNA and blood) are considered sympathetic to his narrative, and, by extension, a sympathetic reception of his use of the word ‘Pocahontas’ as a slur. As discussed in Chapter 2, Trump used the moniker Pocahontas, and relating to this, the terms ‘indians’, ‘indian’, ‘blood’ and ‘DNA’. The words genes were used in translation in Norwegians in response to blood/DNA. The Native American response, as discussed in Chapter 2, did include the DNA word, but only to reject the notion, and repetition of this in the Norwegian news outlets must be understood to further Trump’s narrative by default, even when reporting on Warren’s actions. The use of a word, regardless of the number of times an article uses it, counts as the article using that word and is counted as an appearance. It is relevant to count the number of articles using a specific word to assess a news outlet’s position, since counting every single use could produce imprecise numbers. For example, a longer article might mention the word ‘indianer’ many times, while a dozen smaller articles

might not and stick to using 'urinnvåner'. Therefore, it makes sense to count the number of articles in which a word appears, not the individual uses of a word.

Meanwhile, words that are not used by Trump but used due to Native American reactions are deemed critical to Trump's narrative, and their use in Norwegian coverage must be considered a critical reception of Trump's use of the Pocahontas story and the ensuing scuffle with Senator Warren. As discussed in chapter 2, Native Americans used the terms 'Native American', 'Cherokee', 'Indigenous', 'tribes', 'Nation' and 'heritage'. A commonality is that they are all more precise than "indian" and avoids the genetic element that Trump's rhetoric contains.

Some words, namely 'innfødt' and 'herkomst' are not part of the narrative of neither Trump nor Native Americans responding to his remarks, but are used by some Norwegian news outlets in the coverage as substitutes, which makes them neutral in the reception of Trump's use of the word Pocahontas. 'Innfødt' has a negative connotation according to Store Norske Leksikon, and though it does not support or further a translated term by Trump, it is not a term that is used by Native American organizations. For this reason, I have coded it as a term critical to the Native American reaction to the Pocahontas slur.¹⁸³ Herkomst plays on ethnic and genetic background, and while not part of Trump's narrative, it cannot be described as critical to it either.

Indications of ideologies can be done by counting the number of expressions used.¹⁸⁴ Because of this, I noted if the article reported at all on Native American or other Indigenous responses to Trump's use of Pocahontas as a term to brand his political opponent. The percentage of articles that include the Native American response alludes to how successful the news outlet was in making the Indigenous voices visible. The percentage of Trump sympathetic words or terms out of all appearances of the words will indicate to what degree the news outlet promoted or furthered Trump's stereotypical narratives. A news outlet that uses many terms sympathetic to Trump's narrative will, in turn, have a positive reception to his use of Pocahontas. Conversely, news outlets that trend towards using terms that are more supportive of Native American responses may be said to have a more critical reception of Trump's narrative.

¹⁸³ The term *Innfødt* is described as archaic and often perceived as condescending in the Lexicon *Store Norske Lexicon*. "Innfødt", SNL, 2020.

¹⁸⁴ Borèus & Bergström, 2017, p. 37.

Finally, I described and systemized the location of each news media according to where they are located on the Norwegian political spectrum. The number of articles written per newspaper hints at their interest in the topic, though the percentage of articles bringing up or reporting a Native American reaction is the decisive factor.

Content analysis has certain limitations. One weakness is that not everything can be quantified, and that the way in which something is expressed may be more important than how many times a newspaper uses specific words.¹⁸⁵ The invisible, such as what is not said, is not counted either, which means that the implicit meaning of a text is not counted, while the explicit such as certain words are. A newspaper on the far left might for instance not bother stating in most articles that they support left wing ideals, and the newspapers leftist position could end up not being counted while using content analysis. Another newspaper might, for instance, not state things to stress that it is critical to Trump as a politician or his attacks on political opponents, since this is considered obvious or not in need of being stated.¹⁸⁶ Another point is that a newspaper not giving visibility to Native American voices in a case such as this, in the Norwegian context might be caused by lack of knowledge or ignorance, rather than any intent to make these voices invisible. For Norwegian journalism the Native American relationship with media, American society and mainstream politics such as a presidential discourse with a senator, might be a dynamic where Norwegian journalism lacks awareness and knowledge.

A validity problem that occurs in content analysis is that words can be taken out of context.¹⁸⁷ The position of the newspaper cannot be discerned from frequency of words alone. For instance, sympathetic words towards Trump might appear in articles critical of him or as direct quotes. Thus, it is also important to factor whether an article or news outlet reports on the Native American reception in the same article, which would contextualize direct citations or translations of Trump's Pocahontas narrative or Warren's different claims and rebuttals.

In the next chapter the data found using the methodology described will be presented.

¹⁸⁵ Borèus & Bergström, 2017, p. 45.

¹⁸⁶ Borèus & Bergström, 2017, p. 45.

¹⁸⁷ Borèus & Bergström, 2017, p. 46.

4 Chapter 4 - Results

4.1.1 Chapter overview

In this chapter I will present the data found using the methodology described in chapter 3.

In total, the data collection resulted in 115 articles. The vast majority of these were generally critical towards Trump, and only a few were positive. From the positive articles, one was a signed letter written by a reader, and a third of Resett's articles were critical towards NTB and other press media's coverage of Trump. Most articles were signed articles, written by journalists working for the newspaper, while the rest were reprints of NTB articles, and a minority of unsigned.

As expected, nearly all of them related to one of the five events between Trump and Warren described in section 2.1.

For the individual news outlets, the appendix of tables for each news outlet must be referred to.

4.1.2 Summary of visibility according to political Left-Right axis

See appendix for individual news outlets. In the summary the articles are sorted by political category

Table 4.1.2.a

Sum of articles distributed according to news outlets on the political left-right axis	Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included?	Total number of articles	Percentage of inclusion of a Native American response.
Right-Wing (Just Resett)	Yes	3	33%
	No	6	66%
Center-Right	Yes	12	36.3%
	No	21	63.6%
Center	Yes	8	16.3%
	No	41	83.7%
Center-Left	Yes	2	9.5%
	No	19	90.5%
Left-Wing (Just Klassekampen)	Yes	1	50%
	No	1	50%

The table above sums up all articles for the news outlets grouped on the left-right political axis. It shows that Right-Wing media, and Center-Right had 33% and 36,3% of their articles

include a Native American response, while Center media only did so in 16,3% of their articles, and Center-Left did so in 9.5% of their articles. The Left-Wing newspaper group mentions a Native American response in 50% of their articles, though for this group the data is only two articles.

4.1.3 Summary of reception of Trump’s narrative by Left-Right axis

Sum of words distributed according to news outlets on the political left-right axis	Position on Trump’s narrative	Total appearances (Neutral words not included)	Percentage
Right-Wing (Just Resett)	Sympathetic	19	73%
	Critical	7	27%
Center-Right	Sympathetic	38	65.5%
	Critical	20	34.5%
Center	Sympathetic	40	55.5%
	Critical	32	44.4%
Center-Left	Sympathetic	26	70.3%
	Critical	11	29.7%
Left-Wing (Just Klassekampen)	Sympathetic	2	28.6%
	Critical	5	71.4%

The table above shows to which extent the words from Trumps narrative was used in the news outlets articles, grouped according to placement on the political left-right axis. It shows that Center media and Left-Wing media used Trumps language the least, while Center-Left and Right-Wing news outlets used it the most.

4.1.4 Sum of all articles

Sum of all articles	Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included?	Total number of articles (114)	Percentage of uses
All articles	Yes	26	22.8%
	No	88	77.2%
Sum of all words in all articles, showing average.	Position on Trump’s narrative	Total appearances (200) (Neutral words not included)	Percentage
All articles	Sympathetic	125	62.5%
	Critical	75	37.5%

The table shows all 114 articles, (One Klassekampen article does not deal with the Pocahontas controversy directly) collected from the Norwegian news outlets, and how many of these articles included a Native American response to Trumps use of the Pocahontas word. The table then shows the sum of all words in all articles, calculating a percentage of the 200 appearances of non-neutral words in the articles of terms that are sympathetic or critical towards Trumps narrative. This displays the average of the collective Norwegian media reception of Trumps use of the word Pocahontas, independent of their political position.

4.1.5 Summary

Visibility of the Native American reaction

As can be seen from the summary table, the Right wing and Centre-Right had the highest percentage of articles (33% and 36,3% respectively) reporting Native American or Indigenous reactions to Trump or Warren's dispute. The Center category gave less visibility to the Native American reaction (16.3%) and the Center-Left even less (9.5%). This shows that the news outlets in the political Right gave significant more visibility to the Indigenous People's response to the Trump-Warren dispute, than the Center, and even more so than the Center-Left.

Klassekampen has a 50% inclusion rate of the Native American response, which is an effect of having few articles on the subject. Originally, 3 articles dealt with the topic, but 1 mentions the Pocahontas term in an unrelated manner that it would best represent Klassekampen's coverage to not count it as part of the data.¹⁸⁸ In another of their articles, the Native American response is misrepresented by the journalist to such an extent that it would possibly be fair to **not** count it as including their reaction, the journalist, Lysberg, claims Native Americans are aiding Trump in smearing Warren.¹⁸⁹ Lysberg states that "Now, Warren opponents are using the indian-case to smear her, with support from the Indigenous Peoples themselves". This is a misrepresentation by Lysberg, since the Native American response by Cherokee leader Chuck Hoskin jr., cited in the article, was critical to Trump. If one would apply such qualitative reading of the single Klassekampen article that did include the Native American reaction, the data shows that the news outlets leaning to the political Right gave the most visibility and that the further Left a media was located, the less visibility was given. With the headline stating that Pocahontas draws her bow, i.e. Warren is getting ready to attack Trump, Klassekampen must have understood the Indigenous framing of the discourse, rather than just understood it as a purely Trump-Warren affair. Even if the Klassekampen article's inclusion of the Native American is taken as a proper report (as has been done in the summary table), this only makes a difference in the Left-wing category, and for a single newspaper. The data shows that Center-media and, even more, Center-Left media, gave the least visibility to Native American voices.

¹⁸⁸ Aareskjold, 2020.

¹⁸⁹ Lysberg, 2020.

Promoting Trump's narrative

The data shows that the Center and Center-Left promoted Trump's language and narrative the least. The Right-wing news outlet Resett furthered Trump's rhetoric and narrative the most, with 73% of their terms being sympathetic to Trump's narrative. This happened through repeating the words that he used, thus enabling a cultural appropriation of what a Native American 'is' through repeated use of irrelevant notions such as blood, genes and DNA, as well as the slightly outdated and imprecise term 'indianer' in Norwegian. For the Center-Right, about 65% of their terms were sympathetic to Trump's narrative, and for news media in the Center of the Norwegian political landscape, the ratio was 55%. A significant reason for the Center-media performing better was that TV2, which published many articles on the topic, made an editorial decision not to use the word 'indianer' entirely, as given in their first article covering the events.

The Center-Left media in this study had a 70% rate of terms positive towards Trump's narrative, which is the second highest of all the categories. A minor contributing factor is that 3 neutral appearances in Dagsavisen's articles are not counted into the summary, and the lack of critical attitude towards repeating Trump's narrative and their key words. The Center-Left media uses 'indianer', 'genes', 'blood' more often than news outlets in the Center and Center-Right.

The Centre-Left consists of just two newspapers, Dagbladet and Dagsavisen. Any characteristic in their coverage will influence the percentage more than any single news outlet in the Centre-Right or Center categories. Still, Dagbladet published the most articles about the Trump-Warren Pocahontas dispute (14), while Dagsavisen published less (7). The Center-Left group also has a total number of word appearances less than, but reasonably comparable to, the Centre-Right and Center categories, 37 to 58 and 72, respectively.

With only 7 appearances, the Left-wing category, consisting of Klassekampen, one should be careful to draw conclusions. The data is based on 3 articles in Klassekampen, of which only 2 truly is concerned with the Warren-Pocahontas topic. The main interesting thing is that Klassekampens largest article on Warren contains two very stereotypical themes. The first is the headline stating that "Pocahontas [Warren] is drawing her bow", the other is that the Indigenous Peoples in the USA are supporting her opponents' efforts to smear Warren's

reputation.¹⁹⁰ This is not correct, as it is not well supported in the citation the article quotes of Cherokee-Nation spokesman Chuck Hoskin.

In the next chapter, the data will be discussed. First, each news outlets separately, then each group of media from Right-wing to Left-wing categories.

¹⁹⁰ «Now Warrens opponents are using the indian-issue to smear her, with support from the Indigenous Population itself.» Lysberg, 2019.

5 Chapter 5 - Discussion

5.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter will discuss the data presented in chapter 4. The news outlets will be discussed from political Right to Left from table 3.3.1.a. For news outlets in the same bracket (i.e., Center-Right), the news outlets are presented in descending order of the number of articles they published on the topic. I will discuss the reception of each newspaper separately, which will give the best impression of which reaction they had to Trump's use of the word 'Pocahontas', and, where possible, discuss causes of their positionality.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, most of the articles published in the Norwegian press were released in response to the same five events. First, Trump's initial use of the 'Pocahontas' word in 2016. Secondly, the Navajo veteran's event in 2017. Thirdly, Warren's DNA-test, and then later, her apology for the DNA debacle. Finally, Warren's campaign for the 2020 presidential election resulted in some coverage of the 'Pocahontas' nickname in the Norwegian press.

5.2 Media reception

5.2.1 Right wing media

5.2.1.1 Resett

Resett's first coverage of the Trump-Warren Pocahontas dispute was the 2017 November Navajo veteran's event. Resett was launched in August 2017, which explains why they did not cover earlier events in the Pocahontas dispute. Resett published 9 articles in total about the topic, out of which 5 were reprints of NTB articles with a few text additions. The remaining 4 articles were signed articles, written and signed by in-house journalists.

One third (1/3) of Resett's articles that mentioned the Pocahontas nickname discussed the Native American response. The remaining articles did not, though one signed article brings up a critical Boston Globe article, as well as repeating the 2012 accusations from Scott Brown towards Warren, but does not mention the Native American response.¹⁹¹ One of the other articles, signed by NTB, meaning it is an NTB article that is published in Resett, as well as a different signed article, includes the reaction of the Democratic party, but not the Native American response.^{192 193}

Out of the articles mentioning Native American response, 2 briefly mention that Native American leaders have been critical towards Warren's claims of Native American ancestry.¹⁹⁴¹⁹⁵ In the article *Amerikanske Cherokeeer avviser Elizabeth Warren's DNA-test* by Kristian Kahrs, the main point of the article is to defend Trump against accusations put forth by NTB, in the article Resett printed in November 2017. The focus of Khar's article is the Native American response. Kahrs writes that it is interesting to see if NTB writes about the very strong statement made by General Secretary Chuck Hoskin Jr. in the Cherokee Nation.¹⁹⁶ The article then gives two quotes by the General Secretary, condemning DNA-tests and stating that Warren is undermining Native American interests with her claims to belong to the Cherokee Nation.

Resett covered the Navajo veteran's event with a single article, mostly copied from NTB, with the addition of a headline that states "*Trump honored Indians by making fun of democratic representative with Indian background, it is claimed*"¹⁹⁷ Resett, which has been somewhat positive to Trump's presidency, spreads doubt about Warren's claims in the headline. It also uses the terms 'Indian' and 'Navajo-Indians'¹⁹⁸, which, according to my data, reflects Right wing media tendencies, rather than using 'Indigenous' or 'Native American'.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹¹ Zahler, 2018.

¹⁹² Werenskjold, 2019.

¹⁹³ NTB, Resett, 2019.02.11.

¹⁹⁴ "Indian leaders have called Trumps previous attacks on Warren as insulting and distasteful." NTB, Resett, 2017.11.27.

¹⁹⁵ "The Cherokee expressed disapproval after the presentation of the DNA-result and said that it is the tribes which decides membership, not DNA-tests. They felt Warren was undermining their interests by continually promoting her Indigenous heritage." NTB, Resett, 2019.02.02.

¹⁹⁶ NTB, Resett, 2018.10.16.

¹⁹⁷ "Trump honored indians by making fun of democratic party representative with indian background, it is alleged." NTB, Resett, 2017.11.27.

¹⁹⁸ Indianer/Indiansk opphav.

¹⁹⁹ Urfolk, urbefolkning, innfødt and amerikansk urinnvåner.

This article also states that Elizabeth Warren has claimed that she has Indian genes. As shown in my data, the word ‘genes’ rather than ‘ancestry’ is slightly more typical for the Norwegian Centre-Right and Right-wing media, as opposed to Center-Left media who trend towards using terms like ‘ancestry’, ‘origin’, and ‘descendant’.²⁰⁰

Since the word ‘gene’ is a scientific and technical term, while ‘ancestry’, ‘origin’ and ‘descendant’ are more subjective, this may point towards the Right-wing media like Resett.no representing a more critical and narrow view or definition of how Native American status is determined and how it can be claimed. Interestingly, the Resett.no article reports that Indian leaders has described Trump’s former attacks on Warren as insulting and distasteful, supporting the Native American narrative rather than Trump’s. The Resett.no article doubles down on not repeating Trump’s narrative and states that “Some democrats think the statements are racist”, which contrasts with the TV2 article by Angelica Hagen which gives voice to Trump’s claims of Warren being racist.

Half of the signed articles discuss the Native American response. Only 1 out of 6 NTB articles mention the Native American response, making it clear that the in-house writers of Resett were more likely to give the Native American response in the Pocahontas feud between Warren and Trump coverage. Their attacks on other press (i.e., NTB) for not including the Native American response stands out as motivated by Resett's defense of Trump. In sum, Resett reports the Native American response in 1/3 of their articles about the issue.

When analyzing the extent Resett has furthered Donald Trump's narrative by repeating stereotyping language and words chosen by him, rather than language and words chosen by Indigenous groups responding to him, Resett repeats many words sympathetic to Trump’s narrative and furthers his narrative to a high extent. As shown in the table, 100% of the articles uses the word ‘indianer’, with a high prevalence for use of ‘genes’, ‘blood’, and ‘DNA’, which are terms Trump uses in his criticism of Warren when challenging her Native American status.

Comparatively, Resett has few uses of terms for Native Americans that would represent the Native American choice of words. In fact, all three instances where the Native American response is mentioned, they are responding to both Warren and Trump, and by necessity, uses

²⁰⁰ Herkomst, bakgrunn, røtter, opphav and avstamming.

the terms already established in their discourse (such as ‘DNA’, ‘blood’, and ‘genes’). These are terms already declared irrelevant for determining membership to a Native American Nation or tribe by the Native American spokespersons (see chapter 2). As will be discussed later, this factors into the dynamic of cultural appropriation, where Indigenous groups have the power of definition seized by majority groups.

Compared to the average percentage of a news outlets reporting on the Native American response, Resett is above average. Compared to the average percentage of new outlets using Trump’s narrative to describe the topic, Resett scores higher on being sympathetic to Trump’s narrative (70.3%). This fits with Resett reporting on the Native American response and giving voice to their spokespersons because it strengthens the Trump narrative. The Native American voice is interesting for Resett to report on as it can be used against Donald Trump's political opponent, rather than any interest in giving the Native American groups visibility.

5.2.2 Centre-Right media

5.2.2.1 Aftenposten

Aftenposten published 13 articles dealing with the Trump-Pocahontas dispute. 7 included the Native American reaction to the events, and 6 did not. One was a reprint of an NTB article about the Navajo veteran’s event. Aftenposten's coverage began in November 2017 with the printing of this NTB article. A second article was published in December 2017, written by Mona Solbakk, the director of NRK Sápmi. Her article was part of a debate about NRK Sápmi’s coverage of the Tysfjord sexual abuse cases. The use of ‘Pocahontas’ by Solbakk illustrates how Indigenous Peoples gain attention in the Norwegian press, and she argues that when the press gives attention to these cases, Sámis and other Indigenous Peoples are portrayed as easily offended. She also argues that Indigenous news stories in national media would contribute to preserve and develop Indigenous language and culture, and that visibility is important to expose problems in Indigenous communities.²⁰¹ Solbakk uses ‘Pocahontas’ to

²⁰¹ "The National press and their relationship to Indigenous issues. In Norway, you need a secretary of Finance dressing up as Disneys Pocahontas before the national press gives any attention to Indigenous issues. This attention is usually broad coverage about how easily offended and humorless the Sámi and other Indigenous Peoples are. It can be caused by many things, and it would be naïve to not think it could also be caused by the

relate to the Native American costume that then Finance minister Siv Jensen recently had worn to a costume party for the parliament members; however, the article is still interesting due to its proximity to the other discussions of Pocahontas in Aftenposten dealing with the same problems of visibility and portrayal in the media.

Aftenposten also covers a Native American reaction to Trump's use of 'Pocahontas' in a 2018 article describing new members of Congress, and notes that Native American congresswoman Deb Haaland criticized the president for calling Warren 'Pocahontas'.²⁰² Her reaction is brought to light since it is part of a critique of Trump, rather than to report an Indigenous voice. In an article about possible presidential candidates, Aftenposten calls out Trump's use of 'Pocahontas' as bullying, while in another article solely about Warren defends her as a victim of bullying.^{203 204}

Aftenposten had a critical reception of Trump's narrative, with 54.1% terms used critical to his narrative, and only 45.8% supportive. At 54% articles covering a Native American response, Aftenposten was the news outlet that gave the most representation to the Native American voice. Part of this may be an editorial decision, but their coverage started with the November 2017 article that mentioned the response, and this continued in following coverage by in-house journalists.

A signed 2019 article does use the word the 'indianer', but only to state that this is a former American word for Indigenous Peoples. Because this disclaimer does not promote Trump's language and narrative, I have not counted it as an appearance.²⁰⁵

historic relationship between majority and minority. If we look to New Zealand and Canada, Indigenous Issues are given national attention more regularly than here in Norway. Greater attention will contribute to preserve and develop language and culture, but also increase visibility when issues which needs a critical look must be uncovered." Solbakk, 2017.

²⁰² Hansen, 2018.06.06.

²⁰³ «Trump has bullied her for years by calling her Pocahontas.» Pletten, 2018.

²⁰⁴ «The past year, Warren has been a constant target for bullying by Donald Trump. The president calls her Pocahontas [...]» Pletten, 2019.

²⁰⁵ «President Donald Trump has customary called her Pocahontas after she previously has identified as Native American, formerly called indian.» Hansen, 2019.09.17.

5.2.2.2 Adresseavisen

Adresseavisen published 6 articles that reported in some capacity about the Pocahontas nickname. The first three articles were published by NTB and dealt with the Navajo veterans' event, Warren's campaign for the 2020 nomination, and her chances at beating Trump, respectively. Only the first of these articles reported the Native American statements in response to the Navajo veteran's event. The remaining three articles are articles signed by in-house journalists, which all refer to the Pocahontas nickname in some fashion, but without any further discussion of the term. Trump's narrative and the words coined by him makes up most of the terms used in the articles to describe the discourse.

Traditionally, Adresseavisen has been described as a conservative newspaper and can be comfortably placed in the Centre-Right media, as discussed in chapter 3.²⁰⁶ It began its coverage, like Aftenposten, with an NTB article about the Navajo veterans' event. The article is unsigned, and cites NTB as a source, though it adds a headline calling Trump's remark a "Pocahontas-joke".²⁰⁷ This article uses the terms 'Indian' and 'Indian genes', and discusses the Native American leaders and their criticism of Trump. The similarity between the Adresseavisen and Resett.no articles is seen by both being based on the NTB article, but the Adresseavisen adds a narrative from the Trump administration spokesperson Sarah Huckabee Sanders, quote "I believe that what most people find offensive is that Senator Warren is lying about her heritage."²⁰⁸ The use of 'genes' and 'Indian' are typical of Trump's narrative, and is most repeated in the data from the Right-leaning news outlets in this study. It is interesting to note that Resett.no omits the largest critique from the Trump narrative, while Adresseavisen includes it. A possible explanation might be that Resett.no editors are more cautious with what it prints as an arguably far-right news media may endure more scrutiny regarding discriminatory, racist, or too 'pro-Trump' language. Other Centre-Right news outlets, such as Adresseavisen, may be more willing repeat more Trump narratives because it does not endure this scrutiny.

Adresseavisen had a sympathetic reception of Trump's narrative, where 88.8% of its terms were sympathetic rather than critical. Only 17% of its articles covered the Native American

²⁰⁶ «Adresseavisen», SNL, 2021.

²⁰⁷ "Trump made Pocahontas-joke as indians were honoured in The White House," NTB, Adresseavisen. 2017.11.28.

²⁰⁸ «What I think most people find offensive, is that Senator Warren lies about her heritage, said Sanders.» NTB, Adresseavisen. 2017.11.28.

response, including the NTB article Adresseavisen reprinted. In its signed articles, Adresseavisen's in-house journalists neglected to give visibility to the Native American response.

5.2.2.3 Finansavisen

Finansavisen published 4 articles about the Pocahontas topic. One was an NTB article, though signed by a Finansavisen journalist, about the Navajo veteran's event, in which the Native American condemnation of Trump's Pocahontas use was reported.²⁰⁹ Two of the articles were signed articles and had a high degree of language used by Trump in his attempt to brand Warren with the 'fake Native American' narrative.^{210 211} A fourth, short, article written by journalist Stein Ove Haugen included a 6-minute video, originally from Bloomberg TV, which dealt with the DNA-test without any Native American response.²¹²

Finansavisen had a sympathetic reception of Trump's narrative, with 87.5% of its terms dominating the coverage. 25% of Finansavisen articles report on the Native American response, all of which came from the NTB article. Its in-house journalists did not report it in later articles.

5.2.2.4 Dagens Næringsliv

Dagens Næringsliv (DN) published five articles related to the Pocahontas dispute. The first article about the topic was not the widely published (in Norwegian media) NTB article that many newspapers printed in November 2017. Unlike other news outlets, DN published a signed article in June 2016 with a brief mention of the Pocahontas name without any further discussion.²¹³ The Navajo veteran's event article from NTB mentions the Native American response, without any further article published by DN discussing the matter.

A signed article presenting Warren as a political candidate states that she has claimed to be

²⁰⁹ Seljehaug, 2017.

²¹⁰ Parr, 2019.

²¹¹ Vossgraff, 2019.

²¹² Haugen, 2019.

²¹³ Lausten, 2016.

related to ‘Urinnvandrere’(‘Indigenous immigrants’). I consider this likely to be a spelling mistake where the journalist meant ‘Urinnvånere’.²¹⁴ The last article on the subject mentioned Warren’s apology, without any Indigenous response.²¹⁵

DN’s coverage is also interesting because it avoids the use of the term ‘indianer’, except in the NTB article about the Navajo veteran’s event, and in a quotation by Trump, where it is bracketed on purpose.²¹⁶

DN only reported the Native American reaction in one article, equating to 20% of their responsive articles. DN had a sympathetic reception of Trump’s narrative and out of all terms used in all articles to describe the dispute, 57.1% were sympathetic to his narrative.

5.2.2.5 Bergens Tidende

Bergens Tidende (BT) published 3 articles touching on the Pocahontas nickname. One was a reprint of an NTB article, which reported on the Native American reaction to Trump’s attacks during the Navajo veteran's event.²¹⁷ The other two articles included an NTB article and a signed article by a BT journalist. All 3 articles frequently use language that promotes Trump’s narrative, though the signed article uses the term ‘Urbefolkning’, also mentioning that Pocahontas was a historical person besides being the focus of the 1995 Disney movie.^{218 219}

BT had a sympathetic reception of Trump’s narrative at 77.7% of terms appearing being sympathetic ones. BT reported the Native American response in 33% of its articles but would not have covered it if not for the NTB article they reprinted.

²¹⁴ “Donald Trump keeps ridiculing Warrens alleged relationship with American Indigenous Immigrants [Indigenous Peoples].” Lund & Solgård, 2019.

²¹⁵ NTB, Dagens Næringsliv, 2019.

²¹⁶ «I will give one million dollars to your favorite charity, paid for by Trump, if you take the test, and it shows that you are a ‘indian’, said Trump in July.” NTB, Dagens Næringsliv, 2018.

²¹⁷ NTB, Bergens Tidende, 2017.

²¹⁸ NTB, Bergens Tidende, 2018.

²¹⁹ Thobo-Carlsen, 2019.

5.2.2.6 Vårt Land

As discussed in Chapter 3, Vårt Land is a small Christian Newspaper. It published a single article in October 2020, written by political editor Berit Aalborg.²²⁰ The article discusses political nicknames, and states that Trump's nicknaming hurts his opponents, and people should not have to suffer such names as "Elisabeth Pocahontas". The article remains mostly neutral and does not consider Native American reaction, but rather considers it a problem for Warren to be labeled as Pocahontas. The article does not use any language that would promote Trump's narrative such as 'Indian' or 'Indian blood'.

5.2.2.7 Dagen

As described in chapter 3, Dagen is a Christian newspaper with some sympathy towards Trump, possibly because the Republican president made pro-life statements in line with conservative Christian values. Dagen published a single article about the Trump-Warren dispute, which discussed Warren's apology for the DNA-test. The article opens by stating that information about the apology comes from a Cherokee spokeswoman and concludes with referring to the Cherokee statement that the power to determine membership to tribes belongs to the tribes, rather than DNA-tests. The article states that Warren's claims to Native American ancestry have spurred Trump to call her Pocahontas but does not repeat anything else the president has said.²²¹ Apart from referring to the DNA-test, Dagens article does not further or promote Trump's narrative, but generally reports the apology event with basis on the Native American sources.

5.2.2.8 Summary Centre-right media

Dagens Næringsliv, Finansavisen, Bergens Tidende and Adresseavisen would not have covered the Native American response if not for the NTB article they reprinted. They all neglected to report on the Native American response in later articles written by in-house journalists. The exception to this was Aftenposten, who discussed it in more than half of its

²²⁰ Aalborg, 2020.

²²¹ NTB, Dagen, 2019.

articles. Aftenposten also had a lower rate of sympathetic terms than the other four outlets (DN, FA, BT and Adresseavisen). Aftenposten is a much larger and broader newspaper than the four, who represent financial and regional newspapers. Aftenposten's in-house journalism in the data from this study is broader and more concise, and this may have contributed to a more informed coverage.

While Dagen covers the Native American response in its single article, and Vårt Land does not, they remain critical towards Trump's narrative with very low levels of sympathetic terms appearing.

5.2.3 Center media

5.2.3.1 Verdens Gang

Verdens Gang (VG) published 12 articles which involved the Pocahontas nickname, and 25% of VG's articles reported the Native American response. One out of these articles originated from the November 2017 NTB article, with the remainder being signed articles. One of the signed article uses the Native American reaction in part to attack Donald Trump.²²² Another article briefly mentions that Warren's DNA-test brought her into conflict with Native American leaders without citing them, but rather conflates it with a conflict with her political opponents, and adds that one of two Indigenous women in Congress, Deb Haaland has supported Warren after her apology.²²³ This article can hardly be counted as reporting the Native American reaction, as it skips the criticism that was directed at Warren and Trump.

At 25% coverage, VG had a low level of reporting on the Native American response. On the other hand, VG covered the Native American response in 2 signed articles (apart from the NTB article), which is far more representative than the news outlets who only covered it once

²²² NTB, VG, 2017.

²²³ "Warren did not only get into a spat with a political opponent, but also with the Indigenous leaders and the conflict worsened when she published the results of a DNA-test. The presidential candidate has apologized, and in July she received support from one of the two indigenous women in Congress, Deb Haaland from New Mexico." Fjellanger, 2019.

from the single NTB reprint. VG had a critical reception of Trump's narrative at 43.7% of terms being sympathetic towards Trump.

5.2.3.2 TV2

TV2's news website published 12 articles dealing with the Trump-Warren Pocahontas dispute. All of them were written by in-house journalists, though a single article was co-signed NTB.²²⁴ TV2 does not report the Native American response to the Trump-Warren dispute in any of its articles. In sum, TV2 has a 62% rate of appearance of terms critical to Trump's narrative, and only 31% sympathetic.

The first article in TV2's coverage of the Pocahontas dispute was published in November 2017. This article presented the Navajo veteran's event, and like the other news media, used the headline to highlight Trump's use of 'Pocahontas' at a political opponent during a speech addressed at Indigenous people. The article's use the terms 'urbefolkning' and 'innfødte' refers to the Navajo code talkers.²²⁵ The article contained a very visible link to another TV2 article, stating that *Store norske leksikon* is removing 'indianer' from their articles.^{226 227} TV2 seems to have taken its cue from this and does not use the word 'indianer', except in a single reference to 'Cheerokee-indianere'. TV2's lack of use of 'indianer' is in contrast – as will be shown – to most of the news outlets which led their coverage of the Pocahontas dispute with the November 2017 article about the Navajo veterans event.

The TV2 article is written by journalist Angelica Hagen and goes the furthest in repeating Trump's rhetoric in the Norwegian press. Hagen states that it is not the first time Trump uses the nickname, and that it popped up frequently during the presidential election of 2016.²²⁸ Warren has claimed to be 1/32 Cherokee, unlike the rest of the press in this study, which typically refers to Warren claiming Native ancestry. Hagen's article also states that Warren has been accused of making the claim to secure a professorial position at Harvard. Hagen

²²⁴ Persen & NTB, 2018.

²²⁵ Hagen, 2017.

²²⁶ "Removing «indianer» from Store norske leksikon." Hagen, 2017.

²²⁷ "That the American Indigenous Peoples are called indians is because of a misunderstanding, and should therefore not be repeated." Hvattum, 2017.

²²⁸ "It is not the first time Trump uses this nickname for the high profile senator and political opponent. [...] It kept appearing during the presidential election last year." Hagen, 2017.

quotes a Trump interview with NBC News where Trump clarifies he believed Warren has invented her family background, and that this makes her a fraud and a racist.²²⁹ Trump's belief of Warren as a 'fraud' is also repeated in text accompanying a picture of Warren. Warren's rebuttal is headlined with the word 'unfortunate', and Hagen does not include any mention of Native American groups or commentators condemning Trump or the use of the word Pocahontas in this context, even though Thomas Begay and Peter McDonald are mentioned by name. In general, the article gives the impression that Trump might have some right in mocking Warren for her claims of the miniscule Native American ancestry, favoring Trump's narrative by repeating his vicious attacks on Warren.

The article also skips Native American spokespersons condemnation of the entire episode. Seen in other coverage by TV2, articles on its website are fairly neutral to Trump's use of the word Pocahontas and does not cover Native American reactions at all. TV2 mentions in 3 articles that the DNA-test did show a strong indication of Warren having Native Americans ancestry.^{230 231 232} When stated without adding the Native American reaction that a DNA-test is not relevant to establish Native American ancestry, it gives legitimacy to Trump's cultural appropriation and notion of who is Indigenous and not. By leaving out the Native American reaction to Warren's DNA-test this way, TV2's coverage not only makes Indigenous Peoples less visible and disempower them as a group, but perpetuates wrong and damaging stereotypes, namely that DNA-tests can determine who is a Native American.

In sum, TV2 failed to make the Native American response visible, and had no coverage out of a broad coverage of 12 articles. This contrasts with the other large national media in the study, like Aftenposten, NRK and VG, which all gave coverage with its in-house journalists, as well as the NTB article of November 2017. TV2 had a very critical reception to Trump's narrative, however, with only 31.3% of its terms sympathetic to his version of the story. Much of this can be tracked to the decision to not use the word 'indianer', though 'genes' and 'blood' are also avoided in favor of terms like 'urfolk' and 'Cherokee'.

²²⁹ "Trump has previously stated to NBC News that he thinks Warren has made up her family background, something he thinks makes into a racist and a fraud." Hagen, 2017.

²³⁰ "A DNA-test has however showed a strong indication that there are Indigenous People among her ancestors." Olausen, 2019.

²³¹ "A DNA-test has however showed a strong indication that there are Indigenous People among her ancestors." Johansen & Barth-Heierdahl, 2019.

²³² "A DNA-test has however showed a strong indication that there are Indigenous People among her ancestors." Barth-Heierdahl, 2019. *The statement is identical with the Johansen & Barth-Heierdahl and Olausen articles.

5.2.3.3 Nettavisen

Nettavisen published 7 articles, out of which 5 were signed articles and 2 NTB articles. The NTB articles covered Elizabeth Warren's launch of 2020 presidential nominee campaign and in turn the Pocahontas controversy. None of the articles mention the Native American response to the Trump-Warren Pocahontas dispute, and the signed articles deal largely with Trump being a bully for using the Pocahontas nickname. Nettavisen's articles are sparse with terminology outside the 'Pocahontas' term, and the sympathetic words to Trump's narrative comes mostly from the two NTB articles, and not their in-house journalists.

Nettavisen gave no coverage in its seven articles to the Native American response and had a very sympathetic reception of Trump's narrative with 88.9% of their terms sympathetic to his story.

5.2.3.4 NRK

NRK published 7 articles on its online news site. 6 were signed articles, and 1 was an NTB article about Warren speculating that Trump would land in prison before the 2020 election.²³³

NRK, the Norwegian state broadcaster, published a signed article by journalist Oda Ruggesæter Ertesvåg on November 28, 2017, different from the often used NTB article published. In her article, Ertesvåg establishes a critical take on the episode in the headline and refers to the Indigenous organization which denounced Trump's Pocahontas statement.²³⁴ Ertesvåg uses the term 'indian genes' in a quote from an English article in Politico; however, the Politico article used does not contain the term 'Indian genes', but rather 'Native American Heritage'.²³⁵ For the rest of the article, the term 'Indigenous People' is used.²³⁶ The NRK article mentions that Trump has called Elizabeth Warren 'Pocahontas' a total of 12 times on twitter (at the time of publication). When repeating the criticism of Warren from her Republican opponent Scott Brown, Ertesvåg employs the term 'American Indigenous

²³³ NTB, NRK, 2019.

²³⁴ "Critical to Trump calling a senator «Pocahontas». The term he uses is condescending and an insult to the American Indigenous People, states leader of an Indigenous organization." Ruggesæter Ertesvåg, 2017.

²³⁵ McCaskill, 2017.

²³⁶ Urbefolkningen, my translation.

People’.²³⁷ In total, the article is critical of Trump and the use of ‘Pocahontas’, and the degree of a critical reception coincide with using the Native American organizations as a reference for Trump’s use of Pocahontas being insulting and distasteful for the American Indigenous Peoples.

A signed article about Warren’s chances as a candidate against Trump in 2020 discusses how Warren’s DNA-test may have damaged her relations to Indian groups, but does not refer to the Native American response itself.²³⁸ Two of NRK’s articles also state that Warren has, or claims to have, ‘indian genes’, which is a muddling of the fact that Trump was making that claim in relation to his DNA-test challenge to Warren.²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ Another article also states that Warren’s campaign feared that the DNA-test would weaken Native Americans confidence in her.²⁴¹

NRK covered the Native American reaction in 28% of its articles. 55% of the appearances in the articles were terms sympathetic to Trump’s narrative. A reason this rate is not lower is because of NRK’s frequent use of ‘gener’. If they had used the more neutral term ‘opphav’, as was used in one signed article, Trump’s narrative would have been promoted far less by NRK’s coverage.

5.2.3.5 NRK Super

NRK Super is the name of both a daily news shows for children aired by NRK, and a news website run by NRK with school age children as the intended target group. NRKsuper.no published an article about the Navajo veteran's event, undated and signed only with the name ‘Ane’. Presumably it is from November 2017 when the veteran’s event took place.

²³⁷ Amerikanske urbefolkningen, author's translation.

²³⁸ Darrud, 2018.

²³⁹ “Warren also received a lot of attention when Donald Trump called her Pocahontas, in reference to Warrens indian genes.” Tjørhom, 2019.

²⁴⁰ “[Trump] has several times made fun of the senator from Massachusetts after she claimed in public to have indian genes.” Rugesæter Ertesvåg, 2017.

²⁴¹ “Warrens campaign fears that this weakened their credibility with the Indigenous Peoples.” Blomkvist, 2020.

Interestingly the article uses the term ‘indianer’ when describing the Navajo and Pocahontas, and mentions the Disney movie.^{242 243} Since NRK is somewhat careful with the word, apart from quoting and referring to other statements, NRK Super possibly uses the term ‘indianer’ because it is assumed to be easier understood by children. The term ‘den amerikanske urbefolkningen’ is also used four times.²⁴⁴

The NRK Super article does refer to the Native American organizations and their spokesman John Norwood, like NRK, and states that Trump’s words are insulting. The article also contains a fact box in italics, which states that the American Indigenous Peoples were the first to live in what is today USA, and that they lost land and rights to Europeans after the 1400s. Furthermore, the fact that Indigenous Peoples were treated poorly by Europeans/Americans for several centuries, and that many still are treated unfair or badly, even if they have the same rights as any other American is described.²⁴⁵

There are also two comments by moderators on the website, and nine questions from users. Both comments by the NRK moderators use the term ‘indianer’. The first reply answers who Pocahontas was historically, and also mentions the Disney movie. The second reply is in answer to a user question asking: "What is so insulting about being called Pocahontas? And why do you say Trump called her this, when what he said was "They call her [Pocahontas]?" The reply, from moderator Ane, states that even if others have called Warren ‘Pocahontas’, Trump popularizes the term since he is so well known and repeats that the Native Americans have been treated badly through centuries and that they therefore are concerned with not being called names.²⁴⁶ In general, the article avoids using stereotypes, avoids repeating Trump’s narrative about ‘indian blood’ and genetics, and portrays Native Americans as

²⁴² “*Pocahontas* is a Disney-movie which is based on a real story about an algonquian-indian with the same name.” Ane, NRK Super, 2017.

²⁴³ Ane, NRK Super, 2017.

²⁴⁴ The American Indigenous population, my translation.

²⁴⁵ “The American Indigenous Peoples were the first to live in the land which is today called USA. The Europeans discovered America in the 1400s. After that the Indigenous Peoples lost land and rights. For many centuries they were treated poorly by Americans. Today they have equal rights as any other American, but many still experience to be treated unfairly or poorly by others.” Ane, NRK Super, 2017.

²⁴⁶ «In addition, the Indigenous People in USA has been treated very poorly for many centuries, which is why they are now concerned with not being called names. The Politicians is named Elizabeth, and thinks it nok ok to be called Pocahontas since that is not her name. Hoping this was a good answer, regards Ane 😊» Ane, NRK Super, 2017.

modern peoples, and not people who have disappeared and do not exist anymore. It also cites the Indigenous spokesperson for inclusion of the Indigenous voice in this matter.

NRK Super's single channel have a 100% rate of including the Native American reaction to Trump's narrative, and 50% of the two terms that are used to deal with his attacks on Warren are sympathetic to his narrative, such as bringing up indian, blood, genes and dna. Viewing the use of the word 'indianer' as explanatory for the young audience as supplement to 'urbefolkning' in a time where 'indianer' is slowly on its way out of use in favor of 'Urbefolkning', NRK Super arguably had the least sympathetic coverage to Trump's narrative and the most inclusive towards the Native American voice. Even if this is based on a single article (albeit, with two follow up texts from moderators in the comment section), it is an interesting contrast to news media written for a more adult majority audience.

5.2.3.6 NRK Oddasat

NRK Oddasat published a single, brief, article about the Trump-Warren dispute. It is a 2018 article reporting Trump's demands for Warren to take a DNA-test. It reports on Trump's bullying of Warren and uses the term 'Native American' in English, avoiding translating this term. The article is a shorter version of, and based on, a NBC News article of which a hyperlink is provided in the article.²⁴⁷ The article is in Norwegian.

Oddasat is a sub channel of NRK broadcasting mostly for a Sámi (Indigenous) audience. It is, therefore, unexpected that it avoids using Trump's terms such as 'indian' or 'indian blood', in contrast to newspapers made for a Norwegian majority readership (many of which are included in this study), who often use the terms when referring to Trump's statements. As seen in the data from other news outlets, it seemed difficult to avoid the use of 'genetic' or 'DNA' in the coverage, since Trump managed to make DNA such a central part of his public feud with Warren. The biological aspect of Trumps narrative about Native Americans might have been made unintentionally visible in most of the Norwegian coverage.

Oddasat does not mention the Native American response. Seen in context with director Mona Solbakk's article in *Aftenposten* the year before, it might be because Oddasat was careful not

²⁴⁷ NRK Oddasat, 2018.

to give attention to cases where Indigenous Peoples may be portrayed as humorless and easily offended, although that remains conjecture of course.²⁴⁸

Oddasat avoids the terms 'indianer', but uses the term 'gener' which is sympathetic to Trump's narrative. Additionally, the term 'Urbefolkning' is critical to his narrative as Trump never uses the terms Indigenous (i.e., urbefolkning).

5.2.3.7 ABC Nyheter

ABC Nyheter is a Norwegian online newspaper which was established in 2007. It is owned by the businessman Trygve Hegnar, who also owns Finansavisen through Hegnar Media.²⁴⁹ ABC Nyheter published 4 articles about the topic. 3 articles did not mention the Native American perspective, and these were all signed articles written by journalists. One article mentions the Native American response to Warren's apology for the DNA-test, originating from a NTB article. This shows what has been seen with other news outlets: if NTB included the Native American reaction, the newspapers would also report it. The same article was the one using words 'Urfolk' and 'Cherokee', critical to Trump's narrative, while the signed articles used words sympathetic to Trump's narrative.

In sum, ABC Nyheter had a less critical reception to Trump and covered the Native American response in just 25% of its articles. ABC Nyheter was sympathetic to Trump's terminology with 66% of terms used promoting Trump's language.

5.2.3.8 Stavanger Aftenblad

Stavanger Aftenblad published the NTB article about the Navajo veterans event, which included a Native American response. Additionally, four other articles were published in

²⁴⁸ «I Norway, you need a secretary of Finance dressing up as Disney Pocahontas before the national press gives any attention to Indigenous issues. This attention is usually broad coverage about how easily offended and humorless the Sámi and other Indigenous Peoples are.» Solbakk, 2017.

²⁴⁹ 'Trygve Hegnar', SNL, 2019.

Trump's language was repeated to a high degree.²⁵⁰ As seen with BT and Adresseavisen, this was typical for regional newspapers.

Stavanger Aftenblad failed to make Indigenous voices visible in its signed articles, and only 20% of their articles reported on the Native American response. At 55% of all relevant terminology being sympathetic to Trump's narrative, Stavanger Aftenblad had a sympathetic reception of Trump's version.

5.2.3.9 Summary Centre-media

Centre-media had a varied response to the events surrounding the Trump-Warren conflict. TV2 notably avoided the term 'indianer' at all, but gave no visibility to the Native American response. While other media gave a mixed response, but at an inclusion rate of a Native American response of 16,3% in all articles, Centre-Media as a group gave less visibility to the Native American response than the Right-Wing and Centre-Right media (at 33% and 36,3%). Meanwhile the reception of Trumps narrative and words were less sympathetic than those two groups, at 55,5% use of terms sympathetic to Trump, versus 73% and 65,5% for Right-Wing and Centre-Right media. It might seem that the Centre-Media in general were somewhat more critical towards Trump, but neglected to make the Native American response visible, possibly perhaps due to lack of knowledge or ignorance on the subject.

5.2.4 Center-Left media

5.2.4.1 Dagbladet

Dagbladet published 14 articles about the Trump-Warren Pocahontas dispute. All were signed articles by in-house journalists, and NTB was not used.

²⁵⁰ Kvam & NTB, 2017. Hanad, 2019. Brovall, 2019. Faber, Andersen, Haugard & Lagoni, 2019. Olsson, 2020.

In a signed article from 2016, the Pocahontas nickname is called “flavorful” or “colorful”, in what certainly is a description that dismisses some of its insulting character.²⁵¹ The Navajo veteran’s event was covered by a journalist, Frode Andresen from Dagbladet, which did not reprint the NTB article like many other news outlets. Unlike the NTB article on the same topic, Andersen’s article does not report on the Native American reaction to Trump’s attacks during the veterans’ event. At the same time, Andersen’s article avoids using any of Trump’s rhetoric about genes, blood, or DNA, which is a sign of the article being critical to Trump’s narrative. However, a general disinterest in covering the Native American reaction, despite it likely being a visible and noticeable aspect for a journalist covering the event, and considering how prevalent it was in other articles (e.g., NTB article) is surprising.

Dagbladet is critical to Trump but uses much of his language. A signed article by Lars Gimle about the release of Warren’s DNA-test in 2018 uses the term ‘Indianerrøtter’ (Indian roots). Gimle’s article also reports on the Native American reaction to the release of the DNA-test, but used as a potential weakness for Warren’s run in 2020 as a presidential candidate.²⁵² The ‘Indianerrøtter’ is a term that avoids using Trump’s rhetoric and is repeated in other DB articles, though Gimle uses the ‘genes’, ‘blood’ and ‘DNA’ terms when referring to Trump’s statements.^{253 254} Covering the launch of Warren’s 2020 presidential nomination campaign, a signed article by Madeleine Hatlo was published evaluating Warren as a candidate. In it she translates ‘Native American’ to ‘Indianerrøtter’, as well as reports the reaction to Warren’s DNA-test by an unspecified Cherokee spokesperson that criticized Warren’s use of the DNA-test and rejected the use of genetics as part of membership in a Native American tribe.

Considering their high number of articles on the topic, Dagbladet had only 2 articles reporting the Native American reaction, amounting to 14% of all the articles. Therefore, Dagbladet failed to make the Native American response visible in most of their coverage. With 64% sympathetic terms appearing, Dagbladet had a sympathetic reception of Trump’s narrative.

²⁵¹ “But the most colorful nickname out of them all, have been bestowed upon the democratic senator and superstar Elizabeth Warren.” Mogen, 2016.

²⁵² Gimle, 2018.10.15.

²⁵³ “Later, neither Warren nor genealogists have been able to prove her alleged indian roots.” Gimle, 2018.03.12.

²⁵⁴ “Later, neither Warren nor genealogists have been able to prove her alleged indian roots.” Hansen, 2018.

*Identical phrasing to the Gimle article.

5.2.4.2 Dagsavisen

Dagsavisen published 7 articles about the Pocahontas issue, out of which 3 made a passing remark to the nickname. None of the articles reported on the Native American reaction to the controversy, and Trump's narrative was repeated without being countered or refigured with different words than 'Indian', 'genes', 'blood', and 'DNA'.

An exception was one of the articles which was a reader's letter to Dagsavisen, written by Bjørn Hansen. Hansen used the terms 'urfolksprinsesse' and 'innfødte', which are different terms than what Trump's narrative leans on.²⁵⁵ Because Hansen is an external contributor who does not promote Trump's narrative by repeating his terms, is interesting to contrast it with the other articles in Dagsavisen which repeats Trump's terms less critically. It is also interesting that Dagsavisen, which is a news outlet on the Center-Left does not report on the Native American reaction in the discourse, and that Dagsavisen has such a high level of appearances of words sympathetic to the Trump narrative as 64% and another 16% words critical of the Native American terminology ('Herkomst' and 'Innfødt'). In addition, the critics of the Trump Narrative appears only in the article written by an external contributor.

5.2.4.3 Summary Center-Left media

One reason for a low frequency of inclusion of Native American reactions seems to be that neither DB, nor Dagsavisen used the NTB article about the Navajo veterans event, which did include a report on the Native American reaction. Their articles were written by in-house journalists and their coverage never became broad enough to include the Native American voices in the dispute.

5.2.5 Left wing media

5.2.5.1 Klassekampen

Klassekampen released 3 articles discussing Pocahontas. Klassekampen, the single newspaper in the Left-wing category, presents only 28% of terms that are sympathetic to Trump's

²⁵⁵ Hansen, 2019.

narrative, but it's coverage has issues from its presentation of Warren as a stereotypical Native American with bow and arrow in the main article dealing with the topic.

Out of the 3 articles released, one was a 2020 signed article written by author Solveig Aareskjold titled "Caucus Confusion". It is a satirical take on the complicated caucus system part of the US presidential nomination, and briefly mentions the language Pocahontas spoke, with no further relation to the Warren-Trump dispute.

In a 2019 signed article by Magnus Lysberg titled "Pocahontas draws her bow", Warren's announced candidacy to the 2020 presidential election is discussed. Apart from having a title that plays into the stereotype of a Native American armed with a bow and arrow, the article compares Senator Elizabeth Warren to Senator Bernie Sanders, with the latter coming more favorable out due to his location to the political-Left of Warren.

In the article, Native Americans are said to "aid" or "support" Warren's political opponents in smearing her with what is called the "indian-case", and her claims to Native American status is deemed "dubious".²⁵⁶ Lysberg then quotes the Cherokee Nations' representative, Chuck Hoskin Jr., briefly about how Warren is undermining the tribal interests by claiming she belongs to the Cherokee Nation.

Hoskin Jr. would go on to become the Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation later that year but was serving as the Cherokee Nation's Secretary of State. The Principal Chief, Bill John Baker, was in office from 2011-2019, and Lysberg incorrectly describes Hoskin as the leader. This in contrast with Resett, who also mistranslated Hoskin's title into 'General Secretary', but did not mistake him for the leader of the Cherokee Nation.²⁵⁷ While the article is written using 'Urbefolkning' far more than 'indianer', it uses both. The article also compares Warren and Sanders as the two best candidates for the political-Left, ultimately deeming Warren the weakest candidate due to the Native American claims, her DNA-test, and her defense of free-marked economics and capitalism. The latter, perhaps, weighing more from Klassekampen's communist platform, and in some ways the article bears resemblance to a 'hit' piece on

²⁵⁶ "Currently, Warrens opponents are using the indian-issue to smear her, with support from the Indigenous People itself. [...] She claims that her family descends from the American Indigenous Population, a claim with little evidence." Lysberg, 2019.

²⁵⁷ "[...]General secretary Chuck Hoskin Jr. in the Cherokee Nation, the largest federal organization for Indigenous Peoples from the Cherokee People." Kahrs, 2018.

Warren, in favor of Sanders.²⁵⁸ The article ends by hinting at Warren setting up Sander's 2020 campaign for allegations of sexual misconduct, and that this was released the day before Warren launched her campaign. Lysberg does not make any further speculation, but generally the article is uncharitable to Warren. The Native American response is included, but accuses them of supporting the smears towards Warren. It is interesting that Klassekampen, at the opposite end of the political spectrum from Resett, includes the Native American response to the Trump-Warren Pocahontas debate in a way that will benefit their political position (i.e., to make Warren appear a weaker candidate, or to make Trump appear a stronger candidate).

The third article is a 2020 article discussing which candidate is best qualified to beat Trump in 2020.²⁵⁹ The article is favorable to Sanders, and more critical to Warren. The article lumps the Cherokee Nation and their reactions together with Trump's use of the term 'Pocahontas', and states that Trump calls Warren 'Pocahontas' in part because of "strong reactions [towards Warren] from the Cherokee Nation, for lying about being Indigenous". Native American criticism towards Trump's use of the word 'Pocahontas' was not mentioned.²⁶⁰

71% of Klassekampen's terms are critical to Trump's narrative, and positive to the Native American choice of words. Considering how much less sympathetic Klassekampen is to Trump's narrative in their choice of terms, the lack of interest in reporting Hoskin's full statement shows that while the Indigenous protest against Warren might be interesting, it was reported in a way that could be translated into a political attack by Klassekampen.

Added together with the stereotypical title of the Lysberg article (a stereotypical Native American with bow) with some part of Trump's ridicule heaped on Warren (that Warren is probably not Native American), the article in many ways plays into Trump's narrative. Furthermore, Native Americans are said to support her Right-wing enemies in smearing her reputation. It seems likely that Klassekampen's preference for Sanders as the presidential candidate creates this dynamic and demonstrates that the institution and the readership of the newspaper decides how Native Americans are portrayed and how their voices are heard.

²⁵⁸ Lysberg, 2019.

²⁵⁹ Graasaas-Staveness, 2019

²⁶⁰ Grasaas-Staveness, 2019

Summary

The Navajo veteran's event was the main incident that created attention for the 'Pocahontas' nickname many of the news outlets in this study used, namely Resett, BT, Finansavisen, Stavanger Aftenblad, Adresseavisen, NRK, DN, and TV2. The NTB article was the first in these media to mention the Pocahontas dispute, and it reported the Native American response. It also repeated Trump's terms and may have set the tone for future coverage of the Trump-Warren 'Pocahontas' dispute. NTB influenced the dynamic where the Native American response became part of the coverage. But in other cases, such as Aftenposten, the coverage went from being cautious to not use the term 'indianer', to actually using it several times in articles, taking the lead from NTB.

When powerful and public figures, such as the President or Senator Warren, promotes such stereotypes, it takes away and obscures the rights to definition that the Native American voices have. Warren played up the stereotype of high cheekbones, which her grandfather allegedly had, being an indicator of her family's Native American heritage, though this was not reported in the Norwegian news.²⁶¹ Since Warren's claim to be Native American in her October 2018 release was based on genetics and DNA-testing according to both herself and Trump's mocking accusations, these concepts have to be considered problematic. If news coverage is saturated with text about DNA being the key issue, this is the stereotyping that the reader is provided with after reading the text. The Norwegian news outlets further Trump's stereotyping with their use or repetition these words outside of referring to the Native American protests, where these terms are rejected and criticized as irrelevant to the debate of Warren's heritage.

There are also some trends that indicate that Leftist newspapers might retell Trump's narrative and strengthen it more than Right-leaning newspapers (e.g., Klassekampen allege that Warren is "Flexing her bow" to strike back at Trump). In the same article, Warren is also referred to as "Pocahontas" by the newspaper.²⁶² One is generally unlikely to see the Norwegian press – outside, perhaps, political cartoons – describing a Sámi politician as using a lasso or sharpening her Sámi knife. Simultaneously, in recent years (despite Norway being

²⁶¹ "Warren explains minority listing, talks of grandfathers 'high chekbones'" Madison, 2012.

²⁶² "Pocahontas draws her bow." Lysberg, 2019.

known for a positive and even successful discourse on Indigenous Peoples), Sámi peoples are having a harder time gaining visibility in the media. In this context, how Norwegian newspapers react to Trump's use of the word 'Pocahontas' is worth exploring.²⁶³

Furthermore, the lack of coverage given to Warren's apology to the Cherokee Nation over her DNA-test somewhat mirrors the discourse of Indigenous Peoples as 'reconcilers'. As discussed in Chapter 3, Langton (1994) argues that there is a natural form of racism in making representation invisible. According to Langton, in an American/Canadian/Australian context, this can be framed as racism. Outside what Langton describes as colonial media, such as Norway, the tradition of visibility would be different. In a Norwegian context, lack of visibility is more likely to stem from journalistic ignorance when or if the Native American protest/response to Trump is made less visible or even invisible in their coverage.²⁶⁴

5.2.6 Conclusion

The extent of Norwegian news outlets coverage of, and visibility given to the Indigenous response to Trump's use of 'Pocahontas'.

22.8% of the articles in Norwegian news outlets had covered the Indigenous reaction when covering the series of events that followed from the exchange between Trump and Warren. 72.2% of the articles did not bring up any Indigenous response. With less than ¼ of articles making the Native American voice visible, it can be concluded that Norwegian news outlets (as a whole) failed to give enough space and coverage to a very important side of the Trump-Warren 'Pocahontas' dispute, namely the Indigenous Peoples affected by it. This fits with what research show from other studies about Western media.

²⁶³ "As reported by Skogerbø and colleagues (2019), the fact that Sámi stories were rarely told by mainstream, nationwide media was the very motivation for doing Sámi political journalism." Josefsen & Skogerbø, 2021, p. 208.

²⁶⁴ Langton, 1994, p. 94.

Distribution of visibility given to Indigenous voices according to political position of the news outlet.

It was expected that the Left-wing media would be more sympathetic to Indigenous Peoples and give their reaction more coverage. The data, according to the coding, showed the opposite with the Centre-Left category just having 1/10 articles including the Native American reaction, versus 1/6 for news outlets in the Center category, and roughly 1/3 for the Centre-Right and Right categories. This was in part because the Centre-Right and Right media relied more frequently on NTB articles, which did mention the Native American response, and in part because of editorial decisions.

When given visibility, the news media outside the Center category tend to put the Native American reaction into a political context that fit their own view on American politics. In other words, Native Americans are made visible only to support Trump, attack Trump, weaken Warren, or in other ways serve a purpose in a newspaper coverage written for a majority audience. This effect is strongest in the two radical categories, Right-wing and Left-wing, but also observable in Centre-Left and Center-right.

The extent of Norwegian news outlets furthering of Trump's narrative

The news outlets used in this study did repeat stereotyping language and words coined by Trump to a high degree. 62.5% of the terms used to describe the Warren-Pocahontas issue in all 114 articles were sympathetic to his narrative. 37.5% were critical to Trump's narrative. This was in part because coverage of the issue was inherently difficult without using a term such as 'indianer', which is a significant part of the Trump sympathetic term appearances, as it was central to Trump's narrative and, in turn, the reporting of it. Since institutions decide on an editorial level which terms to use, such as in TV2's example which did not use the 'indianer' term, it can be concluded that it is unnecessary to perpetuate certain stereotypical language in coverage of Native American issues. With 2/3 of the terms appearing in all the articles being sympathetic to Trump's narrative, it is clear that his stereotyping and culturally appropriating statements dominated the discourse in Norway.

Reception of Trump's narrative in Norwegian news outlets, distributed according to political position of the outlet.

It was expected that the Right-Wing category would be the most sympathetic to Trump's narrative, while the other categories being progressively more critical the further to the political left one goes. The data confirmed this, except in the case of Center-Left which had a higher level of sympathetic terms (70.3%) than all other categories outside of the Right-wing. The reason for this is the lack of external sources used in the Center-Left news outlets – in this case NTB – which introduced critical narrative terms to the coverage of many other news outlets. The lack of coverage of the Native American response also caused the coverage in the two Center-Left category news outlets to perpetuate Trump's narrative to a high degree, in lack of an opposing narrative. This shows that less visibility of Indigenous Peoples voices in the media does perpetuate stereotypes, and more visibility leads to a less stereotypical coverage. The media with more than 2 articles on the topic that did the best in abandoning Trump's discourse was TV2 with only 31.3% of terms sympathetic to his narrative. This was a result of an editorial decision to not use the word 'indianer'. This demonstrates that editorial decisions in media institutions are a decisive factor in how Indigenous Peoples are portrayed.

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6.1.5 Source Material/Data

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7 Appendix - List of Tables

Tables for each individual news outlet.

7.1.1 Right wing media

Only Resett figures in this category.

7.1.1.1 Resett

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included in the article?	Number of articles (9)	Percentage of articles
Yes	3 (RE01 RE04 RE06)	33%
No	6 (RE02 RE03 RE05 RE07 RE08 RE09)	66%

Word used to discuss Warrens claims to Indigenous heritage	Number of occurrences out of 9 articles	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	7 (RE01 RE02 RE03 RE05 RE07 RE08 RE09)	25,9%	Sympathetic	Critical
Gener	4 (RE01, RE02 RE03 RE06)	14,8%	Sympathetic	Critical
Blod	2 (RE03 RE05)	7,4%	Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	6 (RE02, RE03 RE05 RE06 RE07 RE09)	22,2%	Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst	1 (RE02)	3,7%	Neutral	Critical
Innfødt			Neutral	Critical
Opphav/ avstamming			Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk	2 (RE03 RE06)	7,4%	Critical	Sympathetic

Urbefolkning	1 (RE06)	3,7%	Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme			Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee	3 (RE02 RE04 RE06)	11,1%	Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner	1 (RE02)	3,7%	Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	27	Neutral appearances:	1	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	19	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative		7
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	70,3	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative		25,9%

7.1.2 Center-Right media

Aftenposten, Adresseavisa, Finansavisa, Dagens Næringsliv, Bergens Tidende, Vårt Land and Dagen.

7.1.2.1 Aftenposten

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (13)	Percentage of uses
Yes	7 (AP01 AP03-06 AP12)	54%
No	6 (AP02 AP07-11)	46%

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	5 (AP01 AP03 AP05 AP07 AP09)	20,8%	Sympathetic	Critical
Gener	1 (AP01)	4,1%	Sympathetic	Critical
Blod			Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	5 (AP05 AP06 AP07 AP08 AP12)	20,8%	Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst			Neutral	Critical
Innfødt			Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming			Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk	8 (AP02 AP04 AP06 AP08 AP09 AP11 AP12 AP13)	32,8%	Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning	2 (AP06 AP12)	8,2%	Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme	2 (AP03 AP12)	8,2%	Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee	1 (AP12)	4,1%	Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic

Total appearances	24	Neutral appearances:	0	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	11	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative	13	
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	45,8%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative	54,1%	

7.1.2.2 Adresseavisa

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (6)	Percentage of uses
Yes	1 (AD01)	17%
No	5 (AD02 AD03 AD04 AD05 AD06)	83%

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	4 (AD01 AD02 AD03 AD04)	44,4%	Sympathetic	Critical
Gener	1 (AD01)	11,1%	Sympathetic	Critical
Blod	1 (AD02)	11,1%	Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	2 (AD02 AD03)	22,2%	Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst			Neutral	Critical
Innfødt			Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming	1 (AD03)	11,1%	Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk			Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning			Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme			Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee			Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	9	Neutral appearances:	1	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	8	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative		0
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	88,8%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative		-

7.1.2.3 Finansavisen

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (4)	Percentage of uses
Yes	1 (FA01)	25%
No	3 (FA02 FA03 FA04)	75%

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	2 (FA01 FA03)	25%	Sympathetic	Critical
Gener	1 (FA01)	12,5%	Sympathetic	Critical
Blod	1 (FA02)	12,5%	Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	3 (FA02 FA03 FA04)	37,5%	Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst			Neutral	Critical
Innfødt			Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming	1 (FA03)	12,5%	Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk			Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning			Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme			Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee			Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnavner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	8	Neutral appearances:	1	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	7	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative	0	
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	87,5%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative	-	

7.1.2.4 Dagens Næringsliv

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (5)	Percentage of uses
Yes	1 (DN02)	20%
No	4 (DN01 DN03-05)	80%

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	1 (DN02)	14,2%	Sympathetic	Critical
Gener	1 (DN02)	14,2%	Sympathetic	Critical
Blod	1 (DN03)	14,2%	Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	1 (DN03)	14,2%	Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst			Neutral	Critical
Innfødt			Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming			Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk	2 (DN03 DN05)	28,4%	Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning			Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme			Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee			Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner	1 (DN04)	14,2%	Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	7	Neutral appearances:	0	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	4	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative		3
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	57,1%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative		42,8%

7.1.2.5 Bergens Tidende

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (3)	Percentage of uses
Yes	1 (BT01)	33%
No	2 (BT02 BT03)	66%

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	3 (BT01 BT02 BT03)		Sympathetic	Critical
Gener	1 (BT01)		Sympathetic	Critical
Blod	1 (BT02)		Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	2 (BT02 BT03)		Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst			Neutral	Critical
Innfødt	1 (BT03)		Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming			Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk			Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning	1 (BT03)		Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme			Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee			Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	9	Neutral appearances:	1	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	7	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative		1
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	77,7%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative		11,1%

7.1.2.6 Vårt Land

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (1)	Percentage of uses
Yes	0	0%
No	1 (VL01)	100%

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	-	-	Sympathetic	Critical
Gener	-	-	Sympathetic	Critical
Blod	-	-	Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	-	-	Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst	-	-	Neutral	Critical
Innfødt	-	-	Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming	-	-	Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk	-	-	Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning	-	-	Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme	-	-	Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee	-	-	Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner	-	-	Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner	-	-	Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	0	Neutral appearances:	0	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	0	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative		0
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	0%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative		0%

7.1.2.7 Dagen

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (1)	Percentage of uses
Yes	1 (DG01)	100%
No	0	0%

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk			Sympathetic	Critical
Gener			Sympathetic	Critical
Blod			Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	1 (DG01)		Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst			Neutral	Critical
Innfødt			Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming			Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk	1 (DG01)		Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning	1 (DG01)		Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme			Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee	1 (DG01)		Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	4	Neutral appearances:	0	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	1	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative		3
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	25%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative		75%

7.1.3 Center-media

Verdens Gang, TV2, Nettavisen, NRK, NRK Oddasat, NRK Super, ABC Nyheter and Stavanger Aftenblad.

7.1.3.1 Verdens Gang

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (12)	Percentage of uses
Yes	3 (VG03 VG04 VG08)	25%
No	9 (VG01-02 VG05-07 VG09-12)	75%

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	5 (VG01-03 VG06 VG08)	15,6%	Sympathetic	Critical
Gener	2 (VG07-08)	6%	Sympathetic	Critical
Blod	2 (VG05-06)	6,2%	Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	5 (VG04-07 VG12)	15,6%	Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst	1 (VG05)	3,1%	Neutral	Critical
Innfødt			Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming	1 (VG09)	3,1%	Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk	5 (VG06-09 VG12)	16%	Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning	2 (VG05 VG08)	6,2%	Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme	2 (VG04 VG08)	6,2%	Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee	4 (VG02 VG04 VG06 VG12)	12,5%	Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner	3 (VG06 VG08 VG12)	9,3%	Critical	Sympathetic

Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	32	Neutral appearances:	2	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	14	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative		17
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	43,7%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative		53,1%

7.1.3.2 TV2

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (12)	Percentage of uses		
Yes	0	0%		
No	12 (TV201-12)	100%		
Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	1 (TV207)	6,3%	Sympathetic	Critical
Gener			Sympathetic	Critical
Blod			Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	4 (TV203 TV205 TV206 TV209)	25%	Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst			Neutral	Critical
Innfødt	1 (TV201)	6,3%	Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming			Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk	5 (TV203 TV204 TV205 TV206 TV209)	31,3%	Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning	1 (TV201)	6,3%	Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme			Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee	4 (TV201 TV202 TV207 TV209)	25%	Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	16	Neutral appearances:	1	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	5	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative		10
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	31,3%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative		62,5%

7.1.3.3 Nettavisen

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (7)	Percentage of uses
Yes	0	0%
No	7 (NA01-07)	100%

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	3 (NA04-06)	33%	Sympathetic	Critical
Gener			Sympathetic	Critical
Blod	3 (NA04-06)	33%	Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	2 (NA04-05)	22%	Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst			Neutral	Critical
Innfødt			Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming	1 (NA05)	11%	Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk			Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning			Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme			Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee			Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	9	Neutral appearances:		1
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	8	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative		0
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	88,9%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative		0%

7.1.3.4 NRK

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (7)	Percentage of uses
Yes	2 (NRK01 NRK02)	28%
No	5 (NRK03 NRK04-07)	72%

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	4 (NRK01 NRK02 NRK04 NRK05)	20%	Sympathetic	Critical
Gener	5(NRK01 NRK02 NRK04 NRK05 NRK07)	25%	Sympathetic	Critical
Blod			Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	2 (NRK03 NRK04)	10%	Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst			Neutral	Critical
Innfødt			Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming	1 (NRK06)	5%	Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk	3 (NRK04 NRK06 NRK07)	15%	Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning	4(NRK01 NRK02 NRK03 NRK07)	20%	Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme			Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee	1 (NRK04)	5%	Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	20	Neutral appearances:	1	

Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	11	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative	8
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	55%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative	40%

7.1.3.5 NRK Super

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (1)	Percentage of uses
Yes	1 (NRKS01)	100%
No	-	-

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	1 (NRKS01)	50%	Sympathetic	Critical
Gener			Sympathetic	Critical
Blod			Sympathetic	Critical
DNA			Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst			Neutral	Critical
Innfødt			Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming			Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk			Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning	1 (NRKS01)	50%	Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme			Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee			Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnavner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	2	Neutral appearances:	0	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	1	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative		1
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	50%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative		50%

7.1.3.6 NRK Oddasat

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (1)	Percentage of uses
Yes	-	-
No	1 (NKO01)	100%

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk			Sympathetic	Critical
Gener	1 (NRKO01)	50%	Sympathetic	Critical
Blod			Sympathetic	Critical
DNA			Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst			Neutral	Critical
Innfødt			Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming			Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk	1 (NRKO01)	50%	Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning			Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme			Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee			Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	2	Neutral appearances:	0	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	1	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative		1
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	50%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative		50%

7.1.3.7 ABC Nyheter

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (4)	Percentage of uses
Yes	1 (ABC02)	25%
No	3 (ABC01 ABC03 ABC04)	75%

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	2 (ABC01 ABC03)		Sympathetic	Critical
Gener	1 (ABC03)		Sympathetic	Critical
Blod	1 (ABC01)		Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	2 (ABC02 ABC03)		Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst	1 (ABC01)		Neutral	Critical
Innfødt			Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming			Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk	1 (ABC02)		Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning			Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme			Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee	1 (ABC02)		Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	9	Neutral appearances:	1	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	6	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative		2
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	66,6%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative		22,2%

7.1.3.8 Stavanger Aftenblad

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (5)	Percentage of uses	
Yes	1 (AB01)	20%	
No	4 (AB02 AB03 AB04 AB05)	80%	

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	2 (AB01 AB02)		Sympathetic	Critical
Gener	2 (AB01 AB03)		Sympathetic	Critical
Blod			Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	1 (AB02)		Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst			Neutral	Critical
Innfødt	1 (AB03)		Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming	2 (AB02 AB04)		Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk			Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning	1 (AB04)		Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme			Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee			Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	9	Neutral appearances:	3	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	5	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative		1
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	55,5%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative		11,1%

7.1.4 Center-Left Media

Dagbladet and Dagsavisen.

7.1.4.1 Dagbladet

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (14)	Percentage of uses
Yes	2 (DB09 DB12)	14%
No	12 (DB01-08 DB10-11 DB13-14)	86%

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	10 (DB01-02 DB05 DB07-13)	36%	Sympathetic	Critical
Gener	2 (DB09 DB12)	7%	Sympathetic	Critical
Blod	3 (DB09-10 DB12)	11%	Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	3 (DB09-10 DB12)	11%	Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst			Neutral	Critical
Innfødt			Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamning			Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk	1 (DB12)	3%	Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning	4 (DB05 DB07-08 DB13)	14%	Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme			Critical	Sympathetic

Cherokee	5 (DB02 DB07 DB11-13)	18%	Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	28	Neutral appearances:	0	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	18	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative		10
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	64,3%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative		35,7%

7.1.4.2 Dagsavisen

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (7)	Percentage of uses
Yes	0	0%
No	7 (DA01-07)	100%

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	4 (DA01-04)	32%	Sympathetic	Critical
Gener	1 (DA04)	8%	Sympathetic	Critical
Blod	1 (DA01)	8%	Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	2 (DA02 DA04)	16%	Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst	1 (DA01)	8%	Neutral	Critical
Innfødt	1 (DA06)	8%	Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming	1 (DA02)	8%	Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk	1 (DA06)	8%	Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning			Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme			Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee			Critical	Sympathetic
Urinnvåner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	12	Neutral appearances:	3	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	8	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative		1
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	66,7%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative		8,3%

7.1.5 Left wing media

7.1.5.1 Klassekampen

Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Number of articles (3)	Percentage of uses
Yes	1 (KK01)	50%
No	2 (KK02)	50%

Word to describe Warrens claims for Indigenous heritage	Number of appearances	Percentage of uses	Relation of word to Trumps Narrative and/or use of Pocahontas	Relation of word to Native American reactions
Indianer, Indiansk	1 (KK01)		Sympathetic	Critical
Gener			Sympathetic	Critical
Blod			Sympathetic	Critical
DNA	1 (KK01)		Sympathetic	Critical
Herkomst			Neutral	Critical
Innfødt			Neutral	Critical
Opphav /avstamming			Neutral	Neutral
Urfolk	1 (KK02)		Critical	Sympathetic
Urbefolkning	1 (KK01)		Critical	Sympathetic
Stamme	2 (KK01 KK02)		Critical	Sympathetic
Cherokee	1 (KK02)		Critical	Sympathetic

Urinnvåner			Critical	Sympathetic
Uramerikaner			Critical	Sympathetic
Total appearances	7	Neutral appearances	0	
Total appearances sympathetic to Trumps narrative	2	Total appearances critical to Trumps narrative		5
% of terms sympathetic to Trumps narrative	28,6%	% of terms critical to Trumps narrative		71,4%

7.1.6 Summary

Sum of articles distributed according to news outlets on the political left-right axis	Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Total number of articles	Percentage
Right Wing (Just Resett)	Yes	3	33%
	No	6	66%
Center-Right	Yes	12	36.3%
	No	21	63.6%
Center	Yes	8	16,3%
	No	41	83,7%
Center-Left	Yes	2	9,5%
	No	19	90,5%
Left Wing (Just Klassekampen)	Yes	1	50%
	No	1	50%

The table above shows articles grouped by political position on the left-right axis, and if they included a Native American response.

Sum of words distributed according to news outlets on the political left-right axis	Position on Trump's narrative	Total appearances (Neutral words not included)	Percentage
Right Wing (Just Resett)	Sympathetic	19	73%
	Critical	7	27%
Center-Right	Sympathetic	38	65,5%
	Critical	20	34,5%
Center	Sympathetic	40	55,5%
	Critical	32	44,4%
Center-Left	Sympathetic	26	70,3%
	Critical	11	29,7%
Left Wing (Just Klassekampen)	Sympathetic	2	28,6%
	Critical	5	71,4%

The table above shows articles grouped by political position on the left-right axis and to what extent they repeated Trumps narrative and terms, as opposed to terms found in the Native American response.

7.1.7 Sum of all articles

Sum of all articles	Are Indigenous and/or Native American reactions included	Total number of articles (114)	Percentage of uses
All articles	Yes	26	22,8%
	No	88	77,2%
Sum of all word in all articles, showing average.	Position on Trump’s narrative	Total appearances (200) (Neutral words not included)	Percentage
All articles	Sympathetic	125	62,5%
	Critical	75	37,5%

The table shows the sum of all articles from all news outlets (minus one klassekampen article which does not include any critical or sympathetic words) and if they included the Native American response, and the total distribution of words sympathetic or critical to Trumps narrative.

