“Be prepared for bad news”

Framing Terrorism in Norwegian News Media

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Abstract

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How are acts of terrorism framed in Norwegian newspapers? This thesis seeks to answer this question in a comparative case study on the coverage of two terrorist attacks that took place in 2013. The case study is based on 1121 newspaper articles, eleven of which are closely analysed qualitatively and 150 directly cited and paraphrased. The two attacks studied are the attack on the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi, Kenya and the attack and hostage situation that took place at the gas facility Tigantourine in In Amenas, Algeria. Both resulted in many deaths, and both had a Norwegian connection; Five Norwegians were killed in In Amenas, and in Nairobi one of the attackers was a Norwegian citizen.

My main research question is: How do Norwegian newspapers frame acts of terrorism?

I have used framing theory in the analysis of the articles. It is a theoretical and methological framework for analysing text and speech that has been developed and expanded by numerous scholars. Framing theory is concerned with the presentation of issues and how this may affect the recipients. Earlier research on framing theory and the media has proposed that one can use the predefined generic frames responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences and morality to categorise newspaper articles and this thesis seeks to test this notion by trying to apply these on articles collected from Norwegian newspapers. The suggestion that certain 'news values' such as proximity, personalisation and simplification has to be apparent for a story to be newsworthy will also be addressed.

I found that the generic frames "human interest" and "responsibility" was by far the most used in the coverage of the attacks I have studied. The human interest frame is applicable when an article concentrates on a specific person or persons and/or when the focus of the

article is on emotion. This frame is used extensively when it comes to the presentation of the victims and of acts of terrorism and to some degree when it comes to presentations of the perpetrators. The responsibility frame is used in articles focusing on the responsibility of the perpetrators. This frame is also applicable in articles concerning who is responsible for ending the attack and protecting the victims. However not every article can be classified as being framed by one or more of the generic frames. Some news values such as personalisation and proximity are easily detectable in the articles, the idea that the news value of violence and conflict is connected to a graphic presentation seems to be less true when the victims of such acts are close to the ones reporting on it.

This thesis also explores how framing changes during the timeframe of the newspaper coverage. In the coverage of the In Amenas attack the human interest framed stories are spread throughout the whole timeframe demonstrating that the concern for the Norwegian hostages and victims was the most important focus from beginning to end. Responsibility-framed stories are also apparent throughout the coverage. In addition to the responsibility and human interest framed stories the beginning of the coverage also includes conflict-framed stories, the middle focuses on cooperation and the ending on economic consequences. The coverage of the Westgate attack is also characterised by a lot of human interest and responsibility stories, but the early coverage, as well as the coverage of the later developments also include a lot of conflict framed stories. The conflict frame is used to a much higher degree in the Westgate stories than the In Amenas stories.

Lastly this thesis is concerned with the framing of the victims and perpetrators of these acts of terrorism. The coverage of the victims was mostly human interested framed and nationality played a huge part on the amount of attention the victims were given. The Norwegian victims were written about in a respectful way and the coverage of these victims was distinctly influenced by the impact their deaths had on the Norwegian society. There were, however, no Norwegians amongst those killed in Westgate, thus the stories about the dead were more sensationalised, and Norwegian survivors gained more attention than the victims. The division in representation due to nationality is also notable in the framing of the perpetrators. The stories on the Norwegian terrorist sought to explain why and how he became a terrorist to a much higher degree than the stories concerning the foreign terrorists.

Preface

TAKK

Først og fremst takk til min veileder, Sveinung, for din interesse for oppgavens tema og gode og konstruktive tilbakemeldinger samt veldig bra opplegg i mastergruppa! ☺

Takk til mastergruppa for gode tilbakemeldinger og støtte!

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Tusen takk kjære familie; Mamma, Pappa, Marianne og Torgeir for at dere er her for meg og alltid støtter meg, det setter jeg utrolig pris på! Kjempeglad i dere!

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Taylor <3

Oslo, mai 2015

Ingvild Knævelsrud Rabe

Content

1 Introduction

In 2013 the world experienced several deadly terrorist attacks[1]. Two of them gained massive attention in Norwegian newspapers. In January people from a group calling themselves "Those who sign with blood" attacked the gas facility Tigantourine in In Amenas, Algeria and held hundreds of people hostage. The hostage situation lasted for four days, 67 people were killed, five of these were Norwegian citizens. Norwegian newspapers followed the situation closely, reflecting the hurt and uncertainty the situation entailed and making sure their readers knew what was happening every step of the way. Several stories appeared in the papers about the notorious "one-eyed" Mokhtar Belmokhtar, the alleged brains behind the operation, reporting on how he is one of the most feared men of the Sahara.

Later the same year, in September, a high-end shopping mall in Nairobi, Kenya was attacked by gunmen from the group al-Shabaab. At least 69 people were killed in the attack which was described as a bloodbath by the media, which also referred to the attackers as the "butchers of Nairobi". When, after a while, it became known that one of the attackers was a Norwegian citizen that had grown up in Larvik, the Norwegian public was baffled. How could a boy, seemingly "normal", having grown up amongst us, end up as a ruthless terrorist in Nairobi? As one of the "butchers" turned out to be one of us, the media's search for an explanation began.

The questions newspapers ask, how they relay information and what they focus on influence us on some level. This thesis is about how journalists in Norway present acts of terrorism and the people called terrorists and the possible implications of these presentations. I am by far not the only one who is or has been curious about such questions. Researchers have examined how journalists in for example the US, Canada, and the Netherlands have presented terrorism. They found that their expectations did not always meet reality. As an example Steuter and Willis (2009) expected to find a less dehumanising discourse in the newspapers in Canada than earlier had been found in American newspapers. They were surprised to find that Canadian media used the exact same discourse; a "discourse of dehumanization". This shows that what we believe to be true, is not always so, and therefore studying media presentations might reveal some unexpected answers.

[1] Aftenposten 29.09.2013 "Her dreper terroren"

Terrorism attracts a lot of attention due to the often extreme nature of the act and this is reflected in the media. This makes it an interesting phenomenon to study. Today, we are not unfamiliar with terrorism, and the date 9/11 is no longer just a date, but forever a reminder and used as an example of how extreme terrorism can get. Here in Norway, both the 22. July and claims from experts that we are now at a higher risk of terrorism than ever before remind us that we are not exempt from terrorism. By trying to shed some light on how terrorism is presented in Norwegian newspapers and the possible effects of these types of presentation I hope to raise awareness of how we talk about and maybe as a result react to acts of terrorism.

1.1 Media, language and social construction

As Norman Fairclough has stated and even written a whole book about; there is great power in language. More precisely there is a connection between "language use and unequal relations to power" (Fairclough 1989: 1). And this connection is exactly what interests me and has been the inspiration for this thesis. A lot of our understanding of the world comes from presentations from the media, so it is not a controversial idea that what and how the media presents issues affect people to some degree. Walter Lippmann (1921) suggested that we experience the world indirectly through the media. The media influences what is on the public agenda, including terrorism, and this is influence called the "agenda-setting" function in framing theory (Iyengar and Simon 1993). Framing theory is concerned with presentations of issues and the possible impact these may have.

Reports of crime in the media have been the source of criticism from several researchers such as Greer (2010), Jewkes (2011) and Williams and Dickinson (1993) for painting a distorted picture of reality which again can surface in the beliefs and attitudes of its audience. Using framing theory to look at media presentations may give an insight into how a certain phenomenon is depicted. Scholars have suggested that there exist a symbiotic relationship between the media and terrorism (e.g. Rohner and Frey 2007) and according to Garrison "terrorism is the use of violence to create fear in the larger audience in order to create change in that larger audience" (Garrison 2003:40). The mass media helps attract

attention and get the message of the terrorist out to a larger audience, in return the media get viewers and readers. My thesis is concerned with questions concerning how the media presents terrorism because by unveiling how the media present different issues one can possibly learn something important and valuable about the prevailing public attitudes and discourse about these issues.

1.2 Background information on the events used in my cases

The Hostage Situation at the gas facility Tigantourine in Algeria[2]

The 16. January 2013, over 800 people were taken hostage in the gas facility Tigantourine close to In Amenas, Algeria by the brigade known as both "Katiba des Moulathamine" ("the masked brigade") and al-Mua'qi'oon Biddam ("Those who sign with blood"). The attack was led from afar by the notorious Mokhtar Belmokhtar and the hostage takers were linked to Al-Qaeda, more precisely Al-Qaida in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). The gas facility is operated by three gas companies, namely, the Algerian Sonatrach, British BP and Norwegian Statoil and employs foreign personnel from both European and Asian countries in addition to a lot of Algerians. After four tense days, on the 19th of January, Algerian special forces raided the facility in an attempt to free the hostages. Several hostages and militants were killed; three militants captured and 792 hostages were freed. David Cameron and Jens Stoltenberg, the prime ministers of Britain and Norway at the time, both strongly opposed this in their eyes premature military action, but did not openly criticise how the Algerian government handled the crisis. In total 69 people were killed during the course of the hostage situation.

[2] Information from: http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2013/11/2013111112818580417.htm and NTB 22.01.2013 13:30

The Attack on the Westgate Shopping Mall in Nairobi, Kenya[3]

On the 21st of September 2013, gunmen attacked the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi, Kenya killing and wounding dozens of people. The attacks lasted until the 24. September and 67 people were killed, including four of the attackers. Kenyan and Israeli military stormed the shopping center in an effort to save the remaining people in the mall and capture the attackers. 175 people were wounded and all of the gunmen allegedly killed. The Islamist group Al-Shaabab took responsibility for the attack, saying it was a response to Kenyan military deployment in Somalia. The subsequent investigation showed that a Norwegian citizen with Somali heritage had played a central role in the attack.

1.3 Research questions and outline of the thesis

I use framing theory to find out how Norwegian newspapers presented two different terrorist attacks and my research questions are:

How do Norwegian newspapers frame acts of terrorism?

Sub research question 1: How applicable are generic frames and news values on the newspaper coverage on the hostage situation in In Amenas and the attack on the Westgate mall?

Sub research question 2: How are the victims and perpetrators of these before-mentioned acts defined as terrorism framed?

The thesis will start with a short presentation of the problems of defining terrorism, and after this a thorough review of framing theory in general, framing theory and the media and the framing of terrorism in the media will follow. The theory chapter also includes a part on newsworthiness and news values. Subsequently I will provide insight into my methodological process. In the fourth chapter I will present a thorough analysis of the media

[3] Information from: NTB 23.09.201311:22 and 20.10.2013 08:29

coverage of each of the two events. I have chosen to present the media coverage individually looking at their specificities. Where it is natural to make comparisons to underline contrasting findings, this has been done, even though the main focus is to present the individual case. At the end of this chapter I will isolate some particularly interesting findings, some of them are applicable to both cases and some are uniquely relevant for only one. The fifth chapter concentrates on the presentation of the victims and perpetrators. The first part of chapter five is also divided by case, but there is a higher degree of comparison between the cases throughout the whole chapter. In my concluding remarks I comment on the most interesting contrasting and unique findings pertaining to the cases. Additionally, I put my findings into a larger context, as well as commenting on how they fit in with earlier similar research.

2 Theory

2.1 Terrorism

What is terrorism? This question has no easy answer. Terror comes from the Latin word terrere, it means "frighten" or "tremble", and the word "terrorism" itself was coined during the French Revolution's Reign of Terror (Matusitz 2013: 1). Historically, terrorism is not something new. From the Jewish Zealots, the Muslim Assassins, through anarchists and nihilists, the history of terrorism has evolved (Kumm 2005, Tuman 2010). According to Matusitz *"*terrorism denotes the killing of humans by nongovernment political actors for various reasons – usually as a political statement*"* (Matusitz 2013:2) and Garrison defines terrorism this way; "terrorism is the use of violence to create fear in the larger audience in order to create change in that larger audience*"* (Garrison 2003:40).

Defining terrorism is not easy, as the concept of terrorism "is essentially contested, value-laden, and open to multiple meanings located within broader cultural frames, so that, to some extent, terrorism is in the eye of the beholder*"* (Norris, Kern and Just 2003:6). Matusitz presents several definitions from different scholars and institutions, I will not render all these here. What I will try to do is to present what most of these have in common. It seems like there is a general agreement that terrorism's aim is fear, its targets civilians, its goal political, religious and/or ideological and the perpetrators non-governmental (the last one is maybe the most contested). Even though there are some main similarities, it is difficult to agree upon one definition. Matusitz refers to the widely quoted speech held by Yasser Arafat before the UN, where he uttered the famous words: "[O]ne man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter*"* (Arafat 1974 quoted in Matusitz 2013:4). This famous sentence points out that what we define as terrorism often correlates with where we stand in politically and also maybe which part of the world we are from. Tuman writes that there are literally hundreds of different suggestions for a definition of terrorism. He presents two definitions that are "both similar and different", but points out that both of them stay away from state-sponsored terrorism (Tuman 2010: 9). Consider this; Nelson Mandela was labelled a terrorist by the South-African government and

today he is probably one of the most respected men in the world (Tuman 2010: 15). This may help exemplify how the definition of terrorism and who is a terrorist is not constant.

Matusitz describes terrorism as a communication process because "it is aimed at a very large audience beyond the direct targets" (Matusitz 2013: 35). Mass media helps in this communication process as it spreads the word of acts of terrorism. Rohner and Frey (2007) also points out the symbiotic relationship between terrorism and the media.

What differentiates terrorism from other similar crimes?

What separates terrorists from others who kill civilians? Countries at war kill a lot of civilians, but the difference is that usually the civilians are not the intended targets. To terrorists though, what most people would call civilians, are by them viewed upon as their enemies. According to Kumm terrorists view themselves as morally superior and almost everyone else as enemies that are morally evil and deserve to die. They also believe that they are at war (Kumm 2005:35). Garrison writes that "(…) what separates terrorism from acts of war or guerilla warfare is the desired effect of the use of terror, namely, installation of fear in the desired audience to cause behavior change, or change in policy" (Garrison 2003: 40). What the act communicates is more important than the act itself.

Laqueur writes that terrorism sometimes "shades into" guerilla warfare, but adds that "unlike guerillas, terrorists are unable or unwilling to take or hold territory" (Laqueur 1996: 25). Today, keeping in mind ISIS and the territories they control in Iraq, many would probably reject this statement. But again it all comes down to the problem of defining terrorism. By defining ISIS as a guerilla group and not a terrorist group, the statement would still hold.

2.2 Media, reality and crime

Jewkes (2011) notes that students and researchers of both crime and media are interested in many of the same questions concerning the connection between crime and media, but that they usually have worked each on their end. A lot of people get information about politics, culture and "the state of affairs" from the media. News consumers have several ways of acquiring this information; through TV, radio, newspapers, magazines and online versions of these. Social media like twitter and Facebook are also platforms where people get updates on the current situation. I have chosen to analyse printed newspapers. Although some may argue that printed newspapers will soon be a thing of the past, there are still many active printed newspapers today, and a lot of Norwegians still read them[4]. Printed newspaper articles provide a great basis for my analysis because once they are published they stay the same, they are not updated as many online articles. Additionally, in a Norwegian setting they are very easily collectable because of the media database Retriever.

Greer writes that what is most striking about crime news is how unrepresentative it is; "[t]he vast majority of crime reporting relates to serious cases of interpersonal violence, most often between strangers (…) (Greer 2010: 202). Terrorism definitely fits into this category, albeit on an extreme level. One of the reasons acts of terrorism get the amount of attention it often gets, is the extremeness of the acts. But other factors also play into the amount of attention it receives, the nationality of the victims and perpetrators strongly influence how much attention such an act gets in different countries. This can again influence how we view terrorism. If the average European for example has the impression that terrorism equals extreme islamists attacking the West because they hate our way of life that is probably a reflection of the information he or she is receiving. The reality is a different story; in 2012 the ten countries with the most terrorist attacks were Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Nigeria, Syria, Yemen, Somalia, India, Thailand and the Philippines. 84% of all registered terrorist attack in the world happened in these ten countries (Aftenposten 29.09.2013).

Jewkes also points out that even if it might be expected that the news reports the facts and altogether paints a representative picture of crime. It does not, media representations are not reality, but a version of reality. She notes that one can look at the media as a prism "subtly

[4] http://medienorge.uib.no/

bending and distorting the view of the world it projects" (Jewkes 2011: 41). Adding to this point, Lester defines news as "a product of reality-making activities, and not simply reality-describing ones" (Lester 1980:984). There are many approaches one can use to study the media, framing theory is one of them.

2.3 Framing theory

Framing theory has been extensively to study the media and even media representation of terrorism and books and articles on the subject are numerous. I have chosen to use framing theory in my analysis of the Norwegian news coverage on two different terrorist attacks. Framing theory is concerned with presentations of events, and that is exactly what I am interested in. An event or issue can be presented in numerous ways, and framing theory can help to organise and categorise this. In this part of the chapter I will take you through framing theory and how it has been used for analysis in earlier research.

What is framing theory? General presentations of framing theory

Framing theory fits into a constructionist paradigm (Sasson 2010: 154) and is concerned with how issues or events are presented. Erving Goffman presented the term Frame Analysis in his book "Frame Analysis: An essay on the Organization of Experience" as early as 1974. His use of the term frame is borrowed from Bateson. Early on Goffman emphasises that the book is not about the organisation of society, but individual actor's organisations of experience (Goffman 1974: 13). He makes the point that any event can be described with different focus and that the same event can be described very differently in retrospect, for example descriptions of the same football game from rooters from each team (Goffman 1974:8-9).

Goffman is interested in how we organise our experiences, and that how we do this has to have resonance with the way we view the world, Goffman refers to this as 'schemata'. World

view or schemata is an important concept in framing theory. All of our experiences, the stories we have been told, myths we have read and so on make up our world view or schemata, and so for a frame to have resonance with us it has to fit in with this world view/schemata (Goffman 1974, Lakoff 2004). Garrison (1988) points out that both the schemata and frame concepts are rooted in cognitive psychology, so it seems that the development of framing theory may have drawn some of its inspiration from this field. According to Gamson, Neisser (1976) inspired by Piaget and others called the cognitive structures that we use actively to make sense of what we are receiving for schemata. "A schema provides and initial expectation, an anticipation of what one is going to see" (Gamson 1988:170).

It is not difficult to find literature on framing, what is difficult though, is to get a clear understanding of exactly what framing entails. A number of researchers and scholars use the term "framing", but they do so with different understandings of it and often without explaining it thoroughly enough. In 1993, Robert M. Entman pointed out that even though the idea of "framing" was well known and used in the social sciences and humanities, no one had shown "how frames become embedded within and make themselves manifest in a text, or how framing influences thinking"(Entman 1993:51). In Entman's view a lot of the literature on the topic defines framing casually and assume that the reader understands what the researcher means (Entman 1993). Entman might be right about this, Goffman himself writes when trying to explain the concept of a frame that: "(…) I must assume that the context of use will automatically lead my readers and me to have the same understanding, although neither I nor they might be able to explicate the matter further" (Goffman 1974:13). Matthes writes that "scholars are faced with an immense variety of theoretical and operational understandings of frames" (Matthes 2009: 349).

Entman tries to clarify the concept of framing by collecting and organising what others have written on framing. He also offers his own input. The result is an organised point by point exposition of frames and how they work. According to Entman frames can do four things:

1. Define problems
2. Diagnose causes
3. Make moral judgments

4. Suggest remedies

A frame in a particular text does not necessarily include all four functions (Entman 1993: 52). Later on, in 2004, Entman makes some of the same points, using 9/11 to exemplify. Here the problem was the death of thousands of civilians, the cause the Taliban government of Afghanistan (and its leaders), the moral condemnation; they are evil, and lastly the remedy: war against Afghanistan (Entman 2004: 6). Entman also offers "a stab at a standard definition of framing"; "selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/ or solution" (Entman 2004: 5).

According to Matthes definitions of framing can be divided into two basic genres. The first type of definition describe framing generally without explaining any further how they work or what they do, as an example of this type of definition Matthes cites Gitlin, he describes frames as: "principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens and what matters" (Gitlin 1980 in Matthes 2009: 350). The second type of definition explains what frames do, like Entman´s (2004) definition presented above.

Framing effects and agenda-setting

Chong and Druckman have written an article called "Framing Theory" where they present what they call "framing effects"; this is "when (often small) changes in the presentation of an issue or an event produce (sometimes large) changes of opinion" (Chong & Druckman 2007:104). In other words, the way something is presented is crucial to how people react to it.

There are ways to measure the effect of frames. One way of doing this is by framing the same issue in two or more ways and asking people their take on the issue. As an example Chong and Druckman (2007) suggest a way to measure peoples tolerance of a hate group rally. They propose that some people could be presented with a free speech frame and others with a public safety frame. The answers could give an indication on how these frames work.

Berinsky and Kinder have done something similar to this. In their experiment they presented people with information about the 1998 Kosovo-conflict organised in two different made-up media frames, one that emphasised the importance of intervening in the conflict the other highlighting the importance of staying out of it. The information was the same, but the framing different. Berinsky and Kinder found that the frames affected how people remembered the information, what they remembered and how they structured what they remembered. They also found that it to some degree influenced their opinions on what action the government should take (Berinsky & Kinder 2006:641). Berinsky and Kinder conclude that small changes in presentation of an issue can have rather big consequences.

De Vreese seems to share the opinion of the effect of media frames. He writes:

The consequences of framing can be conceived on the individual and societal level. An individual level consequence may be altered attitudes about an issue based on exposure to certain frames. On the societal level, frames may contribute to shaping social level processes such as political socialization, decision-making, and collective actions (de Vreese 2005:52).

Garrison mentions both 'agenda-setting' and 'priming' as important aspects of how the mass media influence the receiver. Agenda-setting is the cues mass media provides to people "which they use in deciding the importance of an issue" and priming is how the media coverage influence the criteria people use to evaluate different matters (Garrison 1988:163). Frames help decide how people perceive a problem/issue/event. Frames highlight what people understand as important and what they connect to this specific problem/issue/event, therefore what is left out of a text is just as important as what *is* there. As I have mentioned earlier, for a frame to "work" it also has to be part of the readers understanding of the world. These are important aspects to consider while doing my own analysis. What do the frames I find do, how do they work, which worldview are they a part of, what do they leave out and how may this affect people who read the articles that feature these frames?

"The media shape the issues about which the public can form an opinion" (d´Haenens and Bink 2006: 136). A point d´Haenens and Bink make is that the most important effect media has on people is that it influences *what* people have an opinion on. If people do not know that something happens or exist it is of course impossible to have an opinion about it. People will most likely not discuss it, at least not a lot of people, and it will not be part of the

public agenda. Therefore it can be just as important to try to find out what is not being said instead of what is. The way an issue is framed can influence how people perceive it, but it cannot impose an opinion on the public if they are not receptive to it. Selecting certain news items is part of a process known as agenda-setting (Jewkes 2011:41). Agenda-setting is an important aspect of framing theory and has been explored by among others McCombs and Shaw where they point out that "[I]n choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality" (McCombs and Shaw 1972: 176).

Lewis and Reese have studied "the War on Terror" framing through the eyes of journalists. They call frames "tools used by social actors to structure reality" (Lewis and Reese 2009:87) and refer to call the war framing as a "rhetorical device". This is important, the way Lewis and Reese describe frames underline that frames *do* something. They are not merely a way to present something, but can indeed be used purposely by politicians for example to influence how certain issues are perceived. As an example Lakoff shows how conservatives successfully have framed taxes as a burden by making the term "tax-relief" a widely used and accepted term (Lakoff 2004).

Framing theory and the media

According to Gitlin media frames are "largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports" (Gitlin 1980:7 in Gamson and Modigliani 1989: 3). As I will show later in this chapter, journalists are not always aware of how often and in which context they use certain words or phrases. That means that frames are not always purposefully chosen and maintained, but frames are still being used regardless of whether it is done on intentionally or not.

Norris, Kern and Just have written about framing of terrorism in news media, government and the public. The authors explain the idea of 'news frames' like this:

"[It] refers to interpretive structures that journalists use to set particular events within their broader context. (…) The essence of framing is selection to prioritize some facts, images or developments over others, thereby unconsciously promoting one particular interpretation of events." (Norris, Kern and Just 2003:10-11).

Jörg Matthes (2009) has done a study on studies of media framing from 1990 – 2005. Here he finds that it is possible to say that researchers work with either issue-specific or generic frames. Issue-specific frames are frames that are unique to the specific event one studies and generic frames are more abstract and could fit a number of different issues.

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) found that five major news frames have been identified in earlier studies on framing and framing effects. These are: responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences and morality frames. These types of frames are what Matthes (2009) would call generic frames. Semetko and Valkenburg wanted to find out which of these that were most common, and through analysing 2601 newspaper stories and 1522 television news stories they found that the responsibility frame was the one most used, followed by conflict, economic consequences, human interest and morality.

The *conflict frame* concentrates on conflict between individuals or groups, the *human interest frame* either centers on a specific person or concentrates on emotions while the economic consequences frame tries to show how a specific event/problem/issue will economically affect an individual, group, country etc. A *morality frame* presents an event/problem/issue in a moral context, for example by asking a religious group about their view. Lastly, the *responsibility frame* attributes responsibility for either the cause or solution of the problem or issue to the government, a person or an institution for example (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000: 95-96).Semetko and Valkenburg also found, maybe not that surprisingly, that which frames were used varied significantly depending on the type of news outlet. For example sensationalist news outlets more frequently used human interest frames while the more serious outlets mostly used responsibility and conflict frames.

Semetko and Valkenburg did not concentrate on a specific event or issue, but others have done that; d'Haenens and Bink (2006) have studied how Islam has been framed in the Dutch press. Of course Islam cannot be seen as an event or issue, but there is at least a concentration on something specific. They found that Islam was presented as an "extremist" religion in short and factual articles and contrasted with Christian norms and the values of the West. They also found that most of the articles that mentioned Islam were about crime. Even

though the topics Islam was related to in the media analysed, d´Haenens and Bink found that Dutch journalists made an effort to present a well-balanced view of Islam.

Claes de Vreese argues that "[t]he increasing popularity of the framing concept in media analysis goes hand in hand with significant inconsistency in its application" (de Vreese 2005:51). In de Vreese's opinion most previous studies have focused on content or framing effects, not both. His paper defines framing as a process. He presents two concepts, namely frame-building and frame-setting. Frame-building "refers to the factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames" and the process is a continuous interaction between the elites and journalists. Frame-setting has to do with "the interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and predispositions". Especially the concept of frame setting seem to be very similar to explanations by Goffman, Lakoff, Entman and several others; they all stress the importance of prior knowledge and how this influence the reception of the frame.

Framing theory, media and terrorism

A lot of work has been done both on the framing of terrorism and the war on terror in the news. Norris, Kern and Just sought to find out how different frames about terrorism are created and then reinforced by the media. They argue that 9/11 made the way that American newspapers framed terrorism shift, with the consequence that people's opinions of risk changed. According to evidence from the U.S. State Department the focus on risks and threats made the public disproportionally afraid of terrorism compared to the actual threats. These perceptions of the growing threat of terrorism have fueled radical changes in security in the U.S (Norris, Kern and Just 2003:4). Lewis and Reese points out that the use of the frame "War on Terror" (a frame that emerged shortly after 9/11) justified and fast-tracked a new foreign policy. (Lewis and Reese 2009:85). These two examples points out the importance of presentations of terrorism and its consequences. The perception of reality is actually more important than reality itself, if people feel threatened they will react.

Norris, Kern and Just argue that how different terrorist attacks are framed by journalists depends on how similar events have been reported in the past and how information on these events have been presented by trusted sources of the journalist. To emphasise this

point the authors use different thought up examples from several places in the world such as for example a suicide bomber in Tel-Aviv or a car bomb in Manila. Even though these events are unique their coverage will depend on earlier coverage on similar events (Norris, Kern and Just 2003: 2).

According to Lewis and Reese, the internalisation of a frame moves through three phrases: Transmission, Reification and Naturalisation. The War on Terror frame was transmitted from the Bush administration to the news and editorial reports, reified by the media by them not contesting it, but using it as an obvious, self-explanatory phrase and lastly naturalising it by taking the worldview this phrase is associated with for granted. In their analysis of the use of the War on Terror frame Lewis and Reese found that it has gone through all of these stages with the (maybe/partly) unintentional help of journalists (Lewis and Reese 2009). Since my study will concentrate on a relatively short period of time (one month on each of the terrorist attacks), I might not be able to identify this internalisation of the frames used, but it will probably be helpful to have in the back of my mind when I compare the earlier news articles connected to the attacks to the later ones. When a frame is naturalised it has become taken for granted and is almost unquestionable.

Lewis and Reese studied American journalism, and it is easy to imagine that the War on Terror framing has been more powerful there compared to other countries. Steuter and Willis (2009) challenge this view by analysing Canadian media reporting on the War on Terror. They find that Canadian media uses the exact same discourse, a discourse they call the "Discourse of Dehumanization" (Steuter and Willis 2009). Steuter and Willis also find that the dehumanising frames are not only used on terrorists, but also on Arabs and Muslims in general (Steuter and Willis 2009:1). Similarly others have corroborating findings; a journalist Lewis and Reese interviewed in their study on the use of the War on Terror frame said this:

"I thought then and think now that to say war on terror is kind of a wink and a nod. We know what we're talking about here. We're not talking about a war on Basque ETA or the Irish Republican Army or another terrorist organization. We're talking about Islamists, Muslim jihadist. So why don't we say that, or why doesn't the government say that? I don't know". (Journalist A)(Lewis and Reese 2009:91).

With this in mind it is probably not that surprising that Leuprecht et al. (2009) found that a high number of Muslims feels that the war on terror is in fact a war on Muslims. Even though it is not spelled out (that would be racist), for many people the War on Terror is in fact connected to terrorism carried out by Muslim perpetrators. All of the tree terrorist attacks I am studying are fuelled by radical Islamism. It will be interesting to see if I find the use of dehumanising frames or mentions of the War on Terror.

Researchers have examined how journalists have presented terrorism in for example the US, Canada, and the Netherlands. They found that their expectations did not always meet reality. Steuter and Willis (2009) expected to find a less dehumanising discourse in the newspapers in Canada than earlier had been found in American newspapers. When analysing Canadian newspaper headlines, Steuter and Willis found that the use of animal metaphors almost had replaced the use of neutral terms. Instead of using terms like "look for" or "search" the newspapers used "hunt", "trap" or "snare" for example (Steuter and Willis 2009:10). The associations these words give us are not neutral. Steuter and Willis point out by referring to Stanton (1996), that classification, symbolisation and dehumanisation is the three first stages leading to genocide (Steuter and Willis 2009:20).

It is frightening to learn that researchers have found a dehumanising discourse in the media's presentation of not only terrorists, but Muslims and Arab people in general. It should be unnecessary to point out that not all Arabs or Muslims are terrorists and not all terrorists Arabs or Muslims. Even though, the War on Terror seems to be understood as a War on Muslim Terrorism by a lot of people (Lewis and Reese 2009) and are even viewed upon as a War on Muslims by a large amount of the Muslim population (Leuprecht et al. 2009). It is not far-fetched to imagine that this framing of Muslims and Arabs to some degree influence what people associate with them and as a consequence of this, how they are treated.

A lot of people trust the news to be accurate and present the truth, at least the major newspapers. Therefore it is extra concerning if newspaper articles build an image of Muslims or Arabs as less human than others, an image that can be consciously or subconsciously be adopted by its readers. Chibnall makes a point about the difficulty in consciously being aware of what these types of framing do: "I would suggest that it is easier for most readers to reject the open, substantive (factual) content of newspaper accounts than the more latent and implicit interpretive schema in which that content is embedded" (Chibnall 2010: 212).

Applying Framing theory in my research

Goffman´s ideas on Frame Analysis, frames and schemata can be a good basis for understanding framing and how it works. In addition there are several other framing theorists to draw knowledge from when it comes to framing in the media, framing terrorism and framing terrorism in the media. As Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) have done before me in Dutch national media, it is interesting to explore the applicability of generic frames in the Norwegian newspapers framing of the events I have chosen and which one of these that are being used the most. Keeping in mind the dehumanising discourse Steuter and Willis (2009) found in Canadian newspapers this is also an aspect to consider in the analysis of how terrorism are framed in Norwegian newspapers.

Identifying and comparing different frames is not only interesting in itself, but also what can be said about society and the prevailing ways to think about something, in my case; terrorism and the people called terrorists. In my thesis, I will probably not be able to find out exactly what effect the framing in the newspaper articles I analyse have had on people. I will, however be able to come up with suggestions on how it could influence people, backed up by earlier research on similar topics.

2.4 Newsworthiness and news values

According to Jewkes, a story has to include at least one newsworthy trait to appear on the news agenda. She further states that news values are "the value judgements that journalists and editors make about the ***public appeal*** of a story and also whether it is in the ***public interest***" (Jewkes 2011: 42). Jewkes write that stories with a dramatic, sensationalist or celebrity component are used to a high degree to boost sales ratings. She refers to news values identified by both Galtung and Ruge (1965/1973) and Chibnall (1977), but makes the point that a lot has happened to the media landscape since then, and therefore the news values suggested by these might need an update(Jewkes 2011). Some of the old news values are however still applicable and I will present the ones relevant to my thesis.

Events that are reported on need to meet the criteria of being dramatic or of some level of importance Jewkes(2011) writes. Some happenings are of such importance that it will appear in the news all over the world, such as 9/11, others are important on a national level and smaller happenings that would not make the national papers may be front-page news in a local paper. The aspect of importance can to some degree be connected to Chibnall's (2010) news value of immediacy. Something that is happening right now or is about to happen is more important than something in the distant future or in the past. According to Chibnall this means that some aspects of reality are never communicated through the news because they are not immediate and therefore not newsworthy. Other events again might never make the news because "the catalogue of past story-frames does not include a particular frame that can be made to apply to them" (Tuchman 1976: 93).

A news value both Jewkes and Chibnall agree is important is "simplification". Journalists often oversimplify reality, presenting issues as being black and white rather than acknowledging any grey areas. This is because a news story has to be easy to understand for people with very different levels of previous knowledge and intellectual abilities. It also has to be understandable the first time it is read, and the reader should not be left with unanswered questions (Chibnall 2010). Chibnall states that this does not happen as often in articles from *Financial Times* as the *Sun*, but it is an important news value to be aware of if one wants to understand popular journalism. The story itself does not have to be simple, but the presentation has to be boiled down to "minimum number of parts and themes" (Jewkes 2011: 47). Complex underlying storylines will therefore not be included in a news story because this messes with a simple and easily understandable presentation. The need for reduction of ambiguity in news stories lead to the organising of chaotic news into a more coherent framework. This is easily connectable to framing theory as it includes a focus on schemata and earlier experiences with regards to what we take in and how we understand the news. "To some extent, background information must be provided and the historical nature of news remedied by supplying the reader with an interpretative context. But if this context is to be immediately intelligible it must be familiar" (Chibnall 2010: 209). Chibnall also mentions typical predefined "packages" that we receive our news in, these "packages" are also mentioned by framing theorists in relation to how we receive information(Garrison 1988, de Vreese 2005, Gamson and Modigliani 1989).

The news value Chibnall refers to as "personalisation" and Jewkes as "individualisation" is extensively used as an angle on news stories. In framing theory the generic frame "human interest" is close to an equivalent and both Jewkes and Chibnall specifically mention "human interest stories". News regularly involves massive focus on individuals, and often celebrities. Politics for example, is often personalised. Chibnall argues that a problem with "personalisation" is that it directs attention away from structural issues and makes the story one dimensional (Chibnall 2010: 207). This news value can also be connected to the news value of celebrity or high-status persons as presented by Jewkes. This news value can both refer to celebrities such as actors and musicians, but can also refer to high-profiled criminals that gain a "celebrity-status" on account of the notoriety of their crimes or to high-status persons such as politicians or well-known business-people (Jewkes 2011).

A news value that is extremely relevant to my thesis is that of proximity as both of the attacks had elements of cultural proximity. Proximity as a news value may refer to both spatial and cultural proximity. Jewkes notes that when a news event includes both spatial and cultural proximity it is very likely to be reported. Spatial proximity has to do with the physical closeness of the happening, as an example Jewkes mentions a robbing and suggest that this will only make the local news, not the national, unless it includes other news values such as including a celebrity or being especially violent. Cultural proximity however can both refer to the possible impact a happening or event can have on the home culture of the journalist. Reportings from a war for example, are much more newsworthy if its consequences can reach "home". Cultural proximity can also refer to individuals if for example an individual from a certain country commits a criminal act in another country. The chances are that the media in the involved countries, the country of the offender and the country the offence has taken place report on this differently (Jewkes 2011). In my thesis the impact the nationality of victims and perpetrators had on the coverage in Norway is especially interesting.

Yet another news value is that of dramatisation. Dramatisation is a good way to grab the attention of the readers according to Chibnall. The focus on an event is reinforced by the dramatisation. The story has to make an 'impact' to gain attention, and actions are easier to dramatise than thoughts. As an effect news are often trivialised and focus on symptoms rather than the causes of social problems (Chibnall 2010: 206). Jewkes does not mention dramatisation as a specific news value, but points out that "events have to meet a certain level

of drama in order to be considered newsworthy" (Jewkes 2011: 45) Violence and conflict is also presented as a news value by Jewkes, and is relevant to me for obvious reasons as both of my cases include events that were violent and conflict-filled. Jewkes also notes that the media desires to present stories about violence "in the most graphic possible fashion" (Jewkes 2011:58).

Because of the strive for objectivity in news stories, journalists often rely on experts in the field their story is about to authoritatively ground their stories. Chibnall writes that the expert angle survives because it helps situate the media "within the State's framework of power", he further writes that "newspaper accounts and representations are 'structured in dominance'" this means that the definitions of events and situations are based on statements from people in "legitimate institutional positions" (Chibnall 2010: 210). The last of the news values is novelty. Every story needs an angle, and journalists try to make this angle as new and fresh as possible. With the right angle, stories that are not really news stories can become interesting. These stories are often based on speculation and are based on weaker foundation than other types of stories (Chibnall 2010: 211 – 212).

It is worth noting that both Chibnall and Jewkes write about the news value "titillation" or "sex", but this news value is not very relevant in regards to news about terrorism, at least not in regards to the newspaper coverage on the acts of terrorism presented in this thesis. Acts of terrorism are definitely newsworthy, and stories about such acts can include several news values. All of these aspects that influence how a certain story is presented constitutes the framing of a story (Jewkes 2011). Theories about framing are multifaceted and have been used in the study of media and the news numerous times.

3 Method and research design

This thesis is based on the analysis of newspaper articles, and in this chapter I will account for how I collected, categorised and analysed these. A part on qualitative research and using framing theory as method will follow. This chapter also includes a part on case studies.

3.1 Collection of data

For my thesis 1121[5] reports and articles from NTB (Norway's leading news agency) and different newspapers serves as the basis for my analysis, 11 articles are closely analysed and 150 articles from NTB and 30 different newspapers directly referred to. The table underneath[6] shows an overview of the newspapers and news agency that are directly featured in the thesis, including the number of articles from each in parenthesis.

News agency	National	Regional	Local	Other
NTB (34)	Aftenposten (incl. Morning edition) (5)	Dagsavisen (7)	Agderposten (6)	Dagen (3)
	Dagbladet (14)	Fædrelandsvennen (5)	Bergensavisen (5)	Klassekampen (3)
	Dagens Næringsliv Morgen (2)	Stavanger Aftenblad (8)	Glåmdalen (1)	Morgenbladet (1)
	VG (17)	Bergens Tidende (3)	Harstad Tidende (1)	Nationen (1)
		Adresseavisen (2)	Namdalsavisa (1)	Vårt Land (3)
		Nordlys (2)	Oppland Arbeiderblad (6)	
			Porsgrunn Dagblad (1)	
			Ringerikes Blad (1)	
			Rogaland Avis (1)	
			Romerikes Blad (3)	
			Sunnmørsposten (3)	
			Telemarksavisa (1)	
			Trønderbladet (1)	
			Trønder-Avisa (3)	
			Østlands-Posten (6)	
34	38	27	40	11

[5] An overview of how these 1121 articles are distributed among the types of outlets can be found in appendix 1
[6] The "other" category consist of religious and political newspapers

3.1.1 Newspaper articles as sources of data

As Bryman writes; *"newspapers, magazines, television programs, films, and other mass media are potential sources for social scientific analysis"* (Bryman 2012: 552). To analyse how the Norwegian media frame terrorism, I could have used TV news casts or radio programs. I chose to use newspaper articles because they are easily accessible, relatively short and to the point and have been used in earlier framing studies.

Authenticity is often presented as a problem connected to using newspaper articles as sources is authenticity. It can be difficult to know to which degree the article accurately describes what it claims to describe (Bryman 2012). For me factual accuracy is not that important. I want to find out how something is presented, not whether or not it is correctly described. Which newspapers the articles come from as well as their political or religious affiliations can be interesting considering that some types of frames may be favoured by right-wing media and others by the left-wing. That being said, most of the newspapers I have gathered articles from are not today connected to a specific political standpoint anymore, even though they historically used to be. In Norway, a lot of the newspapers were connected to political parties in the 1920's and onwards, the press was depoliticised in the 1990's according to Veum (2008:76). Even though the major newspapers in Norway are not bound to a certain political party, there is still examples of political newspapers such as for example "Klassekampen" which calls itself the daily newspaper of the left-wing and newspapers with a religious affiliation such as the Christian newspapers "Vårt Land" and "Dagen".

I wanted my findings to have the possibility of reflecting the newspaper coverage in Norway as a whole, so I have included not only the major national and regional newspapers, but also the smaller local ones and the ones with religious and political affiliations. What characterises them all, except the reports from NTB which was included because their reportings in many cases seem to directly influence the newspaper coverage as I will show later in the thesis, are that they are classified as newspapers. By including all of these as sources I have been able to find stories that I probably would have missed, had I been using only the biggest newspapers, for example all the stories centering on the victims local connections.

There are certain limits to what it is possible to learn from only using newspaper articles as data. It is impossible to know exactly how people are influenced by the coverage presented in the thesis and it is also not possible to know for certain the reasons behind the choices journalists make when writing the newspaper articles. However, newspaper articles can help answer my research questions as they are concerned with the presentation of acts of terrorism in Norwegian news media. What I found out studying the articles I collected, can only answer how these specific newspapers included in my sample framed these two specific acts within the time limit I applied, but my findings may be of inspiration to further research as to what to look for if one wants to do a quantitative or a similar broader study.

3.1.2 Atekst/Retriever

I used the database atekst to gather the articles I used in the thesis. Atekst is Scandinavia's biggest digital news archive. The archive goes all the way back to 1945[7] and makes it possible to do a search of the printed newspaper articles of the in their words most important Norwegian newspapers and magazines. There are a lot of different ways to do the searches as precise as possible, and I will present my approach.

My plan from the start was to analyse the coverage for the two months subsequent to the events, but I discovered that the relevance of the articles declined so fast that enough relevant articles could be found within a time limit of one month subsequent to the events.What I lost by cutting the timeframe from two to one month was more articles focusing on the perpetrators. Had my master thesis *only* focus point been how the perpetrators were framed I would certainly have extended the timeframe and altered the criteria for selecting the articles.

[7] http://www.retriever-info.com/no/category/news-archive/

My searches:

Both of my searches included the name of the place where the attack or situation took place and the word terror*, the star indicates that all also words starting with terror- is included, such as for example terrorism or terrorist. This is especially important in Norwegian because a lot of words that in English are separated are written as one word in Norwegian, for example terrorist attack (terrorangrep). Words connected with the nature of the attack were also included, such as hostage* in the case of In Amenas for example.

My search for In Amenas was as follows: ("In Amenas" OR Tigantourine) AND (terror* OR gissel* OR gisl*) . Gissel is the Norwegian equivalent of hostage and gisl* is the start of words containing hostage in plural, such as gisler, gislene etc. I narrowed down the search by defining a to/from date, in this instance 16.01.2013 (when the attack happened) to 16.02.2013. This resulted in a total number of 1205 hits. My search string for articles about Westgate was (Nairobi OR Westgate) AND (terror* OR angrep), "angrep" is the Norwegian word for attack. The time limit was the same as with In Amenas; one month. The initial Westgate search yielded 478 hits. After going through the hits excluding those which did not fit my criteria, I chose to convert all the articles into a pdf report complete with an index with page numbers, an option made available by the database.

The pdf reports ended up with 790 articles on the In Amenas hostage situation and 331 on the Westgate mall attack. A few of these were later excluded because they upon closer scrutiny showed not to fit the criteria I had set. All of these articles have contributed to giving me an overview of the coverage of these events, but they were too many for me to analyse closely for the thesis. I therefore chose eleven articles to analyse closely and to serve as examples of how articles from the coverage looks like. Six articles are presented in chapter four while five articles are presented in the fifth chapter.

3.1.3 Criteria for choosing my sample

I have included both daily and weekly newspapers, but most of the articles come from daily published newspapers. Magazine articles have not been included. For my data sample I have chosen not to include editorials and debate contributions, only regular newspaper articles. What I wanted to find out is how journalists in Norway present acts of terrorism, not what the people and editors personally feel about these acts. It can be argued that all journalism is subjective, this is probably true to some degree, but regular newspaper articles tend to not focus on the journalists personal feelings even though they may sometimes shine through. More importantly, I think that newspaper articles are seen as more objective presentations of events than editorials or debate contributions, even though they may not be. These types of articles are probably more likely to influence their audience as well, as they are often taken as factual accounts of what happened. Studying for example how the victims and perpetrators are presented is more interesting when the source is claiming to be somewhat "neutral".

In order for there to be a consistency to the selection, and to make it easier to follow my process, I had to set some criteria for choosing what articles to analyse. I wanted the criteria to be the same for the two cases, this to make them more compatible for comparison. The articles selected for my analysis had to be more than short factual accounts of what happened in order to serve my purpose. Short factual articles can be interesting as background and information, but not interesting enough when it comes to answering my research questions. At first, my plan was to exclude all NTB (Norway's leading national news agency) messages and also all the articles that were basically copy/paste and slightly rewritten NTB-messages. This was because I believed that NTB just presented the facts without framing. As I will present later in this thesis, this showed not to be true, and in the final sample these are included along with the similar stories from newspapers.

By including the NTB messages and the newspaper articles that are very alike/exactly alike, the sample went from 177 articles to 790. This gives an indication as to how much of the newspaper coverage on these cases comes from NTB directly or indirectly. If I had excluded all the articles I planned to at first, I would have lost a lot of the news coverage on the way. Including all of these led to the sample including many similar stories, and keeping them as part of my selection these both help underline which stories were important in the

coverage, and it also made it possible to show how transferable certain frames can be, and how much influence NTB has on what is reported on.

The articles included in the sample had to be focused on the event itself, articles where the event was not the main focus but where it was merely mentioned did not make the cut. By choosing which articles to exclude and include I have been a subjective party in the selection. Even though I have tried to follow the criteria to the best of my abilities I cannot be sure that I did not miss articles that should have been included. However I believe that I did not miss many such articles and the articles that made it to the sample are representative enough for my study.

3.2 Doing qualitative research

I have chosen qualitative method because I want to get a deeper understanding of the phenomenon I am studying. To my knowledge although studies of the framing of terrorism have been done on the media in multiple countries, such studies lack in a Norwegian context. I therefore think that an open and explorative study is best to answer my research questions as I think it will catch the complexity of the framing better. As I understand it, framing is not an exact science. The choice to use framing theory as method is closely connected to my choice of theory. As I have mentioned earlier, framing theory can be understood as both a theory and a method. Theodore Sasson writes that frame analysis is a methodology which can be used to conduct research that fits into the constructionist paradigm (Sasson 2010: 154). Usually the theoretical and methodological parts are not separated, but appear intertwined in many of the articles I have read on the subject. This is a typical trait of grounded theory (Bryman 2012). Framing theory has been used to study how the media present different issues or events and for me it seemed like a perfect fit as both theory and method for my project. I also think that critical discourse analysis or narrative analysis could have been successfully used on the project, because both of these also are concerned with language and how stories are told.

By providing access to the decisions made during qualitative research one can make it easier for outsiders to judge whether or not your finds are trustworthy (Borman 1985 in

Anfara, Brown & Mangione 2002). With this in mind I will make every effort to be as thorough and transparent as possible. According to Liamputtong (2013) the use of qualitative method can give us more detailed and accurate understandings of different issues compared to quantitative enquiries. In criminology qualitative method is often used, especially when one wants to know the meaning behind certain actions. Researchers using framing theory use both qualitative and quantitative method, so the use of the theory does not dictate the method. I have chosen to use qualitative method and I think that by personally going through my data, I can see where it takes me, rather than to decide from the start exactly what I am looking for.

Bryman writes that the most obvious trait of qualitative research is that it is "concerned with words rather than numbers" (Bryman 2012: 380). In my case this is to the point as my research is focused on which words are used to describe terrorism in Norwegian newspapers. Bryman also notes that as a research strategy qualitative method usually is "inductivist, constructionist, and interpretivist", but that it does not have to subscribe to all of the three. Bryman presents a model of qualitative research which I have found fits my process. It captures the fact that the process of interpreting data, doing theoretical and conceptual work, along with specification of the research question(s) are continuously ongoing during the entire process (Bryman 2012: 384). During the analysis of the data one can see what one actually can answer and adjust the research questions accordingly to this. Blumer meant that if one uses an approach where definitive concepts are defined early on, one risks sidelining nuances and alternative ways of viewing the phenomenon one is studying. "[D]efinitive concepts are excessively concerned with what is common to the phenomena" (Blumer 1954 in Bryman 2012: 388). By using a qualitative approach one has the opportunity to capture the nuances and subtle differences, and this is exactly what it is interesting when it comes to qualitative research. You might not always get a clean cut answer using this approach, but this should not be the goal either. The things that do not fit perfectly into a predefined frame might end up being the most interesting.

Qualitative research can be used to test theories. By using framing theory, and specifically looking for the generic frames in the articles I have collected, I can test how and if these generic frames appear in the source material. In qualitative research it is also possible to test one's own theories during the process of data analysis. This is a distinctive feature of grounded theory (Bryman 2012: 387), and this seems to fit framing theory perfectly. Most of the articles I have read on framing theory are a mix between theory and analysis. However,

there is a lack of agreement on exactly what grounded theory is, some look at it as a method or approach to qualitative research, others as "an approach to the generation of theory" (Bryman 2012: 387). In Bryman's view grounded theory approaches generate concepts, not theory.

3.3 Case studies

After reviewing different options, I found that a case study was the best research design for answering my research questions. What is a case study? The answer to that question seems to depend upon whom you ask. According to Liamputtong, Luck and others offer the best definition of a case, "[it is] a single specific phenomenon. Case study research has particular boundaries; therefore, the case is a system that is bounded by time, place, event or activity, and these boundaries can assist in limiting data collection."(Luck and others 2006:104 in Liamputtong 2013:201). I had to narrow it down as it would be impossible for me to go through all media outlets in Norway from the first newspaper came out until today. By using a case study to try to answer my research questions I could easily narrow down by choosing media outlet, event and timeframe to study. My cases are bounded by event, they each concentrate on one specific event. Bryman writes that there in case study research can be only one or two units one analyses and that when this is the case the goal is to understand these in depth (Bryman 2012: 12). This correlates with my goal and is the reason I "only" have two cases; I want to go in depth in these, rather than scratching the surface of many.

By referring to numerous researchers Liamputtong stresses the point that case studies are especially valuable for answering "how" and "why" questions. As the question I want to answer is a "how" question, doing a case study seems to be a viable choice. Bryman writes that when one uses a qualitative approach *"the case study tends to take an inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research"* (Bryman 2012:69). This is also true when it comes to my thesis.

Multiple-case study and comparative method

When a comparative design is applied in relation to a qualitative research approach it takes the form of a multiple-case study (Bryman 2012:74). Bryman writes that if the number of cases in your study exceeds one you are dealing with a multiple-case study. My thesis includes two cases and can therefore be classified as such a study. A main argument for multiple case studies is that they improve theory building. Critics of multiple-case studies argue that too much attention is often paid to contrasting the cases than to the detriment of the analyses of the individual cases (Bryman 2012). Even though mine is a multiple-case study, I have placed particular focus on treating each case as interesting in their own right, as well as comparing them.

Bryman writes that the "key to the comparative design is its ability to allow the distinguishing characteristics of two or more cases to act as a springboard for theoretical reflections about contrasting findings" (Bryman 2012: 75). Studying two cases may make some things apparent that one might not have discovered without the comparison. One should keep in mind not to look for perfect likeness or exact opposites, as there is much to be found somewhere in between. Additionally it might not be possible to compare all of the findings because what you find in one case might not be there at all in the other.

3.4 Framing theory as method

According to Semetko and Valkenburg there are two approaches to analysing news frames; inductive and deductive. With an inductive approach one starts out with an open mind and try to *"reveal the array of possible frames"*, using a deductive approach on the other hand one has predefined certain frames and want to *"verify the extent to which these frames occur in the news"* (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000: 94). I have used a combination of these. Starting the process of analysis I kept the five generic frames presented by Semetko and Valkenburg in mind trying to see how the articles I analyse fit in with these categories. However, finding out how these generic frames are distributed among the articles I have collected is not my

main research question. I wanted to be open to finding other frames and also not be bound by the predefined ones. My main approach is therefore inductive, I do not think the generic or predefined frames are many enough to catch the complexity of the frames used in my material.

De Vreese (2005) also mentions the inductive approach to studying news frames. With this approach the frames emerge from the material during the analysis. Even though I have the five generic frames in mind when doing my analysis, I also looked for which frames that emerged from my data. De Vreese makes it clear that critics of an inductive approach mean that the researchers rely on too small samples and that it is difficult to replicate. This is, however, not a critique that is unique to framing studies, but a critique often voiced against qualitative studies in general.

Tankard (2001) suggested a list of 11 framing mechanisms of focal points for identifying and measuring news frames, these are listed in de Vreese´s article: 1) headlines, 2) subheads, 3) photos, 4) photo captions, 5) leads, 6) source selection, 7) quotes selection, 8) pull quotes, 9) logos, 10) statistics and charts, 11) concluding statements and paragraphs (de Vreese 2005: 54). I focused on several of these have been focused on when I analysed my collected newspaper articles. Especially the use of headlines and sub headlines, photographs and quotes have been important in my analysis.

3.5 Coding and analysis

"The purpose of analysis is to bring meaning, structure, and order to data" (Marshall & Rossman 1999 in Anfara, Brown & Manglione 2002:31).

To start with, I tried coding each article as one of the five generic frames found by Valkenburg and Semetko (2000). As I was doing this I discovered that it was not as easy as I had thought. Some of the articles contained many frames and some were very difficult to put into either of the five categories either because they fit none of these or because they were a

mix of different ones. In some instances it was easy to identify a dominant frame, but just as often multiple frames seemed to be equally important. Some of the articles that were difficult to code as one or more of the five frames seemed to need a different frame. I especially missed a frame concentrating on risk/security as well as one on cooperation, as a contrast to the conflict frame. Terrorism often crosses borders, victims and perpetrators can be from many different countries. Therefore cooperation between states, government etc. often can be in focus. This frame may be especially interesting for terrorism research, but the risk/security frame may be more applicable to reports on other issues as well. Even though the five generic frames did not fit perfectly and therefore made it impossible to code each and every article according to these, I learned something valuable by trying. It showed me that even though a concept seems to fit at first, the data can include nuances that a predefined concept does not uncover. It was also a great place to start, and valuable in the further analysis because they did fit a lot of the articles perfectly, they just are not exhaustive enough to cover all newspaper articles.

In addition to attempting to code articles into predefined frames, I have looked for and highlighted descriptions of the victims and the attackers as these descriptions are of my main focus points. As mentioned above I have chosen to analyse some articles more closely. I chose these articles because they included one or more typical traits that I had noticed from the coverage as a whole. Bryman writes that both qualitative and quantitative researchers "treat frequency as a springboard for analysis" (Bryman 2012: 409). Liamputtong also notes that there are reasons for counting in qualitative analysis, amongst others two reasons are to verify a hunch and to keep oneself analytically honest (Liamputtong 2013: 246). To test my observations I have done word counting searches in the pdf-reports to verify or refute that these observations hold.

1121 articles is a massive amount of articles to analyse by use of qualitative method, and for obvious reasons, I have not been able to scrutinise every one of them. That being said, I think having read so many articles on each case helped me analyse the eleven articles I chose for closer analysis better than I would have done without all the information gained from the other articles. Going through the articles I noticed certain words and phrases that seemed to be used more than others and chose articles to use as examples with these in mind.

In the close analysis of the articles I have looked for which one of the generic frames that fits this article best, what the main focus of the article is, how photographs have been

used and how they fit with what is written in the article. It has also been important for me to see if I could find similarities to earlier research on framing and media. Additionally I have also quoted and paraphrased other articles to underline, add or nuance the findings presented by the example articles.

3.6 Validity, reliability and objectivity

Bryman asks "[h]ow can a single case possibly be representative so that it might yield findings that can be applied more generally to other cases?" (Bryman 2012:69). As with a lot of qualitative research one can only say something about exactly what one has studied. It is possible to imagine that it can be transferred to other cases and other settings, but it is not possible to know for certain. Bryman paraphrases Le Compte and Goetz saying that external validity is a problem in qualitative research. External validity "refers to the degree to which findings can be generalized across social settings" (Le Compte and Goetz 1982 in Bryman 2012: 390). If your findings resemble other findings in a similar study, it becomes more likely that it is transferable to other cases as well, but it is not possible to say for certain. Similar findings in different qualitative studies may also help inspire or strengthen further research.

According to Bryman the "issue of measurement validity almost by definition seems to carry connotations of measurement. Since measurement is not a major preoccupation among qualitative researchers, the issue of validity would seem to have little bearing on such studies" (2012: 389). Nevertheless, some researchers have tried to develop a definition of validity that can be achieved in qualitative research. Le Compte and Goetz´notion of internal validity, meaning there should be a "good match between the researchers' observations and the theoretical ideas they develop" (Le Compte and Goetz 1982 in Bryman 2012) is something I strive to achieve in my thesis. The thesis also aims to present its findings in a transparent manner, such that the reader has sufficient information to deem my analysis plausible.

Complete objectivity is not possible in social research according to Bryman, but in spite of the researcher can try to avoid letting personal values and theoretical inclinations "sway the conduct of the research and the findings deriving from it" (Bryman 2012: 392-393).

A researcher will always have some kind of idea of what he or she is going to find during a research process and might even hope to find something specific. It is very important to be cognisant of this and strive to challenge these ideas during the process while remaining open to seeing what is there instead of what one wants or expect to find. I have tried to do this during my process. What I found did not always fit with what I had initially thought, I also experienced that these findings often needed more time to become apparent, because I did not expect them. Even though I have remained open to discovering different things as well as different explanations for these findings, my analysis is no doubt influenced by me, as all social research is in some way influenced by the researcher.

The language barrier: Norwegian newspapers presented in English

One aspect that demands attention is the use of the English language to present findings from Norwegian-language newspapers. Some meaning is inevitably lost in any translation, as every language has its own quirks and words that cannot be directly translated. I have tried to the best of my ability to translate the Norwegian headlines and the information from the articles as closely to the original text as possible. Where a direct translation is impossible without losing some of the original meaning, I have tried to explain what is written without offering a direct translation.

The choice to write the thesis in English is mainly because terrorism is an international phenomenon that is interesting not only in Norwegian context. Similar studies have been done on newspapers in other countries, and making my thesis available to a broader it could possibly reach others that are interested in this type of research. In addition to this English is a language used in many parts of the world and often a requirement in a work setting, and writing this thesis in English may help me prepare for this.

3.7 Ethical considerations

Being critical of the media's representations of terrorism and terrorists feels right from a research standpoint. But what good does it do? Is it right to question the presentation of the acts defined as terrorism and the perpetrators of these taking into account the nature of the act? Is not for example a sensationalist presentation of such an act just a reflection of the fact that it is out of the ordinary? And maybe we need to view so-called terrorists as one-dimensional or almost not human to be able to continue viewing ourselves as humans? If we are the same then do we have to accept that every one of us could be a "terrorist" if the circumstances were different?

I have chosen to focus on the media attention because I think this attention affects how we react to terrorism. Acts of terrorism is outside of our understanding of what is "normal". As a result, it is easy to present the perpetrators as fundamentally different from ourselves, as monsters, instead of understanding them as a product of society, thus creating a false divide between us and them. Even though I can understand the impulse to define "terrorists" as inhuman, I think this might result in ignoring what can possibly be done about it. It is possible that by recognising "terrorists" as humans, as one of us, we might also by take more responsibility.

Researchers have found that George W. Bush, Tony Blair and Osama bin Laden all distinguished between 'us' and 'them' in public addresses post 9/11. Bush and Blair made the distinction in social, political and moral terms while bin Laden used religion as the distinguishing factor (Leudar, Marsland & Nekvapil 2004). This shows that 'othering' is used on both sides of a conflict and can be used to defend the use of violence on the 'other'. I therefore find it extremely important to question and be concerned with presentations that reach the public, even though it is possible to understand the background for these presentations. Mythen and Walklate also points out that branding "terrorists" as irrational others "leaves little room for rational attempts to understand the values, objectives and/or grievances of terrorists and instead reduces the terrorist to an inhuman object of hate" (Mythen and Walklate 2006: 132).

My initial plan was to analyse terrorist attacks with different ideological backgrounds, but I ended up wanting to analyse recent and relatively high profiled terrorist attacks and the

two I now have chosen both incidentally have a connection to extreme Islamism. This is problematic because my research will become part of the research focusing on Islamic terrorism as opposed to terrorism with different ideological motivation. I risk perpetuating the idea that all acts of terrorism are connected to Muslims and Islam. This is not my goal, the focus of the thesis is analysing how the media presents acts of terrorism, not focus on the relation between terrorism and Islamism. The reasons for choosing the two attacks were purely practical, they were chosen because of their relative temporal proximity, similar size of the attack and as a consequence massive media attention.

4 Framing the events

On the 21st of September 2013, armed men attacked Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi, Kenya. Security forces entered the building on the same day, but the attack still lasted until 24. September. At least 67 people were killed, allegedly including four attackers, and 175 people were injured. On the 16th January 2013 the gas facility Tigantourine in In Amenas Algeria was attacked and its employees taken hostage. The hostage situation lasted until the 19th January when Algerian military forces stormed the facility. In total 69 people were killed. In this chapter I will present a detailed analysis and description of the NTB and newspaper coverage of the events.

The newspaper coverage of each of the events is sorted into a beginning-, middle- and end phase. The divide between these are based on how the framing of the coverage changes as the situations progresses. The number of newspaper articles on both of the attacks is relatively high the first few days and decreasing as the days go by. This is the reason the beginning-part may only include articles from a few days while the end may include articles from a longer period of days. The section of the thesis concerning In Amenas is more extensive than the one on Westgate, this reflects the size of the actual coverage. There were a lot more articles printed in Norwegian newspapers on In Amenas in the month subsequent to the attack than was the case for Westgate.

4.1 Westgate

The Beginning – A Bloodbath

The following article demonstrates the tendency the first articles from the Westgate attack had to dramatise, use strong photographs and include the story of four Norwegian missionaries.

6 6 SØNDAG 22. SEPTEMBER 2013 VG

VG SØNDAG 22. SEPTEMBER 2013 7 7

TERROREN I NAIROBI

Jeg tenkte: «Blir vi skutt nå?»

BLODBADET

Av THES ROKSVÅG PEDERSEN

Terrorister stormet kjøpesenteret og skjøt vilt rundt seg. Fire norske misjonærer var blant dem som løp for livet.

Det fasjonable kjøpesenteret Westgate i Kenyas hovedstad Nairobi, ble lørdag ettermiddag rammet av et voldsomt terrorangrep.

Flere personer detonerte granater og skjøt vilt rundt seg med automatvåpen, og ifølge ulike al terrorister så de var ute etter å drepe ikke-muslimer.

Sprang for livet

Misjonærene Henning Bøgaasen (36) og Roger Hertzenberg (ab) fra Oslo Kristne Senter, sprang for livet fra dødskuleregn, mot en korridor med kontorer og toaletter.

I nesten seks timer gjemte de seg inne på et dametoalett, sammen med over 20 andre livredde gjester og ansatte.

– Jeg tenkte: «Blir vi skutt nå? Hva kommer til å skje?». Det var utrolig å forberede seg på noe som helst, forteller Bøgaasen.

Han og kollegaen forsøkte å roe ned menneskene rundt seg. Flere løste seg inne på toalettlokalene.

– Det var skummelt, absolutt. Mange rundt oss var kraftig berørt og i tydelig sjokk, sier 36-åringen.

– Folk ønsket til da vi hørte lyder ute i gangen. Jeg er jo personlig kristen og har tryggthet i Gud, så jeg følte meg ganske rolig. Men det er klart at jeg tenkte mye på sånt og venner hjemme, bedyrer Roger Hertzenberg.

OVERLEVDE: Henning Bøgaasen (36). Foto: PRIVAT

Ubehagelig

Da de endelig ble ført ut av bygget av soldater og politi, måtte de smile seg forbi et åpent område med terrorister like i nærheten, som holdt flere gisler.

– Det var fryktelig ubehagelig, og jeg klarte ikke slutte å tenke på de hjemme i Norge. Så det var herlig å kjenne på at det gikk bra, sier Henning Bøgaasen om hendelsen.

Også misjonærektparet Øystein og Elisabet Elvevoll Iversen havnet midt i blodbadet.

– De gjemte seg inne på et lager sammen med 16 andre. Politiet kom og hentet dem ut rundt klokken 17, norsk tid. Akkurat nå ønsker de en, sitatet Espen Olsnes i Norsk Lutherstk Misjonssamband om kollegaene.

Minst 39 mennesker ble drept i massakren. Terrorgruppen Al-Shabaab tok i går på seg ansvaret for angrepet.

– Vi kommer til å jage de ansvarlige. Vi kommer til å ta dem. Vi kommer til å straffe dem, sa Kenyas president Uhuru Kenyatta i en TV-tale sent lørdag kveld.

OVERLEVDE: Elisabeth Elvevoll Iversen og Øystein Iversen. Foto: OLAV VESTRØSTAD

SKADET: To menn bærer en skadet kvinne unna den dramatiske terrorsituasjonen. Foto: AFP

JAKTER DE SKYLDIGE: Soldater og politibetjenter tok opp jakten på terroristene. Foto: REUTERS

I DEKNING: Kjøpesentergjester kaster seg ned og dukker unna skuddsalvene. Foto: REUTERS

LØP FOR LIVET: Terrorister har akkurat stormet det fasjonable kjøpesenteret i Nairobi, og skyter hemningsløst rundt seg. Barn og voksne flyktet i sikkerhet. Foto: NOOR KHAMIS, REUTERS, NTB SCANPIX

This article was printed in one of Norway's more tabloid newspapers, VG on the 22nd of September. The two pages are covered by a large photograph showing people running from the shopping mall. In the forefront we see a hand holding a gun. The people running are both men and women, one of the most striking parts is in my opinion the people carrying children. It is a dramatic photograph, and the severity of the situation is underlined by the photo caption that reads: "Ran for their lives". The headline reads "The Bloodbath" and in the upper right corner there's a quote from the article describing how one of the survivors thought; "are we getting shot now?". This article is an example of the use of the news value dramatisation (Chibnall 2010, Jewkes 2011) as it is get the attention of the reader right away and focuses on action.

From the text in the upper left corner we learn that this article is about the terror act in Nairobi. A header like this sets the context, Goffman (1974) has argued that without knowing the context certain conversations for example are not understandable, this notion can be transferred to the understanding of articles following an event like this. The header that reads

"The terror in Nairobi" tells the reader right away what the article is about and makes what comes next understandable.

There are five smaller photographs in the article, two inserted in the article itself and three at the bottom. The two in the text are of Norwegians that are interviewed in the article; they survived the attack and the photo caption ("survived") underlines this. The three small pictures at the bottom of the second page shows 1) an injured woman being carried away from the scene, 2) the police "hunting" the terrorists and 3) people inside the shopping mall ducking and lying on the floor to escape the bullets fired from the attackers. In this article the photograph complement the essence of what is being said in the article.

The introduction of the article describes how the "terrorists stormed the shopping mall" shooting "wildly" around them. This helps strengthen the dramatic flair of the article set by the photograph. We learn how the fancy shopping mall in Nairobi was attacked by people with grenades and automatic weapons, witnesses reporting that the attackers were after non-Muslims. The rest of the article concentrates on four Norwegian missionaries who escaped after hiding in a bathroom and a storage space for around six hours. One of them is interviewed in the article and he describes how everyone was very scared, claiming that he had a certain calmness because of his Christian faith. The fact that there were four Norwegians of Christian faith that escaped contrasted with the Muslim attackers could have led to either a conflict or morality framed article. The conflict between religions or groups is, however, not the basis for the framing of this article, neither is moral or religious condemnation. The main focus of the article is on the people who escaped and their experiences and therefore this article can be classified as human interest framed. The four Norwegian missionaries are the main focus of several of the articles on the attack.

The information in the article above is similar to a lot of the first articles from the attack. They describe what happened and how it happened, include quotes and descriptions from the missionaries and the information that al-Shabaab has claimed responsibility for the attack. The very first reports come from NTB and they update their information continuously. The first reports of the number of people killed say nine dead (NTB 21.09.2013 14:07), but are quickly updated to 30 after information from the Kenyan police. The Kenyan police describe the attack as meticulously planned and al-Shabaab is described as "the Somali islamist group". In this report NTB labels the attack as a bloodbath (NTB 21.09.2013 16:07). A label VG (as shown above) and other newspapers use in their description of the attack. The

continuous updating of facts is characteristic of what Tuchman (1973) calls 'developing news'. Developing news is about emergent situations when the facts are continuously updated and this fits the Westgate attack.

Reports reveal that Kenyan police arrived at the scene quickly and after a while military forces entered the building as well (NTB 21.09.2013 19:25). Several people managed to escape early on by themselves or with the help of the police and military. As a consequence journalists can rely on their accounts of what happened in some of the first articles describing the attack. Some of the survivors say that the terrorists said that all Muslims could leave, others told that they first were asked to cite Muslim prayers (Dagbladet 22.09.2013).

Most of the immediate articles concentrate on the survivors, and especially the Norwegian missionaries. In addition to these there are some articles concentrating on the economic impact the attack can have on Kenya pointing to the probable loss of tourists. An example of this is an article from Dagsavisen (23.09.2013) with the headline "The bloodbath can cost Kenya dearly". The articles concentrating on the economic impacts fit into the generic frame of economic consequences. This article is also an example of the use of word "bloodbath" when referring to this attack.

The number of people killed rises quickly, officials from Kenya says that at least 59 people have been killed and 175 wounded (NTB 22.09.2013 11:54). A lot of the articles mention the confirmed and speculated nationalities of the killed, and this focus on nationality is something I will revisit in the next chapter. On the 23rd September the Kenyan government reports that they have control of the Westgate mall (NTB 23.09.2013 23:45). After the messages that the situation is under control, the focus shifts from what is happening immediately to more stories describing what happened when the attack was ongoing as well as stories and information about the victims. On the fourth day following the attack, Kenya's president officially announces that the hostage drama is over. 61 civilians and six individuals from special forces are reported killed, eleven "terrorists" were arrested. The president also declares a three day national mourning (NTB 24.09.2013 20:04).

Several news stories focus on how Kenya's President Uhuru Kenyatta may benefit from the situation. VG (25.09.2013) writes that it might be difficult for the ICC (International Criminal Court) to convict him now that the attack has helped strengthen his position nationally and abroad. . He and his vice president were charged with crimes against humanity

by the ICC, after he ordered bands to kill his political opponents during and after the presidential election, the assassinations resulting in mass murder. These articles are examples of stories that are a difficult to fit into one of the predefined generic frames, they could be classified as responsibility framed as Kenyatta because of his position as president is responsible for what happens in Kenya. These stories could also be classified as human interest framed, as their focus is on a specific person, but they are not very personal or based on emotions, so this frame does not fit perfectly either.

The first part of the newspaper coverage is concerned with the attack itself and the first stories from the survivors. Most of the stories are either human interest, conflict or responsibility framed. The survivor stories are human interest framed, how they experienced the attack is important, but information about exactly what happened is also of interest. At this time little is known about the involved individuals from al-Shabaab, so the organisation al-Shabaab is in focus in many of the articles, these are responsibility or conflict framed. The first part of the coverage also includes a few stories concerned with economic consequences.

These stories do not include as many details as the ones that follow in the next part of the coverage. The first stories reflect the shock and suddenness of the attack by focusing on the dramatics, all the while trying to include as much information as possible. In the beginning of the coverage it seems like the main focus is getting as much information as possible out there about the attack, the survivors, the dead and the attackers. Many of the articles include some of everything instead of only focusing only on one aspect of the attack.

Middle – A Nightmare

The following article is an example of the many articles including further, and more detailed descriptions of the attack. The article calls these descriptions “nightmarish”.

AGDERPOSTEN Torsdag 26. september 2013 NORGE&VERDEN 15

Mandat fra alle fire

Høyre-leder **Erna Solberg** sier hun har fått mandat fra alle de fire partiene til å forhandle videre, men hun understreker at de ikke er i mål. Onsdag har Høyre, Venstre, KrF og Frp hatt møter hver for seg etter ni dager med regjeringssonderinger. Da Høyre-leder Erna Solberg møtte pressen onsdag kveld, kunne hun fortsatt ikke si om det blir en firepartiregjering. – Når vi fortsetter, er det fordi vi har uavklarte punkter mellom oss, men vi har avklart mye, sier Solberg. (©NTB)

Nederlands kongepar kommer til Norge

Kong Willem-Alexander og dronning Máxima av Nederland kommer på offisielt besøk til Norge 2. oktober. Besøket er ett av en rekke introduksjonsbesøk som Willem-Alexander skal avlegge i europeiske land, et halvt år etter han ble innsatt på tronen i Nederland. Det nederlandske kongeparet skal i løpet av sitt opphold i Norge møte kong Harald og dronning Sonja. De skal også avlegge Stortinget et besøk hvor de skal møte stortingspresidenten og statsministeren, melder Utenriksdepartementet. (©NTB)

DRAMATISK: En mann får hjelp av frivillige ved et sykehus i Nairobi etter å ha fått vite at slektninger var drept i terroraksjonen i kjøpesenteret Westgate Mall. FOTO:NTB SCANPIX

Sterke skildringer fra Kenya

En svensk familie gjemte seg på et lagerrom. En sørafrikansk tenåring lå under et bord mens kuler hvinte over hodet hans. De mareritttaktige beskrivelsene fra kjøpesenteret Westgate er mange.

Det kommer stadig nye og sterke skildringer fra det dramatiske terrorangrepet i den kenyanske hovedstaden Nairobi. Svenske Gisela Holmén Yngrot var sammen med sin mann og deres lille sønn i en grønnsakbutikk inne på kjøpesenteret.

– Vi sto ved grønnsakene da vi hørte skudd om lag 20 meter fra oss. Jeg tok sønnen min og sprang så fort jeg kunne. Vi forsøkte å nå nødutgangen, men ble møtt av masse mennesker som sprang mot oss, sier Holmén Yngrot til nettsiden til Danmarks Røde Kors.

Lager

Familien havnet til slutt i et lagerrom sammen med om lag 150 andre skrekkslagne mennesker.

– Vi blokkerte de to dørene med store kasser og andre tunge ting. Vi lå der i tre og en halv time og forsøkte å roe ned sønnen vår med å synge og forteller historier. Senere fikk vi vite at terroristene hadde forsøkt å komme inn i lokalet, forteller hun.

Etter flere timer fikk til slutt kenyanske soldater reddet alle i lagerlokalet ut i sikkerhet. Ifølge Røde Kors har familien det etter forholdene bra.

Også fire norske misjonærer var på kjøpesenteret da terroristene slo til lørdag. To av dem gjemte seg på et lager, mens de to andre søkte tilflukt på et herretoalett. Der satt de fanget i flere timer og hørte skuddsalvene like ved. Den sørafrikanske 18-åringen Zachary Yach forteller til BBCtvordan han, søsteren og moren gjemte seg under et bord på en hamburgerrestaurant.

> «Vi sto foran disken og hadde akkurat bestilt mat da en voldsom eksplosjon feide beina vekk under oss»

– Vi sto foran disken og hadde akkurat bestilt mat da en voldsom eksplosjon feide beina vekk under oss. Det var som en sandstorm, en voldsom vind, og ting som fløy rett i ansiktet på oss. Deretter kom et øredøvende brak, forteller han.

Under bordet

Yach og familien kastet seg ned på gulvet og forsøkte å skjule seg under et bord.

– Så ble det kastet mange granater, og det var mye skyting. Vi ante ikke hva som foregikk, forteller han. Yach sier han så mange døde og sårede mennesker ligge rundt omkring.

Fire år gamle Elliot Prior fra Storbritannia havnet i aviser verden da det ble kjent at han konfronterte en av terroristene og kalte ham en "slem mann". Elliot var sammen med moren Amber, som hadde fått skuddskader i beinet, og sin to år eldre søster Amelie da han brått sto ansikt til ansikt med en av terroristene.

Angriperen ga de to barna sjokolade før han ba om unnskyldning og sa "vi er ikke monstre", skriver The Independent.

Terroraksjonen begynte lørdag, og ble avsluttet først tirsdag, 80 timer senere.

Tilbake lå hittil ukjent antall drepte. Den islamistiske bevegelsen al-Shabaab har tatt på seg ansvaret for aksjonen og sier 137 personer ble drept. Kenyanske myndigheter sier 61 er bekreftet døde mens 63 fortsatt har status som savnet. (©NTB)

The article above is from Agderposten, a local newspaper from the southern part of Norway. Approximately half of the page is covered by an image of a man being carried by volunteers. When reading the image caption it becomes clear that the man is being helped after learning that some of his relatives were killed in the attack. Without the caption one might have imagined that he was a survivor of the attack. The information from the caption adds meaning to the photograph. Hall has actually stated exactly this, that photographs can add "new dimensions of meaning to a text" (2010: 124). It is a strong photo, but in comparison to the photograph from the first article, it is not as dramatic. This is what happens next, the people that are left; the survivors, Kenyans and other afflicted people who have to deal with the situation after the immediate threat is over. The photograph is, however, not directly

connected to the information we get in the article. The article is about stories from the survivors while the photograph is of a man whose family members did not survive. The fact that we are reminded of the people who did not survive in addition to reading about the ones who did adds an extra dimension to the story.

The headline tells us that there are a lot of disturbing descriptions of what happened during the attack. In the introduction one can read that there are a lot of "nightmarish" descriptions from the shopping mall. This story is also human interest framed as it concentrates on survivors and their experiences. Something that seems receives a lot of focus in the journalists retelling of the stories is what the survivors were doing right before the attack. A Swedish woman is quoted describing how her family was standing by the vegetables in a small shop inside the mall when they heard the first shots. A South-African teenager is also quoted telling what he did right before the attack happened; he, his sister and his mother were standing at the counter at a hamburger restaurant and had just ordered when they were surprised by an explosion. The quote that is emphasised in the middle of the article is this description.

These stories of the normal and mundane everyday things people were doing before the attack happened, underlines the extreme nature of the attack, it highlights how it happened so suddenly and without warning, and it also makes the victims more relatable. Several other articles include such descriptions as well. The survivors describe being somewhere it was perfectly normal for them to be, doing something ordinary. Christie (1986) describes the "ideal victim" in a media context, and being somewhere where it is perfectly normal for you to be is one of the criteria for being an ideal victim in the eyes of others. This may also be a reason why the journalists focus on these specific stories. The four Norwegian missionaries are also mentioned in this article as well, but their stories are not in focus.

There is one more story in this article that is worth mentioning. According to this article a four year old boy confronted one of the "terrorists" and called him a "bad man", to this the "terrorist" responded that he was sorry, and that they (the attackers) are not monsters. According to the story the man then gave the boy and his sister chocolate. Jenkins has argued that "*any* offence, particularly those that deviate from the *moral* consensus, are made eminently more newsworthy if children are involved (Jenkins 1992: 11 in Jewkes 2011: 60-61). The story of what happened inside the shopping mall in Nairobi is newsworthy for a number of reasons, but this story is particularly interesting because of the children involved.

At the end of the article one can read that "the islamist movement al-Shabaab" says they have killed 137 people. While the Kenyan government confirms that 61 people are dead and 63 missing. Four of the attackers are named/their identities made public. Many of the articles list the nationality of the known victims at the end, something that also can be found in the articles from the hostage situation in In Amenas.

Several of the articles, including the above-mentioned example, tell stories about what happened right before the attack. Some of them are written almost as if it was fictional. For example one news story opens with this; "A terrified family with small children is hiding under the café tables. Around them gunfire can be heard" (VG 23.09.2013:14-15). This way of telling the story is a good example of dramatisation which is considered an important news value by both Jewkes (2011) and Chibnall (2010).

Kenyan officials say that eight people are in custody on suspicion of involvement in the attack. The newspapers begin to publish stories on al-Shabaab's leader, describing his visage and mannerisms. He is described as well-read, bilingual and interested in poetry. He is also described as brutal, ruthless and a skilled combatant. The stories there speculate on the real reason behind the attack suggesting it is not revenge for Kenya sending armed forces to Somalia, but rather a way for him to position himself and al-Shabaab in the global jihadist community. Many articles place ample focus on al-Shabaab's need for attention and there are many stories on how they operate as a group.

Rumours that one of the killed terrorists is a white woman start speculations into whether it's the "white widow"; a known female terrorist surrounded by myths. This results in the catchy headline "The white widow wore black: Survivors claim woman led the terrorist attack" (VG 25.09.2013:14-15). Two days after this, newspapers announce that Interpol has put out a wanted notice on "the white widow"[8].

The middle part of the coverage on the Westgate attack also includes responsibility and human interest framed stories. But in this phase, in contrast to the earlier coverage, many of the stories are now only concerned with one part of the story, such as for example stories from the survivors without additional information. More detailed descriptions of exactly what happened inside the mall emerges, many of them underlining the suddenness of the attack by relaying descriptions from the survivors of what they were doing before the attack happened.

[8] From the articles I have collected, the story about the «white widow»s possible involvment is not concluded.

Some of the responsibility framed stories are characterised by speculation as stories about how the "white widow" might be involved pops up in the papers. Other articles dig deeper into al-Shabaab and present their story, some of these are conflict framed focusing on conflicts both within al-Shabaab and the conflict al-Shabaab has with others.

The End – The terrorist was one of us

The search for missing people continue after "the bloody" terrorist attack (NTB 28.09.2013 11:26). Kenya buries their dead and Interpol has arrived in Nairobi to help with the identification of the foreigners killed in the attack. Investigation turns up information that the "Nairobi-terrorists" hired a shop at Westgate where they stored weapons (NTB 28.09.2013 04:58). This section of the news coverage is more responsibility framed than especially the middle part which consists of a lot of human interest stories. Responsibility, in addition to human interest, was also a much used frame in the beginning of the coverage.

Al-Shabaab promises new bloodshed in a press release. The group threatens to strike Kenya where it hurts the most, make it's cities into cemeteries and that rivers of blood shall flow (NTB 02.10.2013 09:52). U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, USA's says that "the terrorists can run, but not hide", which results in a headline with those exact words (Dagsavisen 07.10.2013). We can also read in other papers that USA is on a terrorist hunt. We learn that a man high in the hierarchy of al-Shabaab that has lived in Norway (NTB 07.10.2013 14:53). This connection to Norway is obviously very interesting to Norwegian newspapers until even more interesting information is revealed.

The following article is one of the early articles introducing the fact that a Norwegian was one of the attackers. In addition to this, the article includes information about the investigation of the attack. Two aspects that are focal points in the last phase of the coverage.

Aftenposten Fredag 11. oktober 2013

Ifølge opplysninger PST har fått, var en nordmann av somalisk opprinnelse med blant terroristene som var inne på kjøpesenteret Westgate i Nairobi.

– Nordmann var med blant angriperne

TERRORANGREPET I KENYA

TOR ARNE ANDREASSEN

Den norske statsborgeren som skal ha vært med på angrepet på kjøpesenteret Westgate fra 21. til 24. september, der 67 mennesker ble drept, skal ha hatt en meget sentral rolle.

– Informasjonen vi har fått, gir holdepunkter for at en norsk statsborger av somalisk opprinnelse var med blant angriperne som var inne på Westgate, sier kommunikasjonsdirektør Trond Hugubakken i Politiets sikkerhetstjeneste (PST).

Ifølge pressemeldingen som PST sendte ut i går, har de også fått informasjon om at norsksomalieren var involvert i planleggingen av angrepet.

To til Kenya

To erfarne etterforskere fra PST har reist til Kenya for å undersøke saken i samarbeid med kenyansk politi og sikkerhetsmyndigheter.

Ifølge Hugubakken skal de norske etterforskerne prøve å få bekreftet informasjonen om at en norsk statsborger var involvert. Samtidig tar etterforskningen sikte på å forhindre eventuelle nye terrorangrep.

Etterforskningen vil også søke å avdekke vedkommendes eventuelle tilknytning til Al-Shabaab, samt å bistå kenyanske myndigheter med deres pågående etterforskning, heter det i pressemeldingen.

Kenyanske myndigheter sa 5. oktober at de hadde identifisert fire personer som skal ha vært med på angrepet inne på Westgate. Alle fire ble drept i forbindelse med angrepet. Politiet i Kenya hadde først sagt at 10–15 angripere kunne ha vært involvert, men opplyste den 5. oktober at det kan ha vært så få som fire til seks angripere.

Dekknavn

De fire døde terroristene ble identifisert som Abu Baara al-Sudani, Omar Nabhan, Khattab al-Kene og Umayr. Al-Sudani skal ha vært en «erfaren kriger» fra Sudan og skal ha vært gruppens leder. Nabhan skal ha vært en kenyaner av arabisk opprinnelse, mens al-Kene skal ha vært en somalier med forbindelse til Al-Shabaab. Det ble ikke offentliggjort noen opplysninger om personen som bare ble identifisert med navnet Umayr. Alle disse navnene kan være aliaser som militante islamister ofte tar som dekknavn.

PST vil ikke svare på om norsksomalieren er identisk med en av disse fire. Kenyanske myndigheter har også opplyst at de har arrestert over ti personer som de mistenker har vært involvert i angrepet på Westgate, men de har ikke sagt at noen av disse personene var med på selve angrepet, etter det Aftenposten kjenner til. Norsk politi mener støtten i Norge til Al-Shabaab har sunket de siste årene, etter at den somalisk bevegelsen fikk en tydeligere terrorprofil. Blant annet gikk Al-Shabaab ut med at de hadde slått seg sammen med Al-Qaida i 2012.

Nordmenn med i Al-Shabaab

Men PST sier de likevel har holdepunkter for å mene at det fremdeles er folk i Norge som samler inn penger til Al-Shabaab.

– Vi er også kjent med at personer fra Norge har sluttet seg til Al-Shabaab, sier Hugubakken.

tor.arne.andreassen@aftenposten.no

Fakta

Angrepet på Westgate

- Kjøpesenteret Westgate i Nairobi i Kenya ble angrepet av en gruppe terrorister 21. september i år. Kenyanske sikkerhetsmyndigheter fikk kontroll over kjøpesenteret først tre dager senere.
- Den somaliske terrorgruppen Al-Shabaab påtok seg ansvaret for angrepet og sa det var hevn for at Kenya har soldater i Somalia.
- Terroristene drepte 61 sivile. Seks medlemmer av de kenyanske sikkerhetsstyrkene ble drept.
- Fire terrorister ble funnet drept inne på kjøpesenteret, ifølge kenyanske myndigheter.

Terroristene som drepte 67 mennesker, ble filmet av overvåkingskameraene inne på kjøpesenteret Westgate. Fire terrorister ble drept under angrepet. FOTO: REUTERS TV

The headline of the article above, from Aftenposten 11.10.2013 states that a Norwegian citizen was one of the attackers. The article refers to information PST (Norwegian Police Security Service) has received about a Norwegian citizen of Somali heritage participating in the attack. In the introduction we learn that this individual allegedly played an important role in the Westgate attack. Even though he is referred to as Norwegian, the fact that he is of Somali heritage is mentioned several times. Al-Shabaab is a Somali-based militant group, so this is probably one of the reasons why the Somali heritage is so clearly underlined; it explains the connection. Also it helps the readers classify this person. I will revisit the presentations of both perpetrators and victims in the next chapter as there are a lot to note about this.

The photograph used in the article is from a CCTV-feed, as the text underneath points out, together with information that the "terrorists" killed 67 people and that four of the "terrorist" were killed during the course of the attack. The quality of the photograph is bad, it is hard to see much detail. Nevertheless the still from the CCTV-footage shows two people, both carrying weapons and one wearing a scarf or the like on his head. One of them is holding up a finger, possibly the middle finger.

The article explains that PST has sent two experienced investigators to Kenya where they are going to cooperate with Kenyan police and security authorities. The article also gives us information about the code-names and heritage of the four dead terrorists. PST will not confirm whether or not the Norwegian is one of them. A short presentation of the key facts related to the attack is placed in the middle of the article, serving as a summary of what has happened and makes it possible for people who have not followed the case or who have forgotten some of the details to follow the article. At the end of the article PST is quoted saying that they believe there are people in Norway collecting money for al-Shabaab.

The article is largely responsibility framed. The main focus of the article is on the fact that a Norwegian was one of the people responsible for the attack. We also learn that ten people have been arrested on suspicion of involvement in the attack. The Norwegian connection opens up for articles on the challenges Norwegian society faces when it comes to radicalisation. The focus on the risk of radicalisation can be seen as an example of what Jewkes (2011) calls escalating drama and risk. Escalating drama and risk is concerned with "what could happen next" and the focus on radicalisation indicates that there is a risk that more Norwegians could become terrorists.

But most notably there is a rush of articles about the "Somali-Norwegian" as it becomes known who he is and that he grew up in Larvik. A local newspaper can report that international media is "hunting for information" in Larvik (Østlands-Posten 19.10.2013) and Norwegian newspapers, Dagbladet (18.10.2013) among others try to get the Somali milieu in Larvik to talk about the 23-year old. They find it hard to get information as people say that "they do not talk about their own. When the identity of the person suspected of terrorism in Nairobi becomes known to the media, the articles that follow try to give as much information they can about how he was like as a person, where he went to school, where he worked and what his interests were. Friends, neighbours and classmates are interviewed giving descriptions about their experience of him. I will explore this further in the next chapter. A

short while later PST says that the suspicion is strengthened and Kenyan police says that he most certainly played a central role in the attack. After this, a lot of the articles are now concentrated on the investigation of the attack. The FBI is going door to door "raiding houses in terror hunt", arresting a woman suspected of being one of the terrorists' girlfriend (VG 14.10.2013). We also learn that the attackers may have escaped through a tunnel (VG 19.10.2013).

The last part of the coverage is mainly concerned with the investigation of the attack and as it becomes clear that one of the involved is a Norwegian citizen, this unsurprisingly becomes the main theme in most of the articles. As opposed to the stories on al-Shabaab and the "terrorists" written before the identity of the Norwegian was known, the new stories are more concerned with how he used to be than how he behaved during the attack. The end part of the coverage includes less human interest stories as the main focus is on the investigation and the victims are no longer the main focus. The word "hunt" is used both to describe the search for information and for the "terrorists".

As a whole the coverage of the Westgate attack starts of by being pretty shocking in both photographs and headlines, this reflect the nature of the attack. The focus on the survivors and victims are apparent in both the beginning and middle parts, but diminishes before the end of the coverage. There are, for example, no reports from any funerals. A probable explanation for this is that no Norwegians were killed. The fact that one of the attackers was Norwegian, shifts the focus from reflecting the whole investigation to focusing on the one Norwegian attacker. In accordance with the news value of proximity (Jewkes 2011), the stories about the Norwegian terrorist become the most relevant for the Norwegian readers.

4.2 In Amenas

The Beginning – Everything is unclear

In the case of the hostage situation in In Amenas, the first NTB messages are concentrated on factual information - "what do we know about the situation?" - combined with a general uncertainty. No one has a complete overview of exactly what is happening. Therefore the information given is short and concise; hostages have been taken at a gas facility in In Amenas. The fact that the gas facility is partly operated by Statoil is also mentioned in these early reports. The type of frame used the most in these first reports is closest to what Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) would call a "responsibility" frame, where the focus is on who is responsible for what is happening.

The following article is a typical article from the report from the beginning of the event. It includes speculation on "who" and "why", a statement from Statoil and the Norwegian prime minister, the likely nationalities of the victims, a short description of the call one of the Norwegians made to his wife and a description of the attack on the bus that were leaving the gas facility. An interesting aspect of this article is that the word terror does not appear at all, the situation is described as an "attack" and a "hostage situation".

The headline of the article says that the attack may be revenge for Mali-intervention, and the introduction clarifies that it is the French intervention in Mali that Norway supports that is the background for this possible revenge. This article is conflict framed as the main focus (headline) is on the conflict that is the backdrop for the attack.

In the article we learn that the situation for the 13 Norwegians that work at the facility is unclear. Words like "unclear" or "uncertain" are repeated a lot in this article, at least six times. Taking into account Chibnall's (2010) view that journalists strive to write stories that leaves no questions unanswered, this is a far from "perfect" story according to the news value of simplification. It also includes speculation on motives and perpetrators that cannot be answered at this time.

8 | TORSDAG 17. JANUAR 2013 Fædrelandsvennen

Fædrelandsvennen TORSDAG 17. JANUAR 2013

Utenriks

USA vil hjelpe
Åpner døren for økt a
assisterende utenrik
forbindelsene mellor

Angrepet kan være hevn for Mali-aksjon

Angrepet mot gass-anlegget i Algerie kan være hevn for den franske interven-sjonen i Mali, som Norge støtter. Situasjonen er uavklart for 13 av de norske som jobber på anlegget.

ALGER/OSLO

Tungt bevæpnede islamister, som trolig tilhører en uthryter-gruppe fra al-Qaida i islamsk Maghreb (AQIM), slo til mot det store gassanlegget i arkenen i morgentimene onsdag.

Hva som har skjedd med de 13 norske Statoil-ansatte som befant seg inne på anlegget da angrepet startet, var onsdag kveld uklart.

Mali-hevn

Islamistene sier angrepet er en hevn for den franske militæro-perasjonen i Mali som slår ned på det islamistiske opprøret der. Norge støtter den franske ope-rasjonen politisk, men om det er årsaken til at islamistene har rammet et anlegg der det er flere nordmenn, er ikke kjent.

Hvilke krav gisseltakerne har kommet med, er fortsatt ukjent. Ifølge AFP krever gisseltakerne at et hundretall islamister som sitter fengslet i Algerie, må løs-lates og føres til Mali. Samtidig melder det mauritanske ny-hetsbyrået ANI at kravet er at Frankrike umiddelbart stanser aksjonen i Mali.

Utsnett sier Algeries innen-riksminister Dahou Ould Kabila at det er uaktuelt å forhandle med gisseltakerne.

Advarer mot aksjon

– Dette er en av de mest alvor-lige situasjonene Statoil noen gang har opplevd, sier Lars Christian Bacher, konserndirek-tør for utvikling og produksjon internasjonalt (UPI) i Statoil.

Statsminister Jens Stoltenberg (Ap) bekrefter at 13 nordmenn er involvert i gisselaksjonen, og han opplyser at regjeringen nå har satt krisestab i forbindelse med aksjonen.

Flere av islamistene befant seg onsdag kveld fortsatt inne på an-legget, der mange av de ansatte trolig enten gjemmer seg eller er tatt som gisler.

Gisseltakerne advarer mot et væpnet angrep for å få satt gis-lene fri og sier det vil få «tragiske følger». Islamistene hevder ifel-ge ANI at de har lagt ut spreng-ladninger rundt det enorme gassanlegget.

Ringte kona

Statoil er svært tilbakeholden med informasjon om situasjonen og vil ikke si hvor mange norske ansatte som er tatt som gisler. Men kona til en nordmann som jobber for Statoil på anlegget, har bekreftet at hennes mann er tatt til fange.

– Jeg ble oppringt av mannen min i formiddag. Han opplyste at han var blitt tatt som gissel, sier den bortførtes kone til BT.

Backer sier Statoil ikke kan gå inn på detaljer av sikkerhets-messige årsaker.

– Det er to lettere skadde, men situasjonen er uoversiktlig og uklar, sa han på en pressekonfe-ranse onsdag kveld.

Irland bekrefter at en irsk statsborger er tatt som gissel. Også flere amerikanere, briter, franskmenn og japanere er blant gislene, i tillegg til mange lokalt ansatte algeriere.

To eller tre personer skal ha blitt drept, deriblant en fransk-mann og en brite, ifølge alge-riske medier.

Mange gisler

Ifølge flere medier ble til sammen 41 personer tatt som gisler, men verken Statoil eller andre berørte parter vil bekrefte dette tallet.

– Vi ønsker ikke å kommente-re på hvordan hendelsesforløpet er verken for de nasjonale eller internasjonale gislene. Det vi vet er at dette er en gisselsituasjon med et internasjonalt tilsnitt der det er gisler fra en rekke na-sjoner involvert, sier Backer til NTB.

Et fransk cateringselskap opp-lyser onsdag kveld at 150 av de-res lokalt ansatte holdes fanget på gassanlegget.

Skjøt mot buss

Statoil driver In Aménas-anleg-get i et såkalt joint venture med BP og det statlige algeriske sel-skapet Sonatrach.

Islamistene angrep først en buss med Statoil-ansatte før de rykket videre mot gassanlegget.

– Vi var bare to hundre meter fra leiren da de dukket opp fra merket og skjøt mot oss, sier en nordmann som var passasjer i bussen, til avisen Strilen.

Algeriske soldater som vok-ter leiren der anlegget ligger og hvor arbeiderne bor, slo angri-perne tilbake og bussen kunne kjøre videre. Islamistene fort-satte deretter mot selve gassan-legget.

Nordmannen på bussen sier han nå befinner seg i sikkerhet i en militærleir et stykke unna sammen med tre andre kolleger.

ntb

ANLEGGET: Arkivbilde av gassanlegget i In Aménas i Algerie, der Statoil er en av operatørene. Flere personer ble bortført i et angrep på anlegget onsdag. FOTO: SCANPIX

PREGET AV SITUASJONEN: Lars Christian Bacher, konserndirektør i Statoil, sier gissoldramaet i Algerie er en av de mest alvorlige situasjonene selskapet noensinne har opplevd. FOTO: SCANPIX

The article states that “heavily armed islamists”, probably from AQIM (al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb), struck against the facility early Wednesday morning. According to the article the “islamists” states that the attack is revenge for the military operation in Mali and Algeria’s Interior minister says that negotiation is out of the question. Lars Christian Bacher from Statoil is quoted saying that this is one of the most serious situations Statoil have been involved in, and Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg confirms that 13 Norwegians are involved in the hostage situation. The article further states that Ireland confirms that an Irish national is taken hostage. Several Americans, Britons and Japanese are among the hostages, in addition to many who are locally employed. The article says that two or three people have most likely

already been killed, among them a French and a British national. The last sub-headline in the article is about the attack on a bus leaving the compound, where a Norwegian was involved and got away alive. The Norwegian man is quoted saying that the bus was only 200 meters from the facility when "they" (the attackers) started shooting. This man's story is repeated in a number of articles later on. It is worth noticing that the word "islamists" is used eight times in this article to describe the perpetrators, "hostage takers" is used four times. Writing more comprehensive articles about the situation seems to be challenging at this point, as there is still so much that is unknown. The lack of overview is evident in the repeated use of words like "unclear" and "chaotic.

After these initial reports one can read an early account from a wife who got a call from her husband telling her he was taken hostage, confirming that there is a Norwegian among the hostages. The wife's retelling of the phone call is repeated in several newspapers in great detail. From it, we learn that what the hostage was allowed to say was instructed by one of the hostage takers. She says that what he should say was dictated it was dictated and that he seemed heavily influenced by the situation (NTB 16.01.2013 14:29). The repeating of this story and the story of the man quoted in the example article above shows how human interest stories are important in the coverage, most likely because it attracts readers. One of the articles VG printed early in the coverage includes both these stories (VG 17.01.2013). What these stories also shows is the importance of the news value of proximity, the stories from the Norwegian next-of-kin are interesting in a Norwegian setting, but the same stories would not be as interesting in another country.

As reporting from the first day continues, it becomes clear that Mokthar Belmokhtar and his followers are behind the attack. The articles containing information about the Norwegian hostages often include a list of which other non-Algerian nationalities were present, mentioning the locals almost as an afterthought. According to reports from an Algerian news agency, relayed by NTB, the local hostages were freed later the same day, but this information is not corroborated (NTB 17.01.2013 18:44). Statoil gathers family members, friends and coworkers of the Norwegians working in In Amenas at a center for the next-of-kin at Kokstad in Bergen. Group director for development and production internationally in Statoil, Lars Christian Bacher, describes the situation as unclear and chaotic and says that the next of kin are in an extreme situation (Bergensavisen 17.01.2013).

Experts, as well as former employees at the facility are interviewed offering their opinion on security and how the hostage takers were able to attack the facility. Chibnall (2010) argues that the experts used by newspapers help their articles seem objective. He also points out that the experts interviewed are usually reflective of the dominant societal views. These types of stories do not in my opinion fit any of the five generic frames responsibility, conflict, human interest, morality or economic consequences. One could say that this is because these articles are framed using more issue-specific framing, but I propose that a generic frame centering on risk/security could be relevant in several settings where some kind of threat is apparent.

The word "hostage-drama" is used extensively to describe the situation, maybe because people start to realise that it might last for a while. Some of the articles take on a historical approach describing the background for AQIM and "Those who sign with blood", Mokhtar Belmokhtar, the supposed leader of the attack and the general unrest in the area. In these articles experts play a large role. Most of these types of articles are conflict framed.

Even though the fact that the attack has happened is shocking in itself it is not presented in the same way as the first stories about the Westgate-attack. A part of the reason for this is probably that there was so much uncertainty about exactly what happened. The survivors did not get away as quickly, and the absence of information clearly influences the coverage. Also the attack is not countered right away, it becomes apparent quite soon that it is a hostage-situation that will last and is therefore not characterised by the "quick" approach that was the case with Westgate. In addition to this the knowledge that Norwegians may be in danger seem to impact the way the attack is presented. The media is not focusing on the possible brutality of what is happening, but instead on getting information out there. Whereas the articles on Westgate could feature photograph of people fleeing the scene, there are no such pictures from In Amenas.

The continuous uncertainty of the situation even though some information surfaces seem to influence this first part of the coverage. The many articles focusing on the concern for the relatives of the involved are not typically newsworthy stories, but because of the individual cultural proximity (Jewkes 2011) these stories are important enough to be printed in Norwegian papers. The articles cover many aspects of what is happening politically, with concern to the relatives and so on. Because of the Norwegian connection, information that

otherwise would not have been interesting is reported on such as the many stories concerning how Statoil takes care of the next of kin.

Middle – "Be prepared for bad news"

The following article is an article that exemplifies the use of the phrase "prepared for bad news", a phrase that was used extensively in both headlines and articles in the coverage of the hostage situation. NTB (18.01.2013 10:06) reports that he British Prime Minister has advised people to "be prepared for bad news" and the article underneath shows one of the article using this phrase as a headline after Norway's Prime Minister also utters these words during a press conference. The two newspaper pages, which contain the main article headed "Must be prepared for bad news", also include small newspaper notices on different aspects of the situation, plus another short article on right side of the main article.


10 DAGSAVISEN LØRDAG 19. JANUAR 2013 | SAMFUNN

SAMFUNN | LØRDAG 19. JANUAR 2013 DAGSAVISEN 11

GISSELDRAMAET I ALGERIE

USA vil jakte på de ansvarlige

– Viktigst å være medmenneske

Cameron er rasende

Japan krever svar fra Algerie

– Må være forberedt på dårlig nytt

BEKYMRET: – Vi går inn i en helg der vi som nasjon må være forberedt på dårlig nytt. Dette var budskapet fra statsminister Jens Stoltenberg i går kveld.

«Identifiseringen kan ta tid.»

Farlige forhandlinger

«Forhandlinger kan friste andre grupper til å gjøre det samme.»

SLIK HÅNDTERES GISSELSITUASJONEN

The main article on the pages above revolves around a press conference the Norwegian Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs held together informing the press that there is an ongoing military operation run by Algerian military inside the gas facility. In this press conference Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg said that "we as a nation have to be prepared for bad news". Up until this point, a message of hope has been the most important, and while Stoltenberg stressed that there is still hope, this is the first time anyone in a position of power in Norway has been open about the possibility that the situation might not have a happy ending for the Norwegian hostages. At this time the killed hostages has not yet been identified. The use of the word nation in this setting, underlines the severity and is reminiscent of the parlance favoured by U.S. presidents. It is more common to refer to Norway as a country rather than a nation. Jewkes (2011) has noted that often in relation to acts of terrorism the news value of simplification takes the form of patriotism, which the "we as a nation" quote may be an example of.

When this article was written much of the situation is still unclear, and it is still unknown whether there are Norwegian hostages left inside. The aspect of uncertainty is also recognisable from the beginning of the coverage. Both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs make it clear that some hostages have indeed been killed, but Stoltenberg refer to the fact that one of the Norwegian hostages turned up alive the day before as a "message of hope". Stoltenberg emphasises that he, as he also has in earlier talks with the Algerian Prime Minister, has been very clear that keeping the hostages alive should be the main priority. The Norwegian government will not critisise the military operation the Algerian government carried out before they have more information. The news value simplification or individualisation helps simplify news stories as social, political and economic issues are reported as conflict of interest between individuals (Jewkes 2011). The focus on how Prime Minister Stoltenberg talks to the Prime Minister of Algeria instead framing it as one government talking to another, is an example of this.

The article is illustrated by a photograph of Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Espen Barth Eide, both from the Norwegian Labour Party. Stoltenberg is the man in focus while Barth Eide's face is blurry, almost unrecognisable. I think this is because Stoltenberg was for many (at the time) the face of Norway. Less than two years before, when the 22nd of July 2011attacks happened, he was also "Norway's face outwards" both in respect to being the Prime Minister, but also because he was the leader of

the Labour Party, which the youths of Utøya were affiliated with as members of the Labour Youth Party. While Barth Eide may be the most relevant minister when it comes to foreign affairs, Stoltenberg is a well-known and perhaps even comforting face to the Norwegian people. The leaders of the opposition parties are interviewed in the article, and they all expresses their support of the government's handling of the situation. The fact that none of the interviewees from the opposition has any critical remarks emphasises the seriousness of the situation. This is not the time, nor situation to try to exploit for political gain. This article is definitely not conflict framed, and it is an article I find it hard to categorise into one of the predefined generic frames. It certainly has aspects of a responsibility frame, at least implicit, as the people responsible for Norway's handling of the situation are in focus. To a certain extent, the article's focus on the remaining hostages suggests the suitability of a human interest frame, but this frame is not a perfect fit either.

Two of the smaller notices shows how Japan were very open in their direct critique of how Algeria is handling the crisis, while the information that Cameron is furious indicates that he probably agrees with Japan, but does not criticise the operation openly. The headlines of the small notices are; "USA will hunt the ones responsible", "Most important to be a fellow human being", "Cameron is furious", "Japan wants answers from Algeria" and the short article is headlined "Dangerous negotiations". These two pages from Dagsavisen are indicative of the amount of attention this case got in Norwegian newspapers. Not only is the main story about the hostage situation, all the surrounding ones are as well.

We learn more about the attack, from the man responsible for the security at the gas facility who says that the terrorists who attacked were heavily armed and that the attack was meticulously planned. The CEO of Statoil, Helge Lund returns home from Asia where he was when he learned of the attack. VG reports that nine Norwegians have been trapped in a corner during the first night. According to someone who talked to the local hostages, the foreign hostages were grouped according to nationality and kept in a different building (VG 18.01.2013).

The Algerian Interior Minister informs that around 20 militant islamists are behind the attack. It is reported that 15 hostages managed to escape, this number is soon adjusted to 20 and then 25. Meanwhile information that Algeria is talking with the hostage takers is revealed. NTB reports that the news agency ANI confirms that at least 34 hostages were killed when the Algerian military attacked the hostage takers. It is still unknown whether any

Norwegians were killed, and this is specified by a lot of the papers, probably because they are aware that this question is what many readers are the most curious about. In another article we learn that 15 hostage takers were also killed. This article is also one of the first articles that focus on Mokhtar Belmokhtar. Further we learn that 600 Algerians were freed in the military operation in addition to four foreigners; two British, one French national and a Kenyan. Rumours circulate that there are no Norwegians among the surviving hostages. According to the rumours seven people are still held as hostages: two Americans, three Belgians, one Japanese and one British. The military operation continues (Stavanger Aftenblad 18.01.2013).

Helge Lund had nothing new to share at a press conference. He is quoted saying that the situation is unruly and hard to grasp. He also says that the situation is a nightmare for the next of kin. His experience of meeting the relatives is described in great detail and an almost poetic headline underlines how hard it was for *him* to meet them, the headline[9] is difficult to directly translate but it reflects the difficult and gripping aspects of this meeting (Dagbladet 18.01.2013). Another headline reads "The CEO of Statoil's hard day" (DN Morgen 18.01.2013:14). These stories are typical examples of the use of the news value personalisation or individualisation (Chibnall 2010, Jewkes 2011) and also the generic frame human interest as these articles focuses on an individual and emotions.

What has happened to the Norwegian hostages is unclear and Jens Stoltenberg says that there still is hope. The uncertainty is an important aspect of many of the articles from this part of the coverage. Jens Stoltenberg condemns the terrorist attack. Nine Norwegians are unaccounted for (Trønder-Avisa 18.01.2013). The coverage continues with speculation on the motives behind the hostage taking and information about Mokhtar Belmokhtar starts to emerge in the articles. Information about his background, affiliations, different names and nicknames, the most notorious being "the one-eyed", receives a lot of attention in the articles. One headline from VG reads; -Hiding in the Sahara: This is how "the one-eyed" operates (VG 18.01.2013:10-11). More on how Mokhtar Belmokhtar and his affiliated group are presented will be thoroughly analysed in the next chapter.

One Algerian who managed to escape says that the hostage takers wanted to harm Christians and infidels. He also gives descriptions of the hostage takers saying that they "spoke like islamists". In addition to this he could tell that they knew their way around and were well organised (Bergensavisen 18.01.2013). Other eyewitnesses also describe the

[9] "Lunds sterke møte" is the headline in Norwegian

hostage takers as ruthless, well organised and looking for Christians and infidels. These stories are human interest framed as they focus on the stories of the individual hostages experiences but also stress an extra conflict between the "islamist terrorists" and the Christians, and seen in this light can be said to have elements of conflict framing.

The wife of one of the Norwegians who escaped when the bus leaving the facility was attacked gives an interview expressing that she knows she is lucky to get her husband home. She also shares how it felt going bed knowing he had not come home yet and how she had to be strong (Stavanger Aftenblad 18.01.2013). A lot of the stories from relatives of the hostages are printed, especially before it is possible to get information from the directly involved.

While the military operation is still ongoing and one Norwegian is safe, Statoil refuse to comment on how he got out. There is still no news of the remaining eight hostages. Foreign minister, Espen Barth Eide, says that the news lights up an otherwise dark morning (NTB 18.01.2013 07:32). According to NTB a local source says that 60 foreigners are still missing. Health minister Jonas Gahr Støre describes the wait for news as a big challenge for the next of kin, but says that the fact that it takes time is not necessarily a bad thing (NTB 18.01.2013 10:06).

Many of the articles from the middle part are characterised by a collective attempt at preparing the Norwegian public of what is to come. In this regard the journalists serve a purpose in preparing the public for the possible following stories. It is difficult to classify these types of stories using one of the predefined frames. There were no equivalents of these types of stories in the Westgate coverage, and are probably unique to the situation in In Amenas because of the nationality of the hostages and the uncertainty connected to their fates. The middle phase of the coverage is characterised by more sober reporting, reflecting the severity of the situation as it becomes clear that there is a big chance that Norwegian lives have been lost. The stories concerned with the next of kin are usually focusing on feelings and people and can therefore be classified as human interest.

The End – Hope, worry and sorrow

4 Nyhet Dagbladet SØNDAG 27. JANUAR 2013

TERROREN I ALGERIE

De tunge dagene

STØTTER HVERANDRE: Rolf Magne Larsen (med ryggen til kamera) og ambassadør Arild R. Øyen har mistet gode venner og kolleger i terroraksjonen i In Amenas. Nå jobber for å gi de omkomne en verdig tilbakekomst til Norge.

De kjempet mot tårene, den norske ambassadøren og landsjefen til Statoil i Algerie. En uke er gått siden venner og kolleger ble drept i In Amenas.

I ALGERIE
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ALGER (Dagbladet): I går ble det klart at Alf Vik (43) er funnet omkommet. Men én mann er fremdeles savnet, Victor Sneberg (56). Han har vært Statoils landsjef i Algerie siden 2010. Vik kom til Algerie omtrent samtidig som Arild R. Øyen startet jobben som Norges ambassadør i landet.

– Du må huske på at vi er en liten gjeng her. Alle kjenner alle, sier den norske ambassadøren til Algerie, Arild R. Øyen, til Dagbladet.

Tøffe dager

Utenriksdepartementets diplomater i Midtausen og Nord-Afrika er vant med å måtte bistå nordmenn i de urolige områdene. Nå rammes terroren folk de kjenner godt. Øyen ønsker ikke å fortelle om hvilke relasjoner de UD-ansatte nordmennene og de norske Statoil-ansatte har han. Men terrorangrepet i In Amenas preger rydelig den drevne diplomaten under pressemøtet i Statoils hovedkvarter i regnfylte Alger i går.

– Dette er tungt, sier Øyen kort.

Sammen med Statoils fungerende landsjef for Algerie, Rolf Magne Larsen, har han jobbet døgnet rundt siden terrorangrepet onsdag morgen i forrige uke. Larsen kom til Algerie to dager etter den voldsomme terrorhandlingen.

– Vårt fokus har vært å få inn hjelp til de utsatte ofrene, søke informasjon om våre ansatte, få så mange som mulig i sikkerhet og gi støtte til de som har vært i den traumatiske hendelsen og til deres familier, sier Larsen.

I går satt de to side om side i Statoils hovedkvarter i Algerie for å møte norsk presse. De er samkjørt og sterkt berørt.

– Vi har mistet familie og gode venner. Vi prøver å samle hverandre så godt vi kan og tenker på familiene til de berørte. Vi tenker og på andre mennesker fra andre nasjoner og andre land, selskaper, som har vært på arbeid her. I de nærmeste dagene er vårt hovedfokus å sikre et verdig farvel fra Algerie for våre kolleger og å sikre en verdig tilbakekomst til Norge, sier Larsen.

I Statoils hovedkvarter står ansatte alvorlige rundt i lokaler. Sikkerheten er nå i høyeste. Alle som kommer inn i Statoils lokaler må gjennom grundig sikkerhetssjekk.

– Alle på kontoret er sterkt preget av hendelsen, sier Larsen.

Nå håper alle at også sjøsmann, landsjefen Victor Sneberg, blir funnet. Deretter starter jobben med å få nordmennene hjem til Norge.

Usvidart framtid

Om og når Statoil skal starte opp igjen arbeidet i Algerie er foreløpig helt usvikrt.

– Nå må vi få full oversikt over situasjonen, så vil partnerne (Statoil, BP og Sonatrach, red.anm) bli enige om veien videre. Vi har ikke tatt noen beslutning om noen ting. Det vil bli foretatt undersøkelser og vi vil ta en betimelig beslutning en gang i framtida, sier Larsen.

Det algeriske oljeselskapet Sonatrach har nå sendt folk til In Amenas-anlegget. De rengjør boligkompleksen, jobber med å få strømmen tilbake og å få levelige forhold slik at anlegget er klart hvis selskapene ønsker å forsette arbeidet, får Dagbladet opplyst.

>>> De truer norske interesser

> Du må huske på at vi er en liten gjeng her. Alle kjenner alle.
> **Arild R. Øyen,** Norges ambassadør til Algerie

The article above exemplifies another reoccurring theme in the coverage from In Amenas; the focus on the people responsible for the Statoil employees and the Norwegian people. The photograph illustrating the article taking up ¾ of the space on the pages, shows the Norwegian ambassador to Algeria and a Statoil executive hugging each other. In the introduction one can read that they were fighting back tears the week after their friends and colleagues were killed in In Amenas. In Western society and culture, the sight of men in power hugging each other is an unfamiliar one. With that in mind, I am of the opinion that this photo more successfully underlines the severity of the situation than a more "obviously dramatic" photograph would have done. From the text underneath the photograph we learn that the men now are working on giving the deceased a worthy return to Norway. This

photograph, in addition to the headline, which reads "The difficult days"[10] shows how the In Amenas coverage is somber and emotionally charged.

The ambassador is quoted in the article saying that "everyone knew everyone" (in Algeria) and that this is a very difficult situation. One of the sub sections of the article is titled "tough days" and the journalists emphasise how "terror has struck" people close to the Norwegian diplomats and write that the experienced diplomat is greatly affected by what has happened. The article describes the ambassador and the Statoil executive as being very coordinated and again greatly affected by the situation. They are quoted saying that their main concern has been to ensure that the victims get a "worthy farewell" from Algeria and a "worthy return" to Norway. The last part of the article is concerned with when the work at the gas facility will commence which is not yet decided at the time.

A lot of the coverage from In Amenas concentrates on the CEO of Statoil, Helge Lund, and the Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg and how the crisis has been hard for them. Chibnall (2010) writes that politics are often personalised. And to some degree this is what happens here, Stoltenberg has responsibility for the Norwegian people through his role as the Prime Minister; that is politics. But the focus on his personal feelings towards what has happened, makes the stories about him more interesting. Another good example is an article about the Minister of Development Heikki Holmås who lost his stepdad in the attack. The article states that he was on work-related business when he got the news, but the main focus is on his feelings. The article's headline is "-I have cried bitter tears" (Dagbladet 26.01.2013) and reflect the pain the affected people felt. Holmås is an example of a political and public person, but this story focuses on his personal life. To some degree he gets the attention because he is a public person, but the main reason for the attention has nothing to do with his politics.

The return of both the survivors and the deceased are covered by the papers. Four Norwegians and one Canadian who escaped the terrorist attack early on land in Norway and is reunited with their families and in one article we can read that they "[i]n Bergen (…) finally got to meet their loved ones" (Bergensavisen 19.01.2013:4-5). A lot of the Norwegian newspapers covered their arrival. This is good news and can be reported without the uncertainty that has been so prevalent in the earlier coverage. As a contrast to the Westgate

[10] The word "tunge" which is used in the headline has no exact equivalent in English, but in this case I think "difficult" captures the meaning of the headline closely enough.

coverage, where the interest in the victims faded fast, the victims and survivors from In Amenas receives a lot of attention throughout.

The hostages that escaped tell how the hostage takers were well-prepared and how they went from room till room looking for hostages. Sources from the Algerian military say that one of the hostage takers was called "the Norwegian". It becomes known that that the Norwegian hostage who escaped had been chosen to be killed. No foreign personnel are allowed to get to In Amenas. Several articles focus on how hard the wait for news is for the next of kin. On the 19th of January it is confirmed that two more Norwegians are safe and physically unharmed. Six Norwegian hostages remain unaccounted for. Helge Lund is quoted saying that "We must not give up hope" (Dagbladet 20.01.2013). The articles keep mentioning hope as long as possible, often together with a solemn reminder that even though hope must not be given up on, the possibility of bad news is also very real.

At 15:00 19.01.2013 NTB relays the news that El Watan (a web newspaper) reports that the hostage situation is over citing Algerian official sources. The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs will not confirm the information at that time, but one and a half hour later the information is confirmed from official Norwegian sources as well. There is still no news for the next of kin to the six remaining hostages. It becomes known that Algeria's president made the final call on the military operation.

Norwegian health personnel are finally allowed access to In Amenas and are helping the wounded hostages. Articles about how hard the situation has been and still is for the CEO of Statoil Helge Lund such as; The Boss' hard week (VG 20.01.2013:10-11) can be found in several newspapers. There are also many stories on how the last Norwegian hostage survived, he had hid from the hostage takers for four days in his room. Statoil is still doing all they can to get information on the five Norwegians who are still unaccounted for. The survivors tell terrible stories about the hostage situation. The fact that the terrorists were only after foreigners is repeated. It becomes clear that twelve Japanese nationals were killed during the hostage situation and rescue mission. The Japanese government was as noted earlier much harder in their critique of Algeria's military operation than for example Britain and Norway (VG 20.01.2013).

A "Norwegian islamist" that often gets media attention because of his extreme religious views, Ubaydullah Hussain cheers on the terrorist attack on his Facebook page and

says that he believes the demands put forth by the hostage takers were reasonable. A number of newspapers such as Telemarksavisa (21.01.2013) have picked up on that story. These stories come as a contrast to all the stories concentrating on cooperation and unity. At this time we also learn that Norwegian intelligence monitored the situation closely when it was ongoing (Namdalsavisa 21.01.2013).

The names of the five missing are made public and the amount of killed hostages is adjusted upwards to 48. Helge Lund says that "we are united in these hard times" (Aftenposten Morgen 21.01.2013). Reports about a video recording of Mokhtar Belmokhtar taking responsibility for the attack start circulating, and stories about how he is being hunted by special forces follows. King of Norway Harald V expresses his sorrow and concern for the missing Norwegians and their next of kin. The King and Crown Prince meet the relatives of the victims at the center in Bergen and praise how they have handled the situation (Agderposten 21.01.2013).

After the names of the missing Norwegians are published, it quickly becomes clear that one of them is the stepfather of the minister of development, Heikki Holmås. He makes a statement where he says that he received the news with sorrow and despair (NTB 20.01.2013 22:28). At this time a lot of the newspaper stories centers around the missing Norwegians, how their friends, coworkers and family see them with expressions of hope that they will be found alive. The family of one of the missing Norwegians has appointed a spokesperson because of all the pressure from the press to get statements.

There are several stories claiming that the facility will reopen in two days and experts are saying that Norwegian oil business most likely will expand in foreign countries. These stories are examples of economic consequence framed stories. Some of the Statoil employees that are safe say they never want to go back to work in In Amenas, others say they want to go back as soon as possible, in order to restore a semblance of normalcy (Adresseavisen 21.01.2013).It becomes clear that some of the terrorists were employed at the gas facility in In Amenas, explaining why they knew the internal procedures. The Algerian government says that 37 of the killed hostages were foreign nationals (NTB 21.01.2013).

The search for the missing Norwegians continues. Statoil reopens the facility in In Amenas, but hold off sending back any of their employees until it has been confirmed that their safety is not at risk. KRIPOS (Norway's National Criminal Investigation Service) are

going to help in the work on identifying the victims. Jens Stoltenberg says there is no news on the missing Norwegians (Fædrelandsvennen 24.01.2013). An interview with Helge Lund about the tough responsibility is printed and an article headlined "Eight hard days for Jens" (Dagbladet 24.01.2013), plus one with the headline "Poor Jens!" (Dagbladet 27.01.2013). These are more examples of the news value "personalisation" (Chibnall 2010, Jewkes 2011) as they focus on individuals and emotions.

Jens Stoltenberg meets with David Cameron and promises that if something like this ever happens again there will be a closer cooperation between the two countries. A distinct feature of the coverage from In Amenas is the focus on cooperation and unity. One of the exceptions is the criticism of how Algeria handled the crisis, but this is not given very much attention. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs says that the likelihood of finding any more survivors is low. Two of the Norwegian Statoil employees have been confirmed dead and Jens Stoltenberg sends his deepest compassion to the next-of-kin. Some hours later one more Norwegian is confirmed killed, this is the stepdad of Heikki Holmås. Both the King and the Prime Minister send their condolences. Heikki Holmås expresses his grief and says that they must keep the memories of him alive (Bergensavisen 26.01.2013). Algeria reviews the rescue operation and declares that it was first and foremost a success, the major loss of life notwithstanding (Oppland Arbeiderblad 28.01.2013).

Statoil is arranging a gathering to mourn the missing and dead after the attack. It is still unclear exactly how the Norwegian hostages died. One of the Norwegians has not yet been identified and KRIPOS is waiting to get access in order to identify the remaining bodies. The press is allowed access to In Amenas and the labour union "Industri Energi" demands an independent evaluation of how this could have happened and whether the security for the employees is good enough (Sunnmørsposten 30.01.2013). The fact that this information is relayed exemplifies well how we closely follow every single aspect of what happens every step of the way. The In Amenas coverage includes a lot more detail, in contrast to the Westgate coverage where such details are not in focus.

Reports that the coffins with the identified Norwegians victims are on their way home surface. The next day the last of the missing Norwegian Statoil employees is identified. We learn more about exactly what happened with the Norwegian hostages. Two of the Norwegian hostages, one of them Heikki Holmås' stepdad, were asked by the hostage takers to get the facility up and running again, they refused. This made it much harder for the hostage takers to

blow it up, as apparently was their plan (Oppland Arbeiderblad 02.02.2013). The papers also present the information that the Norwegian hostages were killed by bombs made from fire extinguishers filled with explosives. We learn that Statoil had been in contact with the hostage takers through the cell phones of the hostages. We also get information about Mokhtar Belmokhtar and the hunt for him. Calls from the cell phones of the hostages can be linked to him (VG 03.02.2013).

At the memorial service for the Norwegians that were killed, Helge Lund said that they represented the best we have got (NTB 04.02.2013 13:04). This quote is repeated in a number of headlines, several other headlines describe the memorial service as a dignified. The government of Norway rejects the claim of an independent investigation put forth by "Industri Energi". The hunt for Mokhtar Belmokhtar continues and the facility in In Amenas starts up again (Vårt Land 16.02.2013).

Many of the articles from the end stage of the coverage are heavy, emotional and characterised by the turning to grief as it becomes clear that Norwegian hostages were killed. Human interest stories are manifold. Both the middle and end part of the coverage feature several examples of the news values that Jewkes (2011) and Chibnall (2010) would call "individualisation" or "personalisation". Both Helge Lund and Jens Stoltenberg are the focal points of several articles concerning how they are dealing with the crisis, not only in a work-related or political way, but also personally. Peelo states that "newspapers express emotions surrounding major events" (Peelo 2006: 160). The coverage from In Amenas is an example of this as emotions are focused on in many of the articles. The Norwegian newspapers express the feelings of the Norwegians afflicted.

4.3 Words and phrases associated with each event

What separates these attacks and how do these differences influence the news coverage? The two terrorist attacks share both differences and similarities. One of the principal differences, which also seem to influence the media coverage, is the duration of the attacks. In In Amenas the hostage situation lasted for days and uncertainty about what was happening inside the

facility prevailed. There was also an understanding that several Norwegians were in sustained danger for the duration of the situation. Identifying the victims took time and added to the uncertainty. Although the Nairobi attack ended more quickly than the attack in In Amenas, it still played out over several days, largely because security forces required considerable time to control the attackers. People inside the mall escaped or got rescued quickly. In addition, we receive confirmation almost immediately that four Norwegians have escaped the Westgate attack. This may be the explanation for why the coverage of the attack in Nairobi is bloodier, more descriptive, graphic and more sensationalist than the In Amenas coverage. With In Amenas the fact that Norwegians were in constant danger lends to the coverage a heavy and serious tone, possibly out of respect for the victims' families, friends and the Norwegian public. Further, because the In Amenas attack was directed at a facility partly operated by Statoil it likely was perceived more like an "attack on Norway" than the Westgate Mall attack.

The reports from In Amenas are characterised by uncertainty; at any given time many details remain unknown or unconfirmed. For example; are any of the hostages Norwegian? If so, are they alive? New details regarding In Amenas were sparse for a long time, yet the Norwegian newspapers still produced many articles on the situation. In contrast, the reports from Westgate immediately convey a lot of information. Some people managed to escape quickly, so the first articles also include witness. This adds to the sensationalist tone of the coverage. It is much easier to be bold and declarative when in possession of information and descriptions from witnesses. While much of the Westgate story can be relayed right away much of the In Amenas story does not reveal itself for weeks.

When describing acts of terrorism, some descriptions are obvious choices, but others may not be as intuitive. Entman argues that unless one compares narratives, differences in framing are difficult to pick up as "framing devices can appear as 'natural', unremarkable choices of words or images" (Entman 1991:6). Several words and phrases are almost impossible to avoid when describing an event classified as a terrorist-attack, such as "terrorist" and "attack". This is in spite of the often problematic nature of the word "terrorist" which I discussed in chapter two. Still, though the use of the word terrorist can sometimes be problematic, it would be far-fetched to say that the use of this particular word alone makes an article sensationalist. On the other hand, as I will demonstrate, some words like "bloodbath" and "slaughter" are more sensationalist. These kinds of eye-catching words and phrases create

a frame that is more out of the ordinary and extreme than sober, and are probably used to grab the readers' attention. Consumers of newspapers are bombarded with sensationalist headlines on a daily basis, and though some people may acknowledge that they are indeed sensationalist, many also likely accept this category of language as a natural way of presenting an event.

The most frequently used word in the Westgate coverage is "attack", which appears a number of 2394 times in 331 articles. This figure includes phrases such as terrorist attack (which is one put-together word in Norwegian). Attack is a relatively neutral and obvious choice to describe the events when armed persons take over a shopping mall and shoot people, attack is likely the first word that comes to mind. It is not a very loaded word. Of course "attack" is not a very positive word, and is likely to be associated with death and destruction of some kind, but it *could* also be used to describe an event which is broadly condoned. People on both sides of an attack could in many cases agree that what transpired was indeed an attack. The next section examines word choices that are not so obvious.

Bloodbath, massacre, slaughter and horror

The word bloodbath is used in a number of articles and appears 32 times in the 331 articles regarding Westgate. In comparison, this word appears 18 times in the 790 articles surveyed regarding In Amenas, and in only one headline. Taking into consideration that this word appears more frequently in a much smaller number of articles I have concluded that this category of language was more associated with Westgate than In Amenas, but it was a word that journalists thought reasonable to use in describing each event.

Two examples of headlines using this word is "The Bloodbath" (VG 22.09.2013:6-7) and "The Bloodbath can cost Kenya dearly" (Dagsavisen 23.09.2013: 16-17). 32 appearances is not an excessive number when compared to the 2394 appearances of "attack". Still I contend that 32 is a high rate of appearance considering the wealth of other, more sober descriptors that could have been chosen. Nevertheless, the events at Westgate did constitute it was a shocking, sudden and "bloody" attack, in the literal sense of the word. As such it is not difficult to understand why this specific word was used. One possible reason why journalists

used “bloodbath” may be the word's capacity to catch readers’ attention and spark their interest. For example, in the case of the Dagsavisen headline, “The bloodbath can cost Kenya dearly”, the article that follows is an interview with an expert explaining the attack’s possible economic consequences for Kenya by influencing the tourist industry. The article also includes an account of what happened, which is a very undramatic account focusing on facts. Even given this relatively sober context, it seems like the journalist considered “bloodbath” a perfectly natural word to use in the description of this event, something the following sentence exemplifies; “Al-Shabaab has carried out several other attacks in Kenya the last two years, but compared to this weekend’s bloodbath they have been small” (Dagsavisen 23.09.2013: 16-17).

Another word that sticks out is the word “massacre”, which appears 47 times in the articles about Westgate. The word “massacre” is not as abstract as bloodbath, still, some of the associations of the word set our minds on a different path than another word might have. The word massacre sounds even more sinister than expressions such as mass killing or mass shooting. Dagbladet writes about the attack calling it “the shopping-massacre” (23.09.2013:18) and Romerikes Blad writes that al-Shabaab has taken responsibility for the “shooting-massacre” (23.09.2013:2-3). This particular word is widely used in horror movie titles like “The Texas Chainsaw massacre”, “Slumber party massacre” or “The Redwood massacre” and could possibly make people associate the attack with something fictional. A soldier is actually quoted by VG (27.09.2013) saying that the inside of the Westgate mall “looked like a scene form a horror movie”.

The word massacre is also often associated with war. Using war-rhetoric is not something new when it comes to describing terrorist attacks. Terrorist attacks seem to be described as war-like actions when it fits a purpose, but as illegitimate actions when that is more useful. The way we define something also defines the reactions to it, therefore it is not unimportant how we describe it. This is an important point in the school of thought in framing theory concerned with framing effects (e.g. Berinsky & Kinder 2006, Chong & Druckman 2007, de Vreese 2007, Gamson 1988). With this being said, what happened in the Westgate mall depending on whose definition you use can indeed be classified as a massacre. Collins dictionary[11] define massacre as “the indiscriminate, merciless killing of a number of human

[11] http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/american/massacre

beings" while Oxford dictionary[12] define it this way; "An indiscriminate and brutal slaughter of many people". Whether or not the perpetrators behind the Westgate attack spared the life of people who could prove they were Muslims has been debated as the statements from witnesses differed. It seems like that was the plan, but that it was not necessarily followed fully. One can make the argument that it was not totally indiscriminate when it came to religion, but that many people were killed is not debatable.

As presented above, Collins dictionary used "slaughter" in the definition of massacre, and it is therefore maybe not surprising that this word was also used in the description of the Westgate attack. The attackers were presented as "the butchers of Nairobi" and soldiers described the scene as looking like a slaughter house (VG 27.09.2013:20). Another VG article starts by stating that "At least 68 people have during the last two days been slaughtered by the terrorists at the shopping mall in Nairobi. The article opens with this sentence, setting the mood. Versions of this word appear 20 times in the collected articles. Headlines like "Northern-Norwegian couple in bloody terror drama" (Nordlys 23.09.2013) and "24 hours of fear" (VG 23.09.2013) further underlines the sensationalist, bloody and graphic presentation of what happened.

Even though quite neutral terms are also widely used in the descriptions of the Westgate attack, the sensationalist rhetoric carries the most lasting salience. One reason may be that the sensationalist words and terms are overrepresented in headlines and introductions of the articles. Even articles consisting almost solely of facts can have pretty sensationalist headlines; "The Hostage drama in Algeria: the Drama in Algeria minute by minute" is a headline from Stavanger Aftenblad (18.01.2013), the article contains a sober account of what happened at what time and is undramatic. Also, even though one article may contain the word "attack" several times, the attack itself may be described in a sensationalist way or have describing word in front of it such as for example "bloody".

Why is such a dramatic way of presenting it being used? According to Rohner and Frey presenting it this way benefits both the media and the terrorists "[a]t least for sensationalist TV channels and tabloid-newspapers, the fear and fascination generated by terrorism and political extremism is a substantial part of their business" (Rohner and Frey 2007: 130). They also ask whether or not the media increases the risk of terrorism because of the need and want terrorist organisations has for media attention. Furthermore Rohner and

[12] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/massacre

Frey show that for terrorist attacks outside the West to get a lot of media attention they have to be "bloodier" – more brutal and fatal than an attack on a Western country (Rohner and Frey 2007). Norris, Kern and Just (2003) also argues the possibility that media lends terrorist groups and organisations legitimacy and credibility and create a contagion effect by their reporting of the events. Goffman (1974) also mentions that there are concerns that a detailed reporting of a crime may lead to more similar crimes. That being said, Norris, Kern and Just (2003) also question whether journalists rely too heavily upon the framework set forward by government, public officials and security and military experts (Norris, Kern and Just 2003:3).

A nightmare and a hostage drama

Dagsavisen(18.01.2013:6-7) present the headline "The 24 hour nightmare in In Amenas" with the sub-headline "The hostage drama in Algeria". These two headlines represent two of the commonly used frames when it comes to the presentation of the hostage situation in In Amenas. The word nightmare appears 139 times and the words hostage drama 850 times. In comparison the articles from Westgate mention nightmare 13 times and hostage drama 59 times. Hostage-drama, or at least the Norwegian equivalent (gisseldrama) is a commonly used way of referring to a hostage situation, and is therefore not unique for describing these events. Nightmare has also been used to describing other events before, but the word itself is not connected to a hostage situation in the same way. It has therefore probably been transferred from one or a few depictions of the event and onto others because it is a strong and thought-provoking frame. Another aspect is that what is the use of the word nightmare implies that what is happening is unreal.

Helge Lund, the CEO of Statoil said that the situation was a "nightmare for the next-of-kin" (Trønder-Avisa 18.01.2013:4). Three other headlines from the same day contains the word "nightmare", but in these instances it refers to how the situation was and is for the hostages; for example "Nightmare in the desert" (Bergens Tidende) and "The 24-hour nightmare in In Amenas" (Dagsavisen) and "Terror-nightmare in Algeria" (Agderposten). Maybe it is a coincidence or maybe journalists were inspired by Helge Lund's use of the word nightmare and used it in a different setting. Even so, according to the concept of newsworthiness (Chibnall 2010, Jewkes 2011), dramatisation is a key concept for attracting

readers and the use of words such as nightmare can certainly be said to be dramatisation. It also underlines how extremely challenging and difficult the situation is both for the hostages and the ones sitting at home waiting for them.

Hostage Drama is another way of framing the event, journalists could have used "hostage situation" instead, but it is not as dramatic. Hostage drama first appears in a headline from an NTB report from the day the attack happened (NTB 16.01.2013). Headlines from Nordlys (18.01.2013), Stavanger Aftenblad (18.01.2013) and Klassekampen (19.01.2013) among others follow, Stavanger Aftenblad has even chosen it as their header for all of the articles about the situation. One of the definitions Cambridge dictionary has for drama is "an event or situation, especially an unexpected one, in which there is worry or excitement and usually a lot of action"[13]

That words such as nightmare and drama were used more often in the coverage from In Amenas instead of words such as bloodbath and horror is probably linked to the duration of the attack as well as the proximity of the victims to the journalists covering the event and the readers. These words fit the general coverage of In Amenas as it is more severe and less graphic. Some of the words and phrases associated with In Amenas are easily linked back to NTB's presentation of it. NTB is usually the first outlet to publish new information among the outlets I have analysed. The obvious reason for this is that they can publish stories continuously, as opposed to the printed newspapers which have deadlines. NTB's angle is repeated in the printed newspapers surprisingly often.

Just as the British Prime minister, the Norwegian Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg says in a press conference that the nation has to be prepared for bad news. This statement and the words "prepared for bad news" take root, and is the start of a string of headlines containing this exact phrase. In the coverage of the In Amenas hostage situation the words "prepared for bad news" appears 43 times, eight of these as headlines. The first one is the NTB headline "Stoltenberg tells the nation to be prepared for bad news" (NTB 18.01.2013 20:18) and after that similar headlines all containing the phrase "prepared for bad news" follow in Telemarksavisa, Oppland Arbeiderblad, Porsgrunns Dagblad, Østlands-Posten, Namdalsavisa, Romerikes Blad and Dagsavisen. The phrase itself comes from an address Stoltenberg made, so it is not unnatural that this is being retold in the newspapers. Nevertheless, this was not the only thing Stoltenberg said, as an example he also emphasised that there was still hope for the

[13] http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/drama

remaining hostages and that this gave a motivation to doing everything humanly possible to save them (NTB 18.01.2013 20:18). An important aspect of framing theory is that what framing does is to emphasise or prioritise some aspects of an event while downplaying or leaving others out (Entman 2004; Gitlin 1980 in Matthes 2009; Norris, Kern and Just 2003). What happened with Stoltenberg's speech is an example of this happening. Needless to say, this has to happen all the time simply because it is not possible to emphasise all aspects of an event. What is interesting, however, is what is emphasised.

It is easy to imagine that if NTB had emphasised something else, the newspapers would have done so as well. That being said, it is not a coincidence that NTB focused on the aspect of the bad news in the first place, focusing on the bad news aspect is a way of preparing people for what may come. This is not the only example of how NTB's way of presenting something is echoed in the printed papers, in other words, NTB's transfers onto the newspaper media, and probably to other media outlets as well. It is well known that NTB is a source of news for the newspaper agencies, but maybe not as well-known is the extensive use of copy/paste from NTB to the actual newspaper articles. Other examples of the "contagious" NTB-frames are when two different NTB reports about the memorial service used a quote from Statoil CEO Helge Lund as headlines. One where he said that the memorial service was dignified and one that said that the killed Norwegians represented the best we have got. Five headlines (Dagsavisen, Østlands-Posten, Agderposten, Fædrelandsvennen, Romsdals Budstikke) picked up the dignified memorial service phrase, and the quote about how the dead representing the best we have got was repeated in three headlines (Dagen, Rogalands Avis, Vårt Land). A reason why these papers did not make their own unique headlines may both have to do with resources and maybe also that there is no desire to capitalise on this exact story by making a catchy headline.

Yet another quote from Helge Lund reaches the headlines after being the headline of an NTB report. Lund is quoted in the headline saying that "murder is hard to understand and impossible to accept" (NTB 30.01.2013), this leads to these headlines the 31.01.2013 where the quote has been used as it was or been slightly rewritten; "Murder hard to accept" (Glåmdalen), "Impossible to accept" (Romerikes Blad), "Lund: - Murder impossible to accept" (Fædrelandsvennen), "-Murder is hard to understand" (Agderposten), "-Murder is hard to understand and impossible to accept" (Bergens Tidende), "-Hard to understand and impossible to accept" (Stavanger Aftenblad) and "Murder impossible to accept"

(Sunnmørsposten). All of these are examples of headlines close to using a moral framing. There are examples of condemnation of the attackers, which is rarely focused on in the coverage as a whole. An interesting aspect is the part about hard to understand, which implies that one should at least try.

NTB is always mentioned as a source, and it is an obvious and natural source for the papers to get their information from, but you would expect newspapers to at least come up with their own headlines. I think that one of the reasons this occurs so often is because journalists are pressed for time and have to get the news out fast. As mentioned NTB publishes stories continuously all day and night, whereas printed newspapers have to answer to deadlines. Local and regional newspapers are overrepresented in this copying of NTB-headlines. Three of the biggest newspapers in Norway; Dagbladet, VG and Aftenposten have not relied on NTB to make their headlines. This is probably both due to the resources, professional standards and priorities of these.

I did not find the same contagiousness of the NTB angles in the coverage of the Westgate attack. I think that one reason for this is that making dramatic and speculative headlines did not seem as acceptable to the journalists when there were Norwegians involved. The coverage of In Amenas is generally much more sober and serious than the coverage of the attack on Westgate. Another aspect is that because of the interest in the In Amenas situation caused by the Norwegians involved, people read the articles regardless of catchy headlines. As Rohner and Frey (2007) has argued, terrorist attacks have to be more bloody to gain attention if they take place outside the West, and maybe this means that the coverage needs to be as well. There need to be something that catches the attention of the reader if cultural or spatial proximity (Jewkes 2011) is not apparent.

4.4 Different ways of telling a story

What these different focal points of the stories may show us among other things is how, as Goffman (1974) points out, retrospective characterisation of the same event may differ widely. This can also be true while characterising an event as it is ongoing. This is also a point Gamson makes; “It is possible to tell many different stories about the same events”

(Gamson 1989:158). Norwegian media will focus on different things than the media in other countries. Their coverage will probably be more similar to other Western countries than coverage from non-Western countries. Jewkes' (2011) news value of proximity fits here as spatial and cultural proximity influences how a story is reported.

What happened at Westgate and In Amenas is not the same, but there are similarities as both of the attacks were defined as terrorist attacks and the perpetrators of both were connected to organisations operating on the basis of an extreme religious ("islamist") conviction. Jewkes allege that the media has a desire to present violent and dramatic events "in the most graphic possible fashion" (Jewkes 2011: 58). This does not seem to be true when it comes to the coverage from In Amenas. Most of the focus in the In Amenas coverage was on feelings and the overall coverage was sober and less sensationalist than one might have expected. Whereas what happened at Westgate was reported in a much more graphic and sensationalist way. As mentioned before I think this has to do with the fact that the attack on Westgate happened so suddenly, and that the worst was over in a relatively short time. I also think that when the victims of such extreme acts are so close to the ones reporting about them, it is much harder to sensationalise it.

Maybe a dramatic way of describing terrorist events can actually serve terrorist organisations better than a more neutral account would have done? People that already have positive attitude towards such attacks could see the reporting as proof that the perpetrators were merciless and did what they set out to do with no hesitation, but it may also help radicalise more moderate individuals if they think that the coverage is exaggerated and unfair

5 Framing the stories on the victims, survivors and perpetrators

How do the articles from the newspaper coverage describe and refer to the victims, survivors and perpetrators. What is focused on and seen as important and how are the articles that concentrates on this framed? Which stories are important and why and how does nationality influence the framing of these? In this chapter I will explore these questions.

5.1 Victims – Human interest

The victims of acts of terrorism are written about, just as victims of other types of crime. In In Amenas, a lot of the victims were Norwegian, and they naturally got most of the attention in the Norwegian newspapers. Articles from Westgate also include afflicted Norwegians, but ones that got away alive. As I have mentioned earlier, the articles about Westgate is in general more sensational and include more graphic details. This also applies to the articles written about the victims.

Whether one calls the frame "human interest" (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000) or "human impact" (Neuman et al. 1992), earlier researchers have noticed that focusing on specific persons and emphasising feelings is a tactic that journalists apply to attract readers. Theory about newsworthiness calls this "personalisation" (Chibnall 2010). The human interest frame "brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem" (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). Naturally, the articles concentrating on the victims are human interest framed. They often concentrate on one or a few of the victims and we get to know what they were like when they were alive. The use of pictures combined with these types of descriptions appeal to our feelings. By giving us all of this information on the victims, what has happened seems closer and more relevant to us because it reminds us that each and every one of the victims are persons just like ourselves. When it comes to the articles on In Amenas, a lot of the victims were Norwegian. This immediately makes a lot of

the Norwegian readers feel a connection. When the victims are of other nationalities journalists may feel the need to stress their humanities to a higher degree and contrast that to the brutality of what happened to them in order to make the same connection.

5.1.1 Westgate - aid-workers slaughtered

TIRSDAG 24. SEPTEMBER 2013 Dagbladet Nyhet 7

SLAKTET NED

Elief og Ross kjempet mot hiv og malaria i Afrika. Hun skulle bli mor om to uker.

68 mennesker var i går bekreftet omkommet etter terrorangrepet i Kenyas hovedstad Nairobi lørdag.

Blant ofrene er den 33 år gamle profilerte australske arkitekten Ross Langdon og hans kjæreste Elif Yavuz, som var åtte måneder og to uker gravid.

– Ulidelig tap

– Tapet kan ikke måles, det er absurd og ulidelig, skriver Langdons mor på hans Facebook-side.

Langdon jobbet som arkitekt med en rekke prosjekter i Afrika, og tegnet blant annet et hiv-sykehus.

Yavuz var forsker med malaria som spesialfelt, og jobbet for Clinton-familiens stiftelse i Kenya.

Ghanesisk poet

Avisa Daily Mail skriver at de ble skutt mens de sto ved hverandres side i en kafeteria i Westgate-kjøpesenteret.

Blant ofrene er også flere andre hjelpearbeidere, Kofi Awoonor, en ghanesisk poet, en kanadisk diplomat og en åtte år gammel indisk statsborger.

SKULLE BLI FORELDRE: Ross Langdon og Elif Yavuz er blant ofrene etter søndagens terrorangrep i Nairobi. Foto: AAP/ AP / NTB Scanpix

Some of the victims of Westgate got more attention than others. Two people that got some attention in Norwegian newspapers were Eilef Yavuz and Ross Langdon. The article above features a relatively large picture of them, a happy picture that shows a young couple holding each other. The caption under the picture says that they were going to be parents, and in the article we learn that she was eight months and two weeks pregnant. The introduction to the

article tells us that Eilef and Ross fought HIV and malaria in Africa. We also learn in the article that 68 people have been confirmed dead after the terrorist attack. Other victims mentioned are other aid-workers, a Ghanaian poet, a Canadian diplomat and an eight year old Indian citizen.

The picture of the couple stands in heartbreaking contrast to the headline that reads that they were "butchered down/slaughtered". The article can without a doubt be classified as human-interest framed as it centers on specific people and appeals to our feelings. The fact that the woman was pregnant and that they were soon going to be a family adds an extra level of hurt to the story and creates even more sympathy. Not only were they young, they were in Kenya doing something admirable and they were going to be a family. One could almost say they lead perfect lives and I think that to a lot of people this adds to the feeling that the attack and the attackers were unjust and inhuman. This is also a good example of almost ideal victims (Christie 1986).

Additionally they were white and Western, and this was printed in a Norwegian newspaper where that description fits the majority of the readers. It is not a coincidence that these two were chosen to be the faces of the victims in this article. Sommers et al. (2006) found that race influenced the media presentation of Hurricane Katrina. White people were presented in a more flattering light than black people. Where black people were called refugees, white people where called evacuees. Refugee is not the correct legal definition, the authors of the article therefore suggest that the reasons for choosing this word when describing black people have to be something else, possibly that African Americans are more often associated with refugees than white Americans. Another find was that the exact same scene; a person getting food from a store was described as "looting" when that person was black and "finding food" when the person was white. While this particular article does not present black people in an unflattering light, I find it hard to imagine this exact story centering on a black couple being printed in a Norwegian newspaper as fewer of the readers might identify with them.

There are several studies on who gets and do not get attention as victims in the media. Jewkes mentions a "hierarchy of media interest" in which young, pretty, white women for example is higher than African Caribbean or Asian men, or old women, people with drug problems or people that are prostitutes for example (Jewkes 2011: 57). The above-mentioned couple fits some of the criteria for being at the top of the hierarchy, the woman all of them.

The fact that she is pregnant can be connected to the news value of children and the notion that children makes a news story more newsworthy (Jewkes 2011), even though the child has yet to be born.

Another reason this article is interesting is the use of the word butchered/slaughtered. This is not the only article in the coverage of the attack that uses this word. As mentioned in the previous chapter, an article in VG present the attackers as "the butchers of Nairobi" and the article features how soldiers described the scene as looking like a slaughter house (VG 27.09.2013:20). Another VG article starts by stating that "At least 68 people have during the last two days been slaughtered by the terrorists at the shopping mall in Nairobi". Animal-related metaphors have been found in discourse about terrorism by several researchers. The use of the word hunt when referring to the search for terrorists is one such metaphor. Here Norwegian newspapers are no exception. The use of the word "slaughter", however, does the exact opposite of dehumanising the attackers. It indirectly "dehumanises" the victims.

The above-mentioned victims are mentioned in most of the articles about the people that were killed. Another VG article refers to the same couple and writes in the introduction to the article that "[f]*amily joy ended in a pool of blood in the shopping mall in Nairobi"* (Verdens Gang 25.09.2013:16). Again, the same picture is used as in the article shown above. In some way this couple becomes the symbolic victims of Westgate for VG's readers. Many of the articles about the Westgate attack do not focus on the people that were killed, however, but rather on the Norwegian survivors. Several articles mention victims, but often as in the article presented above, listing them according to nationality. The Westgate victims lose their news appeal quite soon, at least individually, but a lot of the space in the newspapers are filled with the stories of the survivors, and the ones that get the most attention by far is the four Norwegian missionaries mentioned earlier.

The Norwegian survivors of Westgate – the story of four Christian missionaries

There were four Norwegian missionaries among the survivors, one couple from the Norwegian Lutheran Missionary Samband (NLMS) and two men from Oslo Christian Center (OCC). They obviously got a lot of attention in Norwegian papers because of their nationality,

and also got special attention in the Christian newspapers "Vårt land" and "Dagen" in connection with how their faith influenced the way they dealt with the attack, "Our faith in God gave us peace in the middle of the storm" is an example of that (Vårt land 23.09.2013). This focus gives the story an angle, which is something journalists have to look for when telling a story (Jewkes 2011).

This angle seems to be a popular one. Not only the Christian newspapers focused on the religious aspect, a headline from Romerikes Blad used the following quote; "A guardian angel watched over us" (Romerikes Blad 23.09.2013. The couple from NLMS says it was comforting to know that God was with them in the storage room in which they were hiding (Dagen 23.09.2013). One of the missionaries from Oslo Christian Center said to VG that he felt quite calm because of his personal Christian faith and the safety he finds in God (22.09.2013). The other missionary from OCC stated in Romerikes Blad that his faith in God had only gotten stronger after the experience (23.09.2013). To Christian readers, what happened to these people, and maybe even the fact that they survived, may be attributed to God testing their faith and them succeeding. This angle adds a deeper meaning for some to what happened.

All of the articles focusing on these missionaries are human-interest framed, but they also have the extra aspect of concentrating on their faith in addition to their Norwegian nationality. A lot of people managed to escape the Westgate mall early on, but the Norwegian ones are most interesting and accessible to Norwegian readers and journalists. The Christian aspect adds something to the story and helps the journalists writing about it choosing an angle for framing the article.

5.1.2 In Amenas - losing our own

Early on in the coverage of the In Amenas hostage situation we learn that there might be Norwegians taken hostage at the facility. One of the first reports from NTB is headlined "May be Norwegians among the hostages in Algeria" (NTB 16.01.2013 12:34).This fact seems to influence the rest of the coverage in regard to the amount of articles that were produced, and the way the articles were framed. 67 people were killed in the Westgate attack and 69 in the

hostage situation in In Amenas. There are at least to aspects that most likely are main reasons for the difference in coverage; the amount of time the attacks lasted and the nationality of the victims. In In Amenas the hostage situation lasted for days and required updates every day, even when the updates could not give much new information. The demand for information was also much higher because of the Norwegians involved. In some way it is the journalists' responsibility to give the Norwegian public information about the situation of their fellow citizens.

As soon as it is established that there are hostages taken at the gas facility and the camp connected to it, the nationality of the hostages are the main focal point. Norwegian papers are naturally interested in how many Norwegians are taken hostage and local newspapers are concerned with where in Norway the affected individuals are from. Still a lot of the information is based on speculation and rumours. "May have taken 40 hostages, amongst them a Norwegian" (NTB 16.01.2013 17:03). The word "foreigner" is used extensively to describe the hostages who are not Algerian.

One of the first reports from In Amenas focuses on the fact that there could be Norwegians among the hostages (NTB 16.01.2013 12:34). Then we learn that there are two foreigners among the killed. Again the nationality of the victims are an important point of focus (NTB 16.01.2013 13:18). After a while it becomes clear that a Norwegian man is taken hostage (NTB16.01.2013 14:29). Half an hour later, the local connection of the man is made public, he is from a place called Lindås (16.01.2013 14:59). The local focus and attachment to a specific small place makes the man more relatable and his story especially interesting to the local newspaper where he is from.

The first articles focus on the nationality of the victims and it seems that it is important to get to the bottom of which countries each of the hostages are from. The locals are mentioned, almost as an afterthought. This quote exemplifies this: "Ireland confirms that an Irish national is taken hostage. Also several Americans, British, French and Japanese are among the victims, in addition to many locally hired Algerians" (Oppland Arbeiderblad 17.01.2013:16-17).

It seems like Norwegian journalists could not sensationalise what happened to the Norwegian victims in the same way they could with the non-Norwegians. It is not hard to imagine that the journalists find it harder to write about this even though the might not know

these people personally. When an event like this happens, it seems to be exceptional, not only the happening itself, but in the coverage of it as well. The most dramatised stories are about the Norwegians who survived, while the stories about the Norwegians who were killed are either focusing on how they were when they were alive or on the fact that two of them "stood up to the terrorists" and refused to start up the gas facility (Oppland Arbeiderblad 02.02.2013). I believe one would probably find something similar in the coverage of the 22nd of July 2011 attacks as the attacks that happened on this day affected Norway and its inhabitants greatly, including both what Jewkes (2011) calls spatial and cultural proximity.

The death of some of the Norwegian hostages was expected, maybe not from the very start, but more and more as the situation evolved. Additionally, the attention on how the nation should be prepared for bad news, helped to do exactly that; prepare people for the bad news. When the news of the killed came, it did not come as a shock. People were expecting it, using a shocking way of presenting it was unnecessary. Underneath I will present an article that came out right after three of the Norwegian hostages were confirmed dead.

Frykt og usikkerhet ble til sorg og fortvilelse

Usikkerhet gikk over i dyp sorg da det i går ble klart at tre av gislene nå er bekreftet døde. – Når Tore sa og mente noe, lyttet vi alle, sier kollega Margareth Øvrum.

The headline of the article says that fear and uncertainty were turned into sorrow and despair. This is yet another example of how feelings are in focus in the In Amenas coverage. This headline reflects the fact that a lot of the article is about what feelings the news of the deaths were met with from colleagues, next of kin and government officials. When comparing the article above with the one on the victims that were killed in the Westgate attack, one of the things that is noticeable is which types of photographs are used to illustrate. The main illustration for this article is of the gas facility and does not include any people. Just looking at *that* particular picture it would be possible to imagine that the article is about something purely technical, it could have been an article about Norway's "oil adventure". That being said, this is not the only photograph. There are also smaller pictures of the victims who are confirmed dead and the small descriptions underneath include quotes from people that knew them.

The three small pictures all look like they have been taken in a non-professional setting. The one at the top shows one of the victims smiling in front of a gathering of people. It seems to have been taken outside. The photograph in the middle shows a second victim looking relatively happy wearing casual clothes and the bottom one shows a third victim in an orange jacket, it looks like he is outside, maybe in the mountains. All of the three pictures seem to have been cut from larger pictures, we do not get to see all of it, but get a glimpse into the lives of the three victims. These pictures help underline that they were three different people with separate lives. Yes, they worked at the same place, but they had other things that defined them. All three have relatively happy expressions on their faces, and this makes the contrast to what happened to them seem sharper than if the photographs had been more official looking. The pictures emphasise how "normal" they were. According to Hall such photographs have the function of *grounding and witnessing*, by showing us photographs of them the newspapers "prove" that they really excist (Hall 2010: 131).

One could say that the pictures, along with the descriptions of how they were as persons are the newspapers' way of honouring the victims. We learn that they were likable, good at their job, positive. The pictures along with the descriptions give people a chance to get to know what they were like. This again makes them more relatable, knowing something about them in addition to their nationality makes people feel closer to them and relate them to their own lives. At the bottom of the article well-known people such as the king and members of the government give their condolences. The condolences are also illustrated with pictures

of each of the persons giving them. These pictures are more official, probably because government officials have a photo ready for such occasions, in contrast to the victims.

The interviews with the colleagues, next-of-kin and government officials gives them an opportunity to condemn the act of terrorism and the people behind it. The mayor of Austrheim, where one of the victims was from, said that the act was "inhuman and horrible" and Norway's Prime Minister at the time Jens Stoltenberg said that "it was an evil and willed act". Compared to the article about the couple that was killed in the Westgate attack, this article does not seem to be trying to shock its readers. The reason for this might be because of the proximity of the shared nationality. Maybe this does not create the need or want for something to draw us into the article. We are already involved, by virtue of being of the same nationality. In the local newspapers there were stories concentrating on one of the victims, but the regional and nationwide newspapers focused on these three victims equally.

This article acknowledges that the victims died, but it does not focus on this. The focus is on how they were as persons and the feelings around their deaths. This differs noticeably from the article I used as an example of the Westgate attack, where the headline focused on how the victims were slaughtered. This article does include some information about how some of the victims were executed, but when this article was written the way these three died is not known for certain. It would not be possible to concentrate on this without speculating due to the lack of information. Nevertheless it is known that they were killed because they were taken hostage, so if a journalist wanted, it would be possible to frame the article in a way that concentrated on the fact that they were dead because of terrorists.

Later, when it becomes known that they most likely died when the terrorists detonated a pressure cooker bomb, two articles have headlines that focus on how they were "blown up". One of these includes small pictures of the victims such as the ones in the article above (Adresseavisen 01.02.2013:17). The other article (Stavanger Aftenblad 01.02.2013) contains no pictures of the victims. In contrast to all the graphic headlines and descriptions from Westgate, two articles focusing on how the victims of In Amenas died are very few. Drawing on what is apparent throughout the coverage of each of the attacks, I would argue that there would have been more articles focusing on this had the victims not been Norwegian.

5.1.3 People we can identify with

Nationality

Kwon and Moon (2009) calls it collective framing when there are references in an article to where a person is from. When going through my collected articles I was surprised to see how important nationality and local connection was when describing the victims. Kwon and Moon (2009) refer to Billig (1995) who said that everyday news coverage conveys a sense of nationalism, to make news interesting to the reader one has to reify the concept of our nation and the foreign. To make international news interesting to national and local readers the journalists puts it through a "domestication of the news" by finding a way in which it fits into a national and cultural perspective that fits the audience and highlighting this aspect. Kwon and Moon further argue that domestication of international news is connected to what the home nation's interest is. In a Norwegian setting, the most interesting for the nation was the Norwegian hostages in In Amenas and the Norwegian survivors from Westgate. Jewkes too, mentions the "domestication of foreign news" when an event that happens in another part of the world is reported in the home country if it can affect the home culture (Jewkes 2011: 55).

Proximity is a news value that Jewkes (2011) presents in her book about media and crime. Both the In Amenas and Westgate attack were spatially far away from Norway, but some of the victims, survivors and one of the perpetrators were very close culturally; they were Norwegian. Nationality is important when it comes to describing people throughout the coverage, both perpetrators and victims. "There are several western and other foreigners among the killed" is an example from Westgate (Trønderbladet 24.09.2013: 5). It is easier for us to sympathise with people who are in some way similar to us, for example someone of the same nationality, background or age. Sacks has theorised on how we categorise members of a population. He writes that the "names of the sets would be things like sex, age, race, religion, perhaps occupation" (Sacks 1989: 89). Each of these categories can be applicable to one person, which ones we find interesting depend on the situation (Sacks 1989: 92). In situations such as the ones in In Amenas and Nairobi, where people are in danger, but where the situation is not taking place in the same country as it is being reported on in, everyone wants

to know; was anyone of "ours" there? And nationality seems to be a strong indicator of where and with whom people fit in.

A lot of the victims at Westgate were western, rich or people of power, and this was probably one of the reasons it was chosen as a target for the attack. A Somali politician says to Klassekampen that on Saturdays the shopping mall is filled with rich Kenyans, prominent politicians, foreign diplomats and businessmen (23.09.2013). This is also probably one of the reasons why this terrorist attack got so much attention from the press.

Researchers that studied the news coverage of terrorist events in the U.S. found that "the location of the event and the nationality of the victims were both significant" (Ruigrok and van Atteveldt 2007:73). This shows that the focus on the nationality of the victims is not unique for the Norwegian coverage. An article in Agderposten 23.09.2013 includes a box of information labelled "Facts – The terror attack in Kenya" which contains 11 "dotted" facts. The first reads that at least 59 people were killed and over 175 injured in the attack. The third says that Kenya's president lost his nephew and the nephew's fiancé in the attack. The nine remaining facts is information on nationalities of the victims;

- Both Africans, Europeans, North-Americans and Asians are among the deceased.
- Four Norwegians were present during the attack, but no one was injured.
- At least three British people were killed, according to British authorities.
- Two Indians were killed and four injured informs the Indian Foreign Ministry.
- Two French women were killed, according to the French President Francois Hollande.
- Two Canadians, one of them a diplomat, was killed, informs the Canadian Interior Minister Stephen Harper.
- The Ghanaian poet Kofi Awonoor died of injuries he got in the attack, informs the office of Ghana's President.
- A woman from the Netherlands was killed while seven other from the Netherlands got away without injuries, the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands Frans Timmermans informs.
- The wife of an American aid-worker was killed while four American citizen were injured officials from the USA informs.

This is presented as the facts from the attack on Westgate and is an extreme example of how much the nationality of the victims and survivors is stressed. In this list of the nationalities of

killed and injured, the four Norwegians are mentioned first, even though they got away physically unharmed.

As mentioned in the introduction the ten countries with the most terrorist attacks in 2012 were Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Nigeria, Syria, Yemen, Somalia, India, Thailand and the Philippines. 84% of all registered terrorist attack in the world happened in these ten countries (Aftenposten 29.09.2013). These numbers are presumably not reflected in the attention they receive in Norwegian newspapers when compared to attacks where Western people or Norwegians are involved. This is not surprising as Norwegians naturally are given more attention in Norway, followed by neighbouring and other surrounding or similar countries. These attacks does not make the news in Norway, or are a very little part of it because of the lack of spatial and cultural proximity as Jewkes (2011) calls it.

It is clear that journalists are aware that their readers first and foremost are concerned with their fellow citizens. This results in reports that informs that "we do not know yet", such as "at least 34 hostages was killed when Algerian forces attacked the hostage takers at the gas facility in In Amenas (…) it is not known if any of them are Norwegian (NTB 17.01.2013 15:00). Even though it is non-information, it has to be reported on, because what the Norwegian readers want to know the most is what the status of their countrymen is. Entman (1991) found that the U.S. media generally tended to show American victims of violence more empathy than foreign ones, and that the media presentations of them also focused more on the loved-ones of the American victims. The notably larger focus on both the Norwegian victims and their next of kin from the In Amenas coverage implies that what Entman found to be true for the U.S. media might at least to some degree be true for Norwegian media as well.

Local connection

Just as stories about Norwegians are more interesting to Norwegian newspapers, local connection is important to the local newspapers. Jewkes (2011) writes about the "threshold" of a story making the news. Drawing on Fuller (1996), Kwon and Moon (2009) write that every newspaper big or small has to be aware of their specific audience. What happened in both In Amenas and Nairobi made global, national and local news. But the detailed stories of

the killed, the survivors and the relatives of the afflicted are extra interesting to "their" local newspapers. Where in Norway the survivors and victims are from is important in the reports about the attack. The local newspapers are concerned with their locals. Some examples from the In Amenas coverage are; "It is not known whether or not any of the Statoil employed hostages are from Harstad" (Harstad Tidende 17.01.2013) "Stjørdaling (59) unharmed home from the hostage drama" (Trønder-Avisa 19.01.2013:6) and . "Hadelending hostage" (Ringerikes Blad 17.01.2013:9). All of these refer to people from small places in Norway and the headlines are from the local newspapers.

There are also examples of this from Westgate. For example an article from the newspaper Nordlys, the newspaper for the county of Troms (in northern Norway), that can report that a couple from their area was in the middle of a "bloody terrordrama". Focusing not only on people with a national connection, but a local one as well is something that is very recognisable in the coverage. Romerikes Blad (23.09.2013) presents another example where they write that "Maura[small place in Norway]-man escaped the bloodbath in Nairobi".

The people central to local stories do not even have to have been involved in the attack, it is enough that they were close or could have been involved. In Strilen (28.09.2013) we can read about a man from Radvær that lived in the area where the Westgate mall is situated. He tells the newspaper that he had visited the mall some days before. He also says that he could hear helicopters after the attack. But that is it. It is not really a story, but the local connection makes it interesting enough for that specific paper. There are also several stories on other Norwegians that were in Nairobi, but nowhere near the shopping mall when the attack happened. Most of these are found in local newspapers and are focused on people from the area the newspaper is connected to.

5.2 Perpetrators – one-dimensional or multifaceted?

In this part of the chapter I will focus on how the terrorist organisations that claimed responsibility for the attacks are framed along with the three perpetrators that gained the most attention; Mokhtar Belmokhtar and Mukhtar Abulal Zubayr in In Amenas and Hassan Abdi Dhuhulow in Westgate. Some of the articles whose main focus is on the perpetrators are

human interest framed, these are mostly the ones focusing on a specific person. The ones focusing on the organisations behind are more responsibility and conflict framed. Naturally the articles revealing how a certain organisation has taken responsibility of an attack are responsibility framed. Articles going more in depth on the organisations often focus on the high levels of conflict both inside the organisation and in relation to other organisations, states, people or religions. What has more influence on the focus of an article; is where they are from or which countries they are affiliated with more important than the nature of the attack and what they actually did?

5.2.1 Westgate – The butchers in Nairobi

Describing Al-Shabaab – militant, islamist and attention seeking

Unsurprisingly, the word "terrorist" is used a lot to describe the people behind the attack on Westgate, this word appears 1062 times in the articles I have collected. The second most used word describing the attackers is "Somali", which appears 627 times. Third most used is "islamist" which appears 445 times, this also includes words that in Norwegian are compound words such as islamist movement (islamistbevegelse), islamist group (islamistgruppe) or islamist organisation (islamistorganisasjon). An example of this can be found in for example Dagsavisen, where al-Shabaab is described this way "the militant, Somali islamist group al-Shabaab" (Dagsavisen 23.09.2013:16-17). Again, as was the case with the victims, together with religious affiliation, nationality is important when describing the perpetrators.

"They kill, stone women and cut the hand of people as punishment" and they need attention (VG 24.09.2013:18-19). This headline implies not only that al-Shabaab is violent, but the part about stoning women also tells us that they suppress women. This may well be true, but more importantly it fits into a preexisting framework on how extreme "islamists" are. Stavanger Aftenblad describes al-Shabaab's attack as "shocking in its brutality" (Stavanger Aftenblad 24.09.2013:12) and Dagsavisen (24.09.2013:20-21) describes the attack as merciless. All these descriptions are very dramatic and definitively "newsworthy". They

demand a reaction and probably provoke disgust in a lot of the readers. They also fit perfectly in an existing framework of terrorist as inhuman, merciless and brutal. Lakoff (2004) and Goffman (1975) among others stress that to internalise or accept new information it has to fit in with our already existing worldview or schemata. These types of descriptions are therefore probably easily acceptable to a lot of readers.

An interesting characterisation that stuck to the attackers in Nairobi was "the butchers in Nairobi". When Kenyan TV-stations got hold of CCTV footage that showed pictures of the attackers, Dagbladet reported this under a headline that calls the attackers "the butchers of Nairobi" (Dagbladet 06.10.2013). A VG article features quotes from a soldier describing the scene as looking like a slaughter house (VG 27.09.2013:20) and in another article they write that people have been "slaughtered by the terrorists in Nairobi" and that several of the president's (Kenyatta) family "were slaughtered by the death-bullets[14]" (VG 23.09.2013). Researchers like for example Steuter and Willis (2009) have found a dehumanising discourse in the presentation of "terrorists" in the media. What is really interesting about this way of describing it is that by calling the "terrorists" butchers, the victims are implicitly described as animals. The word slaughter is usually used in a context where it means killing animals, usually to produce food. No doubt, "butcher" is not meant as a compliment or a flattering characterisation, but as I have stressed earlier what it does is indirectly dehumanise the victims, not the attackers.

A point that is made several times is the need al-Shabaab has for attention. According to Stavanger Aftenblad, the reason why so many people had to die is exactly the need al-Shabaab has for media attention (25.09.2013). An article with the headline "Somalia's boundless warriors" can tell us that al-Shabaab is in the spotlight and on everyone's lips (Klassekampen 26.09.2013: 18). A type of language which is usually used to describe celebrities. The use of this type of language is not surprising as Jewkes (2011) notes that notorious criminals can achieve a celebrity-like status.

The need for attention is presented in several articles as a reason for how extreme the attack was. Two of the attackers from Westgate got most of the attention in Norwegian newspapers; Mukhtar Abu Zubeyr also known as Godane, supposedly the brains behind the operation (but he did not participate in the actual attack) and Hassan Abdi Dhuhulow, the

[14] Dødskulene is the Norwegian original word

Norwegian from Larvik. Of the two Hassan got the most attention by far. They were both part of the terrorist organisation Al-Shabaab which after a deal Mukthar Abulal Zubayr did with Al-Qaedas leader Ayman al-Zawahiri became a part of al-Qaeda's inner circle (VG 24.09.2013:18-19).

Mukhtar Abulal Zubayr/Ahmed Abdi Godane – a man of contrasts

Godane is known as an experienced warrior and sniper (Dagbladet 06.10.2013: 17). He is also described as well-read, well-spoken and bilingual. He purportedly recites poem and cites obscure academic journals (Aftenposten 28.09.2013). These traits are presented as conflicting. How could he both be an intellectual poem reciter and a jihadist that mercilessly kills his rivals? This question is implied in the article. This contrast makes the story more newsworthy as there is a break between what is expected and reality, Jewkes (2011) notes that the unexpected is often newsworthy.

According to Aftenposten (28.09.2013), Godane is most likely a 30 years old male. Supposedly, he was an exemplary student and won a scholarship to study in Sudan, later he got another scholarship to study in Pakistan where he met people in jihadist-circles. He went to Afghanistan to train and fight and then went to Kashmir before returning to Somalia and connecting with an islamist group called Islamic Courts Union. An extreme fraction of this group later created al-Shabaab. In 2012 he became part of al-Qaida's inner circle (VG 24.09.2013). What this description of him shows is how he went from being a dedicated student to a dedicated terrorist. These types of presentations, however, do not focus on the possible contrast between being a good student and then an "accomplished terrorist", one gets a feeling that his whole life, from the education to being a terrorist, is part of the same plan.

Godane supposedly fronts a more uncompromising stance than his predecessors. According to Norwegian al-Shabaab expert, Stig Jarle Hansen, he was criticised by Osama bin Laden for being too strict and violent in his enforcement of sharia in the areas his militia controlled (Aftenposten 28.09.2013:10). Bin Laden had to die before al-Shabaab was included in al-Qaida's network (Aftenposten 30.09.2013:14). In the internal fight for power in al-Shabaab Godane is known for killing four of the previous leaders. These articles help

accentuate how brutal he is, a man that Osama bin Laden sees as too strict and violent has to be really extreme. Godane is described as an ambitious man that wants to make a name for himself in the jihadist world. Chibnall (2010) has argued that the use of experts help establish media outlets in the states framework of power and that it can give articles the impression of being more objective. The use of the al-Shabaab expert in Aftenposten adds legitimacy to the presentation of the perpetrator.

Godane is depicted as an intelligent, ambitious and brutal man. From what one can read in the articles about him it seems that he is a man who pursues his goals and is successful in what he does. If his goals were different, he might have been admired by most people. However, even though his story as presented in the newspapers could be viewed as a success story in some peoples' eyes, to most Norwegian readers it probably leaves an impression of Godane as a determined and brutal man. Descriptions of Godane, even though he is attributed some traits one might not expect, fits into one story; a story of a brutal, determined "terrorist" that even bin Laden thought was to extreme. Why and how he became affiliated with al-Shabaab and al-Qaida is not a question, but seems to be taken for granted an obvious path for him.

Hassan Abdi Dhuhulow – the terrorist was one of us

When it was revealed that one of the terrorists was Norwegian, among the questions that needed an answer were: Who is he and how did he, a boy that grew up in Norway, end up as a terrorist in Nairobi? Because of his Norwegian ties a lot of newspaper articles were written about him. The articles about Hassan focus more on trying to explain why and how he could end up as a terrorist, compared to the stories about the non-Norwegians. The articles about them tell also tells a part of the story of how they became terrorists, but why does not seem to be of the same importance.

What is interesting about the stories about Hassan is that there seems to be two diverging ways of presenting who he was. Some of the people who knew him describes him as quiet, caring and religious, and others as aggressive, fanatical and maybe even as having a

psychological diagnosis. Because of the different presentations of him, I have chosen to present two different articles as examples. The first one follows below.

8 8 ONSDAG 16. OKTOBER 2013 VG

Den mistenkte al-Qaida-toppen Abu Anas al-Liby erklærte seg ikke skyldig da han ble fremstilt for en domstol i New York i går, siktet for to bombeangrep mot USAs ambassader i Kenya og Tanzania i 1998. Dommer Lewis Kaplan ga ordre om at han ilegges sikulle vareteksttengsles uten mulighet for kausjon. (NTB)

GLATT I NORD – SNART SNØ I SØR

Snøen synes å ha kommet overraskende på mange blister i nord. I går var det 17 uhell bare i Troms. Og i morgen er det ventet snø i Sør-Norge.

Blant annet sørget et vogntog som kjørte seg fast for at E6 over Kvænangsfjellet var stengt store deler av dagen i går, melder NRK.

Og i morgen kommer det altså kaldluft inn over Sør-Norge, ifølge Yr.no: – Folk vil merke at det blir ganske mye kjøligere på torsdag. På formiddagen skal det snø over 600 meter, mens utover dagen blir det kaldere, og vi får snøbyger over 300 meter. Det betyr definitivt vinterdekk, sier meteorolog Rafael Escobar Lavdahl ved Meteorologisk institutt.

En kvinne er pågrepet og siktet for å ha kvalt en 51 år gammel mann med strips på et hotellrom i Sverige i sommer. Mannen ble funnet død på et hotell etter mdotnrefiet «Power Meet», der han hadde deltatt. Kvinnen, som er omtrent 45 år gammel, ble pågrepet i går. (NTB)

TERRORMISTENKT JOBBET HOS NOKAS

Av HELGE MIKALSEN, STIAN EISENTRÄGER, BRYNJAR SKJÆRLI, MORTEN HOPPERSTAD og THEIS ROKSVÅG PEDERSEN

NAIROBI/ET STED PÅ ØSTLANDET (VG) I løpet av noen korte ungdomsår skjedde det en merkbar forandring med norsksomalieren (23). Nå er han mistenkt for å ha vært med på terrorangrepet i Nairobi.

VG har fått opplysninger om at den nå 23 år gamle mannen sommeren 2010 jobbet en periode ved en av Nokas' tellesentraler på Østlandet.

Årene før dette hadde han en rekke småjobber, blant annet som telefonselger og lagerarbeider.

Arbeidsgiverne han jobbet for skal ha vært svært fornøyd med ham, får VG opplyst.

Peter Wesenberg, konserndirektør med ansvar for kontanthåndtering i Nokas, opplyser at politiet ikke har vært i kontakt med dem.

– Dette er helt ukjent for meg. Jeg har ingen informasjon knyttet til disse opplysningene, utaler han.

Omsorgsfull

Den norsk-somaliske gutten som kom til Norge som 9-åring vokste opp et sted på Østlandet. VG møtte i går flere tidligere naboer av mannen i boligfeltet hvor han bodde i ungdomsårene.

Én av dem beskriver den unge mannen som mer norsk enn somalisk. I oppveksten skal gutten ha hatt noen norske kompiser, men tilsynelatende få eller ingen nære venner.

Flere kilder VG har snakket med beskriver ham som en trivelig og ordentlig gutt, og en omsorgsfull storebror som hjalp mye til hjemme. På fritiden spilte han gjerne fotball med sine yngre søsken.

Hans store mål tidlig i ungdommen skal ha vært å utdanne seg til lege.

Stolt av sin tro

I begynnelsen av tenårene begynte imidlertid konservative, religiøse verdier å skinne igjennom. Han skal imidlertid ikke ha vist ytterliggående tendenser, ifølge personer som kjente ham.

VG blir fortalt at han var stolt av sin muslimske tro – på en god måte. Han skal ha vært opptatt av å følge islamske regler.

TERRORISTENE: *Overvåkningskameraene fanget opp bilder av gjerningsmennene som vendret rundt på Westgate-senteret og plaffet ned folk.* Foto: CITIZEN TV, AP

UNDER ANGREP: *Disse to kvinnene flyktet i sikkerhet med hvert sitt barn i hendene mens skuddsalvene smalt rundt dem på kjøpesenteret i Nairobi 21. september.* Foto: GORAN TOMASEVIC, REUTERS, NTB SCANPIX

En tidligere klassekamerat fra videregående beskriver norsksomalieren som en hyggelig, men noe innesluttet person. Han var mye for seg selv, var stille og rolig, snakket ikke mye.

Imidlertid skal han tydelig ha frontet sine synspunkter dersom religion var tema for klassens diskusjon i timen.

Forandring

VG så i går klassebilder som viser at det skjedde en synlig ytre forandring fra ungdomsskolen til videregående. På ungdomsskolen er han avbildet i fotballtrøye. Men et par år senere, på videregående, har han skiftet til kjortel og kalott på klassebildet.

– Han forandret seg etter ungdomsskolen på den måten at han begynte å gå i muslimsk klesdrakt. Men han var fremdeles alltid hoflig – en hyggelig og oppegående gutt. Jeg har ikke et vondt ord å si om han, sier en person som kjente til den nå 23 år gamle mannen gjennom en lengre periode.

En tidligere klassekamerat fra videregående forteller at han omtrent hver dag hadde med seg bønneteppe, og ba flere ganger i løpet av skoledagen.

Den nå 23 år gamle mannen forlot Norge for rundt tre år siden, får VG opplyst. Politiets sikkerhetstjeneste har hatt kjennskap til ham, også fra tiden før han forlot Norge.

VG har tidligere fått opplyst at 23-åringen kan ha blitt gjenkjent på bilder fra overvåkningskameraer inne i kjøpesenteret i Nairobi

I Kenya kommer det nå lite informasjon fra myndighetene om angrepet. VG har en rekke ganger prøvd å få en kommentar fra politimyndigheter i Nairobi, men de ønsker ikke å uttale seg overhodet om mistanken mot nordmannen.

Mistanken styrket

Men etter det VG får opplyst, er mistanken om at mannen deltok i terroraksjonen i Nairobi blitt styrket i løpet av de siste dagene.

Det er fortsatt ikke brakt på det rene om nordmannen er i live, men etter det VG forstår har ikke etterforskerne funnet noen sikre livstegn fra ham.

Røde Kors i Kenya melder at det fortsatt er 23 savnede etter angrepet 21. september og at 67 mennesker er bekreftet omkommet. Hvor mange terrorister som deltok er usikkert, derfor er det heller ikke bekreftet hvor mange terrorister som døde og eventuelt hvor mange som klarte å rømme.

Ei familiemedlem VG har vært i kontakt er svært bekymret for 23-åringen.

– Jeg gråter hele tiden. Jeg aner ikke hva som har skjedd med ham, sier familiemedlemmet til VG.

This article uses the fact that Hassan had worked at Nokas[15] to draw people in. The headline "Suspected terrorist worked at Nokas" (VG 16.10.2013:8) implies that this is not where you would expect a terrorist to work. Again, the unexpected makes the story interesting. The article is really about how he underwent a change. This article contains interviews with people that knew him. They paint Hassan as polite, religious, but not extremely so.

[15] Nokas is a company that among other things offers services concerning handling of cash https://www.nokas.no/Om-Nokas/

Neighbours that knew him as a kid describe him as “more Norwegian than Somali”, others say that he was a caring brother that helped out a lot at home. He had few friends, and kept to himself a lot. His dream when he was young was to become a doctor. He was proud of his religion in a positive way according to people who knew him. The ones quoted in this article say that he showed no extreme tendencies.

In high school he started wearing religious clothing, but remained polite, smart and nice according to someone that knew him for several years. The article emphasises that he underwent a change. The change described in this article is described as an outer change. One of the persons interviewed also says that he does not have one bad word to say about Hassan. This article describes Hassan as a religious, but not extremely religious boy who was nice and caring. With these descriptions in mind it seems almost impossible to imagine how he could end up as a terrorist.

The illustration of the article is interesting. The photographs used to illustrate the article shows two women escaping with their children it their arms. It is a moving photo that shows a scene from the attack, but it is almost like it is disconnected from the article itself. There is an obvious discrepancy between what the words in the article communicate and what the photograph communicates. In one way this photo makes up for the fact that the journalist, at the time the article was written, did not have more information explaining how he could have become a terrorist. The picture reminds us that even though people who used to know him have nice things to say about him, he still targeted civilians, as the photo perfectly illustrates. The smaller picture shows some of the attackers, but it does not say whether any of the persons in the picture is Hassan. The story of Hassan does not stop here, and neither does the articles about him. Other articles paint Hassan in a different light.

This article from the local newspaper Østlands-Posten is about how Hassan wrote a school paper about the killing of American soldiers. In the start of the article former classmates confess that they think it is very sad that no one did anything when he wrote that paper. A former classmate says that Hassan showed him the paper, wherein he, according to the classmate wrote about the bodies of American soldiers being dragged behind cars in Somalia and how this pleased him/made him happy. Other former classmates say they reacted to his violent behaviour and his sympathy for al-Qaida, and one of them say that he thinks Hassan had a psychological illness, claiming he displayed signs of a split personality. According to this classmate, Hassan went from being angry and violent one moment to being

very nice the next. Reading this article and these descriptions, it might be easier to comprehend that Hassan became a terrorist, this story fits better.

8 Østlands-Posten - tirsdag 22. oktober 2013

Østlands-Posten - tirsdag 22. oktober 2013

LOKALT

Skrev stil om drap som 13-åring

Den terrormistenkte 23-åringen fra Larvik utviklet ifølge klassekamerater tidlig ekstremistiske tendenser. Allerede i 8. klasse skrev han stil om likvidering av amerikanske soldater.

- **Jeg synes det er veldig** trist at ingen gjorde noe, sier en tidligere klassekamerat fra ungdomsskolen, som sikter til at den terrormistenkte fra Larvik skrev stil om likvidering av amerikanske soldater.

– Jeg husker han viste meg stilen hvor han skrev om amerikanske soldatlik som ble slept etter biler i somaliske gater, og hvilken glede det ga ham. Jeg reagerte på det han skrev, og lurte på om det var lov å skrive slike ting, sier han.

Andre klassekamerater sier at de reagerte på hans voldelige oppførsel, og at han at ytret sympati for Al-Qaida. En tredje sier til TV2 at de tullet med at han kanskje hadde blitt med i et Profetens Ummah-miljø.

– Han spurte meg en gang om hvorfor jeg som kristen ikke dro ned til Jerusalem og drepte jøder, siden de korsfestet Jesus, sier en annen tidligere klassekamerat til Østlands-Posten.

Daværende rektor ved ungdomsskolen sier til ØP at han ikke kjenner til saken.

– Jeg kan ikke huske noen spesielt i tilknytninger til ham, sier den tidligere rektoren.

– Kan du huske en stil der den terrormistenkte skrev om likvidering av amerikanske soldater?

– Nei, jeg ønsker ikke å si noe om det, men dette var en gutt som kom fra et land med mye ufred.

RE-leder for sentrum, Tuva Enger, sier at den enkelte skole har fokus på om elever utvikler ekstreme tendenser.

– Vi har oppmerksomhet mot elevene våre, men det er ikke ulovlig å mene diverse ting, sier Enger.

– Hvis en elev skriver om drap, hvordan håndterer skolen det?

– Jeg vil tro at det blir tatt tak i. Jeg har tillit til at den enkelte kontaktlærer er oppmerksom, og tar en prat med eleven om slike ting skrives, sier Enger.

En tidligere klassekamerat mener at ungdomsskolen gjorde så godt de kunne.

– Jeg tror det blir feil å rette kritikken mot skolen. De prøvde det de kunne, og lærte ham å telle til ti innvendig hvis han ble sint. Jeg tror han hadde en psykisk lidelse, fordi personligheten hans var splittet. Han vekslet mellom å være sint og voldelig, til å være veldig snill. Og ofte ble han sint uten grunn, sånn som da jeg en gang delte ut ark i klassen, og ga en jente ark før ham. Da ble han så sint at han slo meg i magen.

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På klassetur: Dette bildet er fra en klassetur til Gøni 2007. – Han var i grunnen ganske «med» den kvelden, det var jo egentlig ikke vanlig at han var sammen med klassen utenom skoletid. (Foto: Privat/TV 2).

Tidligere bosted: Det var i denne blokka på Skreppestad i Larvik at den nå terrormistenkte vokste opp med far, stemor og fem søsken. (Foto: Peder Torp Mathisen)

FAKTA

Terroraksjonen i Nairobi 21. september 2013

- Islamistbevegelsen Al Shabaab hevder å ha stått bak terroraksjonen mot kjøpesenteret Westgate i Nairobi i Kenya, der minst 67 mennesker mistet livet og 23 fremdeles er savnet.
- Blant de terrormistenkte er en 23 år gammel mann fra Larvik, som kom til Norge som 9-åring i 1999.
- Fram til 2009 bodde mannen i Larvik, og det er usikkert hvor han dro etter dette. Tidligere naboer av den somaliske familien sier at de kun har sett 23-åringen et fåtalls ganger etter at han avsluttet videregående skole i Larvik.
- Larvik-mannen er utpekt som lederen av terrorangrepet. Det er usikkert hvorvidt mannen er i live eller ikke.
- Det er funnet to døde kropper inne i kjøpesenteret, og kenyansk politi tror det kan være terrorister fordi de er funnet med våpen.
- Det spekuleres og i om terroristene har sluppet unna via en tunnelgang under kjøpesenteret.

The picture that illustrates this article is pretty idyllic. It shows Hassan and his classmates on a school trip by the sea in 2007. The caption underneath includes a quote, probably from one of the classmates, that says that Hassan actually "joined in" on this trip, this person also says that it was unusual for Hassan to join the class after school. The faces of everyone in the picture are blurred and Hassan's face has a red circle around it. Again the photograph and the text tell different stories. The discrepancies between text and photo in both of these articles about Hassan makes Hall's (2010) suggestion that photographs can add new dimensions to text seem especially credible. Whether or not these photos are chosen intentionally to make a point, the photographs used in articles such as these do tell us something the text does not.

This is not the only article that describes Hassan differently than the first example. A neighbour says this: "He didn't like his life in Norway, got in trouble and in fights, his father was worried about him" (NTB 18.10.2013 00:38). Another article from Østlandsposten has a headline that reads "-Was fanatically obsessed with Islam". In this article a classmate from middle school explains that they used to get in fights and describes Hassan as being crazy. This classmate adds that he thinks Hassan struggled to adjust to Norwegian society. Another classmate says that she used to disagree with him in discussions at school, but that he used to remain calm and pleasant during the discussions. She adds that she heard that he became pretty unruly in middle-school, but says that she did not experience that herself (Østlands-

Posten 18.10.2013:6-7). An earlier classmate says that Hassan wanted to be a doctor, that everyone knew him at school but that he had few very close friends. He adds that it is all incomprehensible (NTB 20.10:2013 08:29). VG has also talked to earlier classmates and write that they remember a "smiling and polite boy" that looked after his younger siblings. The same article also includes a description of how his family sits at home in the safe haven of Larvik watching their son and brother get connected to the attack through surveillance footage. The article states that "the man in a blue jacket and grey bloodstained pants searches through the Westgate shopping mall with an automatic weapon in shooting position" (VG 20.10:2013). This is a perfect example of the news value dramatisation that both Jewkes (2011) and Chibnall (2010) present as a common news value. This quote could have been from a fictional story, but is from a newspaper article.

No one in the Somali milieu wants to talk about him and the leader of a Somali women's organisation asks the journalist; "Haven't you written enough about him now?" (Dagbladet 18.10.2013:23). It is understandable that the Somali and Islamic milieu is tired of answering questions connected to Hassan and other Somali or Muslim terrorists. It is expected that these milieus condemn acts committed by an islamist organisation even though they have no ties to this organisation whatsoever. The headline of this article is "Do not talk about our own" and gives the impression that these people are more alike than for example the earlier classmates; they are not described as "talking about their own".

While his classmates celebrated "russetida" (a Norwegian tradition for graduate students) Hassan had a "secret internet life" according to Østlands-Posten (18.10.2013:6-7). He was active on an al-Shabaab internet forum and used a picture of a suicide bomber as a profile picture. A classmate is quoted saying that he never would have suspected that Hassan was the type to go to such extreme lengths, but that he was not very surprised to learn that he was behind the attack. Journalist Lars Akerhaug says that the 23-year old appears to be the prototype of a Norwegian Muslim who has been radicalised (Dagsavisen 19.10.2013:12). As time progresses it seems to be important to explain that Hassan was really radicalised.

It is interesting how the media coverage of Hassan ranges from describing him as a polite, well-adjusted, more-Norwegian-than-Somali boy to painting him as extremist, violent and psychologically disturbed. Because of the different descriptions of him, it is hard to know whether he really became crazy, angry and fanatical during his school years, or if he just behaved like every other kid, most people are not always happy and nice or always angry and

unruly. The story of Hassan being a probable terrorist from early on might also be more believable for the readers than the story of someone who got radicalised later in life. The fact that he was indeed involved with the attack on Westgate leaves no doubt that he really was radicalised, but the question is whether or not that was possible to foresee from an early age. Maybe it is safer to think that someone is one way or the other from the start, that way it would be possible to stop people before they do something terrible.

Drawing on Blackman and Walkerdine (2001) Jewkes writes that criminals are often described as a loner, maladjusted, animal-like, aggressive and violent among other things (Jewkes 2011:49). According to Jewkes, what such descriptions does is indicate that the perpetrators lack normative social ties. Several of these categorisations can be recognised in the presentations of Hassan. Even the articles where the text frames him in a flattering light emphasises the fact that he did not have many friends, was a loner. The other ones also mention this, but focus more on the descriptions that depict him as violent and angry. The newspaper articles about Hassan are multifaceted, there seems to be a special need for presenting him contrastingly as he grew up in Norway, but also was a "terrorist in Nairobi". The contrasts reveal themselves through emphasising different descriptions of him by people that used to know him and in the discrepancies between the photographs and the written text.

5.2.2 In Amenas – Well-organised and crafty

Describing "Those who sign with blood"

The words used most to describe the perpetrators in In Amenas are not surprisingly "hostage takers" which is used 1629 times and the second most used is "terrorist(s)", used 1554 times. Both are commonly used and both words are often used in the same article. First they are described as hostage takers and then as terrorists. An article from NTB (19.01.2013 01:39) shows this; "The hostage takers in Algeria most likely had help from the inside. The terrorists who stormed the facility in In Amenas met almost no resistance, despite the fact that Algerian soldiers guard the area". The hostage takers are described as being armed with grenade

launchers, but being considerate enough to ask BP to send in food and water. It seems like religion and connection to terrorist organisations are the most important traits when describing the perpetrators. Nationality is sometimes mentioned, but not as an important as with Westgate. "Heavily armed islamists" (Fædrelandsvennen 17.01.2013:8-9) is a pretty common way of describing them. The fact that they are referred to in so many different ways may be an indication that the journalists writing the stories have not reflected over the use of these words, and just uses the one that sounds best in each setting.

Dagens Næringsliv describes the hostage takers as being well prepared under the headline "A carefully planned attack". They were heavily armed, well organised and followed a detailed plan (Dagens Næringsliv 17.01.2013). "Planned the attack carefully" is another headline that says almost exactly the same. An article from NTB describes how the group was ready to attack the facility for two months and had allegedly studied Algerian intelligence before the attack (NTB 18.01.2013 01:05). According to one of the hostages the terrorists wanted to spare Muslims and kill Christians (Bergensavisen 18.01.2013:6). This conflict between religions is recognisable from the Westgate coverage as well. One of the locals who escaped said that it seemed like the hostage takers knew the facility well (NTB 18.01.2013 03:50) and he also said that they "talked like islamists" (NTB 18.01.2013 15:26). Survivors described the brutality of the hostage takers, they also said that the hostage takers were dressed as Algerian soldiers (Dagbladet 18.01.2013:5). Witnesses say that the "terrorists" were dressed such as they could trick the people who worked there. They went around looking for foreigners in particular. One of the "terrorists" spoke English with a perfect accent (VG 18.01.2013:4-5). All of these descriptions and examples help frame the perpetrators as well-organsied and help explain how they could succeed in taking over the facility.

Nationality becomes important when we learn about the "terrorists" who were killed in the military operation. The hostage takers who were killed were three Egyptians, two Algerians, two Tunisians, two Libyans, one French and a Malian (Fædrelandsvennen 18.01.2013:8-9). The fact that nationalities were not used as much in the descriptions of the In Amenas attackers may be attributed to the various nationalities of these as opposed to the Westgate attackers who often were described as Somali. Mokthar Belmokhtar's hostage takers were serious and prepared to die or succeed, Dagbladet writes. And if they were going to die they would take as many hostages as possible with them (Dagbladet 18.01.2013:16). The surviving hostages say that the hostage takers were ruthless and purposefully chose their

hostages, they were supposedly looking for foreigners, most importantly Christians and infidels (NTB 18.01.2013 15:26). A story that surfaced describes how the "terrorists" demanded that two "terrorists" should be released from American prison; one of them goes by the nickname "the blind sheik". Not surprisingly, according to Dagbladet, the American government has informed that they will not meet the terrorists' demands because they do not negotiate with terrorists. "The blind sheik" like "the white widow" is a mysterious character that we do not learn much about besides the name. Still, they are both mentioned, and some of the reason for this is probably the notoriety such nick-names adds to the story.

The hostage takers as a group are described as well-prepared and organised. They knew what they were doing and who they were looking for, some of them even wore disguises to give the impression that they were working there. They were described as ruthless by survivors. Even though there were many descriptions of the hostage takers from the survivors, these descriptions did not get nearly as much attention as the ones of a man who was not even there. That man is Mokhtar Belmokhtar.

The one-eyed smuggler king of Sahara; Mokhtar Belmokhtar

Mokthar Belmokhtar is the leader of the group called al-Mua'qi'oon Biddam ("those who sign with blood") which claimed responsibility for the attack on the gas facility in In Amenas. Entman wrote in 1991 that frames provide, repeat and reinforce images. This is very apparent when reading the articles on Mokhtar Belmokhtar. He is numerous times referred to as "the one-eyed", "the Marlboro man" or "Mr. Marlboro", "the smuggler king of Sahara" and other nicknames. These nicknames sticks to him to such a degree that it seems like journalists are unwilling or unable to refer to him without using at least one of these. This is probably to some extent due to the flair it adds to the article. Even though Belmokhtar is not a celebrity per se, his notoriousness makes him newsworthy. Jewkes (2011) has argued that notorious criminals can achieve a celebrity-like status if their crimes are notorious enough.

These nicknames makes Mokhtar Belmokhtar seem almost like a mythical character. He is a man of many names and he is infamous for being uncatchable and unkillable. The way in which he is able to elude those who are after him while masterminding attacks such as the

one on the gas facility in In Amenas makes him the perfect villain. In contrast to the varying descriptions of Hassan Abdi Dhuhulow, the descriptions of Mokhtar Belmokhtar do not include any redeeming qualities. The article underneath is one of many about him.

Han er en av de mest kjente krigsherrene i Sahara.
Stephen Ellis, ekspert på organisert kriminalitet ved Senteret for afrikanske studier i Leiden, Nederland.

FREDAG 18. JANUAR 2013 Nyhet 19

JAGES

● Søkkrik på storstilt smugling
● Dømt for drap på ti tollere

Saharas mest fryktede mann, Mokhtar Belmokhtar (40), befant seg trolig langt fra In Aménas da blodbadet startet.

Trolig satt den enøyde terrorisen på sitt skjulested i den opprørskontrollerte byen Gao i Mali og styrte den storstilte terroraksjonen.

I løpet av drøye to tiår, har algeriskfødte Mokhtar Belmokhtar slått seg opp til å bli en av Nord-Afrikas største gangstere mens han bedriver såkalt hellig krig som jihadist. 40-åringen knyttes til en rekke bortføringer av utlendinger i Nord-Afrika det siste tiåret. Hans organisasjon har også tatt på seg ansvaret for terrorangrepet mot gassanlegget.

I går ble han ble hyllet på ulike jihadistfora på Internett, der foto av Mokhtar Belmokhtar figurerte sammen med bilder av gassanlegget In Aménas.

– Han er en av de mest kjente krigsherrene i Sahara, sier Stephen Ellis, som er ekspert på organisert kriminalitet ved Senteret for afrikanske studier i Leiden, Nederland.

Tidlig inspirert

Ifølge Mokhtar Belmokhtar selv, hadde han allerede som skolegutt en dragning mot jihadismen. Født i Ghardaia i 1972, startet han med jihadistaktiviteter i ung alder.

Som 19-åring, drevet av lyst til å hevne drapet på den palestinske ideologen Abdullah Yusuf Azzam i 1989, dro Belmokhtar – også kjent som Khalid Abu al-Abbas – til Afghanistan for å få kamp- og terrortrening.

Det var her Belmokhtar pådro seg kallenavnet «Den Enøyde». Det venstre øyet hans gikk tapt da han skulle rigge til eksplosiver.

I 1992 vendte han tilbake til Algerie. I hjemlandet var situasjonen kaotisk, etter at den fransksøtsende algeriske militæret hadde annullert resultatet av første valgomgang der Islamsk Redningsfront (Fis) hadde vunnet. Det ble startet på en blodig borgerkrig som kostet 150 000 mennesketliv. Belmokhtar, som var med i dannelsen Væpnet Islams Gruppe (GIA), ble regnet som en av de mest fryktede.

Jihadist-gangster

Men det er ikke bare som terrorist Belmokhtar har slått seg opp. Smugling og gisseltaking har også vært med på å gi ham status, makt og inntekter i multimillioners klassen. På grunn av den storstilte ulovlige innførselen av tobakk, har han også fått tilnavnet «Mr. Marlboro».

Men ifølge etterretningskilder skal han også ha drevet smugling av diamanter, våpen, narkotika og med menneskehandel.

For å befeste sin posisjon, har Belmokhtar både en arabisk kvinne og en tuareg-kvinne.

Dømt til livstid

Tilknyttes en rekke terrororganisasjoner, deriblant al-Qaida, har Belmokhtar, i over 20 år lekt katt og mus med algeriske myndigheter.

Han er allerede dømt til livstid i fengsel for drapet på ti algeriske tollbetjenter i 2007.

Han knyttes også til 2003-kidnappingen av 32 europeiske turister. Samtidig var han også inn i bildet da det skulle forhandles om løslatelsen av to østerrikske gisler i 2008 og to kanadiske gisler året etter.

Kanskje er det derfor ikke så rart at fransk etterretning i 2002, ga ham tilnavnet «Den udødelige». Seinest i fjor ble det meldt at Belmokhtar ble drept i det nordlige Mali i væpnede kamper mellom militante islamister og Tuareg-ledere separatister, men også denne gangen viste rapporten seg å være feil.

GANGSTER-JIHADIST: Mokhtar Belmokhtar har i over 20 år lekt katt og mus med algeriske myndigheter. Han er dømt til fengsel for drap på ti tollbetjenter i 2007.

The article above is illustrated by a large photograph of Mokhtar Belmokhtar with the caption gangster-jihadist. It also says that he has played cat and mouse with the Algerian government for over 20 years and that he has been convicted in absentia for murdering ten customs officers. In the photo, Mokhtar Belmokhtar is wearing an army green jacket and a black turban. He looks straight at the photographer and has a severe (and determined?) look. His appearance gives the impression that he is a man of conviction, and his clothes in the picture indicate a no-nonsense attitude. His left eye is darker and different from his right, illustrating the reason for the nickname "the one-eyed". The photograph fits in with the descriptions of

him. The headline tells us that he is being "hunted" and the introduction to the article states that he is the most feared man in the Sahara. I would classify the article as both human interest and responsibility framed as it focuses on one person but also on the fact that he is the supposed brains behind the operation.

The quote at the top of the article says how "He is one of the most well-known warlords in Sahara" according to Stephen Ellis, expert on organised crime at the Centre for African Studies in Leiden, Netherlands. Yet an example of the use of an expert, adding to the perceived objectivity of the article. In the article we can read how Belmokhtar lost his eye when he was rigging explosives in Afghanistan. The sub-headlines "Early inspired", "Jihadist-gangster" and "Sentenced to life" all seem to point in the same direction; he is inherently a terrorist. This article does not ask questions like "how did the Algerian schoolboy end up as a terrorist?", instead it just states that he was drawn to jihadism at an early age.

There is a lot of focus on how Belmokhtar induces fear. Comparing the articles on Mokhtar Belmokhtar with the articles about Hassan Abdi Dhuhulow and even the ones on Godane, the presentation of Belmokhtar is more one-dimensional. Everything presented about him fits into the picture of him as a feared and unwavering jihadist warrior. The article itself retells how Mokhtar Belmokhtar himself has said that he was drawn to jihadism as early as in his schooldays and we learn that Mokhtar Belmokhtar's "career" as jihadist started as he became driven by the desire to avenge the killing of the Palestinian ideologist Abdullah Yusuf Assam. The article also describes how he helped start the group Armed Islamic Group of Algeria (GIA) which was known as one of the most feared such groups. Again his actions and affiliations are connected to fear. According to this article Belmokhtar has both an Arabic and a tuareg-woman to strengthen his position. Even his love life is presented as a part of bigger plans.

In Stavanger Aftenblad the words "smuggler, hostage-taker and islamist" are used to describe Belmokhtar. According to an interview quoted in the same article, Belmokhtar is an ambitious man and one of the most wanted and hunted men in the area, so being an outlaw is not new for him (Stavanger Aftenblad 18.01.2013). Other articles also use the word islamist to describe him. According to information from NTB relayed by Oppland Arbeiderblad Belmokhtar possessed a central position in al-Qaidas North-African branch AQIM/ (al-Qaida in Islam's Maghreb) for several years. Belmokhtar is known for being obsessed with money and for financing his operations with money from ransom (Oppland Arbeiderblad

17.01.2013:17). This implies that he is greedy, which is yet another villain-like trait. Adresseavisen calls him the "worlds most wanted" (21.01.2013) which adds to his notoriety.

The Christian newspaper Dagen describes him as "more known as a one-eyed bandit than an islamist ideologist. A British think tank is quoted referring to Belmokhtar as "the pirate king of Sahara" and says that he, as most Algerian groups, mixes crime and ideology with emphasis on one or the other according to the circumstances (Dagen 18.01.2013:10-11). These examples present Belmokhtar as "not even a true jihadist". It almost seems like it would have been better if there had been a definitive religious or ideological motive behind his actions, maybe because that makes them possible to comprehend even if one does not condone them.

In Morgenbladet Mokhtar Belmokhtar is featured in a comprehensive article where one can read that he "got fired" from al-Qaida and wants to win back the position as Sahara's biggest jihadist. 40 years old, 20 years as islamist warrior, "Belmokhtar ran the show in Sahara for several years" says Jean-Pierre Filiu, professor at Sciences Po to Morgenbladet (Morgenbladet 18.01.2013:6-7). This article strengthens the image of Mokhtar Belmokhtar as an ambitious man that has "been in the game" for a long time. It also exemplifies that even though he was not present at the gas facility in In Amenas he received massive amounts of attention.

Mokhtar Belmokhtar is at the center of a lot of the articles I have collected on the In Amenas attack. By reinforcing the number of nicknames Mokhtar Belmokhtar is known under, Norwegian newspapers help strengthen his image as a mythical, almost inhuman character. He is "uncatchable", "unkillable" and we do not know much about him before he became this character. Naming him a jihadist-gangster as the article shown as an example does makes him seem almost "cool". For some people, maybe especially in hip-hop/rap-culture, being a gangster is something one should strive to be. Jewkes (2011) points out that criminals can become 'celebrities' through the media attention they gain because of the notoriety of their crimes. Belmokhtar seems to be a popular subject for journalists to write about, stories about his crimes are well-known and he is even named after these.

5.2.3 Can we identify with a terrorist?

Even though Hassan is described in many different ways, there is a focus on his humanity. The articles on Mokhtar Belmokhtar do not have the same focus. Some of the reason for this is probably that it was easier for Norwegian newspapers to get information on Hassan's background and upbringing, but I think the main reason the focus on Belmokhtar is different is due to the fact that he is not "one of us" as Hassan was. There was a greater need to understand how Hassan could end up a terrorist than was the case with Belmokhtar, because the former grew up and went to school in Norway just like any other Norwegian. Even so, we are constantly reminded that Hassan was Somali, and Muslim, and this seems to be implied as some of the explanation for how he could become a terrorist. Even though the Norwegian readers may feel that Hassan was closer to being "one of us", they might not really believe it. He was both "one of us" and "one of them". Nevertheless, there is a greater need for explanation, he grew up here. It is easier to accept the one-dimensional presentation of Belmokhtar because we do not need to understand him in the same way.

Jewkes has argued that because of the news value of "simplification" the media is drawn to binary oppositions where stories involving crime, including terrorism are presented in a context that focuses on good versus evil (Jewkes 2011: 49). This is something Anker also comments on as she writes that the coverage of the U.S. response to the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the media was a melodramatic story of a country attacked "*because* of its virtue" by "an evil villain" (Anker 2005: 22). There are examples of this in the coverage of the attacks in In Amenas and Westgate, maybe especially when it comes to the young couple doing aid-work about to become a family versus the evil militant, determined, brutal al-Shabaab. That being said, as soon as the "terrorist is one of us" so to speak, this presentation is not as easy. Hassan was a real person, not just an image of evil. Because of his Norwegian upbringing journalists were able to get stories from people who knew him before he became a part of this group, and these stories are not one-sided. Some of them underline his role in al-Shabaab, these stories describe him as an extremely religious, fanatical and violent kid. But others challenge this image, the stories that describe him as a polite, nice and helpful person. The moment the "terrorist" is humanised it becomes harder to view him (or her) as just one thing, for example evil. Mokhtar Belmokhtar on the other hand is in a Norwegian context "not one of us". It might be easier to believe that he was always destined to be a terrorist and that everything he

has done is part of his great, evil terrorist plan. Jewkes also notes that perpetrators of acts of terror often are constructed as "cartoon baddies" with "little or no discussion of their histories or motivations" (Jewkes 2011: 48). As I have shown Belmokhtar and Godane are examples of such constructions of evil where their motivation, history and background is not in focus. In Dhuhulow's case on the other hand, there *is* a focus on history and background. This suggests that when we are forced to acknowledge a person as, at least partly, "one of us", the need to explain the hows and whys is greater.

When Kwon and Moon studied the media coverage of the Virginia Tech shooting in U.S. and South Korean newspapers, and found that both were concerned with the nationality and ethnicity of both victims and perpetrator, but because the shooter was South Korean the most important concern for the South Korean public was that he was 'a member of our group' (Kwon and Moon 2009: 284). As Leudar et al. (2004) found, the classification of people into 'us' and 'them' have been used by both "terrorists" and those who lead the "war against terror". Anker (2005) also points of that terrorists can be classified as an evil "other". By classifying people into groups it is easier to view the ones we do not group with as the enemy. That being said, such groups can be manifold and overlapping (Sacks 1989) and we can see an example of this with Hassan. In some way he fits in with an "other" group because of his Somali heritage and obviously his affiliation with al-Shabaab, but he also fit the "us" group by being a Norwegian citizen and having grown up as a Norwegian.

6 Concluding remarks

When I started on this project/thesis, I expected to find mostly very sensationalist articles, and my first impressions when collecting articles fit my expectations. What I found when digging deeper, however, was that a lot of the reporting was quite down-to-earth and matter-of-fact. I think a lot of people, including myself, have the notion that newspapers report extreme events such as terrorism in a sensationalist way. And while there are examples of this, the fact that a few articles are sensationalist does not mean that the coverage as a whole is. In some way it seems that the news coverage reflects feelings, and what we need when things like this happens. The first, most dramatic articles, reflects the shock of what is happening. It is shocking, and maybe it would be more difficult to process the information if the first articles were all purely facts written in a neutral way. After the first shock, we need information, and this is where the responsibility framed articles come in. Following one event the newspaper coverage goes through stages, but when we read the news, we read about a lot of happenings simultaneously. When one event is in a later stage of its news coverage, another one is just starting, and there are bound to be something shocking or brutal happening that claims our attention, maybe over the wrap-up of another incident. I have found no reason to claim that newspaper journalism is not sensationalist. A certain newspaper may each and every day have several sensationalist framed articles, but they most likely also have articles that are not framed this way.

As mentioned before, not every single article fits a generic frame, but many of them did. Human interest framed stories are the most popular, and morality is the least popular. There are small parts of several articles where people condemn the attacks, but there are very few articles where the condemnation part is the main focus. One could argue that all of the articles where the Christian missionaries were interviewed are morality framed, because of the religious focus. Nevertheless, there are two reasons I do not understand these as morality framed; firstly the main focus is on their personal experiences and feelings and secondly the religious aspect is important in connection to how they handled the situation and not used to comment on the perpetrators and ideological background for the attack.

The responsibility frame is also used extensively, there are many situations where addressing responsibility is natural. Naturally, there is focus on the ones responsible for the attack, both the groups and the individuals, but then in the case of In Amenas there is focus on the people responsible for Statoil, for the people of Norway, for the rescue operation etcetera. Responsibility framed articles may applaud or criticise the ones who hold responsibility for something. The responsibility framed articles often give the impression of being more professional or non-tabloid than some of the human interest and dramatised articles, as they often tend to focus less on feelings.

Conflict is another frame that is especially relevant for these articles, as acts of terrorism often stem from a "bigger" conflict, this at least being what the perpetrators claim. Others may propose that these bigger conflicts are only used as an excuse. The attack on In Amenas was supposedly an answer to the French intervention in Mali and the attack on the Westgate mall a response to Kenya's involvement in Somalia. Often articles focus equally on responsibility and conflict, as one article may both present *who* is responsible and *why*. The "why-part" often being in connection to conflict.

Articles framed in relation to "economic consequences" are also apparent in the coverage on both of the attacks. In the case of the Westgate attack most of the economic consequence framed articles concentrates on the effect the attack could have on the tourism industry, while in the case of In Amenas the focus is directly on the effect the attack has on the gas production in In Amenas. The economic consequence stories are usually not the first stories to surface, as the situation for the victims have to be established first.

There is no doubt that both of the events my cases are based on were newsworthy. According to Jewkes "an event that is rare, extraordinary or unexpected will be considered newsworthy" (Jewkes 2011: 46). Both the Westgate attack and the In Amenas hostage situation were extraordinary, and I also think that they were unexpected for many, even though experts claimed that they should not have come as a surprise because of tension in the regions and earlier threats from the "terrorist organisations". If they are rare, however, is a matter of argument. Very deadly terrorist attacks involving Western people, are rarer than other terrorist attacks. Taking the whole world into account, acts defined as terrorism are not that rare. But again, this depends on the definition of terror, and that is not an easy definition to make.

By following the coverage over time one can get an insight into how it evolves. The In Amenas coverage followed the people involved in every aspect, every step of the way through the whole process. To some extent the very serious and sober In Amenas coverage really emphasised how grave the situation was for the afflicted. The coverage of the In Amenas attack can almost be called "therapeutic" as it in a respectful way covered the situation from beginning to end, following the identification of the victims, the journey home and the mourning of the involved. The Norwegian victims from In Amenas are written about in a respectful manner and their deaths are not sensationalised. Examples that news are domesticised (Kwon and Moon 2009, Jewkes 2011) can be found in both the massive focus on the Norwegian victims in the national papers and the focus on the local victims in the local papers, suggesting that each paper chooses the focus most relevant to them. In the Westgate coverage the domestication is apparent when it comes to the focus on the Norwegian survivors and the Norwegians who were in Nairobi, but not at the Westgate mall, including the many stories on the Norwegian "terrorist" Hassan.

In the In Amenas coverage we get an insight into how Prime Minister Stoltenberg and Statoil CEO handled the situation both personally and professionally. Both Jens Stoltenberg and Helge Lund were important to the handling of the In Amenas hostage situation due to their roles as Prime Minister of Norway and CEO of Statoil, but an interesting aspect is the personal attention they got in regard to how they were feeling and how it was for them personally to handle the situation. This can be understood as an example of the news value indivualisation/personalisation as presented by Chibnall (2010) and Jewkes (2011) and also an example that an angle closer to human interest than responsibility can be preferable to journalists when choosing how to present certain matters. Additionally it can be understood as examples of the celebrity/high-profile news value where the personal angle becomes interesting because of their status.

Another aspect the coverage of In Amenas cooperation is in focus several times, whether it is the cooperation between Statoil and the government, the cooperation between the Prime ministers David Cameron and Jens Stoltenberg or the help that KRIPOS lends in the identification of the victims. Additionally there is a focus on unity seen in the widely repeated speech Stoltenberg held saying that "*we as a nation* has to be prepared for bad news" in addition to how the leaders of the opposition and several experts cheer on the sitting

government and Statoil's handling of the crisis. This unity is strengthened by the respectful and emotionally charged manner in which journalists frame the articles about In Amenas.

The Westgate attack resulted in more sensationalist and graphic coverage from the attack itself and of the victims. This is probably due to the lack of cultural proximity to the victims and lack of spatial proximity to where the attack happened, but also the suddenness and shocking elements of the attack. The respectful, emotionally charged framing from In Amenas is not recognisable here. Words such as bloodbath, massacre and slaughter made what happened at Westgate almost seem unreal and give associations to descriptions fitting a horror movie. These presentations are probably due to the lack of both spatial proximity as Kenya is far from Norway and cultural proximity as none of the killed were Norwegian. This is probably also the reason why we do not get to follow the situation as closely when it comes to mourning and burying the victims and how the Kenyan government handles the situation. What we do get to follow is the investigation as a Norwegian citizen is tied to the attackers.

There is no doubt that we are interested in our own people, both when it comes to reading about perpetrators and about victims. Whether we classify ourselves in groups of age, gender, occupation or other, nationality seem to triumph these categories. Sacks (1989) calls these types of classifications Membership Classification Device(s).The closer to our own nationality (and skin colour?) people are the more they seem to be reported on in Norwegian newspapers. The closer we physically are and the closer we feel to victims of a crime, the more interested we are in reading about it. This can also be connected to the news value of proximity that Jewkes (2011) has presented, the closer we are spatially or culturally to something, the more newsworthy it is to us.

The fact that the perpetrators were referred to as "terrorists", "islamists" and "militants" seemingly interchangeably suggests that Norwegian journalists possibly do not reflect over the use of these words the same way as Lewis and Reese (2009) found that American journalists often used the term "war on terror" without reflecting on what the term implied. A lot of earlier research has showed that people regarded as terrorists are often described as animals, vermin, someone that should be hunted down/smoked out and so on. This way of describing someone dehumanizes and thereby makes it easier to propose inhuman ways of dealing with them (see e.g. Steuter and Willis 2009). Steuter and Willis have studied this and write that the corollary metaphors to vermin and virus are "the language of eradication and annihilation" (2009:1). I found typical examples of the use of the word

hunt to describe the search for the "terrorists", but also connected to search for information, an aspect suggesting that the use of the word hunt in particular in this context are not used *because* the perpetrator is regarded a terrorist. Secondly, by calling the perpetrators of the Westgate attack butchers and reporting that the victims were slaughtered by them, it indirectly dehumanise the victims rather than the attackers. The newspapers presentations from In Amenas do not include the same kind of language about the deaths of the hostages, Norwegian or foreign. This fits in with the general tone of the coverage, as the coverage from Westgate was more sensationalist and dramatised contrasted with the severe and emotional coverage of In Amenas.

The perpetrator that got most of the attention from the Westgate coverage was a Norwegian citizen and many of the stories on him sought to explain how he ended up like he did. These stories are more multifaceted than the ones on Belmokhtar as Hassan was both "one of us" and "one of them". The stories about Hassan Abdi Dhuhulow were characterised by the attempt to explain how he became a "terrorist" and the information presented about him differs from one article to the next. Taking into account Sacks (1989) Membership Classification Devices and the 'us' and 'them' discourse presented by among others Leudar et. Al (2004), Hassan fit into different categories such as "Somali" and "Norwegian", "schoolboy from Larvik" and "terrorist in Nairobi" that are difficult for the journalists to merge, resulting in diverging stories. Newspaper articles do not paint him as only one or the other and this can be seen as an acknowledgement of the so-called grey-areas, a case where the news value of simplification (Jewkes 2011, Chibnall 2010) is not applicable. In some of the articles the acknowledgement of the different aspect of the life and personality of the "Norwegian-Somali-terrorist" is apparent in the text, but some of the articles presentations are more subtle and the discrepancy can be found in the correlation between photographs used to illustrate the article and the text.

The perpetrators behind the In Amenas attack are presented as having no redeeming qualities and the brains behind the operation Mokhtar Belmokhtar is portrayed in a one-dimensional manner. The stories about him emphasises his many nicknames such as "the one-eyed". He is referred to as uncatchable and unkillable and one of the most well-known warlords of the Sahara. The fact that there were written so many articles about even though he was not even at the gas facility In Amenas when the attack happened can be attributed to the news value of celebrities (Jewkes 2011) as it can refer to the celebrity-like status some

criminals gain through their notoriety. Seeing these presentations in light of framing theory the tendency to highlight some aspects while downplaying others (Entman 2004) is recognisable in the framing of the In Amenas perpetrators and especially Mokhtar Belmokhtar. This can probably both be attributed to the need to present such acts as a fight between to binary opposites; good versus evil (Jewkes 2011), but also the fact that Belmokhtar was not viewed as one of us in any way. He is a distant character that the Norwegian public has no need to understand. Even though none of the articles I studied directly said that Belmokhtar is "not one of us" or even; he is "one of them", the way the articles about him are written implies that how he became a terrorist does not need to be explained. By not even asking the question, one might suggest that he is being presented as inherently a "terrorist". By not seeking to understand, even though it might seem impossible, I think we are shutting ourselves off from communication. If we think we have all the answers, there is no need to ask questions.

Several researchers among them Mythen and Walklate (2006) and Leudar, Marsland and Nekvapil (2004) have argued that 'othering' is problematic as it may have negative consequences for "othered" groups such as ethnic minority groups. As a concequense of the obsession with classifying people into groups according to who is one of us and who is one of them, we might be rejecting persons that find themselves to be somewhere inbetween. And maybe as a worst-case scenario, some individuals that do not feel welcome as 'one of us' can be radicalised if they seek inclusion elsewhere and are welcomed into the wrong community. The media has a special responsibility as they help create the foundation on which people base their decisions and create opinions from regarding what terrorism is and who and how "terrorists" are. Researchers again have a responsibility to challenge, or at least question "status quo", including the way the media presents issues such as terrorism.

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Newspaper articles

The articles in italic are the ones that are closely analysed and presented in the text

Adresseavisen:

21.01.2013:

-Åpner anlegget innen to dager

Verdens mest ettersøkte

01.02.2013: Sprengt i luften av brannslokningsapparater

Aftenposten:

29.09.2013: Her dreper terroren

28.09.2013: Terroristenes beleste og brutale toppsjef

30.09.2013: Gikk aktivt inn for å drepe «vantro» og spare muslimer

11.10.2013: -*Nordmann var med blant angriperne*

Aftenposten Morgen:

21.01.2013: Vi står samlet i denne tunge tiden

Agderposten:

18.01.2013: Terror-marerittet i Algerie

21.01.2013: Kongen føler sorg og uro

31.01.2013: -Drap er vanskelig å forstå

05.02.2013: -En verdig minnestund

23.09.2013: Minst 59 drept – tallet kan stige

25.09.2013: *Sterke skildringer fra Kenya*

Bergensavisen:

17.01.2013: Pårørende samlet på Kokstad

18.01.2013: Ville skade kristne og vantro

19.01.2013: Endelig hjemme igjen!

26.01.2013: -Vi må ta vare på minnene

28.01.2013: Algerie evaluerer feil

Bergens Tidende:

18.01.2013: Marerittet i ørkenen

26.01.2013: *Frykt og usikkerhet ble til sorg og fortvilelse*

31.01.2013: -Drap vanskelig å forstå og umulig å akseptere

Dagbladet:

18.01.2013:

Lunds sterke møte

Trodde han skulle dø

Jages

Derfor gikk det galt

19.01.2013: Krever to navngitte løslatt

20.01.2013: Klamrer seg til håpet

24.01.2013: Åtte vonde dager for Jens

26.01.2013: Jeg har grått bitre tårer

27.01.2013:

Stakkars Jens!

De tunge dagene

22.09.2013: Alle muslimer kan gå…

23.09.2013: Håper kona og dattera i live. Shopping-massakren

24.09.2013: *Slaktet ned*

06.10.2013: Pekes ut som slakterne i Nairobi

18.10.2013: -Snakker ikke om våre egne. Kenya-terroren

Dagen:

18.01.2013: Uklare motiv bak gisselaksjon

05.02.2013: De representerte det beste vi har

23.09.2013: NLM-misjonærer i terrordrama

Dagens Næringsliv Morgen (DN Morgen):

17.01.2013: Et nøye planlagt angrep

18.01.2013: Statoil-sjefens tunge dag

Dagsavisen:

18.01.2013: Marerittdøgnet i In Aménas

19.01.2013: - *Må være forberedt på dårlig nytt*

05.02.2013: -En fin og verdig minnestund

23.09.2013: Blodbadet kan koste Kenya dyrt

24.09.2013: Kenya sørger over sine mange døde

07.10.2013: -Terroristene kan flykte, men ikke gjemme seg

19.10.2013: Terrormistanken styrket

Fædrelandsvennen:

17.01.2013: *Angrepet kan være hevn for Mali-aksjon*

18.01.2013: Minst 30 gisler drept

24.01.2013: Identifiseringsarbeidet i gang

31.01.2013: Lund: -Drap umulig å akseptere

05.02.2013: -En fin og verdig minnestund

Glåmdalen:

31.01.2013: -Drap umulig å akseptere

Harstad Tidende:

17.01.2013: Statoil-ansatte skadet

Klassekampen:

19.01.2013: Gisseldrama i Algerie: Tvinges til nytenking

23.09.2013: Hevnet krigføring

26.09.2013: Somalias grenseløse krigere

Morgenbladet:

18.01.2013: Saharas enøyde smuglerkonge

Namdalsavisa:

19.01.2013: Må være forberedt på dårlig nytt

Nationen:

17.01.2013: Hevder Al-Qaida avhopper står bak

Nordlys:

18.01.2013: Slik var gisseldramaet

23.09.2013: Nordnorsk par midt i blodig terrordrama

NTB:

16.01.2013:

Kan være nordmenn blant gislene i Algerie (12:34)

-Én drept og sju såret i gisselaksjon i Algerie (13:18)

Nordmann tatt som gissel i Algerie (14:29)

Lindåsing angrepet på buss i Algerie (14:59)

Truer med å sprenge Statoil-anlegg i Algerie (17:03)

Uavklart for Statoil-ansatte i gisseldrama i Algerie (19:25)

17.01.2013:

Hevder 34 gisler er drept (15:00)

Fakta om terrorangrepet i In Aménas (18:44)

18.01.2013:

Algerie: Angrepet mot gisseltakerne pågår fortsatt (01:05)

Algerie: Så kjøretøy med gisler bli sprengt (03:50)

Eide: - Aksjonen pågår fortsatt (07:32)

Storbritannia: - Må forberede oss på dårlige nyheter (10:06)

Målrettede terrorister plukket ut gisler (15:26)

Stoltenberg ber nasjonen være beredt på dårlig nytt (20:18)

19.01.2013:

- Gisseltakerne hadde hjelp fra innsiden (01:39)

El Watan: - Gisselaksjonen er over (15:00)

20.01.2013: Utviklingsministerens stefar er savnet (22:28)

21.01.2013: 37 utenlandske gisler funnet drept i Algerie (17:35)

22.01.2013: Fakta om gassanlegget i In Aménas (13:30)

30.01.2013: Lund: -Drap vanskelig å forstå og umulig å akseptere (20:08)

04.02.2013:

Helge Lund: -De representerte det beste vi har (13:04)

-En fin og verdig minnestund (14:09)

21.09.2013:

-Minst ni drept i shoppingsenter i Nairobi (14:07)

Blodbad på kjøpesenter i Nairobi (16:07)

30 drept i antatt angrep i Nairobi (19:25)

22.09.2013: Minst 59 drept i Kenya – antall kan stige (11:54)

23.09.2013:

Fakta om terrorangrepet i Nairobi 11:22

Myndighetene i Kenya har kontroll over Westgate (23:45)

24.09.2013: Landesorg i Kenya etter kjøpesenterangrep (20:04)

26.09.2013: Interpol etterlyser «Den hvite enke» (17:56)

28.09.2013:

Nairobi-terrorister leide butikk på Westgate (04:58)

Fortsatt leting etter savnede i Kenya (12:26)

02.10.2013: Al-Shabaab med nye trusler mot Kenya (09:52)

07.10.2013: Unnsluppet Al-Shabaab-topp skal ha bodd i Norge (14:53)

18.10.2013: Mistenkt norsksomalier knyttes til Nairobi-bilder (00:38)

20.10.2013: VG: Norsksomalier skal ha ledet terrorangrepet i Nairobi (08:29)

Oppland Arbeiderblad:

17.01.2013:

Kan være hevn for Mali-aksjon

Al-Qaida avhopper står bak?

19.01.2013: - Vi må være beredt på dårlig nytt

28.01.2013: Evaluerer feil under gisselaksjonen

02.02.2013: Nektet å starte anlegget

11.10.2013: Terrormistenkt kan være oppvokst i Norge

Porsgrunn Dagblad:

19.01.2013: Ber nasjonen være beredt på dårlig nytt

Ringerikes Blad:

17.01.2013: Hadelending gissel

Rogalands Avis:

05.02.2013: De representerte det beste vi har

Romerikes Blad:

19.01.2013: Vi må være forberedt på dårlig nytt

31.01.2013: -Umulig å akseptere

23.09.2013: -Vi hadde englevakt

Stavanger Aftenblad:

17.01.2013: Gisseldramaet i Algerie: 50 grader i ørkenen

18.01.2013:

Gisseldramaet i Algerie: Hun får ektemannen hjem

Gisseldramaet i Algerie: Smugler, gisseltager og islamist

Gisseldramaet i Algerie: Dramaet minutt for minutt

31.01.2013: Gisseldramaet i Algerie: -Vanskelig å forstå og umulig å akseptere

01.02.2013: Gisseldramaet i Algerie: Sprengt i luften av brannslokningsaparater

24.09.2013: En bølge av terror, men rammer sjelden vesten

25.09.2013: Begikk drap, ble martyrer, fikk oppmerksomhet

Sunnmørsposten:

21.01.2013: «Vi står samlet i denne tunge tiden»

30.01.2013: In Aménas åpnes for pressen, Kripos på vent

31.01.2013: -Drap umulig å akseptere

Telemarksavisa:

19.01.2013: -Må være beredt på dårlig nytt

Trønderbladet:

24.09.2013: Børsa-par gjemte seg fra terror

Trønder-Avisa:

18.01.2013:

Statoilsjefen: - Et mareritt for de pårørende

30 av gislene i Algerie ble drept

19.01.2013: Stjørdaling (59) uskadd heim fra gisseldramaet

VG online: http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/politi-hverdagen/tajik-krever-svar-om-bevaepning-av-politiet/a/23432188/ [read 11.04.2013]

VG:

17.01.2013: Kulene fløy: Vigdis fikk telefon fra ektemannen som reddet seg ut

18.01.2013:

Skjuler seg i Sahara: Slik opererer den enøyde

Nå kommer de første skrekkhistoriene fra innsiden av terrorangrepet: - Var et helvete

20.01.2013:

Fire døgns helvete. Drept: 21 gisler og 32 gisseltakere, I live: 107

Sjefens tunge uke

03.02.2013:

Klappjakten

Mobilsamtaler ble sporet til «den enøyde»

22.09.2013: *Blodbadet*

23.09.2013: Skrekkdøgnene

24.09.2013: De dreper, steiner kvinner og kapper hender som straff

25.09.2013:

Vinner på terror

«Den hvite enke» gikk i svart. Overlevende hevder kvinne ledet terrorangrepet

Ofre fra 13 land: det var bare to uker til hun skulle føde…

27.09.2013: Soldater: Ser ut som et slakteri

16.10.2013: *Terrormistenkt jobbet hos Nokas*

19.10.2013: Her kan de ha flyktet: Frykter terroristene forsvant i tunnel

20.10.2013: Hvem ringer han her? Kilder nær etterforskningen: Mobiltrafikk tyder på at det var 23-åringen som ledet angrepet

Vårt Land:

05.02.2013: -De representerte det beste vi har

16.02.2013: In-Amenas anlegget starter opp

23.09.2013: 'Troen på Gud ga oss en fred midt i stormen'

Østlands-Posten:

19.01.2013: -Vær beredt på dårlig nytt

05.02.2013: -En verdig minnestund

18.10.2013:

Kjenner ham igjen på gangen

-Var fanatisk opptatt av islam

Det hemmelige internettlivet

19.10.2013: Internasjonale medier på infojakt i Larvik

22.10.2013: *Skrev stil om drap som 13-åring*

Appendix 1

Overview of the total collected articles

	In Amenas	Westgate	Totals
NTB	257	129	386
National	117	60	177
Regional	145	52	197
Local	220	59	279
Other	51	31	82
Totals	**790**	**331**	**1121**